

249.4

THE OPEN COURT

^

MONTHLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XII

CHICAGO
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & Co.

1898

H.

*LIBRARY OF THE
LELAND STANFORD JR. UNIVERSITY.*

A.34665.

COPYRIGHT BY

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.

1898.

INDEX TO VOLUME XII.

MAIN CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Agnosticism in Verse. J. L. McCreery.....	441
American War March. Robert Goldbeck.....	384
Annexation, The Opinion of a Cuban on. D. F. Rodriguz	700
Apocalypse, A Lethean. W. H. Gardner.....	357
Arréat, M. Lucien. The Religion of the Future.....	97
Baby and Sunbeam. A Poem. Mattie McCas n.....	190
Balz, Hermann. A Vain Search for God.....	28
Bayle, Pierre. With Portrait. L. Lévy-Bruhl.....	653
Beethoven Portrait.....	705
Belligerency in Christianity. Illustrated. Paul Carus.....	280
Bible, The Polychrome. With Illustration. Paul Carus.....	288
Bonet-Maury, Prof. Gaston. With Portrait. Theodore Stanton.....	630
Bristol, The Rev. Frank M. Extracts from a Sermon.....	509
Buddha Pictures and Statues. Illustrated. Paul Carus.....	337
Caird, John. With Portrait. R. M. Wenley.....	629
Candlin, The Rev. George T. Chinese Fiction. Illustrated.....	513, 607
Carus, Dr. Paul. The Dances of Death. Illustrated. 40.—Immortality. A Hymn. With Music. 58.—Modern Representations of Death. Illustrated. 101.—The Dunning Devil of China and Japan. Illustrated. 110.—Ratzel's History of Mankind. Illustrated. 118.—Godward. A Hymn. With Music. 128.—The God of Iron. A Hymn. With Music. 188.—The Heart of Man as Mirrored in Religious Art. Illustrated. 236.—Eternity. A Hymn. With Music. 245.—Belligerency in Christianity. Illustrated. 280.—The Polychrome Bible. Illustrated. 288.—The Reason why Abbé Charbonnel Failed. 300.—Lao-Tze. With Illustration. 306.—Buddha Pictures and Statues. Illustrated. 337.—Comments on Richard Jenkins's Nomotheism. 378.—The First Christian Missionaries in Thibet. Illustrated. 418.—A Few Suggestions Regarding the Spanish War. 436.—Unfurl the Flag. 439.—The Lord's Prayer. 491.—Symptoms of a Buddhist Reawakening in India and Ceylon. 511.—Vegetarianism. 565.—The Religion of the Future. A Hymn. With Music. 571.—The Greek Idea of Salvation. Illustrated. 675.—Cuba as an Allied Republic of the United States. 690.—A Composer in the Pulpit. 698.—Pictures of Native Artists of Ancient Mexico. 746.	
Charbonnel, Victor. Theodore Stanton.....	293

	PAGE
Chinese a Paradox, The. A Causerie Apropos of Recent Events. C. Pfoundes. With Illustration	248
Chinese Fiction. Illustrated. George T. Candlin	513, 607
Chuar's Illusion. J. W. Powell	577
Clerical Reaction in Europe, The. G. Fiamingo	730
Composer in the Pulpit, A. Paul Carus	698
Converse, C. Crozat. Unfurl the Flag	448
Conway, Dr. Moncure D. Solomonic Literature	1, 172, 200, 321, 385, 556
Cornill, Carl Heinrich. History of the People of Israel. From the Beginning to the Destruction of Jerusalem. 10, 80, 166, 257. The Psalms in Uni- versal Literature. 449.—The Song of Songs. 371.	
Courage the Chief Virtue. Woods Hutchinson	193
Cuba as an Allied Republic of the United States. A Suggestion for the Settle- ment of the West-Indian Question. Paul Carus	690
Death, Modern Representations of. With Illustration. Paul Carus	101
Death, The Dances of. Illustrated. Paul Carus	40
De Morgan, Augustus. A Biographical Sketch. With Portrait. Thomas J. McCormack	760
Descartes, René. Biographical Sketch. With Portrait. Thomas J. McCor- mack	501
Dunning Devil of China and Japan, The. With Illustration. Paul Carus ..	110
Edmunds, Albert J. The Canonical Account of Gotama the Buddha	485
Eternity. A Hymn. With Music.	245
Fiamingo, Prof. G. M. New Year's Receptions at the Vatican. 353.—The Clerical Reaction in Europe. 730.	
Fontenelle. With Portrait. L. Lévy-Bruhl	705
Gardner, Lt.-Col. W. H. A Lethæan Apocalypse	357
Gifford Lectures, The. Reported. John Sandison	243
God, A Vain Search for. Hermann Balz	28
God is Love. A Hymn	702
God of Iron, The. A Hymn. With Music	188
Godward. A Hymn. With Music	128
Goldbeck Robt. American War March	384
Gotama the Buddha, The Canonical Account of. Albert J. Edmunds ..	485
Guimet Museum of Religions, The. With Portrait. Theodore Stanton ..	669
Halsted, Dr. George Bruce. Science on the Conduct of Life, 65.—Loba- chévski. With Portrait	411
Harney, George Julian. Obituary Notice. Thomas J. McCormack	116
Heart of Man as Mirrored in Religious Art, The. Illustrated. Paul Carus ..	236
Heinemann, A. H. The Indian Question	756
Howarth, Prof. I. W. A Great Social Need	224
Huc and Gabet, Travels of. Illustrated. Paul Carus	418
Hutchinson, Dr. Woods. Courage the Chief Virtue	193
Immortality. A Hymn. With Music. P. Carus	58
Indian Question, The. A. H. Heinemann	756
Intellections. J. W. Powell	641
Israel, History of the People of. From the Beginning to the Destruction of Jerusalem. C. H. Cornill	10, 80, 166, 257
Japanese Posters. The Pure Land. Mishima. Frontispiece to No. 503.— The Western Paradise. K. Suzuki. Frontispiece to No. 505.	

Jenkins, Richard. Nomothicism. With Editorial Comments.....	378
Lane, Charles Alva. Prognosis. A Poem. 247.—Nescience. A Poem. 696.	
Lao-Tze. His Life and Philosophy. With Portrait. Paul Carus.....	306
Laplace, Pierre Simon de. Biographical Sketch. With Portrait. Thomas J. McCormack.....	54
Lévy-Bruhl, L. Nicolas Malebranche. With Portrait. 543.—Blaise Pascal. With Portraits. 582.—Pierre Bayle. With Portrait. 653.—Fontenelle. With Portrait. 705.	
Lobachévski. With Portrait. George Bruce Halsted.....	411
Lord's Prayer, The. Illustrated. Paul Carus.....	491
Louise, Queen. A Posthumous Sketch. Illustrated. Herbert Tuttle.....	129
MacDonald, Arthur. Émile Zola. Illustrated.....	467
Mach, Prof. Ernst. The Phenomena Attending the Flight of Projectiles. Illustrated.....	150
Malebranche, Nicolas. With Portrait. L. Lévy-Bruhl.....	543
McCaslin, Mattie. Baby and Sunbeam. A Poem.....	190
McCormack, Thomas J. Pierre Simon de Laplace. With Portrait. Biographical Sketch. 54.—Gaspard Monge. Biographical Sketch. With Portrait. 112.—George Julian Harney. Obituary Notice. 116.—Savonarola. Illustrated. 274.—Mathematical Text-Books, On Some Recent Elementary. 308.—René Descartes. With Portrait. 501.—The Scientific Achievements of Blaise Pascal. 595.—Augustus De Morgan. A Biographical Sketch. With Portrait. 760.	
McCreery, J. L. Agnosticism in Verse.....	441
Mishima. Japanese Poster. The Pure Land. Frontispiece to No. 503.	
Missionary Work in the Interior of China. A Letter from the Thibetan Frontier. Peter Rijnhart.....	185
Monge, Gaspard. Biographical Sketch. With Portrait. Thomas J. McCormack.....	112
Murphy, J. Latin and American in the Roman Catholic Church.....	664
Nescience. A Poem. Charles Alva Lane.....	696
Noble, Edmund. Some Parallels Between Theology and Science.....	207
Nomothicism. Richard Jenkins. With Editorial Comments.....	378
Oni No Nem Butzu. The Dunning Devil. C. Pfoundes.....	381
Oriental Question, A Chinese Scholar on the. Tan Tek Soon.....	574
Oswald, Dr. Felix L. West-Indian Gorillas.....	714
Pascal, Blaise. With Portraits. L. Lévy-Bruhl.....	582
Pascal, Blaise. the Scientific Achievements of. With Diagrams. Thomas J. McCormack.....	595
Payne, William Morton. Subject and Object. A Sonnet.....	336
Perception, Fallacies of. With Diagrams. J. W. Powell.....	720
Pfoundes, Capt. C. The Chinese a Paradox. A Causerie Apropos of Recent Events. With Illustration. 248.—Oni No Nem Butzu. The Dunning Devil. 381.	
Pictorial Documents of the Sixteenth Century by Native Artists of Ancient Mexico. Illustrated. Paul Carus.....	746
Powell, Major J. W. Chuar's Illusion. 577.—Intellections. A Study in the Psychology and Philosophy of Judgments. 641.—Fallacies of Perception. With Diagrams. 720.	
Prognosis. A Poem. Charles Alva Lane.....	247

	PAGE
Projectiles, Phenomena Attending the Flight of. Illustrated. Ernst Mach..	150
Psalms in Universal Literature, The. C. H. Cornill.....	449
Ratzel's History of Mankind. With Illustration. Paul Carus.....	118
Reason Why Abbé Charbonnel Failed, The. Paul Carus.....	300
Religion of the Future, The. Lucien Arréat.....	97
Religion of the Future, The. A Hymn. With Music.....	571
Rijnhart, The Rev. Peter. Missionary Work in the Interior of China. A Letter from the Thibetan Frontier.....	185
Rodriguez, Dr. D. F. The Opinion of a Cuban on Annexation.....	700
Roman Catholic Church, Latin and American in the. J. Murphy.....	664
Salvation, the Greek Idea of. Illustrated. Paul Carus.....	675
Sandison, John. The Gifford Lectures. Reported.....	243
Savonarola. Illustrated. Thomas J. McCormack.....	274
Science and Providence. Extracts from a Sermon by the Rev. Frank M. Bristol.....	509
Science on the Conduct of Life. George Bruce Halsted.....	65
Smith, Oliver H. P. Unfurl the Flag. 448.—God is Love. 702.	
Social Museum, The Paris. With Portrait of Count Chambrun. Theodore Stanton.....	505
Social Need, A Great. I. W. Howerth.....	224
Solomon, The Judgment of. Moncure D. Conway.....	72
Solomon, The Wives of. Moncure D. Conway.....	200
Solomonic Literature. Moncure D. Conway.....	72, 172, 200, 321, 385, 556
Song of Songs, The. C. H. Cornill.....	371
Spanish War, A Few Suggestions Regarding the. Paul Carus.....	436
Stanton, Theodore. Victor Charbonnel, 293.—University Reform in France, 375.—The Paris Social Museum. With Portrait of Count Chambrun, 505.—Prof. Gaston Bonet-Maury. With Portrait, 630.—The Guimet Mu- seum of Religions, Paris. With Portrait, 669.	
Subject and Object. A Sonnet. William Morton Payne.....	336
Suzuki, K. Japanese Pöster. The Western Paradise. Frontispiece to No. 505.	
Buddhist Reawakening in India and Ceylon, Symptoms of a. Paul Carus....	511
Tan Tek Soon. A Chinese Scholar on the Oriental Question.....	574
Theology and Science, Some Parallels Between. Edmund Noble.....	207
Thibet, The First Christian Missionaries in. Illustrated. Paul Carus.....	418
Tuttle, Prof. Herbert. Queen Louise. A Posthumous Sketch. Illustrated..	129
Unfurl the Flag. A New National Hymn.....	439, 448
University Reform in France. Theodore Stanton.....	375
Vatican, New Year's Receptions at the. G. M. Fiamingo.....	353
Vegetarianism. Paul Carus.....	565
Wenley, Prof. R. M. John Caird. An Appreciation. With Portrait.....	629
West-Indian Gorillas. Felix L. Oswald.....	714
Zola, Émile. A Study in the Science of Man. Illustrated. Arthur MacDonald	467

BOOK-REVIEWS, NOTES, CORRESPONDENCE, ETC.

Adamson, Edward. Logical Copula and Quantification of the Predicate.....	64
Addams, Jane. Ethical Survivals in Municipal Corruption.....	320
Anglo-Saxon Alliance, The.....	575
<i>Année Biologique</i>	700
<i>Année Philosophique</i>	699

<i>Année Psychologique</i>	699
<i>Annual Literary Index, The</i>	64
Arréat, Lucien. <i>Les Croyances de Demain</i>	318
Arthur, Joseph Charles. <i>Living Plants and Their Properties</i>	382
Avatars, <i>The</i>	121
Bailey, G. H. <i>Tutorial Chemistry (Non-Metals). Part II.</i>	445
Beethoven Portrait. No. 511.....	
Beman, Prof. W. W. <i>Plane and Solid Geometry, 311.—Higher Arithmetic.</i>	313
Berkowitz, H. <i>Kiddush or Sabbath Sentiment in the Home</i>	766
Bibelot Series.....	61, 447, 576
Biddle, Anthony Drexel J. <i>The Madeira Islands</i>	125
Blondeau, Cyrille. <i>L'Absolu et Sa Loi Constitutive</i>	637
Bonney, Florence Peoria. <i>Philosophy. A Poem</i>	126
Boutroux, Emile. <i>Etudes D'Histoire de La Philosophie</i>	637
Briggs, William. <i>Tutorial Chemistry (Non-Metals). Part II., 445.—Tutorial Trigonometry, 313.</i>	
Brinton, Daniel G. <i>Maria Candelaria</i>	123
Brucker, Joseph. <i>Johannistrieb</i>	256
Bryan, G. H. <i>Tutorial Trigonometry</i>	313
Canavarró, The Countess de S.....	254
Candlin, The Rev. George T. <i>Chinese Fiction</i>	575
Carruth, Prof. W. H. <i>Schiller's William Tell</i>	701
Chinese Philosophy. Paul Carus.....	192
Converse, C. Crosat. <i>Unfurl the Flag. Appendix to No. 506.</i>	
Cornill, Carl Heinrich. <i>History of the People of Israel</i>	254, 694
Cornill's <i>History of the People of Israel, Questions and Answers on</i>	314
Criminal Anthropology.....	512
Crooker, J. H. <i>The Growth of Christianity</i>	64
Danson, J. T. <i>The Wealth of Households</i>	448
Davis, Kate Buffington. <i>Practical Vegetarian Cookery</i>	63
Deakin, Rupert. <i>Edition of Euclid</i>	310
Dharmapála, The Anagárika H. <i>Unjustly Criticised</i>	640
Donkhobortai Fund of Tolstoi.....	768
Ebers, Dr. George. <i>Obituary Notice</i>	576
Economic Classics, Macmillan's.....	444
Edmunds, Albert J. <i>Documents in the History of Religion. 256.—The Antiquity of the Buddhist Nativity Sutta. 701.</i>	
Eimer, Prof. Theodore. <i>On the Impotence of Natural Selection in the Formation of Species. 192.—Obituary Notice. 448.</i>	
Espinas, Alfred. <i>La Philosophie Sociale du 18^{me} Siècle et La Révolution</i>	636
Eucken, Prof. Rudolph. <i>Spiritual Man at the Close of the Nineteenth Century</i>	60
Euclid.....	310
Eutropus, <i>The Tombstone of</i>	63
Fletcher, H. <i>That Last Waif</i>	767
Fox, Norman. <i>Christ in the Daily Meal</i>	445
Freytag, Gustav, A Lutheran Minister on.....	765
Friedenker-Almanach.....	64
Gallagher, Francis W. <i>Spiritual Catholicism</i>	639
Goblot, Edmond. <i>Essai sur La Classification des Sciences</i>	635
God, The Supersonal. Paul Carus.....	126
Goldbeck, Robert. <i>American War March. Supplement to No. 505.</i>	
Guthrie, William Norman. <i>Modern Poet Prophets</i>	446
Har Nārāyana. <i>The Vedic Philosophy, or An Exposition of the Sacred and Mysterious Monosyllable A. U. M.</i>	124
Hopkins, Prof. <i>Criticism of Dharmapála</i>	640
Hüppe, Ferdinand. <i>Rudiments of Bacteriology</i>	254
Hutchinson, Woods. <i>The Gospel According to Darwin</i>	254
Jæger, Gustav. <i>Problems of Nature</i>	124
Lagrange, Joseph Louis. <i>Lectures on Elementary Mathematics</i>	572
Lao-Tze's Tao-Teh-King. Paul Carus.....	254
Leon, Jesus Díaz de. <i>Works of</i>	123

	PAGE
Literary Index, The Annual.....	445
Martin, Alfred W. Ideals of Life, or the Soul's Way to God.....	125
Matthew Arnold and the Spirit of the Age.....	446
McCabe, Joseph. Modern Rationalism.....	576
Milhaud, Dr. G. <i>Essai sur les conditions et les limites de la certitude logique.</i> 634.— <i>Le Rationnel: Etudes complémentaires à l'essai sur la certitude logique.</i> 634.	
Ministers' Union of All Denominations, A.....	638
Mishima. Colored Japanese Poster.....	256
Monist, The October. 638.—The April. 318.	
Mullick, Bulloram. The Landmarks of Ethics According to the Gita.....	124
Murché's Science Readers.....	62
Nägeli, Carl. A Mechanico-Physiological Theory of Organic Evolution.....	573
Narasu, P. L. "The Avatars" (with editorial note).....	121
New World Review of <i>Buddhism and Its Christian Critics</i>	640
Olmstead, Dwight Hinckley. The Protestant Faith, or Salvation by Belief..	446
Pfouendes, Capt. C.....	254
Polychrome Bible.....	126
Portrait Series, The New Large Philosophical and Psychological.....	318
Prang's Christmas Cards.....	768
Pratt, Mara L. Storyland of Stars.....	62
Préaubert, E. <i>La Vie, Mode de Mouvement. Essai D'Une Théorie Physique des Phénomènes Vitaux.</i>	637
Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, The.....	64
Rehmke, Dr. Johannes. Present Culture in Its Relation to Philosophy.....	60
Renan's Life of Jesus.....	447
Roy, Mrs. Chandra. Mahabharata.....	125
Savage, The Rev. Minot J. Religion for To-day.....	446
Schiller's William Tell.....	701
Schopenhauer's Wisdom of Life.....	447
Sewanee, English Club of.....	446
Sherman, Caroline K. Dante's Vision of God.....	64
Sickels, David Banks. Leaves of the Lotus.....	383
Smith, Prof. D. E. Plane and Solid Geometry. 311.—Higher Arithmetic. 313.—His Collection of Portraits of Mathematicians. 640.	
Smith, Oliver H. P. Unfurl the Flag. Appendix to No. 506.	
Smithsonian Institution, Annual Reports of.....	444
Socialism and Births.....	123
Sodo Sect, Principles of.....	766
Solomonic Literature. Paul Carus.....	443
Spain, Note on the War With. From an Army Officer.....	317
Speer, William. Arithmetics.....	309
Sutra of Buddha's Last Instructions.....	766
Suzuki, K. Colored Japanese Poster.....	256
Sylvester Memorial.....	120
Taber, Henry M. Faith or Fact.....	447
Tilton, Theodore. The Complete Poetical Works.....	191
Trumbull, M. M. Portrait of.....	192
Tuttle, Mrs. Herbert. Queen Louise Pictures.....	192
Védéha Mahā Sthavira. Samata Kūta Warnanā.....	124
Wachmeister, The Countess Constance. Practical Vegetarian Cookery.....	63
Welby Prize.....	640
Zola, Émile. His Philosophy and Religion.....	512



PIERRE SIMON DE LAPLACE.

1749-1827.

The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XII. (NO. 1.)

JANUARY, 1898.

NO. 500

SOLOMONIC LITERATURE.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

AN ENGLISH LADY of my acquaintance, sojourning at Baalbek, was conversing with an humble stonecutter, and pointing to the grand ruins inquired, "Why do you not occupy yourself with magnificent work like that?" "Ah," he said, "those edifices were built by no mortal, but by genii."

These genii now represent the demons which in ancient legends were enslaved by the potency of Solomon's ring. Some of these folk-tales suggest the ingenuity of a fabulist. According to one Solomon outwitted the devils even after his death, which occurred while he was leaning on his staff and superintending the reluctant labors of the demons on some sacred edifice. In that posture his form remained for a year after his death, and it was not until a worm gnawed the end of his staff, causing his body to fall, that the demons discovered their freedom.

If this be a fable, a modern moral may be found by reversing the delusion. The general world has for ages been working on under the spell of Solomon while believing him to be dead. Solomon is very much alive. Many witnesses of his talismanic might can be summoned from the homes and schools wherein the rod is not spared however much it spoils the child, and where youth's "flower of age" bleaches in a puritan cell because the "wisest of men" is supposed to have testified that all earth's pleasures are vanity. And how many parents are in their turn feeling the recoil of the rod, and live to deplore the intemperate thirst for "vanities" stimulated in homes overshadowed by the fear-of-God wisdom for which Solomon is also held responsible? On the other hand, what parson has not felt the rod bequeathed to the sceptic by the king

whom Biblical authority pronounces at once the worldliest and the wisest of mankind?

More imposing, if not more significant, are certain picturesque phenomena which to-day represent the bifold evolution of the Solomonic legend. While in various parts of Europe "Solomon's Seal," survival from his magic ring, is the token of conjuring and fortune-telling impostors, the knightly Order of Solomon's Seal in Abyssinia has been raised to moral dignity by an emperor (Menelek) who has given European monarchs a lesson in magnanimity and gallantry by presenting to a "Queen of the South" (Margherita), on her birthday, release of the captives who had invaded his country. While this is the tradition of nobility which has accompanied that of lineal descent from the Wise Man, his name lingers in the rest of Christendom in proverbial connexion with any kind of sagacity, while as a Biblical personality he is virtually suppressed.

In one line of evolution,—whose historic factors have been Jahvism, Pharisaism, and Puritanism,—Solomon has been made the Adam of a second fall. His Eves gave him the fruit that was pleasant and desirable to make one wise, and he did eat. Jahveh retracts his compliments to Solomon, and makes the naïve admission that deity itself cannot endow a man with the wisdom that can ensure orthodoxy, or with knowledge impregnable by feminine charms (Nehemiah XIII.); and from that time Solomon disappears from canonical Hebrew books except those ascribed to his own authorship.

That some writings attributed to Solomon,—especially the "Song of Songs" and "Koheleth" (Ecclesiastes),—were included in the canon, may be ascribed to a superstitious fear of suppressing utterances of a supernatural wisdom, set as an oracle in the king and never revoked. This view is confirmed and illustrated in several further pages, but it may be added here that the very idolatries and alleged sins of Solomon led to the detachment from his personal self of his divinely-conferred Wisdom, and her personification as something apart from him in various avatars (preserving his glory while disguising his name), an evolution culminating in ideals and creeds that have largely moulded Christendom.

The two streams of evolution here suggested, one issuing from the wisdom books, the other from the law books, are traceable in their collisions, their periods of parallelism, and their convergence,—when, however, their respective inspirations continue distinguishable, like the waters of the Missouri and the Mississippi after they flow between the same banks.

The present essays by no means claim to have fully traced these lines of evolution, but aims at their indication. The only critique to which it pretends is literary. The studies and experiences of many years have left me without any bias concerning the contents of the Bible, or any belief, ethical or religious, that can be affected by the fate of any scripture under the higher or other criticism. But my interest in Biblical literature has increased with the perception of its ethnically composite character; and I believe that I have made in it a few discoveries which I herewith submit to the readers of *The Open Court*.

Solomon.

There is a vast Solomon mythology: in Palestine, Abyssinia, Arabia, Persia, India, and Europe, the myths and legends concerning the traditional Wisest Man are various, and merit a comparative study they have not received. As the name Solomon seems to be allegorical, it is not possible to discover whether he is mentioned in any contemporary inscription by a real name, and the external and historical data are insufficient to prove certainly that an individual Solomon ever existed.¹ But that a great personality now known under that name did exist, about three thousand years ago, will, I believe, be recognised by those who study the ancient literature relating to him. The earliest and most useful documents for such an investigation are: the first collection of Proverbs, x-xxii. 16; the second collection, xxv-xxix. 27; Psalms ii., xlv., lxxii., evidently Solomonic; 2 Samuel xii. 24, 25; and 1 Kings iv. 29-34.

As, however, the object of this essay is not to prove the existence of Solomon, but to study the evolution of the human heart and mind under influences of which a peculiar series is historically labelled with his name, he will be spoken of as a genuine figure, the reader being left to form his own conclusion as to whether he was such, if that incidental point interests him.

The indirect intimations concerning Solomon in the Proverbs and Psalms may be better understood if we first consider the historical books which profess to give an account of his career. And the search naturally begins with the passage in the Book of Kings just referred to:

"And God gave Solomon wisdom and intelligence exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even as the sand on the seashore. And Solomon's wisdom excelled

¹ The name given to him in 2 Sam. xii. 25, "Jedidiah," by the prophet of Jahveh, is, however, an important item in considering the question of an actual monarch behind the allegorical name, especially as the writer of the book, in adding "for Jahveh's sake" seems to strain the sense of the name,—somewhat as the name "Jesus" is strained to mean *cavir* in Matt. i. 21, a fact suggesting the genuineness of name.

the wisdom of all the children of the East, and all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser than all men: than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol; and his fame was in all the surrounding nations. He spake three thousand parables, and his songs were a thousand and five. He spake of trees, from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes. And there came people of all countries to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and from all the kings of the earth, which had heard of his wisdom."

This passage is Elohist: it is the Elohim—perhaps here the gods—who gave Solomon wisdom. The introduction of Jahveh as the giver, in the dramatic dream of Chapter iv., alters the nature of the gift, which from the Elohim is scientific and literary wisdom, but from Jahveh is political, related to government and judgment.

As for Mahol and his four sons, the despair of Biblical historians, they are now witnesses that this passage was written when those men,—or perhaps masculine Muses,—were famous, though they are unknown within any period that can be called historical. As intimated, they may be figures from some vanished mythology Hebraised into Mahol (*dance*), Ethan (*the imperishable*), Heman (*faithful*), Calcol (*sustenance*), Darda (*pearl of knowledge*).

In speaking of 1 Kings iv. 29-34 as substantially historical it is not meant, of course, that it is free from the extravagance characteristic of ancient annals, but that it is the nearest approach to Solomon's era in the so-called historical books, and, although the stage of idealisation has been reached, is free from the mythology which grew around the name of Solomon.

But while we have thus only one small scrap of even quasi-historical writing that can be regarded as approaching Solomon's era, the traditions concerning him preserved in the Book of Kings yield much that is of value when comparatively studied with annals of the chroniclers, who modify, and in some cases omit, not to say suppress, the earlier record. Such modifications and omissions, while interesting indications of Jahvist influences, are also testimonies to the strength of the traditions they overlay. The pure and simple literary touchstone can alone be trusted amid such traditions; it alone can distinguish the narratives that have basis, that could not have been entirely invented.

In the Book of Chronicles,—for the division into two books was by Christians, as also was the division of the Book of Kings,—we find an ecclesiastical work written after the captivity, but at different periods and by different hands; it is in the historic form, but really does not aim at history. The main purpose of the first

chronicler is to establish certain genealogies and conquests related to the consecration of the house and lineage of David. Solomon's greatness and his building of the temple are here transferred as far as possible to David.¹ David captures from various countries the gold, silver, and brass, and dedicates them for use in the temple, which he plans in detail but which Jahveh forbade him to build himself. The reason of this prohibition is far from clear to the first writer on the compilation, but apparently it was because David was not sufficiently highborn and renowned. "I took thee from the sheepcote," says Jahveh, but adds, "I will make thee a name like unto the name of the great ones that are in the earth;" also, says Jahveh, "I will subdue all thine enemies." So it is written in 1 Chronicles xvii., and it could hardly have been by the same hand that in xxii. wrote David's words to Solomon: "It was in my heart to build an house to the name of Jahveh my God; but the word of Jahveh came to me saying, 'Thou shalt not build an house unto my name because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight; behold a son shall be born unto thee who shall be a man of rest, and I will give him rest from all his enemies round about: for his name shall be Solomon [Peaceful], and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days: he shall build an house for my name: and he shall be my son, and I will be his father; and I will establish the throne of his kingdom over Israel for ever.'" In Chapter xvii. Jahveh claims that it is he who has subdued and cut off David's enemies; his long speech is that of a war-god; but in the xxii. it is the God of Peace who speaks; and in harmony with this character all the bloodshed by which Solomon's succession was accompanied, as recorded in the Book of Kings, is suppressed, and he stands to the day of his death the Prince of Peace. To him (1 Chron. xxviii., xxix.) from the first all the other sons of David bow submissively, and the people by a solemn election confirm David's appointment and make Solomon their king.

Thus 1 Chron. xvii., which is identical with 2 Sam. vii., clearly represents a second Chronicler. The hand of the same writer is found in 1 Chron. xviii., xix., xx., and the chapters nearly identical in 2 Samuel, namely viii., x., xi.; the offence of David then being narrated in 2 Samuel xii. as the wrong done Uriah, whereas in 1 Chron. xxi. the sin is numbering Israel. The Chroniclers

¹This was continued in rabbinical and Persian superstitions, which attribute to David knowledge of the language of birds. It is said David invented coats of mail, the iron becoming as wax in his hands; he subjected the winds to Solomon, and also a pearl-diving demon.

know nothing of the Uriah and Bathsheba story, but the onomatopœists may take note of the fact that David's order was to number Israel "from *Beer-sheba* unto Dan."

The first ten chapters of 2 Chronicles seem to represent a third chronicler. Here we find David in the background, and Solomon completely conventionalised, as the Peaceful Prince of the Golden Age. All is prosperity and happiness. Solomon even anticipates the silver millennium: "The king made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones." It is only when the fourth chronicler begins (2 Chron. x.), with the succession of Solomon's son Rehoboam, that we are told anything against Solomon. Then all Israel come to the new king saying, "Thy father made our yoke grievous," and he answers, "My father chastised you with whips, but I with scorpions."

All this is so inconsistent with the accounts in the earlier books of both David and Solomon, that it is charitable to believe that the third chronicler had never heard the ugly stories about these two canonised kings.

In the First Book of Kings Solomon is made king against the rightful heir, by an ingenious conspiracy between a wily prophet, Nathan, and a wily beauty, Bathsheba,—Solomon's mother, whom David had obtained by murdering her husband.

It may be remembered here that David had by Bathsheba a son named Nathan (2 Sam., v. 14. 2 Chron. iii. 5), elder brother of Solomon, from whom Luke traces the genealogy of Joseph, father of Jesus, while Matthew traces it from Solomon. It appears curious that the prophet Nathan should have intrigued for the accession of the younger brother rather than the one bearing his own name. It will be seen, however, by reference to 2 Sam., xii. 24, that Solomon was the first legitimate child of David and Bathsheba, the son of their adultery having died. John Calvin having laid it down very positively that "if Jesus was not descended from Solomon, he was not the Christ," theologians have been compelled to the hypothesis that Nathan married an ancestress of the Virgin Mary, and that Luke gives *her* descent, not that of Joseph; but apart from the fact that Luke (iii. 23) begins with Joseph, it is difficult to see how the requirement of Calvin, that Solomon should be the ancestor of Jesus is met by his mother's descent from Solomon's brother. It is clear, however, from 2 Sam., xii. 24, 25, that this elder brother of Solomon, Nathan, is a myth. Otherwise he and not Solomon was the lawful heir to the throne (legitimacy being confined to the sons of David born in Jerusalem), and Jesus

would not have been "born King of the Jews" (Matt., i. 2) nor fulfilled the Messianic conditions. It is even possible that Luke wished to escape the implication of illegitimacy by tracing the descent of Jesus from Solomon's elder brother. But the writer of 1 Kings i. had no knowledge of the Christian discovery that, in the order of legal succession to the throne, the sons of David born before he reigned in Jerusalem were excluded. Adonijah's legal right of succession was not questioned by David (1 Kings, i. 6).

When David was in his dotage and near his end this eldest son (by Haggith) Adonijah, began to consult leading men about his accession, but unfortunately for himself did not summon Nathan. This slighted "prophet" proposed to Bathsheba that she should go to David and tell him the falsehood that he (David) had once sworn before Jahveh that her son Solomon should reign; and while you are talking, says Nathan, "I will enter and fulfil" (that was his significant word) your declaration. The royal dotard could not gainsay two seemingly independent witnesses, and helplessly kept his oath. David announced this oath as his reason,—apparently the only one,—for appointing Solomon. The prince may be credited with being too young to participate in this scheme.

Irregularity of succession and of birth in princes appeals to popular superstition. The legal heir, regularly born, seems to come by mere human arrangement, but the God-appointed chieftain is expected in unexpected ways and in defiance of human laws and even moralities. David, or some one speaking for him, said "in sin did my mother conceive me," and the contempt in which he was held by his father's other children, and his father's keeping him out of sight till the prophet demanded him (1 Sam. xvi. 11) look as if he also may have been illegitimate. Solomon may have been technically legitimate, but in any case he was the son of an immoral marriage sealed by a husband's blood. The populace would easily see the divine hand in the elevation of this youth, who seems to have been himself impressed with the like superstition.

Unfortunately Solomon received his father's last injunctions as divine commands. At the very time when David is pictured by the Chronicler in such a saintly death-bed scene, parting so pathetically with his people, and giving such unctuous and virtuous last counsels to Solomon, he is shown by the historian of Kings pouring into his successor's ear the most treacherous and atrocious directions for the murder of certain persons; among others of Shimei, whose life he had sworn should not be taken. Shimei had once

called David what Jahveh also called him, a man of blood, but afterwards asked his forgiveness. Under a pretence of forgiveness David nursed his vengeance through many years, and Shimei was now a white-haired man. David's last words addressed to Solomon were these: "He (Shimei) came down to meet me at Jordan, and 'I swore to him by Jahveh, saying, 'I will not put thee to death 'with the sword.' Now therefore hold him not guiltless, for thou 'art a wise man, and wilt know what thou oughtest to do unto 'him; and thou shalt bring his hoar head down to the grave in 'blood."

Such according to an admiring annalist were the last words uttered by David on earth. He died with a lie in his mouth (for he had sworn to Shimei plainly "Thy life shall not be taken"), and with murder (personal and vindictive) in his heart. The book opens with a record that they had tried to revive the aged king by bringing to him a beautiful damsel; but lust was gone; the only passion that survived even his lust, and could give one more glow to this "man of blood," was vengeance. Two aged men were named by him for death at the hands of Solomon, who could not disobey, this being the last act of the forty years of reign of King David. His dying word was "blood." One would be glad to believe these things mythical, but they are contained in a record which says "David did that which was right in the sight of Jahveh "and turned not aside from anything that he commanded him all "the days of his life, save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite."

This traditional incident of getting Uriah slain in order to appropriate his wife made a deep impression on the historian of Samuel, and suspicious pains are taken (2 Sam. xii.) to prove that the illegitimate son of David and Bathsheba was "struck by Jahveh" for his parents' sin, and that Solomon was born only after the marriage. Even if the youth was legitimate, the adherents of the king's eldest son, Adonijah, would not fail to recall the lust and murder from which Solomon sprang, though the populace might regard these as signs of Jahveh's favor. In the coronation ode (Psalms ii.) the young king is represented as if answering the Legitimists who spoke of his birth not only from an adulteress but from an alien, a Hittite:

"I will proclaim the decree:
The Lord said unto me, 'Thou art my son;
This day have I begotten thee.'"

It is probable that the name Jahveh was inserted in this song

in place of Elohim, and in several other phrases there are indications that the original has been tampered with. The lines—

" Kiss the son lest he be angry
And ye perish straightway."

and others, may have originated the legendary particulars of plots caused by Solomon's accession, recorded in the Book of Kings, but at any rate the emphatic claim to his adoption by God as His son, by the anointing received at coronation, suggests some trouble arising out of his birth. There is also a confidence and enthusiasm in the language of the court laureate, as the writer of Psalm ii. appears to have been, which conveys an impression of popular sympathy.

It is not improbable that the superstition about illegitimacy, as under some conditions a sign of a hero's heavenly origin, may have had some foundation in the facts of heredity. In times when love or even passion had little connexion with any marriage, and none with royal marriages, the offspring of an amour might naturally manifest more force of character, than the legitimate, and the inherited sensual impulses, often displayed in noble energies, might prove of enormous importance in breaking down an old oppression continued by an automatic legitimacy of succession.

In Talmudic books (*Moed Katon*, Vol. 9, col. 2, and *Midrash Rabbah*, ch. 15) it is related that when Solomon was conveying the ark into the temple the doors shut themselves against him, of their own accord. He recited twenty-four psalms, but they opened not. In vain he cried, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates!" But when he prayed, "O Lord God, turn not Thy face from Thine anointed; remember the mercies of David thy servant" (2 Chron. vi. 42), the gates flew open. "Then the enemies of David turned black in the face, for all knew that God had pardoned David's transgression with Bathsheba." This legend curiously ignores 1 Chron. xxii., which shows that Jahveh had prearranged Solomon's birth and name, and had adopted him before birth. It is one of many rabbinical intimations that David, Bathsheba, Uriah, and Solomon, had become popular divinities,—much like Vulcan, Venus, Mars,—and as such relieved from moral obligations. Jewish theology had to accommodate itself ethically to this popular mythology, and did so by a theory of divine forgiveness; but really the position of Hebrew as well as Christian orthodoxy was that lustful David and Bathsheba were mere puppets in the divine plan, and their actions quite consistent with their being souls after Jahveh's own heart.

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.¹

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

BY PROF. C. H. CORNILL.

VII. The Maccabean Rebellion to the Establishment of the Hereditary High-Priesthood and Principality Under Simon.

WE HAVE PURSUED historical events as far as the point where Judea became a province of the Syrian empire of the Seleucidæ. We must now take a survey partly reminiscent and partly anticipative of the prevailing and rising spiritual forces of the time, since all the succeeding historical development is quite unintelligible without a clear conception of their nature and significance.

The most important of the spiritual forces in question is Hellenism. It lifted the ancient world out of its ruts, while the Orient in particular was entirely transformed by it. With it an absolutely new factor enters the history of the world. Its victories are not merely of the sword, but of the mind. The Assyrians, indeed, aimed at a systematic destruction of nationalities through their wholesale deportations and the resulting mixture of races; but these measures were taken solely with a political purpose: they wished to make other nations defenceless and harmless in order to maintain themselves in unimpaired possession of the supremacy. The Assyrians had no thought of extending the really important and highly developed Assyro-Babylonian civilisation, or of propagandising for Assyro-Babylonian language or religion; if the subjected races were docile and paid their tribute promptly, the aim

¹ Translated from the manuscript of Prof. C. H. Cornill, by W. H. Carruth of the University of Kansas.

of the Assyrian diplomacy was attained; they did not ask or desire more.

The conception of the nature of the State as a civilising power appears first in Nebuchadnezzar; and the Persian kings, continuing and extending his work, gave an admirable organisation to their empire; yet even this organisation was purely administrative. The Persian Government gave itself absolutely no concern for local and domestic affairs, neither did it ever anywhere attempt a blending of various nationalities: it permitted the Egyptians to be Egyptians undisturbed, the Jews Jews, and the Greeks Greeks, provided only they were and remained loyal Persian subjects.

Into these idyllic conditions came suddenly Hellenism. True, Alexander the Great was most scrupulously considerate of the religious views of conquered races, and it would never have occurred to him to put the Greek Zeus, for instance, in the place of the native gods of the Orient; and yet Alexander aimed clearly and consciously not only at conquering the Orient, but at Hellenising it. The universal empire which rose before his gifted and ardent spirit was to bring an organic blending of all nationalities into a new unity in which of course the Greek was to be the dominant factor fixing the character of the entire combination, but only in order to transmit to the whole world the treasures of the Greek intellect and the benefits of Greek civilisation.

In Alexander personally these ambitions are indeed reversed: he himself from a Greek became ever more and more an Oriental, so that the old Macedonian veterans who could not reconcile themselves to the altered and un-Greek conditions rebelled against him the year before his death; but his ambition was magnificent and became of incalculable importance in its results.

The successors of Alexander pursued this ambition deliberately: everywhere Greeks streamed in, everywhere there sprang from the soil new cities which, being settled exclusively by Greeks, spread a distinctly Greek net over the whole Orient, in the meshes of which was entangled even more of the ancient Oriental life. And when we recall what these Hellenes had to offer to the Orient, then only shall we be able to estimate the whole significance of the intellectual process thus initiated and extending its effects ever more swiftly and vigorously. Even to-day our whole culture and civilisation is based upon Hellas and what that divinely-favored race gave to mankind. But at the time of which we are speaking, Greece itself had long passed its Golden Age, its intellectual and political meridian.

It is particularly significant, and not at all a matter of accident, that in order to take the aggressive the Greeks themselves had first to be made again presentable in history, if I may be allowed the expression, by the semi-barbarous people of the Macedonians. Hellenism was enabled to enter upon its victorious career of world-conquest only through the Macedonians and under their dominion.

It is just the case of the Greeks which has shown so very clearly whither a civilisation leads which lacks religious and moral foundations and is solely a product of unrestrained human spirit. With the intellectual perfection went hand in hand a moral decay whose dreadful depths could not be hidden even by the roses that flourished on the edge of the abyss. Aside from the sole shining figure of Epaminondas, who as a Bœotian was a semi-boor in the eyes of every genuine Hellene, Greek history from the end of the Peloponnesian War to the time of Alexander the Great presents a truly depressing picture of abjectness and worthlessness. Very soon the average Greek had of civilisation only the moral decay, of culture only the conceited arrogance. Only recall with what undisguised contempt the Romans looked down upon the Greeks when they first became acquainted with them. The Roman, who still retained the early Roman honesty and thoroughness, regarded every Greek as a mere blackguard, and Græculus became an epithet for the characterisation of a windy, puffed-up, characterless, unreliable fellow. □

□ And this ethical dissolution which may be called absolute decay, made rapid progress: they were soon on the verge of complete moral bankruptcy. And so the Greeks became for the Orient the bearers of civilisation indeed, but also the bearers of moral degeneration. Where they really predominated arose frivolity and scepticism and a moral laxity more repulsive under its varnish of culture than undisguised barbarism and untutored license. The result was what we may observe everywhere when differing nationalities are mixed without the mixture being controlled and protected by a strong hand: the good characteristics are lost, while there is a reciprocal exchange of bad qualities, so that the product finally combines in itself all the bad qualities of its constituent elements while the good are dissipated.

□ Now what was the relation of the Jewish people to this new factor in the world's history? In the first place, Judea was so fortunate as to become acquainted with Hellenism from its best side. Whatever there was good and great in Hellenism and its product

is inseparably associated with the name of Alexandria, the capital of the empire at this time and for Judea also. The first three Ptolemies, under whose rule Judea stood for eighty years (from 301 to 221) may fairly be designated as the most important historical personages of the entire Hellenistic period; with them and under them Hellenism was solely a civilising power and put itself at the service of Israel also. At the suggestion of the second Ptolemy, who wished to have in legible form in his model library at Alexandria among others also the sacred writings of his Jewish subjects, a beginning was made of translating the Old Testament into the universal language, Greek; and this is since the religious and national consolidation of the Jewish congregation by Ezra and Nehemiah the most important occurrence, perhaps, in the history of the Jewish people.

How well disposed these rulers were towards the Jews and how they favored them in every way, we have already learned. Accordingly the danger of Hellenisation was particularly keen. The Judaism of Ezra and Nehemiah is characterised by an element of gloomy severity and sharp asceticism: that was a soil on which the sunny serenity and merry joyousness of Hellenism was sure to be particularly attractive and to insinuate itself into the heart: it would not have been surprising if the Jews, dazzled by the new light, had deserted in masses. But nothing of the sort took place; religious training prevailed over secular culture, the Jew remained faithful to his God and his law.

The rejection of Hellenism was not at first abrupt and absolute, but there was a sharp and clear perception of the limit where Hellenism must halt. The connexion of the two reached a really touching expression in one of the most remarkable of the books of the Old Testament, the so-called Preacher of Solomon (*Ecclesiastes*), which was written about the year 200 B. C. by a Jew trained under Hellenistic influence. The author shows himself to be profoundly permeated with Hellenism. He has assimilated it as an element of his culture, he is indubitably influenced by Greek philosophy and Greek science, and expresses views which sound like consummate scepticism; but withal he holds inflexibly true to the faith in a personal God and a moral order of the universe; he gives up the solution of the riddle of existence and falls back resignedly upon the faith of his childhood, although it has shown itself to be inadequate. Truly, Old Testament piety has nowhere had a greater triumph than in this book which at the first glance seems so godless! Yes, Judaism had itself strength and resistance enough to

receive the ennobling and illuminating influence of Hellenism without surrendering to it.

About the same time as Ecclesiastes, was written the book Jesus Sirach. In this book genuine Jewish piety shines with such a mild and pure light, purged of all that is sharp and rude; piety and common sense are here combined into such broadly beautiful charity, morality ennobled by religion and religion manifested in morality, that one can see plainly that Judaism is not inherently hostile to culture, but that here too true religion and true culture join in a beautiful union fruitful for both sides.

For the Jewish people it was a vital question what attitude the dominant circles and especially the family of the high priest would take toward the new intellectual force. The influence of the high priest was tremendous. As a result of the central position which religion held in Judaism, whose one and all it was, the highest functionary in the religious congregation was inevitably the first personage in popular life also; besides, the office of high priest was the only permanent national institution which had its foundation within itself, independent of the heathen secular power. We are nowhere informed that the Persian or Egyptian governments interfered in the least with the appointment to the office of high priest, or even made it dependent upon their confirmation; it was evidently regarded as a Jewish local affair.

Thus the people and the heathen secular power grew accustomed to regarding the high priest as the very head and representative of the nation,—we learn from a casual note in Josephus that the Egyptian Government put also the entire financial management into the hands of the high priest, who had to deliver to the Egyptian Government the sum fixed as annual tribute and was held responsible for it. Accordingly it must be regarded as peculiarly fortunate that the office of high priest in the most critical period was in the hands of two worthy and truly pious men: Simon II., of whom his contemporary, Jesus Sirach, gives such a gratifying characterisation, and above all his son and successor, Onias III., a really luminous figure, who commanded the respect and admiration of even his enemies and the heathen, and who stood a steadfast rock and a fortress of law and faith in the midst of the surging and foaming flood.

This is perhaps the proper place to consider a local Jewish phenomenon which is suddenly present about the end of the second century without our having any positive reports regarding its origin: this is the Pharisees and Sadducees. It is worthy of note

that the first Book of the Maccabees, an historical authority of prime importance for us, nowhere mentions them, although we repeatedly think we have our hands on them. On the other hand they appear in the reign of the third Maccabee as complete and finished phenomena, and from this time on the whole of Jewish history turns about the opposition between these two rival tendencies. It is therefore indispensable for us too for a clear conception of them both.

According to the prevailing view, which has been influenced by the accounts of the Talmud, the Pharisees and the Sadducees are two Jewish sects, and their opposition purely religio-dogmatic; but this view cannot stand in the face of the oldest and most reliable accounts.

It is easiest to form a historically correct conception of the Sadducees. The very name is significant: it marks them as Zadokidæ (of the family of Zadok). The Zadokidæ are the family which furnish the high priest, and therefore the highest nobility of Israel—we have in the Sadducees the party of the aristocracy, the Jewish hereditary nobility. The Sadducees are primarily a purely political party; they are the ruling families whose business is the care for public affairs. They do not concern themselves much about Heaven, but devote themselves to being comfortable on the earth; they are the officials, the diplomats, the councillors of the secular state, the real support and the most faithful adherents of the Maccabean princes. If the demands of the heavenly king are not reconcilable with those of the earthly king, they decide for the latter: they are not so strict about law and religion if only state and people are maintained and prosper. Improbable as it may sound, they are the real patriots and the national party with the motto: Israel above all! Israel's honor, Israel's dignity, Israel's freedom! are their guiding stars.

Their antipodes, the Pharisees have accordingly been represented as simply democrats, the popular party, and it is undeniable that their influence upon the people was tremendous and that the people saw in them their intellectual leaders; but they were anything but democratic. The most hidebound aristocrat, the narrowest country squire did not meet the people with the scornful contempt shown by the Pharisees for the "am haarez," which to them were scarcely more than cattle.

It is the Pharisees who constitute an exclusively religious sect, which knows no political interests; their motto is: The law must be fulfilled even if Israel is ruined by it. Utterly blind to the most

elementary requirements of an actual state and of political life, they judge everything from a purely theoretical theological standpoint; whatever contradicts the letter of the law is evil and must be combated to the death, even though the most vital interests of Israel are at stake. The very name is highly significant. "Peruschim," or in the Aramaic popular idiom, "perischin," means the "set apart," the separatists. Separation from all that was heathen had been since the time of Ezra and Nehemiah the very vital nerve of Jewish piety, and this is the object of the whole ceremonial law. The Pharisees carried out this purpose with unswerving energy and to its utmost consequences; they are the virtuosi of religion and piety, whose calling it is to fulfil vicariously as it were what God demands of every Israelite, but what the common man under the demands of daily life cannot perform, the most complete, the most rigorous, and the most scrupulous observance of the law, and not simply of the written law, but of all the details derived from it partly by the demands of practice and partly by theoretical subtilising. The Pharisees are entirely isolated from the world and live exclusively in their ideas; but the fact that they have an idea behind them, which they bear and by which they are borne is their strength, and in it lies the secret of their power: they are the personified genius of Judaism and one of the strongest evidences of the omnipotence of idealism. As opposed to the practical realism of the Sadducees they represent a transcendental idealism, to which facts are nothing, ideas everything. In Pharisaism and the Talmud we have the outcome of the directions which Judaism took under Ezra and Nehemiah,—this fact was realised, and hence the tremendous moral influence of the Pharisees: they destroyed the newly rising Jewish State, but they saved Judaism.

But it is time to return to our history. Young Ptolemy V., from whom Antiochus took Palestine, was, as will be remembered, under Roman guardianship. After Hannibal had been finally subdued, and Philip of Macedon also defeated in the battle of Cynoscephalæ, 197, Antiochus considered it advisable to make some concessions to the Roman demands; therefore he betrothed his daughter Cleopatra to young Ptolemy, and promised to give her the conquered province as dowry. The marriage was performed in the year 193, but Antiochus had no thought of keeping his word; he did indeed give his daughter the half of the revenues for pin money, but the province remained in Syrian hands. But his hour had come.

In the year 190, in the murderous battle at Magnesia on the

Sipylus, the thoroughly hollow and innerly rotten glory of the Seleucidæ sank in the dust before the Roman swords, and the only care of Antiochus was thenceforth to comply with the immense demands of Rome. While raising forced loans from the temples for this purpose he was slain in Elymais by the enraged populace. His son and successor, Seleucus IV., a quite insignificant and indolent fellow, accepted as an unfortunate inheritance, the obligation to the Romans and fulfilled it in a similar fashion.

And now once more we learn something direct about Judea. Here too Hellenism had made immense progress even among the priests. There were not a few of them who had already adopted Greek names and could scarcely wait for the time when Jerusalem should be a Greek city and they should be free from the troublesome restraint of the law and of Jewish life. Therefore they hated bitterly the pious and loyal high priest Onias and intrigued against him in every possible way. The chief of this Hellenistic party, a priest by the name of Simon, called the attention of the Syrian officials to the treasures of the temple in Jerusalem, and in fact Seleucus sent a certain Heliodorus to Jerusalem to look after things and to materially lighten the temple treasury. The purpose was never accomplished: the second Book of Maccabees tells a marvellous tale of how three angels checked the plundering Heliodorus in his course. Now Simon denounced Onias as a conspirator and traitor, and as the Syrian officials gave him all possible support it came to bloodshed in the streets of Jerusalem. At this Onias himself started upon the way to Antiochia in order to represent his and the people's cause in person. Meantime there had been a change of rulers there. Heliodorus had poisoned Seleucus and raised himself to the throne. The rightful heir, Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, had been sent to Rome as a hostage; then the younger brother of Seleucus, Antiochus, overthrew the regicide, but kept the throne for himself, calling himself Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. This took place in the summer of 175.

Antiochus Epiphanes became a most fateful personage for Jewish history, and there are still disputes as to what his real motives were. Even to his contemporaries this prince was a psychological riddle. The great historian Polybius, who knew him personally, gives a detailed characterisation of him, showing forth the most contradictory traits. Popular wit explained the matter by changing his name Epiphanes to Epimanes, that is, the crazy, the fool, and in fact the whole description of Polybius gives the impression that Antiochus was not really malicious and corrupt, but

rather afflicted with a mental defect, whimsical and irresponsible and not accustomed to submit to any sort of restraint. There even appears in him a leaning to coarse humor which we may almost characterise as waggishness, and which is indeed very unbecoming in a king. They are regular boys' capers which Antiochus cut for his own royal entertainment. We need not expect to find any more serious thought or any more profound purpose in this thoroughly superficial and flippant character.

Before such a ruler Onias was to plead his case. But he was accompanied to Antiochia by his younger brother, Jason. As his Greek name indicates, Jason was a leader of the Hellenistic faction: he promised Antiochus a great sum of money and an energetic Hellenising of the Jews besides, if he would depose his brother and make him high priest. Antiochus could not resist such a temptation: Onias was detained in Antiochia, and Jason returned to Jerusalem as newly appointed high priest.

The work of Hellenisation was now begun under high pressure, theatres and gymnasia were built at Jerusalem, so that not even the priests paid any more attention to the altar and its service, but played ball and other games and pursued various physical exercises in the gymnasium. This Jewish high priest went so far in his catholicity as to send a sacrifice to the Tyrian Melkarth. When Antiochus on a certain occasion came to Jerusalem he was received with great rejoicings and welcomed in a wholly Greek fashion, with games and torch dances.

But the glory of Jason was not to last long. Only three years passed when a certain Menelaus outbid him and offered Antiochus still greater sums; forthwith Jason was deposed and the more generous Menelaus appointed. Menelaus was a brother to Simon, who is already known to us as the chief opponent of Onias; he raged like a wild beast against the faithful, according to the drastic expression of the second Book of the Maccabees. But soon he too was in close straits. When Antiochus tried to collect the larger sum promised he was unable to pay, and Antiochus forthwith took action against him in Antiochia and deposed him. But Menelaus was not at loss what to do. When the king had left his capital he bribed the officials who had the decision in the king's absence, had Onias murdered and was reinstated in his office; a deputation which accused him was simply executed. So Menelaus was again high priest, and pursued his career more shamelessly than before.

But now we must again cast a glance at the political occurrences. Ptolemy V., the husband of the Syrian Cleopatra, sister

of Antiochus Epiphanes, died in 180, and his widow seven years later. Antiochus offered himself to his two Egyptian nephews as guardian, but the Egyptians would have none of this, demanding back instead, Palestine as the inheritance of the deceased queen. So there resulted wars between Antiochus and his nephews for four successive years. This was at a time when the Romans were engaged in the second Macedonian War against King Perseus, and could not therefore pay any attention to Oriental affairs.

The fortunes of these Syro-Egyptian wars do not belong here; in the second, 170 B. C., Antiochus was reported dead, and the deposed Jason seized the opportunity to recover the high-priesthood by force. He effected a breach in the walls of Jerusalem and inflicted dreadful slaughter, but was unable to capture it; he was obliged to flee and died in Sparta after a fugitive life full of adventure. Antiochus treated this as a rebellion against his authority: returning from Egypt frustrated, he vented his wrath upon the Jews, entered Jerusalem, plundered the temple and played fearful havoc there; Menelaus was more firmly established in his favor than ever. But two years later an end was to be put to his ambition. In the battle of Pydna the Romans had destroyed the Macedonian Empire, and now two words from the Roman ambassador Popilius Lænas were sufficient to make Antiochus resign his Egyptian schemes for ever.

Again the Jews had to endure the impotent wrath of the king against fate: a still worse massacre was perpetrated in Jerusalem; the whole city was plundered, its walls razed, and a Syrian garrison put into the city. And now Antiochus considered the occasion ripe for a master stroke. On the 27th of October, 168, he issued the insane decree which was intended to exterminate Judaism root and branch. All the sacred writings of the Jews were to be delivered up and destroyed, the exercise of the Jewish religion was forbidden on pain of death, all the Jews were to sacrifice to the Greek gods and the temple at Jerusalem was to become a sanctuary of Olympian Zeus. The abomination of desolation was actually established in the sacred place, and on the 25th of December, 168, the first sacrifice was offered to Zeus there—whether by the high priest Menelaus we do not know. The commands of the king were executed with unexampled severity and the subordinate functionaries of authority evidently took fiendish delight in harassing and tormenting in every imaginable way the Jews who were loyal to the law; one is reminded involuntarily of the dragonades under

Louis XIV. when one reads the accounts in the Books of Maccabees.

Thus the Jews were to be made Greeks by garrisons of occupation and executioners; but now the measure was full and with elemental power the rebellion burst forth.

The signal for revolt was given by Mattathias, an aged and respected priest in the little city of Modin. He slew the captain who was sent to Hellenise Modin and tore down the altar of Zeus. Then he cried with a loud voice: "Whoever is zealous for the law and will remain faithful to the covenant, let him follow me!" and marched with those who joined him to the mountains. The example had its effect. Everywhere the pious rebelled and withdrew into the mountains and wastes, a veritable "church of the desert."

Such a band was attacked by Syrian troops on the Sabbath; faithful to the law, they let themselves be slaughtered without raising a hand on the sacred day of rest. Thereupon Mattathias supported by popular decree promulgated the regulation that they were to defend themselves even on the Sabbath, and must do it when attacked. More and more pious enthusiasts gathered about him as a recognised leader. Now Mattathias marched about the country openly destroying the altars and taking the hostile initiative against heathen and Hellenists. But advanced in years as he was, he died in 167, in the very first beginnings of the agitation, leaving the leadership to his son Judas.

Judas Maccabæus is probably the greatest warrior whom the people of Israel ever produced; in him the primitive heroic spirit of Israel is revived. But he achieved more than ever it did. In the course of four hundred years the people had become entirely unused to war and weapons, yet with his volunteers, supported by nothing but their faith in God and in the final victory of His holy cause, Judas scattered the largest armies and won victory after victory. He was in truth a warrior of God, who regarded war as a sacred matter and drew his sword only for God and the oppressed faith, in this his pure and ideal inspiration combined with such genius in tactics and strategy, he calls to mind spontaneously the great champion of religion, Gustavus Adolphus. His picture is spotless: he did nothing that could throw an unfavorable light upon his character or tarnish his memory. He must be reckoned among the most ideal figures in all history.

Now that a new element had come into the matter with this youthful and fiery soul, the Syrians too gathered their strength to-

gether. The commandant of Jerusalem, Apollonius, collected all the available troops, but was defeated by Judas and himself slain; Judas wore all his life the sword of the defeated opponent. Seron, commandant of Syria, fared no better; despite the superiority of his numbers, his hosts were scattered at Bethhoron, and Judea was freed. This took place in the year 166 B. C.

Now Antiochus realised that earnest measures were necessary against the Jewish rebels; he himself crossed the Euphrates to plunder the rich temples there; Lysias, the imperial vicegerent, was to suppress the rebellion with half of the forces of the empire. At first Lysias sent three experienced generals: Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, with nearly fifty thousand men to Judea, to exterminate the Jews, and so impossible did resistance to this mighty force appear that dealers appeared from all quarters to buy up the captive Jews at an extraordinarily low price fixed in advance. But Judas did not lose courage nor his faith in God. He was stationed with his forces at Mizpah, the Syrians at Emmaus. Gorgias planned to surprise the Jewish camp by night with a small force, but Judas anticipated him and undertook the initiative with an attack on the Syrian camp which ended in a total defeat, so that the great army fled in a lamentable condition.

Then the imperial regent Lysias himself undertook the command and invaded Judea from the south with sixty-five thousand men. Judas had only ten thousand with which to oppose him, but again the victory was to the death-defying army; at Bethsura, southward of Jerusalem, Lysias too was defeated and had to seek safety in flight.

After this victory Judas considered the time come to wipe out the insult done the sanctuary: he marched to Jerusalem, and beneath the very eyes of the Syrian garrison, whom Judas held in check, the temple was consecrated anew, all the abominations of idolatry were removed, and on the 25th of December, 165, that is just three years after the first sacrifice had been offered to Olympian Zeus, once more a burnt offering was smoking according to the regulations of the law of Moses, a sweet savor to God, and this day became a fixed festival for Israel.

Judas restored the overthrown walls of Jerusalem and fortified also Bethsura, where he had won that magnificent victory, in order to block the approach to Jerusalem from the south. But this great success had serious results: everywhere in the surrounding districts began persecutions of the Jews, the Syrians attacking and slaying them. Accordingly Judas with his two brothers, Jonathan

and Simon, marched about chastising the heathen and bringing the persecuted Jews to Jerusalem and Judea, where they were received with rejoicings.

But there was still a sharp thorn in their flesh: the citadel of Jerusalem was still in the hands of the Syrians, and the garrison did the Jews much damage. So Judas set about besieging them. At this there came urgent calls for help to Antiochia, especially from the Hellenistic Jews, and Lysias determined to use all his forces to suppress the rebellion. He gathered 100,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 32 elephants, and took to the war with him the young king, Antiochus V., who had succeeded his father recently deceased. Again the attack was made from the south. The Syrians besieged Bethsura, and Judas was therefore obliged to leave Jerusalem and hasten to the aid of the hard pressed fortress.

The forces met at Bethzachariah. Although the Jews again performed marvels of bravery—Eleazar, a brother of Judas, fought his way through the whole host to a particularly large elephant upon which he supposed the young king to be, he killed the elephant and was himself crushed to death by the animal in its fall—they were utterly defeated and themselves besieged in Jerusalem. Bethsura fell, and Jerusalem also was in great straits, when events in the Syrian Empire brought relief.

Antiochus Epiphanes on his death-bed had formally bequeathed to his general Philip the guardianship of his son together with the regency. Accordingly Lysias made peace with the Jews in the name of the young king. They were granted free exit from the city and perfectly unrestricted exercise of their religion for all time, but the walls of Jerusalem were razed to the ground; the fortresses, of course, remained in the hands of the Syrians. In addition, Lysias executed the high priest Menelaus as the real instigator of the whole troublesome affair, and then marched upon Antiochia where he quickly conquered Philip. This was in the year 163.

With this event we are at a turning-point in affairs. The object for which the sword had been drawn was attained, and religious freedom for all times recognised. In fact, there was one group, the "pious" as they have been especially called, standing for exclusively religious interests, who were satisfied with this and wished nothing further. If the Syrians had proceeded with moderation and good sense, all would probably have remained in *statu quo*, and Judea would not have thought of shaking off the Syrian yoke. But shortsightedness and infatuation threw everything into confusion again.

In the year 162 Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV., the rightful heir, returned to his country, and soon Lysias and Antiochus V. ended their careers under the axe. Now came the question of appointing a new occupant of the high-priesthood. An Aaronite named Alcimus, accordingly in this respect qualified for the office, applied to Demetrius as sovereign for the tiara; Demetrius conferred it upon him and sent Bacchides with some troops to Judea.

The "pious" were the very ones who met Alcimus with confidence; but Alcimus was a Hellenist through and through and began his official career with an immoderate attack upon the "pious," so that Judas Maccabæus was compelled to resort to the sword again in self-defence. Alcimus did not feel secure and asked Demetrius for reinforcements. Nicanor was sent to Judea with a large army. He tried first to get possession of Judas by cunning, but Judas did not go into the trap, and so they met in the battle at Caphar-salama. Once more victory was favorable to Judas; Nicanor was obliged to retreat, and on his transit through Jerusalem uttered the most terrible threats against city and temple.

Strengthened by new forces, Nicanor took position at Beth-horon. Judas had but three thousand men at his disposal, but full of confidence in God he threw himself upon the superior force of the enemy. On the 13th of March there was a battle at Adasar; at the very beginning of it Nicanor fell, and the whole army poured out of the country in wild flight. So marvellous was this victory, so evidently was the hand of God in it, that the day was celebrated as the day of Nicanor.

By this time Judas was convinced that only separation from the Syrian Empire could give the people peace and permanence to religion, and this, political and national independence, but only as a guaranty and indispensable condition of religious freedom, becomes henceforth the conscious object of his struggle and contention.

Immediately after the battle of Adasar, Judas entered into negotiations with Rome, sending two ambassadors to the senate who were to establish a friendly alliance with Rome; the senate, to which any weakening of the Syrian power was welcome, gladly agreed to this. But when the ambassadors returned from Rome all was lost for the time being.

Scarcely had Demetrius received the news of the defeat at Adasar when in the very next month he sent Bacchides with a new and powerful army after Judas. Now the case seemed so hopeless that Judas's troops dwindled to 800 men. But Judas preferred an

honorable death to a life in disgrace. With his little band of desperate men he undertook the death struggle at Elasa; all day long the heroic band held its own and even won some points of advantage, but toward evening Judas fell, and with that the fate of the day was determined. His supporters were able to carry off in safety the corpse of the fallen hero and to bury him honorably in the tomb of his fathers at Modin; so even this last battle of Judas was not a real defeat, but his followers could not hide from themselves the fact that they were beaten and defenceless.

Now Alcimus continued his reign of terror, and the Syrian troops and commandants gave him hearty assistance in hunting down and murdering those of the national party. The latter chose Jonathan, the younger brother of Judas, as their leader and withdrew into the desert of Judah and to the east side of the Jordan. A third brother, John, was indeed slain by treachery, but Bacchides could win no permanent advantages in this guerilla war; therefore he had a number of cities fortified and occupied by strong Syrian garrisons and the children of the most prominent Jewish families taken as hostages to the citadel of Jerusalem. And when finally Alcimus died suddenly of apoplexy during the execution of some alteration on the temple, Bacchides left the country in May, 160.

Jonathan, who of course continued the struggle against the Hellenists with all the means at his disposal, must have made great progress in the next two years for in 158 the Hellenists again apply to Demetrius, who again sends Bacchides into the country.

Again Jonathan and Simon withdrew to the desert and carried on a guerrilla warfare so successfully and so skilfully that Bacchides caused the leaders of the Hellenistic party who had persuaded him to undertake the hopeless task, to be executed, and concluded with Jonathan a peace which gave the latter quite his own way in local affairs.

The Hellenistic administration in Jerusalem indeed remained under the wing of the Syrian garrison, but six miles from Jerusalem, at Mizpah, Jonathan set up a regular rival government and was soon *de facto* ruler of the country. And his highest hopes were to be surpassed by the favor of circumstances.

Demetrius was an energetic monarch, and a thorn in the flesh of his neighbors. And now an unparalleled comedy was played. In Smyrna lived an obscure young man, named Alexander Balas, who had a striking resemblance to Antiochus Epiphanes, and claimed to be his son. The kings of Egypt, Cappadocia and Pergamon actually backed this young man and set him up as claimant

to the throne, and the whole disreputable crew took the field against Demetrius in the summer of 153.

Now Jonathan was a welcome ally. First Demetrius courted him, appointed him Syrian prefect and returned the hostages. Jonathan immediately appeared before Jerusalem, received the hostages, expelled the Hellenists and began directly to rebuild the walls torn down by Antiochus and Lysias; only Bethsura remained in the hands of his opponents.

But Balas too made promises: appointed Jonathan high priest and sent him the purple robe and golden crown. Jonathan had no hesitation at receiving the pallium from such besmirched hands; at the feast of tabernacles, in the year 150, he appeared as high priest for the first time in public, and from this day the office of high priest was reserved to the family of the Maccabees until its extinction.

Thus Jonathan was recognised in fact as ruler of Judea. He remained faithful to Alexander and had no occasion to regret it; in the year 150 Demetrius fell and Alexander Balas was king in the empire of the Seleucidæ. The lucky swindler had the presumption to sue to Ptolemy for the hand of his daughter Cleopatra, and actually received it. When the marriage was celebrated Jonathan too was invited and was overwhelmed with honors by Alexander.

From this weakling who spent his reign in the most vulgar excesses there was no danger to be expected, but in the year 147 Demetrius II., son of the preceding Demetrius, appeared as claimant to the throne against Alexander. Jonathan remained on the side of Alexander and rendered him important aid: but in the year 145 the adventurer met a disgraceful death and Demetrius II. became king.

Jonathan had meantime ventured to besiege the citadel of Jerusalem, when he was summoned to appear before Demetrius. He actually presented himself, but did not immediately raise the siege; on the contrary, he managed to frighten Demetrius into fulfilling all previous concessions to him and received considerable extensions of his territory and freedom from taxation. Only the citadel of Jerusalem and a few fortresses remained in Syrian hands.

Soon Jonathan was able to show his gratitude. Demetrius had quickly made himself odious and a general rebellion broke out against him. Trypho, a general of Alexander Balas, set up the latter's little son as anti-king; even the troops in Antiochia deserted Demetrius, who was in such straits that he appealed to Jonathan for help and promised him in return the evacuation of all the

remaining places held by Syrian garrisons. Jonathan immediately marched to his aid, and his troops succeeded in suppressing the rebellion and in establishing Demetrius upon his throne. But now that the danger was past Demetrius had no intention to keep his word. Thereat Jonathan espoused the cause of Trypho, and waged war upon Demetrius so successfully that Jewish arms carried victory beyond Damascus, while his brother Simon finally captured Bethsura, so that the only Syrian garrison remaining was that in Jerusalem.

Jonathan sent an embassy to Rome to renew his alliance, and also made a treaty with Sparta. Trypho was grateful of course for the help he had received, confirmed the previous concessions and added new ones. But as the advantage turned more and more to his side he became suspicious of the growing power of his Jewish friend and ally. Trypho managed to persuade Jonathan that the maintenance of so large an army was unnecessary in view of their tried friendship. Jonathan actually allowed himself to be deceived, dismissed his troops, and went with only one thousand men to Trypho at Ptolemais. Trypho had the thousand men cut down, took Jonathan prisoner and moved immediately upon Jerusalem. Simon, the sole surviving brother, came out to meet him; Trypho told him that he had a financial claim against Jonathan, and that he would release Jonathan directly if the money were paid and Jonathan's sons given as hostages. The money and the hostages were actually given up to him, but he did not release Jonathan; on the contrary, he attempted to take Jerusalem by surprise, but this could not be carried out because of a sudden great snow-fall. Thereupon he had Jonathan and his sons murdered and returned to Syria. This happened in the winter of 143-142.

In Jonathan we have the real founder of the Maccabean state. He is not to be compared with his brother Judas in moral greatness, but he is a gifted statesman, who understood how to reach his ends by a shrewd use of circumstances, an important character and decidedly a great man.

After the death of himself and sons, Simon was his recognised successor. Simon naturally put himself into touch with Demetrius, and received from him the confirmation of all previous concessions and entire freedom in future from tribute, which was the recognition in fact of the independence of the Jews from the Syrian dominion. Simon captured the important fortress of Gazara, and finally, on the 23rd of May, 142, the citadel of Jerusalem also capitulated, and Simon celebrated his triumphal entry with great pomp.

Thus the last trace of the Syrian overlordship was extinguished, and Simon was the sovereign ecclesiastical and secular prince of the Jews. And this fact did not fail to receive formal and legal sanction. On the 18th of September, 141, took place a great popular assembly in which Simon was solemnly confirmed as permanent prince and high priest, and the office declared hereditary in his family. From that day there is again a national Jewish state, and the Jews now reckon dates from the high-priesthood of Simon. Rome, too, whither Simon immediately turned, formally and solemnly recognised him in his offices.

When Simon's father, Mattathias, took the sword twenty-six years before certainly no one would have foreseen the outcome. Will not the fact that the movement ended otherwise than it began finally bring down a judgment upon it? The spirit is not to be mocked, and nothing can hope for permanence which contains an inner and inherent contradiction. Soon the Maccabees found themselves compelled to combat the very spirit which had carried them and lifted them to the throne; but the idea is superior to violence, and the state of the Maccabees was wrecked upon this inner contradiction.

A VAIN SEARCH FOR GOD.

BY HERMANN BALZ.

I HAD LOST SIGHT of my school comrade a long, long time. We called him Satan on account of his Mephistophelian face, and he was proud of the name. He was a Jew, very slender, with olive complexion and dark, restless eyes. He was the youngest of us all, only twelve years, and we ridiculed him, but his absence would have been felt. His talents were not very deep, though he was a good scholar. But his mind had an uncommon agility. He had always a new idea, the winds from the four quarters filled his hand with the seeds of exotic trees of life, and he distributed them freely, for he himself had no use for them; all he could do was to grind them for their oil. He never thought to plant them and gather the harvest.

We were a gang of a dozen boys, between twelve and fifteen years, in our little German town, ambitious and full of idealism. The word philosophy electrified us, and when some mysterious expression from Schelling or Hegel fell amongst us, from all kinds of out-of-the-way-books which our curiosity had discovered, we debated on its meaning with youthful earnestness, revolving it in our heads during the night and reappearing with new explanations in the morning. There were no general meetings, but what was said between two and three made its way to the rest.

We did not return much wiser from these excursions into dark regions. But if we were poor philosophers, we were poets, or had at least the poetic enthusiasm. The world was for us a book of rhyme and rhythms. Our small weekly allowance of pocket-money, varying between five and ten cents, went all to the book-sellers, and each of us had his own province: the one possessed a collection of old German epics, another cultivated the eighteenth century, a third had got hold already of political satire. He was the

pike in our peaceful carp-pond, a sceptic in whom nothing was genuine but his liberalism and who wielded his sarcastic poetry, in imitation of his models, against us all.

Our friend the Jew—we scarcely allowed him the title, though he certainly deserved it—always busy with new devices and harmless machinations, was the first who started a journal, the *Lantern*, published once a week and copied by himself in his beautiful artistic handwriting. He wrote the editorial himself, verbose and with all stylistic embellishments, as a true son of his race. The rest of the paper was anecdotes and poetry taken from printed books, as he seldom had contributions from one of us.

But he had roused our ambition. And soon my intimate friend Robert and I opposed him by a rival publication. This was not an unfair action in itself: our intention was to carry out what he had only attempted, to fill the pages entirely with the products of our own imagination. Robert, who was thirteen years old, put in a long-winded novel of old Greek life, "*Mnesikles*." I perfectly remember the opening of the tale: a stranger, "we will call him *Mnesikles*," in the streets of Athens asking for the house of his friend and immediately falling into a political dispute about King Philip of Macedon. Robert was a genius of learning and noble-hearted, with his fresh round cheeks the joy of his teachers and the pride of me, his best friend, for many aspired to his intimacy. I had the lyric and dramatic department of our paper, to which after long deliberation we had given the name of *Peira* (experiment, attempt). Of course my great tragedy was from the Old Testament, and I dressed it like a big turkey with the fine herbs and more substantial chestnuts of juvenile aphorisms.

Nathaniel, the young Jew, did the writing for us, two copies which went from hand to hand among the subscribers who paid a dime a month. I am ashamed to say we did not pay Nathaniel for the pains he took, thinking him amply remunerated by the opportunity to read what he transcribed. He never complained and indeed wrote our numbers as nicely as his own, every single letter was a work of art done with the love of the artist. He did not even show indignation or heartache when we openly attacked his periodical in our columns. Whatever may have passed through his young and valiant heart,—when he delivered the copies, the words of mockery that caused him pain stood as firm and erect as ever on their little feet without a quiver in their fragile bodies.

He was a man, that boy of twelve, taking up the sad conditions of life in his helpless isolation; always gentle, never a tear.

And we thought he lacked the sense of honor, accepting without outward show of mortification whatever we threw on him. How sorry I am for our rudeness; it was nature's cruelty working in us, as it works in children, women, and love.

Our enterprise met with full success for a year, when I left our club, with its unwritten rules of friendly commerce, for another town, and the *Peira* ceased to appear. After I had been away another year, a letter from Nathaniel reached me: he addressed me as "Dear Sir" and told me a new literary paper was to be started under his direction, and that his standard for excellence was the *Peira*, still unrivalled in spite of all new attempts. "I want to make sure of your assistance," he continued, "the assistance of the greatest lyric genius of our time. If you will kindly add the strength of your name to the efforts of my feeble hand, I shall easily triumph over all the intrigues that are lying in my way with treacherous traps."

The compliments were absurd; if ever I felt elated over them, it is hard punishment I mete out for myself in publishing them now. But whence had the little man his phrases? I could not help admiring his business-like letter.

I am not proof against flattery, though it has always given me a kind of physical pain; besides, he had hit on the right time, for I was just in my first great love and had a regular lyric cold, the verses dropping from me through the channels of my brain with the certainty of water drops that fall from an icicle melting in spring. Nevertheless, I declined and am very much afraid I did so in the haughty language of the boy of sixteen who has already seen his little things printed in an obscure family-review.

Soon after I heard Nathaniel had gone to America. There were some letters to our mutual friend Robert from him, one of them stating that he was now on a newspaper. He may have been seventeen then, but his prematurity, his facility to adapt himself to any form required in literary routine work seemed to guarantee his future, and none of us who had been his school-fellows tortured himself with heavy reflections when he stopped writing. Thus I lost sight of Nathaniel. The rest of us held together in true friendship through the years of university-life and of our entrance into the world of fact and money. Youthful friendships endure longest, because they are formed at a time when the character is pure and uncorrupted. When later on time and human intercourse and the struggle for life have impaired the character, the old friend of early days still recognises in all its features the

portrait of juvenile beauty, even if it exists only in very slight traces. But whoever makes a new acquaintance in maturer years takes a character as it presents itself, unable to find out its once ideal sides.

* * *

Twelve years have passed. We have all awakened from our dreams and aspirations, only to see that no change is possible in the substance of our nature, that we cannot add, by our will, to our intelligence. To youth it appears as if the mental and the moral side of the mind are independent of each other; therefore, when young, we are so exacting with regard to moral conduct and men are judged as either good or bad. Little by little we apprehend by our own experience how closely all the human faculties are intertwined. How willingly we would be good, supremely good, as we cannot be great! And it is easy to follow our character where it is good in itself; we are generous, if it is in our nature, courageous if we are born so. But beyond our inborn virtues, how can we achieve perfection without a great, an all-comprising intelligence? It fills us with a wild stupor when first we realise that our errors, our faults, our vices come not so much from the heart as from weakness of mind. We read, "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak": Ah, how often it is just the contrary, flesh and feeling are misled by an erring spirit!

It is nature's fault that endowed us so purely, when mankind will not advance in its morality and happiness.

Twelve years had passed. I had recently come over from Europe to make a study of American journalism and had a busy time reading the newspapers, taking notes, and interviewing editors and reporters. One day, loitering through the streets of one of those young cities which have sprung into existence like Pallas Athena, in full armor, and ring with the clangor of a great battlefield, my eyes fell on the sign-board of a German gazette office. As I had read, the night before, some copies of the paper, a socialistic one, I entered the house, and having mounted a flight of dark, narrow stairs, I stepped into the editor's room. An ungenial aspect is common to all the ilk, but here an atmosphere of barrenness hung thickly around every object. In the corner by the door, on a dusty pile of newspapers, a strong-looking negro sat, chewing tobacco, and dozing away his time. When he lazily turned his reclining head toward me his black, dilated nostrils faced me like the muzzles of a double-barrelled gun.

Near the window, with his eyes on the door, stood the editor

behind a desk, an elderly man with grizzled beard. □ He wore a wide surtout but no coat under it. When I advanced he looked sternly on me, nor did his face grow more friendly when I stated my business. So, to win his favor, I told him I had read with great sympathy his noble appeal to his adherents that whatever party we follow we must do so in the spirit of universality, mindful of the precept to be the salt of the earth.

His eyes lightened and he offered me a seat. I was not long in recognising his intelligence as he began to speak. But when I looked on the poor surroundings and thought of the small influence which the man's work to all appearance had, I again felt the sadness of my old theory that the world is spared no stupidity whilst half of its talents are thrown away and wasted.

When the conversation had gone on for about an hour, it stopped for a moment. "You have a collaborator," I said to fill the pause, and pointed to another desk opposite his own.

The editor looked up. "Poor Nathaniel," he sighed and became silent again. "By the bye," he suddenly exclaimed, "he was from your province, as your dialect shows, from the south—a Jew and a gentle soul," he added pensively.

"You do not say Nathaniel L——?" I cried out.

"And didn't you say your name was Frank?" he began again without answering me. "Of course you did, you are Frank, his friend of boyhood days."

And he drew his chair closer and looked gravely but not without kindness in my face.

"What is all this?" I exclaimed, "how do you know me and what is the meaning of your seriousness?"

He pushed his chair back again and gave no answer.

"Nathaniel was taken to the insane asylum five months ago," he said at last.

There was a long silence between us. "Tell me more about it," I said at the end.

"Alas," he replied, "it brings back to me all the anguish I felt when I saw it nearing. He had become my friend since he came here, four years ago. I am an old bachelor, but then I had a feeling as if I had been married and as if the memory of my dead wife was hovering about him. He seemed related to me through an unknown person whom I might have loved and lost.

"He had been our correspondent before the paper engaged him," the man continued. "His articles had a peculiar charm besides their easy flow; not so very deep, but effusions of an open

heart, a childlike soul. They fully expressed our theories, which he had studied apparently with zeal, but his delicate fingers took out the stings that are the necessary weapon of any political party. At first I grumbled, I wanted more trenchant firmness and I sharpened his letters with a pungency of my own.

"He never complained of it. But as soon as he joined the Gazette definitively and began to work with me in the office, I came under his influence, though he was all submissive gentleness. On the second day I caught myself in the act of secretly observing him with sympathy, as he stood composing behind his desk, closely bent down to his paper to assure, as it were, the words that parted from his pen that his soul was still near them. Sometimes he looked at me with a wondering eye as I watched him, unaware in his modesty of the pleasure he afforded me.

"That day I felt it impossible to spoil his work by my stronger conceptions, and indeed henceforward I never did.

"We had not yet spoken of many things besides our business, when after a few weeks, I asked him how he had become a socialist.

" 'I was in search of God,' he answered. 'I have always searched the world for God, though I scarcely knew it. In the child it was curiosity but without a way, in the boy it became ambition but still without direction. But when I saw that I did not even win the hearts of my friends, I felt lonely. In that feeling I learned to understand my curiosity, my ambition, myself. For my loneliness was not so much the feeling of being excluded from access to the hearts of my friends, but something different: I could not help acknowledging their superiority, and when I thought why this was so, I could find no other explanation but that it came from God, that it was He who preferred them to me and had endowed them better. I felt neglected by God, therefore I bore their behavior towards me, for being with them seemed to bring me nearer to God Himself.

" 'I have never known what it means to converse with God personally, but only through His works, Nature or man, and yet it was He whom I began to seek, His own person, not His manifestations. When I came to America I was full of hope. Here, I thought, where nothing checks the greatest aspirations, I must find Him. Must not hearts beat higher in the land of the free and be more ready to show human sympathy as a gift from God and His love and kindness? Do they not call it God's own country?'"

"As he spoke, Nathaniel seemed to read his words somewhere

outside of himself. His eyes were far open, as when we see something strange which the eye of the soul however recognises as a thing familiar to its own life.

" 'God's own country,' he exclaimed. 'If it is, surely its responsibility is beyond another's. But it is not up to its task. I met with hunger and misery myself and endured it: but when I saw them in others my heart was wrung. What desire for love there is in the world, and of how little love are we capable, we who long for it! Gradually I found that God, whatever He is, cannot be a God of love. There would be infinitely more of it in the world if He were. He must have seen with a kind of curiosity or even bewilderment how in man, from that longing for love, arose the great virtues of which He, God, has nothing. Around His unmoved majesty He lets the world roll, curiously attentive to all the utterances of its life, and there behold, out of the narrowly encircled brain of man is developed something new, strange, and super-godly: compassion, love, kindness, justice.

" 'If we were sure of God's love, we could be sure also that His kingdom would come, spontaneously, from the human heart. But as it is, we cannot rely on the free and easy play of godly qualities within us. There is no other way to the fulfilment of love but to organise mankind, even by force. Duty must do what the free heart fails to perform. This is a sad truth, for what is duty else but a poor substitute for a great heart? It is thus I accepted socialism, though, after all, I scarcely know whether I am a socialist. I wish all that my friends say may be true. I am a socialist by heart only, and because I thought there must be such as believe in it. I sacrifice myself, for it is a sacrifice to believe in it.'

" 'This was a naïve statement for one employed on a socialistic paper. It embarrassed me, but I did not like him the less for it. How straightforward and simple he was!'

The editor made a pause and I tried in vain to break the silence. The whole story was an accusation against my former self. Surely I might have recognised the boy's desire for friendship as a thing superior to the usual ambitious strife in school circles. I might have seen that his restless doings were only acts of an anxious soul whom nobody allows a place to build his nest.

At last my interlocutor resumed his narrative:

" 'And then you became an atheist too?' I inquired.

" 'An atheist?' he replied. 'No, I am not an atheist, not as long as I can rejoice in beauty.'

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"There is some mysticism about it," he answered. "I had perhaps better not speak of it."

"Our friendship was soon established," the editor went on. "Not quite on equal terms though. I built the house, as it were, and he inhabited it. That was no selfishness on his part: from the rebuke he had experienced when a boy he must have lost all initiative in contracting friendships. His knowledge of human individualities, too, scarcely reached beyond the distinction of rude and gentle, as his modesty would not allow him to engage the deeper passions of a man in his behalf. When we were sitting together in the saloons behind our beer, with a third and fourth companion as the wind blew them in, Nathaniel, with his head between his hands, would look on his men as if he used their eyes as a telescope to explore the country behind, the *terra incognita* of their philosophy. He wanted to have it stretched out before him like a map. He smiled blandly at their bravadoes and perorations. He spoke with zeal himself, but without touching the centre of his own belief. Even when alone with me he held back.

"What is the good of looking for God?" I could perhaps ask him. "Is the world not large enough by itself? Why do you expand it to a monstrous immensity by adding a figure which admits of no limits?"

"God is the necessity of my life," he answered, "and I cannot argue his existence. God is not for me a preconceived idea which I pursue with stubbornness. Perhaps if I were better endowed I would not care for Him; it may be the lack of my talents only."

"I have met with people," I remarked, "who with an ideal turn of mind were yet not strong enough to satisfy it in the research of some science where they without doubt would have found material enough to dilate and to fill their soul. They became religious because they did not trust their strength. I will not speak of the moral side; but from the intellectual one religion is the easiest way to give the mind a great aim. I would not envy their happiness if they were aware of the psychological facts to which they owe it. All our comforts, though they have the strength of realities, are illusions, be they prayers or lines from Shakespeare or whatever else. But we, the unbelievers, submit to it as to life's melancholy, whereas our adversary cannot acknowledge it."

"His case is not mine," Nathaniel answered. "My want of God is not a moral but an intellectual one. It is not a new rule of

life I need, but something that enlarges my whole being. Nor do I believe in God because it is easiest ; I cannot even say that I have found him.'

" 'And your theory of the beautiful?' I asked smiling.

" He blushed a little.

" 'You are on a dangerous way,' I added more seriously.

" The house where he lived was on the outskirts of the city.

His room, whose antique furniture was somewhat out of joint and showed the impress of age, was vast, with three windows, all on one side. He had always kept a few flowers; but suddenly he became wild with a new enthusiasm: he had visited the botanical gardens in their fullest beauty and immediately resolved to lay out a diminutive specimen of it in his own room.

"All he could spare now went to the gardener's; the most beautiful and the most modest plants were equally in his favor: the floor, the walls, the ceiling, all were hidden under a luxurious growth of vines and flowers, and when I entered I felt like an ant in the grassy sea of the prairie.

"In this green isle and amid its many-colored nationalities of blossoms he spent his time. Somehow a tribe of bees had found it out and the whole room used to swarm with hundreds of the small folk. Nathaniel was in raptures. When he lighted his pipe he watched with joy and humor the excitement he produced among them, the buzzing tone which changed from its silvery ring to a deeper sonority of anger and consternation. Thus agitated they would plunge with nervous violence into the secret recesses of the flowers. How delighted he was when they emerged and the petals and pistils began slowly to readjust themselves after the trance into which that sweetest hymen had thrown them, like birds that stroke their feathers when they have been with their mates. A spider wafted in through the open window by the wind: he caught it and pushed it to and fro with a little stick till the frightened little animal stood on its head and fore-legs, and issuing a long, fine thread from its uplifted body it waited for the gentle breeze which played through the window to bear it off again. Thus he protected his friends, the insects.

"But his greatest joy was to watch the development of the flowers to their state of vigorous ripeness. He could tell the hour when they reached it, when their delicate limbs stretched out as if they knew their strength, every curve and line conscious of its beauty and health. 'It is the hour when God passes through

them,' he said, 'how silent they are, silent as only God can be.' And Nathaniel himself grew silent.

"He began to speak less, he seemed even dejected sometimes. Often his head rested on his hand. 'It is nothing,' he said when asked. But he could not help repeating the action, being obviously attacked with a serious headache.

"'You see what your fancy leads to,' I said to him at last. 'Your whole nervous system will be ruined if you do not stop the thing. To breathe the oppressive air of your botanical colony day and night, who could stand that?'

"'It is the punishment of him who is seeking the divine,' he answered.

"For the first time I grew wild.

"'This is sheer madness,' I exclaimed. 'You should be ashamed of yourself. It is a punishment indeed, but not inflicted by a mysterious power that is playing at hide-and-seek with you, but by the state of your innocent brain-cells, disorganised and revolting against the insane government to which they are subjected.'

"Some months after this Nathaniel changed all on a sudden. This time the cause of it was love. I will be short on the subject, for she proved a worthless creature. Beautiful she was without doubt, but as coquettish, and when he had spent his money for her pleasure's sake, she soon discovered that of all the vices of which a man can be guilty the most despicable is poverty. And so she turned from him coolly, in unapproachable serenity, just as if she had only mistaken him, a minute or two, for somebody else.

"He was now in a truly pitiful state. His religion of the beautiful had been pleasant enough as long as it stood on the neutral ground of nature. But when he had tried to read the principle of his belief from a human face he had failed at the outset. He had to learn that beauty is not the sun-centre from which divinity pours its rays into the world, but only a spark incessantly rising and sinking in the great fire-work of life. All that moves around in the stillness of nature beyond the gates of mankind is irresistibly engulfed in the vast whirlpool of self-sovereign humanity as soon as it comes near it, encircled by human passions and encircling them, till the confusion is inextricable.

"Shortly after she had broken off with Nathaniel the girl sent back the collection of choice flowers which he had presented her. When he saw them he burst into a paroxysm of tears. Most of the gentle things, piteously neglected, were dead. He made not even

an attempt to revive them. A sternness came over him. His headache, too, came back: As Thomson has said in a beautiful line, 'All nature feels the renovating force of winter,' so he had felt the vivifying force of love—in vain, as he knew now. But he did not yield; his idealism was still uppermost, only more austere. The new phase manifested itself in his style: no more of that self-forgetful winding along a sunny pathway, but a straight pushing forward with only one guide, logic.

"One day we were sitting together, he and I, in a restaurant, when a mutual friend entered, a physician, a man of a strong and clear head but a little boisterous.

"He sat down to a substantial supper, and while he was joyfully engaged in dispatching it he asked Nathaniel: 'And what place does eating take in your philosophy? I am inclined to think like the mad painter in Zola's *L'Oeuvre*: "*Le ventre c'est Dieu*."' Only he meant it in an artistic sense, which is not my point of view. Is it not the real creative force, the centre of life for the milliards of living cells within me? It embraces them all in its providence as they lie, bound to their places, waiting for their food.' He swallowed an oyster, a poor and solitary remainder of his slaughter. 'Look here,' he said, 'the little deity of this microcosm had to give up his life for me: It is like the war of gods in old mythologies.'

"He had now finished and lighted a Havana. 'Apropos, Nathaniel,' he began again while we looked at him good-humoredly, 'your articles have much improved of late. They have hand and foot, and sometimes they even carry heavy weapons. Have you come to a harbor at last on your Odyssey after God?'

"The doctor was regarded as a friend by us both, nevertheless Nathaniel answered with a certain nervousity: 'I have searched the human passions, ethically and artistically, for the manifestation of the divine. But at the end I had to confess that the good and the bad, the sublime and the virulent are so mingled, encroaching at the same time upon the intelligence, that no one can ever unravel this chaos. If I shut my eye I see it all before me. It is like a drop of stagnant water seen through a microscope: monstrous forms heaped upon one another, crawling about with envy, hatred, and anxiety, an endless generating of new lives destined to be devoured by the surviving, and dead limbs swimming between. Such is the human heart and the rising and sinking of its hopes and passions. It is awful, maddening. Let the purest passion, let love take shape in you, and you will as soon see it disfigured and dis-

membered by the hateful company in your breast. Better stifle them all. God is not in the heart, He is only in the great intelligence, and His manifestation is logic.'

"The doctor glanced at me and shook his head.

"'Nathaniel,' he said, 'do not make a fool of yourself. Let the Old Man take care of Himself. He has nothing to do with logic. It is an old trick, but it is nevertheless false. The harmony of the world is not the effect of a logical plan according to whose statutes all has been settled. Logic cannot have created the world, for what you call the logical order of things is only their fixed relation to one another. Wherever things exist they must needs be in an unalterable mutual relation, not because logic requires it but because that is what we understand by existence. What the world is nobody knows; but once existing, not a thousand Gods could undo its order or destroy the laws of logic.'

"At that moment another guest came to our table, and as the doctor had an old quarrel to fight out with him he immediately attacked him, and thus the subject was dropped. My friend remained silent during the rest of the evening.

"The next morning he did not come to the office; he left his house, travelled to New York on no purpose, and came back after a week without money. He was lost in a profound melancholy for some days, then he became the victim of irritating hallucinations and showed his resentment in a peculiar manner. Believing that the flowers in his room were mocking at him, he took the scissors and cut out all the pistils, saying they were the tongues of his traducers. A few days more and he became a maniac. It was then that we took him to the asylum. The physicians hope he will soon die.

"I have sometimes thought whether that conversation with the doctor could have affected him so seriously, but believe that the forerunners of the malady had already undermined his intelligence; when the doctor showed him the mental perversity of his philosophising, the danger of insanity as the true state of his mind suddenly broke upon him. Who can trace such a thing back to its sources? But this much is sure: in the makeup of his character there was something wrong from the beginning: he had the heart of a man and the soul of a woman."

*

I left the scene of Nathaniel's sad end, but I was haunted by its remembrance for weeks and weeks. It still steals over me like a phantom, and at places where I would least expect it.

The ghost of night goes silently around
In the broad daylight, in the glaring sun,
And touches of the few he loves and knows
The shoulder slightly.
And they, wher'er they be, in noisy street,
In crowded market-place, with merry friends,
Then feel the halt of time.
It is a moment only and has gone.
With strength renewed breaks in the flood of life;
What was it then? . . .
An echo from Eternity.

THE DANCES OF DEATH.

BY THE EDITOR.

NEVER is the consideration of the problem of death so appropriate as at the change of the year, for the transition from the past to the future, the passing out of the old year and the entering in of the new year are phases in the lapse of time which are anal-

ogous to death and birth. And nothing teaches us so plainly that there is no death: what seems so is transition. We enter into the future life, that is to say, we build up a new existence while we live. Our life's activity is a forming, a giving shape to that form of life which we shall be after death; and thus we enter into life eternal in the fleeting hours of transiency itself.



THE ARTIST.

(Probably Hans Hug Kluber.) Death grinding his colors.

Our last article on death treated the Christian conception in contrast to the classic ideas that prevailed in Greece and Rome. We shall now briefly discuss the so-called Dances of

Death in which the Christian conception of death reaches a certain perfection.

During the times of war and pestilence so frequent in the Middle Ages, the people endeavored to accustom themselves to the sight of death in its ugliest appearances and most insidious forms. In the human palm the main lines form the figure of an



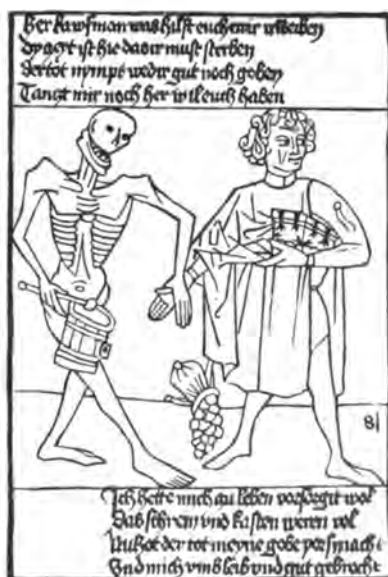
THE POPE.



THE KING.



THE LADY.



THE MERCHANT.

Woodcuts of the fifteenth century. (Reproduced from Massmann after the Heidelberg copy, the only one in existence.)

M, and these two M's, one in each hand, were interpreted to mean *Memento Mori*, Remember that thou must die.

One of the most impressive Latin church hymns begins with the words :

"Media in vita nos in morte sumus."

[In the Middle of life we are surrounded by death.]



THE DUCHESS IN THE DANCE OF DEATH AT GROSS-BASEL.
Showing the reluctance to follow Death. (After a copper engraving of Peter Vischer.)

Death was so omnipresent to the people of those days that they began to represent life as a dance of death. Death leads his blind dupes to an untimely grave; he plays the fiddle at the wedding, he beats the drum for the soldiers in battle, he carries the priest's bell when he visits those who hunger for the sacrament, etc.



THE POPE. (Gross-Basel.)



THE DUCHESS. (Gross-Basel.)



(Klein-Basel.)



THE KNIGHT.

(Gross-Basel.)



(Klein-Basel.)



THE VIRGIN.

(Gross-Basel.)

The earliest Dances of Death of which we know are the famous wall-pictures of the old nunnery at Klingenthal in Klein Basel, which were reproduced on the wall of a cemetery in Gross Basel and in other Swiss cities. In addition there is a copy of woodcuts of the fifteenth century preserved in the Heidelberg library which is an evidence that the representation of death as a dance with a decaying human figure, allegorising the dissolution of the body, was at that time a favorite method of intensifying religious edification.

The pictures of the Dance of Death at Basel suggested to Hans Holbein the idea of treating the same subject in a series of woodcuts, which in book-form with explanatory verses were published



THE LESSON OF THE CHARNEL HOUSE. (Gross-Basel.)

for the first time by Melchior and Gaspar Trechsel in 1538. And how timely was the work! In 1554 the plague swept over Europe and the artist himself fell a victim to the terrible disease. His "Dance of Death," however, became the most famous work of his life, appearing in many hundred editions in French, Latin, Italian, and German.¹ It may be considered as the classical representation of the Christian conception of Death.

The artistic value of the various Dances of Death is greater than at first sight might appear to those who are not initiated into the history of art. They are not productions of an isolated individual but represent the spirit of the age. A comparison of the

¹The original bears the title *Les Simulachres et Histories faces de la Mort autant enle gammet pourtraictes, que artificiellement imaginees. A Lyon Sous l'escu de Cologne M.D.XXXVIII. 4.*

various Dances of Death shows at a glance how faithfully even the details of certain traditional attitudes are preserved. The Heidel-



THE CURSE OF GENESIS III. 17.



THE MISER.



THE PRIEST.



THE PHYSICIAN.

Death-dances of Holbein.

berg woodcuts exhibit a remarkable strength in their expressive lines which is not lost in the later treatments of the same subjects.

How lovingly the artist painted the wall-pictures of Gross-Basel may be learned from a copper engraving of Peter Vischer which



THE WEARY.



DRUNKARDS.



THE LAST JUDGMENT.



DEATH'S COAT OF ARMS.

With the artist and his wife as supporters.

Death-dances of Holbein.

reproduces the figure of the duchess in its more minute details. The Christian spirit of contemplating death found another ar-



THE ORIGIN OF DEATH.



LIFE IS A PILGRIMAGE.



MORE POWERFUL THAN THE POPE.



OUTWEIGHING THE BISHOP'S HAT.

Abraham a Sancta-Clara's Death Chapel.

tistic expression in the copper engravings of Christoph Weigel. Holbein was a Protestant and he was a master whose earnestness is recognisable in every line of his drastic life. Holbein himself knew the dangers that lurk in the allurements of life, and represented them realistically and faithfully. Weigel was a Catholic and he was inspired by Abraham a Sancta-Clara—a man of extraordinary genius and saintly devotion, who suggested to the artist his thoughts at the moment when he himself, the preacher and example of his congregation, was facing death.



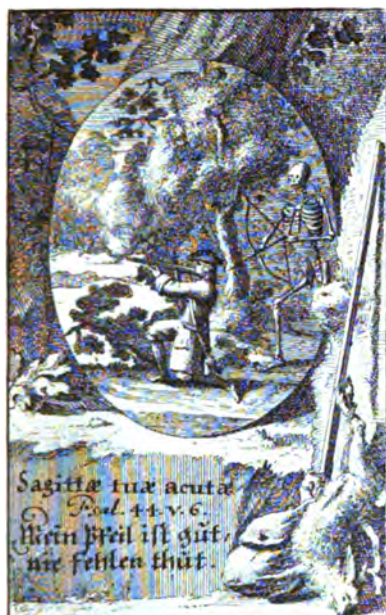
THE PIPER AT THE DANCE.

Abraham a Sancta-Clara's Death Chapel.



THE WEALTHY.

Abraham a Sancta-Clara was born July 4th, 1642, of honest but poor parents in Greenstetten, a Swabian village. He joined in his twentieth year the order of St. Augustine at Marienbrunn, Austria, and became soon celebrated as a preacher who possessed the rare quality of telling the truth fearlessly and with good humor. When the good Emperor Leopold heard of this wonderful gift, he engaged the Augustine friar as *Hofprediger* or Court-chaplain, expressing an earnest desire that he might frankly tell the truth to his courtiers. Fame and honors now came to Abraham without his seeking. He became a Doctor of Theology and the highest aristocracy of Austria thronged to the church of Sancta-Clara to hear him.



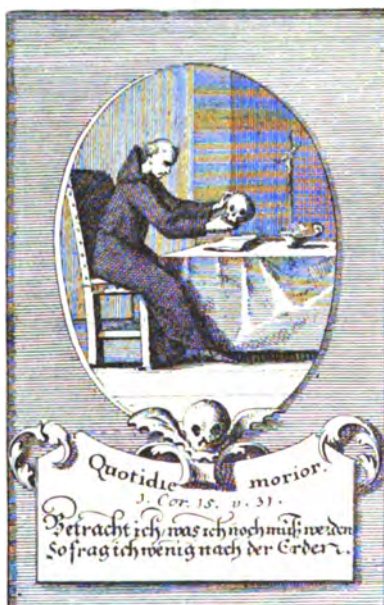
THE HUNTER'S HUNTER.



THE GAMBLER WHO ALWAYS WINS IN
 THE END.



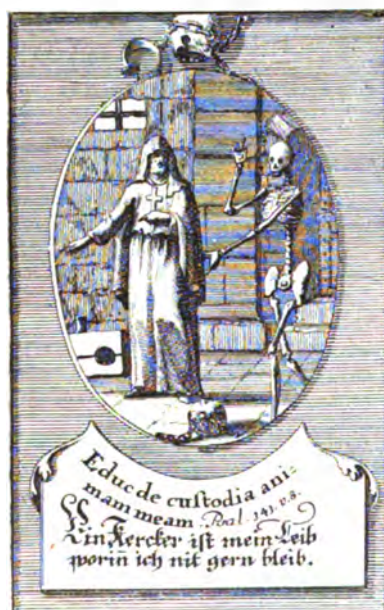
THE EPIDEMIC.



TRANSIENCY.

Abraham a Sancta-Clara's *Death Chapel*.

Abraham's first work, the *Grammatica religiosa*, exhibits both learnedness and genius. His next work, *Merk's, Wien* (Mind it, Vienna!), praises God's providence for having rescued Vienna from the Turks. The homily *Lösch, Wien* (Quench, Vienna!) exhorts the survivors of the pest to quench with tears of repentance the flames of the purgatory in which the souls of the deceased suffer. Other writings of his are *Huy und Pfuy, Etwas für Alle, Misch Masch, Geistlicher Kramladen*, etc. Once he imitated a cackling hen and made it the theme of a pious sermon. In his last illness



THE PRISONER SET FREE.



THE SCHOLAR'S LABORS ENDED.

Abraham a Sancta-Clara's *Death Chapel*.

he wrote the homily on "the well-filled wine-cellar," meaning thereby the religious cordials which were at his disposal. In his anxiety to be useful to his parishioners and the world at large even while facing death, he had the chapel at Loretto in Vienna decorated with illustrations of the vanity of life.

Abraham died December 1st, 1709, and his musings on Death, together with Weigel's copper prints, appeared in 1710. Although we must assume that they were a source of edification for many people, they became not so well known as Holbein's drawings, for the book remained limited to the Roman Catholic countries of Ger-



THE BABY.



THE HERMIT.



THE SCULPTOR.



THE PAINTER.

Abraham & Sancta-Clara's Death Dance.



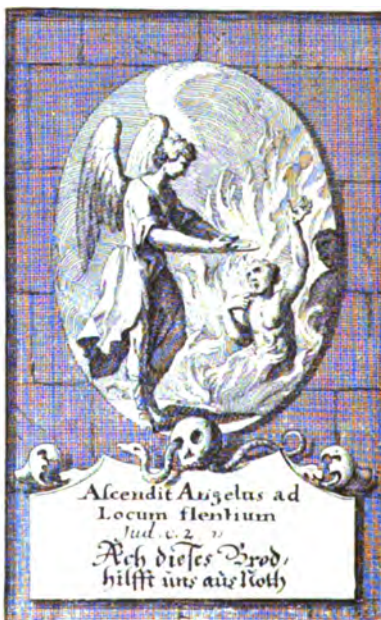
THE SUFFERINGS IN PURGATORY.



IN THE FLAMES OF HELL.



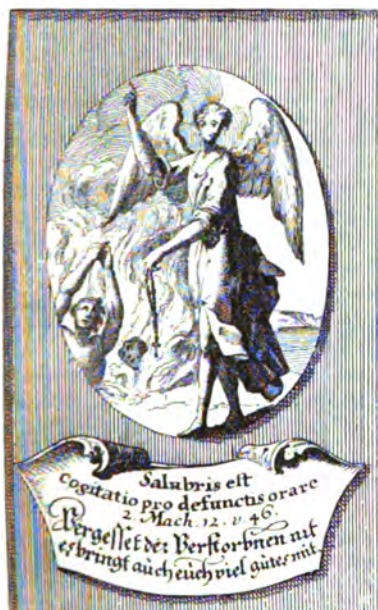
THE EFFICACY OF ALMSGIVING.



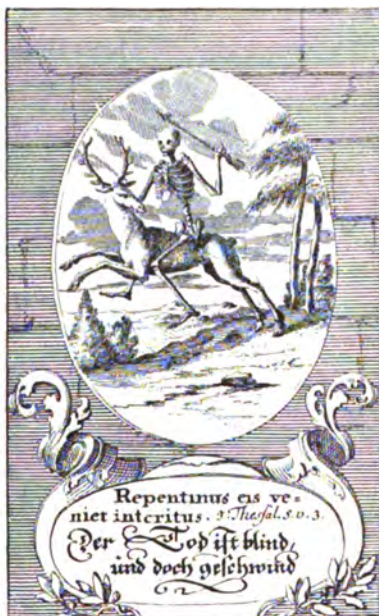
THE POTENCY OF THE EUCHARIST.

Abraham a Sancta-Clara's Death Chapel.

many. Nor were they ever, so far as I know, published in English or other foreign tongues. That the circulation of the *Death Chapel* remained so much behind Holbein's Dance of Death is mainly due to a change of taste which slowly began to make itself felt when, in imitation of the Greeks, people shrunk again from contemplating death in its terrible features.



THE POWER OF THE ROSARY.



THE QUICKEST RIDER.

Abraham a Sancta-Clara's *Death Dance*.

Weigel's pictures, or we might as well say, Abraham a Sancta-Clara's pictures, are truly Christian in their sentiment and show perhaps even a closer relationship to the Buddhist idea of the vanity of life than even Holbein's drawings. However that may be, they are typically Roman Catholic and betray the Roman conception of the efficiency of masses, prayers, and the sacrament for ransoming the suffering souls from the tortures of purgatory.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PIERRE SIMON DE LAPLACE.

In Laplace we come upon a type of man who both in scientific and in human character diverges widely from the ideal which our imagination moulded from the life and achievements of Lagrange. (See the December *Open Court*.) As to science, we saw that the characteristic trend of Lagrange's mind was the attaining of the utmost generality in mathematics, the acquiring of a perfect mastery over the quantitative relations of the world, and that he realised this bent of his genius in the most consummate and elegant manner conceivable. He rarely stopped—in fact never thought it necessary to stop—to unravel the detailed consequences of the magnificent general mechanisms which he wrought, conscious that such developments were a matter of course and required but time and the plodding industry of minds of a routine type only. In her excellent biography of Lagrange in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* Miss Clarke, in drawing a parallel between the two mathematicians, says:

"In analytical invention, and mastery over the calculus, the Turin mathematician was admittedly unrivalled. Laplace owned that he had despaired of effecting the integration of the differential equations relative to secular inequalities until Lagrange showed him the way. On the other hand, Laplace unquestionably surpassed his rival in practical sagacity, and the intuition of physical truth. Lagrange saw in the problems of nature so many occasions for analytical triumphs; Laplace regarded analytical triumphs as the means of solving the problems of nature."

And in another place we read that Laplace showed his practical bent by stating very important conclusions and making very important discoveries which were directly contained in the creations of Lagrange, and which needed but a few turns of the formal machinery invented by the latter, for their production. It is evident, however, that the inventor, say, of a rubber machine or a paper machine cannot justly be criticised for his lack of insight into the things of the world by not making paper or rubber with the machine which he has invented. The two provinces of activity are entirely different provinces. The man who has done the first has virtually done the last, and it would be a grievous loss to humanity were he to stop in his high career to do what less skilful hands and brains could accomplish. Or, to use another simile, which has been applied by an eminent German philosopher, Eugen Dühring, the royal eagle in his flight and with his broad view of the earth below misses many a petty object which the grovelling worm stumbles upon by his very lack of celestial powers. And while in view of the magnificent achievements of Laplace which have made him one of the first names in scientific history, it would be absurd to apply so exaggerated and belittling a comparison to him,

Döhring's remark is yet pregnant with truth and is deserving at least of notice in drawing a parallel between these two giants of the intellectual world. We shall, therefore, in emphasising this scientific trait of Laplace's mind as compared with Lagrange, cite the judgment of a more impartial critic, De Morgan, who incidentally brings out certain grave human failings of our hero, which we must not omit to emphasise :

"In that part of the *Mécanique Céleste*," says De Morgan, "in which he [Laplace] revels in the results of Lagrange, there is no mention of the name of the latter. The reader who has studied the works of preceding writers will find him, in the *Théorie des Probabilités*, anticipated by De Moivre, James Bernoulli, etc., on certain points. But there is not a hint that any one had previously given those results from which perhaps his sagacity led him to his own more general method. The reader of the *Mécanique Céleste* will find that, for anything he can see to the contrary, Euler, Clairaut, D'Alembert, and above all Lagrange, need never have existed. The reader of the *Système du Monde* finds Laplace referring to himself in almost every page, while now and then, perhaps not twenty times in all, his predecessors in theory are mentioned with a scanty reference to what they have done; while the names of observers, between whom and himself there could be no rivalry, occur in many places. To such an absurd pitch is this suppression carried, that even Taylor's name is not mentioned in connexion with his celebrated theorem; but Laplace gravely informs his readers, *Nous donnerons quelques théorèmes généraux qui nous seront utiles dans la suite*," those general theorems being known all over Europe by the name of MacLaurin, Taylor, and Lagrange. And even in his *Theory of Probabilities* Lagrange's theorem is only '*la formule (p) du numéro 21 du second livre de la Mécanique Céleste*.' . . . The consequence is, that a student who has followed the writings of Laplace with that admiration which they must command, is staggered when he comes afterwards to find that in almost every part of the work there are important steps which do not belong to Laplace at all. He is then apt to imagine that when he reads more extensively he shall find himself obliged to restore more and more to the right owner, until nothing is left which can make a reputation such as is that of Laplace with the world at large. Such an impression would be wholly incorrect; but it would be no more than the just reward of the practice of suppression. Nevertheless, the researches on the figure of the planets in the *Mécanique Céleste* and the general method of the *Théorie des Probabilités* for the approximation to the value of definite integrals, are alone sufficient, when all needful restoration has been made, to enable us to say, that Laplace was one of the greatest of mathematicians."

And, to cite Miss Clerke again: "Between him and Legendre there was a 'feeling of 'more than coldness,' owing to his appropriation, with scant acknowledgment, of the fruits of the other's labours; and our celebrated countryman, "Dr. Thomas Young, counted himself, rightly or wrongly, amongst the number of "those similarly aggrieved by him." But with Lagrange, who never obtruded his personality into the creations of his intellect, and from whom Laplace drew most, the latter is said to have "always remained on the best of terms."

Pierre Simon de Laplace, Marquis, and peer of France, one of the immortal forty of the French Academy, Member of the Academy of Sciences, and of the *Bureau des Longitudes*, Associate of all the great scientific societies of Europe, was born at Beaumont-en-Auge near Honfleur, on the 28th of March, 1749; he died March 5th, 1827. He early taught mathematics, and at eighteen years of age was already in the French capital with letters of introduction to D'Alembert. D'Alembert's recommendation procured for him a Chair of Mathematics in the military school of Paris, and in a few years the brilliant scientific career began which was to place him in the front rank of European mathematicians and to make his reputation with the world at large almost equal to that of Newton. With his great genius, however, he possessed, as we have already noted, not a little personal vanity and an overweening desire for the distinctions of the world. It was in harmony, therefore, with his ambitions that in 1799 the First Consul made him Minister of the Interior. But he failed ignominiously in his political career; in six weeks General Bonaparte was surfeited with his exploits. "A mathematician of

the highest rank," said Napoleon, "he lost not a moment in showing himself below mediocrity as a minister. In his first attempt at business the consuls saw that they had made a mistake. Laplace looked at no question in its true point of view. He was always searching after subtleties; all his ideas were problems, and he carried the spirit of the infinitesimal calculus into the management of business." Of Laplace's subserviency, of his flattering dedication of his treatise on the Calculus of Probabilities to Napoleon, which on the Emperor's fall he ungratefully withdrew, the whole world knows. And with this we leave the dark side of his character.

* * *

It will be interesting in this connexion to note the attitude of the great war-god of the nineteenth century to mathematics, or, for that matter, to science generally—Napoleon, who was interested in everything and who had, wrong or right, emphatic ideas on everything. To this megaloccephalic sprig of humanity it never occurred that he could not also have achieved the greatest things in science, as he had done in human slaughter, had he only seen fit, in the phrase of Newton, to "intend" his mind to the task. The presentation of one of Laplace's works gave him "occasion," he writes, "for regretting that *the force of circumstances* had directed him into a career which *removed* him from the pursuit of science." And not the least amusing feature is that Napoleon, who is known to have had a great addiction to the practical parts, at least, of mathematics, so far examined the first volume of Laplace's work, and so far appreciated the difficulties of its comprehension as to say: "The first *six months* which I shall have at my disposal will be employed in reading your beautiful work." Doubtless those six months of leisure were never granted to the science-thirsting man, for he was then only a common general. Afterwards, as Emperor, he wrote:

"There was a time when I should have read with interest your *Traité du Calcul des Probabilités*. For the present I must confine myself to expressing to you the satisfaction which I experience every time that I see you give to the world new books which serve to improve and extend the most important of the sciences, and contribute to the glory of the nation. The advancement and improvement of mathematical science are connected with the prosperity of the state."

And let us quote here a passage from the gossip Arago, that "scientific comedian" of his day, as he has been termed,—a passage thoroughly characteristic of the Gargantuan egoism of the little Corsican, who even at a time when France intellectually overshadowed the world strutted among its greatest men as a Divine arbiter, dispensing his judgment and favors.

"The members of the Institute," says Arago, "were always presented to the Emperor after he had confirmed their nominations. On the appointed day, in company with the presidents, with the secretaries of the four classes, and with the academicians who had special publications to offer to the Chief of the State, they assembled in one of the *salons* of the Tuileries. When the Emperor returned from mass, he held a kind of review of these *savants*, these artists, these literary men, in green uniform.

"I must own that the spectacle which I witnessed on the day of my presentation did not edify me. I even experienced real displeasure in seeing the anxiety evinced by members of the Institute to be noticed.

"You are very young," said Napoleon to me on coming near me; and without waiting for a flattering reply, which it would not have been difficult to find, he added,—'What is your name?' And my neighbor on the right, not leaving me time to answer the simple question just addressed to me, hastened to say,—

"His name is Arago."

"What science do you cultivate?"

"My neighbor on the left immediately replied,—

"He cultivates astronomy."

"What have you done?"

"My neighbor on the right, jealous of my left-hand neighbor for having encroached on his rights at the second question, now hastened to reply, and said,—

"He has just been measuring the line of the meridian in Spain."

"The Emperor, imagining doubtless that he had before him either a dumb man or an imbecile, passed on to another member of the Institute. This one was not a novice, but a naturalist well known through his beautiful and important discoveries; it was M. Lamarck. The old man presented a book to Napoleon.

"What is that?" said the latter, "it is your absurd *meteorology*, in which you rival Matthieu Laensberg. It is this 'annuaire' which dishonors your old age. Do something in natural history, and I should receive your productions with pleasure. As to this volume, I only take it in consideration of your white hair. Here!" And he passed the book to an aide-de-camp.

"Poor M. Lamarck, who at the end of each sharp and insulting sentence of the Emperor tried in vain to say, 'It is a work on natural history which I present to you,' was weak enough to fall into tears."

That work was the *Philosophie Zoologique*! Arago mentions no title. But the year of publication corresponds with the date (1809).

* * *

We may return, now, to the achievements which constitute the great glory of Laplace, and let us listen preferably to the words of another:

"We have spoken freely of the defects of Laplace's character, both political and scientific, and it is now our more pleasing task to say a few words on the *Mécanique Céleste*, as a whole. We might dwell upon the great discoveries, such as the long inequality of Saturn and Jupiter, the cause of the acceleration of the moon's mean motion, the explanation of the peculiarities in the motion of Jupiter's satellites, with a long train of similar achievements; but this, though the most common method of describing the character of a philosopher, is not the sort of description which should be given of the *Mécanique Céleste*. Its bulk is about two thousand quarto pages; and, owing to the omission of all the steps which a good mathematician may be relied on as able to supply, it would, if expanded to the extent in which Euler would have written the same matter, have probably reached ten thousand pages. If all this work had been collected by one man, even from the writings of others, we should have called him the Delambre of the theory of gravitation, and should have prized his writings for their extent, their faithful representation of the state of the science at a particular time, and the diligence displayed in the undertaking. When to the preceding, which is forgotten in the splendor of some of the results, we add that to Laplace is due the discovery of much, the development of more, and that by the employment of his own resources in a manner which takes all the originality and power of the investigator, and the arrangement and combination of the whole, we may begin to see how he has earned his fame." . . . "As a monument of mathematical genius applied to the celestial revolutions the *Mécanique Céleste* ranks second only to the *Principia* of Newton."

All in all, then, we are concerned, not with human frailty, but mainly with human greatness. The three glittering gems in the scientific diadem of Laplace, his *Mécanique Céleste*, his *Exposition du Système du Monde*, his *Théorie des Probabilités*,¹ remain, after all their mortal accretions, a *κρίμα ἐς αἰ* for humanity, and justify his pretentious title of "the Newton of France." Professor James, in his latest book, has quoted the noble sentiment of a young American philosopher, the late Xenos Clarke, as to the tremendous responsibilities which weigh upon us who daily live our lives at the expense of the mortality of thousands and thousands of suffering dumb animals. But it behooves us also not to forget that in a like measure we are intellectually parasitic on the dead minds of the past, and that our mental being is in great part but an emanation, a perfumed artificial incense rising from the æonic funeral-piles of human intellects. And of these last, Laplace was not the least.

THOMAS J. MCCORMACK.

¹ Laplace's complete works have been recently published in a magnificent fourteen-volume edition (Gauthier-Villars, Paris, 1867-1894). The *Mécanique Céleste* has been translated into English by an American, Nathaniel Bowditch.

IMMORTALITY.

Maestoso.

mf
1. The end of life is sure, But do not sigh:

Crescendo.

For deeds true, good, and pure For - ev - er - more en - dure,

Cantabile.

f They do not die. *p* When bod - ies fall to dust *p* Our

Crescendo.

brains and hands shall rest, Our life's work yet will live, We

Dim. Rit.

f need not grieve; *mf* Our life's work yet will live, *f* We need not grieve.

Those do not live in vain
Who leave behind
A memory without stain
Or the least humble gain
Unto mankind.
Make but one further step,
Endeavor to build up
Future humanity,
And blessed are ye.

Life's every throb and thrill
Of ages past
Remains for good and ill
A living presence still
That aye will last.
Our fathers are not dead,
Their thoughts pulse in our head,
Their sentiments warm our heart,
Their souls ne'er part.

A struggle is our life,
But death brings peace.
Our labors in the strife,
Our sorrows ever rife,
Will only cease
When all our vanities
And life's inanities
Are given with our last breath
Over to Death.

The school of life is stern ;
Toil is our lot.
But those who aspire and learn
Can make their souls etern,
They tremble not.
The life whose hours are prized
Can be immortalised,
Each soul can be renewed
A power for good.

Though the end of life be sure,
We do not sigh :
For deeds true, good, and pure
Forever more endure,
They do not die.
When bodies fall to dust
The toilers will find rest,
Their souls, howe'er, shall live,
We do not grieve.

The hymn "Immortality" was written and set to music¹ for the purpose of supplying an appropriate choral such as could be sung in commemoration of those immortal dead who are not dead but continue in life as the living factors of its further evolution. Most of our funeral hymns are based upon a dualistic conception of life, and there is need of a new song to express the new faith of the Religion of Science which no longer believes but knows that there is an immortality of the soul, and that this immortality is not in a Utopian heaven, but takes place here in this world and in this life of ours. In other words: the kingdom of heaven is not in the sky, but within us, it is in the souls of men. The kingdom of heaven is spiritual, not material, not local. Heaven is in soul-life, and it is in the soul-life of mankind that we shall find the life to come in which we shall be preserved with all our peculiar idiosyncrasies in our personal identity. There is, accordingly, no need of regarding death with terror, and a funeral hymn should therefore not be gloomy, but triumphal and majestic, for it expresses the victory over death gained through the more enlightened vision of the problem in its solution.

It is a sad coincidence that while the author of this hymn was engaged in writing it and having it set to music, his mother in the old country passed away

¹ The melody, which was composed by the author, has been arranged for four voices in the form as it stands now by Mr. Albert Prox, of New York City (231 West Seventieth Street), a musician well known in the musical circles of that city.

suddenly and unexpectedly, but peacefully and without having gone through the trials of a protracted illness. There is no one who exercised a greater influence upon the building up of his character than his mother, and to her he dedicates the above hymn, knowing that though she died, her soul lives. For, as George Eliot says, she has joined

"....the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence: live
In pulses stirr'd to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge man's search
To vaster issues.

"This is life to come,
Which martyr'd men have made more glorious
For us who strive to follow."

We conclude with the poet's prayer :

" May I reach
That purest heaven, be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony,
Enkindle generous ardor, feed pure love,
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty,
Be the sweet presence of a good diffus'd,
And in diffusion ever more intense!
So shall I join the choir invisible
Whose music is the gladness of the world."

P. C.

NOTES AND BOOK REVIEWS.

Great philosophers have set the example of applying the horded inspiration and culture of philosophic thought to the solution of the practical problems of every-day life, and we have in this line, to mention only a few efforts, the famous *Meditations* of Descartes, Fichte's *Vocation of Man*, and his *Addresses to the German People*. Much commendable activity in the same field has been exhibited, too, by modern professors of philosophy, at least by such as seek to do more than to reproduce mechanically in the brains of the present generation the thoughts which have been handed down to them by the old. We have in mind, here, two instances which have been brought to our notice by recent publications. Prof. RUDOLPH EUCKEN of Jena, by his profound and zealous researches into the ways of thought of the great intellectual leaders of mankind, and by his steady insistence upon the points of view which have significance and worth for conduct, has done much towards giving to the people a share of that salvation which springs from living over again the thoughts of the great creative minds of the world. As one of his studies we have to mention his recent earnest and far-seeing judgment upon "Spiritual Man at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," published as a philosophical meditation in the July, 1897, *Deutsche Rundschau*. It is creditable, too, that the leading magazine of a great nation should in these commercial days find space in its pages for matter which the world needs, not wants. . . . There has also recently come to our hands a *brochure* by Dr. JOHANNES REHMKE on *Present Culture in Its Relation to Philosophy* (Heilbronn : E. Salzer, 80 pp.), which is deserving of notice. Professor Rehmke has written an excellent brief history of philosophy and is the author of a large work on formal psychology, so that he has brought a good

equipment to his task. Scores of like and equally worthy attempts might be cited. In a popular but still loftier scale should be mentioned Pasteur's famous address on the relations of a nation's science and thought to its worldly power and welfare parts of which have been quoted by Tyndall in a Preface to one of his popular works; and in a higher order, more applicable to thinkers themselves, but from their simplicity intelligible to all, attention should be called to the beautiful remarks of Helmholtz on the method and ways of research which were delivered by him some time before his death at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of his academic career. They are printed in pamphlet form with other addresses delivered upon the same question, and we hope some time to be able to publish them in *The Open Court*. мрк.

"There are in the English language three elegiac poems," says Mr. Algernon Charles Swinburne, "so great that they eclipse and efface all the elegiac poetry we know." The three are *Lycidas*, *Adonis*, and lastly the *Thyrsis* of Matthew Arnold. The latter, together with the same author's *Scholar-Gipsy*, is now published in delicate, attractive form in the *Bibelot Series* of Mr. Thomas B. Mosher, 45 Exchange St., Portland, Maine, for the unconscionable sum of five cents. The *Bibelot Series* is given to the republication of the scintillant and lustrous gems of literature, and, barring a slight *penchant* to exoticism and exquisite superlativeness, it is well performing its task and has conferred considerable obligations upon lovers of good literature.

Matthew Arnold, while not affecting the unfathomable profundity in his poems that Browning did, and while keeping his eyes steadily fixed upon the grave central problems of life, still did not scorn at times to use the heavy, albeit beautiful, weapons which the traditional classical ideal of poetry gave into his hands. That he could do so and still be intelligible, not only redounds to his art but also insures his fame. Take this from the *Scholar-Gipsy*, Glanvil's lonely Oxford student who wandered through eternity waiting for the secret of the world to be revealed to him, to reveal it in turn to men:

"Thou waitest for the spark from heaven! and we,
Light half-believers of our casual creeds,
Who never deeply felt, nor clearly will'd,
Whose insight never has borne fruit in deeds,
Whose vague resolves never have been fulfill'd;
For whom each year we see
Breeds new beginnings, disappointments new;
Who hesitate and falter life away,
And lose to-morrow the ground won to-day—
Ah! do not we, wanderer! await it too?"

And this to *Thyrsis*:

"Yes, thou art gone! and round me too the night
In ever-nearing circle weaves her shade.
I see her veil draw soft across the day,
I feel her slowly chilling breath invade
The cheek grown thin, the brown hair sprent with grey;
I feel her finger light
Laid pausefully upon life's headlong train,—
The foot less prompt to meet the morning dew,
The heart less bounding at emotion new,
And hope, once crushed, less quick to spring again."

The *Bibelot Series* is deserving of wide support. The November number is

Odysseus in Phæacia, as translated in the beautiful quatrains of J. W. Mackail. The December number is *The Death of Marlowe* by R. H. Horne. T. J. McC.

The problem of writing well the Stories of the Sciences for juvenile instruction has long engaged the minds of educators, and some excellent attempts in this direction have already been made. One effort has come to our notice and is called the *Storyland of Stars*, by Mara L. Pratt (Educational Publishing Co., Boston, pp. 165) which since it was copyrighted in 1892, seems to have met with some favor. The book is simply written. It tells the tale of astronomy by well-chosen specimens of striking research, particularly such in which the human interest is paramount, and it gives in a way which is pretty well adapted to childish comprehension, a good deal of information about the starry heavens. The illustrations represent such scenes as the Observatory of Tycho Brahe, the Accidental Discovery of the Telescope, a Shower of Shooting Stars, etc.; there is a portrait of Tycho Brahe, pictures of the earth of the Vedic priests, resting on columns, of the earth floating on water and held by roots, of the Hindu earth supported by elephants standing on a tortoise, of Plato's cubical earth, etc. There are pictures of the moon and its phases, of the earth and the planets, of the famous egg which was laid in Rome in 1680, bearing upon it the picture of the great comet which then appeared, diagrams of the constellations and pictures from Greek mythology accompanying the stories on which the ancient and arbitrary arrangement of the stars was based. Regarding the configuration of the stars in the firmament, much information can be supplied to children from this book. There is no reason why with a competent teacher and with a pleasant half-hour of consecutive star-gazing for a number of evenings during the different seasons of the year, every child could not be made perfectly acquainted with the chief features of the heavens and thus a great amount of labor saved in future years, apart from the gain of wholesome educational amusement. There are a number of appropriate astronomical poems interspersed throughout the text, and one piece of Sunday-school cosmogony which might better have been omitted.

μικκ.

To the same class of literature belong *Murché's Science Readers*, published by Macmillan, New York, a series of lessons in natural science in which the main laws of nature are discussed and experiments related that can easily be repeated by parents and kindergarten teachers. The language is very simple and adapted to children, but the book might have been better if it had not been cast in the form of dialogues. The dialogues, however, are not between the teacher and children, but between children alone, and Mr. Murché has actually succeeded in using the vocabulary of the child. Nevertheless, it appears to the reviewer that direct descriptions of the experiments and statements of facts would be preferable. If the book is intended for kindergarten teachers, they will do the padding as expressed in the dialogues, themselves; and if it is intended as a reader for the children themselves, the directest method of information will always prove most welcome. The series deserves a high recommendation, for there is scarcely anything of the kind in the market that is better.

κρς.

One of the illustrations belonging to the last paragraph of p. 757 of the article "The Christian Conception of Death" was received too late to be inserted in the last number of *The Open Court*, and we here reproduce it. It is the tombstone of Eutropus, a Christian sarcophagus-maker. The inscription reads: ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟ-

ΣΕΒΕΣ ΕΥΤΡΟΠΟΣ ΕΝ ΙΡΗΝΗ. ΥΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΕΝ,¹ Κ. Μ. Ι. Κ. ΣΕΡ, which means: "The Saintly and God-fearing Eutropos. His son made it" (i. e., the tombstone). The concluding letters are the date. Eutropos, assisted by an ap-



THE TOMBSTONE OF EUTROPUS.

prentice, is represented at work. On the right hand stands the coffin, above it the dove, the most common symbol on Christian tombstones. And on the left hand stands a figure, probably his son, holding a vial.

The *Practical Vegetarian Cookery* of the Countess Constance Wachmeister and Kate Buffington Davis (Theosophical Publishing Co., 65 Fifth Avenue, New York, \$1.00), contains 175 pages of excellent cooking and two pages of bad, superfluous philosophy. Since the latter, brief as it is, is not likely to be read, we have no hesitation in heartily commending the book to all lovers of wholesome living. It is difficult for any one not a Theosophic devotee to take the literal significance of the distinction between "astral bodies" and their "physical encasements" seriously, or the gross materialism involved in such statements as that the "astral bodies feed on the subtle emanations of the foods supplying nutriment to the physical encasement." That gluttony and habitual, unceasing saturation of the body with alcohol debases the soul, few doubt. But that the mechanism of the process is a "feeding" of the "astral body," which we must conceive endowed with masticatory and digestive apparatus, upon the gaseous emanations of the physical organism, is unsound physiology—though countenanced by no less eminent a thinker than Falstaff (1355-1415) in his famous apostrophe to sherris-sack. And as to that other thesis of theosophy that the "astral bodies" after death, by a sort of Archimedean principle of buoyancy, take their places in the astral atmosphere according to their specific gravity as induced by the relative density and grossness of the foods engulfed by the "physical encasements" in life, it is unsound mechanics; for many vegetarian dishes, e. g., pie, are heavier than meat. The eating of eggs, too, is another antinomy in the philosophy of theosophic vegetarianism. If the taking and devouring of life *per se* is bad, the taking and devouring of embryonic life is only quantitatively less bad. The potencies resident in a chicken's egg, which need but a little warmth to blossom forth into a career of glorious splendor, are blighted in their incipency, with an utter disregard of the ethical possibilities involved. One further slip. In one of the recipes (Chestnut Croquettes) three teaspoonfuls of Maraschino are to be added. Divided among a family of eight physical encasements, each astral body will absorb, by osmosis, three-eighths of a teaspoonful of heavy, gross alcoholic fumes—not much by the current appreciation, but sufficient to make a bubbly, tenuous body such as we conceive the astral body to be, sag like a parachute to infernal depths in the astral planes. We hope this discrepancy will be eliminated in the second edition. As for the rest, we wish the book a wide circulation, which its culinary contents certainly deserve.—T. J. McC.

¹ Εὐεργέτης for Εὐεργέτης, and Ιερώνυμ for Ιερώνυμ.

The attention of students of logic is to be called to a brief pamphlet of nineteen pages called the *Logical Copula and Quantification of the Predicate*, by Edward Adamson. (London: David Nutt.)

Dante's *Vision of God* is a tastily bound pamphlet of thirty-three pages, written by Caroline K. Sherman. She says of Dante's poem that it is not mere fancy; on the contrary, "it is everlasting truth, proclaiming the reality of justice and righteousness, declaring that the soul can find satisfaction only as it lives, moves, and has its being in the eternal source of all good."

The *Freidenker-Almanach* for 1898 opens with a poem by Arthur Pfungat and contains a collection of poems in which almost all the names of German-American authors are represented. Of special interest is an article by Hermann Boppe on the Diana Vaughan Comedy, a sensational *dénouement* of the most barefaced inventions with which M. Leo Taxil excited both the Roman Catholics and the Free Masons, until about a year ago this French buffoon, or *fumiste*, as he humorously calls himself, openly confessed before the world that the whole story had been a mere joke.

The Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research for July, 1897, contains a very curious and interesting article by Prof. W. F. Barrett on "The So-called Divining Rod." The data which Professor Barrett introduces are exhaustive and afford a strange insight into popular psychology. One would think the matter hardly deserved serious consideration on any other score, but there are doubtless some people who still do not think the use of the divining rod a survival, and would attempt to penetrate into the mysterious connexion between the Y-shaped branch of a tree and the existence of water and oil in the earth.

A brief manual of the history of Christianity is something that many people are in need of, and Mr. J. H. Crooker of Troy has sought to supply this want in the publication of a little book called *The Growth of Christianity* (Chicago: Western Unitarian Sunday-School Society, pages 241, price 50 cents). Mr. Crooker intends the book to be used as a Sunday-School manual for older classes, but also commends it to the general reader. It emphasises the main features of the development of Christianity from its origin to the present day. While aiming to be nothing more than a compilation, it bears evidence of trustworthiness.

The Annual Literary Index (New York: Office of the Publishers' Weekly) is of great value to librarians, literary workers, and journalists. As a reference book of the year's literature it contains an index to periodicals, both American and English, an index to general literature, including chapter headings, etc., an author index, a list of American and English bibliographies published during the year, a necrology, and an index to the dates of the principal events of the year. The collaborators who have assisted the editors, Mr. W. J. Fletcher and Mr. R. R. Bowker, in the compilation of the work, represent a large number of our foremost libraries.



GASPARD MONGE.

(1746-1818.)

The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XII. (NO. 2.)

FEBRUARY, 1898.

NO. 501

SCIENCE ON THE CONDUCT OF LIFE.¹

BY DR. GEORGE BRUCE HALSTED.

JULIAN HAWTHORNE says that eight million human beings have just starved to death in India for lack of a few opportune rains. Some have answered that he overestimates the numbers, as not all of the eight million are yet dead.

So it may be best to give the unused words of three bicyclers in a brief glimpse at the reality. They say: "Not a hundred yards from this noisy mirth were several hundred poor, fleshless, bone-protruding, cringing wretches who had crawled in from the famine districts seeking a handful of rice from Government relief commissioners or from the missionaries. They were huddled in a compound, listlessly submitting to 'kismet,' and while uncomplaining about their distress, exhibiting small thankfulness for the aid extended them. There was not an agitator amongst them, not a single denouncer of the Government. They simply squatted in corners, their narrow shoulders perched high, their chocolate skins tightly casing their thin, prominent ribs, a look of blank submission on their faces—a spectacle of inert, heedless starvation.

"There were thousands of trudging pilgrims along the way, worn, ill-fed gangs of men and women who had walked hundreds of miles to make their future state secure by bathing from one of the sacred ghats by the side of the sacred city.

"Down this way is a Hindu dragging a goat to be sacrificed to a goddess who, it is hoped, will cure his sickness; a woman is taking flowers as an offering to the god of creation; down by the river thousands of folk are in mute posture, training the mind to

¹ Presidential Address to the Texas Academy of Science.

"forget the world." "All comers bring flowers and fruit and money, and stretch themselves out before the black stone. And when they have splashed enough water, and tossed enough flowers, and lain long enough on the hard slabs, they go away ever so much better." This straightforward description of three cycling tourists gives a graphic picture of the pre-scientific solutions offered to the problems of life and the accompanying states of mind ; on the one hand physical and moral torpor, apathy, despondency, resignation ; on the other hand a deliberate forcing of a state of abstraction from external reality and a production of subjective effects by intense introversion of self-consciousness.

This latter is illustrated amongst us by what with rich irony is called Christian Science. A lady Christian Scientist doctor was recently called in by a fond mother to treat a child for boils on the head. Turning upward her rapt face, she began by saying "I see no boils." How perfectly evolutionary and archaic this method is was emphasised for me by a recent spontaneous exhibition of it on the part of my youngest child, who had just refused his mother's command to carry a box of matches to his father,

The command being sharply reiterated with threat of dire punishment and the box extended to him, he screamed out, "But I can't see any box of matches ; I can't see any box of matches !"

Neither could he, for he was holding his eyes tight shut.

But for those whose eyes actually open on the real horrors of our world, the impulse to the other archaic solution, the resignation, the kismet, the Calvinism, has been so far almost irresistible.

In our free-silver sister republic this summer I was witness to a scene whose piercing pathos no words of mine can adequately reproduce.

At Guanajuato a funeral entered the Panteon. The hired hearse was a man who carried the hired coffin on his head. The funeral procession consisted of three persons ; two graceful, if bare-footed, bare-headed, ragged little girls, sisters of the corpse, and then the poor mother, heart-broken, dazed, who paid the hearse her last poor little silver coin. The shallow grave was just being finished, and so thick is this ground with human remains that a horrid, loathsome, rotting skull, with patches of stinking flesh and hair, was thrown up at our feet. The very earth was putrid, and into this pit the hired hearse, opening the hired coffin, dumped the half-naked body of a beautiful girl.

Not a single word was spoken.

The grave-digger began shovelling in the fetid dirt.

Looking from the face of the agonised mother to the bare, dead feet still protruding from the earth, I felt an appreciation of Tolstoi's solution for the problem of this life—*renunciation*. What these our fellows can never have any hope of, that will we also reject, to share their lot with perfect unselfishness, brotherhood. Says Tolstoi: "The vocation of every man and woman is to serve other people." He dwells with stress on the renunciation of our individual happiness. Wonderful is the clearness, simplicity, sweetness of his ideal. Must we accept also its hopelessness?

Here is a truly marvellous personage. He is an erudite scholar of the classics. He writes English, German, French, and has such a mastery of Russian as no man ever had. He is a profound student of the Scriptures in the original tongues. Himself a count, his father was a noble of most ancient lineage, his mother a princess. His *Anna Karénina* is the greatest novel since the world began. His penetration into the deepest sources, the profoundest springs of human action seems supernatural, uncanny. Yet as outcome of intensest wrestling with the problem of this life, the man of whose works Howells says, "To my thinking they transcend in truth, which is the highest beauty, all other works of fiction which have been written"—this man, winner of the world's adoring admiration, puts off the garb of civilisation, dons the inside-out sheepskin coat or the *moozhik*, renounces wealth, denounces courts, ecclesiasticism, militarism, renounces even *meat*, preaches universal non-resistance, goes to ploughing.

Do not imagine that this great man lacks weighty arguments.

Perhaps no one has attempted to compute the daily cost of ecclesiasticism in mere money. No one seems to notice the extraordinary oddness of paying to maintain an army of missionaries to Mexico to convert people already Christians. But some one has reckoned that the standing armies are costing the world eight million dollars per day, a figure easily remembered by association with Hawthorne's eight million starved-to-death subjects of Victoria, whose jubilee was simply a shockingly expensive military pageant.

Only a short time ago Russia passed through the horrors of a gigantic famine. When I sailed down "mother Volga" toward Samara, the centre of the stricken district, despair seemed still brooding over the land. Even in favored years it is only by heroic toil of men and women, moozhik and baba together, throughout the brief season, that grim necessity can be held at bay. All ap-

pliances are still of the most primitive kind. I saw new windmills building of precisely the pattern charged on by Don Quixote. I saw a moozhik and a baba threshing their wheat on the ground with flails. I saw prisoners for Siberia marching each between two soldiers with fixed bayonets. Through the streets of the cities I saw drawn at a gallop, as with fire horses, holy images to visit sick patients instead of physicians. On the sides of the cathedrals I saw frescoed the immortal souls roasting in blazing hell forever. The whole atmosphere seemed murky with two associated ideas—*obedience* and *punishment*. These two strictly human ideas, obedience, punishment, are very familiar to us also, unfortunately. If they are to be permanently valid in the real universe, Tolstoi's solution of the problem of life can never be gainsaid.

But there is a something which was given no effect among the data which led to that solution, a something called *Science*, now grown to be a mighty, an all-pervading spirit, which must, which will be reckoned with.

In our own time, through Darwin, it has answered the riddle of the ages, Whence come we? We now accept that we came from lower animals by evolution working through millions of years. To one inquiring where are we? it is Science that presents the telescope, the spectroscope, the microscope. Science cuts us into infinitesimal slips with its microtomes, gets inside our eyes with ophthalmoscopes, looks through us with X-rays. Applied science is beginning to feed the world almost apart from human labor. A moozhik, on an American wheat farm, watching the same machine reap the wheat, thresh the wheat, make bags, pack the wheat in bags, tie them up and deposit them ready for shipment, would be prepared to believe the actual fact that last year we deliberately burned more than a hundred thousand tons of molasses.

The reign of brute strength of the body is doomed even in the barbarous arts of war. The modern Greeks are a remarkably strong athletic race. Witness the fact that a Greek peasant lately won the long-distance race against the whole world. But when these athletes, backed by their knowledge of Greek and by the prayers of the combined Protestant Church, Catholic Church, Greek Church, faced the villainous race who have been horrifying the world by their wholesale murder of Christian Armenians, and inconceivable atrocities to Armenian women and children, behold the noble Greeks exercising all their great running powers to get away from these butchers of Christian women. Oh, for a tiny division of those tiny, polite, intellectual little dwarfs called Japanese! Oh, the con-

sequent howls of those villain Turks! You know the Japanese appreciate the non-Euclidean Geometry.

When I was in Hungary everywhere swords and sabres obtruded themselves. The Hungarian women are beauties gifted with eternal youth. The Hungarian men are big, whole-souled athletes. Their lavish hospitality prevented my saying to them that in real scientific warfare nowadays the sword is of about as much account as a bologna sausage.

Note in the newspapers that what saves the British armies is the Maxim gun; what is breaking the fetters of Cuba is dynamite. Why are the dervishes just now at a discount? Answer: the portable steamboats made in sections and to draw not over three feet of water.

Science will be the great missionary to abolish the slavery of compulsory military service, because the time is coming when a few assistants from the chemical and physical laboratories of the universities will be able to annihilate an army of prize-drilled companies. Good-bye to the soldier, and good riddance!

But even more surely has Science undermined the reign of obedience and punishment in the theory of this world and the world to come.

Some think that a law is an enactment of some legislative body wise or otherwise, and that if you do not obey it you deserve the decreed punishment. But the laws of science can neither be obeyed nor disobeyed. Take as typical the law of gravity, which is that every particle of matter attracts every other particle directly as the mass and inversely as the square of the distance. You cannot obey this law. You cannot disobey it. It is simply a statement of how your material particles act, and nothing can help them or hinder them for a single moment from so acting.

As the man of science sees once for all that no one can disobey the laws of nature, he questions the grounds on which he has been exhorted to obey the fallible laws of man, and the warranty for the terrible punishments, here and hereafter, which he has been declared to deserve. If man is the result of evolution in accordance with natural laws, there was no fall of man, and he scarcely deserved eternal conscious punishment for not hurrying his ascent. Laws that can be disobeyed can be only advice on the conduct of life. Each must be the judge when this advice is inapplicable or should be rejected. The commandment to keep the seventh day, the Sabbath, Saturday, the early Church thought best

to modify by substituting for a breaking of this command a keeping of a new command to keep the first day, Sunday.

Most primitive, most obvious is that absolute commandment : "Thou shalt not kill." It has already been brought to your attention that the governments are paying eight million dollars a day to keep in readiness for wholesale killing of men.

A startling instance of a single man taking this commandment as advice to be weighed, accepted, rejected, was the surgeon hurrying through the mass of shattered, wounded humanity on a great war ship in the late Chinese war. Armed with a powerful atomiser charged with prussic acid,—instant death,—his adverse decision on the advisability of attempting treatment was one quick jet in the face, and the shattered masses of agony, that had been men, strained toward him, stretching their distorted faces toward the instant death. Was the surgeon right? If so, there is no command which may not need breaking. There are only two grounds, then, on which a man may be punished—for the good of himself or for the good of others. But science teaches unselfish love for others, so to harm another is to harm us all. If the advice in any law is good advice, the one who for any reason does not take that advice is to be sincerely pitied, perhaps more deeply pitied than the unmistakable lunatic.

In the high-school building of a thriving Texas city the superintendent showed me a large table and told me with evident pride how he had forty boys leaning over that table at the same time while he hurried around it with his trusty rod administering to each a resounding thwack. The local bank president, whose son was a pupil, extolled the perfection of the training by saying that the instant a boy was commanded he obeyed quick as flash. I answered that nothing could induce me to subject a boy of mine to such volitional ruin. I preferred that my boys should balk automatically at anything that even sounded like a command.

A careful and judicious expert says : "Man's temptation to lie is the most expensive item in all commercial transactions."

The essence of the scientist is an ineradicable passion for verifiable truth.

What example of applied science more obvious than the bicycle? The principle that holds it erect was familiar through the mathematics of the gyroscope. The ball-bearings are elementary geometry, not to mention the tangential spokes, the pneumatic tire, the air-pump, and all the rest.

How substitute a machine for the human type-setter?

At the World's Fair was a machine which imitated the man by actually setting the type, but the solution as seen in the machines in use in this city is vastly different. Instead of type they set moulds for letters, and cast each line from the molten metal.

Beautiful as a fairy tale it is to see them distribute back all these matrices by an application of pure geometry.

The thousands and thousands of perceptive acts, of volitional acts in every small piece of type distribution are saved for higher thinking.

And finally, all this gives but slightest hint of the many ways science now is storing her vast potential of physical and mental energy for application in the service of truth and unselfishness.

Surely her truth will make you free !

THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

IT MAY OCCUR to mythographers that I treat as historical narratives and names that cannot be taken so seriously; but in a study of primitive culture fables become facts and evidences. A grand harvest awaits that master of mythology and folklore who shall bravely explore the legends of David and Solomon, but in the present essay mythical details can only be dealt with incidentally. Some of these may be considered at the outset.

It is said in 1 Kings i.: "Now King David was old and "stricken in years; and they covered him with clothes, but he gat "no heat. Wherefore his servants said unto him, Let there be "sought for my lord the king a young virgin: and let her stand "before the king, and cherish him; and let her lie in thy bosom, "that my lord the king may get heat. So they sought for a fair "damsel throughout all the coasts of Israel, and found Abishag "the Shunammite, and brought her to the king. And the damsel "was very fair; and she cherished the king and ministered to him; but the king knew her not."

That this story is characteristic of lustful David cannot blind us to the fact of its improbability. Whatever may be meant by "the coasts of Israel," the impression is conveyed of a long journey, and it is hardly credible that so much time should be taken for a moribund monarch. Many interpretations are possible of the name Abishag, but it is usually translated "Father (or source) of error." However this may be, the story bears a close resemblance to the search for a wife for Isaac. When Abraham sent out this commission he also "was old and well stricken in age," and of Rebekah it is said, "The damsel was very fair to look upon, a virgin, neither had any man known her." (Gen. xxiv.) Rebekah means "ensnarer," and Abishag "father (source) of error"; and both women cause trouble between two brothers.

There is an Oriental accent about both of these stories. In ancient Indian literature there are several instances of servants sent out to search the world for a damsel fair and wise enough to wed the son and heir of some grand personage. Maya, the mother of Buddha, was sought for in the same way. This of itself is not enough to prove that the Biblical narratives in question are of Oriental origin, but there is a Tibetan tale which contains several details which seem to bear on this point. The tale is that of Viśākhā, and it is accessible to English readers in a translation by Schiefner and Ralston of the "Kah-Gyur." (Trübner's Oriental Series.)

Viśākha was the seventh son of Mrgadhara, prime minister of the king of Kośala. For this youth a bride was sought by a Brahman, who in the land of Champa found a beautiful maiden whose name was also Viśākhā. She was with other girls entering a park, where they all bathed in a tank,—her companions taking off their clothes, but Viśākhā lifting her dress by degrees as she entered the water. Besides showing decorum, this maiden conducted herself differently from the others in everything, some of her actions being mysterious. The Brahman, having contrived to meet her alone, questioned her concerning these peculiarities, for all of which she gave reasons implying exceptional wisdom and virtue. On his return the Brahman described this maiden to the prime minister, who set forth and asked her hand for his son, and she was brought to Kośala on a ship with great pomp. The maiden then for a long time gives evidence of extraordinary wisdom, one example being of special importance to our inquiry: she determines which of two women claiming a child is the real mother. The king and his ministers being unable to settle the dispute, Viśākhā said: "Speak to the two women thus: 'As we do not know to which of you the boy belongs, let her who is the strongest take the boy.' When each of them has taken hold of one of the boy's hands, and he begins to cry out on account of the pain, the real mother will let go, being full of compassion for him, and knowing that if her child remains alive she will be able to see it again; but the other, who has no compassion for him, will not let go. Then beat her with a switch, and she will thereupon confess the truth of the whole matter."

In comparing this with the famous judgment of Solomon there appear some reasons for believing the Oriental tale to be the earlier. In the Biblical tale there is evidently a missing link. Why should the false mother, who had so desired the child, consent to have it cut in two? What motive could she have? But in the

Tibetan tale one of the women is the wife, the other the concubine, of a householder. The wife bore him no child and was jealous of the concubine on account of her babe. The concubine, feeling certain that the wife would kill the child, gave it to her, with her lord's approval; but after his death possession of the house had to follow motherhood of the child. If, however, the child were dead the false claimant would be mistress of the house. Here, then, is a motive wanting in the story of Solomon, and suggesting that the latter is not the original.

In the ancient "Mahosadha Jataka" the false claimant proves to be a Yakshini (a sort of siren and vampire) who wishes to eat the child. To Buddha himself is here ascribed the judgment, which is much the same as that of the "wise Champa maiden," Viśākhā. Here also is a motive for assenting to the child's death or injury which is lacking in the Biblical story.

Here, then, we find in ancient Indian literature a tale which may be fairly regarded as the origin of the "Judgment of Solomon." And it belongs to a large number of Oriental tales in which the situations and accents of the Biblical narratives concerning David and Solomon often occur. There is a cave-born youth, Aśuga, son of a Brahman and a bird-fairy, with a magic lute which accompanies his verses, and who dallies with Brahmadetta's wife. A king, enamored of a beautiful foreign woman beneath him in rank, obtains her by a promise that her son, if one is born, shall succeed him on the throne, to the exclusion of his existing heir by his wife of equal birth; but he permits arrangements for his elder son's succession to go on until induced by a threat of war from the new wife's father and country to fulfil his promise. A prime minister, Mahaushadha, travels in disguise of a Brahman in order to find a true wife: he meets with a witty maiden (Viśākhā) who directs him to her village by a road where he will see her naked at a bathing tank, though she had taken another road. This minister was, like David, lowly born; a "deity" revealed him to the king, as Jahveh revealed David to Samuel; he was a seventh minister, as David was a seventh son, and Solomon also.

Although the number seven was sacred among the ancient Hebrews, it does not appear to have been connected by them with exceptional wisdom or occult powers in man or woman. The ideas in which such legends as "The Seven Wise Masters," "The Seven Sages," and the superstition about a seventh son's second-sight, originate and are traceable to ancient Indo-Iranian theosophy. It may be useful here to read the subjoined extract from

Darmesteter's introduction to the "Vendidad." Having explained that the religion of the Persian Magi is derived from the same source as that of the Indian Rishis, that is from the common forefathers of both Iranian and Indian, he says :

"The Indo-Iranian Asura (the supreme but not the only god) was often conceived as sevenfold: by the play of certain mythical formulæ and the strength of certain mythical numbers, the ancestors of the Indo-Iranians had been led to speak of seven worlds, and the supreme god was often made sevenfold, as well as the worlds over which he ruled. The names and the attributes of the seven gods had not been as yet defined, nor could they be then; after the separation of the two religions, these gods, named Aditya, 'the infinite ones,' in India, were by and by identified there with the sun, and their number was afterwards raised to twelve, to correspond to the twelve aspects of the sun. In Persia, the seven gods are known as Amesha Spentas, 'the undying and well-doing ones'; they by and by, according to the new spirit that breathed in the religion, received the names of the deified abstractions, Vohu-manô (good thought), Asha Vahista (excellent holiness), Khshathra Vairya (perfect sovereignty), Spenta Armaiti (divine piety), Haurvatât and Ameretât (health and immortality). The first of them all was and remained Ahura Mazda; but whereas formerly he had been only the first of them, he was now their father. 'I invoke the glory of the Amesha Spentas, who all seven have one and the same thinking, one and the same speaking, one and the same father and lord, Ahura Mazda.' (Yast xix. 16.)"¹

In Persian religion the Seven are always wise and beneficent. The vast folklore derived from this Parsî religion included the Babylonian belief in seven powerful spirits, associated with the Pleiades, beneficent at certain seasons, but normally malevolent: they all move together, taking possession of human beings, as in the case of the seven devils cast out of Mary Magdalene. In Egypt the seven are always evil. But neither of these sevens are especially clever. In Buddhist legends they are not so carefully classified, the seventh son or daughter manifesting exceptional powers, sometimes of good, sometimes of evil, but they are usually referred to for this wit or wisdom. In the Davidian and Solomonic legends these notions are found as if merely adhering to some importation, and without any perception of the significance of the number seven. David is an eighth son in 1 Sam. xvi. 10-13, but a seventh son in 1 Chron. ii. 16. Solomon is a tenth son in 1 Chron. iii. 1-6, but the seventh *legitimate* son in 2 Sam. xii. 24-25. The word *Sheba* means "the seven," but the early scribes appear to have understood it as *shaba*, "he swears," as in Gen. xxi. 30-31, where after the seven ewe lambs have given the well its name *Beersheba*, it is

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*. Edited by F. Max Müller. Vol. IV. The Zend-Avesta. Part I. The Vendidad. Translated by James Darmesteter. P. lix., at seq.

ascribed the significance of an oath. *Bathsheba* is commonly translated "Daughter of the Oath," but there can be little doubt that the name means "Daughter of the Seven," and that it originated in the astute tricks by which that Hittite woman made herself Queen Mother and her son king, above the lawful heir, whom she was instrumental (perhaps purposely) in getting out of the way by furthering his wishes.

Moral obliquities are little considered in these fair favorites of translunary powers. *Viśākhā*, in one Buddhist tale, gets herself chosen by the Brahman as bride of a great man by her care to veil her charms at the bath; in another tale she attracts a prime minister in disguise, and becomes his wife, partly by laying aside all of her clothing at a bathing tank where she knows he will see her. *Bathsheba's* fame is similarly various. Her nudity and ready adultery with the king did not prevent her from passing into Talmudic tradition as "blessed among women," and to her was even ascribed the beautiful chapter of Proverbs (xxx.) in praise of the virtuous wife! In the "Wisdom of Solomon" she is described as the "handmaiden" of the Lord in anticipation of the Christian ideal of immaculate womanhood.

A similar development might no doubt be traced in the beautiful story of *Viśākhā* of *Shravastī*, the most famous of the female lay-disciples of Buddha. The queries put to her by Buddha and her explanations of her petitions, which had appeared enigmatic, are related in Carus's *Gospel of Buddha*, and in form correspond with the very different questions and solutions that passed between the Brahman and the Tibetan *Viśākhā*, already mentioned. The name *Viśākhā*, from a Sanskrit root, meaning to divide, came to mean selection and intelligence, of all kinds, but in the matron of *Shravastī* wit becomes the genius of charity, and cleverness expands to enlightenment.

The Queen of Sheba,—"Queen of the Seven,"—is a sister spirit of this lay-disciple. Whatever truth may underlie the legends of this lady, there is little doubt of her legendary relation to the Wise Women of Buddhist parables,—to *Viśākhā* of the sevenfold wisdom; and of her who decided between the rival claimants to the same child; to *Ambapālī*, the courtesan, who journeyed to hear Buddha's wisdom and presented to him and his disciples her park and mansion; and to the Queen of Glory, whose story belongs "to a very early period in the history of Buddhism." Such is the opinion of Mr. Rhys Davids, whose translation of the *Mahāsudassana-Sutta*, containing an account of the queen's visit to the King of

Glory, in his Palace of Justice, attended by her fourfold army, and may be read in Vol. XI., p. 276, of *Sacred Books of the East*.

This exaltation of human knowledge and wisdom, travelling to find it, testing it with riddles and questions, belongs to the cult of the Magus and the Pundit.

With reference to the seventh son Viśākha (all-potential) and his all-wise bride Viśākhā, a notable parallelism is found in the substantial identity of "Solomon" and "the Shunnamite," on account of whom he slew his brother Adonijah. Shunnamite is equivalent to Shulamite, substantially the same as Solomon (peaceful), but here probably meaning that she was a "Solomoness," a very wise woman. That such was her reputation appears by the "Song of Songs."

An equally striking comparison may be made between the naming of Solomon and the naming of Mahaushadha, the Tibetan "Solomon" already mentioned as having married a wise Viśākhā. Among the many proofs of wisdom given by this village-born youth was the discovery of the real husband of a woman claimed by two men. One of the men being much the weaker, there could be no such trial as that proposed in the child's case by Viśākhā. Mahaushadha questioned the two men as to what they had last eaten, then made them vomit and so found out which had told the truth. Let us compare this Tibetan minister's birth with that of Solomon :

"When the boy came into the world and his birth-feast was celebrated, the name of Mahaushadha (Great Remedy) was given to him at the request of his mother, inasmuch as she, who had long suffered from illness, and had been unable to obtain relief from the time of the boy's conception, had been cured by him." (*Tib. Tales*, p. 133.)

"And Jahveh struck the child that Uriah's wife bare unto David, and . . . on the seventh day [it was the seventh son] the child died. . . . And David comforted Bathsheba his wife, and went in unto her, and lay with her; and she bare a son, and she called his name Solomon. And Jahveh loved him; and he sent by the hand of Nathan the prophet, and he called his name Jedidiah [Beloved of Jah] for Jahveh's sake." (2 Sam. xii.)

In the Revised Version "she called" is given in the margin as "another reading," but that it is the right reading appears by the context: it was she that was "comforted," and in her babe she found "rest"—which "Solomon" strictly means. Among the Hebrews the naming of a child was an act of authority, and it is difficult to believe that in any purely Hebrew narrative a woman would be described as setting aside the name given by Jahveh himself. But the high position of woman in the Iranian and the Buddhist religions is well known.

In comparative studies the questions to be determined concerning parallel incidents are—whether they are trivial coincidences; whether they are not based in such universal beliefs or simple facts that they may have been of independent origin; whether the historic conditions of time and place admit of any supposed borrowing; if borrowing occurred which is the original? With regard to the above parallelisms I submit that one of them, at least,—the Judgment of Solomon,—is neither trivial nor based in simple facts, and could not have originated independently of the Indian tale; that the others, though each, if it stood alone, might be a mere coincidence, are too numerous to be so explained; that the time and conditions which rendered it possible that the names of the apes and peacocks (1 Kings x. 22) imported by Solomon should be Indian proves the possibility of importations of tales from the same country. (See Rhys Davids's *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. xlvii.)

The question remaining to be determined—which region was the borrower—cannot be settled, in the present cases, by the relative antiquity of the books in which they are found: not only are the ages of all the books, Hebrew and Oriental, doubtful, but they are all largely made up of narratives long anterior to their compilation. The safest method, therefore, must be study of the intrinsic character of each narrative with a view to discovering the country to whose intellectual and social fauna and flora, so to say, it is most related, and which of the stories bears least of the faults incidental to translation. I have applied this touchstone to the above examples, and believe that the Oriental stories are the originals. The Judgment of Solomon appears to me to have lost an essential link, a *motif*, which it retains in Buddhist versions. And I do not believe that any Hebrew Bathsheba could have set aside a name given her child by a prophet, in the name of Jahveh, in order to celebrate by another name the "rest" she found from her sorrows.

On the other hand, the borrowings by other countries from the legend of Solomon appear much more numerous. In some cases, as the legend of Jemshîd, there appear to have been exchanges between the two great sages, but the Solomonic traditions seem preponderant in Vikramadatsya, the demon-commanding hero of India. Solomon became a proverb of wisdom and liberality in Abyssinia, Arabia, and Persia. Ideal Sulaimans and Solimas abound. Solomon has influenced the legends of many heroes, such as Haroun-Alraschid and Charlemagne, and I will even venture

a suspicion that the fame, and perhaps the name, of Solon have been influenced by the legend of Solomon. Lexicographers give no account of Solon's name; he is assigned to a conjectural period before written Greek existed; his interviews with Cræsus, given in Herodotus, are hopelessly unhistorical, and his moralisings to the rich man recall the book of Proverbs. The Solon of Plato's *Critias* is already a mythological voyager, a Sindebad-Solomon, and his romance of the lost Atlantis is like an idealised rumor of the Wise Man's Kingdom. Solon's "history" was developed by Plutarch, seven centuries after the era assigned to the sage, out of poetical fragments ascribed to him, and he is represented as a great trader and traveller in the regions associated with Solomon. It is doubtful whether this chief of the Seven Sages, whose Solomonic motto was "Know Thyself" (cf. Prov. xiv. 8), could he reappear would know himself as historically costumed by writers in our era, from Plutarch to Grote.

At any rate there is little doubt of a reference to the Seven Spentas or to the Seven Sages in Proverbs ix. 1 :

" Wisdom hath builded her house,
She hath hewn out her seven pillars."

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.¹

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

BY PROF. C. H. CORNILL.

VIII.—From Simon the Maccabean to Herod the Great.

IN THE YEAR 141 the Maccabeans had accomplished all that could be accomplished. Judea was actually independent of the Syrian Empire and this independence was formally acknowledged also by the Syrians, King Antiochus VII. Sidetes having conceded to Simon even the right to coin money, the outward sign of sovereignty. Simon, the last of the five heroic brothers, had become hereditary prince and high priest, the clerical revolt had finally led to the establishment of a secular state. If the incongruity in this was not felt at first it was due to the personality of Simon.

Simon was a genuinely pontifical and at the same time a genuinely royal figure. Upon his venerable gray head tiara and crown could be joined without any evident impropriety. Of absolutely pure character and genuine piety, he exercised his sway in an episcopal spirit as the protector of right and faith, of law and justice: one recalls spontaneously the ideal figures of the clerical princes of the early Middle Ages before the Church had grown worldly. But Simon also conducted his civil rule with circumspection and on a large scale, as is proved by the fact that he conquered Joppa and developed and improved the harbor there with great pains and expense, in order thus to open for his people a direct outlet to the sea. True, Antiochus VII., the last vigorous ruler on the throne of the Seleucidæ, with shameful disregard of his royal promise,

¹ Translated from the manuscript of Prof. C. H. Cornill, by W. H. Carruth of the University of Kansas.

tried again to force Judea into the former subjection to the Syrian Empire ; but his general, Kendebeus, was so decisively defeated by Simon's sons at Modein, the birthplace of the Maccabean family that Simon was left unmolested.

Among the Maccabean rulers Simon is the most brilliant figure and the noblest personality, and his reign one of the happiest periods ever experienced by Israel. And yet it was to close with a harsh dissonance, and Simon, like all four of his brothers, was to die a violent death.

Simon had given to a certain Ptolemy, commandant of the fortress of Dok, near Jericho, one of his daughters in marriage ; while on an inspection trip he visited his son-in-law, accompanied by his two sons, and during a banquet which Ptolemy gave for their reception he had his father-in-law and his two brothers-in-law assassinated in February, 135.

Ptolemy also sent out assassins against Simon's other son, John, surnamed Hyrcanus ; but news of the murder had already reached him ; he immediately threw himself with all his troops into Jerusalem and thus saved the dominion of his house. His first enterprise was of course to avenge the murder of his father and his brothers. He marched to Dok ; but his aged mother was also there, and upon this fact Ptolemy based a fiendish scheme.

When Hyrcanus opened the siege, this monster brought his mother-in-law upon the walls half naked, had her scourged before the eyes of her son till the blood ran, and threatened to throw her from the wall unless Hyrcanus immediately desisted from the siege. The mother, indeed, conjured her son to ignore her torment : she would gladly endure the most terrible death if only the deserved punishment might overtake the murderer of her husband and her sons ; but Hyrcanus desisted from the siege and contented himself with investing the fortress. And as the sabbatical year began soon after, he raised the siege entirely and withdrew.

Ptolemy now slew the mother also and fled the land of Judea, where of course he was no longer safe. But Hyrcanus was to suffer an even heavier visitation and keener sorrow. Antiochus Sidetes had only deferred his plans, not given them up ; in the very first year of Hyrcanus's rule, 135, he began a war against him which must have lasted several years and brought Judea to the verge of the abyss.

As far as we can conclude from incidental allusions, Antiochus reconquered the whole country and finally besieged Jerusalem for more than a year. A terrible famine ensued and all was given up

for lost when Hyrcanus determined to treat, and obtained reasonable terms. Such moderation toward one utterly vanquished is always suspicious: indeed it is not difficult to infer that it was an utterance from Rome that saved the Jews. Hyrcanus in his great straits had turned toward Rome, and Rome did not wish to let Antiochus grow too mighty; he had to renounce the anticipated prize of his victory, but Hyrcanus became again wholly subject to the Syrian empire; the walls of Jerusalem were razed and Hyrcanus had to pay tribute and furnish troops.

Thus we see that he accompanied Antiochus in the year 129 on his great campaign against the Parthians, and Antiochus, out of consideration for his Jewish troops, had his whole army rest for two days because Pentecost and a Sabbath came that year in immediate succession and the Jews refused to march on these two days. But Antiochus fell the following year, 128, and from that moment Hyrcanus is again practically independent.

The last sixty years of Syrian history offer a disgusting picture of contemptible tricks and crimes, of quarrels over the succession and of civil wars; these degenerate kings were no longer a real danger for Judea. Hyrcanus now became a victorious aggressor. He was convinced that the mere popular militia was no longer sufficient; therefore he kept a standing army of mercenaries who, obedient to his every nod, were an ever ready tool in his hand. Plainly he contemplated renewing the kingdom of David. First he advanced victoriously upon the east bank of the Jordan and in the ancient land of Moab; then he captured Sichem and destroyed the Samaritan sanctuary upon Mount Gerizim; then he turned southward against the old land of Edom, subdued this too and compelled the Idumeans to receive circumcision and the Jewish law.

Finally he advanced upon Samaria. The Samaritans appealed for aid to the neighboring Seleucid, Antiochus IX. Cyzicanus, and Judea was laid waste by Syrian and Egyptian troops; but at last Hyrcanus prevailed, advanced victoriously as far as Scythopolis, and took Samaria after a long and hard siege; the city was razed to the ground and the neighboring brooks diverted across the site.

This is all that we know of the thirty years' reign of Hyrcanus, and we cannot refuse our admiration and recognition for what he accomplished: after the days of Solomon no Israelite ruled over so great and powerful a state as John Hyrcanus.

But what of the high priest? is the involuntary question. The answer is found in the fact, reported by Josephus and the Talmud alike, that under him the conflict with the Pharisees arose. We are

told that Hyrcanus at first favored the Pharisees in every way, and sought their favor. On one occasion when he had them all at his table he begged them to remind him openly and honestly when he did anything contrary to the law. Thereupon all the Pharisees were full of his praise; only one *enfant terrible*, Eleazar, said: "If you wish to know the truth, be content with the principality, and give up the high-priesthood." At the suggestion of a Sadducee named Jonathan, Hyrcanus asked the Pharisees what punishment Eleazar deserved for that utterance, and the Pharisees replied: "Forty stripes less one." Hyrcanus, who had expected that they would condemn him to death for blasphemy against his prince, conceived from this moment on a deep distrust of the Pharisees, renounced them utterly and threw himself into the arms of the Sadducees.

Even though the anecdote form of the tradition betray it as unhistorical, the fact itself is beyond question, and results with absolute necessity from the circumstances. The inner incongruity which the extraordinary personality of Simon had hidden was revealed even under his son. In the whole nature of Jewish conditions the priesthood was the capital matter. But for Hyrcanus the tiara had fallen to the rank of a mere decoration; he was a secular prince just like the neighboring heathen kings, his state was a purely secular realm which was no longer able to pursue spiritual aims, no longer had spiritual cares.

But the most awkward self-contradiction lay in the point which Eleazar had ruthlessly laid bare. The Maccabeans were the champions and pioneers of the law: zeal for the law of Moses had impelled and advanced them; even their political aims and objects found in the law and religion not a pretext, but their real foundation. And now they themselves were violating the law: the very pinnacle of the structure which was founded on the law was a violation of the law. Inasmuch as the Maccabees were not Aaronites, eligible to the high-priesthood, their whole occupancy of the office was illegal, a perpetual violation and mockery of the law, which could be made endurable only by extraordinary ethical merit and personal qualities. As soon as these failed the dilemma was precipitated.

The Pharisees, wholly proof against all political or national opportunism, remained true to the foundation principles, and on this basis antagonised the Maccabean state and the Maccabean princes, and so these in sheer self-defence were constrained to suppress the spirit which had created and elevated them. Hyrcanus, indeed, was a ruler of such force that he remained master of the

situation ; but it was a "mene tekell" for the future. The conflict was inevitably to become more violent and burst forth more tremendously just in proportion as the Maccabean rulers developed fewer priestly qualities, and the more baldly and undisguisedly the secular sway became their sole aim and ambition.

And indeed the degeneration of the family that had begun so gloriously made colossal progress ; dominion had demoralised and poisoned them. While the contrast between Hyrcanus and his great father Simon is immense, we find in his two sons and successors personages who remind us of the most corrupt popes of the Renaissance period, of Sixtus IV., Innocence VIII., and Alexander VI.

Hyrcanus died in the year 105. By will he left the rule to his widow ; the oldest of his two sons, Judas Aristobulus (all the Maccabeans henceforth bear double names, one Jewish and the other Greek) was to succeed him in the high-priesthood only. But Aristobulus let his mother die of hunger in prison, and was the first to adopt with the rule also the royal title, calling himself "King of the Jews." Three of his brothers he had imprisoned ; the fourth he at first trusted blindly, but later, as his distrust was aroused, had him murdered.

In the face of these reports of the Jewish historian Josephus it strikes us as very strange when a Greek historian calls Aristobulus a humane man and a good ruler. But the puzzle can be explained. Aristobulus called himself officially "Phil-Hellene," the friend of the Greeks, thus boldly denying the principles and the traditions of his family : this explains the partiality of the Greek as well as the dislike of the Jew.

The chief event of his short reign is the conquest and Judaising of Galilee, whereby he rounded out the realm of the Maccabees and reunited under his sceptre all the territories formerly belonging to Israel. But after one short year he died of a hemorrhage. As he left no children, his widow, Alexandra-Salome, merely observed the law in bestowing her hand after her husband's death upon the eldest of his brothers, Jonathan-Alexander. Thus Alexander Jannæus, the third son of Hyrcanus, became king and high priest, 104. One brother who was said to be striving for the throne was immediately executed ; the fifth, who was quite harmless, was honored as a prince of the blood.

Alexander Jannæus is perhaps the most unattractive and worthless personage in all Jewish history. Even his father, Hyrcanus, despised him, and there was nothing great or good about him to

reconcile us to him: his entire reign of twenty-six years was one succession of raids and wars in which he did not even manifest strategic gifts, and of outrages which rank him with the most reprobate characters in history.

He first made a campaign of conquest toward the sea-coast. There Ptolemais, Gaza, and Strato's Tower, ruled over by a certain Zoilus, had not yet been incorporated with the Jewish kingdom. Alexander first attacked Ptolemais. The inhabitants in their need turned for aid to the Egyptian prince, Ptolemy Lathuros, who, expelled from Egypt by his mother, Cleopatra, had established a dominion in Cyprus, and Alexander was obliged to raise the siege. But soon he made friends with Ptolemy, who was a fellow spirit, and promised him a large sum if he would slay Zoilus and turn the latter's little coast realm over to him. But at the same time Alexander opened negotiations with Cleopatra whereby she was to drive his new bosom friend out of the country. Ptolemy learned of this and began a fearful persecution of unhappy Judea. Alexander was utterly defeated, and Ptolemy gave his troops orders to butcher and cook in the camp-kettles the captive Jewish women and children, in order that the Jews might believe them to be cannibals and have a proper fear of them. But mother Cleopatra actually did come upon the scene and expelled her son from Palestine, compelling him to withdraw to Cyprus. But then Cleopatra wished to confiscate the former Egyptian province, and could be dissuaded from this purpose only by her Jewish general Ananias. Scarcely was Alexander fairly relieved from this danger when he undertook new conquests toward the north, the south, the east and the west, the details of which are of no interest to us.

Rather is our gaze attracted to the deep domestic difficulties. That this man who passed his whole life in camp among harlots and rowdies was high priest and actually officiated as such on high holidays was too cruel a mockery of every religious sentiment to continue any length of time; the contradiction between idea and reality had become so sharp that it could no longer be ignored. While officiating at the Feast of Tabernacles the king even went so far as to express a blasphemous ridicule of the sacred ceremony, whereupon the patience of the people gave out and they threw at the contemptible high priest the lemons which they were carrying for the celebration; the king gave command to his troops to use their swords, and six thousand people perished in the temple on the sacred holiday. Alexander then had a wooden barrier built

about the altar to secure him in the future against such material testimonials of the sentiments of his subjects.

The heaped-up tinder needed only a spark to flash out into vivid flames. Alexander began a quarrel with an Arab sheik named Obedas, and in the course of time fell into an ambush from which he barely saved his life. When he arrived in Jerusalem thus, a deserted fugitive, an open rebellion broke out and a six years' war resulted, in which fifty thousand Jews are said to have perished.

Now Alexander thought the time had come to offer the hand of peace, and he asked what was wanted of him, whereupon the Pharisees answered: "Your head." At the same time they appealed for help to the neighboring Seleucid, Demetrius III. Eucairus. Matters came to an issue at Sichem. On the one side stood the Pharisees and the national party in alliance with the Syrians, on the other side the Jewish king and high priest with an army consisting almost exclusively of Greek mercenaries; Alexander was totally defeated, his army was scattered, and he himself wandered about in the mountains a hunted fugitive.

But now there came a reaction. The Pharisees were ready to accept again subjection to the Syrian Empire. Against this, however, the national instinct rebelled: they deserted to Alexander in troops, Demetrius withdrew from the country, and now the Pharisees were exposed defenceless to the vengeance of the tyrant. They threw themselves into the fortress of Bethome, which, however, was soon captured. Now Alexander led his captives in triumph to Jerusalem, where a terrible judgment awaited them. Eight hundred crosses were set up and all the chiefs of the party were crucified; before their eyes as they were dying Alexander's executioners butchered their wives and children, while the tyrant, carousing and feasting in the midst of his harlots and dancers, looked on at the horrible spectacle. And this was the Jewish high priest!

Now all who were in any way compromised left the country, and for the remainder of his reign Alexander had domestic peace.

But wars did not cease; however, we shall pass over their shifting issues. When Alexander had succeeded in conquering the whole of the country east of the Jordan he was received in triumph by the people at Jerusalem. The regions and cities conquered there were almost wholly Greek, and this is the only point in which Alexander manifested his Judaism: he compelled the conquered Greek cities to submit to circumcision and the Jewish religion; if

they refused to submit he destroyed them, as we have evidence in a large number of cases.

But soon his wild and dissolute life brought upon him a severe illness. Even then he did not rest, until at last at the siege of Ragaba his fate overtook him; only forty-eight years old, he died in the year 78, and is said to have given his widow on his dying bed the advice to make peace with the Pharisees and be guided by them.

If this tradition is correct it means that Alexander himself perceived that the work of his life squandered in adventures was in vain. True, at the close there was no lack of outward success: the kingdom which Alexander left at his death equalled in extent the kingdom of David, but it is easy to understand that a glory acquired by such means bore within itself no guaranty of permanency. There were two ways of maintaining it: either the whole must be placed upon an ethical basis and thus be conquered morally after the physical conquest, or what had been acquired by violence must be maintained by violence.

At first they tried the first way. Alexander left two youthful sons: the elder, Hyrcanus, was an indolent, narrow, and incompetent person, the younger, Aristobulus, shrewd, impetuous, and energetic, the image of his father. Alexander had provided in his will that Hyrcanus should succeed him only in the high-priesthood, while the government was to be in the hands of his widow, and this provision was obeyed: Alexandra-Salome was in uncontested possession of the royal power for nine years until her death (78-69). She is said to have been a sister of the celebrated Simon ben Shetach, the head at the time of the school of the Pharisees, and there is no question that she was a really pious woman and a sincere adherent of the Pharisaic party.

Thus a complete change of system came about: she had only the name of ruler, the Pharisees the actual rule. For this reason this queen is celebrated and praised by Jewish tradition more than any member of the house of the Maccabees; her reign is said to have been outwardly a truly Golden Age for Judea.

But now the Pharisees began a reign of terror, and held such bloody reckoning with their ancient enemies that finally a deputation of the Sadducean nobility, led by the queen's own son Aristobulus went to her to remonstrate and declare that things could not continue thus, and Alexandra actually checked the vengeance of her friends. Aristobulus and his friends asked for an honorable exile from court in such a form that they might serve their father-

land in the army, and Alexandra turned over to them all the fortresses of the country save three. Moreover Aristobulus waged in her name a war against Damascus, in which, however, he won no laurels.

The great danger to which Judea was exposed from Tigranes, king of the Armenians, who had conquered the shadowy empire of the Seleucidæ, was happily averted. After nine years Alexandra was taken mortally ill. Now Aristobulus thought that the moment for action had come: he withdrew secretly from Jerusalem, made a league with his Sadducean friends and prepared to secure by force the succession to his mother. Before there was any outbreak Alexandra died. Hyrcanus now assumed the crown, but was decisively beaten by Aristobulus at Jericho and compelled to retreat to Jerusalem. Here he had the wife and children of his brother in his power, and thus a compromise was finally concluded by which Hyrcanus retained all his revenues but formally resigned the high-priesthood and the crown to Aristobulus; to seal the compact Alexandra, the only child of Hyrcanus, was betrothed to Alexander, the eldest son of Aristobulus.

Hyrcanus was satisfied with the settlement and would probably have led a life of peace and quiet until his end if fate had not destined him to be forever the plaything of others' passions, a dummy for the intrigues and plans of others. In spite of his abdication he was after all and remained the legitimate heir of the house of the Maccabees, and that was his doom.

The Jewish general who served as prefect in Idumea was a certain Antipater, whose father, of the same name, had enjoyed the especial confidence of Alexander Jannæus. This man, for whose ambitious plans the weakling Hyrcanus was better adapted than the energetic Aristobulus, devoted himself to a systematic instigation of the abdicated ruler and to making sentiment for him among the people. At first Hyrcanus would not hear of the matter, but finally Antipater represented so persistently that his life was in danger at the hands of his brother, that he actually permitted himself to be persuaded to flee from Jerusalem to the Arab sheik Aretas, who proposed in consideration of a promise to restore the Arabian territory conquered by Alexander Jannæus, to re-establish him in his kingdom. In fact a war resulted and Aristobulus was utterly defeated, being compelled to take refuge in the temple at Jerusalem, where Aretas and Hyrcanus besieged him.

In this connexion Josephus reports two characteristic details. There lived at that time an especially pious man named Onias, to

whose prayers miraculous efficacy was attributed. He was brought before the temple to pronounce a curse upon Aristobulus. But Onias said: "Almighty God! Those beside me are thy people, the besieged are thy priests; therefore neither hear those nor help these." But this conciliatory mood was not in accord with the wishes of his employers, and Onias was forthwith stoned to death.

But now Pascha came on. The beleaguered priests wished most urgently to celebrate Pascha, and begged the besiegers humbly to admit to them the necessary animals for sacrifice. For each separate animal the immense sum of one thousand silver shekels was demanded, and the requisite sum was actually let down over the walls. The besiegers pocketed the money but did not furnish the animals.

But the last word already belonged to Rome, which was just preparing to give the "sick man" in Syria the finishing stroke. Pompey had conquered Mithradates and subdued Tigranes of Armenia, and was now making a clean sweep of Asia. He first sent a legate, Scaurus, into Syria to look after things. The legate went also into Judea. Aristobulus, who well knew how to treat the Romans of that day, promised Scaurus a large sum of money; Hyrcanus could not fall behind his brother, and promised a like sum. But Scaurus decided in favor of Aristobulus and commanded the Arabian king to raise the siege of Jerusalem forthwith. Aretas ventured no opposition, and on his retreat Aristobulus inflicted upon him a severe defeat.

This was a great temporary success for Aristobulus, but the final decision still lay in the hands of Pompey. Next year he came in person. Aristobulus tried to win his favor by a valuable present; in Damascus the two brothers appeared before his tribunal, and at the same time a Jewish delegation which urged Pompey to abolish the royal dignity altogether and to restore the old sacerdotal constitution in accordance with the law. Pompey was dilatory in the matter and directed all parties for the present to keep the peace; but Aristobulus had no confidence in the truce and prepared for resistance. Now Pompey marched into Judea; when the Romans appeared before Jerusalem Aristobulus lost courage; he surrendered to Pompey and promised also to turn the city over to him, but the lieutenant general, Gabinius, who was to make the entry, found the gates closed. Although there was no evidence of a breach of faith on the part of Aristobulus, Pompey, angered by this, threw him into chains and prepared to take the city by force.

In Jerusalem the parties were not harmonious. The adherents

of Hyrcanus saw in the Romans allies, while the adherents of Aristobulus were determined to resist to the utmost; they withdrew into the temple, while the city surrendered to the Romans. Three months the siege of the temple lasted; finally, on the Day of Atonement in the year 63, the younger Sulla, a son of the dictator, led the scaling of the wall, and then began a frightful massacre; the priests, who refused to desist from their ceremonies, were cut down at the altar, and twelve thousand persons met their death in the temple.

Pompey held his entry, and, despite the most urgent protests, entered the Holy of Holies, though he left the treasures of the temple untouched. The heads of the war party were executed, the walls of Jerusalem razed, and all lands not hereditary Jewish possessions were sequestered and added to the new Roman province of Syria; over what remained was placed the reappointed high priest Hyrcanus, as tributary Roman vassal without the royal title.

Aristobulus and his four children were taken to Rome; the eldest son, Alexander, succeeded in escaping on the way; the other three, together with their father, were compelled to walk in front of the chariot of the emperor as a spectacle for the Roman populace on the occasion of the great triumph of Pompey in the year 61.

In Judea the all-powerful man was now Antipater, who managed to make himself ever more indispensable to Hyrcanus, and actually exercised whatever authority the Romans thought best to leave in their hands. The sole ambition of both these men was to make themselves popular with their new lords and useful to them.

We have little positive knowledge of the whole succeeding period. In the year 57 Aristobulus, the son of Alexander who escaped, undertook a revolutionary incursion into Judea, and actually gained some successes at first; but when the Romans took the matter seriously he had to surrender. The fortresses were razed, but Alexander himself got off easily, probably because he treated the Roman general in the right way, that is, with clinking arguments.

In order to repress any new disposition to revolt Gabinius divided the country into five independent districts, each of which had its own sanhedrin like that at Jerusalem; all that was now left to Hyrcanus was the high-priesthood. But in the very next year, 56, Aristobulus himself with his younger son Antigonus, succeeded in escaping from Rome and raising the standard of revolt. He was received with rejoicings, but was soon once more a Roman pris-

oner; he was sent to Rome and kept now in close confinement, while his children were liberated. The following year young Alexander tried his fortune again, but accomplished nothing, despite the enthusiastic support which he found.

The next year, 54, was to show the Jews what they might expect from the Romans. The triumvir Crassus visited Jerusalem and actually sacked the temple: he is said to have carried off partly in coin, partly in other valuables, ten thousand talents, that is, about nine million dollars. Now there broke out under the lead of a certain Pithalaüs a new rebellion the only results of which were that the ringleader was executed and thirty thousand Jews sold into slavery.

With the year 49 begins the great crisis in ancient history marked by the Roman civil wars. The fate of Judea is henceforth dependent on the destinies of Rome, and is the mere echo of the latter's fluctuant events. Cæsar, in order to make trouble for Pompey in the Orient, released the captive Aristobulus and was about to send him to Judea at the head of two legions, but the adherents of Pompey poisoned him; his body was embalmed and deposited later in the tomb of the Maccabees. Now his son, the old enemy of Rome, became an object of suspicion, although he had made no move as yet; at the express command of Pompey he was prosecuted and beheaded at Antiochia on account of his former crimes against the Roman people.

When the destiny of Rome was decided at Pharsalia, Hyrcanus and Antipater immediately went over to the victor, and were able to render him such material service on his Egyptian campaign that the full favor of Cæsar rested upon them in the rearrangement of Syrian affairs. True Antigonus, the younger son of Aristobulus, appeared and called attention to the fact that his father and his elder brother had lost their lives in the service of Cæsar; but Cæsar was too practical a politician to be accessible to the suggestions of sentiment. Antigonus withdrew with empty hands.

Cæsar abolished the division of the country proposed by Gabinius, confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood, and appointed him ethnarch of the whole country; Antipater received the title of procurator as well as Roman citizenship and exemption from taxation. Cæsar also permitted the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem which had been destroyed by Pompey, and in general showed the Jews especial favor in order to attach to himself and his cause this race which was already an international power. Thus it is ex-

pressly reported that the death of Cæsar was mourned by no other people so sincerely as by the Jews.

Who the actual ruler was in Judea was soon to appear through a striking instance. Antipater had appointed his two sons, Phasaël and Herod, as generals. In this capacity Herod had defeated and captured in Galilee Hezekiah, a so-called robber chief, that is, a volunteer soldier hostile to Rome, and had executed the whole band in short order. The sanhedrin saw in this an infringement of its rights. Herod was summoned to Jerusalem. He came, indeed, but at the head of a strong military force, and appeared defiantly before the sanhedrin. For Hyrcanus, who presided over the sanhedrin, had received from Sextus Cæsar, the legate in Syria, an explicit command to acquit Herod. But the Pharisee Shammai, the most distinguished member of the sanhedrin, was not to be intimidated; he declared openly that Herod deserved death, and that the sanhedrin, if it acquitted him, would incur a heavy guilt which Herod himself would some day severely punish. After this speech, which made a deep impression upon the sanhedrin, Hyrcanus adjourned the session and advised Herod to withdraw secretly from Jerusalem. Herod did so, but soon returned with a still greater force, and could be dissuaded from an attack upon Jerusalem only with the greatest difficulty.

At this point the death of Cæsar changed the whole situation instantly. One of the murderers of Cæsar, Cassius, went to Asia, and soon all the Roman troops there swore allegiance to him. Then Antipater and Herod made haste to show the new master their devotion, and were especially steadfast in satisfying the financial wants of the ever impecunious Cassius. Suddenly Antipater died of poison. A certain Malichus had been endeavoring to acquire the same influence over Hyrcanus that Antipater exercised, and so had the latter poisoned; but he was not to reap the reward of his deed, for soon assassins hired by Herod put an end to him.

In the midst of this general confusion there were again new disturbances in Judea. In Jerusalem a certain Helix rebelled against Phasaël, and in the north Antigonus, the youngest surviving son of Aristobulus, made an incursion into Galilee; both uprisings were suppressed only with difficulty. Then came the day of Philippi: the glory of Cassius was past and Antony was ruler of Asia. The position of Herod, who owed everything to Cæsar, was critical, and made worse by the fact that a delegation of Jews was marching to meet Antony, bearing most serious charges against Herod and Phasaël. But Antony had known Herod personally in earlier days,

and in them were two congenial souls who could not fail to please each other. Antony dismissed the accusers and appointed Herod and Phasaël as tetrarchs, thereby merely legalising the actual situation; Hyrcanus retired altogether into his high-priesthood.

But soon a remarkable chain of circumstances was to call once more a Maccabee to the throne of Judea. In the year 40 occurred that fearful invasion of the Parthians which brought all Asia into their hands. Antigonus now entered into negotiations with the Parthians and promised them a thousand talents of gold and five hundred of the fairest Jewish maidens if they would restore him to the kingdom of his father, Aristobulus. Against these hosts all resistance was in vain. Herod found safety in a daring flight, Phasaël and Hyrcanus fell into the power of the Parthians. Phasaël dashed out his brains in prison; Hyrcanus, after his ears had been cut off at the command of his nephew in order to permanently disqualify him for the high-priesthood, was dragged away into captivity by the Parthians.

Thus Antigonus was king and high priest by the grace of the Parthians, and maintained himself in his position for three years, from 40 to 37. His Hebrew name was Mattathias, so that this last degenerate descendant bore the same name as the glorious founder of the family. The history of his reign is really only the history of its loss.

Herod had succeeded in escaping to his friend Antony in Rome. Antony managed also to interest Octavius in him, and thus there was issued in the year 39 a decree of the senate appointing Herod king of Judea. True, he had first to conquer his kingdom. He immediately went thither, and would probably have taken Jerusalem directly had not the Roman generals, who by Antony's direction were to support him, bribed by Antigonus, hindered him in every way. Not even in the year 38 had he attained entire success. But now Antony himself went to Asia and sent his legate, Sosius, with explicit commands to Judea, where meantime a great massacre had taken place among the adherents of Herod. Aided by Socius, Herod overcame all opposition, and only the approach of winter gave Antigonus a brief respite.

In the spring of 37 the siege of Jerusalem was undertaken with all vigor. While it was going on Herod married Mariamne, the grandchild of both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, thus uniting in himself the claims of both brothers and their families. After a siege of forty days the first wall was taken, after fifteen days more the second; but Antigonus still maintained himself in the temple. Finally

in the third month, on a Sabbath, the temple was stormed and a fearful slaughter began, for the Romans, embittered by the long resistance, spared neither age nor sex.

Thus King Herod entered his capital. In womanish distress Antigonus threw himself at the feet of the Roman legate, begging for his life; Sosius exclaimed in scorn: "Arise, Antigona," using the feminine form of the name, and had him put into chains. At Antiochia his head fell under the ax of the Roman lictor—it was the first captive ruling monarch whom the Romans had ever executed like a common criminal.

Herod's first care was to get rid of his friends and assistants without trouble: he actually bribed Sosius and the Roman troops, at great personal sacrifice, to abstain from the plundering of Jerusalem and the entering and desecration of the temple, and so they marched away, leaving Herod behind in his kingdom.

First Herod made a clean sweep of his enemies and opponents, and sought to keep the people, who feared and hated him, in terror and subjection. In order to show that he did not shrink from the memories of the Maccabees, he recalled to Jerusalem old Hyrcanus, who was honored as a prince by the Jews in Babylon, and at the same time selected a Jew of the race of the high priests, Ananiel by name, then living in Babylon, in order that the high-priesthood should be conferred upon him. But Herod's mother-in-law, Alexandra, demanded this office for her son Aristobulus, although he was as yet very young. She managed to work every lever, especially with the Egyptian Cleopatra, who completely dominated the all-powerful Antony, and so Herod was obliged to remove Ananiel and appoint in his place as high priest his own seventeen-year-old brother-in-law, Aristobulus. This was in the year 35.

But when Aristobulus, on the occasion of his first appearance as high priest, at the Feast of Tabernacles, was received by the people with demonstrative rejoicing Herod had him stifled in his bath. True, Antony called him to account for this; but Herod knew how to manage Antony, and again they parted as the best of friends. It was a less agreeable matter when Antony made a present to Cleopatra of the best part of Herod's land, and Herod was obliged to rent it of her at a high rate. Soon after this Cleopatra paid a visit to Herod in Jerusalem, and planned to snare him in her net in order thus through the resulting jealousy of Antony to destroy him; but Herod saw through the fine plan and acted

toward his guest like a perfect cavalier indeed, but with such reserve and propriety as to afford not the least ground for suspicion.

In the year 32 the war between Antony and Octavius broke out. Fortune spared Herod from participation, for he was compelled by the command of Antony to wage a war in the interest of Cleopatra against the Arabian king Aretas, and when this war was over it was also all over with Antony: the battle of Actium was fought on the 2nd of September, 31, and Antony was a dead man.

Now the game was to win the new ruler, and in this again Herod showed his whole cunning and knowledge of men: he visited Augustus in person at Rhodes, having first put old Hyrcanus out of the way to meet contingencies. And thus the last Maccabee was gone, and the family that had begun so gloriously less than a hundred and forty years before had perished most ignobly at least as much by the fault of its younger and unworthy members as by what we must admit was a harsh destiny. Herod managed to win over Augustus entirely, and returned to Jerusalem confirmed as king; he held the throne without opposition until his death in the year 4 before the birth of Christ.

The history of the reign of Herod is a history of palace details. Events of universal importance did not occur, and Herod followed his single principle—the favor and friendship of the Romans at any cost—so successfully and skilfully that not even the slightest cloud threatened him. But the history of his court is such a bottomless sea of filth and blood that I spare myself and the reader the narration of things at which the guardian genius of humanity can only veil his face. A wife who was passionately loved, his mother-in-law and three sons fell victims to his suspicion and tyranny, and in the country as well every motion or hint of opposition was suppressed with barbarous severity.

Herod was certainly an extraordinary man, decidedly the first really important personage in Jewish history since Simon. He was a born ruler, and his rule might and indeed must have been a blessing for his land and people if there had not been a lack of mutual confidence and love. Even in the best acts and undertakings of the hated monarch the Jews saw only evil intentions and selfish motives, and they hampered him in every possible way. He was simply the Idumean semi-Jew, the friend of the Romans, whose heart was on the side of the heathen anyway, and who would gladly have made them all heathen. Herod in turn repaid this hatred with the fiercest hostility and the most implacable venge-

ance; he knew that his own subjects were his worst enemies, and he acted accordingly.

It would be folly to deny that the outward condition of Judea under his rule was fortunate: he secured peace within and without, commerce flourished, prosperity increased visibly, and the great popularity which the king enjoyed everywhere else cast also a ray upon the people he ruled, and Herod used his very considerable influence everywhere for their benefit: wherever a wrong was done the Jews he interfered in their behalf and protected them in their rights and privileges.

So there would have been every outward reason for content; Judea under the government of Herod enjoyed in abundance what in the common view constitutes the happiness of nations—but he received no thanks for this because the people could not believe that it came from pure motives, and because they did not wish to accept, or at least to acknowledge, benefits from the hand of the friend of the heathen. Even repeated remission of taxes and extravagant aid in cases of public misfortune could bring forth no love where none had been sown; not even by the splendid restoration of the temple could he win the hearts of the Jewish people, because they were convinced that he would much rather have built in Jerusalem a heathen temple.

Aftertimes called Herod, the Great. He had the making of a great man; he was of the wood from which great men are carved, and in more favorable circumstances he would have been one perhaps; but as it was he wore out his strength and his life upon a hopeless task and thus brought upon his people and himself indescribable misery.

The reign of Herod is perhaps the most convincing evidence that there are powers which are stronger than crown and sword, and that violence avails nothing against the spirit. When Herod died in the spring of the year 4 before the birth of Christ, unlamented by his own, cursed by his people, a far-seeing eye could already perceive unmistakable signs of the end.

At home a mass of hatred and hostility had accumulated which only the iron hand of the old king had been able to restrain, and the real ambition of his life, to make the Roman rule tolerable to the Jews and to absorb them into the Greco-Roman world, had been an utter failure; contempt and loathing of everything Roman and Greek had become deeper seated than ever—when these two opposites clashed, the result could not fail to be a life and death struggle. Could it have been avoided? To do so would in any case have required on the part of the Romans more than human wisdom and moderation, and on the part of the Jews more than angelic patience and self-denial. But neither side wished to avoid it. We shall see how arbitrary injustice and wicked arrogance made the already difficult situation absolutely intolerable, so that at last the hopelessly tangled knot had to be cut by the sword.

THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE.¹

BY LUCIEN ARRÉAT.

AS FAR BACK as we may go among the savage tribes, religion has a two-fold character. It signifies an act of intelligence and an act of sentiment. It is at once emotion and knowledge. The word "knowledge" should not astonish us, even as applied to the miserable hordes whose religious life consists wholly of a few absurd beliefs and of a few rules for the practice of sorcery. Man has at all times and in all places put the same questions regarding the world and himself, and he has given to these questions answers which are nearly alike and which reveal a common psychological condition, of varying infantile and grotesque forms. The mythologies of nations having not the remotest resemblance to one another are clear witness of this, and the patient study which has been made of their fables has placed it beyond the shadow of a doubt.² The crudest mythologies contain some explanation of the facts of existence; they are at bottom real philosophies, in which the sentiment of their believers finds its inspiration, and by which they regulate their conduct.

In their origin, therefore, morals, science, and metaphysics are embodied indiscriminately in mythology, and each mythology represents for a greater or less period of time the entire intellectual or sentimental life of the people which has produced it. The natural consequence is that religion increases according as intelligence and morality develop, up to the point where it ultimately absorbs in one single scheme all philosophy, all law, and even politics itself. We have examples of this in the ancient Hindu, Greek, and Latin community, and notably so in Islamism, where, as we know, everything in society is religious.

¹ Extracts from advance proofs of a forthcoming book *Les croyances de demain* (*The Beliefs of To-morrow*). Paris, 1898.

² See Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*.

At this stage, however, the opposite process of dissolution and analysis begins. The human mind breaks in places the enchanted circle in which its ignorance is confined. It applies to fundamental questions, which its curiosity is never tired of probing, methods that are no longer based on theology; and the religious authority, weakened day by day, seeks henceforward to rescue certain principles only, which it deems absolutely necessary to its existence.

So, for example, the Church among Christian peoples continues to regulate the conduct of life, even after the scientific establishment of its doctrines has fallen from its grasp. To-day the grave problems of moral evolution, of freedom, of obligation, of sanction, have been surrendered to the researches of philosophers. Many believers, in fact, will not admit of the possibility of a deviation of faith from science. But the theory and the instruments of morals are not the same in all religions. The Buddhists, the Christians, the Mussulmans profess doctrines which differ widely on the questions of free will, divine action, and future life; so that no particular solution appears really essential to religious living, apart from the Church which imposes it. Religion, *qua* knowledge, has played its part, and the dogmas which the different theologies are wont to superimpose upon positive knowledge have no influence upon the general progress of thought.

When we come to examine, on the other hand, the religious *emotion*, it will be seen that it is quite complex, that it is composed of fear, pity, admiration, and intelligent curiosity. It differs with individuals and with the degree of civilisation. It exhibits widely distinctive traits in a François D'Assise and a Vincent de Paul, in a Kepler, a Pascal, and a Leibnitz. Even the sentiment of the Divine, which some people take to be the essence of religion, is never so spontaneous but it depends both on our passions and our type of mind. The religious emotion, in a word, is an efflorescence of both our feeling and thinking ego. It takes color from our hypotheses or from our dreams concerning the ways of the universe. Religion, *qua* sentiment, springs, therefore, also from the knowledge which we have of the world; our religious emotion, too, is connected with our mentality.

Differing from one another by their sentiment of the divine and by their philosophy, the three great universal religions which share the empire of souls yet offer striking similarities and are alike in two leading ideas to which it seems every religious effort of humanity has arrived. Obscure and hidden though they may be, these religions have yet drawn from them their real efficacy. Unreasoning

negations on our part can injure them only at the peril of modern civilisation.

God and the soul : these are the two pivots of Christian and Moslem doctrine. Hinduism rejects these notions as being too simple in character. The personal God of the Christian and the Mussulmans is absorbed for the Brahmans and Buddhists in the infinite life of nature, and individual beings appear to them as fleeting pauses in the succession of existences. These lofty doctrines may seem to be contradictory, but they are really the same in principle. Their common basis is, in a purely theoretical point of view, the idea of evolution and order ; in the practical point of view, the idea of sanction and of justice. They have come, thus, to formulating in a manner more or less precise, a general law of cause and effect, of which the play of human conduct exhibits a special case. The processes of the operation vary only with the theologies. The Hindus have sought in the transmigration of souls, the Chinese in the perpetuity of family, the moral sanction which the Semites and the Christians award by their division of the world into the saved and the damned.

All religions present, therefore, some definite view of the universe which is supposed to realise the reign of justice. They aim at the actualisation of the moral world by means of a metaphysics. Now it has come about that this metaphysics has waxed so great, and so complicated itself, as to give rise to a vast *ensemble* of dogmas which have ended in absorbing the religion at their base, and often in completely masking the idea which they were created to serve. Essential, for example, as the dogma of the redemption may be for Christianity, it is, if I dare say so, still not an instrument of divine justice.

The thing of moment, then, is not the particular form in which Buddhists, Christians, and Mussulmans conceive God and the soul, nature and mind, liberty and grace, the absolute and contingent, but the quantity of positive induction which has taken body and life in their symbols. That alone is worth disengaging from the subtleties that have obscured it. Truth should not be suspected because we find it complicated with error. It cannot be that men have placed *nothing* of their common experience in doctrines, be they ever so artificial, which have regulated their conduct for centuries.

Some true facts survive every scientific theory which is abandoned, and enter a new construction having a greater solidity. It is the same with religions—these mixtures of wisdom and illusions.

The future is not bound to the accidental doctrines which the genius of the race has at some period of its development cherished ; these doctrines can live only in their heritage, by the actual truths which they have forefelt. The same faith in justice breathes both in the beautiful literary works of antiquity and in those of modern times, and there is perpetuated in them also a philosophy of the world, regarding which we have no right to say that it is absurd.

Still, the scientific verification of traditional thought requires earnest critical work.¹ We cannot gainsay our interest. Reverent though our attitude be towards existing doctrines, the assertion of necessary and universal truths has far more importance for modern societies than the nominal maintenance of dogmatism. There are ruins which one cannot preserve from the injuries of time. Yet for all that humanity will not remain without a guide. What religions did, philosophy, improved and clarified, should now do. It is our task to recover the guiding principles and to produce a new religious sentiment upon the basis of positive knowledge. The work of science will not narrow our horizon but enlarge it. It will not restrict our activity, but will extend it.

¹ See M. Guyau, *L'Irréligion de l'avenir*, (Paris, F. Alcan, 1887). Also the two recent works of M. J. Strada (same publisher), *Jésus et l'Ère de la science* (1896); *La Religion de la science et de l'esprit pur* (1897).

MODERN REPRESENTATIONS OF DEATH.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE SPIRIT of the present generation being decidedly scientific, it is natural that the conception of death and its chances should also become an object of scientific investigation. The idea



THE BRIDGE OF LIFE. By Mrs. Karl Pearson.
(Illustrating the Chances of Death.)

of a dance of death as a chaotic phenomenon that would be comparable to a play of dice yields to exact statistics accompanied by investigations of the causes of the rise and fall of mortality curves. Prof. Karl Pearson expresses the spirit of this view in his book on

the *Chances of Death* which is accompanied by a picture made at his suggestion by Mrs. Karl Pearson, showing the five (not seven) ages of man, viz., infancy, childhood, youth, maturity, and old age, passing over the bridge of life and exposed to five distinctively different marksmen, for statistics show a perfectly regular distribution of mortality centring around each period.

The chances of death in infancy are very great, and if we take into consideration antenatal mortality they are awful. Says Professor Pearson :

"Bad parentage, showing itself not only physically but mentally in the want of proper care of the young life, is the one possible cause of death continuous from the antenatal to the postnatal period. The marksman Death strikes down the young life with the bones of its ancestry."

The mortality-curve still shows a concentrated attack of death which reaches its maximum in the third and fourth year, the effects of which are like the fire of Maxim guns. In youth the range of the marksman centring in the twenty-third year shows a sudden decrease as if Death had in his hands a bow and arrows only. In the middle age of man there is another increase of mortality as though the next marksman employed a blunderbus and his aim centres round the forty-second year. The curve now rises slowly but constantly, mortality becoming like a steady rifle fire, and reaching its maximum in the seventy-second year.

Professor Pearson sums up his results as follows :

"Artistically, we no longer think of Death as striking chaotically; we regard his aim as perfectly regular in the mass, if unpredictable in the individual instance. It is no longer the Dance of Death which pictures for us Death carrying off indiscriminately the old and young, the rich and the poor, the toiler and the idler, the babe and its grandsire. We see something quite different, the cohort of a thousand tiny mites starting across the Bridge of Life, and growing in stature as they advance, till at the far end of the bridge we see only the gray-beard and the 'lean and slippered pantaloons.' As they pass along the causeway the throng is more and more thinned; five Deaths are posted at different stages of the route alongside the bridge, and with different skewness of aim and different weapons of precision they fire at the human target, till none remain to reach the end of the causeway—the limit to life."

Mrs. Karl Pearson's picture is interesting because expressive and at the same time exact in the lesson which it teaches. It is not a representation of death as viewed by the moralist or artist; it views death from the standpoint of the statistician, and therefore still retains the traditional picture of a skeleton, which of late has been rapidly disappearing from modern art productions.

Lessing's essay "on the personification of Death among the ancients," marks a decided change in the conception of Death among artists. He sums up his views on the subject in these words :

"Mr. Spence who most positively urges that the antique representation of death was a skeleton, bases his view upon the opinion that the pictures of death among the ancients cannot have been other than terrible because the ancients had much gloomier and sadder ideas of the nature of death than we have at present. And yet it is certain that that religion which teaches death to be the wages of sin could only greatly increase the terrors of death. There have been sages who regarded life as a punishment, but to any one who makes good use of his reason it was impossible to regard death (even the natural death) as a punishment, except on the basis of a revelation. On this account, accordingly, it was obviously our religion that banished the serene representation of death from the realm of art. But since this same religion did not reveal such a sad truth for the sake of giving us over to despair; for indeed it declares that death to the pious is easy and comforting: I cannot understand why our artists show no inclination to surrender the ugly symbol of a skeleton and return to the nobler representation of classic antiquity. The Scriptures speak of an angel of death, and what artist would not mould an angel in preference to a skeleton! Only a misconstrued religion banishes the beautiful, and it is an evidence of the true religion that everywhere it will bring back to us the beautiful."

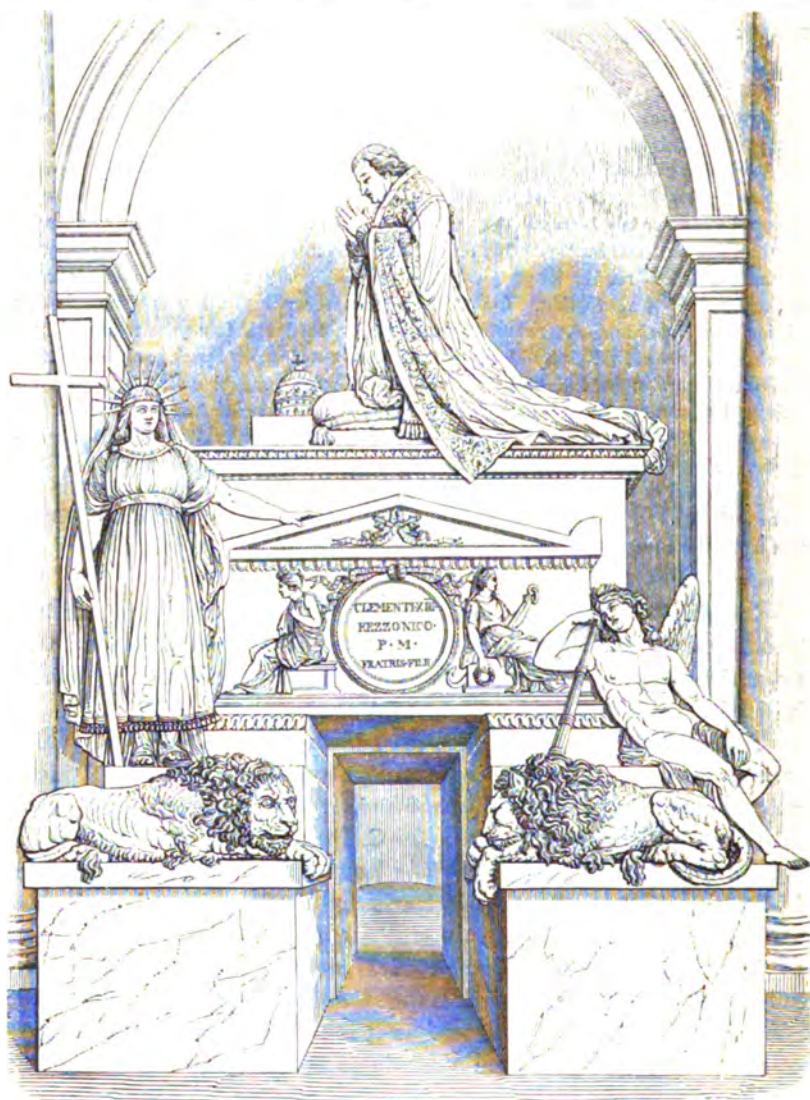
Lessing's words were not spoken in vain. Christian art has abandoned for good the representation of death as a skeleton; and our artists are now apt to look upon it as an aberration to which civilised mankind is not likely to turn again.

As illustrations of the modern conception of death, we select monuments of three artists, Antonio Canova, the famous Italian sculptor (1757-1822), A. Bartholomé, a Parisian artist of great ability, and our countryman Daniel C. French, well known on both sides of the Atlantic and at present engaged in modelling a statue of Washington to be erected in Paris by the American ladies that live in the French capital.

The tomb of Pope Clement XIII. in St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome is one of the most colossal monuments that have been erected in modern times. It is as grand as it is simple, showing the Pope, not as was customary in mediæval times as lying dead in the coffin, but in an attitude of prayer. Still it is a tomb, and the entrance below reminds one of the idea that the dead descend into the grave. The old conception of death is still lingering here.

The present generation is no longer given to the idea of building big mausoleums and grand sepulchres. The Milmore tombstone by Mr. French is not of an unusual size, and even the Bartholomé

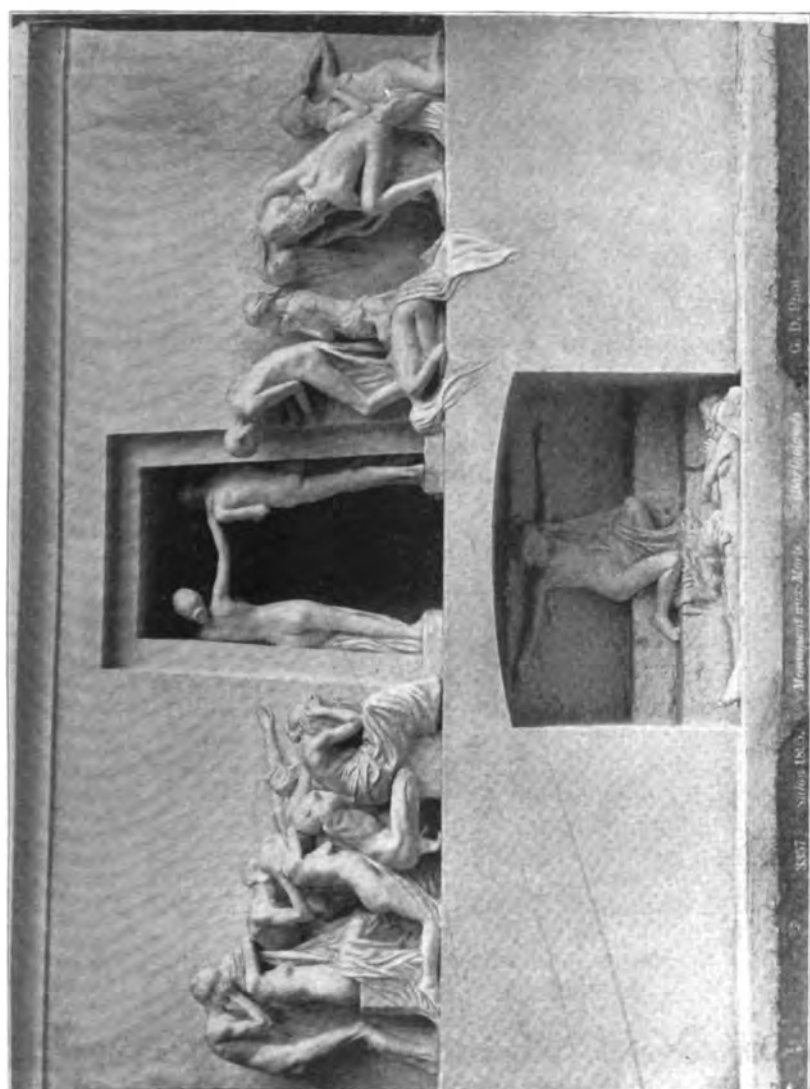
monument is small if compared e. g. to the grand tombs of Mohammedan sheiks of India. Whenever the people of to-day feel



THE TOMB OF CLEMENT VIII. IN ST. PETER'S. By Antonio Canova.

inclined to commemorate a great sovereign, they build a church that bears his name or make a foundation in his honor that serves some useful purpose. Thus the *Dôme des Invalides* is the imposing

tomb of the great Napoleon, and the *Friedenskirche* at Potsdam indicates the place where the remains of Frederic III. of Germany have been laid to rest.



M. BARTHOLOMÉ'S "MONUMENT AUX MORTS." (From a photograph sent by the artist.)

M. Bartholomé's monument in the cemetery at Père Lachaise embodies the agnostic idea of death as a door of which we do not know whither it leads. All beings that breathe and live must pass

through the portal of death, but beyond all is darkness. We cannot see whither it leads.

Mr. Daniel C. French in his beautiful Milmore monument in the cemetery of Forest Hill, Mass., represents death as the ceasing of the labors of life, while our work remains. An artist is busy



THE MILMORE MONUMENT. By Daniel C. French.

(With the permission of the artist.)

chiselling a sphinx, the symbol of the problem of life; and death, in the shape of a veiled woman, takes the chisel out of the artist's hands. Quite similar in conception is a beautiful German monument representing the old Emperor William under the shadow of death still busily engaged utilising the few moments left him, be-

cause as the venerable monarch expressed himself, "he had not the time to be tired."

While speaking of death as represented in art, we should not



forget the treatment which this sombre subject has received at the hands of musicians. The doleful dirges and the lamentations of professional wailers have been replaced by nobler compositions which are dignified and elevating. The most beautiful tone-pictures

on the subject of death are Mozart's Requiem, Beethoven's and Chopin's Funeral Marches, Händel's "Dead March in Saul," and Schubert's song "Death and the Maiden."

In concluding this meagre sketch¹ on the various representations of death, we have only to add that, upon a calm consideration of the simple facts, death as the discontinuance of individual life loses all its horrors. Death may be a misfortune according to circumstances; death may be sad if it cuts a valuable life prematurely short, if thereby children are deprived of their parents, or parents of the comfort of their age; but death in itself is not an evil.

Death is the great teacher of mankind who brings home to us the transiency of existence and makes us search for that which endures, that which alone when found will give a permanent value to the fleeting moment; death teaches us to work so long as it is day, for the night cometh in which nobody can work.

Death is not only not an evil, but a great blessing. Only think of an existence that would be one continuous life of uninterrupted recollections. How quickly we should become sick of the eternal rounds of life which are constant repetitions of the same experiences over and over again. Should we not soon turn away from life as from a most monotonous affair? Should we not loathe life as not worth while continuing? We should be as indifferent as the *blasé* to whom all joys have become objects of disgust. It would indeed be preferable to make a new start from time to time and to begin life over again, taking with us only the quintessence of former experiences in the shape of inherited tendencies, but without any conscious recollection. And such indeed is life as it really is.

In one sense we die constantly; every act of life is at the same time a decay with waste products. But as the waste products, which materially considered did the work, are not the life, so the dead body of a man is no longer the man. And as every thought continues in the memory-structure which it forms of the new material that replaces the waste products, so the soul of man continues in its personal identity as a living factor in the future life of mankind which it has helped to mould.

The continuity of man's personal identity is not based upon a continuity of either matter or energy, but upon a continuity of form. Matter and energy are constantly received in the organism

¹ The subject is very vast and could scarcely be exhaustively treated in a large-sized work of several volumes. The most complete collection of representations of death is, to our knowledge, that of Miss M. S. Miuns, kept at the Art Museum at Boston.

and then discarded. They pass through as the water rushes through a whirl in the current. The form only remains, and the form alone constitutes a man's personal identity. Now the form of human souls is constantly renewed. The progress of the human race becomes possible only through the preservation of the life-work of the past; and every soul is treasured up for the benefit of the evolving ages. We no longer expect a resurrection of the dead, but we know that the form of our life-work is preserved; it continues as a living factor which shapes the destinies of the world. Man's life does not end with death, for, though the body dies, the soul is immortal.

THE DUNNING DEVIL OF CHINA AND JAPAN.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE HUMOR of Asiatic devil lore which finds expression in various quaint art productions of China and Japan is particularly manifest in the Dunning Devil, i. e., the demon who presides over the collection of debts. He is well known in both the celestial empire and the country of the rising sun, and the artist who carved the grotesque features of the statue represented in our illustration¹ may, in the financial experiences of his life, have made his personal acquaintance himself.

New Year's Eve is the day on which in China the Dunning Devil is let loose on the world, haunting the houses of the rich and poor alike. M. Huc, the Jesuit missionary, writes in his famous *Travels in Tartary, Tibet, and China* that the New Year's day is celebrated in much the same fashion as in Europe, and he adds regarding the Chinese custom of collecting debts:

"The last days of the year are ordinarily, with the Chinese, days of anger and of mutual annoyance; for having at this period made up their accounts, they are vehemently engaged in getting them in; and every Chinese being at once creditor and debtor, every Chinese is just now hunting his debtors and hunted by his creditors. He who returns from his neighbor's house, which he has been throwing into utter confusion by his clamorous demands for what that neighbor owed him, finds his own house turned inside out by an uproarious creditor, and so the thing goes round. The whole town is a scene of vociferation, disputation, and fighting. On the last day of the year disorder attains its height; people rush in all directions with anything they can scratch together, to raise money upon, at the broker's or pawnbroker's, the shops of which tradespeople are absolutely besieged throughout the day with profferers of clothes, bedding, furniture, cooking utensils and moveables of every description. Those who have already cleared their houses in this way, and yet have not satisfied the demands upon them, post off to their relations and friends to borrow something or other which they vow shall be returned immediately, but which immediately takes its way to the Tang-Pou, or pawnbroker's. This species of anarchy continues till midnight; then calm resumes its sway. No

¹ The statue represented in the picture on the following page is a lacquered wood-carving from the Middle Ages of Japan.

one, after the twelfth hour has struck, can claim a debt or even make the slightest allusion to it. You now only hear the words of peace and goodwill; everybody



fraternises with everybody. Those who were just before on the point of twisting their neighbor's neck, now twine their friendly arms about it." (Vol. II., pp. 28-30.)

MISCELLANEOUS.

GASPARD MONGE.

Of that great constellation of mathematicians which formed the chief intellectual glory of France during the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, no star shone more brightly in the beneficent light which it spread upon working humanity than that of Gaspard Monge, creator of descriptive geometry. The science of descriptive geometry sprang from the brain of Gaspard Monge, as did Minerva from the brain of Jove, full-fledged and without antecedent germ. "Since the time of Euclid and Archimedes, geometry has received no such accession as he furnished; and the epoch which will be known by the name of Monge will divide its history."¹ What previously to his time was a mass of isolated, disconnected knowledge, accessible only in special cases by the aid of intricate and tedious calculations, was put by him within the grasp of the commonest artisan and draftsman at an outlay of relatively little time and little intellectual effort. Machinery, perspective, architecture, fortifications, untold industrial and constructive arts, have been advanced to incredible precision and perfection by the natural insight and unassisted creative achievements of this man.

Nor were his discoveries limited solely to geometry. In analysis also he accomplished high feats. He was the first to apply the infinitesimal calculus to the general theory of surfaces, supplementing and generalising the labors of Euler, and enlarging immensely the bounds of that science. "The diabolical man," said Lagrange on reading his modest memoir, "has made himself immortal." He was also the creator of an ingenious system of meteorology and the first to explain, during the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt, the phenomenon of desert *mirages*. He threw light upon the subject of capillarity, and produced water from the combustion of hydrogen, independently of, though subsequently to, Lavoisier, Laplace, and Cavendish. While on the commission for collecting and restoring the works of art levied as tributes by Napoleon in Italy, he noted the singular contrasts and similitudes presented by the Grecian and Egyptian monuments which had been transported to Rome by the early emperors, and conceived the idea of a science of prehistoric civilisation, based with almost mathematical certitude upon a comparison of archaic monuments, inscriptions, tools, utensils, etc. All his work was distinguished by rigor and elegance, lucidity and simplicity. His brief elementary treatise on statics, which was purely synthetical in character, was declared by a competent historian to be "even yet the best introduction from geometry to that subject."

¹ De Morgan.

Gaspard Monge was born at Beaune, France, on the tenth of May, 1746, the son of an honest and industrious scissors-grinder, who by heroic self-denial acquired sufficient wealth, if we may use so comprehensive a term for so microscopic a saving, to send his three sons to the college of the Oratorians at Beaune. The eldest, Gaspard, immediately distinguished himself, and at the recommendation of his instructors was invited to the more pretentious college of the same order at Lyons, where, after one year's study, he became professor of physics. While at Beaune once during a vacation he constructed with instruments entirely of his own making a simple, accurate, and beautiful plan of his natal town, which is to-day shown to sceptical travellers as the virgin achievement of the great geometer, then but fifteen years of age, and which was to determine his subsequent career. The Oratorians, having almost prevailed upon him to give up a scientific career and to enter their order, where with his talents advancement with rich emoluments and comfort for the poor family of his father was assured, he turned for advice to his father who, despite his plebeian occupation, seems to have been a man of great strength of character and common sense, and who advised him in an exemplary letter to renounce the ecclesiastical career. Monge returned to his native city, where he had the good fortune soon to meet an officer of the engineering corps from the Military Academy of Mézières, who, having seen his precocious sketch of the town, requested his father to send the lad to the school which he represented.

The school of Mézières was then producing the best military engineers in France. It was divided into two parts: a theoretical division, wherein the engineering officers proper were educated, and to which no person not the son of a nobleman or of a father *living as a nobleman* could be admitted; and a practical division where engineering superintendents, or foremen, were trained in elementary mathematics and the construction of plaster-models of fortifications. The plebeians were all relegated to this department, and from being obliged to work with mortar and plaster were contemptuously dubbed the "plasterists." Imagine Monge's humiliation when he discovered that it was only to this latter place that he could be admitted, and that henceforward free scope was to be permitted only to the development of his manual powers. He accomplished his labors, however, in much quicker time than his fellows, and devoted his spare hours to the excogitation of the new geometrical methods which were to make him famous. Having once been assigned the task of working out the *défilement* of a proposed fortress from data supplied to him, an undertaking which in those days required long and tedious arithmetical computations, he performed the task so quickly by his embryonic descriptive geometry that the Commandant refused to examine it. Persisting, however, he was given a hearing, and the Academy came into possession of a method which placed it immeasurably in advance of any similar institution in the world. When it is remembered that the proportion of military engineers at the time in question alone amounted to one-sixth of the already enormous expenditures for the fortifications of France, it will be apparent what a tremendous saving his discovery meant for the nation, quite apart from its enhancement of science.

Monge was forthwith made instructor in mathematics; the "plasterist" became the teacher of the aristocratic cadets of Mézières, and in a few years was full professor. During his stay in Mézières, which lasted at least in part until 1783, Monge developed to its fullest extent the new science which he had created, and made his school famous throughout Europe. He was prohibited by the system in vogue before the Revolution from revealing his secret to the world at large, and the officers who received his instruction were forbidden to communicate the meth-

ods they had learned even to those connected with any other branch of the public service. From a mistaken narrowmindedness the authorities were loth to accord to other countries the great superiority which their engineers enjoyed. The cruel silence to which Monge was condemned was not broken until the establishment of the great Normal School in 1794, where he delivered the lectures which now constitute his marvellous little book *Geométrie descriptive*—"which in simplicity, style, and choice of details, in a subject which might easily have been overloaded with them, stands second to no elementary work whatever."

In 1780 Monge was elected Member of the French Academy of Sciences, and was appointed *professeur-adjoint* of Hydrodynamics with Bossut in the Turgot School at the Louvre; in 1783 he was made Examiner of the Marine Cadets.

When the Revolution broke out, Monge was caught with enthusiasm for the ideas which had always lain near his heart, and when the great crisis came for France threw all the weight of his knowledge and powerful personality into the national cause. Although a member of many committees, he always preserved his independence, and never failed to express his disapproval of the sanguinary measures which subsequently were enforced. He was instrumental in the project of introducing the new system of weights and measures, and when appointed Minister of the Navy he suppressed every personal feeling in the promotion of the best interests of his office. If in that great catastrophe which soon threatened France at the hands of United Europe, the nation was able to make the splendid military showing that it did, it was, we may say, almost entirely due to its possessing at the time a band of unexampled men of science who were able to repair the frightful ravages which years of national corruption and months of Revolutionary ignorance and fanaticism had brought upon the country. France had hitherto depended on foreign countries for all its materials of war. 1,200,000 men were needed for defending the frontiers which the enemy was already nearing, and there were arms and clothes for a moiety only of this vast aggregation. Powder, cannons, and steel were absolutely lacking in the country, and apparently, the materials for making them. Among the committee of eminent scientists who were appointed to remedy this discouraging state of affairs, were Monge and the great chemist Berthollet. Even by experts the problem was regarded as insoluble. "Where is the saltpetre to be obtained?" they asked. "From our own soil," answered Monge, "from our barns, cellars, and vaults. In three days I will load cannon with it." The country was flooded with pamphlets containing instructions for its acquisition. The church bells were melted for their copper, and new methods invented for its separation from tin. Pamphlets were written on the manufacturing of steel. Monge and Berthollet spent twelve hours a day in the powder factories and foundries of Paris; the former writing at night his *Treatise on the Art of Making Cannon*, without compensation of any kind, and going for days and days without other food than dry bread with an occasional morsel of cheese for Sundays. The production of saltpetre was increased twelve-fold, the number of cannon-foundries seven-fold, their output fifteen-fold. And for their pains both Monge and Berthollet were accused on the ninth Thermidor of adherency to agrarian law and compelled to take to flight.

Shortly afterwards the reformation in public instruction was inaugurated. The celebrated *Ecole Normale* was founded for furnishing the nation with competent teachers, and Monge was associated with Lagrange, Laplace, Berthollet, and other famous men, as Professor of Descriptive Geometry. It was here that he first publicly delivered lectures on the science which he had created. The shorthand notes

of these lectures formed the basis of his subsequent publication the *Geometrie Descriptive*. The *Ecole Normale* lived but four months. It was succeeded by the famous Polytechnical School, of which Monge may be said to be the founder. He planned its courses of instruction, passed every hour of the day in the midst of its pupils lecturing on his favorite science and the applications of the calculus to geometry, and spending his nights in the preparation of his lectures for the following day—the veritable incarnation of labor. He was the most popular of its professors and was the only one who addressed the students with "thou," a practice which in any other would have been regarded as a grave solecism. His love for his pupils and school never admitted of diminution. Later, as a Senator and in affluent circumstances, when the stipend which was originally given to each scholar was withdrawn, he devoted his whole salary as a professor to the maintaining of free scholarships there. He defended his students twice in two great crises. Once, on their refusing to take the oath of the empire, Monge was called before Napoleon, who was not only his intimate friend but had as a General several times attended his lectures. "Your scholars, Monge," said the Emperor, "are rebels. They have nearly all declared themselves my outspoken opponents." "Sire," answered the geometer, "it cost us enough trouble to make them Republicans; give them time and they will become Imperialists. If you will permit me a word, they have not all had occasion to change so quickly their opinion as you." The Emperor turned and walked quickly away, but none of the pupils were dismissed.

As it will be seen from our frontispiece, Monge was not of prepossessing appearance. He had an unnaturally broad face, his eyes were sunken and almost invisible through his shaggy eyebrows; a flat nose with thick lips completed the satyric picture. So uncertain was his enunciation and the varying velocity of his speech that it was even said he stuttered. But with his first words, every idiosyncrasy of speech and features was dissipated. His audience was held fascinated by the magnificent simplicity and lucidity of his discourse and by the exceeding richness of its subject-matter. Others could speak better, it was said, but none could lecture so well. "He thought aloud," was the apt characterisation given by a contemporary,—doubly true when we reflect that he spoke only upon subjects of his own creation.

In character he was gentle, honest, and brave. A distinguishing trait was his love for children. The Diplomatic Corps, on entering the audience room of Napoleon once, found him sprawled at full length upon the floor playing with the little King of Rome, a feat which, coming from a Senator and a great geometer, shocked the aristocratic part of Paris. His paternal love for the individual scholars of the Polytechnical School was proverbial, not less so than his unqualified and unselfish devotion to Napoleon, the spell of whose influence, he confessed himself, he was unable to withstand.

Monge became acquainted with Napoleon in Italy, and was a member of the committee for restoring the works of art sent to Paris from Napoleon's expedition. He also accompanied General Bonaparte to Egypt and Syria with the other eminent *savants* who constituted the Institute of Egypt, and distinguished himself there in war as well as in science. So great was Napoleon's friendship for him that it is related he once sacrificed a very important engagement in order to rescue the great geometer who was near being captured by the enemy. Napoleon frequently insisted upon his accepting the gift of a costly residence near Saint-Cloud, but Monge rejected the gift. Of all the favors with which Napoleon endeavored to overwhelm him, he accepted but two—one monetary, which was forced upon

him when he had asked assistance for Berthollet; and the other the office of Senator, with the title of Count of Pelusium. So great was his modesty on this score that Napoleon once, when surrounded by courtiers and annoyed by their incessant petitions, turned to Monge and said bitterly: "Monge, *you* have no relations, have you? At least, I never hear you mention them."

His loyalty to Napoleon, unlike that of Laplace, was not diminished by the Emperor's downfall, and he remained the latter's faithful friend until the end. In revenge for his unswerving fidelity his name was stricken from the lists of the Academy after the Restoration; then came the temporary dismissal of the Polytechnical School, which was his creation and the dearest treasure of his life. At this cruel blow, he fell into a profound mental lethargy, from which he never awakened, and died on the 18th of July, 1818. The authorities prohibited the scholars of the Polytechnical School from following the remains of their patron-saint and most beloved Professor to their last resting-place, but in violation of the edict they repaired to his grave on the day following, which was a holiday, and laid upon it an oaken branch with leaves of laurel.

THOMAS J. MCCORMACK.

GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY.

It is with the profoundest regret that we record the death of Mr. George Julian Harney, who passed from this life at Richmond-on-Thames on Friday, December the 10th last, in his eighty-first year. As a friend of the management of *The Open Court*, and as a contributor, as a life-long champion of liberty, a speaker and writer of high merit, who has left the impression of his activity in many ways on his country, we have always entertained the highest regard for his sterling worth of intellect and his nobility and geniality of character.

Mr. Harney was the last of the great Chartist leaders as he was the youngest of them. Chartism as a revolutionary movement was defeated, but it was defeated and could be defeated only because its ideals were adopted by all parties as inalienable human rights. Never movement took so deep hold of the hearts of the common people of England as this great and violent appeal for the "People's Charter," for political rights and equality; and the ablest of the orators that swayed this great movement, the most effective of the writers that guided it was Mr. Harney. As editor of the *Northern Star*, and as the colleague of Fergus O'Connor, he addressed perhaps half a million readers.

"There is no journal of the present day," says *The Newcastle Chronicle*, "that has anything like the same leverage upon so large a proportion of public opinion. Mr. Harney's keen and vigorous writing was a style which indicated a great deal of the man. His ubiquitous activity was remarkable. Chartism had no more energetic missionary, nor one of a more ardent temper. But he had a searching intellect, and it was his own. His editorial independence even in the most formidable days of the movement, was acutely felt by his proprietor and others of his colleagues. When the movement was moribund Mr. Harney was the first to detect and declare its hopeless condition, while others with a less acute apprehension of facts or of a less fearless candor, were making futile attempts to bolster up the collapsed cause. Chartism was put out of date and rendered unnecessary by free trade and trades unionism, by railways and radicalism."

It was also during this interesting period of his career that he became the opponent of Lord Palmerston at the election in the ancient borough of Tiverton of 1847. Mr. Harney when he then opposed the veteran statesman was but thirty

years old. Eloquent and of impassioned conviction, he was yet scarcely a match for the composed, good-humored, and witty Premier, who took the "dressing down," which Mr. Harney administered to him, with such provoking good-nature as almost to disarm his opponent, and who was further encouraged by the assuring consciousness that he was certain of being elected. For the amusing and laughable incidents of the campaign we refer our readers to the articles on "Lord Palmerston's Borough" in Nos. 416 and 417 of *The Open Court*, where the reader will find, in the language of Mr. F. J. Snell and of Mr. Harney himself, delightful glimpses into the life and character of the great Prime Minister, and can also form an estimate of the sincerity and ideality of Mr. Harney's own aims. For Mr. Harney was always a man of great independence, and was never tainted with the virus of demagogism.

"The Chartists were the enemies of privilege but no advocates of plunder. The Chartists desired political justice, not political profits. The best types of their leaders, men like George Julian Harney, claimed the same right of citizenship for high and low. They fought for popular liberty, but they were no schemers for larceny by legislation. They struggled for the franchise."

And, to quote the same source of information again (*Newcastle Chronicle*):

"Mr. Harney was as little of a Cosmopolitan as he was a Socialist. He was born when Nelson was not a dozen years dead. He had all his life a passion for England. He never belonged to the weak philanthropists of democracy who are the friends of every country but their own. A friend of Kossuth and Mazzini, of Hugo, and Marx, and of the other Continental patriots in exile, he was a nationalist for his own country in the exact sense that they were nationalists for theirs. Conscious and impassioned patriotism like Mr. Harney's was little understood in England fifty years ago. It is patriotism of that type which represents the highest element of what we now call Imperialism. In that sense the last of the Chartists was one of the first of the Imperialists. Mr. Harney's knowledge of the literature of the last century was remarkable. He quoted Pope, Burns, and Byron with extraordinary ease and felicity. It must always be regretted that he died without having written the history of Chartism, which no one could have written so well. In his love of literature, his ardor for idealistic politics, his honorable independence, George Julian Harney represented a type of personality which politics knows no longer."

As to his vigor and grace of literary expression, the readers of *The Open Court* will also remember his article on "L'Abbé Lamennais" in No. 213. Like his personal friend and coadjutor, the late General M. M. Trumbull, he also was a notable example of that genuine culture of feeling and thought which contact with the best in literature can develop, even where the so-called higher scholastic education is lacking.

It was long Mr. Harney's custom to contribute to the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* weekly reviews of books and current events, which were always distinguished by their good humor and sense. Even in the last years of his life, when he was suffering greatly, he continued his contributions without the least intrusion of his physical miseries.

Mr. Harney was twenty-five years in the United States, for thirteen of which he was keeper of the state documents of Massachusetts. He came here with letters of introduction to President Lincoln (1863), and he also made the acquaintance of Horace Greeley, Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Garrison, Secretary Seward, Longfellow, Lowell, and Whittier. He spent the last years of his life in England in the se-

clusion of his home and in intellectual companionship with his books, comforted in his final suffering by his accomplished wife, who was formerly connected with high educational circles in Cambridge and Boston.

The remains of Mr. Harney were interred in Richmond Cemetery, December 14, 1897, in the presence of his relatives and friends. He died as he had lived, in independence, and never for a moment losing his genial self-possession. So writes a writer in the *Free Review*:

"Never by word or hint did he appeal to the sympathy of those whom he so faithfully served in the cause of political freedom. Mr. Harney, in spite of his physical suffering and slender income, was anything but a malcontent. Many times when I have listened to his bright conversation and laughed at his dry witticisms, I have asked myself how many invalids of eighty could bear up so bravely beneath the burden of complicated and distressing maladies, the lack of the wherewithal to obtain specialist treatment, and the loneliness of having outlived one's intimate friends. Mr. Harney possessed a truly wonderful reserve of vitality and energy for one so old and prostrate. His voice was distinct; his intellect vigorous and still receptive. Between the wincings of pain he smiled with the hopeful look of one who still found interest in life."

And that interest he preserved to the moment of his death.

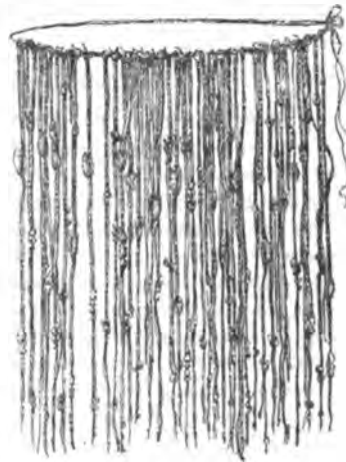
μκκκ.

RATZEL'S HISTORY OF MANKIND.

The second volume of Ratzel's *History of Mankind* (published by Macmillan & Co. in an English translation) is of special interest because it treats of the American and African races. The former have always claimed the greatest share of sympathy from the folklorists on account of the close relation in which they stand to us, and the latter form at present a great number of the inhabitants of the United States. The North American Indians are perhaps better known in their habits and civilisation than any other uncivilised race on earth. And our interest in the negro is of a deeply practical significance. But there is an additional reason which renders our knowledge of the native American race indispensable to the anthropologist. America is so isolated from the Old World that the American races have developed quite independently for a long time. Now, says Ratzel, Vol. II., page 10, "if we succeed in proving that the races of America in essentials resemble those of the Old World, the question of the unity or multiplicity of the old species will be solved in favor of unity, but if we can further succeed in bringing the stock of culture possessed by Americans into relation with the development of culture in the Old World, the question of unity and multiplicity is solved for the latter. There is no definite proof that America was inhabited before the age of the Drift, and there can be no doubt that since the age of the Drift the New World possessed human inhabitants." Brinton's conclusion that the emigration of mankind to America did not take place from Asia by way of an ice-covered Alaska but from Europe by an ancient bridge of land across the Atlantic is a hypothesis which, to say the least, needs the keenest scrutiny. It appears that the emigration from Asia is the more probable hypothesis. At any rate, the typical redskin as an independent race cannot be sustained. Nor is the old doctrine of two types among the Indians tenable. For instance, the long skulls and the short skulls are found indiscriminately all over America, and an alleged peculiarity of Peruvian skulls, the so-called Inca-bone which is found in the Gila Valley up to 6.81 per cent. has been found throughout the Continent to the extent of 3.86 per cent. The skin is not as uni-

form as is sometimes supposed. The extreme brown of the negro and the white of the European do not occur, but a light brown, often classed as light tan-color, may be regarded as the most frequent tint, which, however, shows an admixture of red pigment, and the scale fluctuates between ochre and copper. The blackness and straightness of the hair has often been compared with that of the Mongoloids, but it shows some small differences. It is neither so coarse nor so straight. It is sleek and even slightly wavy, showing at the same time a brownish undertint which is specially noticeable in children. Baldness is rare. Eyes with a blue reflex are not very uncommon. The beard is naturally scanty as in the Mongols, and is removed in youth by pulling out. The eyebrows are naturally thick and the Payaguays and Paraguays remove the eyelashes.

The similitude of early culture with Asiatic tribes has often been pointed out, but we shall here call attention to only one feature, which can scarcely have originated independently in several countries at the same time. The oldest Chinese writing is in knotted cords, which were afterwards replaced by notchings in bamboo sticks, and afterwards by the usual writing from the top to the bottom on skins and paper. The method of making records by knotted cords is mentioned by Herodotus, where King Darius leaves with the Ionians guarding the bridge at the Lower Danube thongs of sixty knots which should serve them as a calendar. He ordered them to untie a knot every day, and gave them permission to go home after the last cord had been untied. This same method of making records by knotted cords is used by the South Sea Islanders, where we find knotted strings of Pandanus leaf or cocoanut fibre serving purposes of divination as well as for the reckoning of time. Ratzel in Volume I., page 199, informs us that many chiefs wear them as memoranda around their necks. Among the Peruvians the method of aiding the memory with knotted cords has been customary since olden times, and there are a number of such old Peruvian books which are called quipus preserved in ethnological museums, but it is to be regretted that the key to the writing has been lost. We know, however, that various colors of the threads have been used to denote various tribes, and sometimes various materials of tribute. We also know that according to position knots might have meant units or tens. There can be no doubt either that peculiar twists had their peculiar significance, and also the distance between one cord and another.



KNOTTED CORDS WORN AROUND THE NECK,
FOR MAKING RECORDS AND COUNTING.

As to the negro races, we wish to emphasise here that Ratzel insists on the theory that all the lower races of mankind are not so much kept back by causes within themselves as by external conditions. "Doubtless," he says, "there have always been differences between race and race, but the sources of mental capacity flow variably according to the surroundings under which they develop. The negro in Africa, to be sure, is uncivilised, but that means undeveloped, not incapable of development." (P. 320.) "If some have indicated cowardice and in-

"solence as fundamental features of the negro character, and have, accordingly, placed him far below the North American Indian and even Malay, it is a one-sided judgment. . . . The negro has a tendency to presumptuousness and swagger. Decision alone, clear, and above all unerring as to its results, can check his presumption and the dangerous outbreaks of his savagery. In small things as in great, in hired field-labor as in politics, it has always held good that if rebuffed in his smallest pretensions the negro thinks no more of his demands, while otherwise his impudence increases without limit. This is the character of the intercourse between inferior and superior. We cannot specially reproach the negro with it. If we are accustomed to see courage and modesty go hand in hand, it is no doubt a higher ideal, but there is an inseparable connexion between the two. The trait mentioned is part of the instinctive diplomacy of human intercourse which is always striving to adapt its demands to the squeezableness which it encounters. And the negro, as the arch-realist, is a master in this diplomacy. In the service of white men the negro shows valuable military qualities." *aps.*

PROPOSED SYLVESTER MEMORIAL.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

May I be permitted to appeal through your columns to all friends and admirers of the late Prof. J. J. Sylvester to assist in founding a suitable memorial in honor of his name and for the encouragement of mathematical science. A movement was inaugurated on this side of the Atlantic soon after his death and it was resolved by the promoters that a fund should be raised for the purpose of establishing a Sylvester Medal to be awarded at certain intervals for mathematical research to any worker irrespective of nationality. For the purpose of carrying out the scheme a strongly representative international committee has been formed, and I should like to take advantage of this opportunity of expressing the great satisfaction which it has given to the promoters to be enabled to include in this committee so many great and distinguished names from the American universities. In every case our invitation to join the committee has been most cordially responded to and the consent has in many instances been accompanied by expressions of the greatest sympathy and encouragement. The list as it stands practically includes the leading mathematicians of the whole world.

It has been estimated that a capital sum of five thousand dollars will be sufficient for the proposed endowment, and of this about one-half has already been subscribed here. In appealing to the American public to enable us to complete the desired sum I am in the first place prompted by the consideration that Sylvester's association with the Johns Hopkins University and the leading part which he took in advancing mathematical science in America renders his claim to estimation on the part of the citizens of your country quite a special one. It is but a modest endowment that we are asking for, and I am sure that all those who were personally acquainted with him and who realise the great influence which he exerted in raising the intellectual level of every institution with which he was associated will be glad of this opportunity of co-operating in the movement.

It is proposed that the fund when complete shall be transferred to the council of the Royal Society of London, that body having undertaken to accept the trust and to award the medal triennially to mathematicians of all countries. I can hardly venture to trespass upon your courtesy to the extent of asking you to print the complete list of our committee. It will be sufficient to state that it comprises the names

of President Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University, of Prof. Simon Newcomb of Washington, of Prof. Willard Gibbs of Yale, of Professor Peirce of Harvard, and many other well-known American men of science. Subscriptions may be sent to and will be acknowledged by Dr. Cyrus Adler, the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, or by Dr. George Bruce Halsted, President of the Academy of Science, 2407 Guadalupe Street, Austin, Texas.

I am, sir, yours obediently,

RAPHAEL MELDOLA,

Professor in the Finsbury Technical College, London, England,
Honorary Organising Secretary to the Sylvester Memorial.

December, 1897.

"THE AVATARS."

To the Editor of The Open Court :

In reading your interesting article entitled "Avatars" in the August number of your journal, I was sorry to find an error in your account of the Buddha avatar. The only Brahmanical work in which I have been able to find an account of this avatar is the *Vishnu Purana*. The occasion for this incarnation of Vishnu, according to the Purana, is the attainment of power by the Daityas by ardently pursuing the path of the Vedas and the consequent defeat of the gods in a battle between the two. The gods, on their defeat, invoked the help of Vishnu against the Daityas. Vishnu emitted from his body an illusory form and gave it to the gods, saying that this deceptive vision would beguile the Daityas and lead them astray from the path of the Vedas, when they might be easily put to death. The illusory form came in the semblance of a naked mendicant, with his head shaven and carrying a bunch of peacock feathers. The teachings of this mendicant, according to the Purana, were as follows: "The words of authority do not fall from heaven; the text that has reason is alone to be acknowledged by me and by such as you are. The precepts that lead to the injury of animal life (as in sacrifices) are highly reprehensible. To say that casting butter into flame is productive of reward is mere childishness. If Indra, after having obtained godhead by multiplied rites, is fed upon the wood used as fuel in holy fire, he is lower than a brute, which feeds at least upon leaves. If an animal slaughtered in religious worship is thereby raised to heaven, would it not be expedient for a man who institutes a sacrifice to kill his own father for a victim? If that which is eaten by one at a Sraddha gives satisfaction to another, it must be unnecessary for one who resides at a distance to bring food for representation in person," and so on.

From the above description of the person of the Buddha avatar there can be no doubt that it was invented by the Brahmans to reconvert the ignorant Jains to Hinduism. As both the Jains and the Buddhists repudiate the authority of the Vedas and prohibit animal sacrifices, the avatar, from the teachings attributed to him, has been regarded as applying to both the Buddhist and Jain heresies. It does not appear from the account in the Purana that the Brahmans regarded this incarnation to be, as you say, "a teacher of morals, of purity, charity, and compassionate love toward all beings," but the purpose of the incarnation was explicitly to lead the Daityas astray from the path of the Vedas to be defeated by the gods. No doubt, judged from the modern point of view, we can regard the avatar as a teacher of morality, but what I desire to lay stress upon is that it was never intended by its inventors to be such.

Again you say that "the ideal of a Buddha avatar was a prominent factor in the foundation of Buddhism." This I believe is a mistake. The Buddha avatar must have been invented by the Brahmins after the downfall of Buddhism in India to appease those who were converted back from Jainism and Buddhism to Hinduism by means of persecution. According to Madhana Charya, a prince named Sudhaman is said to have issued, at the instigation of Kumarila Bhatta, a general order to put the Buddhists to death throughout the whole of India. The statement of Madhana is as follows: "The king ordered his servants to put to death the old men and the children of the Bandshas, from the bridge of Rama to the Snowy mountain; let him who slays not be slain." Under this sanguinary persecution every Buddhist would have been compelled to deny his faith publicly. But we can easily understand that in his heart of hearts many a Buddhist revered the great teacher, and even worshipped him in secret. This secret reverence and worship of Buddha must have induced the Brahmins, who have always shown a great aptitude for compromise if by such means their power will only be enhanced, to invent a story which would include the heresies within their own religion and represent their founders as illusive forms projected by Vishnu to lead people astray from the path regarded by the Brahmins as righteous. Moreover the clue for the invention of such a story seems to have been taken from the remarks of Sankara on Buddha. Says Sankara in his commentary on the *Brahma Sutras*: "Buddha by propounding the three mutually contradictory systems teaching respectively the reality of 'the external world, the reality of ideas only, and general nothingness, has himself made it clear that he was a man given to make incoherent assertions, or else 'hatred of all beings induced him to propound absurd doctrines by accepting 'which they would become thoroughly confused." May not the latter portion of this remark have given the hint to make an avatar to serve as a sop for those who had been through sheer persecution forced to give up Buddhism?

Before concluding I take the liberty of pointing out that any attempt to reconcile the Vedanta of Sankara with the teachings of Buddha must be vain. It may be possible to put meanings into Sankara's phraseology which were never intended by him, and to thus effect an apparent reconciliation. But such a course is not effecting a reconciliation between the true teachings of Sankara and those of Buddha. Furthermore Sankara himself gives the lie to any such course. He says: "Buddha's doctrine has to be entirely disregarded by all those who have a regard for their own happiness." Do you think it possible to effect a reconciliation between a philosophy of assumptions and a philosophy of facts?

P. L. NARASU.

MADRAS, INDIA.

[We must distinguish in Brahmanism between the Buddha ideal which existed before the appearance of Buddha and the Brahmanical opinion of the historical Buddha. The ancient Buddha ideal is unquestionably a noble conception which must be regarded as one of the main factors that produced Buddhism, and this Buddha ideal is the original Buddha avatar of the Brahmins. However, when Buddha's reforms necessitated a radical overthrow of the traditional Brahmanism the Brahmins naturally represented Buddha as a heretical teacher who led the people astray, and thus the Buddha-avatar received a new interpretation which was intended among the reactionary Brahmins to supersede the old and original conception of the Buddha as the Enlightened One, the teacher of men and gods.

The contrast between Buddha's and Sankara's doctrines is, indeed, irreconcilable, at least in the sense in which Sankara explains his philosophy. The remark made on page 447 in No. 494 (July, '97) of *The Open Court* is not intended to slur

over a difference which is radical, but must be understood to be a concession to those disciples of Sankara who are willing to put a new interpretation upon the words of their master and explain the *âtman* to be unsubstantial pure form. This would identify the *bodhi* with the highest self of the Upanishads, and every self would be a more or less perfectly realised instance of the highest self.

Buddha denied the existence of an *âtman*, a self, and Sankara affirmed it. Now if self means a concrete being (and this was the meaning of *âtman*), then Buddha is right. But if by self we understand what Buddhists call name and form, viz., the combination of parts and characteristics which constitute a thing or a person, then Sankara's contention that the self exists would not be wrong. There is no self in itself that would be independent of its parts, but the configuration itself, the form, is real enough; it is what Plato calls the ideas of things. The ideas are pure forms and the realm of the purely formal corresponds to the Buddhist conception of *Nirvâna*.—ED.]

"SOCIALISM AND BIRTHS."

To the Editor of the Open Court :

I notice several statements in "Socialism and Births," by Austin Bierbower, in a recent issue of *The Open Court*, to which I desire to take exception by assertions as follows :

1. The least considerate do *not* reproduce the fastest.
2. Licentiousness is *not* conducive to the reproduction of humanity.
3. Why should the negro and the immigrant be classed with the pauper, the ignorant and the morally low?
4. Men do not always get rich by moderating their desires, nor have the majority of rich men acquired their wealth by so doing.
5. Is not the author wrong in his ideas as to the class that produces the wealth? My impression is, it is the laboring poor and the middle classes.
6. The statement "as we live more easily, more come into the world to live," is not substantiated by the statistics of *this or any other country*.

The morally low, the ignorant, the physical wrecks, etc., should be (by law), first of all, prohibited from marriage to foist their editions of sin on a world which has now *too many of that kind*, not *too many of honest* poor; but to prohibit the rational increase of healthy, intelligent, though poor parents, is out of all reason. Health, long life, happiness, content, and a satisfaction of having obeyed the laws of nature or an all-wise Creator, are among the blessings which are, and should, be given to heads of large families as a rule.

C. W. JEWELL.

NOTES AND BOOK REVIEWS.

MARIA CANDELARIA. An Historic Drama from American Aboriginal Life. By Daniel G. Brinton, M. D. Philadelphia: David McKay. 1897. Pp., 98.

The distinguished American ethnologist, Mr. Daniel G. Brinton, finds a wealth of dramatic interest in American aboriginal life side by side with the dry facts of science which he has so thoroughly studied there. He has been moved accordingly to give to the world an historic drama, *Maria Candelaria*, in which he attempts to impress poetic coloring on an extremely pathetic and tragic incident which happened among the Tzetzals in 1712 in the extreme Southeastern part of Mexico. The Tzetzal Indians stood very high in American civilisation, in some respects even higher than the Aztecs. After the Spanish Conquest they remained in ap-

parent submission to the Spaniards for nearly two centuries. In 1712 an insurrection broke out, headed by an Indian girl named María Candelaria, who became the Joan of Arc of the nation. For a while the revolution was extremely successful and she ruled like a queen-dictator. To quell the revolt the Spanish governor was finally compelled to send for the veteran Segovia, an able officer of the old conquistador type. Juan Garcia, the Tzentel commander, was unable to withstand the tactics of this experienced soldier, and was finally overpowered. Maria and her uncle mysteriously disappeared, having seemingly jumped from a precipice, but really landing on a ledge leading to the shrine of their gods. The incident of the drama turns upon the deep love of Maria for her commander, Juan Garcia. The drama is short. It is interesting as an attempt to use the rich material which exists in the history of America for poetical purposes, and the author has supplied it with an excellent introduction. There are one or two pleasant illustrations of the characters taken from an old Dutch work. μκρκ.

Of the many books and pamphlets which we have recently received from Eastern countries, we shall note at present but three. (1) A treatise on *The Vedic Philosophy, or An Exposition of the Sacred and Mysterious Monosyllable AUM*, containing a translation of the *Māndukya Upanishad*, with Commentary and Introduction by Har Nārāyana (Bombay: Tatva-Vivechaka Press). The Introduction to this book is a fair exposition of the fundamental problems of philosophy as viewed through the curiously ground lenses of the Vedantic system, and the reader can gain by its perusal a broad and lucid insight into some prominent phases of Indian thought with all its excellences and shortcomings. (2) *The Landmarks of Ethics According to the Gita*, by Bulloram Mullick, a brief pamphlet of thirty-three pages, printed at the Sen Press, Calcutta. The *Bhagavat Gita* is one of the great works of Hindu wisdom, professing to be the word of God and claiming to exhibit all the "symptoms" of inspiration. "To determine what true Hinduism is," says the author, "we should study the *Gita*, for it embodies the cream of theology, ceremonialism, etc., the law of karma, and spiritual transcendentalism." "Read the *Gita*," says Bulloram Mullick, "and be saved." The perusal of this short pamphlet, too, will be interesting to Western spectators of Indian thought. (3) It is a pleasure to record the translation into Singhalese of the *Samata Kūta Warnanā* of the Venerable Védéha Mahā Sthavira, Principal of the Pratiraja Parivēṇa, a task which has been performed by the Rev. W. Dhammānda Sthavira and the Rev. M. Nāpissara, at the suggestion of their teacher, the Ven. H. Sumangala, Chief Nāyaka Thēra of the Western Province and of the Shripāda, Principal of the Vidyodaya Parivēṇa at Māligākanda, etc. Undoubtedly the book is one of high merit, but our slight familiarity with the Singhalese language forbids our passing judgment either upon the contents of the book or the excellencies of the translation. (Colombo: H. C. Cottle.) μκρκ.

The popular fame of Dr. Gustav Jaeger rests chiefly upon his hygienic discoveries and researches, and it is little known that his investigations extended into numerous other branches of organic science. He was an enthusiastic and early follower of Charles Darwin and helped to carry the standard of modern evolution and thought to victory in the face of a mighty opposition. Specimens of his wide and varied researches have now been gathered together in a volume of 261 pages, entitled *Problems of Nature*, translated by Henry G. Schlichter and published by Williams and Norgate of London. The selections are divided into three parts: *Zoo-*

logical, Anthropological, and Varia. The first is concerned with the evolution, physiology, and embryology of organised substance, and contains matter which was expressly recognised as valuable by Darwin himself. An interesting feature of the book, in fact, is a fac-simile letter from Charles Darwin to Dr. Gustav Jaeger which compliments him upon his work and asks him to continue his researches along certain lines. The second part discusses such subjects as human vitality, the specific gravity of the body, infection, anthropogenesis, etc. The *Varia* comprise discussions on spirit and intellect, the configuration of the arctic regions, etc. A good glossary and index have been added. There is much that is suggestive in the book, which as a whole represents interesting phases in the history of research. μ .

Dr. Jesus Díaz de León of Aguascalientes, Mexico, is an indefatigable worker in the domain of linguistic research and instruction, and we have to thank him for sending us several copies of his numerous works. Their enumeration alone will show the range of activity of the Mexican scholar, for they include etymological studies such as "A Course in Greek Roots," which has passed through six editions, and is widely used in the Spanish schools of Southern America, a translation from the Hebrew of the Song of Songs of Solomon, which is now in its second edition, "Researches on the Esoteric Philosophy and Religions of Antiquity," etymological essays, works on fine art, works on fruit culture and on the agricultural conditions of his country, etc., etc. To his work of enlightenment and the diffusion of education in Spanish America, we wish him God-speed. μ .

Mr. Alfred W. Martin, minister of the Tacoma Free Church of Universal Religion, issued not long since a second edition of his little book *Ideals of Life or the Soul's Way to God*. The book is a collection of quotations from Non-Christian bibles and the New Testament, which show that the religious precepts of Christianity have all been taught by other great religious teachers of the world. The selections have been made from the Egyptian, Hindu, Parsee, Buddhist, Confucian, Mohammedan, Grecian, Roman, Jewish, and Christian religions, while at the end some ancient classical examples of prayer are given. It is a useful and interesting piece of anthology. (City Printing Co., Tacoma, Washington.)

The attractions of the Madeira Islands are well and entertainingly portrayed in a little book by Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, issued by the Drexel Biddle and Bradley Publishing Co. of Philadelphia. The book contains maps and numerous pictures of Madeira scenes, cities, people, customs, and buildings. It is a sketch of a traveller, a history, and a guide-book combined, and affords a great deal of information about this unique part of the world, which can scarcely be found elsewhere. Even the question of routes, fares, hotels, household and economical problems are discussed. The little work may be profitably consulted by intending visitors to these strange islands. (The Madeira Islands, \$2.00.)

The widow of Babu Pratapa Chandra Roy, the Hindu scholar who devoted his life to the translation of Hindu books in order to spread the knowledge of the Hindu civilisation among English-speaking people, and to preserve it to the English-speaking part of his own people begs us to announce that the Mahabharata is now complete. The Sanskrit text of the work may be had at two pounds ten shillings, and the English translation for six pounds. Scholars who are unable to pay the full rate may upon application have the work for three pounds ten shillings. Apply to Mrs. Chandra Roy, No. 1 Raja Goroob, Dass Street, Calcutta, India.

Three volumes of the English translation of the Polychrome edition of the Bible, edited by Paul Haupt,—viz., the Book of Judges, translated by Rev. G. F. Moore; the Psalms, translated by Prof. J. Wellhausen; and Isaiah, translated by Rev. T. K. Cheyne,—have just appeared. The importance of this new edition can hardly be overrated, and we propose to publish in some forthcoming number an article on the subject. Suffice it at present to call attention to this new monumental work.

PHILOSOPHY.

BY FLORENCE PERIA BONNEY.

Welcome Philosophy! thou golden link
To bind the unseen realm to visible.
All knowledge blends to give one perfect plan;
For, ever speaks within the lowest law
A higher truth which leads to perfect light.
Nature hath giv'n her store of riches great,
Each type evolves to higher state above,
Till man, who being more than nature gives,
Yearns something high'r, above the world of sense.
Though feet of flesh must walk the daily path,
Where time and sense have placed the visible,
The soul of man may wing to noblest height
Till he may walk his daily path with God.
Man needs not less the feet, with wings of thought,
For on the lowest must the highest rest,
And man can learn the lessons of his soul.
All science is Divine, foundation stone
To world invisible, the world within.
Philosophy is giv'n the gracious gift
To harmonise the two in unity.

THE SUPERPERSONAL GOD.

The melody of *Nearer, My God, to Thee*, which generally goes by the name of Bethany, is quite modern; indeed, so modern as to be still protected by copyright. More than any other hymn it is expressive of the noblest and highest religious sentiments, and it seems that there could never have been a time when that beautiful melody did not exist! We are in all things apt to think that our ancestors partook of the revelations which we possess to-day, and it is natural that we read the history of the past in the light of the living present. Nevertheless, there are new revelations which were unknown to former generations and could only be groped after by a few prophetic minds. But we know more to-day about God than our ancestors knew three or four or five centuries ago. We have learned that God is not a loving being, but, as Christ has it, he is love; he is not a spirit, or some spirit, but, as we read in the Gospel of Saint John, he is spirit (πνεῦμα ὁ θεός; not πνεῦμά τι); he is not an individual not a concrete personality in the human sense, but a superpersonal presence, being the condition of all personality and rationality. We say presence to denote God's reality, but he is not *some* presence which is here, not

there, which is now doing one thing and now another; in this sense he is not a presence, but rather an omnipresence. He is everywhere and eternal.

When a scientist traces the uniformities of nature and discovers a universal truth, he must know that he is in the presence of God. Every truth, i. e., every condition of reality which can be formulated in laws of nature, is a thought of God; or, in other words, the laws of nature as well as all truths, mathematical, logical, and others, which describe the eternalities of existence are divine; they are uncreated and uncreatable. They are part and parcel of God himself; they are the ideas of the deity. It is an allegorical mode of expression to speak of God as a person. God is not a man; nor is he a God: he is God. And God's thoughts are not like ours in time and space; they are not transient and fleeting representations of surrounding conditions in the mind of a thinking being. God's thoughts are in eternity, and the reality of his life is the existence of omnipresence.

Says God, according to Isaiah: "As the heaven's are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts." We must add that this nomotheism, this conception of a superpersonal God, differs considerably from both anthropotheism and pantheism. It avoids the mistake of anthropotheism which regards God as a huge human being, without falling a prey to the pantheistic error of identifying God with the All. God is not the sum total of things, he is not the whole amount of matter and energy; nor is he a mere generality without any definite character or distinction. God is a certain feature of existence; he is that which determines the suchness of things and of all beings; he is the bliss of virtue and the curse of sin; he is the necessity of law which makes reason, rational will, and design, possible; he is the condition of both ethics and science. As such he is possessed of a definite character. As such he is not only in all things but also above all things. There is nothing that does not live, move, and exist in him, yet at the same time the realities which are formulated in truth, i. e., the eternal conditions of existence, are such as they are independently of all the various things in whose existence they become manifest. They prescribe not only the course of nature in this actual world of ours, but possess universal validity. They hold good for any possible world, and in this sense God is not only immanent but also supernatural. He is supernatural or hyperphysical in the literal sense of the word; and here, if anywhere, the old Greek paradox is applicable, that the half is greater than the whole. This feature of reality, which is one part of it only and excludes other parts, not only embraces all things in an inalienable omnipresence as that which determines their nature, but possesses at the same time a definite existence in itself.

In a word, the superpersonal God is not God deprived of personality, but embodying all the conditions of personality themselves; for God is personal in the sense that he is definite in character, only God's personality is not human but divine; it is eternal and universal in all the things which in a human personality are transient; his will appears in the immutable laws of nature, and his thoughts are the eternal relations of existence. His organisation is not physical but hyperphysical, not bodily, but as spiritual as for instance the system of mathematical truths is. If the terms reality and existence are to be limited to materiality, we should have to accept the statement of atheism, that God is non-existent. But in that case we should be compelled to confess that there are nonentities which are more important actualities than all the matter and energy of the cosmos put together. God's existence is such impalpable actuality as are the actualities of truth and right and justice.

P. C.

GODWARD.

Music by L. MASON.¹



I. Near - er, my God, to thee, Near - er al - way;
E'en though thou oth - er be Than proph - ets say;
Oth - er thou art, but higher, Bid - ding our souls as - pire,
Bid - ding our souls as - pire God - ward al - way.

Doubt comes from God, in sooth,
Though conquering creeds;
Doubt prompts our search for truth
And higher leads.
Who on doubt's path ne'er trod,
Ne'er saw the face of God:
Doubt truthward speeds.

Science the burning bush
Where God doth dwell!
Truth and its onward rush
Nothing can quell.
God is the truth that guides,
Heaven where love abides:
Sin's curse is Hell.

God the eternal cause
Of truth and right;
Oneness of cosmic laws,
Reason's true light.
God, though nowhere confined,
Yet in the human mind
Showeth His might.

God is man's truthward call,
Noblest desire.
He's in life cosmical,
Love's holy fire.
Thou who art All in All
God superpersonal,
Lead Thou us higher.

P. C.

¹ Used by arrangement with Oliver Ditson Co., owners of the copyright.



QUEEN LOUISE AND HER TWO OLDEST SONS.

From a Fresco in the Aula of the Wilhelm's Gymnasium in Königsberg.

By the courtesy of the *Photographische Gesellschaft*.

The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XII. (NO. 3.)

MARCH, 1898.

NO. 502

QUEEN LOUISE.

BY THE LATE PROF. HERBERT TUTTLE.

IN THE ANNALS of the House of Prussia may be found three famous women, all of whom are remembered with admiration, two with respect and one with a genuine and universal affection; they are the Electress Louise, the Electress Sophia Charlotte, and Queen Louise.

The first Louise was a princess of the Orange family, granddaughter of William the Silent. Her husband, the Great Elector, was a brawny, stalwart, energetic, adroit, and unscrupulous prince, the real founder of the State of Prussia, while his Dutch consort was refined and womanly, who introduced the vegetables, the cheese, and the industry of her own home into the Mark of Brandenburg. Sophia Charlotte, the wife of Elector, afterwards King, Frederic, was a Hanoverian with the sprightliness and audacity of her Gallic sisters. While Frederic was fitting on wigs and planning magnificent pageants, Sophia Charlotte sat in her boudoir with clever wits from all parts of Europe, talked philosophy with Leibnitz, pored over Bayle, and toyed with the most dangerous scepticism of the age. She herself had *esprit* and plenty of it. Her *salon*, though hospitable, was decorous; and though she ridiculed the harmless vanities of her husband and kept her own little court in which he seldom appeared, she respected the marriage tie, and was not unwilling that other people should respect it. But she abhorred prudes, bores, pedants, and weak and dull people generally, and left many short sayings of an incorrigible cynic on record, one of which was a death-bed effort.

Such was Sophia Charlotte,—a reckless, brilliant, accomplished, fascinating woman, who could hold her own in contro-

versy or repartee with the keenest minds of her society, and whose only misfortune it was to have a fop and a prodigal for a consort.

The third figure in the gallery, Queen Louise, the subject of our sketch, is better known than either of the others, not merely because she is more recent, but also because while her virtues were not less, her trials were far greater than theirs. She is especially the object of that peculiar affectionate sympathy which is the homage that humanity pays to a beautiful and noble woman in misfortune. One would no more offer sympathy to Sophia Charlotte than to Voltaire or Talleyrand. The Electress Louise was happy with her Dutch cabbage and her Dutch dairy; and although her lot was not without its dark days, she lived through them with fortitude and success. But Queen Louise's married life was full of darkness, and ended before the light returned. The friends and



QUEEN LOUISE.
(After Brend'amour.)

companions of her youth, who saw her as a radiant and vivacious maiden, the gallants of the Prussian court who were awed alike by the beauty, the virtue, and the gentleness of the young crown princess, could hardly have foreseen the serene fortitude with which she would bear the misfortunes of a wife, a mother, and a queen, yet this fortitude was in her own estimation her chief claim to remembrance. Posterity, she said, "will not count me among the celebrated women; but it will say that I have borne great trials with patience. Alas! if it may only add that I gave life to

princes who were able to restore the Fatherland." In her earlier years it was her beauty, grace, and amiability, which chiefly attracted notice. Prince Metternich met her at Frankfort-on-the-Main during the coronation festivities of Francis II.; and he writes in his memoirs: "I opened the ball with the young Princess Louise of Mecklenburg, who afterwards, as Queen of Prussia, was distinguished for her beauty and noble qualities. . . . Goethe saw her in the German camp in 1793, and in his "Campagne in Frankreich" he describes the impression made by Louise and her sister in these words: "One might actually have taken the two young ladies for heavenly apparitions, the effect of which I shall never forget." Hufeland, the palace physician, speaks of "the indescribably holy feelings which were always aroused by her presence, as if it were the presence of an angel." The coarse

and bluff Blücher, the cynical Napoleon, and many others have testified in similar language to the charms and the gracious influence of the unfortunate queen, while her courage and fortitude are traits in her character dear to the whole Prussian people. Poetry and prose have celebrated Louise, and if the eulogies of German writers, especially the latest, Dr. Edward Engel, are defaced by turgid sentimentality and exaggeration, a little of these may be



QUEEN LOUISE BEFORE HER MARRIAGE.

pardoned to the fervor of patriotic loyalty. We shall, however, strive to present the events in the life and the virtues in the character of the excellent queen in a plain, straightforward, and authentic story.

Louise was born at Hanover on the 10th of March, 1776. Her father was Prince Charles, a member of a cadet branch of the House of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and with only the most remote chance, accordingly, of succeeding to the crown of the little prin-

ciality. He lived the greater part of his time at Hanover, then politically far more important than now, but a small, dull, and modest town. His simple house, more simple than that of many a private burgher now, was afterwards torn down to make way for the march of improvement; but it was re-erected near the castle of Herrenhausen, a mile from the city, and the spot is occasionally visited by pious pilgrims, especially of the more emotional sex.

When Louise was six years old her mother died. Dr. Engel relates a number of touching tributes paid years afterwards by the queen to the mother who died when she was about old enough to read the alphabet, and when her capacity to judge of maternal or other personal qualities may reasonably be doubted. It appears,



CRADLE OF QUEEN LOUISE.¹



LEGHORN BONNET OF QUEEN LOUISE.
(Kept among her personal belongings.)

however, from the testimony of other witnesses that the Princess Frederika Caroline was an estimable woman, as was her sister, the Princess Charlotte, whom the disconsolate father soon afterwards married. But she also died a year after the marriage and Louise was again motherless. The duke then abandoned ominous Hanover and removed to Darmstadt, where his children were placed under the care of their maternal grandmother, a princess of Hesse Darmstadt. Louise was eight years old when this change took place; and at Darmstadt she remained until her marriage with the Crown Prince Frederic William of Prussia.

¹The present picture, the pictures of the Leghorn bonnet and of the two bedrooms in the Charlottenburg Palace (page 139), were drawn, with the special permission of the Royal Prussian Marshalcy, by Mrs. Tuttle.

Few modern tourists visit Darmstadt. The place possesses little interest, natural, historical, or artistic. A flat, unimpressive country, pictures of mediocre merit, monotonous streets, a square regular castle, unambitious monuments of an uneventful past,—such things fail, and properly fail, to attract busy travellers who have visited Switzerland and the Rhine and are on their way to Munich or Dresden. But in a modest way the city will have some charms for appreciative persons. The castle grounds are spacious, pretty, and salubrious. Here the Princess Louise and her sisters played as children under the great trees, and grew up from budding girlhood into developed and ample womanhood. Here Goethe composed a good part of “Tasso”; here Schiller meditated the great drama, “Don Carlos,” little thinking that the ingenuous maid, whom he saw playing in the garden, would one day be queen of Prussia, would entertain him with royal hospitality at Berlin, and after his death would mourn as for the loss of a brother. Darmstadt has, therefore, its associations with genius as well as with rank, and for Louise it always retained a pious and grateful charm.

Her residence at Darmstadt was varied by occasional visits to neighboring capitals and courts. Twice she was at Frankfort at imperial coronations, in 1790 of Leopold II. ; in 1792 of Francis II. On both of these occasions she had the felicity of being the guest of the obscure mother of a famous son, of Mrs. Councillor Goethe. The Frau Rath made delectable sweetcakes, and the two sisters, Louise and Frederika, had good appetites. The yard boasted an ancient pump, still standing, and the young princesses paddled in the basin like a pair of untamed plebeians, until the horrified governess found them and put them in the chains of her stringent etiquette. Goethe himself was also present ; and although he has graphically described in “Wahrheit und Dichtung” the coronation ceremonies, the two sisters under his mother’s roof seem to have escaped his observation. The poet, however, was no longer young, had travelled much, and knew many beautiful women.

Another visit which Louise and her sister made a little later was even more eventful for the hearts and lives of both. The historical reader will recollect that after the rash and inglorious campaign conducted in 1792 by Prussia and Austria against the French Revolution, the Prussian troops and some of their allies went into winter quarters about Mayence and Frankfort. Among the allies was the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel ; and being a gallant man he

invited the Landgravine Maria of Darmstadt, with her two wards to visit the camp. The invitation was accepted. King Frederic William II. of Prussia was present in person, and with him his two sons, Frederic William, the Crown Prince, and Louis, who according to many Prussian writers had distinguished themselves in the preceding campaign by the most heroic deeds of valor, about which impartial history is, however, singularly silent. Be that as it may, the Darmstadt guests arrived in camp, were appropriately entertained, suggested angels to Goethe, and won the hearts of the two princes of Prussia. The young warriors seem to have been simultaneously smitten, the Crown Prince with Louise; his brother with Frederika. And the next summer saw them again



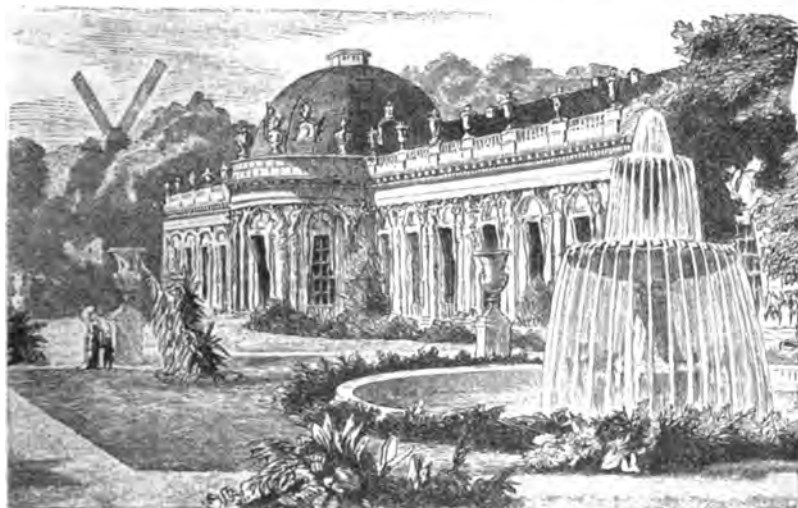
ENTRANCE OF THE PRINCESS LOUISE INTO BERLIN. COUNTESS VON VOSS SHOCKED.

on the field of battle emulating each other in achievements which should make them worthy of their mistresses.

The double betrothal was celebrated at Darmstadt on the 24th of April, 1793. On the following Christmas the marriage took place,—that is to say, the marriage of Louise and the Crown Prince, the other pair being united two days later. No detailed report of the festivities has been preserved; but they doubtless conformed to traditional forms of the Berlin court. The bride made her entry in a state carriage escorted by soldiers; the streets and houses were brilliant with flowers, banners, emblems; addresses were presented by the burgomaster and deputations; the customary "Fackeltanz" or torch dance was performed by grave

ministers of state ; and after the ceremony the bridal pair were accompanied to their apartments by the King himself and all the great dignitaries of the court. The beauty of the young princess filled the hearts of the people with gallant and loyal enthusiasm. They wrote indifferent odes in her honor, and at night stuffed their windows full of candles. Happy Louise ! Her incomparable trials were hidden far away in the distant future ; and she gave herself up unreservedly to the modest and innocent delights of the auspicious occasion.

"From your Royal Highness," said good Bishop Sack, who officiated at the ceremony, "the prince to whom you have vowed yourself expects what dignity and power cannot give him,—the



SANSsouci. The Royal Prussian Palace at Potsdam.

"holy blessing of love ; from you the court and the country expect a new and illustrious example." An example was indeed needed. Virtue and decorum at the court of Berlin had reached their aphe-
 lision. From King Frederic William II. downwards all was dissoluteness, debauchery, corruption. The taint spared almost no household of the upper classes, and of course spread in even a grosser form to the *bourgeoisie* and the working people. To believe in female virtue was to be a contemptible simpleton. To be honest and industrious was held almost to disqualify a man for public employment. The officer who did not gamble, keep his mistress, and whip his men, received slow promotion, and in the

end was dismissed in disgrace. And to crown all the court was thronged with depraved favorites, a tyrannical etiquette shut off the king from the people, and society was divided into classes by severe and impassable gulfs of separation.

Into this modern Babylon the Crown Prince of Prussia introduced his youthful bride. He was himself a man of pure mind and correct tastes; and his efforts at social reform were at once and ably supported by Louise. So long as the old king lived they could do little except by example, but the example was high and was given consistently, with tact, and without offence. Their palace was a centre of the purest domestic joys. They lived simply, and received their friends without ostentation. Of Louise it is related that she once gave audience to a shoemaker who had come to fit her pretty foot, and left a haughty noble waiting in the ante-room,



ORANIENBURG.

giving as a reason for this unusual precedence that the cobbler had less time to lose than the count. A person at all familiar with the prejudices even of the Prussian court to-day, can imagine what consternation the incident caused among the courtiers and chamberlains of the time.

Louise was considerate, charitable, unaffected. Alms were distributed among the poor whenever the court celebrated an anniversary. When the young pair drove they used a modest and grotesque vehicle, vastly different from the solemn state coach of the Empress Augusta. When they walked, as they often did, they not seldom found their way to the market places, where Louise would chat with apple women or buy toys of juvenile merchants for the children of the poor. In every respect they set an example of domestic happiness and social decorum, and easily won the hearts of the rough and somewhat cynical Berliners.

The coarse heart even of the King seems to have been touched at times by Louise's transparent purity, though it was in strange contrast with the vulgar favorites who surrounded him and ministered to his pleasures. He made her one considerable gift,—the Castle of Oranienburg, doubly dear to Louise because it had once belonged to her predecessor and namesake, Louise of Orange. Hence the name Oranienburg, or Orangeburg. The Crown Prin-

cess took it, however, with discreet reluctance, and then only on conditions that it be accompanied with a liberal sum for the poor of Berlin. She must have a purse for charity, she said. "How large a purse?" inquired the King. "As large as the heart of the best of kings," was the diplomatic reply. The purse was forthcoming.

The old King died in 1797, and his son followed as Frederic William III. New responsibilities and increased opportunities were the result of course. For Louise also, who, however, as Queen remained the same sincere, kindly, unaffected woman as before. But if her unconventional simplicity shocked the courtiers while she was Crown Princess, what must have been their feelings when they saw a queen defying the code of manners and laughing away all the restrictions of their etiquette? The Countess Voss can answer the question. She was for many years chief lady in waiting; and in her recently published memoirs she gives a distressing account of the trouble which she had in disciplining their majesties, although Louise's goodness seems at times to have shaken even her resolution.

In the meantime children were coming to the royal pair, and to the cares of a wife Louise added those of a mother. Her children were born in the following order: 1795, Frederic William, afterwards King Frederic William IV.; 1797, William, the late Emperor; 1798, Charlotte, afterwards Empress of Russia and mother of the late Czar; 1801, Charles; 1803, Alexandrine, later Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin; 1808, Louise, subsequently wife of Prince Frederic of the Netherlands; 1809, Albert. A later son, Ferdinand, died in childhood.

The education and training of these children was personally conducted by the Queen to an extent unusual in women of her station and of her many cares. She seems to have had judgment as well as affection. One of the most interesting records of the young mother is a letter written by her to her father, who in 1794 had become Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, about her little group,



FREDERICK WILLIAM III.

an exhibition of her "gallery" she calls it, with a running characteristic of each child. The reader will be interested to see her account of her son William :

"Our son William," says she, "will be, if I am not deceived, "like his father, honest, simple, intelligent. In his outward appearance, also, he has the most resemblance to him, only I think "he will not be so handsome. You see, dear father, that I am yet "in love with my husband."

Louise certainly deceived herself in regard to the looks of her son William and his father. If one may judge from the standard portraits of Frederic William III. he was far inferior in personal appearance to the stalwart and handsome Kaiser.

Dr. Engel is moved to rapture by an incident from a visit which Louise and the King once paid to Magdeburg. As was usual on such occasions, the pair gave a reception to the leading dignitaries, civil and military ; among the latter was a major of the garrison and his plebeian wife. The Queen passed about from one to another, giving a pleasant word here, asking a sympathetic question there, until she reached the little major's wife, and with a gracious smile inquired what she was by birth, meaning, of course, her family name. Now military society was mostly noble, and the poor woman taking the question in that sense, stammered out that she was nothing by birth, like Topsy, she was not born. The aristocratic bystanders tittered, as was indeed not unnatural. But Louise turned to them with a sharp rebuke, and then addressed to Frau Major a long homily from the rather commonplace text that nobility in a social sense was a merely fictitious distinction ; that true nobility was of the heart and was conferred by God, and that no woman needed to blush for her origin if she only did her duty in the world. Truisms these, of course, and Prussia is probably the only country in the world where they would cause amazement. But in Prussia, and from the mouth of a Prussian Queen, they were considered almost revolutionary, and testify both to Louise's good sense and to her courage.

A good part of the time of Louise, especially in summer, was passed at the Castle of Charlottenburg ; and the most interesting relics of her are either to be found there or were originally there and have since been removed to the so-called Hohenzollern Museum in the Monbijou palace at Berlin. At the former place are preserved her favorite chapel. Two bed-rooms may also be found, the first being the earlier and usual one, until the entry of the French in 1806, when Napoleon occupied it for a time, and Louise

would never afterwards enter it ; the second being the one fitted up on her return in place of the contaminated one. The greater simplicity of the latter will illustrate the different conditions of the Prussian court before and after Jena.

Prussia had, therefore, her great "Bedchamber Question" like England. But in describing it we have somewhat anticipated the chronological order of events, for between bed-room number one and bed-room number two yawns a terrible chasm in Prussian history. The reader is presumably familiar with the battle of Jena and its results ; but it is necessary to give a brief account of Louise's relation to the great disaster.



THE BEDROOM IN THE CHARLOTTENBURG PALACE, OCCUPIED BY NAPOLEON, WHICH QUEEN LOUISE REFUSED TO ENTER AGAIN.



THE ROOM IN THE CHARLOTTENBURG PALACE MADE READY FOR QUEEN LOUISE AFTER NAPOLEON'S DEPARTURE.

The nature or extent of this relation has always been a subject of controversy. On the one hand we have the assertion of Louise herself, confirmed by the King, that she consistently avoided any interference in affairs of state, and that she was not consulted in regard to the fatal adventure of 1806. On the other hand contemporary opinion steadily assigned her to the war party at the Prussian court ; and she has herself left on record the statement that if she had been consulted she would have favored action. Her judgment was, therefore, at fault in any event, and the only question is whether her known opinions, formally expressed or not, influenced the course of the Government. The King always paid great deference to her views. She was warmly attached to Prince Louis Fer-

dinand, the chief advocate of action at court and in the army, and to Stein, the leading representative of the English or anti-French party in civil life. These facts being admitted, the exact form or degree of her influence becomes a secondary matter. She belonged to the war party, and the foolish campaign of 1806 had her complete sympathy.

"The army of your Majesty contains plenty of generals as good as Monsieur de Bonaparte," said a flippant young officer to the King. It is said the King knew better; that he consented with great reluctance and gloomy forebodings to war. But at any rate the trial was made, and in a few days the State was at the feet of Napoleon. Louis Ferdinand met a soldier's death on the battlefield, but the great Prussian generals failed to make their appearance.

After the catastrophe Louise showed a womanly heroism which half atones for her original error. As is well known, the French marched directly upon Berlin, which they occupied; Napoleon made his headquarters at Charlottenburg, and the Prussian court sought refuge and isolation on the extreme northeastern frontier of the State.

Louise visited the army in camp at Weimar, and left on her return to Berlin the day before the fatal battle. The news of the catastrophe overtook her before she reached the capital; and what might have been a triumphant return was converted into a hurried flight through the city and onward over the dreary plains of the northeast. To her children, whom she hastily assembled in Berlin and prepared for the journey, she cried out in the anguish of her soul: "Thus I see an edifice destroyed in one day on the erection of which great men have labored for two centuries. There is no longer a Prussian State, a Prussian army, Prussian national glory; these have disappeared like the fog which on the fields of Jena and Auerstädt concealed the perils of the unlucky battles." There was little exaggeration in this.

In raw October weather the unhappy Queen, with her children, set out upon the journey to Königsberg. At Küstrin, a fortress which had once marked the eastern frontier of the State, the King, flying from the battlefield, overtook her, and for the rest of the way they travelled together. The State they felt was forever lost, and in their love for each other and for their children they found their only consolation. At Königsberg they halted and hoped to enjoy there some degree of rest and security. Their hopes were vain. The inexorable foe pushed on in pursuit; and as often as

he neared the city hurried preparations were made for further flight. To several false alarms followed in December, 1806, a real one. Dr. Hufeland describes the consequences in the most heart-rending style. "Finally," he says, "the cruel typhus seized our noble Queen, in whom our affection and our confidence were centred. She lay very dangerously ill; and never shall I forget the night of December 22, when I held watch by her, and such a violent storm raged without that it tore off a roof of the old castle. Suddenly the news came the French were approaching. She declared emphatically: 'I would rather fall into the hands of God than the hands of that man'; and so on the 3d of January,



THE ROYAL PALACE AT KÖNIGSBERG.

"1807—her condition had in the meantime slightly improved—in a fearful cold, in a violent snow-storm, she was carried to a wagon and driven one hundred miles along the coast to Memel. We consumed three days and nights on the way, the days now in the waves of the sea, now in ice, the nights in the most wretched hovels. The first night the Queen lay in a room without windows, the snow beating in upon her bed, and no nourishment to be found." Thus relates the good Dr. Hufeland, a man doubtless not much inclined to pathos or hyperbole.

Previously to this a chance to make a favorable peace with the conqueror had been rejected, chiefly, according to the statement of the Countess Voss, through Louise's influence. In the battle of

Eylau between a remnant of Prussian troops and a pursuing detachment of French the former fought unexpectedly well, and even won some slight advantage, which, say German writers, disposed Napoleon to conclude an arrangement with Prussia before other enemies should arise in his rear. But there was a species of theoretical alliance between Prussia and Russia which could be held to bind the former not to enter into negotiations in the absence of the



QUEEN LOUISE ABOUT THE TIME OF THE MEETING WITH NAPOLEON AT TILSIT.

latter. Louise enforced this view with passionate arguments. "She begged the King most warmly," writes the Countess Voss, "to remain firm, and not to conclude peace yet"; and this account agrees with the Queen's own words written to her father: "This policy will bring Prussia good fortune, I firmly believe." It brought Prussia the peace of Tilsit!

Frederic William and Louise waited long and anxiously for

the Russian alliance to take a tangible form, but it proved to be a frail support even after it was realised. On the 14th of June, 1807, Napoleon defeated the combined Russians and Prussians at Friedland. Nothing now remained except peace on the victor's terms.

The negotiations were held at Tilsit; and here took place the memorable interview between Louise and Napoleon,—an interview in which a beautiful queen, descended from a long line of aristocratic ancestors, pleaded with a military *parvenu*, coarse, vulgar, heartless, and pleaded in vain. Louise had always felt an abhorrence of Napoleon, an abhorrence almost unsuited to her gentle nature. Even his surpassing military genius, which charmed all men, even his enemies, had no attraction for her. She saw in him only a monster; and his talents made him even the more loathsome, since they enlarged his opportunities and facilities for mischief. It was natural, therefore, that she should regard the prospect of an interview with dismay, especially an interview in which she would have the character of suppliant. Nothing but a sense of duty nerved her for the trial. "If any one sincerely believes that I can save even a single village by such a step, it becomes for me an imperative duty," were the Queen's own words.



QUEEN LOUISE RECEIVING THE EMPEROR
NAPOLEON AT TILSIT.

On the 4th of July, 1807, she set out for Tilsit, where she arrived two days later. An hour afterwards she received the initial visit of Napoleon. "How could you be so foolish as to begin war with me?" inquired the Emperor with his characteristic tact. The blood rushed to Louise's face at the rude question. A sharp retort was on her lips, but she remembered that she was there to intercede for her husband and fatherland; and, as she wrote in her journal, she was used to making sacrifices. She composed herself by a resolute effort and replied with dignity: "Sire! The glory

of Frederic permitted us to deceive ourselves, if indeed we have been deceived." "What a beautiful dress," said the Emperor, feeling its texture, "is it India gauze or crêpe?" Thus spoke the vulgar *parvenu*, and Louise in disgust begged that the conversation might be turned to more serious topics.

She had come down-stairs to meet Napoleon in a white toilet which gave a radiant and almost angelic beauty to her appearance. Even his cynical indifference was moved by the sight. Writing to Josephine some days later, he says: "The Queen of Prussia is really a charming woman, and is very amiable to me. But you need not be jealous. I am like wax-cloth, over which such things glide without affecting my internal feelings. And indeed it would cost me too much to play the gallant on such an occasion."

Several interviews took place between Louise and Napoleon, and each time she pleaded with all the fervid eloquence of a devoted wife, mother, and queen. She wished especially to save Magdeburg and Dantzic,—Magdeburg, the great fortress on the Elbe, Dantzic, the ancient Baltic port, which had offered a heroic resistance to the French. Napoleon promised once to consider the matter. The next day she renewed her entreaties. The Emperor was come to take his leave; and abandoning Dantzic she concentrated all her efforts upon Magdeburg, which she fondly believed would be restored to Prussia. But to her amazement Napoleon cried in an outburst of unmanly impatience, "Madame! Magdeburg is worth more to me than a hundred queens." That ended the negotiations. "Sire!" replied Louise, "you have cruelly deceived me," and with a heavy heart she returned to Königsberg.

It was on the following day that Napoleon wrote the letter to Josephine to which reference has been made. Another passage deserves, however, also to be cited: "At the very moment at which you read this letter," says the tender spouse, "peace is concluded with Prussia and Russia, and Jerome is King of Westphalia with three million subjects." This was the Emperor's curt account of a transaction which robbed the Prussian crown of half its territory and half its subjects, imposed upon it a heavy contribution in money, and set up a bastard kingdom, with a Bonaparte as its head, in the most flourishing part of Germany.

Louise's letters from this time onward breathe the anguish of a broken heart. At intervals she soars into a strain of almost inspired prophecy, and the expression of her complete confidence in God never wavers; but she invariably adds that she will not survive the return of good fortune and prosperity. Thus to her father

in the spring of 1808: "With us it is all over, for the present, at least. During my life I hope for nothing more." And again: "Certainly it will some day be better; that is guaranteed by our faith in the most perfect Being. But it can become better in this world only through the good. For that reason I do not believe that the Emperor Napoleon is firm and secure on his throne, brilliant as it now is. Only truth and justice are firm and secure, and he is only politic, that is, cunning; and he governs himself not by eternal laws but by circumstances as they may happen to shape themselves." Still again, to her friend and *confidante*, Frau von Berg. After giving the leading provisions of the Treaty of Tilsit, she adds: "Such is our fearful condition of universal prostration. All strength is fast leaving me also. It is frightfully, terribly hard, especially since it is undeserved. My future is of the very gloomiest. If we only succeed in keeping Berlin; but often my heart has an ominous foreboding that he will take even that, and make it the capital of a new empire. Then I have only a single wish,—for us to go into exile far away to live as private persons, and, if possible, to forget, oh, God! to what is Prussia come? Abandoned from weakness, persecuted by arrogance, prostrated by misfortune—thus must we fall!"

The poor woman was indeed ill, in body and heart; and the angel of death was hovering over her in confident expectation.

Early in the year 1809 the King and Queen made a visit to the Russian court at St. Petersburg,—a brief but agreeable diversion from the sad monotony of their life at Königsberg. They were warmly received by the Czar and the people. Here Louise was much impressed by the benevolent institutions founded by the Russian Empress; and the so-called Luisenstift, a charitable foundation, instituted by her on her return to Berlin, is still in existence and flourishing.

Toward the end of 1809 the French finally evacuated Berlin, and the royal exiles could then think seriously of returning to their unfortunate capital. They began their homeward journey early in December and arrived on the 22d of that month. The population received them with humble festivities, with sober and thoughtful enthusiasm; and Louise drove from the gate of the city to the palace in a tiny carriage, which was trimmed in lavender, her favorite color, and had been especially prepared and offered to her as the gift of the citizens of Berlin. Three years' absence had made the Queen richer in one species of earthly treasures,—she left the city with five and returned with seven children. The mother had,

therefore, her compensations. But for the Queen all intervals of joy were brief. Her prophetic sense assured her that she would never recover from the fatigue and exposure, from the sorrow and anguish of the long exile, and that her memory but not her presence might stimulate and direct the work of national vengeance. Nay, she had even imposed upon her sons, in a famous harangue, the duty of thus honoring their mother. It was during the flight from Berlin. "You have reached the age, my sons," said she, "at which you can appreciate this heavy affliction. In the future, when your mother and Queen no longer lives, recall this unhappy hour to your minds. Offer tears to my memory, as I in this terrible crisis, offer them to my prostrate country. But do not be content with tears alone. Act, develop your forces! Perhaps Prussia's protecting spirit will descend upon you; then free your people from the debasement in which it now groans. Strive to recover from France the glory, at present obscured, of your fathers; as your ancestor, the Great Elector, avenged on the Swedes the defeat and shame of his fatherland. Oh! my sons, do not let yourselves be corrupted by the demoralisation of this age. Be men, heroes! worthy to be called princes and kinsmen of the great Frederic. And if you cannot restore the deeply depressed State, then seek death like Louis Ferdinand."

Thus Louise to her sons, the late Emperor among them. In the words uttered by him during the war of 1870-71, "The cause of German unity is an inheritance from my blessed mother," lies the secret of a century of Prussian history.

On the 10th of March, 1810, Louise celebrated her thirty-fourth birthday. "It is probably the last time that I shall observe that anniversary *here*," said she. "I am thankful for the many expressions of love and sympathy, but I do not know how it is with me; I can no longer feel happy as formerly."

It had long been her anxious desire to visit once more her beloved friends in Mecklenburg, and in June of 1810 an opportunity offered. As she passed the frontier of Prussia gloomy shadows, which the Countess Voss describes, settled over the Queen's heart, and it was only by a great effort that her strength carried her to Strelitz, her journey's end. There, in her father's arms, she found rest, but not health. She was sent for restoration to the baths of Hohen-Zieritz; but the waters of the springs and the skill of the doctors were all useless. She sank rapidly. The King was summoned, and, though ill himself, hastened to the bedside of his dying wife, arriving only on the morning of July 19, the day of

her death. The journal of the Countess Voss describes the last scene :

"Finally, about five o'clock, the King came, but death was "already written on the Queen's brow. And yet what a recep- "tion ! With what joy she embraced and kissed him ! And he wept "bitterly. The Crown Prince and Prince William were come with "him. As well as she could, the Queen tried to speak. She would "so gladly have talked with the King, but alas ! she was speech- "less. So the time passed away, and she grew every minute "weaker. The King sat on the edge of the bed, and I kneeled "before it. He tried to warm the Queen's hands, then held one



HOHENZIEITZ. The place of Queen Louise's death.

"and gave the other to me to rub. It was about nine o'clock. The "Queen's head was inclined gently to one side, and her eyes were "fixed firmly on heaven. Opening her great eyes a last time, she "said : ' I am dying. O ! Jesus, make it short.' "

The Queen was dead. A few months afterwards, on the 22d of December, anniversary of the day on which, in the full bloom of her youthful beauty she had made her bridal entry into Berlin, a long funeral train escorted the remains of Louise from Berlin to Charlottenberg, wound among the shaded avenues of the old park, and left them to rest in the tomb prepared for them by a husband's love. This was, however, but a temporary receptacle. Years afterwards the filial affection of King Frederic William IV. suggested

a more imposing tomb for his mother and father; and the genius of Schinkel produced the mausoleum which our illustration represents. Here repose the bones of Louise, who died of a broken



THE MAUSOLEUM AT CHARLOTTENBURG.
From without.

heart before the reawakening of Prussia, and Frederic William III. who profited from that reawakening, and then basely broke faith with the people who had come to his deliverance. Side by side, in chaste marble effigies, the pair are pictured by the chisel of Rauch. The humble page in whom Louise had discovered the fire of genius, whom she had sent to Rome, where he was encouraged by Canova and Thorwaldsen, lived to reproduce with the most affectionate fidelity the figure of his mistress. Few modern works of art affect one so keenly as the reclining statue of Queen Louise in the mausoleum at Charlottenburg.



THE MAUSOLEUM AT CHARLOTTENBURG. From within.

Of other monuments or mementos, one must mention the Louise Island in the Thiergarten at Berlin. If the mausoleum belongs to the royal family, this belongs to the people. Quite close

to the favorite Thiergartenstrasse, the fashionable promenade of Berlin, opposite the house once occupied by one of the most famous authors and most profound scholars whom the American Government has ever sent abroad to represent it at a foreign court, the historian of his country, Mr. Bancroft, the Louise Island is a modest little green mound, hardly noticeable on ordinary days except for the stumpy stone tablet on which is inscribed the name "Louisa." But on every 10th of March it is brilliant with the choicest and rarest flowers. That is the birthday of Louisa; and early in the morning the



THE ETERNAL REST.

people, especially of the poorer classes, gather piously about, some bringing modest tributes of their own, others curious to see the gardener's boat round the point with the offerings of the palace, but all touched, even the roughest of them, for one day in the year, by the reminiscence of a beautiful and noble woman who had suffered.

ON SOME PHENOMENA ATTENDING THE FLIGHT OF PROJECTILES.¹

BY PROF. ERNST MACH.

"I have led my ragamuffins where they were peppered."—Falstaff.

TO SHOOT, in the shortest time possible, as many holes as possible in one another's bodies, and not always for exactly pardonable objects and ideals, seems to have risen to the dignity of a duty with modern men, who, by a singular inconsistency, and in subservience to a diametrically contrary ideal, are bound by the equally holy obligation of making these holes as small as possible, and, when made, of stopping them up and of healing them as speedily as possible. Since, then, shooting and all that appertains thereto, is a very important, if not the most important, affair of modern life, you will doubtless not be averse to giving your attention for an hour to some experiments which have been undertaken, not for advancing the ends of war, but for promoting the ends of science, and which throw some light on the phenomena attending the flight of projectiles.

Modern science strives to construct its picture of the world not from speculations but so far as possible from facts. It verifies its constructs by recourse to observation. Every newly observed fact completes its world-picture, and every divergence of a construct from observation points to some imperfection, to some lacuna in it. What is seen is put to the test of, and supplemented by, what is thought, which is again naught but the result of things previously seen. It is always peculiarly fascinating, therefore, to subject to direct verification by observation, that is, to render palpable to the senses, something which we have only theoretically excogitated or theoretically surmised.

In 1881, on hearing in Paris the lecture of the Belgian artiller-

¹Translated from Professor Mach's MS. by T. J. McCormack.

ist Melsens, who hazarded the conjecture that projectiles travelling at a high rate of speed carry masses of compressed air before them which are instrumental in producing in bodies struck by the projectiles certain well-known facts of the nature of explosions, the desire arose in me of experimentally testing his conjecture and of rendering the phenomenon, if it really existed, perceptible. The desire was the stronger as I could say that all the means for realising it existed, and that I had in part already used and tested them for other purposes.

And first let us get clear regarding the difficulties which have to be surmounted. Our task is that of observing a bullet or other projectile which is rushing through space at a velocity of many hundred yards a second, together with the disturbances which the bullet causes in the surrounding atmosphere. Even the opaque solid body itself, the projectile, is only exceptionally visible under such circumstances—only when it is of considerable size and when we see its line of flight in strong perspective abridgement so that the velocity is apparently diminished. We see a large projectile quite clearly when we stand behind the cannon and look steadily along its line of flight or in the less pleasant case when the projectile is speeding towards us. There is, however, a very simple and effective method of observing swiftly moving bodies with as little trouble as if they were held at rest at some point in their path. The method is that of illumination by a brilliant electric spark of extremely short duration in a dark room. But since, for the full intellectual comprehension of a picture presented to the eye, a certain, not inconsiderable interval of time is necessary, the method of instantaneous photography will naturally also be employed. The pictures, which are of extremely minute duration, are thus permanently recorded and can be examined and analysed at one's convenience and leisure.

With the difficulty just mentioned is associated still another and greater difficulty which is due to the air. The atmosphere in its usual condition is generally not visible even when at rest. But the task presented to us is to render visible masses of air which in addition are moving with a high velocity.

To be visible, a body must either emit light itself, must shine, or must affect in some way the light which falls upon it, must take up that light entirely or partly, absorb it, or must have a deflective effect upon it, that is, reflect or refract it. We cannot see the air as we can a flame, for it shines only exceptionally, as in a Geissler's tube. The atmosphere is extremely transparent and colorless ;

it cannot be seen, therefore, as a dark or colored body can, or as chlorine gas can, or vapor of bromine or iodine. Air, finally, has so small an index of refraction and so small a defective influence upon light, that the refractive effect is commonly imperceptible altogether.

A glass rod is visible in air or in water, but it is almost invisible in a mixture of benzol and bisulphuret of carbon, which has the same mean index of refraction as the glass. Powdered glass in the same mixture has a vivid coloring, because owing to the decomposition of the colors the indices are the same for only one color which traverses the mixture unimpeded, whilst the other colors undergo repeated reflexions.¹

Water is invisible in water, alcohol in alcohol. But if alcohol be mixed with water the flocculent streaks of the alcohol in the water will be seen at once and *vice versa*. And in like manner the air, too, under favorable circumstances, may be seen. Over a roof heated by the burning sun, a tremulous wavering of objects is noticeable, as there is also over red-hot stoves, radiators, and registers. In all these cases tiny flocculent masses of hot and cold air, of slightly differing refrangibility, are mingled together.

In like manner the more highly refracting parts of non-homogeneous masses of glass, the so-called striæ or imperfections of the glass, are readily detectible among the less refracting parts which constitute the bulk of the same. Such glasses are unserviceable for optical purposes, and special attention has been devoted to the investigation of the methods for eliminating or avoiding these defects. The result has been the development of an extremely delicate method for detecting optical faults—the so-called method of Foucault and Toepler—which is suitable also for our present purpose.

Even Huygens when trying to detect the presence of striæ in polished glasses viewed them under oblique illumination, usually at a considerable distance, so as to give full scope to the aberrations, and had recourse for greater exactitude to a telescope. But the method was carried to its highest pitch of perfection in 1867 by Toepler who employed the following procedure: A small luminous source *a* (Fig. 1) illuminates a lens *L* which throws an image *b* of the luminous source. If the eye be so placed that the image falls on the pupil, the entire lens, if perfect, will appear equally illuminated, for the reason that all points of it send out rays to the eye. Coarse imperfections of form or of homogeneity are rendered visi-

¹ Christiansen, *Wiedemann's Annalen*, XXIII. S. 298, XXIV., p. 439 (1884, 1885).

ble only in case the aberrations are so large that the light from many spots passes by the pupil of the eye. But if the image b be partly intercepted by the edge of a small slide, then those spots in the lens as thus partly darkened will appear brighter whose light by its greater aberrations still reaches the eye in spite of the intercepting slide, while those spots will appear darker which in consequence of aberration in the other direction throw their light entirely upon the slide. This artifice of the intercepting slide which had previously been employed by Foucault for the investigation of the optical imperfections of mirrors enhances enormously the delicacy

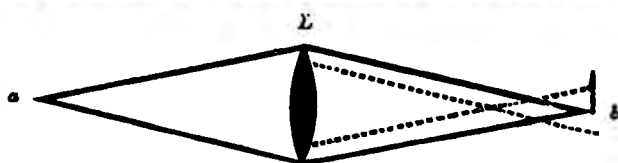


Fig. 1.

of the method, which is still further augmented by Toepler's employment of a telescope behind the slide. Toepler's method, accordingly, enjoys all the advantages of the Huygens and the Foucault procedure combined. It is so delicate that the minutest irregularities in the air surrounding the lens can be rendered distinctly visible, as I shall show by an example. I place a candle

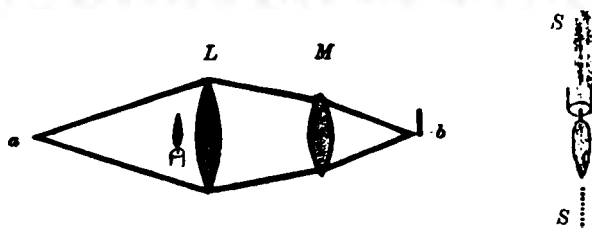


Fig. 2.

before the lens L (Fig. 2) and so arrange a second lens M that the flame of the candle is imaged upon the screen S . As soon as the intercepting slide is pushed into the focus, b , of the light issuing from a , you see the images of the changes of density and the images of the movements induced in the air by the flame quite distinctly upon the screen. The distinctness of the phenomenon as a whole depends upon the position of the intercepting slide b . The removal of b increases the illumination but decreases the distinctness. If the luminous source a be removed, we see the image of the candle flame only upon the screen S . If we remove the flame and allow

α to continue shining, the screen S will appear uniformly illuminated.

After Toepler had sought long and in vain to render the irregularities produced in air by sound-waves visible by this principle, he was at last conducted to his goal by the favorable circumstances attending the production of electric sparks. The waves generated in the air by electric sparks and accompanying the explosive snapping of the same, are of sufficiently short period and sufficiently powerful to be rendered visible by these methods. Thus we see how by a careful regard for the merest and most shadowy indications of a phenomenon and by slight progressive and appropriate alterations of the circumstances and the methods, ultimately the most astounding results can be attained. Consider, for example, two such phenomena as the rubbing of amber and the electric lighting of modern streets. A person ignorant of the myriad minute links that join these two things together, will be absolutely non-plussed at their connexion, and will comprehend it no more than the ordinary observer who is unacquainted with embryology, anatomy, and paleontology will understand the connexion between a saurian and a bird. The high value and significance of the co-operation of inquirers through centuries, where each has but to take up the thread of work of his predecessors and spin it onwards, is rendered forcibly evident by such examples. And such knowledge destroys, too, in the clearest manner imaginable that impression of the marvellous which the spectator may receive from science, and at the same time is a most salutary admonishment to the worker in science against superciliousness. I have also to add the sobering remark that all our art would be in vain did not nature herself afford at least some slight guiding threads leading from a hidden phenomenon into the domain of the observable. And so it need not surprise us that once under particularly favorable circumstances an extremely powerful sound-wave which had been caused by the explosion of several hundred pounds of dynamite threw a directly visible shadow in the sunlight, as Boys has recently told us. If the sound-waves were absolutely without influence upon the light, this could not have occurred, and all our artifices would then, too, be in vain. And so, similarly, the phenomenon accompanying projectiles which I am about to show you was once in a very imperfect manner incidentally seen by a French artillerist, Journée, while that observer was simply following the line of flight of a projectile with a telescope, just as also the undulations produced by candle flames are in

a weak degree directly visible and in the bright sunlight are imaged in shadowy waves upon a uniform white background.

Instantaneous illumination by the electric spark, the method of rendering visible small optical differences or striæ, which may hence be called the *striate*, or *differential*, method,¹ invented by Foucault and Toepler, and finally the *recording* of the image by a *photographic* plate, these therefore are the chief means which are to lead us to our goal.

I instituted my first experiments in the summer of 1884 with a target-pistol, shooting the bullet through a striate field as described above, and taking care that the projectile whilst in the field should disengage an illuminating electric spark from a Leyden jar or Franklin's pane, which spark produced a photographic impression of the projectile upon a plate, especially arranged for the purpose. I obtained the image of the projectile at once and without difficulty. I also readily obtained, with the still rather defective dry plate which I was using, exceedingly delicate images of the sound-waves (spark-waves). But no atmospheric condensation produced by the projectile was visible. I now determined the velocity of my projectile and found it to be only 240 metres per second, or considerably less than the velocity of sound (which is 340 metres per second). I saw immediately that under such circumstances no noticeable compression of the air could be produced, for any atmospheric compression must of necessity travel forward at the same speed with sound (340 metres per second) and consequently would be always ahead of and speeding away from the projectile.

I was so thoroughly convinced, however, of the existence of the supposed phenomenon at a velocity exceeding 340 metres per second, that I requested Professor Salcher, of Fiume, an Austrian port on the Gulf of Quarnero, to undertake the experiment with projectiles travelling at a high rate of speed. In the summer of 1886 Salcher in conjunction with Professor Riegler conducted in a spacious and suitable apartment placed at their disposal by the Directors of the Royal Imperial Naval Academy, experiments of the

¹ The German phrase is *Schlierenmethode*, by which term the method is known even by American physicists. It is also called in English the "shadow-method." But a term is necessary which will cover all the derivatives, and so we have employed alternatively the words *striate* and *differential*. The etymology of *schlieren*, it would seem, is uncertain. Its present use is derived from its technological signification in glass-manufacturing, where by *die Schlieren* are meant the wavy streaks and imperfections in glass. Hence its application to the method for detecting small optical differences and faults generally. Professor Crew of Evanston suggests to the translator that *schlieren* may be related to our *slur* (L. G., *slüren*, to trail, to draggle), a conjecture which is doubtless correct and agrees both with the meaning of *schlieren* as given in the large German dictionaries and with the intransitive use of our own verb *slur*, the faults in question being conceived as "trailings," "streakings," etc.—T. J. McC.

kind indicated and conforming in method exactly to those which I had instituted, with the precise results expected. The phenomenon, in fact, accorded perfectly with the *a priori* sketch of it which I had drafted previously to the experiment. As the experimenting was continued, new and unforeseen features made their appearance.

It would be unfair, of course, to expect from the very first experiments faultless and highly distinct photographs. It was sufficient that success was secured and that I had convinced myself that further labor and expenditure would not be vain. And on this score I am greatly indebted to the two gentlemen above mentioned.

The Austrian Naval Department subsequently placed a cannon at Salcher's disposal in Pola, an Adriatic seaport, and I myself, together with my son, then a student of medicine, having received and accepted a courteous invitation from Krupp, repaired to Meppen, a town in Hanover, where we conducted with only the necessary apparatus several experiments on the open artillery range. All these experiments furnished tolerably good and complete pictures. Some little progress, too, was made. The outcome of our experience on both artillery ranges, however, was the settled conviction that really good results could be obtained only by the most careful conduct of the experiments in a laboratory especially adapted to the purpose. The expensiveness of the experiments on a large scale was not the determining consideration here, for the size of the projectile is indifferent. Given the same velocity and the results are quite similar, whether the projectiles are large or small. On the other hand, in a laboratory the experimenter has perfect control over the initial velocity, which, provided the proper equipment is at hand, can be altered at will simply by altering the charge and the weight of the projectile. The requisite experiments were accordingly conducted by me in my laboratory at Prague, partly in conjunction with my son and partly afterwards by him alone. The latter are the most perfect and I shall accordingly speak in detail here of these only.

Picture to yourself an apparatus for detecting optical striæ set up in a dark room. In order not to make the description too complicated, I shall give the essential features only of the apparatus, leaving out of account altogether the minuter details which are rather of consequence for the technical performance of the experiment than for its understanding. We suppose the projectile speeding on its path, accordingly, through the field of our differential

optical apparatus. On reaching the centre of the field (Fig. 3) the projectile disengages an illuminating electric spark a , and the image of the projectile, so produced, is photographically impressed upon the plate of the camera behind the intercepting slide b . In the last and best experiments the lens L was replaced by a spherical silvered-glass mirror made by K. Fritsch (formerly Prokesch) of Vienna, whereby the apparatus was naturally more complicated than it appears in our diagram. The projectile having been carefully aimed passes in crossing the differential field between two vertical isolated wires which are connected with the two coatings of a Leyden jar, and completely filling the space between the wires discharges the jar. In the axis of the differential apparatus the circuit has a second gap a which furnishes the illuminating spark, the image of which falls on the intercepting slide b . The wires in the differential field having occasioned manifold disturbances were sub-

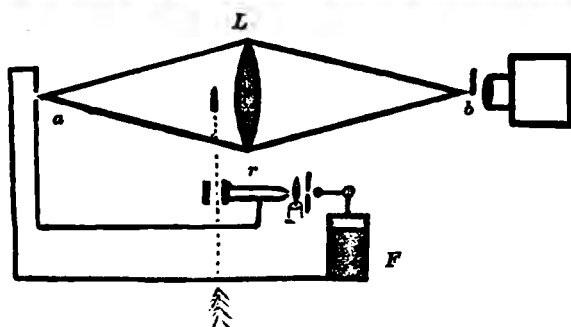


Fig. 3.

sequently done away with. In the new arrangement the projectile passes through a ring (see dotted line, Fig. 3), to the air in which it imparts a sharp impulse which travels forward in the tube r as a sound-wave having the approximate velocity of 340 metres per second, topples over through the aperture of an electric screen the flame of a candle situated at the other opening of the tube, and so discharges the jar. The length of the tube r is so adjusted that the discharge occurs the moment the projectile enters the centre of the now fully clear and free field of vision. We will also leave out of account the fact that to secure fully the success of the experiment, a large jar is first discharged by the flame, and that by the agency of this first discharge the discharge of a second small jar having a spark of very short period which furnishes the spark really illuminating the projectile is effected. Sparks from large jars have an appreciable duration, and owing to the great velocity of the projectiles fur-

nish blurred photographs only. By carefully husbanding the light of the differential apparatus, and owing to the fact that much more light reaches the photographic plate in this way than would otherwise reach it, we can obtain beautiful, strong, and sharp photographs with incredibly small sparks. The contours of the pictures appear as very delicate and very sharp, closely adjacent double lines. From their distance from one another, and from the velocity of the projectile, the duration of the illumination, or of the spark, is found to be $\frac{1}{800000}$ of a second. It is evident, therefore, that experiments with mechanical snap slides can furnish no results worthy of the name.

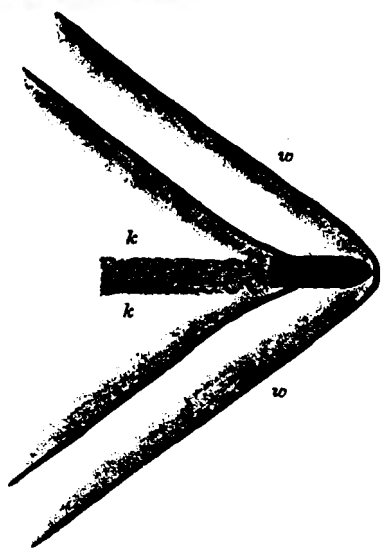


Fig. 4.

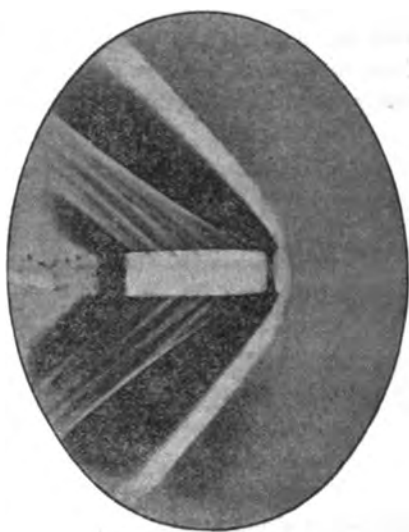


Fig. 5. Photograph of a blunted projectile.

Let us consider now first the picture of a projectile in the rough, as represented in Figure 4, and then let us examine it in its photographic form as seen in Figure 5. The latter picture is of a shot from an Austrian Mannlicher rifle. If I were not to tell you what the picture represented you would very likely imagine it to be a bird's eye view of a boat b moving swiftly through the water. In front you see the bow-wave and behind the body a phenomenon k which closely resembles the eddies formed in the wake of a ship. And as a matter of fact the dark hyperboloid arc which streams from the tip of the projectile really is a compressed wave of air exactly analogous to the bow-wave produced by a ship moving through the water, with the exception that the wave of air is not a surface-

wave. The air-wave is produced in atmospheric space and encompasses the projectile in the form of a shell on all sides. The wave is visible for the same reason that the heated shell of air surrounding the candle flame of our former experiments is visible. And the cylinder of friction-heated air which the projectile throws off in the form of vortex rings really does answer to the water in the wake of a vessel.

Now just as a slowly moving boat produces no bow-wave, but the bow-wave is seen only when the boat moves with a speed which is greater than the velocity of propagation of surface-waves in water, so, in like manner, no wave of compression is visible in front of a projectile so long as the speed of the projectile is less than the velocity of sound. But if the speed of the projectile reaches and exceeds the velocity of sound, then the head-wave, as we shall call it, augments noticeably in power, and is more and more extended, that is, the angle made by the contours of the

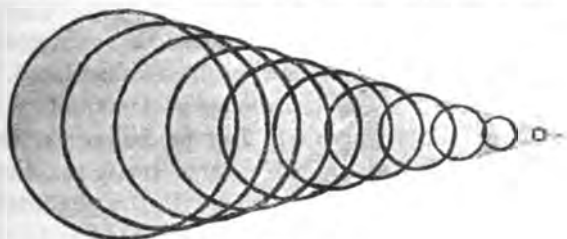


Fig. 6.

wave with the direction of flight is more and more diminished, just as when the speed of a boat is increased a similar phenomenon is noticed in connexion with the bow-wave. In fact, we can from an instantaneous photograph so taken approximately estimate the speed with which the projectile is travelling.

The explanation of the bow-wave of a ship and that of the head-wave of a body travelling in atmospheric space both repose upon the same principle, long ago employed by Huygens. Conceive a number of pebbles to be cast into a pond of water at regular intervals in such wise that all the spots struck are situate in the same straight line, and that every spot subsequently struck lies a short space farther to the right. The spots first struck will furnish then the wave-circles which are widest, and all of them together will, at the points where they are thickest, form a sort of cornucopia closely resembling the bow-wave. The resemblance is greater the smaller the pebbles are, and the more quickly they succeed each other. If a rod be dipped into the water and quickly carried along

its surface, the falling of the pebbles will then take place, so to speak, uninterruptedly, and we shall have a real bow-wave. If we put the compressed air-wave in the place of the surface-waves of the water, we shall have the head-wave of the projectile.

You may be disposed to say now, it is all very pretty and interesting to observe a projectile in its flight, but of what practical use is it?

It is true, I reply, one cannot *wage war* with photographed projectiles. And I have likewise often had to say to medical students attending my lectures on physics, when they inquired for the practical value of some physical observation, "You cannot, gentlemen, cure diseases with it." I had also once to give my opinion regarding how much physics should be taught at a school for millers, supposing the instruction there to be confined *exactly* to what was necessary for a miller. I was obliged to reply: "A miller always *needs* exactly as much physics as he *knows*." Knowledge which one does not possess one cannot use.

Let us forego entirely the consideration that as a general thing every scientific advance, every new problem elucidated, every extension or enrichment of our knowledge of facts, affords a better foundation for practical pursuits. Let us rather put the special question, Is it not possible to derive some really practical knowledge from our theoretical acquaintance with the phenomena which take place in the space surrounding a projectile?

No physicist who has ever studied waves of sound or photographed them will have the least doubt regarding the sound-wave character of the atmospheric condensation encompassing the head of a flying projectile. We have therefore, without ado, called this condensation the head-wave.

Knowing this, it follows that the view of Melsens according to which the projectile carries along with it masses of air which it forces into the bodies struck, is untenable. A forward-moving sound-wave is not a forward-moving mass of matter but a forward-moving form of motion, just as a water-wave or the waves of a field of wheat are only forward-moving forms of motion and not movements of masses of water or masses of wheat.

By interference-experiments, on which I cannot touch here but which will be found roughly represented in Figure 7, it was found that the bell-shaped head-wave in question is an extremely thin shell and that the condensations of the same are quite moderate, scarcely exceeding two-tenths of an atmosphere. There can be no question, therefore, of explosive effects in the body struck by the

projectile through so slight a degree of atmospheric compression. The phenomena attending wounds from rifle balls, for example, are not to be explained as Melsens and Busch explain them, but are due, as Kocher and Reger maintain, to the effects of the impact of the projectile itself.

A simple experiment will show how insignificant is the part played by the friction of the air, or the supposed conveyance of the air along with the moving projectile. If the photograph of the projectile be taken while passing through a flame, i. e., a visible gas, the flame will be seen to be, not torn and deformed, but smoothly and cleanly perforated, like any solid body. Within and around the flame the contours of the head-wave will be seen. The flickering, the extinction of the flame, etc., take place only after the projectile has travelled on a considerable distance in its path, and is then affected by the powder gases which hurry after the bullet or by the air preceding the powder-gases.

The physicist who examines the head-wave and recognises its sound-wave character also sees that the wave in question is of the same kind with the short sharp waves produced by electric sparks, that it is a *noise-wave*. Hence, whenever any portion of the



Fig. 7.

head-wave strikes the ear it will be heard as a report. Appearances point to the conclusion that the projectile carries this report along with it. In addition to this report, which advances with the velocity of the projectile and so usually travels at a speed greater than the velocity of sound, there is also to be heard the report of the exploding powder which travels forward with the ordinary velocity of sound. Hence two explosions will be heard, each distinct in time. The circumstance that this fact was long misconstrued by practical observers but when actually noticed frequently received grotesque explanations and that ultimately my view was accepted as the correct one, appears to me in itself a sufficient justification that researches such as we are here speaking of are not utterly superfluous even in practical directions. That the flashes and sounds of discharging artillery are used for estimating the distances of batteries

is well known, and it stands to reason that any unclear theoretical conception of the facts here involved will seriously affect the correctness of practical calculations.

It may appear astonishing to a person hearing it for the first time, that a single shot has a double report due to two different velocities of propagation. But the reflexion that projectiles whose velocity is less than the velocity of sound produce no head-waves (because every impulse imparted to the air travels forward, that is, ahead, with exactly the velocity of sound), throws full light when logically developed upon the peculiar circumstance above mentioned. If the projectile moves faster than sound, the air ahead of it cannot recede from it quickly enough. The air is

condensed and warmed, and thereupon, as all know, the velocity of sound is augmented until the head-wave travels forward as rapidly as the projectile itself, so that there is no need whatever of any additional augmentation of the velocity of propagation. If such a wave were left entirely to itself, it would increase in length and soon pass into an ordinary sound-wave, traveling with less velocity. But the projectile is always behind it and so maintains it at its proper density and velocity.

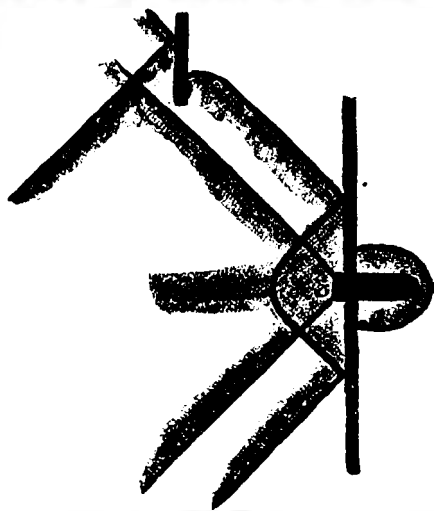


Fig. 8.

Even if the projectile penetrates a piece of cardboard or a board of wood, which catches and obstructs the head-wave, there will, as Figure 8 shows, immediately appear at the emerging apex a newly formed, not to say newly born, head-wave. We may observe on the cardboard the reflexion and diffraction of the head-wave, and by means of a flame its refraction, so that no doubt as to its nature can remain.

Permit me, now, to illustrate the most essential of the points that I have just adduced, by means of a few rough drawings taken from older and less perfect photographs.

In the sketch of Figure 9 you see the projectile, which has just left the barrel of the rifle, touch a wire and disengage the illuminating spark. At the apex of the projectile you already see the be-

ginnings of a powerful head-wave, and in front of the wave a transparent fungiform cluster. This latter is the air which has been forced out of the barrel by the projectile. Circular sound-waves, noise-waves, which are soon overtaken by the projectile, also issue from the barrel. But behind the projectile opaque puffs of powder-gas rush forth. It is scarcely necessary to add that many other questions in ballistics may be studied by this method, as, for example, the movement of the gun-carriage.

A distinguished French artilleryman, M. Gossot, has applied the views of the head-wave here given in quite a different manner. The practice in measuring the velocity of projectiles is to cause the projectile to pass through wire screens placed at different points in its path, and by the tearing of these screens to give rise to electromagnetic time-signals on falling slabs or rotating drums. Gossot caused these signals to be made directly by the impact of the head-wave, did away thus with the wire screens, and carried the method so far as to be able to measure the velocities of projectiles travelling in high altitudes, where the use of wire screens was quite out of the question.

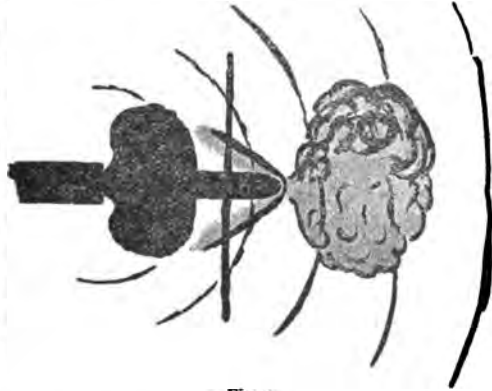


Fig. 9.

The laws of the resistance of fluids and of air to bodies travelling in them form an extremely complicated problem, which can be reasoned out very simply and prettily as a matter of pure philosophy but in practice offers not a few difficulties. The same body having the velocity 2, 3, 4 . . . displaces in the same interval 2, 3, 4 . . . times the same mass of air, or the same mass of fluid, and imparts to it *in addition* 2, 3, 4, . . . times the same velocity. But for this, plainly, 4, 9, 16 . . . times the original force is required. Hence, the resistance, it is said, increases with the square of the velocity. This is all very pretty and simple and obvious. But practice and theory are at daggers' points here. Practice tells us that when we increase the velocity the law of the resistance changes. For every portion of the velocity the law is different.

The studies of the talented English naval architect, Froude,

have thrown light upon this question. Froude has shown that the resistance is conditioned by a combination of the most multifarious phenomena. A ship in motion is subjected to the friction of the water. It causes eddies and it generates in addition waves which radiate outward from it. Every one of these phenomena are dependent upon the velocity in some different manner, and it is consequently not astonishing that the law of the resistance should be a complicated one.

The preceding observations suggest quite analogous reflexions for projectiles. Here also we have friction, the formation of eddies, and the generation of waves. Here, also, therefore, we should not be surprised at finding the law of the resistance of the air a complicated one, nor puzzled at learning that in actuality the law of resistance changes as soon as the speed of the projectile exceeds the velocity of sound, for this is the precise point at which one important element of the resistance, namely, the formation of waves, first comes into play.

No one doubts that a pointed bullet pierces the air with less resistance than a blunt bullet. The photographs themselves show that the head-wave is weaker for a pointed projectile. It is not impossible, similarly, that forms of bullets will be invented which generate fewer eddies, etc., and that we shall study these phenomena also by photography. I am of opinion from the few experiments which I have made in this direction that not much more can be done by changing the form of the projectile when the velocity is very great, but I have not gone into the question thoroughly. Researches of the kind we are considering can certainly not be detrimental to practical artillery, no less than experiments by artillerists on a large scale will be of undoubted benefit to physics.

No one who has had the opportunity of studying modern guns and projectiles in their marvellous perfection, their power and precision, can help confessing that a high technical and scientific achievement has found its incarnation in these objects. We may surrender ourselves so completely to this impression as to forget for a moment the terrible purposes they serve.

Permit me, therefore, before we separate, to say a few words on this glaring contrast. The greatest man of war and of silence which the present age has produced once asserted that perpetual peace is a dream, and not a beautiful dream at that. We may accord to this profound student of mankind a judgment in these matters and can also appreciate the soldier's horror of stagnation from all too lengthy peace. But it requires a strong belief in the insuper-

ableness of mediæval barbarism to hope for and to expect no great improvement in international relations. Think of our forefathers and of the times when club law ruled supreme, when within the same country and the same state brutal assaults and equally brutal self-defence were universal and self-evident. This state of affairs grew so oppressive that finally a thousand and one circumstances compelled people to put an end to it, and the cannon had most to say in accomplishing the work. Yet the rule of club law was not abolished so quickly after all. It had simply passed to other clubs. We must not abandon ourselves to dreams of the Rousseau type. Questions of law will forever remain in a certain sense questions of might. Even in the United States where every one is as a matter of principle entitled to the same privileges, the ballot according to Stallo's pertinent remark is but a milder substitute for the club. I need not tell you that many of our own fellow-citizens even are still enamored of the old original methods. Very, very gradually, however, as civilisation progresses, the intercourse of men takes on gentler forms and no one who really knows the good old times will ever honestly wish them back again, however beautifully they may be painted and rhymed about.

In the intercourse of the nations, however, the old club law still reigns supreme. But since its rule is taxing the intellectual, the moral, and the material resources of the nations to the utmost and constitutes scarcely less a burden in peace than in war, scarcely less a yoke for the victor than for the vanquished, it must necessarily grow more and more unendurable. Reason, fortunately, is no longer the exclusive possession of those who modestly call themselves the upper ten thousand. Here, as everywhere, the evil itself will awaken the intellectual and ethical forces which are destined to mitigate it. Let the hate of races and of nationalities run riot as it may, the intercourse of nations will still increase and grow more intimate. By the side of the problems which separate nations, the great and common ideals which claim the exclusive powers of the men of the future appear one after another in greater distinctness and in greater might.

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.¹

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

BY PROF. C. H. CORNILL.

IX.—The House of Herod—Judea as a Roman Province.

IT WAS a moment of intense interest at which we closed our last chapter. Everywhere there was ferment and repressed excitement; the peace established by the iron hand of Herod was but the peace of the churchyard. Even in the last days of the tyrant the flames began to shoot up. While he was still wrestling with death upon his bed of suffering at Jericho the report was spread that he was dead, and straightway open rebellion against him and his system broke forth.

Over the chief entrance to the temple Herod had had placed a golden eagle as a sign of the Roman sovereignty. Some forty young pupils of the highly respected Pharisees Judas and Matthias climbed up and with axes cut the golden eagle to pieces. The perpetrators were at once seized by the guard and, together with their two teachers, dragged to Jericho, where Herod condemned them and had them all burned alive. Soon after this, in the spring of the year 4 before the birth of Christ, he himself died.

I assume that my esteemed readers are already aware of the fact that Abbot Dionysius Exiguus, who calculated in the sixth century the Christian era according to which we still universally reckon time, erred in his establishment of the year of Christ's birth, placing it several years, probably five if not seven, too late. It is positively certain that Herod died in the year 4 before our

¹ Translated from the manuscript of Prof. C. H. Cornill, by W. H. Carruth of the University of Kansas.

era; if, therefore, Jesus was born during his reign—and there is no reason for doubting this tradition—the conclusion is unavoidable that the date commonly assigned for the birth of Christ is wrong. The place of Jesus' birth is just as much a matter of uncertainty as the time; and so is the year of his death,—in this latter point reports and estimates vary a matter of seven years, from 29 to 36 A. D.

It is downright providential that we know so little from the historical and biographical point of view concerning this greatest life that was ever lived on earth. Thus every possibility is to be precluded of our falling into the delusion that we know him in knowing the date of his birth and of his death and the outward circumstances of his life; he is to stand before us simply in his work.

The life and activity of Jesus fell into the period of Jewish history which is to occupy our attention in this chapter, and his activity was possible only on the soil of Israel and among the Jewish people; but yet a history of the people of Israel is not the place in which to speak of him. He swept across the hopelessly darkened sky of Israel like a meteor, flashing and vanishing; he had no effect upon the history of the Jewish people, and the fact that he did not do this, that he deliberately refused to do so, became, humanly speaking, his doom. His people and his time demanded a Messiah with the sword of Gideon, one who would break the dominion of Rome and re-establish the ardently longed-for kingdom of Israel. Jesus regarded it as his mission to break the power of sin and to establish the Kingdom of God, which is not accomplished with the sword of outward power but through the inward regeneration of the spirit. In the invincible faith that this Kingdom of God would and must come, Jesus went to his death. But on his way to death he had for his people only this affecting farewell: "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children" (Luke xxiii. 28).

Herod had a numerous family—nine wives and nine sons and five daughters. He had himself caused his three oldest sons to be executed, and had frequently altered his will; the last form of it, composed shortly before his death, divided the kingdom among three of the surviving sons. Archelaus was to receive the royal title together with Judea, Samaria, and Idumea; Herod Antipas, Galilee and Perea; and Philip the northern districts, the two latter with the title of tetrarch.

The confirmation of the will was of course dependent on Au-

gustus, and Herod had commissioned Archelaus and Antipas by testamentary provision to carry his seal-ring and the sealed documents to Rome immediately after his death. But before attending to this Archelaus was saluted as king by the troops and the people and celebrated his father's obsequies with a pompous, seven days' ceremony. Then he addressed the people and promised to be a good ruler, and especially to be more clement than his father. They immediately took him at his word, and demanded that he remove the unworthy high priest last appointed by his father and put a worthier one in his place, and likewise that he should punish those councillors of his father who had condemned the two Pharisees and their pupils to such a terrible death for destroying the golden eagle over the temple gate. Archelaus wanted to avoid a conflict before his journey to Rome, and sent delegates to the people to pacify them, but these delegates were received with showers of stones and sent back with scoffs and jeers.

They were in the midst of preparations for Pascha, and for this reason there was an immense concourse in Jerusalem; the dissatisfied multitude took possession of the temple in order to compel compliance with their demands. Now Archelaus sent a tribune with a cohort to the temple to establish order, but almost the entire cohort was stoned to death by the excited populace; the tribune barely saved his life with a few of his followers. Now of course the whole available military force had to be called out to storm and purge the temple. Three thousand corpses covered the floor of the sanctuary. All pilgrims from without the city received peremptory orders to return home straightway. Order being thus restored, Archelaus started upon his journey to Rome. In Cæsarea he met a Roman official, Sabinus, who proposed to take present charge of Herod's heritage. Archelaus tried to restrain him, but of course Sabinus pursued his way, and to make him secure Quintilius Varus, at that time legate in Syria, the same who attained such a melancholy renown by his defeat in our Teutoburg forest, gave him one of his three legions.

Sabinus treated the country after the usual fashion of Roman provincial officials; this aroused such bitterness that an unusually large number of pilgrims came to Jerusalem for the celebration of Pentecost and actually besieged Sabinus. The Jews having taken possession of the porches of the temple and thrown thence weapons and stones upon the heads of the Romans, Sabinus set fire to the porches so that the Jews perished miserably in the flames. The temple was stormed and of course plundered; Sabinus is said to

have stolen for his own treasury four hundred talents, that is, considerably over \$500,000.

Now open rebellion broke forth throughout the country. Everywhere there gathered bands which slaughtered all the Romans and all the adherents of Herod whom they could capture. Sabinus sent to Varus for help, and the latter entered the rebellious country with all the troops at his disposal. How he conducted himself can be imagined. Plundered and burned cities whose inhabitants had been slaughtered or sold into slavery marked the route of the victorious Roman army. Varus entered Jerusalem and there had two thousand of the ringleaders crucified at one time; after these valiant deeds he left the pacified country and returned to Antiochia.

Meanwhile the two brothers had presented a very discreditable scene in Rome. Each sought to exclude the other and to get possession of as great a share as possible of his father's heritage, while at the same time there appeared a delegation of the Jewish people praying for the removal of the whole Herodian family in order that they might live according to their own laws under immediate Roman overlordship. Now Augustus was obliged to come to a decision. He confirmed the last testament of Herod in its main features, merely denying Archelaus the royal title for the time being and requiring him to be satisfied with that of ethnarch.

The destinies of the three brothers developed in great divergence. The only attractive figure in the whole Herodian family, a genuine white raven, is Philip. And it is to be remembered in this connexion that the portions of the country over which he ruled were almost entirely heathen and the Jews in a great minority, a fact which made government much easier. According to Josephus he carried on a search for the sources of the Jordan which lie in his territory. He rebuilt Paneas and Bethsaida; thenceforth the former was called Cæsarea Philippi, the latter Julias. Josephus gives the following sketch of him: "He was well-disposed and kind toward his subjects, without ambition, and never left his country his whole life long. He always went about with a small retinue and had a tribunal-seat carried about after him in order to be able to pass forthwith upon any petition which might be presented by whoever met him." He died in the year 33, after a reign of thirty-seven years, leaving no children; thereupon Tiberius sequestered his country and added it to the province of Syria.

The second son, Herod Antipas, is the sovereign of Jesus, and is characterised by him as a fox; it was he that had John the Bap-

tist executed. We know of him only his architectural constructions, his founding of cities, and the serious scandal in his domestic relations which cost the Baptist his life. The most important city founded by him is Tiberias, on the west shore of the Sea of Galilee, named in honor of the Emperor Tiberius. In laying the foundations it turned out that there had been on the spot an ancient burial-place with quantities of skeletons. This made the spot unclean, and pious Jews refused to dwell there, so that Antipas was finally constrained to settle the city with the most questionable elements. It had a wholly heathen character, and at the outbreak of war the wrath of the people was directed first of all against these edifices and they were destroyed. The final complications and the close of his forty-three years' reign, which all arose from his sinful union with his brother's wife, Herodias, will receive our attention hereafter in another connexion.

Of briefest endurance was the reign of Archelaus, who exercised his authority almost exclusively in the appointment and removal of high priests, incidentally erecting some edifices. He too gave deep offence by his marriage with Glaphyra, the widow of his half-brother Alexander. Besides this a false Alexander soon made his appearance. Alexander, the eldest son of Herod and Marianne the Maccabee, would have been the regular heir to the throne. So a young man with a striking resemblance to him claimed to be Alexander, reporting that the executioner, moved by pity, had failed to carry out the command of Herod, but had substituted a corpse that looked like him. This youth was received everywhere with shouts of rejoicing by the Jews, and even had the impudence to go to Rome in order to demand his inheritance at the hands of Augustus; but Augustus, who had been personally acquainted with the real Alexander, saw through the fraud directly and sent the adventurer to the galleys.

After Archelaus had ruled for nine years in barbarity and tyranny, as Josephus puts it, his subjects made charges against him to Augustus, who immediately summoned him to Rome. The charges were so serious that Augustus deposed him without ceremony and banished him to Vienne in Gaul, where he had time, far from Jerusalem, to meditate upon the duties of a ruler. The principality of Archelaus was sequestered and put under immediate Roman government; a procurator of noble rank was to rule it subject to the legate for the province of Syria.

Thus the people had attained what they had themselves requested ten years earlier, but they were soon to realise with terror

what a yoke they had thereby brought upon their own necks. The moment when Judea came under immediate Roman government, in the year 6, is the beginning of the end. While Herod and his sons from mere shrewdness and for self-preservation had shown all possible consideration for the religious convictions of the Jews, they were now exposed without rights or defence to the whims of Roman subaltern officials who regarded their office first of all as a gold mine, had absolutely no appreciation of the character and position of the Jews, but on the contrary regarded them with dislike and contempt and took a fiendish delight in making the unfortunate race feel their power and in offending and mocking them in every conceivable manner.

When we read of the actions and tyrannical usurpations of these "stewards," who almost without exception were pests, it seems often incomprehensible that the Jews endured such conditions for sixty years. The procurator had his official residence in the city of Cæsarea, which had been splendidly built up and beautified by Herod. Only on the occasion of the great religious festivals were they accustomed to come to Jerusalem in order to keep an eye on the multitudes gathered there; then they occupied the palace of Herod, which served as prætorium. They had control of all military and financial matters and were referees in affairs of justice: capital sentences, especially, pronounced by the sanhedrin, required their confirmation. As a token of the heathen overlordship which was felt by the Jews to be especially hard and oppressive, the Romans had taken under their charge the high priest's robe; it was kept in the prætorium which was occupied by a cohort that served as permanent garrison of Jerusalem, and was brought out for use in the temple only four times a year, at the three high feasts and on the day of atonement, but had to be returned every time immediately after it had been used.

The very first experience of the Roman rule showed what was to be expected on both sides. Augustus caused a census of the new province to be taken by the Syrian legate P. Sulpicius Quirinus, thereon to base a readjustment of the taxes. At this, open rebellion broke forth on every side. The high priest Joazar, indeed, by shrewd and conciliatory management, succeeded in avoiding the worst consequences and in bringing the people to reason; but the irreconcilables now formed a regular faction, the enthusiasts or Zealots, whose only aim was to oppose the Roman dominion by every possible means and never to permit a compromise between Israel and Rome; the leaders of the party are reported to

have been the Galilean Judas (very probably a son of Hezekiah, the judicial execution of whom had once brought Herod into conflict with the sanhedrin at Jerusalem) and a Pharisee named Shadduck. Thus from the start civil war was latent and revolution was declared as a standing condition.

Under such trying circumstances it would of course have required persons of extraordinary tact to avoid adding new stores to the already great mass of tinder. But these procurators were no better, rather worse if possible, than they generally were at that period. Of the first four we know scarcely more than their names. From the time of Coponius, the first of them, Josephus tells us how some Samaritans slipped into the temple during the Pascha period and strewed all about the fæmple human bones which they had carried hidden under their cloaks; thus the temple was made unclean for seven days, and Pascha could not be celebrated at all. The fourth of them, Valerius Gratus, appointed and removed not less than five high priests during his eleven years of office. We have more details concerning only the fifth of the series, Pontius Pilate, who tormented the Jews from 26 to 36 A. D., and earned a melancholy immortality through the destiny which, supported by his uneasy conscience, condemned him to pronounce upon Jesus the sentence of death and have it executed.

Up to this time the religious views of the Jews had been treated with the utmost possible consideration, and at least all wanton conflicts had been avoided; in particular the military standards with the image of the emperor, which were especially offensive to the Jews, had been kept away from Jerusalem. This seemed to Pilate a lamentable weakness, and one night he caused some of these images to be brought to Jerusalem. When the Jews saw the abomination the next morning there set out for Cæsarea a deputation en masse, thousands of men, women, and children, who beset the procurator for five days and nights with their cries and lamentations. Pilate declared that the honor of the emperor would not permit the revocation of the order; finally he invited them to gather in the stadium at the end of six days, when he would give them his decision. He caused the whole stadium to be surrounded by soldiers who awaited only his nod to fall upon the defenceless host. After they were all assembled in the stadium he announced that the standards would and must remain in Jerusalem; and when a loud outcry and lamentation answered him he ordered the soldiers to advance. Then the Jews of their own accord bared their necks and breasts, begging Pilate to kill them all in order that

they might not be constrained to witness such a sacrilege. This persistence and desperation moved Pilate to recede from his position : he dismissed the Jews and the standards were in fact quietly removed from Jerusalem.

But Pilate hoped to gain his end indirectly. He caused to be hung up on the walls of the *prætorium* in Jerusalem votive tablets with only the name of the emperor and of himself as the one offering them. Again they beset Pilate to recall the offensive order, but this time he was inexorable. Thereupon the Jews appealed directly to Tiberius, who, seeing that Pilate cared less to honor him than to offend the Jews, commanded the tablets to be removed and hung up in the temple of Augustus which Herod had built at *Paneas*. Encouraged by this success, the Jews opposed Pilate even where religious scruples were not so distinctly involved. Pilate recognised the need of a water system for Jerusalem, and for this public labor demanded a contribution from the treasury of the temple. When he came to Jerusalem to inspect the construction he was again surrounded by a screaming and groaning mob ; but Pilate had known or foreseen what was to come, and had given orders to his soldiers to mingle with the multitude dressed in civilians' garb and with clubs under their cloaks. At a sign from him they burst forth and with their clubs slew a great number of people. The construction was completed without further disturbance.

In an official document addressed to the Emperor Caligula, Pilate is described as inflexible and unsparingly harsh in character, and his administration as an unbroken series of outrages and crimes of every sort : venality, violence, plunder, abuse, insults, continual executions without sentence, and infinite and unbearable cruelties.

Thus we can understand well when we are told that Barabbas, a notorious murderer familiar to us in connection with the passion of Jesus, was captured in an uprising, and that Pilate mingled the blood of Galileans with their sacrifices, that is to say, evidently had to suppress an insurrection of Galileans that had broken out in the temple. But finally the unhappy people were to be released from their tormentor. The Samaritans believed that the ancient and sacred vessels of the tabernacle were buried on Mount Gerizim and that they would appear again at the approach of the Messianic period. A zealot or a fraud invited the people to gather at Mount Gerizim with a promise to show them there the sacred vessels. Pilate had heard of the affair, and had the whole multitude

of innocent people incontinently hacked to pieces. For this the Samaritans brought charges against him-before the Syrian legate, Vitellius, who suspended him from his office immediately and sent him to Rome to answer to the charges. Of the two successors of Pilate we know only the names.

At Pascha in the year 36 A. D. the legate Vitellius came himself to Jerusalem and took the hearts of the Jewish people by storm by giving back the high priest's robe and having it taken back to the temple for free use on all occasions. This same Vitellius shows how easy it was with even a modicum of good will to avoid conflicts. Herod Antipas, in order to marry his sister-in-law, Herodias, had put away his first wife, a daughter of the Arab sheik Aretas, and as a result got into a war with his former father-in-law, which was turning out very unfortunately for himself. Accordingly he applied to Rome for aid and Tiberius commanded Vitellius to punish the Arab sheik. Vitellius, who had no liking at all for Antipas, was not eager to do this, but of course was obliged to obey the imperial command. He set out upon his expedition from Antiochia. At the border of the Holy Land he was met by a Jewish deputation with the urgent petition not to conduct his army with the imperial images through Jewish territory. Vitellius, being a humane and considerate man, actually had his troops go around the Jewish country and went alone to Jerusalem, where he was received with tremendous enthusiasm. Here he received the news of the death of Tiberius and returned in haste to Antiochia without having taken the field against Aretas.

With the death of Tiberius begins a troublous time for Judea ; for now ascends the throne of the Cæsars that horrible combination of fool and tyrant which continues to be known in history under the nickname of Caligula. Caligula was completely in earnest in demanding divine worship of his person, and the servile heathen populace made haste to show its fidelity by the erection of altars and images of the Emperor. Such an altar was erected in Jamnia, but was immediately torn down by the Jews. When the Emperor heard of this he commanded that his image be set up in the holy of holies of the temple at Jerusalem, and the legate in Syria, Petronius, was directed to march forthwith to Jerusalem with all the troops at his disposal in order to carry out the imperial command. Petronius was a man of sense ; the genuine despair of the Jews made such an impression upon him that he made every effort to postpone the affair. But as nothing came of these efforts and the Emperor insisted on his order Petronius risked the anger of the

Emperor, withdrew his troops from the country and reported to Caligula that the execution of his order was impossible, wherefore he must beg him to rescind it. Who knows what would have happened if the Jews had not had in King Agrippa, of whom we shall soon speak more at length, a powerful advocate with the Emperor. Caligula decreed that all should remain as of old in the temple at Jerusalem, but that no one should be prevented from erecting altars and images to the Emperor in the rest of the country. As punishment for his insubordination Petronius received orders to take his own life. But before this order arrived the good legate had received the news of the assassination of the tyrant, and thus the danger for Petronius and the Jewish people was past.

And now Judea was destined once more to become an independent realm and a Jewish king once more to unite under his sceptre the whole territory of Herod. Agrippa was the son of Aristobulus, the second son of Herod and Marianne, and consequently a scion of the Maccabees. In his youth he lived at Rome, like all young princes at that time. He followed the instincts of youth and incurred grudges and debts until the soil of Rome became too warm for him. He arrived in his native country absolutely without means of subsistence. His sister Herodias appealed on his behalf to her husband, Antipas, who gave him the position of market prefect at Tiberias. But Antipas on an occasion when he was under the influence of liquor having reproached his brother-in-law at the public table with living wholly at his expense, Agrippa had sufficient sense of honor to resign the position of market prefect. He went to Antiochia, to the legate Flaccus, whom he had known at Rome, but was soon obliged to leave this place also when Flaccus learned that Agrippa was making capital out of his friendship and receiving payment for his interference in government affairs. After an adventurous journey, on which he barely escaped from his creditors, he finally landed in Rome, paid his respects to the old emperor at Capri and formed a close friendship with the heir to the throne, Gaius Cæsar, the later Caligula. An incautious expression of Agrippa's having come to the ears of Tiberius, he had him imprisoned; but only six months after this Agrippa's boon companion, Caligula, ascended the throne, released his friend from prison, presented him with a chain of gold as heavy as the iron chain which he had worn, and in addition gave him the tetrarchate of his deceased uncle Philip with the title of king.

For a time the newly appointed king remained in Rome, and

did not start upon the journey into his kingdom for a year and a half. Then he went by way of Alexandria. There lived in Alexandria at that time a Jewish man whom not even the briefest history of the people of Israel can pass over in silence, the philosopher Philo. The importance and the influence of this man are almost incalculable. He was the first who succeeded in completely and harmoniously uniting Shem and Japhet. He is a Jew by conviction and at the same time a perfect Greek, who made it the task of his life to combine into a higher unity revelation and philosophy, to establish religion upon a philosophical basis and to transfigure philosophy with the spirit of religion. Only in this does the Jew appear: that the religious element is decidedly predominant and that his ultimate aim is not philosophical but religious.

The unique significance of this man lies in the fact that, while his people refused to follow him and under the pressure of circumstances soon entered upon a course exactly the opposite of his own, the Christian Church walked in his footsteps. It adopted Philo's especial conception and treatment of the Old Testament and his philosophical method: the whole theology and dogmatics of the early church, especially of the church of Alexandria and the Orient, which laid the foundation of dogmatics, is inconceivable without Philo. We owe to him also the account of the terrible events that took place in Alexandria at that time. Although Agrippa avoided any offensive action on the occasion of his visit, nevertheless the king of the Jews was most rudely insulted by the populace of Alexandria, and from this resulted one of the most shocking persecutions of the Jews that is reported in history.

Fresh from the impression of such occurrences Agrippa entered his kingdom. Now he outranked his neighbor, the uncle and brother-in-law upon whose bounty he had shortly before been dependent. The pride of Herodias could not endure this; she did not rest until her husband had gone to Rome in order to beg the royal title for himself. But Agrippa had already prepared his friend Caligula to give him a fitting reception; Antipas was simply deposed and exiled to Lyons, and Agrippa received his kingdom in addition to his own. Herodias remained faithful to her husband even in the misfortune into which she had plunged him, and accompanied him on his exile into Gaul; here they both died.

Agrippa happened to be in Rome just at the time when his friend and patron, Caligula, was murdered; and to him chiefly the weak and contemptible Claudius owed his elevation to the throne of the Cæsars. Now Claudius showed his gratitude: he conferred

upon Agrippa in addition the whilom Roman province of Judea, so that in the year 41 A. D. there was once more a Jewish kingdom under a native ruler. As a king of united Judea Agrippa made earnest efforts to atone for his former graceless life. The three years of dominion which were vouchsafed him are the last bright spot in the history of the people of Israel.

As is often the case with flippant and dissolute people, Agrippa seems to have been personally very good-natured, attractive and amiable; along with this he observed most strictly and conscientiously all the laws and commandments, and endeavored in all respects to be a faithful and pious Jew. Once more under his rule the Pharisees had things their own way, and the people were attached to him with affectionate ardor, while his heathen subjects felt for him an equally great hatred and contempt. Withal, he used his great personal influence with Claudius everywhere for the advantage of the Jews, just as his grandfather Herod had done. In order to please the Jews he persecuted the rising Christian Church and had the apostle James beheaded.

He also looked after the outward welfare of his people and his kingdom, and was on the point of building new fortifications about Jerusalem when the Syrian legate, Marsus, reported the matter to Rome, whereupon the Roman Government forbade the continuation of the work. A council of princes which he called to meet at Tiberias, at which five Roman vassal-princes were present, was dispersed by Marsus, who went in person to Tiberias and simply sent the members home.

But this last happy period for the Jewish people was not to last long. After a reign of but three years Agrippa died at Cæsarea a sudden death, the remarkable circumstances of which are related in substantial agreement by Josephus and the Acts of the Apostles. The heathen inhabitants of Cæsarea gave unrestrained expression to their joy at the death of the Jewish king and insulted most obscenely the statues of his daughters. What was likely to be the result when this hatred could flame out unchecked, or even if possible be stirred up?

Agrippa left three daughters, and a son of seventeen years bearing his own name. The Roman Government considered it dangerous to entrust the Jewish people to the hands of so young a ruler. And the hesitation was certainly well founded. Josephus reports the remarkable fact that about this time two Jewish brothers from Nehardea in Mesopotamia, by name Asinæus and Anilæus, had placed themselves at the head of a great troop of Jews there

and were keeping all Mesopotamia in excitement and terror. Accordingly the youthful Agrippa remained for the time being as a private citizen in Rome, where indeed he used every opportunity to be of use to his countrymen; the whole kingdom of his father was sequestered as a Roman province and again placed under the administration of a procurator subordinate to the legate in Syria. The supervision over the temple and the right to appoint and remove high priests were conferred upon a younger brother of the deceased Agrippa, Herod by name, who through the intervention of his brother had received the little kingdom of Chalcis at the foot of Lebanon.

With the return of Judea to a Roman administration begins the prelude of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish people—perhaps the most shocking tragedy known to the history of the world. The seven procurators who had the administration of the unhappy land from 44 to 66 A. D. seemed to act as if in concert in order to drive the people to despair and revolt. The very first, Caspius Fadus, began his official career with an act of petty spite by demanding back the high priest's robe. The Jews appealed first to the Syrian legate, Cassius Longinus, and, this being without result, directly to the emperor; here young Agrippa, by his personal connexions, managed to secure a decision that all should remain as of old. Josephus characterises the activity of Fadus in the words: "With the greatest discretion and energy he purged all Judea of highwaymen." We already know what to think of that. One detail has been transmitted to us. A certain Theudas, who is also mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, had summoned the people to the Jordan where at his command the miracle of Joshua should be repeated. Fadus sent thither a company of cavalry, who simply cut the people down and brought the head of Theudas to Jerusalem.

Tiberius Alexander, the successor of Fadus, was himself a Jew and a nephew of the philosopher Philo. But Alexander was a renegade who had no feeling for his people; he even served Titus later at the siege of Jerusalem as chief counsellor. Under him Judea was visited by a severe famine. Furthermore he crucified two sons of Judas, the founder of the faction of the Zealots, by name James and Simon.

But these were innocent trifles compared with what took place under the third procurator, Ventidius Cumanus, from 48 to 52. On the great holidays the procurator was always present in Jerusalem, and a guard was stationed in the temple. On the day of Pascha a

soldier of the temple guard indulged in an unmentionable obscene insult of the ceremonial procession. The people hastened to Cumanus in order to demand the punishment of the offender. When Cumanus failed to satisfy their demands, he himself was assailed with abusive epithets and stones were thrown at the guards. Then Cumanus gave the word to attack, and there resulted such a butchery and such a fearful disorder that ten thousand, according to another report twenty thousand, persons perished.

It is no wonder that such occurrences kindled anew the hatred against the Romans. Thus an imperial official, Stephanus, was attacked shortly after this upon the open highway not far from Jerusalem and robbed of all he had. As the perpetrators could not be found out, Cumanus for punishment had all the adjacent villages plundered by his soldiers. On this occasion a roll of the Thora fell into the hands of the soldiery, and one of them could not refrain from tearing the sacred book to pieces before the eyes of the horror-stricken Jews and throwing the fragments with rude jests into the fire. Again the people resorted to one of those popular demonstrations en masse and went to Cumanus in Cæsarea. The excitement was so tremendous that Cumanus found it advisable to give in. He had the perpetrator of the outrage led forth and decapitated before the eyes of the Jews, whereupon they dispersed and returned home.

A third instance was still worse. Some Samaritans had murdered a Galilean on his way to the celebration in Jerusalem; the Jews complained, but Cumanus, bribed by the Samaritans, paid no attention to the complaint. Now the Jews took redress into their own hands: great troops armed themselves and attacked the Samaritans, and, as Josephus himself relates, cut down all without regard for age or sex, and laid the villages in ashes. Now Cumanus sent his tribune, Celer, against the insurgents, and the Roman soldiers of course made easy work of the undisciplined hordes. It need not be added that they took merciless advantage of their victory. Now the Jews complained to the Syrian legate, Ummidius Quadratus. He investigated the affair and crucified all whom Cumanus had taken alive besides arresting and decapitating eighteen others who were deeply compromised; but Cumanus himself he suspended from office, and sent him, together with the tribune, Celer, to Rome, there to give account of themselves before the emperor.

Again the influence of Agrippa was felt: Cumanus was exiled and the tribune, Celer, taken back to Jerusalem, where he was

dragged through the streets and executed; even the guilty Samaritans were executed. The ex-high priest Jonathan, the successor of the Caiphas of the New Testament, who headed the Jewish delegation which had accused Cumanus and the Samaritans in Rome, asked of Claudius as an especial favor that Felix, the brother of the all-powerful freedman of the emperor, be made Roman procurator. The emperor willingly granted this request, and thus a man of the most fateful destiny enters upon the soil of Palestine. His administration is the turning-point; from that time on the revolution became established.

The great historian Tacitus characterises Felix as a man who exercised the authority of a king with the temper of a slave through every sort of cruelty and license, and who, as brother of the all-powerful Pallas, thought himself able to practise all his outrages with impunity. We can still recognise clearly the various stages through which events developed. First Felix attacked the Zealots. He succeeded by treacherous violation of his word in capturing alive their leader, Eleazar, whom he sent to Rome in chains: "The number of highwaymen who were crucified, and of those who were executed in other ways on suspicion of making common cause with highwaymen, cannot be calculated," says Josephus, with blood-curdling brevity.

The answer to this Roman policy of extreme brutal violence was not long lacking. Now was formed the party of the so-called Sicarii, whose maxim was to put Romans and Roman sympathisers out of the way by assassination. With short daggers, called "sica," under their cloaks, they mingled with the multitude, crowded upon their victims and stabbed them unseen. One of their first victims was the high priest Jonathan, whom they murdered at the direction of the procurator. Jonathan, who had secured the position for Felix, was an inconvenient monitor, and kept urging him to endeavor to give a more just administration. Thereupon Felix paid to the Sicarii through a go-between a large sum of money to have them put his troublesome friend out of the way. The wretches actually went to Jerusalem in the disguise of pilgrims and stabbed the high priest in the temple. Of course the infamous deed instigated by the procurator himself remained undiscovered and unpunished. The evil increased to such an extent that soon no one felt his life to be safe, and people suspected an assassin in every one they chanced to meet.

There were religious as well as political fanatics, false prophets and Messiahes, who stirred up the people and promised miracles

and signs. When Felix proceeded against these also with barbarous severity, and when even the more conservative Jews helped him in suppressing the particularly dangerous uprising led by the Egyptian who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, the fanatics went through the country in troops with the watchword that those who chose voluntarily to be slaves must be forced into freedom. Everywhere they murdered those friendly to Rome, pillaged their houses and their villages and then gave them to the flames. Besides all this there was a regular civil war between the Jewish and non-Jewish population in Cæsarea, the residence of the procurator himself. The Jews claimed that Cæsarea, having been built by a Jewish king, was a Jewish city, which the heathen of course would not admit. The Jews were in the majority, but the heathen had the Roman soldiery on their side. Once when the Jews were getting the best of it in such an encounter, Felix ordered the soldiers to use their swords and plunder the houses of the richest Jews, and when the disturbances did not cease sent the leaders of both parties to Rome to advocate their cause before Nero. By bribing Nero's secretary the heathen secured a decision adverse to the Jews and recognising themselves as masters of the city. During these scenes of violence the apostle Paul lay in prison in Cæsarea.

However, Felix did not live to hear the decision. After a rule of eight years he was recalled, probably in the year 60 A. D., and barely managed to escape being sentenced at Rome. A searching side-light is thrown upon Jewish conditions at that time by the report of Josephus, that the high priest Ishmael, through his servants, appropriated to himself alone the tithes due to all the other priests and Levites, so that even priests died of starvation.

At last they seemed to understand at Rome that they had obligations toward Judea; Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus, a really upright man with good intentions and a sense of justice. Festus too had to deal with highwaymen and Sicarii and false prophets, but even now the worst might have been avoided had not Festus died after two short years. The high priest Ananos used the interval between the death of Festus and the arrival of his successor to have James, the brother of Jesus, stoned to death. This next procurator, Albinus,—I now quote from Josephus,—“conducted affairs in an entirely different spirit from his predecessor; there was no wickedness that he did not practise. Not only did he embezzle public moneys and rob a multitude of private citizens of their property and burden the whole people with imposts, but he released captive highwaymen for ransoms from their

relatives; those that could not pay remained in prison. Every villain gathered a band of his own, and Albinus towered among them like a robber-chief, using his adherents to plunder honest citizens. The victims remained silent; others, still exempt, flattered the wretch in order to secure immunity. Nevertheless Albinus appeared honorable in comparison with his successor, Gessius Florus. For while the former had practised his villainies in secret, and with a certain degree of caution, Gessius Florus made an open boast of his crimes against the people; he practised every sort of robbery and abuse precisely as though he had been sent to punish condemned criminals. His cruelty was pitiless, his infamies shameless; never before did any one so veil truth with deceit, or discover more cunning ways of accomplishing his knaveries. To enrich himself at the expense of individuals was not enough for him; he robbed whole cities and ruined whole communities; things could not have been worse had he made public proclamation throughout the land that every one might plunder where and what he would provided only that he himself received his share of the booty. Whole districts were depopulated by his greed, multitudes left their homes and fled into foreign provinces." A single syllable added would destroy the impression made by these words of Josephus.

When the legate in Syria, Cestius Gallus, was in Jerusalem on the occasion of the Easter celebration he was surrounded by three million Jews who besought him with tears and lamentations to take pity on their unspeakable misery. Florus stood beside the legate and listened to the complaints with a scornful smile. Gallus promised to persuade Florus to be milder, and the two left Jerusalem, the latter with the firm intention of forcing the Jews into rebellion as the only means of concealing his own crimes and infamies.

Soon there were new troubles in Cæsarea. The most prominent Jews endeavored to approach Florus on his own footing, offering him eight talents, about \$7,500, if he would check the arrogant encroachments of the heathen. Florus took the money and left Cæsarea, of course without doing anything. The following Sabbath the heathen went so far as to publicly ridicule and disturb the Jewish worship. From this arose such a fearful riot that even the Roman troops in Cæsarea were unable to restore order. When a delegation of Jews went to Florus and referred plainly to the eight talents, Florus simply imprisoned them.

Then came the drop which filled the brimming cup to overflowing. On the pretence that the emperor needed the money Flo-

rus demanded from the treasury of the temple seventeen talents (that is, about \$15,000). At this their rage burst forth like flames; with dreadful outcries and uttering imprecations upon Florus, the multitude gathered in the temple, and some waggish fellows passed a plate to take up a collection for poor, distressed Florus. To avenge this insult he marched upon Jerusalem with his troops. A respectful deputation went forth to meet him; but Florus challenged them through fifty horsemen sent in advance to mock him to his face, and the horsemen charged upon them and scattered them in fright. The next morning Florus established his tribunal and demanded the surrender of those that had mocked him. But when they calmly represented to him the impossibility of this, since those persons were not known and not to be discovered, Florus commanded his troops to pillage Jerusalem and cut down every one they met. Florus even scourged and crucified Jews who possessed the rank of Roman knighthood, and on this one day three thousand six hundred persons perished. Berenice, the sister of King Agrippa, happening to be in Jerusalem at the time, went barefoot to Florus and implored mercy for her people; but she was treated roughly and driven away with insult and abuse. This occurred on the 16th of May of the year 66 A. D.

But even now the more prudent succeeded in calming the rebellious people. This was very unwelcome to Florus, and he declared that he could not regard their desire for peace as sincere unless they would formally meet and salute two cohorts which were approaching from Cæsarea. At the urgent entreaty of the priests the people consented even to this. But Florus had commanded the cohorts not to return the greeting of the Jews, and to attack them the moment a word of resentment was heard. The result was actually as he anticipated: the soldiers were saluted with respect but did not return the greeting of the Jews; the latter were at first surprised, and when then some began to murmur the soldiers drew their swords and began the slaughter. At the same time Florus started out from Jerusalem with his remaining troops and thus attacked the people from both sides. But the latter held their ground and the small force of troops were insufficient to prevail against the population of Jerusalem. During the night all the bridges and approaches to the temple were destroyed. When Florus, who had intended to plunder the temple, found this plan frustrated he departed from Jerusalem, leaving in charge a Roman cohort and making the priests and leaders of the people responsible for keeping the peace.

Both Florus and the Jews reported this occurrence to the legate, Cestius Gallus; but as these reports were naturally contradictory, Cestius sent the tribune Neapolitanus to Jerusalem to ascertain the facts. Neapolitanus was received with much ceremony, and the Jews poured forth their woes in eloquent words, saying that they were opposed only to Florus and not to the Romans. To show him how peaceably disposed the people were Neapolitanus was invited to walk about the entire city with but a single guide and see whether the slightest harm would befall him. In fact Neapolitanus made the experiment and was soon so sure of the situation that he summoned the people together, praised their loyal and faithful conduct and admonished them urgently once more to keep the peace, and all might turn out well. With this he returned to Antiochia to make his report to the legate.

Now the people requested Agrippa, who had accompanied Neapolitanus to Jerusalem, to denounce Florus to Nero. Agrippa demanded that they first restore the broken connexions between the fortress and the temple and pay the forty talents of taxes still in arrears (about \$38,000). Both demands were complied with: they began at once to build up what had been destroyed and the large sum was soon raised by voluntary contributions. But when Agrippa further demanded that pending the emperor's decision they should recognise Florus as procurator and honor and obey him, he was greeted with a shower of stones and speedily left Jerusalem. In accordance with a formal decision the daily sacrifice in the temple for the emperor and the empire was now discontinued, and thus war was declared—henceforth there was no return for either side.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MISSIONARY WORK IN THE INTERIOR OF CHINA.

A LETTER FROM THE REV. PETER RIJNHART.

September 16, 1897.

Your kind letters and books came duly to hand, for all of which receive my thanks. We read them all with great interest, especially the *Gospel of Buddha*. We find in our work amongst the Buddhists here that though the books they have contain such excellent teaching, there are only a handful (from among the priesthood) who to any extent live up to that teaching. In fact we find the same here as we do at home, where Christians with the Bible in the hand go even completely contrary to its sublime teaching. Among our friends we count three or four living Buddhas, reincarnations who receive worship of man. One of them, Cho é ni Kambo, was greatly interested in us having the words of him whom they call Shach Kya Munni in our language.

I would have written before this, but your letter came while we were attending the large numbers of wounded belonging to the imperial troops, just after the suppression of the rebellion. In the bustle connected with this work your letter became misplaced, but then we had the books. Only lately it turned up, and I am sending these lines to thank you. We made a trip in the brigand district south of the Koko lake, and I think the following notes of our journey will interest you. We may not agree as regards doctrine, yet we may be interested in each other's thoughts and work.

Long had I yearned to be able to get the south of the Kokonor to give the Gospel to some of the numerous Tibetan brigands there. But for lack of funds, not being able to buy the animals needed to carry tents, books, that is, Tibetan scriptures, provisions, etc., I had been obliged to wait and pray for an opportunity when I should be able to carry out my plans without having to incur the expense of extra animals so very much needed for any extensive work amongst the nomads around and west of the lake. And I welcomed with great joy an invitation to go and operate on an old man's eye who was blind with cataract, and whose encampment, five or six days' journey from here, was right in the district inhabited by the robbers we wanted to reach—and for fear of whom only heavily armed parties dared to cross that part. As far as I know, no European ever came there, much less a missionary with the word of life for those in darkness and in the shades of death.

I was therefore the more delighted as the man whose father we were to attend to was to supply the animals to carry the things we wanted to take, and bring us back here in twenty days. In having him as our guide gives us a certain safety, being a robber amongst robbers; nevertheless we do well to take any firearms we

have, as rifles and revolvers, less to shoot with than to show off to any bands we might chance to come across, as if to say, "We are ready for you." On the 12th of August we start, taking besides Gospels, tent, pots, and for food dried dough-strings, roasted barley meal, butter, and pressed tea leaves. Our party consists of our patient's son; a Panaka Tibetan; a lama; his bookkeeper; our servant, a Tibetan from Ladak; my wife, who wants to get acquainted with the women there, and myself, carrying Charles, our little boy, forty-two days old, while Topsy, our dog, runs between the horses' feet as excited as if she knew where we were going and what important services she is to perform for us at night. A journey in these regions differs from travelling at home in a railway carriage in which one enjoys while travelling so much comfort. It even differs greatly from travel in China which is in many respects very comfortable in one's hired boat or cart, mule, litter, or sedan chair. Every night one is brought (overland travel) to an inn where for a few sapeks one gets a room, bedstead, food, etc. Here this is not so; the journey is made on horseback—in the saddle from daylight till 4 p. m.—and the only things one looks for at that time is a place with good grass, near fresh water, where some days previous cows have grazed, so that the cow dung, now dry, may serve as fuel. This found, the yaks are unloaded, the tent put up, a fire of dry manure made, and the pot placed above it on three stones.

Then on a journey here no food can be bought, so that provisions have to be taken in large quantities (in encampments one can always buy meat and milk). Now add to such inconveniences the constant strain upon one's nerves while travelling through passes, gullies, and glens for fear of being pounced upon by a band of robbers, and you have a faint idea of the whole. And this is travelling in the steppes of Northeast Tibet.

On the morning of the second day one of our Tibetan's yaks died, in spite of the long-continued incantations of the lama, which he uttered while stroking the back and sides of the yak with his sword. Five long stages we made, four along the seashore. During those days we off and on came in contact with Panaka. On the fifth day we arrived at the encampment—without meeting any robbers I should not say, because we saw some all the time, even travelling with them—but at any rate without any assault from them.

This encampment consists of seven tents, while further along the shore there are many more. In this camp there are horses, cows (or yaks), sheep, goats, dogs, and dirty men, women, and children, the latter three more dirty here than in any other part we have been.

The tents are made of a stuff made of wool manufactured by the natives. This cloth is stretched over ropes which are held up by poles. Seen from a distance, they appear like huge spiders. In the centre of the cloth a strip is left open to give an exit to the smoke ascending from the temporary furnace just below it which divides the tent into two parts. On the right-hand side is the place of honor. Here guests are received, and at night the men sleep there, while the women, the children, some kids, lambs, and in this case also a little deer, occupy the other side. Their possessions, as small bags of barley, bales of wool, are placed all around the sides and back of the tent on stones.

The inhabitants of those tents, as I remarked above, are dirty—*very*. They are a healthy, strong set of people, comparing very favorably with the Chinese, a race destroyed by vices such as opium-smoking, drinking, etc. The man's clothing consists of a short garment of cotton with wide lambskin collar, over which they wear a longer sheepskin gown, reaching to the knees, a pair of pants and top boots.

There are some that have the Chinese queue, others have not; a felt hat trimmed with lambskin covers their heads. The women wear a long sheepskin reaching near the ground, a pair of top boots, and a hat similar to those of the men only lower. Their hair is divided and braided into about fifty tiny braids. The needs of this people are few. Each man a matchlock, sword, flint and steel, knife and chopsticks, and each man a basin of wood. Each family has a tent, some sheep, cows, horses, etc.

On the whole they are a jolly lot, laughing and joking is very common amongst them, though their encampments are innocent of any musical instruments excepting drum and cymbals, used in reading their Bibles. The men go armed to the hills with the flocks and herds, while the women at home are occupied in making cheese, butter, and they also press out and dry in the sun the manure cakes for burning; but even after this dirty work they seldom wash their hands, only wiping them on the grass, and shortly after, with those dirty fingers, milk the cows or mix their barley meal, butter, and tea without a thought as to its being dirty. Their children are never washed, but soon after they are born are rubbed all over with butter and put to roast in the sun.

On the third day after arrival I was fortunate in removing the entire lens in operating for cataract, and there are hopes of restored sight in the eye operated on. Every evening after the animals return from the pasture many Panaka gather around our fire, and while they smoke our servant's tobacco out of his pipe in turns we talk with them as we are able, giving Gospels to such as can read, and those that are able to do this seem more abundant than north of the lake.

I estimate low if I say I think that one in every tent of ten or twelve inhabitants can read.

Many lamas frequent our fire, and as we tell them of Jesus our heart yearns for their souls. One evening while talking to some priests one of them asked: What department does this *Jesu Masika* (Tibetan for Jesus Christ) control? Buddhism has many deities, each one having his own faction. Upon telling him that Jesus governs the world—heaven, sun, moon, stars, even our very lives—they seemed greatly astonished, and doubtless wondered if that was so, where their gods would come in. Among others, we gave books to a party of thirteen priests, who, well laden, returned from obtaining contributions. Two days later the report reached us they had been attacked and robbed, perhaps by the very men who brought us the report. In all, we distributed over two hundred Gospels to priests and laymen, about one for each tent in this district. The books were gladly received and read by those who obtained them, and I estimate that by the books alone over two thousand persons have been reached who never as much as heard of the existence of any other religion than Buddhism. One strange feature about this part is the absolute absence of prayer-flags, and prayer-wheels.

PETER RIJNHART.

TANHAR, N. E. TIBETAN FRONTIER.

[The Rev. Peter Rijnhart, a native of Holland and a Protestant of the Dutch Reformed Church, started for China some years ago with the ardent desire of preaching Christianity to the Tibetans. He reached the frontier, but was not admitted into the country. He is not sent by any special church or missionary society, but depends entirely on voluntary offerings of such people as are interested in him and in his missionary zeal. His friend Mr. Charles T. Paul, 14 Alexander Street, Toronto, Canada, is always glad to receive contributions for the courageous missionary. Mr. Rijnhart's letter is so interesting that we take pleasure in publishing it.—ED.]

THE GOD OF IRON.

1. The God who made the i - ron grow, He want - eth men of i - ron, Who

This system consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains the melody for the first line of the song. The middle and bottom staves are piano accompaniment, with the middle staff in treble clef and the bottom staff in bass clef. Both contain chords and moving lines that support the vocal melody. The music is in common time (C).

in all things their manhood show. He scor - neth slave and ty - ran. He

This system continues the musical score. The vocal line (top staff) continues the melody. The piano accompaniment (middle and bottom staves) provides harmonic support. Dynamics markings include *f* (forte) above the vocal line and *mf* (mezzo-forte) below the piano accompaniment. The key signature remains one sharp.

want - eth men of i - ron will, Men gen - u - ine and re - al,

This system continues the musical score. The vocal line (top staff) continues the melody. The piano accompaniment (middle and bottom staves) provides harmonic support. The key signature remains one sharp.

Whose glowing hearts yet throb and thrill With love of the i - de - al.

This system concludes the musical score. The vocal line (top staff) continues the melody. The piano accompaniment (middle and bottom staves) provides harmonic support. Dynamics markings include *f* (forte) below the piano accompaniment. The key signature remains one sharp.

The God who made the iron grow
 He wanteth men of iron,
 Who in all things their manhood show ;
 He scorneth slave and tyrant.
 He wanteth men of iron will,
 Men genuine and real,
 Whose glowing hearts yet throb and thrill
 With love of the ideal.

The God who made the iron grow
 Shaped nature's constitution,
 And iron laws did he bestow,
 The God of evolution.
 Making his creatures keenly vie,
 Compete, fight, and aspire,
 He loveth those who dare to die
 For aims that lead man higher.

The God who made the iron grow
 Enjoyeth strife, not quarrel.
 Brute force he ever layeth low,
 Yet deems the faint immoral !
 The Father who o'er nature reigns
 Eschews the sentimental.
 And mawkish sweetness he disdains :
 Stern is his love parental.

The God who made the iron grow
 He granteth no protection.
 He bids us struggle with our foe,
 His law, it is selection.
 He sifteth nations in a sieve,
 The strongest find their rival ;
 He chooseth from the things that live,
 Things worthy of survival.

Who's lacking iron, he's no man,
 Be he in rags or ermine,
 For each one 'tis but iron can
 His real worth determine.
 The God of love He careth naught
 For love with no strength in it.
 The crown he giveth those who've fought,
 The prize to those who win it.

The writing of the hymn "The God of Iron" was suggested by the vigorous lines of Ernst Moritz Arndt's patriotic song, the first verse of which runs as follows :

Der Gott der Eisen wachsen liess,
 Der wollte keine Knechte,
 Drum gab er Säbel, Schwert und Spiess
 Dem Mann in seine Rechte.

The God who made the iron grow,
 With slavery is disgusted,
 And hence with lance and sword and bow
 He hath mankind entrusted.

Drum gab er ihm den kühnen Muth,
Den Zorn der freien Rede,
Dass er bestände bis auf's Blut,
Bis in den Tod die Fehde.

He hath with courage man endowed,
Wrath in his heart implanted,
To bear the brunt of battle proud,
E'en unto death undaunted.

Arndt wrote this song during the time of the French invasion, and meant thereby to arouse the German nation to a struggle for liberty and to a defence of the national honor. The first verse of Arndt's song is more beautiful than the following verses, which breathe hatred of the French and preach a German particularism which, however justified by the conditions under which the poem was written, is apt to lead to jingoism. But the spirit of the hymn is bracing, the melody is powerful, and its vigorous accents are very impressive.

The present hymn is meant to preserve the spirit of Arndt's song, only that it carries it into the broader field of international ethics and religion, dropping the narrowness of the hatred of a national enemy preached in its subsequent verses. There is so much sentimentalism in religion that a hymn which sounds the keynote of strength and courage ought to be welcome to all those who discard the unsound ethics of goody-goodness such as is frequently taught in Sunday-schools, and on account of which Professor Huxley declared that the cosmos and the cosmic order were immoral.

We have discussed the problem of ethics and the rôle which strength plays in ethics, repeatedly, and have denounced the idea which represents a sheep who patiently allows itself to be devoured by the wolf as the symbol of morality. While the wolf's conduct no doubt cannot be regarded as moral, we must at least grant that he possesses the virtue of courage. The sheep's morality consists simply in the negative qualities of possessing no vices except the vice of indifference and the utter lack of even the endeavor to acquire strength in its self-defense.¹

It is understood that the strength which is needed in morals is not mere muscular strength, nor is the courage which is wanted in life mere foolhardiness. That courage which counts most in the world is the courage of one's convictions, and that strength which is most powerful is the strength of character. P. C.

BABY AND SUNBEAM.

BY MATTIE McCASLIN.

The sun shone in glory o'er valley and hill
When up through the meadow and over the sill,
There dances a bright little sunbeam astray,
Till it reaches a fair, blue-eyed baby at play.
"How pitty," says baby, and laughing with joy
She casts from her hand her most cherished toy:
And over the carpet she creeps with delight,
To grasp this new toy that now dazzles her sight.
There! her plump little hand has come down with a will,
And she sits back in triumph, but now her eyes fill
With a strange baby awe, as her fingers unclose,
And there, to her wonder, they nothing disclose.

¹ Of course the sheep (we mean here the tame sheep) is excusable, because it has lost both intelligence and courage through being taken care of by man for uncounted ages. But it is matter of course that we must take the allegory with a grain of salt.

Again and again does she strive to secure
 This prize of all prizes, but who can allure
 With smiles howe'er potent or will of what might
 A sunbeam to break from the path of its light.

She soberly watches it play on the floor
 Till with tears her blue eyes are at last running o'er.
 But her quivering lips soon break into a smile
 That outrivals the sunbeam, as free from all guile.
 And she bends her bright head in a transport of bliss
 And imprints on the sunbeam a sweet baby kiss.

Ah, little one, thou hast a secret revealed,
 The best way to conquer, sometimes is to yield.
 Though sunbeams can never be brought by our will,
 To leave the straight path of reflexion, yet still
 We may enter their warmth, we may live in their light,
 And see them dispel the dark shadows of night.

The sunlight of truth unto mortals does yield
 A ray from the All of Truth still unrevealed.
 You must enter its light, it will not come to you,
 For truth never can to itself be untrue.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS OF THEODORE TILTON. In one volume. With a Preface on Ballad-making, and an Appendix on Old Norse Myths and Fables (London, Fisher Unwin; Oxford, Blackwell; Paris, Brentano, 1897).

Mr. Tilton has brought together into this beautiful volume, constituting a *ne varietur* edition, his complete poetical works. Our readers will find here in their correct and authentic form many poems which have often been unfaithfully quoted and reproduced. We read again here with the increased interest which they merit, poems which have been published from 1867 to the present day, either in volumes or in pamphlets under the titles "The Sexton's Tales," "Thou and I," "Swabian Stories," "Great Town," "The Chameleon's Dish," "Heart's Ease," etc. Mr. Tilton has enriched his book by a remarkable preface in which he emphasises the merits of the rhymed ballad which is so appropriate to the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic genius, and in which he has discussed with competence the problems that touch the future of poetry in so far as they are the necessary manifestation of the collective soul of each race. He also points out here, and this is not the least novel part of his book, the important rôle which devolves upon Americans in the future destiny of the English language. An appendix replete with erudition completes the volume. Its subject is a study of the gods of the Vikings and of the old Norse mythology constituting a rapid excursion into the proto-history of the nations from which English is derived. The poems themselves are instinct with a noble and pure inspiration. Humor is united with fancy, seriousness with grace. Penetrating criticism will reveal here the inward history of a high mind and the testimony of a personal evolution which is also the general evolution of our time.

L. A.

The admirers and readers of the works of the late Gen. M. M. Trumbull ("Wheelbarrow") will be glad to learn that The Open Court Publishing Co. have just issued a large and handsome photogravure portrait of their late talented and popular collaborator. The picture is printed on fine Imperial Japanese paper, and, being 11X14 inches in size, is suitable for framing. Price, 50 cents.

The two latest additions to the Religion of Science Library are Prof. Th. Eimer's essay *On the Impotence of Natural Selection in the Formation of Species* (No. 29) and Dr. Paul Carus's sketch of *Chinese Philosophy* (No. 30). Professor Eimer's booklet, which gives the only complete and accurate *résumé* in English of this investigator's theory of evolution (Orthogenesis), is Anti-Weismannian in tendency, and seeks to disclose the *causes* of organic variation, which is assumed in Darwin's theory. The pamphlet is illustrated by nineteen cuts of butterflies. (Price, 25 cents.) Dr. Carus's *Chinese Philosophy* treats of the development of the main characteristic features of Chinese thought with especial reference to the *Kwa* or *Ying* and *Yang* system of permutations. This is particularly interesting from Leibnitz's ingenious attempt to explain it by the binary system of numbers. Accounts of Chinese philosophy are rare, and Dr. Carus's illustrated pamphlet will therefore be welcome to all who would gain a glimpse of this singular and unique manifestation of the human mind. (Price, 25 cents.)

While residing in Germany the late Professor Tuttle studied the archives of Prussian history and watched the national growth with an interest that was almost as prophetic as Carlyle's, who foresaw the triumphs of Prussia in her institutions and the energetic character of her men. Mrs. Tuttle had, through the position of her husband, rare opportunities, and she utilised them to advantage. She not only had access to the family sanctities of Queen Louise, her boudoir and reception-rooms (some of which have remained unaltered), but she also had special permission from the *Hofmarschallamt* to make drawings of objects of interest to herself and husband, the American historiographer of Prussia. The drawings of the cradle of Queen Louise, of her hat, and of the historical bedrooms in the present number were all made by Mrs. Tuttle and are here reproduced for the first time. The remaining illustrations in Professor Tuttle's article are from old prints, with the exception of two portraits on pages 131 and 142, which are from photographs of paintings in Darmstadt and Berlin. In the Frontispiece, Steffek's fresco, the figure to the right is that of Frederic William, afterwards King of Prussia, and that to the left William, afterwards emperor. The models for these figures were two sons of the Rev. Herr von Haase, noted for their beauty and their resemblance to the Hohenzollerns, and one of whom is now a military chaplain of high rank at Potsdam. We are also glad on this occasion to refer to the fine series of pictures illustrating the period of Queen Louise which appeared in Professor Sloane's *Life of Napoleon in The Century* of two years ago. Professor Sloane's articles have since appeared in book form.





THE PURE LAND

THE HEAVEN OF THE BUDDHISTIC MAHĀYĀNA

Expressly designed by Mishima, and printed for THE OPEN COURT at Tokyo, Japan

THE OPEN COURT, April, 1898

Digitized by Google

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XII. (NO. 4.)

APRIL, 1898.

NO. 503

COURAGE THE CHIEF VIRTUE.

BY WOODS HUTCHINSON.

NOWHERE is the divergence between the Old Gospel and the New more decided than at this point. The attitude of the Synoptics and of "John" is equally unmistakable and deplorable. The "kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" are in the complete possession of Satan, the sole expectation of the believer is that "in this world ye shall have tribulation only." The world "hateth" the Christian, and the "Prince of this world" is his bitterest enemy; hence both improvement and opposition are out of the question, in the very nature of things, and a policy of absolute non-resistance and patient endurance is his only resource. "My kingdom is not of this world, else would my servants fight," "Resist not evil," "Blessed are the meek," "Submit yourselves unto the powers that be," are but a few of the scores of forms, under which the doctrine is reiterated again and again, through all the Gospels.

It has been accepted as a formal article of belief by the Church in almost every age, but fortunately for the race has never been lived up to by any of her Western branches; indeed only a few very small and eccentric sects, like the Quakers and the Mennonites, have even attempted to reduce it to practice. And yet its influence has been most disastrous, for it has in every age had the double effect of casting a paralysing blight over the aggressive activities of the noblest and purest minds, and serving as an excuse for indolent and cowardly submission to injustice, or toleration of abuses, by the baser sort of natures. In its scheme of the virtues there is absolutely no place for courage, except in the passive forms of endurance, patience under persecutions, continuing "steadfast unto the end." Christ repeatedly compares himself to a shepherd

and his followers to his sheep, his lambs, his flock. And as Paul Carus aptly remarks in his *Homilies of Science*, "This comparison was sufficient to give a crown of glory to the sheep. Christians forget that similes remain similes: that they do not cover the truth in all respects but at one or two points only. And thus it happened that the weakness of the sheep, its simplicity, nay, its very stupidity became an ideal of moral goodness and Christian virtue. Humanity, Christian and non-Christian, is under the influence of the sheep allegory still. . . . Let us beware of the ethics of ovine morality." Paul's celebrated list of the "fruits of the spirit" contains nothing approaching courage except "long-suffering." Consequently Christianity was an almost complete failure as a factor in the world's progress, until it was grafted upon races whose irresistible vigor and sturdy combativeness made a fighting religion out of it, in spite of its doctrines. Indeed, for everything in it which makes for liberty, justice, and progress it is vastly more indebted to the Teuton and the Celt, than they to it. When the stern old Puritan wanted a fighting text, he was driven perforce to the otherwise despised Old Testament with its pathetically irrelevant "smitings of Amalek," and hewings of Agag in pieces. And this omission accounts for a large share of the alleged negativeness and passivity, or as it has sometimes been expressed, the "feminineness" of Christianity, its fatal substitution first of being, then of believing, for *doing*. The sin which drove the hermit into the desert and the monk into the shades of the cloister was cowardice and the selfishness born of it. And this again left nothing in the body of all its teaching to prevent an abject and cowardly submission to the fiat of an irresponsible and often irrational tyrant, for fear of unpleasant consequences in this life and the next, being made the chief motive of human action; as in much of our modern evangelicism even to-day.

Of the passive sort of courage there was a splendid abundance among its adherents, as the superb record of its "noble army of martyrs," witnesses in letters of fire and blood upon every page of its history. But of the active sort, in the way of aggressive, reformatory action of any description, there was a deplorable lack until it had been assimilated and supplemented by the sturdy Teuton and Slav soul, in Luther, Wyclif, Huss, and their spiritual ancestors and descendants. And while no one would be further from wishing in any way to detract from the richly deserved glory of the martyr's crown, yet in strict justice, it must be reluctantly admitted that sadly too much of the endurance and fortitude displayed

was from fear of worse consequences and more lasting punishment in the future life, should recantation be made, than from pure love of the truth or unwillingness to be false to one's own convictions. We repeatedly meet with the statement by the martyr himself, as a final argument of the highest and most unanswerable nature, that he *dared* not refuse to do or say such and such a thing, however perilous, or deny such and such a vital tenet, lest he endanger the salvation of his own soul thereby. And with a pathetic perversion of the mystic words of the Master, "it is better to enter into life maimed, than having both hands to be cast into hell," sufferers have actually sustained themselves and each other in the torments of the stake with the reminder of how much preferable these brief agonies are to ages of eternal torture. From Paul to George Fox, one of the chief burdens of the meditations of the saints has ever been, "*Woe* is unto me if I preach not the Gospel!" All honor to their dauntless bravery, upon whatever it was based, whether from or in spite of their creed, but more deaths upon the field of battle, fighting against oppression and fewer at the stake would have been more to the advantage of humanity at large. It was magnificent, but it wasn't progress, and there is little reason to lament the decay of the martyr spirit. Nor can it be said that their protest took this form from sheer lack of strength or numbers to make any other hopeful, for at a very early date the heads of the primitive church were able to say in a petition to the Emperor Julian asking for liberty of belief and practice, that if it were not for their being forbidden to take up the sword, they could seriously endanger his throne, so large a proportion of his subjects did they form.

In fact, if we look into the matter more closely we shall find that not only was active courage, of any sort, not adequately recognised by the four Gospels, but that they positively discouraged such frames of mind in the tremendous stress which they laid upon faith and submission. So that gradually any sort of self-assertion or initiative came to be regarded as actually sinful. And it needs only to be mentioned what a calamity to human welfare this accursed, intentional cowardice of the good has been and is. It has robbed humanity of the better half of the influence of its best and noblest elements and has done more to give reality to the conception of the poet, "Right forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne," than all other influences put together. It alone is chiefly responsible for the fact, that in every age, a mere handful of bold, unscrupulous rascals have succeeded in terrorising and even op-

pressing and abusing half a nation of well-meaning but timid and irresolute good people. Nor can we flatter ourselves that we have escaped its influence yet, for it is to-day, to mention one field alone, the curse of modern politics. In which we have the astounding and humiliating spectacle of entire municipalities, states, nay, even the nation of honorable, intelligent citizens, not merely ruled but robbed and insulted by a mere corporal's guard of the most contemptible curs and cads imaginable, known as "bosses," whose sole source of power is their unparalleled "nerve" and activity, *plus* the unspeakable cowardice and indolence of the "better classes."

As to the real value of courage, active courage, that of the soldier rather than of the martyr, too much can hardly be said, and yet very little is needed. It would be conceded at once as one of the absolutely indispensable conditions of progress. Willingness to risk the untried, to run the gauntlet of danger, for the sake of possible advantage, to imperil safety for the chance of improvement, is a factor which is always presupposed in the accomplishment of any upward step. And seldom is it lacking "under Nature." Although primarily a self-regarding virtue, it is in its ultimate results and often directly, a race-regarding one also, and any individual's first duty to himself and to his kind is to be brave. He may get through life decently and even honorably lacking any other one virtue, but without this, never. No other virtue is of real effect without it. The chief value, both objective and subjective, of love lies in the bravery which it develops in behalf or defence of its object. The supreme test and criterion of any virtue is whether it develops courage or not. Love must express itself in deeds of devotion involving risk of injury or loss, "faith" by "works" of the same character, patience by fortitude under trial. In short, it comes nearer to being the one element, according to whose presence and degree we call an action "virtuous," the one great criterion of morality, than any other quality or grace. It is no mere coincidence that the primitive meaning of "virtue" is "bravery," which again is by further analysis that which distinguishes "*a uan*" (*virtus—vir*). Neither nature nor man, neither Church nor State, biology or morals has any use for the coward. Conversely our chief criterion in judging of the nature and degree of a crime or vice, is the degree to which courage is absent from it. The essence of cruelty, for instance, lies not so much in the infliction of suffering, for that may be absolutely necessary and blameless, but in its infliction under such circumstances, that there is no balancing risk of possible equivalent suffering on the part of the inflictor,

as in the case of women and children, or of unarmed or prostrate foemen. One of the weightiest considerations in determining the murderous or justifiable character of a homicide is the amount of risk run by the aggressor, as to the strength, weapons, and warning of his opponent; in short, the amount of cowardice displayed by him.

While the essence and only ascertainable "sin" of the commonest of offences, lying, is its cowardice, the desire to gain an advantage, inflict an injury, which we dare not affect by open means, or to escape a punishment or avoid a loss which we haven't the courage to face squarely or submit to. In fact, there is scarcely a crime or vice into which it does not enter as an important element. And the instinctive respect and admiration for courage which we find everywhere fully corroborates our view of its supreme value and importance. It is not merely respected because it makes its possessor formidable, but it provokes a spontaneous and irresistible respect and even love for its own sake, which is utterly unparalleled by any other virtue or grace except beauty. We do homage and reverence to bravery upon the same sort of irresistible impulse as we worship beauty and purity in a woman. It is one of the great pass-words of nature. One touch of it unites all conditions, all beliefs, and all ages in an instructive throb of sympathy. How a brave deed stirs us in spite of ourselves whether in friend or foe, black or white, man or beast! Kipling has well voiced this universal sympathy in his stirring refrain:

" For there is neither East nor West,
Border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth."

It has been the never-failing theme of song and story through all the ages from the "dark wrath of Achilles" and the "*Arma virumque cano*" to the charge of the Light Brigade. Courage has no need to sue for a place in the list of virtues of any religious code. It has a religion of its own, whose sacred books are the whole heroic literature of the world, and whose worshippers include the entire human family. In our heart of hearts we feel and know it to be the supreme virtue. Not even love takes precedence of it, for this without courage would be as dead as "faith without works." To dare to be true to ourselves, to our highest convictions, no matter what comes of it—this is our crowning glory. Nothing has ever struck a deeper chord of response in every true, manly soul, than Henley's lyric:

" Out of the dark that covers me
Black as the pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul."

Courage, sheer, dauntless, inexhaustible, was the supreme glory of Calvary, the one thing which all true hearts have ever worshipped and will ever worship as divine. And the more so as they regard Jesus of Nazareth as man rather than God. Rightly has the Church ever insisted upon the supreme importance of the death of Christ. Without it his life had made no lasting impression upon the heart of the world. The profound simplicity of his moral precepts, the spotless purity of his life, the sweetness and gentleness of his nature, would have won the admiration and respect of the student, the philosopher; but it was the striking combination with all these graces of a high-souled courage, which any iron-gloved fighting-man might have envied, a courage which would not fight but scorned to flee, that has compelled the love and reverence of the entire Western world. Sooner than surrender one iota of his convictions, sooner than delay a moment longer the proclaiming of that reign of love, justice, and peace which was literally a "kingdom of heaven" he deliberately dared and unflinchingly suffered a death of shame and torture. All risk of which might have been completely avoided by ceasing to preach, or by an hour's midnight flight beyond Jordan. But from his fearless, sensitive soul "this cup could not pass" in any such fashion. And to the spotless courage of his love the whole world bows in reverence, and shall bow as long as humanity endures.

Wherefore the Church, being vindictive and cowardly, slew him, as she has done his memory scores of times since, and is doing to-day. For obvious reasons, she has never approved of minds of this type, who cannot be driven even by the certainty of future damnation, and besides burning and massacring all such, whenever she dared, she has ostentatiously thrust forward into the front rank of the virtues the more ladylike graces of love, faith, and meekness. Hence the necessity felt by men, in all ages, of having a code of their own as to courage, honor, justice, etc., outside of the standards of the Church.

And while this code has generally tacitly accepted the stigma placed upon it, of being built upon simply "carnal pride," and "worldly ambition," it has usually been equal and often superior to the ecclesiastical, and deserves formal recognition as a moral source and sanction. In fact, the one-sided "gospel of love"

needs to be supplemented by the gospel of courage. Love as a motive and the Golden Rule as a principle of action are of the highest value in all cases in which they apply, i. e., in man's relations to his fellow-men. But in the wide range of his relations to the great forces and movements of the universe, between him and the gods, or the fates, or the times, they simply have no bearing. But there is one principle which is always to be relied upon, even here,—one beacon whose light never falters, even in the wildest storm, one rock to which a man can cling through all the fury of the elements though it be with clinched teeth and bleeding hands, and that is the courage that is in him.

Never has a deeper-reaching, truer precept of human conduct been laid down than in Kipling's wondrous refrain :

" Whatever comes
Or does not come,
We must not be afraid."

This and this only will carry a man through the blackest night and most furious war of the elements. It may not be much "consolation," but it is all there is, and it does remain as a living principle of action and a reality when everything else has become an empty form of words. So long as a man is true to this faith, all is well ; let him be false to it, and neither Sinai nor Mecca nor Calvary can save him. If there be an "unpardonable sin," a "sin against the Holy Ghost which shall not be forgiven," it is cowardice.

THE WIVES OF SOLOMON.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

ACCORDING to the first book of Kings, Solomon's half-brother, Adonijah, after the defeat of an alleged (perhaps mythical) effort to recover the throne of which he had been defrauded, submitted himself to Solomon. He had become enamored of the virgin who had been brought to the aged King David to try to revive some vitality in him ; and he came to Bathsheba asking her to request her son the king to give him this damsel as his wife. Bathsheba proffered this "small petition" for Adonijah, but Solomon was enraged, and ironically suggested that she should ask the kingdom itself for Adonijah, whom he straightway ordered to execution. The immediate context indicates that Solomon suspected in this petition a plot against his throne. A royal father's harem was inherited by a royal son, and its possession is supposed to have involved certain rights of succession : this is the only interpretation I have ever heard of the extreme violence of Solomon. But I have never been satisfied with this explanation. Would Adonijah have requested, or Bathsheba asked as a "small" thing, a favor touching the king's tenure?

The story as told in the Book of Kings appears diplomatic, and several details suggest that in some earlier legend the strife between the half-brothers had a more romantic relation to "Abishag the Shunammite," who is described as "very fair."

Abishag is interpreted as meaning "father of error," and though that translation is of doubtful accuracy, its persistence indicates the place occupied by her in early tradition. According to *Yalkut Reubeni* the soul of Eve transmigrated into her. She caused trouble between the brothers, whose Jahvist names, Adonijah and Jedediah,—strength of Jah, and love of Jah,—seem to have been at some time related. However this may be, the fair Shunammite,

as represented in the Shulamite of the Song of Songs, fills pretty closely the outlines set forth in the famous epithalamium (Psalm xlv.) which all critics, I believe, refer to Solomon's marriage with a bride brought from some far country. I quote (with a few alterations hereafter discussed) the late Professor Newman's translation, in which it will be seen that several lines are applicable to the Shunammite, whose humble position is alluded to, separated from her "people," and her "father's house":

- " My heart boils up with goodly matter.
I ponder ; and my verse concerns the King.
Let my tongue be a ready writer's pen.
- " Fairer art thou than all the sons of men.
Over thy lips delightsomeness is poured ;
Therefore hath God for ever blessed thee.
- " Gird at thy hip thy hero-sword,
Thy glory and thy majesty :
And forth victorious ride majestic,
For truth and meekness, righteously ;
And let thy right-hand teach the wondrous deeds.
Beneath thy feet the peoples fall ;
For in the heart of the king's enemies
Sharp are thy arrows.
- " Thy throne O God ever and always stands ;
A righteous sceptre is thy royal sceptre.
Thou lovest right and hatest evil ;
Therefore, O God, thy God hath anointed thee
With oil of joy above thy fellow-kings.
Myrrh, aloes, cassia, all thy raiment is.
From ivory palaces the viols gladden thee,
King's daughters count among thy favorites ;
And at thy right hand stands the Queen
In Gold of Ophir.
- " O daughter, hark ! behold and bend thy ear :
Forget thy people and thy father's house.
Win thou the King thy beauty to desire ;
He is thy lord ; do homage unto him.
So Tyrus's daughter and the sons of wealth
With gifts shall court thee.
- " Right glorious is the royal damsel ;
Wrought of gold is her apparel.
In brodered tissues to the King she is led :
Her maiden-friends, behind, are brought to thee.
They come with joy and gladness,
They enter the royal palace.

" Thy fathers by their sons shall be replaced ;
 As princes o'er the land shalt thou exalt them.
 So will I publish to all times thy name ;
 So shall the nations praise thee, now and always."

In this epithalamium the name of Jahveh does not occur, and Solomon himself is twice addressed as God (Elohim). This lack of anticipation was avenged by Jahvism when it arrived ; the Song was put among the Psalms and transmitted to British Jahvism, which has headed it : "The majesty and grace of Christ's kingdom. The duty of the Church and the benefits thereof." Such is the chapter-heading to a song of bridesmaids,—in the original "A song of loves set to lilies" (a tune of the time).

There are no indications in the Solomon legend, apart from some mistranslations, until the time of Ecclesiasticus (B. C. 180), that Solomon was a sensualist, or that there were any moral objections to the extent of his harem, which indeed is expanded by his historians with evident pride.

As to this, our own monogamic ideas are quite inapplicable to a period when personal affection had nothing to do with marriage, when women had no means of independent subsistence, and the size of a man's harem was the measure of his benevolence. Probably there was then no place more enviable for a woman than Solomon's seraglio.

The sin was not in the size of the seraglio but in its foreign and idolatrous wives. (Here our translators again get in an innuendo against Solomon by turning "foreign" into "strange women.") Before a religious notion can get itself fixed as law it is apt to be enforced by an extra amount of odium. Solomon's mother had married a Hittite, and presumably he would have imbibed liberal ideas on such subjects. The round number of a thousand ladies in his harem is unhistorical, but that the chief princesses were of Gentile origin and religion is clear. The second writer in the first Book of Kings begins (xi.) with this gravamen : "Now King Solomon "loved many foreign women besides the daughter of Pharaoh,— "Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Zidonian, and Hittite women "nations concerning which Jahveh said to the children of Israel, "Ye shall not go among them, neither shall they come among you : "for surely they will turn away your heart after their gods : Solo—"mon clave to these in love."

The wisest of men could hardly attend to rules which an unconceived Jahveh would lay down for an unborn nation centuries later. We must, however, as we are not on racial problems, con-

sent to a few anachronisms in names if we are to discover any credible traditions in the Biblical books relating to Solomon. As Mr. Flinders Petrie has discovered an instance of the word "Israel" in ancient Egypt, it may be as well to use that word tentatively for the tribe we are considering. No Israelite, then, is mentioned among Solomon's wives, and one can hardly imagine such a man finding a bride among devotees of an altar of unhewn stones piled in a tent.

As our cosmopolitan prince had to send abroad for workmen of skill, he may also have had to seek abroad for ladies accomplished enough to be his princesses. That, however, does not explain the number and variety of the countries from which the wives seem to have come. The theory of many scholars that this Prince of Peace substituted alliances by marriage for military conquests is confirmed in at least one instance. The mother of his only son, Rehoboam, was Naamah the Ammonitess (1 Kings xiv. 31), and the Septuagint preserves an addition to this verse that she was the "daughter of Ana the son of Nahash,"—a king (Hanum) with whom David had waged furious war. The reference in the epithalamium (Ps. xlv.) to "Tyrus's daughter," in connexion with 1 Kings v. 12, "there was peace between Hiram and Solomon," suggests that there also marriage was the peacemaker.

The phrase in 1 Kings iii. 1, "Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh and took Pharaoh's daughter" suggests, though less clearly, that some feud may have been settled in that case also. That Solomon should have espoused as his first and pre-eminent queen the daughter of a Pharaoh is very picturesque if set beside the legend of the "Land of Bondage," but the narrative could hardly have been given without any allusion to by-gones had the story in Exodus been known. Yet the words "made affinity" may refer to a racial feud in that direction. This princess brought as her dowry the important frontier city of Gezer, and her palace appears to have been the first fine edifice erected in Jerusalem.

The commercial régime established by Solomon could hardly have been possible but for his intermarriages. Perhaps if the Christian ban had not been fixed against polygamy, and European princes had been permitted to marry in several countries, there might have been fewer wars, as well as fewer illicit connexions. The intermarriages of the large English royal family with most of the reigning houses of Europe have been for many years a security of peace, and it is not improbable that our industrial and democratic age, wherein the working man's welfare depends on peace,

may find in the undemocratic institution of royalty a certain utility in its power to be prolific in such ties of peace.

Bathsheba's function at Solomon's marriage is celebrated in the Song of Songs :

" Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold King Solomon,

With the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals.'

Bathsheba, as we have seen, was said to have written Proverbs xxxi. as an admonition or reproof to her son on his betrothal with the daughter of Pharaoh. The words of David, "Send me Uriah the Hittite" (2 Sam. xi. 6), and the emphasis laid on Uriah's being a Hittite (a race with which intermarriage was prohibited, Deut. vii. 1-5) might have been meant as some legal excuse for David's conduct. He rescued Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam, from unlawful wedlock, it might be said, and her exaltation in Talmudic tradition may have been meant to guard the purity of David's lineage. But the ascription to Bathsheba of especial opposition to her son's marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh indicates that the gravamen in Solomon's posthumous offence lay less in his intermarriage with foreigners than in building for them shrines of their several deities,—Istar, Chemosh, Milcom, and the rest. Against Pharaoh's daughter the Talmud manifests a special animus: she is said to have introduced to Solomon a thousand musical instruments, and taught him chants to the various idols. (*Shabbath*, 56, col. 2.)

There is a bit of Solomonic folklore according to which the Devil tempted him with a taunt that he would be but an ordinary person but for his magic ring, in which lay all his wisdom. Solomon being piqued into a denial, was challenged to remove his ring, but no sooner had he done so than the Devil seized it, and, having by its might metamorphosed the king beyond recognition, himself assumed the appearance of Solomon and for some time resided in the royal seraglio. The more familiar legend is that Solomon was cajoled into parting with his signet ring by a promise of the demon to reveal to him the secret of demonic superiority over man in power. Having transformed Solomon and transported him four hundred miles away, the demon (Asmodeus) threw the ring into the sea. Solomon, after long vagrancy, became the cook of the king of Ammon (Ano Hanun), with whose daughter, Naamah, he eloped.¹ One day in dressing a fish for dinner Naamah found in it

¹ "Ammon" probably developed the name "Amīna," given in the Talmud as the name of a favorite concubine of Solomon, to whom, while he was bathing, he entrusted his signet ring, and from whom the Devil, Sakhar, obtained it by appearing to her in the shape of Solomon. This is the version referred to in the Koran, chapter xxxviii. (Sale.)

the signet ring which Asmodeus had thrown into the sea, and Solomon thus recovered his palace and harem from the demon.

The connexion of this fish-and-ring legend,—known in several versions, from the Ring of Polycrates (Herodotus III.) to the heraldic legend of Glasgow,—with the Solomonic demonology, looks as if it may once have been part of a theory that the idolatrous shrines were built for the princesses while the Devil was personating their lord. In truth, however, all of these animadversions belong to a comparatively late period. Many struggles had to precede even the recognition of the idolatrous character of the shrines, and to the last the Jews were generally proud of the “graven images” in their temple,—including brazen reproductions of the terrible Golden Calf. At the same time there were no doubt some old priests and soothsayers to whom these new-fangled things were injurious and odious, and superstitious people enough to cling to their ancient unhewn altar rather than to the brilliant cherubim, just as in Catholic countries the devotees cannot be drawn from their age-blackened Madonnas and time-stained crucifixes by the most attractive works of modern art.

Although there is no evidence that the God of Israel was known under the name of either Jah or Jahveh in Solomon's time (the Septuagint 1 Kings viii. 53, A. S. V. 12, says Solomon pointed to the sun when he dedicated the temple), there is little doubt that the rudimentary forces of Jahvism were felt in the Solomonic age. The furious prophetic denunciations of the wise and learned which echoed on through the centuries, and made the burden of St. Paul, indicate that there was from the first much superstition among the peasantry, which might easily in times of distress be fanned into fanaticism. The special denunciation of Solomon by Jahveh, and his suppression during the prophetic age, could hardly have been possible but for some extreme defiance on his part of the primitive priesthood and the soothsayers. The temple was dedicated by the king himself without the help of any priest, and the monopoly of the prophet was taken away by the establishment of an oracle in the temple. And the worst was that these things indicated a genuine liberation of the king, intellectually, from the superstitions out of which Jahvism grew. This was especially proved by his disregard of the sanctuary claimed by the murderer Joab, who had laid hold of the horns of the altar. The altar was the precinct of deity, and beyond the jurisdiction of civil or military authority; yet when the “man of blood” refused to leave the altar our royal forerunner of Erastus compelled the reluctant execu-

tioner to slay him at the altar,—even the sacred altar of unhewn stone. As no thunderbolt fell from heaven on the king for this sacrilege, the act could not fail to be a thunderbolt from earth striking the phantasmal heaven of the priest. The Judgment Day for settlement of such accounts was not yet invented, and injuries of the gods were left to the vengeance of their priests and prophets.

There is an unconscious humor in the solemn reading by English clergymen of Jahvist rebukes of Solomon, for his tolerance towards idolatry, at a time when the Queen of England and Empress of India is protecting temples and idols throughout her realm, and has just rebuilt the ancient temple of Buddha at Gâya; while the sacred laws of Brahman, Buddhist, Parsee, Moslem, are used in English courts of justice. If any modern Josiah should insult a shrine of Vishnu, or of any Hindu deity, he would have to study his exemplar inside a British prison.

SOME PARALLELS BETWEEN THEOLOGY AND SCIENCE.

BY EDMUND NOBLE.

IT HAS LONG been tacitly taken for granted that the theories of the universe formulated respectively by theologians in the religious beliefs of the world and by scientific men in systems of nature and philosophy, not only stand utterly apart from each other, but need harmonising by a more or less forced process of "reconciliation." It may nevertheless be shown that the two classes of views really spring from a single root in human knowledge, the one representing an earlier, the other a later stage in the evolution of the knowing faculty. In this view of their relations, the need of religion and science is not so much to be "reconciled" with each other as to have their natural affinities adequately formulated as the outcome of a process common to both.

We shall see our way to this newer treatment of the subject by recognising that in the study of nature two principles of interpretation are open to the investigator—the subjective method, earliest in the historical development of knowledge, and the later objective method, which has been followed with such success by science. In the first, men trust implicitly the sensations produced in them by the activities of the external world; in the second they use appearances merely as the raw material of that deeper knowledge which is reached by the discovery of what nature is for herself, apart from the knowing organism. Thus subjective knowledge, as it may be called, deals with the sensation of color as if the color perceived really exists in the object, while in objective knowledge the investigator discovers that the only reality in the external world which corresponds to color is the ether waves that give rise to the sensation. The subjective method taught the ancients that the sun and moon were round, flat disks, that the earth stood

still, and the heavenly bodies moved around it ; it was only by the use of the objective method that men gradually learned the real relations to each other of the various members of the solar system. It was the same subjective way of viewing the phenomena of nature that made it impossible for our ancestors to understand the cosmos save by explaining its changes and movements as due to will and personality : hence it was that they peopled their environment with spirits and deities innumerable. It was only when nature came to be studied objectively—apart from subjective processes, and with the human bias eliminated—that men found they had to deal, not with a host of supernatural personages, but with so many powers of nature, variously combined and co-ordinated.

It may therefore be said that all progress in our knowledge of the universe has been achieved by the gradual substitution of the objective for the subjective method of interpretation, and that the change has taken place not for the gratification of any abstract preference for one, as compared with the other, but because the interests of the race demanded the passage to a way of knowing things in their actual relations to each other from a way of regarding them in which those relations were imperfectly if at all perceived. We are therefore entitled to look for a sustained parallel, correspondence, or congruity between the views taken of natural phenomena when subjectively interpreted, and the later scientific or objective views of such phenomena. As, moreover, all early explanations of phenomena are simply the subjective forms of the later objective explanations, we shall find that while the truer view displaces the more imperfect, it is always symbolically pre-figured in the latter.

Let us begin by contrasting the ancient with the modern ideas of matter. At first atoms were represented as clinging together by means of hooks, or their unions were attributed to desires, affinities, and the like—a view which symbolically anticipated the later objective theories of attraction and repulsion held by modern physicists. So the idea of light as due to flying corpuscles emitted by the luminous body has gradually given way to the modern account of it as a wave disturbance in ether, the theory of propagation by a medium taking the place of the theory of propagation by moving material particles. Kepler's notion of a vortex of fluid whirling planets round the sun may in like manner be regarded as a symbolical anticipation of the impact theory of gravitation. The same working of the human mind in the direction of an objective view of gravity is seen in Le Sage's hypothesis of moving corpuscles,

which obviously prefigures the later explanation of gravity as due to differential pressure by the ether system. An analogous mental progress will be noted in the fact that while Descartes (*Passions de l'Âme*, Article vii.) described the nerves as "little threads or tubes, which all come from the brain, and, like it, contain a very subtle air or wind, termed the animal spirits," the physiologists of a later epoch advanced from the idea of "animal spirits" to that of a "nervous fluid," and finally learned to describe the transmission of impulses from the brain as effected by molecular motion of brain and nerve substance. So in seeking to explain heredity, Mr. Darwin (*Variations of Animals and Plants*, Vol. 2) advanced the hypothesis of Pangenesis, in which the gemmules supposed to be gathered from every part of the organism may be regarded as a more or less subjective, or symbolical anticipation of the later germ-plasm theory of Weismann.

A similar relation is to be noted between the early subjective interpretation of phenomena and the later objective explanation of them when regard is had to the larger aspects of nature. Observe, for example, correspondence between views in the realms of religion and science, as well as between the various stages in development of those views. At first one, religion and science come gradually to be differentiated from each other, yet they manifest throughout the same fundamental characters, and pass in their historical course through identically the same process. In the beginning worship is associated with isolated objects or phenomena, whence it passes by coalescence into worship of a few, and finally into worship of a single being or deity. So science, which is at first knowledge of many objects and forces, conceived as independent of and isolated from each other, ascends by an analogous process of coalescence into knowledge of a few objects and powers and finally into knowledge of a single object or power, the universe. As, moreover, religions, beginning with the idea of a divided control over things, pass in the end to the idea of their dependence on a single will, so science, setting out with the conception of independent and unrelated centres of power, reaches at last the idea of a single dominating power, which is the universe in its totality. The gradual purification of science, moreover, from the grosser metaphysical elements of knowledge has its analogue in the progressive elimination from monotheism of the grosser anthropomorphic elements, while the approximation of the object of knowledge has gone so far that the two may for modern thought be declared to be identical in all save superficial characters.

In their advanced stages, the ideas of science and religion are everywhere fundamentally alike, and point to a single origin as their common source. The unity which the scientist sees in nature was sung more than five thousand years ago in the Valley of the Nile as the unity of God. The ordinary view of the universe as infinite has had its parallel in every theistic system, and the modern doctrine of the unknowable was already announced in the inscription on the fane of the temple of Athene-Isis at Sais, "I am all that was, and is, and shall be; nor my veil, has it been withdrawn by mortal." For the Almighty and Omnipotent of scriptural phraseology we have modern equivalents like that of Herbert Spencer (*First Principles*, p. 112), "The Power manifested through all existence," and that of Matthew Arnold, "The Eternal Power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness." Most definitions of religion, moreover, are little more than scientific truths expressed in theological terms. Thus Schleiermacher declares that "religion consists in our consciousness of absolute dependence on something which, though it determines us, we cannot determine in turn." Pfleiderer describes the kern of religion as "the relation of our life to the world-ruling power which is to share life with it" (*jene Lebensbeziehung auf die weltbeherrschende Macht, welche zur Lebensgemeinschaft mit ihr werden will*). To Max Müller religion is "the perception of the infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of men." Herder traces the origin of religion to "a feeling of the invisible in the visible, of the one in the many, of power in its effects, as the root of all ideas of the reason." For Schleiermacher the "contemplation of the universe," and "the feeling of the infinite in the finite" was the pivot of all religion. Strauss boldly defined religion as feeling for the universe (*Gefühl für das Universum*).

How inevitably, in their expression of religious emotion, men turned for the object of their worship to conspicuous characters of the external system is shown by such deistic epithets as Shangti (Supreme Heaven), Dyaus-Piter, Zeus, Jupiter (Sub Jove); by the widespread belief in gods sprung from the union of heaven and earth—the regnant feature of hundreds of primitive religions—and by the multifarious forms of sky, sun, and star worship. In some mythologies the external system is declared to be identical with the Deity himself. "God," runs an Orphic saying, "is the head "and middle of all things. God is the abyss of heaven, the depth "of the sea, and the life of all breathing creatures. All these three, "abyss, depth, and life are parts of His vast body." In the sacred

song of the Hindu we read of Purusha, and that from the sacrifice of him sprang horses and all animals—the moon from his soul, the sun from his eye; from his navel arose the air, from his head the sky, and from his feet the earth. The Scandinavians also pictured the universe as one, for the sons of Borr took the universe giant Ymir, and of his flesh they formed the earth, of his blood the seas and waters, of his bones the mountains, of his teeth the rocks and stones, of his hair all manner of plants, of his skull the firmament, and of his brains the clouds. In Chaldean story, Bel, having cut the world woman Omorca in twain, converts the two halves of her body into heaven and earth. For Egyptian, as for Greek, plants, stones, metals, and other natural objects arose by like metamorphosis from the bodies of once-worshiped gods. Among the Iroquois Indians Chokanipok was a universe giant whose limbs, bones, and blood had been utilised to the making of the world. To this day the South Australian regards the universe as the great tribe, to one of whose divisions he himself belongs, and all things animate or inanimate which belong to his class as portions of the body corporate of which he himself is part.

The immanence of God in things—the omnipresence of that Power which science sees everywhere in the universe—finds the most constant and withal multifarious expression in theological and quasi-theological writings. "Fool!" exclaims Carlyle (*Miscellanies*, Vol. 5, p. 49), "God is not only *there*, but *here*, in that life breath of thine, in that act and thought of thine—and thou wert wise to look to it." Jelaled-deddin, a saint of the Persian sect of Sufis in the twelfth century, was the author of the saying: "When we cry in our prayer, 'O my Father,' the answer is in the prayer itself; in the 'My Father,' lies hidden 'Here, my child.'" The Platonic Bishop Synesius sang:

"Thou art the begetting,
And the begotten:
Thou art the illumining,
And the illumined:
Thou art the manifest,
And the hidden—hidden by thy glories:
One and yet all things Thou,
One in Thyself alone,
And throughout all things One."

The like idea, in its Eastern form, is also reached in the "Brahma" of Emerson:

"If the red slayer think he slays,
Or if the slain think he is slain,

They know not well the subtle ways,
I keep, and pass, and turn again :

" Far or forgot to me is near ;
Shadow and sunlight are the same ;
The vanished gods to me appear ;
And one to me are shame and fame ;

" They reckon ill who leave me out ;
When me they fly, I am the wings ;
I am the doubter and the doubt,
And I the hymn the Brahmin sings."

Paul declares that God is "the fulness that filleth all things," that the Deity is "above all, and through all, and in us all," that "in God we live and move and have our being," and that "from Him, through Him, and to Him are all things." Spinoza held God to be "the underived, original, and universal force underlying and including all forces." For Vico "God knows all things, because He contains in Himself the elements of which He composes all things." "There is but," says Descartes, "one infinite substance, and that is God. Whatever is, is in God, and without Him nothing can be conceived. He is the Universal Being of which all things are the manifestations." Malebranche also described God as "the absolute substance" who "contains all things in Himself." "When we assert that God is infinite," writes Conder (*Basis of Faith*, p. 65), "we mean that God is present wherever space extends." Sir Isaac Newton maintained that God, by existing, constitutes time and space, and Dr. Clarke urged that space is an attribute or property of the infinite Deity. Pope speaks of God who

" Lives through all life, extends through all extent ;
Spreads undivided, operates unspent :
To Him no high, no low, no great, nor small—
He fills, he bounds, connects and equals all."

The essential identity of God with nature, now described as the world and now as natural laws, has been constantly asserted in one form or other since the beginning of clear thought. This conception is expressed in the Rig Veda, where, as rendered by Sir Monier Monier-Williams (*Mandala*, x. 90) the "embodied spirit" is "himself this very universe—whatever is, has been, shall be." "In point of Being," according to Zeller, the Stoics regarded "God and the world" as "the same ; the two conceptions are identical." For Schleiermacher "God and the world are two values for the same thing" (zwei Werthe für die gleiche Sache). Herder said that no God was possible without a world, just as no world

was possible without a God (Es ist also kein Gott ohne Welt möglich, sowie keine Welt ohne Gott). Pope's lines,

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole
Whose body nature is and God the soul,"

contain the same idea as that which Goethe puts into the mouth of the earth-spirit in *Faust* :

"So schaff' ich am sausenden Webstuhl der Zeit,
Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid :"

"From this point of view," wrote W. B. Carpenter (*Nature and Man*, p. 53), "I should look upon the whole Kosmos as the corporeity of the Deity, a doctrine which some may think pantheistic, but which seems to me necessarily to follow from that of His universal and immediate agency, which I cannot but regard as the highest method of viewing his *modus operandi*." Strauss has urged that there are no attributes of God which are other than the laws of nature, and Herder (*On Man*, Preface, xiv.) writes :

"Nature is no real entity ; but *God is in all His works*. . . . Let him to whose mind the term nature has been degraded and rendered unmeaning by many writers of the present day, conceive instead of it that *almighty power, goodness and wisdom*, and mentally name that invisible being, for whom no language upon earth can find an expression."

For Hume the proofs of the existence of God depend on the conception of cause ; St. Augustine (*Confessions*) declared that "whatever leads to the knowledge of God has value, and therefore physics is justifiable, which, if it did not lead to this result, would be quite useless"; and Francis Ellingwood Abbot (*Scientific Theism*) asserts that "in the final upshot, what men think of God must depend on what they know of nature, and that knowledge is science." On Theism and Atheism J. R. Seeley (*Natural Religion*) writes as follows :

"I say that man believes in a God who feels himself in the presence of a Power which is not himself, and which is immeasurably above himself, a Power in the contemplation of which he is absorbed, in the knowledge of which he finds safety and happiness. . . . The average scientific man worships just at present a more awful, and, as it were, a greater Deity than the average Christian (p. 18) Whether they say God, or prefer to say Nature, the important thing is that their minds are filled with the sense of a Power to which their own being is inseparably connected, in the knowledge of whose ways alone is safety and well-being, in the contemplation of which they find a beautiful vision (p. 22) : . . . Since every sort of theology agrees that the laws of Nature are the laws of God, it is evident that in knowing Nature we do precisely to the same extent know God. Regarded in this way, we may say of God that so far from being beyond knowledge, He is the one object of knowledge, and that everything we can know, every proposition we

can frame, relates to Him. . . . Scientific men do now tell us in the very language of theology that all hope, that all happiness lies in the knowledge of Nature and by Nature they mean the Universe." (P. 51.)

The view which science is rapidly reaching that the universe as a whole is the cause of all the movements, changes, and modifications that take place within it finds its natural parallel in the theological view that God is the source, author, and maker of things. The Stoics taught that "God is at once universal matter and the creative force which fashions matter into the particular materials of which things are made." Leibnitz declared God to be "the primitive unity, the simple, original substance, of which all created or derived monads are the products." Herbert Spencer (*Religion: A Retrospect and Prospect*) speaks of "an infinite and Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed," or, as originally written, "an Infinite and Eternal Energy by which all things are created and sustained." To John Fiske the "infinite Power that makes for righteousness" is also "the everlasting source of phenomena." The Rig Veda (*Müller's Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, p. 569) adores God as the giver of light, the creator of earth and heaven; "I have made the earth," sings the prophet Isaiah, "and created man upon it; I have stretched out the heavens . . . I am the Lord that maketh all things." "That everything is from God," says Schelling (*Werke, Abth. 2, Vol. 2, p. 280*), has been at all times felt, as it were—nay, one may say that just this is the true primitive feeling of humanity." Martineau declares that "God is "no longer conceived as the First Cause prefixed to the scheme "of things, but as the Indwelling Cause pervading it—as the One "everlasting Objective Agency, the modes of which must be classified and interpreted by science in the outer field, by conscience "in the inner." The hymn of Proclus expresses the Orphic idea of the Deity:

" Zeus is first, last, the head and middle of all things :
From him all things come : He is man and woman ;
The depth of the earth, the height of heaven,
Sun, moon, stars, fire—origin of all, king of all,
One Power, God, Ruler."

"All that lives," wrote Cleanthes, the Stoic, "all that moves, "all that exists as mortal upon the earth, we are all born of thee. " . . . This universe suspended over our heads, and which seems "to roll around the earth, obeys Thee alone; it moves and is governed in silence by thy command." To Aristotle God is "the

first mover, imparts motion, and pursues the work of creation as something to be loved." Dante (*Paradiso, Canto Primo*) speaks of

"La gloria di Colui che tutto muove,"

and Bruno (*Opere*, Vol. I, p. 209) addresses the Deity as

"Causa, principio, et uno sempiterno,
Onde l'esser, la uita, il moto pende."

Wordsworth, in one of his poems, acknowledges a Power

" Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man ;
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking objects, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things."

Adi-Buddha is described in Sanscrit literature as one who, "himself not made, has made all things." At Thebes, Amun-Ra was worshipped as "Maker of all things, above and below"; so Osiris "made the world and all things, and maintains law in the universe." The Vedic God, Varuna, is credited with the saying "Like a clever carpenter, I have fashioned all things and supported heaven and earth." Finally, scientific and theological truth meet for the modern mind in the child's hymn :

" Each little flower that opens,
Each little bird that sings—
He made their glowing colors,
He made their tiny wings."

A similar parallel is to be noted in the realm of causality. Thus Pfeiderer (*Development of Theology in Germany Since Kant*) summarises Schleiermacher's position regarding causality in the following language :

" God is the correlative unity to the multiplicity presented as the world. Creation and preservation are forms of expression for the eternal causality or omnipotence of God, which is so completely represented in the totality of being that in the divine omnipotence there is no excess of potentiality beyond the totality of the actual nor in the latter anything in excess of the former. Omnipotence and the totality of natural causes are commensurate, the former never coming in the place of the latter to meet a defect, but everything exists and arises solely and wholly by means of the natural system of things ; so that, each thing existing by virtue of all, and all things entirely by the divine omnipotence, all things undivided subsist through one (p. 111).

Note also the frequent reference of forces and their effects to the operation of a divine will. Sir William Grove, for example, maintained that "causation is the will, creation the act of God."

In Sir John Herschel's view, "it is but reasonable to regard the force of gravitation as a direct or indirect result of a will or consciousness existing somewhere." "There is no such thing," asserted Clarke (*Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, p. 300) "as what men commonly call the course of nature. The course of nature, truly and properly speaking, is nothing else but the will of God producing certain effects in a continued, regular, constant, and uniform manner." The Duke of Argyll (*The Reign of Law*, p. 127) urged that "it may be that all natural forces are resolvable into some one force," adding: "It may also be that this one force, into which all others return again, is itself but a mode of action of the Divine Will." Martineau has held that "Theism is at liberty "to regard all the cosmical forces as varieties of method assumed "by God's conscious causality, and the whole of nature as the evolution of his thought."

All mysteries in religion are ascribed to some divine power, attribute, or way of acting not yet understood, just as all mysteries in science are attributed to unexplained powers and modes of movement in the universe. It thus constantly happens that the difficulties of the theologian are at bottom the difficulties of the scientist, and that the clearing up of the mystery of the one is the solution of the problem of the other. "By conceiving of life," says George Henry Lewes (*Aristotle*, p. 231), "simply as the function "of the organism, we do not rob it of its solemn mystery. It is still "the dark Dynamis which must ever remain impenetrable; but a "similar mystery hangs over the course of the planets, the ebb "and flow of the tides, the vehement impulses and repulsions of "the chemical elements." Here we see characterised by a common term—as if the very nature of thought connected them, demanding a single solution for all—those phenomena which in the scientific view need the universe to explain them, namely, life, gravitation, and chemical action. From a totally different point of view, yet with a suggestiveness not less profound, Tennyson sings:

" Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies;
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is."

The poet perceives the divine in the humblest type of animate existence, and in doing so expresses the objective truth that knowledge of the meaning of the life of the simplest flower would involve

knowledge of the relation in which man and all other organisms stand to the universe, and therefore knowledge of the universe as the ultimate *raison d'être* of life in all its manifestations. One other example of the same kind of parallel may be cited from Whittier ("The Prayer of Agassiz") :

" Said the master to the youth,
 ' We have come in search of truth,
 Trying with uncertain key
 Door by door of mystery ;
 We are reaching through His laws
 To the garment-hem of Cause—
 Him the endless, unbegun,
 The Unnameable, the One,
 Light of all our light the Source,
 Life of Life, and Force of force ;
 As with fingers of the blind,
 We are groping here to find
 What the hieroglyphics mean
 Of the Unseen in the seen ;
 What the thought which underlies
 Nature's making and disguise ;
 What it is that hides beneath
 Blight and bloom, and birth and death.' "

The poet here again refers the mystery of life, with its characters of "blight and bloom, and birth and death," to the unseen source of things, while in describing that source he uses epithets which few scientific thinkers would hesitate to apply to the universe.

The theologian's submission to the will of God reappears for the objective method in the calm content with which the student of nature accepts the ceaseless working and interworking of the forces around him. Even the so-called pagan addresses the universe in this modern spirit. "Dare," says Epictetus, "to lift thine eyes to God and to say, 'Use me for what thou wilt. I agree, and am of the same mind with thee. I refuse nothing that seems good to thee. Lead me where thou wilt, and I will go.'" The same writer expands his idea in this language :

"All things obey and serve the world (universe)—earth and sea and sun, and the rest of the stars, and the plants of the earth and animals. And our body obeys it also, both in disease and in health, when it (the universe) chooses, both in youth and in age, when it is passing through the other changes. What is reasonable, then, and in our power, is this, for our judgment not to be the only thing which resists it (the universe) ; for it is strong and superior, and it has determined better about us by administering (governing) us also together with the whole. . . . Wherefore we also ought to be of one mind with God, and making this division of things, to look after those which are in our power ; and, of the things not in our power, to intrust them to the Universe."

Pope's view that "partial evil" is but "universal good" found early expression in the writings of Antoninus :

"Everything harmonises with me which is harmonious to thee, O Universe ! Nothing for me is too early nor too late which is in due time for thee. Everything is fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature ! From thee are all things, in thee are all things, to thee all things return. The poet says 'Dear city of Cecrops,' and wilt not thou say 'Dear city of Zeus ?' . . . Let the perfecting and accomplishment of things which the common nature judges to be good be judged by thee to be of the same kind as thy health. And so accept everything which happens, even if it seem disagreeable, because it leads to this, to the health of the universe, and to the prosperity and felicity of Zeus (the Universe). For he would not have brought on any man what he has brought if it were not useful for the whole."

The idea also occurs in Goethe :

"Well may each separate self its life forego,
In the infinite to find itself, and so
Be freed from disappointment evermore ;
Where fevered wishes, wild desires, once reigned,
Where hard laws ordered, strict commands constrained,
'To give up self is bliss,' is now my lore."

To the same class belongs Cardinal Newman's hymn :

"Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on ;
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me on ;
Keep Thou my feet ; I do not ask to see
The distant scene ; one step enough for me.

"I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
Shouldst lead me on ;
I loved to choose and see my path, but now
Lead Thou me on ;
I loved the garish day, and, spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will ; remember not past years.

"So long Thy power hath blessed me, sure it still
Will lead me on
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone ;
And with the morn those angel faces smile,
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile."

And if it be asked why the scientist's attitude towards the universe process should partake of the spirit of the child's supplication, "Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven," the reply may be given in the words of Carlyle : "All that is right includes itself in this of co-operating with the real tendency of the world."

This has been expanded by John Beattie Crozier (*The Religion of the Future*) into the passages :

"A few simple principles, endlessly varied and combined, make up this magnificent panorama of life. . . . On an attentive consideration, then, we shall find that they all work for the good of the whole, that is to say, for justice, and that the result is a gradual progress and amelioration (p. 21). . . . The great laws—physical, organic, and spiritual—work impartially for the benefit of all ; and he who best obeys them is the most in harmony with the decrees of his Maker, and, in the great sense, alone succeeds (p. 25). . . . As the central Law of the world is Justice and Goodness, of which the thousand-fold complexities of physical and organic law are instruments, so the central Law of man is dependence on that just and good will ; all the superficial laws of his nature, physical and organic, being merely instruments of this central Law—subsidiary and subordinate to it. Hence the first duty of man is self-renunciation. This is a total change of heart and will, or, in other words, a conversion. It is what is known in Scripture as a being 'born again.' " (P. 29, 30.)

That yielding oneself "to the perfect whole" comes really from a belief that "All things work together for good to those who love God," has often found scientific expression in a variety of forms. Thus Vico, as summarised by Robert Flint, believed "all "that happened was for the best, and that the severest sufferings "of humanity were of a remedial and educative character. Even "the punishments which destroyed nations he held to be needed ; "the most savage passions could be shown to have been made instruments of good ; and the darkest superstitions he regarded as "approximations to truth and as instructive even in so far as false : "Nelle stesse tenebre degli errori splende Iddio." Kant (*Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte*) applies this view to the antagonism between the egoistic and the social impulses in man ; and Maudsley (*Body and Will*, p. 168) sees the like truth in all human actions :

"In the social state the egoistic passions of men—their antagonistic rivalries, jealousies, emulations, ambitions, avarices, and the like, being constrained and utilised in spite of themselves to serve the common good—are really the conditions of social progress."

It may be said generally that all fundamental truths in theology and religion are but so many subjective aspects of fundamental truths in science. Thus the subjective truth that God is an intelligent being, partially reiterated in quasi-scientific descriptions of the universe as consisting of "mind-stuff" (Clifford) or as containing "the indwelling mind of all" (Martineau), in the frequent ascription of mental characters to the divine mind, declared to be the prototype of the human mind, and in the view that organic forms are concrete thoughts of the Creator (Agassiz) reappears for the objective method in the form of the truth that all activities of

the universe take place in definite, unvarying ways, which may be called universal laws, and that the intelligent adaptations observed in organic life are ultimately due to the universe. The saying, common to most systems of religious belief that everything happens by the will of God, is a subjective expression of the scientific verity that no change of any kind or amplitude can occur save as determined by universe power. The belief that every birth and death is alike an act of God—long rejected as superstition—is here seen to be but an aspect of the truth that the universe is instrumental in giving existence to organic forms, and in removing them when their cycle is run: the universe being, in the scientific, as in the Hindu conception, not merely the creator and maintainer of the organism, but also its destroyer. The statement, again, that all knowledge is from God must be regarded for the purposes of the present comparison, as equivalent to the assertion that the material of knowledge comes to us from the external system, and is, like life itself, a product of that system. The belief that men may be inspired by God, as well in its primitive form that particular men may be so inspired, as in the modern form according to which the highest thoughts of all men are regarded as due to divine inspiration, has its objective parallel in the scientific view that all thought, and all ideas, are ultimately communicated to human beings by the universe, and that the higher thoughts, like the higher aims of men, are results of the universe process. Thus the view that God has revealed Himself to man is but the subjective aspect of the truth that the universe, as a whole, has impressed a knowledge of itself upon its highly complex, its highly unified part, the human organism. For that early form of the subjective view which divided processes into "natural" and "supernatural" means objectively no more than that processes understood excite no wonder, while those not yet explained are marvelled at and regarded as mysterious: every step taken by science into the unknown being so much territory won from the supernatural and annexed to the natural—so much conversion of the magic and sorcery of the savage, the miracle of the theologian, into the phenomenal commonplace of the scientist.

In morals the same parallels are to be noted between the subjective and the objective view, all facts of duty, conscience, right and wrong being as clearly expressible in objective terms as are any of the fundamental doctrines of theology. Righteousness in the widest meaning of the term is that complete adaptation to the human and the natural environment which results to the organ-

ism in the highest possible well-being or blessing ; so the sin which, in the subjective view of the theologian, offends God, is in the objective view of the scientist conduct which is injurious, or is believed to be detrimental, to the welfare of the human group or kind, and therefore opposed to that general process of things of which the universe is the ultimate determiner ; while the testimony of conscience proclaiming an action to be right or wrong is from the objective point of view the testimony of organised racial experiences prescribing conduct which is socially and individually beneficial, deterring from conduct which is socially and individually injurious. Finally, the warning of the theologian that compliance with the divine commands yields happiness, and that the disobeying of them brings punishment, has its not less impressive parallel in the creed of the scientist which declares (Herbert Spencer, *Controversy with Frederick Harrison*) that "there is an Order of Nature "pervading alike the actions going on within us and without us, to "which from moment to moment our lives must conform under "penalty of one or other evil ; and . . . therefore our first business "must be to study this Order of Nature."

Nor is the belief in immortality altogether without its objective analogue. We may connect it scientifically with many theories that merely imply as well as explicitly assert the certainty of the future life—theories like those, for example, which proclaim the transmigration of the soul, hold that men inherit good or evil from a previous state of existence, or provide for them in coming states a series of rewards and punishments. These without exception have their objective side in the general fact of the potential immortality of the organic type—in the inevitable inheritance from previous generations, the inevitable descent to succeeding generations, of all improved characters and all mal-adaptations that succeed in establishing themselves in the structure of the organism. For if the scientific view of the meaning of heredity be true, it must be clear that, in all its fundamental characters—in all, that is to say, save conscious individual experiences—the organism really lives again in its offspring. Thus the intensity of one's faith in a future life, whatever other justification it may have, is confirmed from the objective point of view by the tremendous importance of a process which, while it makes man but one link in the chain of human existence, yields him glimpses of that before and after with which he is indissolubly bound—glimpses of the past from which he has come, which has made him what he is, glimpses of the future which he also assists to mould, and in which his present actions

must find themselves again for good or ill in the stream of human events :

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting ;
The soul that rises within us, our life's star,
Has had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar."

Here, then, the attempt to show a parallel, implying essential agreement between the subjective and objective sides of Knowledge, may be brought to a close. The examples given of the correspondence between religious and scientific ideas are brought forward to suggest, not that religion and science are the same, not that the God of the theologian and the universe of the scientist are the same, but that the ultimate object of worship and the ultimate object of knowledge are for the objective method identical, and differ only for the subjective mode of perceiving them. This is true, moreover, even in cases where the divergence seems wide : thus the so-called worship of the infinite is really worship of the Power which is believed to be infinite, and not of any quality of infiniteness abstracted from existence—of the power, that is to say, to which no limits can be assigned ; so men worship the Power they believe to be a Unity, to be Eternal, or Unknowable, and not any of the qualities which they ascribe to that Power. It is also to be noted that the supposed creation of the universe as the totality of things constitutes no negation of the meaning of causality as here set forth, since such totality signifies in every case no more than the visible universe of earth sun, planets, and stars—not the ether system, which has only recently come into the realm of knowledge, but simply the whole of material things in the narrower and older sense of the term "matter." The truth that matter thus conceived could not move itself, could not re-arrange or "create" itself, seems to have been perceived from the earliest times, and so the theologian, far in advance of the formal processes of the scientist, reached the idea of some invisible power to which all things were due. "The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world," says Paul, "are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead." Calvin declared that God "by creating the world (*mundum*), being Himself invisible, has presented Himself to our eyes conspicuously in a certain physical form." It may thus be urged that the search of the theologian for a cause behind the visible world of matter is fundamentally of the same kind as the quest of the scientist for an ultimate system of things, now beginning to be disclosed by our

knowledge of ether, from which that world had its origin and derives its power.

The position here taken must therefore be that while religious feeling is at first always instinctive perception of universe power, never formal or reasoned knowledge of that power, it is yet the same external system or universe which inspires the one and urges man to cultivation of the other. Worship is always directed to the external system—to that which has power over the worshipper and over the conditions which limit and determine his existence; it finds its goal, that is to say, in the universe, or in parts thereof representing the universe; it is directed to representative external objects, or to representative essences believed to reside in those objects, or to that which, while formally conceived of as outside of and distinct from the universe, is yet logically conceived (by assumptions made as to its connexion with and power of giving rise to and of acting on the system) as forming part of, and being to a greater or less extent identical with, the universe. The idea of God and of the universe, meeting so manifestly in the causal relation, come together again in the conception of personal welfare, since the theologian is as strenuous in claiming that it is to the interest of the human being to know God and His laws, as is the scientist in holding that it is to the interest of the organism to know the universe and its processes: if the object of worship were not also the ultimate object of knowledge, this aiming at personal welfare in both worship and knowledge would be unintelligible. The question whether a complete knowledge of the universe would also be a complete or an incomplete knowledge of God does not for a moment affect the evidence offered in the present article, since the answer to such a question would turn, not on any real, any actual difference between God and the universe, objectively considered, but wholly on the difference between ideas based on instinctive perception of universe power and the formal or reasoned knowledge of that power.

A GREAT SOCIAL NEED.¹

BY I. W. HOWERTH.

ONE OF THE MARKS which distinguish our age as transitional is the extension of scientific interest to the facts of humanity. While physical science is engaging no less attention than formerly, men are beginning to realise more than ever the importance of the social sciences. They are beginning to see that the scientific results obtained from the study of human beings may be no less valuable than those derived from a study of the earth's crust or of its flora and fauna. There is therefore more speculation concerning the possibilities of social life, more talk of social ideals, and a deeper longing for their realisation.

The causes of this new interest are not far to seek. It results in the first place from the breaking down of the old theological conception of man and society, and the establishment of saner ideas in regard to human destiny. As the advance of the physical sciences was long retarded by the old view of the approaching end of the world, so the current of thought in the social sciences has been kept back by the theological ideas that society is incurably corrupt, that the debasement of man adds to the glory of God, and that social ills are evidences of divine wrath. We have only to read the story of the pestilences that devastated various parts of Europe in the early centuries, or the lives of the old saints, many of whom sought to save their souls by the practice of various indignities toward the body, to realise the magnitude of the obstacles which these ideas placed in the way of the social sciences.²

Slowly new ideas of human excellence and of social destiny have developed. It is no longer impious to seek to make the most of this life, and we are now looking for the golden age of society not in the past but in the future. The sources of human suffering

¹An address delivered before the Workingmen's Club at the University Settlement, Chicago.

²On this point see White's *Warfare of Science with Religion*, Chapter 14.

are now known to be in society itself, and are no longer referred to the will of God, hence the idea that they are removable by social action. Gradually we are perceiving with Amiel that order and harmony would result from free adhesion and voluntary submission to a common ideal, that "the model state ought to resemble "a great musical society, in which every one submits to be organised, subordinated and disciplined for the sake of art and for the "sake of producing a masterpiece."¹

Along with these ideas has developed a consciousness of social evils. Popular education has opened the eyes of the people to social inequalities, as well as enlarged the circle of individual wants. This has bred a feeling of discontent which only the removal of social ills can allay, and almost everybody now believes in the possibility of their removal. Those who do not so believe, those who look upon efforts at social amelioration as hopeless, who think with Voltaire that we shall leave this world as foolish and as wicked as we found it on our arrival, must accept the philosophy of Schopenhauer.² "If you try to imagine as nearly as you can," says he, "what amount of misery, pain, and suffering of every "kind the sun shines upon in its course, you will admit that it "would be much better if, on the earth as little as on the moon, "the sun were able to call forth the phenomena of life; and if, "here as there, the surface were still in a crystalline state." This indeed is the conclusion if social ills are not remediable. "If there is no hope," says Professor Huxley, "of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; "if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of the "greater dominion over nature which is its consequence, and the "wealth which follows upon that dominion are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of want with its concomitant "degradation amongst the masses of the people, I should hail the "advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole "affair away as a desirable consummation."³ But the doctrine of Schopenhauer has few adherents. The present consciousness of social evils has not destroyed hope. On the contrary, the belief in social regeneration was never stronger than it is to-day. Witness the optimistic tone of our literature, the various institutions whose aim is social betterment, the thousands of men and women who are devoting their lives to social service.

Now this interest of society in itself, this social self-consciousness, this disposition to construct social ideals and this belief in

¹ *Journal Intime*, p. 233. ² *Studies in Pessimism*, p. 6. ³ *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1890.

their realisation, has given rise to a social need which in our enthusiasm for social reform we are liable to overlook. This need is social self-knowledge. Such knowledge is the first step to social reform. In our impatience for a better social condition, we are likely to forget the necessity of this preliminary study, and to proceed without it. This seems to be characteristic of most so-called Christian sociologists. Dr. Herron, for instance, while admitting that observance of existing phenomena is the beginning of sociology does not proceed from such a beginning. "No sociological method," says he, "is so wholly unscientific or so misses the chief facts, as that which confines itself to observing and tabulating social conditions."¹ But reforms undertaken without this preliminary step are doomed to failure. They are costly experiments which bring returns disproportionate to the outlay. It would all be very well if as soon as we become conscious of social evils we could apply the appropriate remedies. But this cannot be done. The physician who knows no more than that his patient is sick is not yet ready to prescribe. He must study his case before he can effect a cure. As the social body is more complex than the human organism, how much greater is the necessity for an accurate knowledge of social conditions on the part of those who would heal society. Society is now conscious of its ailments. It believes in the possibility of a cure. Our first necessity is a careful and impartial study of present conditions. "Hitherto," says a recent writer, "the 'race has stumbled forward, fighting blindly, struggling manfully for life. Now the epoch before us is one of consciousness—the 'open-eyed, dignified manhood of our race. Power, possession, 'both are ours; we only wait for knowledge which will enable us 'to apply them to the good and happiness of all.'" This knowledge, I repeat, is a necessity. We must have it before we shall be able to modify our social conditions so as to do away with the evils which afflict us, the miseries of poverty and disease, of drunkenness and crime, of the fierce, inhuman struggle for the opportunity to make a living, of all the evils in fact which weigh us down and prevent our realisation of a happier social state.

There has been some social study in the past, of course, but it has been of a too general nature. We have had natural histories of mankind, histories of civilisation and the like, all useful in a way, but our great need to-day is something more specific. We need careful and impartial study of social institutions. The constitution of the family, the structure and functions of the Church,

¹ See *The Christian Society*, p. 18.

² Jane Hume Clapperton, *Scientific Meliorism*, p. 49.

of the State, of the Government, are questions which need closer examination than has ever yet been given. We need local study rather than a study of society at large. The attention that has been given to modern institutions has often been little more than vague questionings concerning them as abstractions. As the old economists, finding no man in society answering to their purpose, created a being whom they called the economic man, and found considerable satisfaction in theorising about the conduct of such a man in a society composed of similar monstrosities, so men to-day write long articles about the school, the Church, the saloon, as they conceive them to be without giving the slightest attention to the actual church in which they worship, the school in which their children are educated, or the saloon around the corner. With these institutions as they manifest themselves in our own neighborhood, or in our own town or city, study should begin. What are they essentially? What is their function? Are they performing it? These are the first questions we should attempt to answer.

We have already a vast amount of theorising about these institutions and about society. To be sure we have also the new science of sociology which discourages mere speculation, but this science itself recognises the great need which I am trying to emphasise. Too much must not be expected from it. It has its own preliminary tasks. While the laity are expecting from it the immediate solution of social problems, the initiated know that its boundaries must first be laid, its methods determined, and its facts gathered. It must be remembered too that the early days of a science are likely to be days of philosophising. It has been so with all the other sciences. Beautiful theories are woven out of fancies of the brain. In geology, for instance, we are all acquainted with those early impossible theories of the earth which were the result of speculative thinking. Before geology could become a science in fact as well as in name, it had to learn, as Professor Sollas has said, "that if we want to know how the earth was made, the first essential is to study the earth itself, to investigate with patient drudgery every detail that it presents, and particularly the structures that can be seen in river banks, sea cliffs, quarries, pits, and mines."¹ So sociology, still in its youth, finds many social theories which must go the way of early speculations about the earth, and must enter upon an era of careful, impartial, and scientific study of the actual facts of life, the banks and cliffs, quarries, pits, and mines of the social world.

¹ *Popular Science Monthly*, December, 1894.

Let us now look at some of the demands for the kind of studs which I am insisting upon. In the first place it is demanded by the social and industrial changes which have recently taken place, as well as by modern social and industrial conditions. For these changes and conditions have given rise to the social problems we have to solve. Consider for a moment a few of the changes which have taken place during the last century. About one hundred years ago we had that remarkable series of inventions which completely revolutionised our methods of production. In 1769 Watt invented the steam engine, and Cartwright improved the process of spinning. In 1770 Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny. In 1787 the weavers were enabled to keep pace with the spinners by the aid of Cartwright's power-loom. In 1793 the cotton gin was invented, and in 1807 the power of steam was applied to navigation. The results of these improvements can hardly be overestimated. Home manufacture gave place to the factory system. "The weaver," said Walpole, "whose cottage had been his factory, and whose hand loom had been his only implement, found himself beaten by the great manufacturer, whose machinery enabled one pair of hands to do the work of ten men." Increased production demanded an extension of the market. An extended market gave rise to national division of labor. Population gathered about the industrial centres; hence the growth of cities, so marvellously illustrated in our own country, where since 1800 the city population has increased from three per cent. to more than thirty per cent. of the total. Capitalist and laborer, employer and employed, the boss and the hired hand, are all the products of these changes in industry. "The essence of the industrial revolution," says Arnold Toynbee, "is the substitution of competition for the mediæval regulations which had previously controlled the production and distribution of wealth." It is easy to see that the problems of the unemployed, of charity, of the family, of city life, of pools, trusts, and syndicates were all produced or aggravated by these industrial changes. Now, all these complaints of the unemployed, the helpless condition of the poor, the protest of the oppressed, constitute a demand for social investigation in order that the causes of their condition may be discovered.

To the changes brought about by the advance of science and the distribution of knowledge I have already referred. Every school and college in our land is a demand for a new social order in which the larger desires and higher aspirations following increased intelligence may find means of gratification and attain-

ment, and the construction of this new social order demands a thorough understanding of the old. I may also call attention to the changes incident to the growth of democracy, the increasing disposition of the people to rule themselves. We know how blindly this disposition has manifested itself, how necessary its restraint within proper bounds. Perhaps the blundering cruelty of the French Revolution might have been averted by a better understanding of the nature of social change. Democracy itself is a demand for an increase of social knowledge.

Without dwelling further upon social changes, let us now turn our attention to some of the conditions of the present, and consider them as demands for social study. Let us take first the distribution of wealth.

Wealth is essential to the realisation of the highest character in man or nation. "It is culpable and dangerous quackery," says a recent writer,¹ "to conceal the fundamental necessity and the universal utility of wealth. Wealth is not the best thing in the world, but the best things get into the world with the help of wealth. Without wealth there would be neither society, nor science nor religion." Now the growing perception of the necessity and utility of wealth is increasing the dissatisfaction with our present system of distribution. According to recent estimates, twenty per cent. of the wealth of this country is in the hands of one-third hundredth of one per cent. of its population. Nine per cent. of the families in the United States own seventy-one per cent. of the wealth. It is not strange if the other ninety-one per cent. of our families, which hold only twenty-nine per cent. of the wealth, express some dissatisfaction with their share. In England conditions are little better. There is the same phenomenon, which Henry George has so vividly described—increasing poverty amid advancing wealth. Frederick Harrison, writing some years ago of conditions in England, declared that "ninety per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own, beyond the end of a week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages, which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution that a month of bad trade, or sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pau-

¹Dr. A. W. Small.

"perism."¹ Do these conditions demand a fundamental change in our property relations? If so, what are the changes which are necessary to bring about equality of industrial opportunity? These are questions which can only be answered after the most careful investigation of industrial facts.

To the unequal distribution of wealth is doubtless due, in part at least, the observable tendency toward the stratification of society into social classes. We sometimes boast in this country that we are independent of caste, and it is true that there are no insurmountable barriers between different divisions of society. But at the same time it cannot be denied that the dollar's stamp is insignia of rank, and that poverty is in certain quarters a disgrace as well as an inconvenience. There is therefore sufficient cause for discouragement to those who long for the disappearance of class distinctions and the realisation of human brotherhood. "Upper tens" and social four hundreds as well as "submerged tenths" are products of abnormal conditions which demand the attention of all who would assist in the advancement of human welfare.

The unequal distribution of wealth gives rise to another modern condition to which I have already briefly referred, but which on account of its importance may again engage our attention. I refer to the prevailing popular unrest. Whatever the actual condition of the so-called laboring class with reference to its share of economic goods may be, it is an obvious fact that there is widespread discontent. This is manifested by the frequent conflicts of labor and capital, the organisation of each for protection and defence, the complaint of the many that they are not sharing equitably in the general prosperity, as well as in many other ways. The poor and oppressed are no longer ignorant of their miseries. Every day they grow more and more conscious of it. Political corruption, that hydra-headed monster which only the Hercules of aroused public sentiment can slay, is destroying hope? Is not this a condition demanding inquiry? Happily the cry of the discontented appeals to-day, more than ever before, to tender sensibilities. "Once," says Dr. Strong, "human suffering was a matter of course, and the misery of the many was deemed the will of God; to-day all suffering is seen to imply something abnormal, and all agree that its cause must be removed." But before its cause can be removed it must be found, and this requires observation and study. After the causes and conditions are understood, ideals must be constructed to lead men on to higher living, ideals to

¹ Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference, 1886, p. 429.

"shine like stars and with their mild persistence urge man's search to vaster issues." For it is the ideal which exerts a powerful influence on national as well as on individual character. As Mrs. Browning said, "It takes the ideal to blow a hair's breadth off the dust of the actual."

Having referred to a few of the changes and conditions which have produced our social problems and which constitute a demand for social study, what shall we say in regard to the condition of thought with reference to causes and remedies? It is obvious that we are in a state of intellectual anarchy. On both causes and remedies there is utter disagreement. The Church asserts confidently, and no doubt truly, that sin is the fundamental evil, and that the application of the principles of Christianity will bring peace on earth and happiness to all. But that indefinite quantity called the masses denounces the Church and declares that it does not represent Christianity; and even many who are in sympathy with the Church, and believe with Dr. Benjamin Rush that "he who shall introduce into public affairs the principles of primitive Christianity will change the face of the world," are yet of the opinion that a statement of the efficacy of Christianity is not a solution of our difficulties, that there yet remains the great problem of how to make the principles of Christianity prevail.

As another illustration of intellectual anarchy, we may take the attitude of sentiment towards the solution of social questions, and the hostility of science to sentimental proposals. The treatment of dependent, defective and delinquent classes by well disposed people is often harmful and absurd, and it may be said that so-called scientific treatment is often equally so. There is also the antagonism between individualism and socialism: the one demanding free opportunity for individual initiative, the other insisting on the subordination of the individual to society, which shall own and control the material means of production. Where there is not actual antagonism there is variety of opinion, such for instance as is represented by the various popular beliefs which Mr. Spencer loves so well to ridicule. We all know how prevalent is the idea that to remove an evil in society all that is necessary is for the government to exert its power. A stock prescription for social ailments is "the government ought to do something," as if happiness were the result of a majority vote and could be legislated in and out like a tariff or a financial system. Then there is another belief that all the ills of society are the result of a single evil. As to what this evil is there is constant dispute. Whether it is economic, moral, or po-

litical depends upon the particular genus of reformer who is discussing the question. Worst of all, perhaps, is the common opinion that popular judgments about society are of particular value. Social phenomena, as has often been pointed out, are the most complex with which the mind has to deal, and yet persons with no special training express unwarranted opinions about social matters and find many ready to accept them. In view of these conditions, we are justified in affirming with Dr. Ely that "careful, impartial, and scientific study of the actual facts of life is one of the most striking needs of our times."¹

All the intellectual confusion to which I have referred, all the popular superstitions in regard to government, are just so many demands for more light, for the light which only impartial study can give. The social and industrial changes and conditions to which I have called attention, as well as the evils to which they give rise and the chaos of opinion in regard to causes and remedies, and especially popular discontent, have awakened an extraordinary interest in social questions, and this is itself a stimulus and a demand for social study. This interest is both academic and popular. No college curriculum can be regarded as complete without ample provision for instruction in the social sciences. Political economy, history, political science, and sociology are rapidly becoming the favorite studies in the universities of this country as well as abroad. Popular interest is manifested by the astonishing circulation of books treating of social questions. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, Bellamy's *Looking Backward* and Kidd's *Social Evolution* have been eagerly read by all classes of people. The old periodicals are devoting more and more space to the discussion of industrial and social questions, and new ones are springing up which give attention to nothing else.

The great need of social self-knowledge has been recognised by our government. In the spring of 1893 the department of labor undertook a special investigation of the slums of great cities. The results of these investigations have helped to arouse the public conscience. The best illustration of concrete social study is, perhaps, the work of Charles Booth in London. About the time of the excitement caused by the depredations of Jack the Ripper, he began a careful study of the social conditions of East London and carried it out with remarkable thoroughness and persistence. The results were eminently practical. He showed that many fears of the people were not well grounded; that the worst quarter of London was

¹ *The Forum*, October, 1894.

not where it was supposed to be ; that there were plague-spots in the immediate vicinity of the homes of the rich ; in short he threw a flood of light upon all the questions that were vexing the municipality, and laid the foundation for many helpful social experiments looking toward social reform.

But I shall be misunderstood if it is thought that I would confine social study to government committees or to special students of social science. Every citizen should know the social facts of his own neighborhood, of his ward, and, so far as possible, of his city. The best way to reform society is to begin at home. Most of us are willing enough to begin with our neighbors. Perhaps our neighbors will join us in the study of local conditions ; then there can be division of labor in getting at the facts. In every community there should be a local study-club organised for the purpose of studying local conditions and with the aim of improving the community. The first task of such a club would be the observation of social facts and conditions.¹

As soon as the need of social self-knowledge is generally recognised, we shall have an end of dogmatic assertions in regard to social evils, and our hopes of reform will begin to assume a rational basis. Often in the past, enthusiastic reformers confiding in favorite specifics have heralded the approach of the millennium, but the millennium has never come. A new social organisation cannot be ordered like a new suit of clothes. The changes that are to come will come as all great things have come, only in the fulness of time ; only as effects of causes long antecedent. This may not be the most encouraging doctrine. "Probably the more enthusiastic," as Herbert Spencer has said, "hopeful of great ameliorations in the state of mankind to be brought about rapidly by propagating this belief or initiating that reform will feel that a doctrine negating their sanguine anticipations takes away much of the stimulus to exertion. If large advances in human welfare can come only in the slow process of things, which will inevitably bring them, why should we trouble ourselves? Doubtless it is true," he continues, "that on visionary hopes rational criticisms have a depressing influence. It is better to recognise the truth however. As between infancy and maturity there is no short cut by which there may be avoided the tedious process of growth and development through insensible increments so there is no way from the lower forms of social life to the higher, but

¹ In the *American Journal of Sociology*, May, July, and September numbers, 1897, the present writer published a programme for social study with suggestions designed for such clubs.

"one passing through small successive modifications. . . . Admitting that for the fanatic some wild anticipation is needful as "a stimulus, and recognising the usefulness of his delusion as "adapted to his particular nature, and his particular function, the "man of higher type must be content with greatly modulated expectations while he perseveres with undiminished efforts. He "has to see how comparatively little can be done and yet find it "worth while to do that little: So uniting philanthropic energy "with philosophic calm."¹

Mr. Spencer may have stated this doctrine a little too strongly, as if there were no possibility of hastening progress, but at all events his words are a good antidote to unwarranted expectations in regard to social reform. It is no doubt disappointing to be told that we need expect no immediate solution of social problems, that the student of social science cannot begin by advancing correct solutions of the labor problem or of other social questions which vex mankind. That would be interesting perhaps to the student but not very profitable to society. We must begin at the beginning. When in our school days we began the study of arithmetic, we found it necessary to begin with addition and subtraction, however alluring were the "One Hundred Problems" in the back of the book. So in the study of society, although we are just beginning to realise it, the solution of problems must follow the acquirement of principles. Only by beginning with the simpler facts and principles may we hope at last to reach a solution of the social problem. Such a beginning will be fruitful in results. "Only let the hard study," says President Andrews, "which the last two generations have "bestowed on physical science be applied for the next two "generations on social science, and the result may be, if not "Heaven, at least a tolerable earth."

To say nothing more of the social value of such study as I have described, let me call attention in conclusion to the personal value of such study. Social study draws us away from ourselves and our own selfish interests and concentrates our attention upon the conditions, the trials and struggles, the expectations, the disappointments, the joys, the hopes, the fears, the aspirations and the needs of others, the lives and interests of other people who, like ourselves, are here in the world, as Epictetus said, like travellers on an ocean voyage anchored by an island and gone ashore for a few moments to gather a few shells by the way, yet ever listening for the call of the captain when we must forsake all things and run

¹ *Study of Sociology*, p. 403.

to the ship. To say nothing of new information and mental discipline, culture of the head, such study ought to cultivate the heart, to enlarge our affections and to stimulate our sympathy which after all is the main bond of human society. When the mind is informed and the heart is warmed our hands will not long remain inactive, but will apply themselves to the work of making others happy, to filling life with the splendor of generous deeds, to scattering the seeds of joy and hope which by and by will spring up and blossom into beauty and fragrance where now all is darkness and despair. And thus shall we increasingly enjoy the "sweet luxury of doing good," or, as George Eliot expressed it,

" . . . reach

That purest Heaven, be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony,
Enkindle generous ardor, feed pure love,
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty,
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused
And in diffusion evermore intense."

The value of social study is therefore not to be measured alone by its contributions to the sum of knowledge about society, to the amount of information about local conditions, but also by its influence in stimulating the growth of altruistic feeling, by its enlargement of manhood and womanhood, and by its power to assist in drawing the members of society more closely together and uniting them in bonds of mutual understanding, of fellowship and of sympathy. This alone, to say nothing of the advantages already alluded to, renders social study desirable. The present demand for the personal qualities which it encourages, and the fact that without widely diffused knowledge of the facts and relations of society progress must be exceedingly slow, justify the claim that the scientific study of social life by the largest possible number of our citizens is a great and genuine social need.

THE HEART OF MAN AS MIRRORED IN RELIGIOUS ART.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE AGE of the Reformation is an age of subjectivism. It is a rebellion against the objectivism of authoritativeness, that is to say, a rebellion against any authority that could not find an echo in the human heart and could not be justified before the tribunal of



THE RACE FOR FORTUNE.

After Henneberg's oil painting. A modern illustration of the subjectivity of evil.

conscience. Hence Luther's appeal to the glorious liberty of the children of God, and Descartes's doctrine of the ego as the basis of all philosophising. Descartes began his philosophy with doubt and gained certainty only by a consideration of the existence of the mind in his famous axiom "*Cogito ergo sum.*" Milton's Satan is a poetic embodiment of this spirit, and his rebellion against God is prompted by noble motives, which render him the hero of *Paradise Lost*. Satan says :

"The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a heaven of hell and hell of heaven."

In Roman Catholic countries this subjectivism also took firm root and found expression in the emphasis laid upon the personal relation of every individual to God and the Redeemer.

The common people took Satan, as a power to injure, as seriously as did the early Christians and the Dominicans of the Inquisition, and there are occasional outbreaks of witch prosecutions as late as the eighteenth century. But upon the whole the people did not fall a prey to the grosser aberrations of former times; and confined their endeavors mainly to the salvation of their own souls.



TEMPTATION.

German woodcut. (After the Reformation.)



SIN.

German woodcut, illustrating the subjectivity of the conception of Satan. (Times of the Reformation.)

The classical productions of the literature of this type are *Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Heart of Man*, both highly interesting from a psychological standpoint, for both exhibit the subjective methods of introspection in a high degree, and will, as instances of a naïve but extraordinary self-observation and analysis, retain a lasting value.

While the author¹ of *Pilgrim's Progress*, his name and the vicis-

¹ Prof. Josiah Royce, of Cambridge, Mass., has made a special study of the mind of the famous author of *Pilgrim's Progress* under the title "The Case of John Bunyan," and arrived at the con-

situdes of his life, are well known, *The Heart of Man* appeared anonymously, first in French and then in German. The French original seems to be lost, and with it the date of its first appearance. The first German translation was published in Würzburg, in the year 1732, under the title *Geistlicher Sittenspiegel*. It was reprinted once more in 1815 under the more appropriate title *Das Herz des Menschen*, exhibiting a series of illustrations which represent the heart as the battle-field of the power of good and evil.



THE NATURAL STATE OF MAN.



THE HOLY GHOST ILLUMINES THE HEART

The first picture shows the human heart in its natural perversity, but the sinner repents in the second picture, and in the third picture the Holy Ghost takes possession of his soul. The fourth picture shows the soul's contemplation of the suffering of the Saviour, while in the fifth picture the Holy Trinity has come to reside in the soul. But worldly temptations and persecutions, representing the former as a man with a goblet and the latter as another man with a dagger, prevail upon the heart and shake its good re-

clusion that he was a man of unusual excitability, without education, and of a highstrung imagination, but not insane. (*Psychological Review*, 1894.)

solutions (which is seen in the sixth picture) until at last, in the seventh picture, Satan, with seven other spirits more wicked than himself, re-enters, and this last state of the man is worse than the first.

The practical application of this analysis of the human heart is given in two illustrations picturing the death of the pious and impious man. The former, whose heart is depicted in the ninth picture, is portrayed in the tenth picture as being called by the Saviour to enjoy the eternal bliss of heaven; while the eighth picture exhibits the doom of the latter, who is lost forever in hell.



THE HOLY GHOST IN POSSESSION.

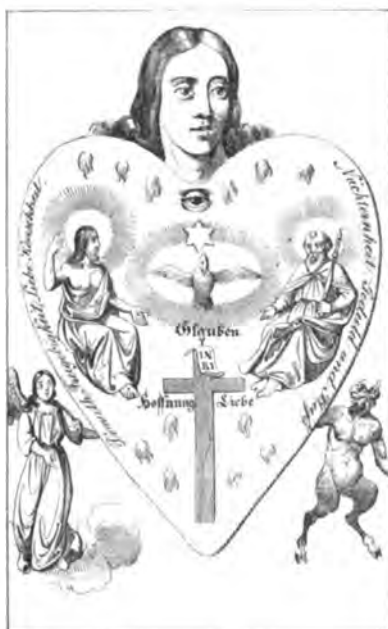


THE PASSION OF CHRIST IN THE HEART.

The interesting feature of these illustrations is the fact that they look upon the elements of man's soul, his passions and aspirations, as foreign powers which enter, pass out, and re-enter. The heart itself appears as an empty blank and its character is established by the tendencies which dwell in it. The psychology which lies at the bottom of the author's belief is not clearly pronounced; it may be either the Brahmanical theory of the self, as a being in itself, or the Buddhist doctrine of the illusoriness of the self, but it appears that the self, as represented in the head above the heart, is a mere reflex of the process that takes place within

the human soul, and should therefore be regarded merely as the principle of unity, the moral worth of which depends upon the nature of its elements. The author of these drawings has in his naïve analysis of the human heart approached more closely a scientific conception of the soul than presumably he was aware of.

This tendency of subjectivism in philosophy and religion has rather increased in modern times and is now culminating in the awakened interest taken in psychology. Modern art, both painting and poetry, gives expression to this spirit. Even the drama has



THE HOLY TRINITY RESIDES IN THE
HEART.



NEW TEMPTATIONS.

become a mirror of the human heart, and Hauptmann's *Hannele* presents us, for instance, with the thought-images of an unfortunate village girl who in her despair has committed suicide by drowning herself. We see on the stage here Christ with the angels and the heavens opened, and Christ wears the features of the good village schoolmaster, which indicates of what elements the unfortunate girl's thought has been built up.

The period of subjectivism passed through a period of negativism, in which the reality of the subjective aspect was looked upon as a mere illusion; ideas were regarded as mere names: but, hav-

ing overcome the superstitious views naturally connected with the conception of the soul in pre-scientific ages, we shall now better than ever understand the objective importance of these apparently fleeting images. Ideas, although not concrete objects, are not mere names; they denote real features of existence and are after all (to use a materialistic and therefore in this respect wrong but very expressive word) "the stuff that life is made of,"¹ Man's life consists of this subjectivity, and it is of importance to know its



SATAN'S RETURN WITH SEVEN OTHER SPIRITS MORE WICKED THAN HIMSELF.



THE IMPIOUS IS DOOMED WHEN HE DIES.

nature, to discriminate between the transient and the lasting, and to learn the laws of the preservation of that which is the essential, the characteristic feature of soul-life—viz., the form. The fleeting moments of subjective conditions leave traces in the brain as well as in the surrounding world which constitute an objective reality and render their reappearance—a kind of rebirth—possible. As every idea which we have ever thought remains a living presence with us in the shape of a memory, so every soul is preserved in

¹ Shakespeare in the famous passage from which this term is derived says, "We are such stuff as dreams are made of."

the empire of spirit-life, in the community of all souls which, in spite of the subjectivity of soul-life, is a reality, an actual presence



A HEART FORTIFIED IN CHRIST.



THE PIOUS IS SAVED WHEN HE DIES.

of objective significance in the word. Indeed, it is the most important reality of all. It is the appearance of the divine in nature, the superreal, the hyperphysical, the spiritual.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE GLASGOW GIFFORD LECTURES.

The Rev. Dr. A. B. Bruce, professor of theology in the Free Church College, Glasgow, has commenced his second course of lectures in Glasgow University as a lecturer under the Gifford bequest. The opening lecture was on "Buddha and the Moral Order of the World." Dr. Bruce proceeded by giving a brief historical statement about Buddha and the system of which he was the founder. In his religious temper, he said, Buddha differed widely both from the Vedic Indian and from the Brahmin. In the cheerfulness and the frank worldliness of the former he had no part; and in contrast to the latter, he set morality above ritual. He was a pessimist in his view of life, and he assigned to the ethical supreme value. Buddha asserted, with unique emphasis, a moral order as distinct from a providential order, the difference being that the moral order is an impersonal conception, while the providential implies a divine being who exercises providential oversight over the world. He taught no doctrine either of creation or of providence, or of God. He was not an atheist. He did not deny the being of God and of the gods of ancient India. He treated the Indian gods somewhat as the Hebrew worshippers of Jehovah treated the deities of other people, allowing them to remain as part of the universe of being, while refusing to acknowledge them as exceptional in nature, dignity, or destiny. That the destinies of the world should be in the hands of such degraded and dishonored beings as Buddha thought these gods to be was out of the question. Equally out of the question was it that one who viewed human life as Buddha viewed it could possibly believe in a benignant providence. Nevertheless a moral order was the great fact for the Buddhist. It was the source of the physical order, and moral facts explained the facts of human experience. Sin was the cause of sorrow, not only in general and on the whole, but in detail. Buddha was fully aware of the startling contrasts in life of good men suffering and bad men prospering, but he did not thence conclude that life was a moral chaos. He simply inferred that to find the key to life's puzzles they must go beyond the bounds of present life and postulate past lives, not one or two, but myriads, each successive being determined by all that went before. As an illustration, the lecturer gave the case of Kunala, the son of Asoka. Kunala had beautiful eyes, which awakened sinful desire in a woman who, like his mother, was one of Asoka's wives. Repulsed, she conceived the wicked design of destroying his beauty by putting out his eyes and carried out her purpose at the first opportunity. From our point of view, this was a case of innocence suffering at the hands of the unrighteous—an Indian Joseph victimised by an Indian Potiphar's wife. But this did not content the Buddhist. He asked what had Kunala done in a previous life to deserve such a fate, and he

received from his teacher the reply: "Once upon a time, in a previous life, Kunalā was a huntsman. Coming upon a herd of gazelles in a cavern, he put out the eyes of them all. For that action he suffered the pains of hell for many hundred thousands of years, and thereafter had his eyes put out five hundred times in as many human lives." The doctrine of transmigration was then explained by the lecturer and its application to the Buddhist system. It was pointed out that it meant not the transmigration of the soul, but, as Mr. Rhys Davids put it, the transmigration of character. Mr. Huxley said something analogous to it might be found in the more familiar fact of heredity, the transmission from parent to offspring of tendencies to particular ways of acting. For the expression "good or evil done," which led to such results, Buddha had one word, "Karma." Karma denoted merit or demerit in character. Karma demanded another life and because it demanded it the Buddhist thought it produced it; moral demands became physical causes. This was characteristic of the system throughout. Desire of life was regarded as a physical cause. Desire for life became the cause of the continuance of life. Concerning this, Mr. Rhys Davids expressed the opinion that the Buddhist assigns to desire an influence and a power which has no actual existence. Was it not possible to give transmigration the slip, to break the continuity of existence, to annul the inexorable law of karma? Yes, answered Buddha, and his answer was the gist of the complementary doctrine of nirvāna. Nirvāna meant the extirpation of desire. Mr. Rhys Davids said the nearest analogue to it in western thought was the kingdom of heaven that is within a man, "the peace that passeth understanding." Then, with regard to its effect, nirvāna was the cessation of desire. It suspended the action and the law of karma, broke the chain of successive existence; it prevented another life bearing its predecessor's responsibility from coming into being. The lecturer pointed out that the ideas of karma and nirvāna were thus contradictory. Karma produced continuation of being, nirvāna destroyed it. Proceeding to criticise the Buddhist system, he said that the great outstanding merit of this religion was its intensely ethical spirit. Why did a moral consciousness so robust not give birth to a reformed faith in God and in providence? The failure was due to two causes. The traditional gods of India were unworthy of worship, and Buddhism was a reaction in the direction of atheism. The second cause was its pessimistic view of life, which made it impossible to believe that such a world could have a good God as its author. Out of this great error concerning life grew the idea of nirvāna as the highest good. Life being inherently miserable, wise men should cease to desire it, and abstain from kindling with the taper of karma the light of another life. The Buddhist's conception of karma was as fantastic as its doctrine of nirvāna was morbid. Its atomistic conception of merit and demerit, as adhering to individual acts instead of to conduct as a whole, was shallow. In spite of its defects, Buddhism must be numbered among the forces which have contributed in a signal degree to the moral amelioration of the world. Its moral idea was pure and lofty. It helped many to live sweet, peaceful lives, in retirement from the world. It had soothed the pain of despair, if it had not inspired hope. This was all that it was fitted to do even at its best. Men needed more than a quietive, a soothing potion, in this world—militant virtues as well as meekness, gentleness, and resignation. The well-being of the race demanded warriors brave in the field of battle against evil, not monks immured in cloisters and passing their lives in poverty, wearing the yellow robe of a mendicant order.

JOHN SANDISON.

GLASGOW.

ETERNITY.

1. E - ter - ni - ty, thou wondrous word, With hallow'd awe my soul hast stirr'd. Deep

thought and yet so sim - ple! Thou the a - bi - ding and sub-lime, Art

nev - er moved in change of time, A rock for church and tem - ple.

Fill - ing And still - ing All the yearn-ing Of souls, burn-ing

For re - splen - dent Glo - ries of the realms tran - scend - ent.

Eternity, thou wondrous word,
With hallowed awe my soul hath stirred.

Deep thought, and yet so simple.
Thou, the abiding and sublime,
Art never moved in change of time,
A rock for church and temple.

Filling
And stilling
All the yearning
Of souls, burning
For resplendent
Glories of the realms transcendent.

Thou reason's norm inviolate,
Type universal, uncreate,
Direction of all motion.
To thinkers thou art nature's law,
The prophet thou inspir'st with awe,
Life's comprehensive ocean.

Mankind
There can find
In thy canons
All the tenons
Which join duty
To their lives in noble beauty.

Causation's dire necessity,
Dread of the blind, is yet the key
To all life's doubts and queries.
Eternal truths when understood
Change curse to bliss, the bad to good,
And give new strength the weary.

Brighten,
Enlighten,
Cleanse from error,
Free from terror,
Newly quicken
Those who are with darkness stricken !

Eternity is not a place,
'Tis All-hood's omnipresent trace,
Identity in changes,
It shapes the reason of our minds
Where the etern expression finds
In thought's infinite ranges.

Beaming
And streaming ;
Soul-life starting,
Sense-imparting,
Truth's true basis
Which all things in love embraces.

O use life's moments while they flee,
 In aspect of eternity :
 In acts abides the actor.
 Eternity is immanent,
 And life remains, such as 'tis spent,
 For aye a living factor ;
 Sowing,
 Seeds growing,
 Never waning
 But attaining
 To resplendent
 Glories of the realms transcendent.

PROGNOSIS.

BY CHARLES ALVA LANE.

What life within the spirit saith
 Through all the life time reckoneth :
 " Lo, I am more and more ? "
 What inner ear hath heard the cry ?
 What hidden hope doth prophesy
 With untranslated lore
 Of life in store ?

 What hunger hath thy mouth to feed,
 That added food but whetteth greed,
 O, Knowledge, eager-eyed ?
 What will had Fate to serve in thee,
 Thou proper through eternity,
 If aye thy yearnings cried
 Unsatisfied ?

 What aileth thee to ache with hope
 If what hath wrought Desire doth ope
 No passage to the goal ?
 Is Faith not fain of promises
 That echo through th' eternities
 And crown thy doom, O Soul,
 With aureole ?

 What Pilot sternly steers the thought
 Forever by the compass Ought
 If harbor there be none ?
 Blind pioneers of Destiny,
 Do fair Ideals, luringly,
 With fiery pillars run,
 Nor bode of sun ?

 What passion hath Futurity
 That keeps the miser Memory
 Hoarding the fallen years ?

And why Heredity's calm faith
 In ancient Toil's immortal wraith
 If vainly she reveres
 Old smiles and tears?

Is but a phantom Purpose wrought
 In all the worlds that haunt the thought
 And toil with change for aye?
 Wherefore doth Being travail bear
 And mutability outwear
 If worthier state doth lay
 Not in such way?

Ay, these play not the fools to Fate!
 In somewise doth fruition wait—
 In some sweet wise, O Soul!
 The currents Dutyward that flow;
 The far Ideal's luring glow;
 The yearnings that control—
 These know the Goal.

THE CHINESE A PARADOX.

A CAUSERIE APROPOS OF RECENT EVENTS.

Events in the Far East have attracted world-wide attention of late. The success of the Japanese expedition three years ago, then Honolulu, and now the German foray with the prospect of complications between the most powerful and warlike nations of Europe have all had a kaleidoscopic interest for us. The Chinese have always been puzzling to the majority of Occidental readers of current news and a paradox to those who have essayed to acquire a knowledge of their modes of thought and the sentiments that sway their conduct.

The learned editor of *The Open Court* and *The Monist* has,¹ with characteristic ability and thoroughness, given his readers a lucid exposition of many matters connected with the Chinese, and his articles may be now referred to as illustrating the basis of their religious beliefs, their philosophy, ethics, and inner life.

The Occidental who has not lived among the Chinese is dependent upon translations and second-hand information, and it is only a few of the foreign residents in China who learn the vernacular so perfectly and study the people so thoroughly as to be able to gain at first-hand a correct conception of the real inner life of the people. Thus the Chinese have remained an enigma.

China may, for our present purpose, be compared in certain respects to Europe. Europe has its Greek and Latin classics; all the nations dress much alike, and the majority profess Christianity: but there are many languages, racial and national distinctions, as well as other factors that preclude homogeneity. China has its so-called Confucian classics, similarity of costume, and distinctive coiffure, Buddhism, Taoism, etc., in common; but there are many dialects and local dis-

¹ *The Monist* "Chinese Philosophy," Jan., '96 (No. 29 of the Religion of Science Library) also "The Tao-teh King" of Lao-Tze, *Monist*, July, 1897, soon to be published in book form with Introduction, Chinese text, glossary, etc., etc.; and *The Gospel of Buddha*, fifth edition, Chicago, 1897.

inctions, the survivals of race origins. Statements in the official history of China must be accepted with the same caution as all others that have been subjected to censors. But there are numerous accounts of wars between the ancient rival States, and also civil wars and the overthrow of dynasties. Finally an alien, warlike people are called in, seize the throne, and establish themselves permanently.

The Chinese, as a whole, have never been a warlike people in the same sense as some other races. But it would be inaccurate to say that they are a pusillanimous nation. For although there has never been a fighting class, as the Kchattriya of Hindustan, or the Bushi or Samurai of Old Japan. etc., they have yet fought well on occasions, experienced military men finding in them the material for good soldiers. The "braves" of China are not held in respect; they are feared by the industrious and peaceful, but that is chiefly in consequence of the conduct of the Manchu hordes and the conditions of service of the Chinese levies.

The personnel of the bureaucracy, called by foreigners "mandarins," being recruited from the literati, there is, theoretically and as a rule, a unity of sympathy between the educated class and the officials. But there is a wide gulf between these and the military, whether Manchu or Chinese; while the illiterate toilers, agricultural and other laborers, skilled workers and traders, are distinct from both the other two classes.

An alien Manchu dynasty, with its legions of non-Chinese supporters, rules through its nominees; and there is little opportunity for the exercise of patriotism or public spirit; indeed there is the reverse of encouragement for anything of the kind. Each of the score of provinces and dependencies is a separate unit in all matters of internal government, and the lessons of history have taught the Chinese Government to dread centralisation.

Provincial misrule has driven the populace to open rebellion time and again, notwithstanding its utter hopelessness. Such risings, if they attain sufficient magnitude to be heard of in Peking, usually result only in a change of local officials, and perhaps in some temporary amelioration.

The remorseless and cruel measures taken to repress any open display of discontent have broken the spirit of the people so completely that they are after a revolt against their rulers more submissive than ever.

When the student notices that republican and democratic nations, such as France and the United States of America, submit tamely to the misrule of those supposed to be raised to place and power by popular vote, it does not seem extraordinary that the Chinese are wanting in public spirit and patriotism under all their unfavorable circumstances.

The inhabitants of China and of the adjacent regions are greatly influenced by the teachings of three distinct systems that have become interwoven with their life and thought and mould the conduct of the majority of the adults of an aggregate population of about 500,000,000 human beings.

Lao-tze, the reputed author of the *Tao-teh-King* and founder of the Taoist school of philosophy, was followed by Chuang-tze and others of the paradoxical school, such as Lieh-tze. Kung-fu-tze, or Confucius, half a century after Lao-tze (B. C. 551), was the best teacher of the archaic classics of his time and founded the school that is the most important factor in all classes of Chinese public and private life. Mang-tze and others followed. The four scriptures which were compiled by Confucius's disciples, with the five canons revised by Confucius, form the basis of the classics.

Buddhism became known in China during the second century B. C., but it

was not till the middle of the first century A. D. that it was formally recognised. It then gradually attracted adherents, but experienced opposition and underwent many vicissitudes. Numerous schools arose, and indigenous cults were incorporated, something like amalgamation or compromise being effected between the conflicting doctrines and rival philosophies. The Taoists laughed at the Confucians, but the Buddhists essayed to be eclectic. Eventually Taoism became a heterogeneous mass of crass superstitions, having very pernicious influences on the character and conduct of the people.

During the middle of the sixth century A. D. the Dhyana, or Contemplative Buddhist school of the Mahayana, Major Vehicle, gained adherents. Bodhidharma, the wall gazing Brahman, after arriving from the West, sat for nine years facing a wall. And these "Quietists" became an influence.

The ideals of the transcendental philosophy were beyond the capacity of the majority. And while adherence to the mere letter of the doctrines was professed, the true spirit became extinct.

Theories similar to those prevailing in Hindustan, among the Jains, and the practices of the ascetic hermits, the Rishi, were followed by some of the Taoists and also by some Buddhists.

The unsatisfying materialism of the classics needed supplementing to meet the yearnings of spiritualistic aspirations; and so the sense for the supernatural was never extinct, the result being that the divine aid of the Buddhahood became to be universally believed in.

Appeal to Amitabha (illimitable illumination) the Lord of Sukhavati, the Paradise in the West; and to Avalokitesvara (Observing Lord, or Observing and Hearing), "Kwan-Yin," called by foreigners "The Goddess of Mercy," became general in all emergencies.

On the supposition that malignant demons infest the universe, the Lokapala, or valorous divinities, are worshipped on all sides. Propitiatory rites are performed and offerings made to mollify the vindictive spirits and to secure the aid of the guardians of the universe. Necromancy enters into the practices to a great extent. Divination is resorted to on every occasion, and as a consequence individual judgment is influenced by haphazard results. Astrology and kindred "occult" practices are applied to discover the most auspicious, and to avoid the unlucky, days for such events as betrothals, marriages, journeys, the erection of buildings, and even the digging of wells. Also the local spirits must be conciliated.

The Yoga Karya systems, with its later Hinduism, also became known in China, and greatly complicated the then existing Buddhism, adding innumerable dēva and personifications of the attributes of Buddhahood to the objects of worship.

Priestcraft has found a fertile soil and a perennial harvest in the fears and hopes of this benighted people, which being carefully fostered by the artifices of these mercenary exploiters of superstition, has demoralised and enthralled them. The literati have been described as "conceited prigs" with a touch of the "dry-as-dust" character; and many of them are indeed very conservative, intensely individualistic, and selfish. Familiarity with moral maxims has not had so good an influence as might be desired; and although the literati are adepts in quoting the *Gems of Ancient Wisdom* and placing them in a fittingly elegant verbal setting, there is sometimes a wide gulf between their preaching and practice. Some of the ancient models that are the cynosure of the literati and the other Chinese who imitate them, do not inculcate a very high sense of public duty, and the alien rulers



THE SEVEN SAGES IN THE BAMBOO-GROVE.

A favorite subject of Chinese literature and art, characterising Celestial preference of retirement and meditation to the activity of a life devoted to the public weal.

find it convenient to encourage such theories. The more robust Confucian school it is true, denounced many of the theories and practices of the Taoists and Buddhists.

We reproduce an illustration of the Club of Seven Wise Men who retired to a Bamboo Grove, to avoid the anxieties of official and domestic life, and spent there a life of contemplative enjoyment, utterly aloof from the busy world and deaf to its temptations.

The higher meaning of many of their legends is completely lost. Some have apparently no significance whatever.

The selections from Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist literature most admired by Occidental savants are, unfortunately, not what the Chinese are most familiar with; and it would be misleading to quote the best that they have as illustrations of what influences their daily conduct; so extracts are not offered here.

The antagonism to foreigners seems unreasonable to those in far off lands who read only the accounts in the press, but China is not the only place where strangers are unwelcome. The attacks by the rabble on charitable institutions and on the devoted men and women who give their lives to the work, arouse the indignation of the civilised world. But it is now becoming better understood that the literati and mandarins are more or less to blame and that the lawless element is frequently incited by secret organisations and individual malice.

Before the Portuguese and other Europeans reached the Chinese coast, the Japanese had frequently made armed descents, and they were greatly feared by the people near the sea shore. The Europeans have never been permitted to gain a very firm foothold from the time of their first appearance in far Cathay early in the sixteenth century.

Attacks on the mission establishments have been frequent for more than three hundred and fifty years, and usually by mobs incited by the circulation of tales that are paralleled by those that inflame the worst passions of the Russians who commit outrages on the Jews.

The conduct of Europeans has irritated the Asiatics; and force being invariably used, most frequently in reprisals, the innocent suffer while the guilty escape. A legacy of hatred has been created. The injudicious denunciation, by foreigners in general and by missionaries in particular, of those things that are not in accordance with Occidental ideas, but which are revered by the natives, arouses hostility; and then the literati as well as their friends, the bureaucrats, fear the influences that undermine their position.

The tortuous methods of Chinese reasoning may also account for the apparently paradoxical character of the people's inner life, while not all the circumstances really come within the knowledge of foreigners.

Taoist theories permeate the Confucianism with which the Chinese mind is saturated, while scraps of Buddhism, Hinduism, and Nature Worship, as well as survivals of the indigenous cults, ancestral worship, filial piety, etc., also percolate and drip through the dense mass.

A "masterly inactivity" is dignified by archaic authority, and the "Quiescence," which is a salient feature of monachism, is carried to the logical extreme, "non-interference" being advocated as the essence of a wise policy.

The "fussy" foreign traders and the "busybody" missionaries irritate the Chinese, who prefer to be left undisturbed and object to China and its people being exploited by outsiders.

To maintain an army and navy at an enormous immediate cost, to reform the

methods of Government at the dictation of foreigners, is not to the liking of the Chinese, while the introduction of railways, steamships, telegraphs, machinery, etc., is opposed in China on the same grounds that it was in the Occident in the early part of the present century. To open the mines, develop industries, purchase machinery abroad, employ foreign experts, and so forth, are projects that do not commend themselves to the readers of the Taoist literature.

A foreign creed, above all, is repugnant to those who have the *Sú Shú*, or Plain Words Script, and works of proverbial philosophy.

The Chinese and also the Koreans, point with ridicule at the Japanese; comment on the universal absence of respect and esteem in the opinions expressed by foreigners who have been in Japan; refer to the financial difficulties of the Japanese, as well as the international complications that have resulted, and view with contempt the increasing burthen of militarism, and the imitation of foreign ways. The Japanese are even less welcome in China than the Occidentals. Their aggressive self-assertion and boastfulness are referred to as "borrowed plumes" by the conservative Chinese.

Failing the *fortiter in re*, the Chinese carry the *suaviter in modo* policy to the extreme, using sophistical arguments, the plausible phraseology of which finds acceptance among their own people, who delight in that verbal juggling which the Chinese written character and literature makes possible. Their casuistry and inertia has become insufferable to the active western peoples, and violent measures are being resorted to, regardless of the "moral maxims" and neatly constructed ethical phrases that are hurled at the aggressive intruders.

The emasculating effects of the pessimistic theories prevalent in the East are being daily demonstrated. And notwithstanding an enormous literature, containing a great deal that is more than merely curious,—ethical ideals and philosophical views that command the attention of the most eminent scholars of the time,—still the superimposed superstitions and the prevalent enervating theories have produced conditions that are far from making for righteousness or for the welfare of humanity.

The Chinese paradox may be explained, the riddle solved, the puzzle fitted aright, but extrication from the maze of the present situation is not so easy a question.

The Chinese are not prepared for such a revolution as that which Japan has passed through. The enormous population, the vast area would alone render it most difficult for another alien race to replace the Manchu *régime* at short notice. Therefore the present dynasty has been propped up, as the lesser evil, for the time being.

The stolid indifference to repeated defeats has, in a sense, saved China from dismemberment; and there is an inertia that it will be found almost impossible to disturb, especially at great distances from the coast and from the banks of the navigable rivers.

Nearly four decades have elapsed since the allies were in possession of Peking; and three years ago, the Chinese, when defeated by the Japanese, again sued for peace, somewhat unwillingly, under pressure of foreign nations; and now—!

The Phoenix is one of the Chinese imperial emblems, and the country may still recover from its calamities like the fabled bird rising from the conflagration.

Modern Occidental methods are at fault, and therefore China appears to be a "Paradox."

Kobe, Japan.

C. PFOUNDERS.

IMPORTANT FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS.

Of the several important publications just announced by The Open Court Publishing Co., the English translation of the great Chinese classic, Lao-Tze's *Tao-Teh-King*, by Dr. Paul Carus, will appear in April, Dr. Ferdinand Hütpe's *Rudiments of Bacteriology* will appear in May, and Professor Cornill's *History of the People of Israel*, now running in *The Open Court*, will be published in book form in June.

Dr. Carus's translation of the *Tao-Teh-King*, which will be welcome to every student of comparative religion and ethics, and which contains a host of interesting analogies with the Christian and Buddhistic systems, will be accompanied by the original Chinese text, a transliteration, a glossary, a historical and critical introduction, etc.—in fact by all the paraphernalia necessary for studying both the development, the language, and the actual contents of this great Oriental Bible. It will contain 360 pages, and the price will be, in cloth, \$3.00. To all readers who will renew their *Open Court* subscription now in advance, and to all new subscribers, we offer the work for \$2.25; i. e., for \$3.25 we will give both the *Tao-Teh-King* and a year's subscription to *The Open Court*—the offer to hold good until the end of April.

Dr. Hütpe's *Rudiments of Bacteriology*, which has just been translated into English by Professor Jordan of the University of Chicago, is a new work, and is recognised by critics as the best and concisest existing introduction to the scientific study of bacteriology. There is no like hand-book in English. The work will contain twenty-eight woodcuts. The forms and mode of life of bacteria are described, the harmful and harmless bacteria are distinguished, the causes of infectious diseases are discussed, vaccination and other protective hygienic measures are expounded, and the history of bacteriology generally is given. The author, Dr. Hütpe, who is a distinguished inquirer, is Professor of Hygiene in the University of Prague. The book will contain about three hundred pages; the price will be \$1.75. We offer it, with a year's subscription to *The Open Court*, which alone costs \$1.00 for \$2.25, the offer to hold good until the end of April.

Dr. Cornill's *History of the People of Israel*, the last number of which will appear in the May *Open Court*, is too familiar to our readers to need comment. Many of them will doubtless be glad to have it in permanent book form, either for themselves or as a present for their friends. The price of the book will be \$1.50. We offer it to our readers, with a year's advance subscription to *The Open Court*, for \$2.00, making a reduction of 50 cents.

The leading article of the present *Open Court* is one of the essays of a forthcoming book by Dr. Woods Hutchinson of the University of Buffalo, a rising young author of great ability. His work will be called "The Gospel According to Darwin." It will be a fascinating and eloquent book. It will probably be issued in May and will cost \$1.50. Our readers may obtain it upon the same terms as the book of Dr. Cornill.

NOTES AND BOOK REVIEWS.

The Countess M. de S. Canavarro, an enthusiastic Buddhist, left this country for Ceylon in order to serve the cause of Buddhism, and to raise the standard of education of the Ceylonese women. Her appearance in Ceylon proves a great blessing, for she is practical as well as fervid, and is very serious in her work. A

report in the *Ceylonese Independent* proves the great influence which she exercises in the country. The interviewer says :

"She is not a faddist. She knows what she is talking about, more probably than even leading Buddhists in Colombo who are loyally co-operating in her programme. . . . She is an intensely earnest and enthusiastic woman with a spiritual force. . . . Added to this is the possession of intellectuality. . . . She is a splendid organiser."

The Buddhists of Ceylon have bought, for 24,000 rupees, the Gunter House, a residence in Darley Lane, which is said to be an extensive one-story building splendidly adapted for almost any purpose. To this place the Sanghamitta school will be transferred and will be placed under the direction of the Countess Canavarro, who will be the mother-superior of the institution. The plan is to educate Buddhist girls under the direction of Buddhist nuns, but with the assistance of European or American teachers. The countess does not intend to antagonise any other religion, especially not Christianity. The *Ceylon Independent* states that on inquiry as to her plans, "she particularly emphasises the fact that her mission is not a proselyting one, nor that she has come in opposition to any existing organisation, Christian or otherwise. She considers that there is a great field for her labors among the Buddhists alone. To make better Buddhists of Buddhists was her principal aim. If she could only unite Singhalese Buddhists in spiritual work they would do much better as a community. She was grateful for the loyal help and co-operation she had received so far from them. But she had not come to Ceylon to turn things upside down. She did not expect to make the half-naked people she met in dirty, smoking huts, reeking with vermin, ladies and gentlemen in one day, but if she could raise their condition and change them a bit she would be satisfied."

When she was asked by Colonel Olcott whether she was not terribly disappointed on coming to Ceylon to find this home of Buddhism not as ideal a place as she might have thought in her enthusiasm, she replied that she was satisfied with her move; if she had expected everything to be beautiful and sublime in Ceylon, she would never have come, for she did not venture into the work to seek pleasure, but to be of assistance and help to others.

We may add also that in a private letter she writes for assistance in her work, and would be glad if some American lady who sympathises with her aims would be willing to join her in Ceylon to serve as a teacher and educator at the Sanghamitta Institute.

Captain C. Pfoundes, the author of the "Causerie" on China in this *Open Court*, has had unusual opportunities for acquiring information about the Chinese. For a full half-century he has been in the Orient. He was in Australia and New Zealand during the fifties when Chinese flocked to the gold fields, and he was in China itself in the sixties. He has met its officials and wealthy merchants and many of its learned men from time to time, devoting much time to an investigation of the manners, literature, and policy of the Asiatic nations. In Europe he travelled with the Prince of Ki-shiu and the late Count Mutzu, assisting the Japanese Government in purchasing arms and engaging experts. On that occasion they were received by several sovereigns of Europe, the old Kaiser, the Emperor of Austria, Napoleon III. in his retirement at Wilhelmsöhe, etc., also Pius IX. at Rome; and met many famous men, among them Antonelli. Monseigneur Nardi, who went afterwards to America, was their protector in Rome. In Japan Captain Pfoundes

has been admitted to the esoteric circles of many Buddhist sects, and while studying their rituals and modes of worship has collected much valuable material in the field of comparative religion.

The handsome frontispiece to the present number was especially designed for *The Open Court* by Mishima of Tokyo, Japan. The work of printing, whereby the peculiar delicate coloring has been obtained, was done entirely in Japan, and the sheets imported by us. We shall probably publish as the frontispiece to the *May Open Court* a more gorgeous poster, representing the same subject, by the celebrated Japanese artist Suzuki. The price of the April and May *Open Courts* will be advanced after the month of publication.

Owing to the delay in the receipt of the proof sheets from Europe, the last lecture of Dr. Cornill's *History of the People of Israel* had to be omitted from the present *Open Court*. It will appear in May.

Albert J. Edmunds has begun the publication of an interesting series of "Documents in the History of Religion." The first number contains the translation of a Latin MS. discovered in 1634 at Constantinople. According to Cardinal Mai, it is a translation made by an Armenian monk from an ancient Armenian canon of St. Gregory on church discipline. The editor appends notes by Cardinal Mai which contain the necessary references to the fate of this canon. The editor's intention is to let other documents follow which will throw light on the literary history of the New Testament during the first four centuries. The second number of the series will probably contain the earliest lists of New Testament books. The size of the present number is small, only eight pages altogether, but the contents is of extreme interest. The type is large, as behooves the importance of the subject. (Price, ten cents per copy. For sale by John Joseph M'Vey, 39 North 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa.)

JOHANNISTRIEB. By *Joseph Brucker*. Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich.

Mr. Joseph Brucker, managing editor of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, sketches in the compass of sixty-six pages his religious confession of faith. He is dissatisfied with all the creeds of the various churches, but is confident that any religion is better than no religion. He foresees the approach of a new era, and believes that the members of the new and yet "unknown congregation" count many thousands, yea millions, of adherents. He emphasises the fact that idea is at the bottom of life and that there is no sense in reducing the matter to a protoplasmic jelly. He exhorts mankind to return to the source of all religion, which is God, but his advice is—and here lies the weakness of the pamphlet—not to ruminate and yield to pondering on the nature of God and his mode of creation—"Nicht zu tüfteln und nicht zu klügeln, wie Gott beschaffen und wie die Schöpfung vor sich gegangen sei." Here he surrenders his whole case. However much we sympathise with Mr. Brucker throughout, our advice is the very reverse: we would urge everybody to be as exact as possible and to find out how world and life form themselves. These are the very problems on which the old dogmas have become untenable. If it were best not to argue them, we had better stick to the old solutions. Mr. Brucker concludes his pamphlet by stating that his opinion lies in the mean between Jacobinism and despotism. He would leave freedom to science, religion to the press, and expects salvation not from externalities but from a religion that has its seat within—eine Religion der Innerlichkeit.

KPS.



老子

LAO-TZE—THE OLD PHILOSOPHER.

After the Traditional Conception.

The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XII. (NO. 5.)

MAY, 1898.

NO. 504

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.¹

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

BY PROF. C. H. CORNILL.

X.—The War in Judea and Destruction of Jerusalem.

WE ARE ABOUT to view the final act of the terrible drama. Our inclinations would bid us turn away in mournful silence and close our eyes to the frightful things we shall behold; perhaps more shocking things have never happened on earth than in this last desperate life and death struggle of the people of Israel. But the duty of the historian compels us to look matters in the face, and, what is still sadder, it compels the spectator to act as judge. Even though our hearts should break over all this misery and suffering, there is no atoning feature: the genuine tragic sympathy is wanting. We behold only a mad riot of all the passions, which blindly assail one another; the most shocking deeds were committed by Jews against Jews, and the most victims fell not by the sword of the Romans, but by that of the infatuated nation itself. The most frightful terrors of the Thirty Years' War combined with the most frightful terrors of the French Revolution will come before our reluctant gaze. It seems as though all the fiends of hell were released in order to destroy the people to whom God had spoken aforetime often and in many different ways through his prophets. Scarcely on another occasion in history has the spectator the same feeling of irredeemable ruin, of inevitable destruction, as in the case of the fall of Jerusalem in the year 70 A. D.

¹ Translated from the manuscript of Prof. C. H. Cornill, by W. H. Carruth of the University of Kansas.

Eleazar, the son of the high priest Ananias, first becomes the leader of the war party. The stronghold Masada, built by Herod, was taken by a sudden assault, and in Jerusalem all preparations were made for the impending war. But there was still a strong peace party who foresaw certain ruin in a conflict with Rome, and even yet wanted peace at any price. They applied for assistance to King Agrippa, who actually sent them three thousand soldiers. The war party had their headquarters in the temple, which by its position is an almost impregnable fortress; the peace party in the citadel. Blood flowed daily, and civil war was raging in the streets of Jerusalem when the war party received reinforcements. Menahem, a grandson of the old rebel and Roman-hater, Judas the Galilean, broke open the arsenals of Masada and armed a large force of Sicarii, with whom he marched to Jerusalem. At this the peace party saw the impossibility of further opposition; the troops of Agrippa were allowed to depart, but the Roman cohort was expressly refused permission to do so. They took refuge in a particularly strong tower, while the leaders of the peace party concealed themselves. At their head stood the high priest Ananias; he was murdered, together with his brother, and the torch applied to his palace as well as to that of Agrippa and Berenice and the portion of the citadel already taken, in which were all the archives, including the tax accounts and the records of loans. This was on the 6th of September, 66 A. D. But scarcely had the war party obtained the upper hand in Jerusalem when Eleazar and Menahem began to make war on each other. The men of Jerusalem did not propose to accept commands from the foreign adventurer; Menahem and his troop were attacked in the temple and overpowered, he himself executed under torture and his troops massacred. Finally the Roman cohort also had to surrender. They were promised free retreat on the delivery of their arms; but scarcely had they actually laid them down when the Jews fell upon the defenceless men and butchered them to the last one. Only the tribune, Metilius, was so contemptible as to purchase his life by submitting to circumcision. Josephus calls especial attention to the fact that this incredible infamy was perpetrated on a Sabbath.

The fortresses of Cyprus and Machærus also fell into the hands of the Jews, so that very soon there was not a Roman left in the country.

Now the war extended into all quarters and assumed altogether the nature of a race-conflict: where the Jews were in the majority they massacred the heathen, and where the heathen were

in the majority the Jews met a like fate. Thus in Cæsarea alone more than twenty thousand Jews were slaughtered in one hour, in Damascus ten thousand, and in this connexion Josephus makes the characteristic observation that the heathen in Damascus must needs have kept this plan a close secret from their women, since the women were almost without exception proselytes.

At last the Syrian legate, Cestius Gallus, approached the scene, and marched directly upon Jerusalem; at Gibeon there was a battle in which the Jews fought heroically but could not prevent Gallus from marching to Jerusalem, taking and setting fire to a part of the city. Now the peace party, which still had numerous and influential secret adherents, wanted to surrender the city to the Romans; but this plan was betrayed, and all who had embraced it or even known of it were thrown over the temple walls before the very eyes of the Romans. Cestius perceived that he could accomplish nothing with his troops against the city and its desperate defenders, and accordingly withdrew. But on the retreat he was surrounded in the gorge of Beth-horon, and suffered a disastrous defeat. Only by sacrificing a small force did he succeed in saving at least the remainder of his troops, but the rest of the retreat was a wild flight: nearly all the arms and all of the engines of war belonging to the Romans fell into the hands of the Jews. The battle at Beth-horon was on the 8th of November, and the continuation of the war was prevented by the approach of winter.

After these occurrences of course all hope of a peaceful settlement was gone. Those who still did not wish war left Jerusalem, while in the city preparations were made with all energy for the impending crisis. The first requisite was seen to be the organisation of the opposition; accordingly commanders were appointed who were to draft and drill men in all the provinces, and in short make all ready for war with Rome.

It is a characteristic fact that those selected were without exception members of the nobility eligible to the high-priesthood: the historian Josephus was one of them. Thus far the movement has, in accordance with the inherent nature of the Jewish people, an aristocratic character; in Jerusalem the high priest Ananos and a certain Joseph, son of Gorion, are at the head of the whole. It is a tragi-comic thought to imagine these men who had never in their lives had a sword in their hands, and had done nothing but study the Thora, now suddenly transformed into generals and drill-masters with the task of creating an army equal to a contest with the Romans. Moreover a part of them had only half a heart in the

matter, and very likely had themselves no real confidence in their success.

Young Josephus, to whom the most difficult territory, Galilee, was assigned, was confronted at the very start with fierce opposition on the part of a popular hero, John of Gish-chala, who had taken part in the battle against Cestus at Beth-horon. He stirred up the people against the traitor and friend of the Romans, and would have killed him if Josephus had not managed to reach a boat at the right moment. In other places there were probably similar results, for people could not long fail to recognise that the whole affair was in the most incompetent hands conceivable, so patent was the incompetence.

The Romans proceeded very differently. The command was conferred upon the best general of his time, Vespasian, a veteran warrior and victor, and sixty thousand of the best Roman troops put at his disposal. Hostilities were begun by the Jews in the year 67 A. D. There was but a weak Roman garrison in Askalon. The Jews attacked the city twice, but were repelled with a total loss of eighteen thousand men.

At this point Vespasian appeared upon the scene of war. He clearly pursued the policy of localising the war in Jerusalem, first subjecting the country and then with his whole force crushing the city. To begin with he marched into Galilee, where Josephus was in command. The important border fortress, Sepphoris, surrendered to the Romans without drawing a sword. Josephus approached with his forces, but at the first sight of the Romans they dispersed without ever venturing a battle.

Now there remained in the province only a series of fortified cities and points to be taken. Josephus himself had withdrawn into the fortress of Josapata, the defence of which he narrates with complacent diffuseness; and in fact Vespasian required forty-seven days for its reduction, while more than forty thousand men lost their lives in the siege. Josephus managed to make his peace with the Romans, and was honorably received and well treated by Vespasian, whose future elevation to the office of emperor he claims to have foretold. At the same time the fortress of Japha fell, and fifteen thousand men lost their lives there. Some troops of fugitives had established themselves in the maritime city of Joppa, —they too perished miserably. Tiberias, in which the peace party was strong, surrendered to the Romans and was therefore spared.

The real home of the rebellion in Galilee was the city of Tarchæa, on the Sea of Genezareth; against it was sent Titus, the son

of Vespasian, who took it by a bold assault, by plunging into the lake with his cavalry and storming the city from the wholly unprotected water side. Vespasian now executed stern judgment. In the assault six thousand and five hundred people had perished; the old men and invalids who no longer had a value as human property he slew; from the remainder he picked out six thousand of the strongest and sent them to Nero at Corinth, where the latter was having a canal cut across the isthmus; all the rest, thirty thousand and four hundred in number, were sold into slavery.

There now remained in the hands of the Jews only Gamala, Gish-chala and Mount Tabor. Vespasian first advanced against Gamala. When King Agrippa summoned the city to surrender he was wounded by a sling, and then the attack began. The first assault of the Romans was repulsed with such enormous loss that Vespasian had to use his whole authority to maintain any kind of order. A regular siege was begun, and a second assault brought the city into the power of the Romans. Four thousand fell by the swords of the victors, more than five thousand had cast themselves down and been dashed to pieces on the rocks below; only two women remained alive of the whole population of the city.

Mount Tabor was taken through the perjury of the Roman commander, and Titus himself proceeded against Gish-chala. John, who was in command there, managed to elude Titus in the night, he slipped through the Roman lines with his forces and hastened to Jerusalem, while the city itself surrendered the following day. Thus all Galilee was in the hands of the Romans at the close of the autumn of the year 67 A. D.

It is easy to understand how these defeats stirred passions to the highest pitch. They were rightly ascribed to the wholly incompetent existing leadership, which was in no respect equal to its task. John of Gish-chala, especially, who had taken part in the war in Galilee, could not say enough of the shameful treason of the leaders. By degrees all those who had been fighting and murdering during the summer had gathered in Jerusalem, and now they could undertake to overthrow the party of the alleged traitors and friends of Rome, and bring the "Zealots" to the helm.

First a few of the foremost men were imprisoned and assassinated. In order to gain some sort of moral support the Zealots appointed a new high priest, an obscure and uneducated person named Phannias, chosen by lot,—he was to be the last to wear the sacred garment in Jerusalem. At this point two former high priests, Ananos and Jesus, placed themselves at the head of the

conservative portion of the people and roused them to energetic measures against the Zealots: once more actual civil war raged in Jerusalem until the party of order succeeded in getting into the temple. The Zealots would have been irretrievably lost if Ananos had not hesitated to desecrate the temple by battle and bloodshed; he contented himself with isolating the Zealots in the temple. Thereupon they called for help from without. The wild, marauding, semi-Jewish Idumeans were always ready for plunder and murder: twenty thousand reckless fellows responded to the call of the Zealots, whose request had been wrapped in a cloak of patriotism, alleging that Ananos and his party intended to deliver the city to the Romans. These Idumeans marched to Jerusalem, where of course the gates were shut against them. But in the night a storm arose, under the protection of which the Zealots succeeded in opening the gates to their allies; the rising sun looked upon eight thousand five hundred murdered victims.

Now they began to make a clean sweep of the traitors. The naked bodies of the two high priests, Ananos and Jesus, were thrown into the street horribly mutilated, and within a few days twelve thousand men of the party of order were executed amid terrible tortures. Even the comedy of a court was introduced. Once when this court ventured to acquit an especially venerated and respected man, two Zealots rushed upon him and thrust their daggers into his breast with the words: "Here hast thou our vote also."

But now it was growing too bad for even the Idumeans, who must have perceived for some time that the Zealots were merely cheating them and using them for their own lawless purposes; they released two thousand persons who had been imprisoned for execution, and left Jerusalem, where John of Gish-chala then instituted an unrestricted reign of terror; soon, as Josephus relates, all the respectable people in Jerusalem had fallen victims to—I had almost said, the guillotine; only those escaped death whom humble birth or poverty made already humble enough. The Zealots went so far as to forbid on penalty of death the burial of the bodies of those executed, which were left to rot in the sun. The Sicarii who occupied Masada carried on from that point marauding incursions throughout all Southern Judea, where they had their terrible will, pillaging and murdering whole villages and towns.

All this was known in the Roman headquarters, and the officers advised Vespasian to march forthwith upon Jerusalem and capture the city, which was wasting away in civil strife. But Ves-

pasian considered it more profitable to let the Jews destroy one another, and calmly continued his methodical warfare. In the spring of 68 A. D. he began by subduing the whole country east of the Jordan excepting the fortress of Machærus, where a generation before had fallen the head of John the Baptist, and then the South and West. He was just preparing for a decisive blow against Jerusalem when the news arrived of the death of Nero and the elevation of Galba. Vespasian sent his son Titus to the new emperor to receive his orders; but on the way Titus learned of the death of Galba also, and accordingly returned to his father. A whole year the Roman arms rested, but the unhappy people was destined to have no repose.

A certain Simon bar Giora succeeded in rising to power and authority among the Sicarii in Masada. Soon this fortress was too small for his ambition and he gathered great troops about him, whose number increased in a short time to twenty thousand men. The people of Jerusalem regarded this as a menace, and a battle resulted between Simon and John, in which the latter was defeated; but Simon felt too weak to attack Jerusalem and turned his attack upon Idumea. Soon his host had increased to forty thousand, who of course had to live, and accordingly wasted and pillaged the whole land unmercifully. At this point the Zealots by a treacherous attack succeeded in capturing Simon's wife and taking her to Jerusalem. Now Simon again marched to Jerusalem, killed with the most terrible tortures all whom he could seize, or sent them back to Jerusalem minus their hands, until finally they returned his wife to him.

Meantime in Jerusalem all the bonds of decency and order were loosed. The savage soldiery of John had complete control of the city, and soon ceased to obey John: they were no longer content with plunder and murder, but gave themselves up to the most shocking excesses. This prompted the desperate suggestion of driving out the devil by Beelzebub: a solemn deputation besought Simon bar Giora to free the city from the tyrant, and in April, 69, A. D. he entered the city, greeted with loud acclaim. John was shut up in the temple, but the attempt to take it was unsuccessful. Simon established himself in the city, and now Jerusalem had two tyrants instead of one, for Simon's sway was no less atrocious than that of John.

In June, 69 A. D., Vespasian resumed his activity and completed the conquest of the South; only Jerusalem, Herodeion, Masada, and Machærus, remained in the hands of the Jews. But now

the legions proclaimed their commander emperor. Of course this was a more important matter for Vespasian than the war in Judea ; therefore he turned this over to his son Titus and set out for Rome by the way of Alexandria ; Josephus, his prophecy having been thus fulfilled, was released from his chains, and, together with Tiberius Alexander, the sole remaining Jewish procurator, he was the chief adviser of Titus at the siege of Jerusalem.

Meantime in Jerusalem the mutual destruction and anarchy had progressed. Even in the ranks of the Zealots the dissatisfaction with the tyrannical and cruel rule of John was growing strong. A certain Eleazar, son of Simon, who at the very beginning of the war had won distinction by the great victory over Cestius Gallus at Beth-horon, but had since been pushed aside by the patrician party and entrusted with no office, now made use of this dissatisfaction. He formed a new faction among the Zealots which made fierce war upon John, and finally got possession of the temple itself. Thus there were now three camps in the wretched city : Simon held the city, John the mount of the temple, and Eleazar the temple itself, so that John was now beset from two sides. In the course of this constant civil war all the immense stores of grain within the city went up in smoke. In the language of Josephus, these three were united only in murdering those who deserved to live longer, and they outdid themselves in the torture and cruel execution of their enemies.

Finally, in the spring of the year 70, Titus marched upon Jerusalem, arriving shortly before the Paschal celebration. As Titus, with six hundred horsemen, was making a reconnaissance about Jerusalem, he came very near being captured and his troop just escaped annihilation ; with a few supporters left he managed to cut his way through. The next day they began to make camp, the tenth legion occupying the Mount of Olives. But as they were going at the work the Jews made a sortie in force, which was executed with such daring spirit that the legion dashed up the Mount in wild flight : only by the personal action of Titus was it possible to check them and save the honor of the day.

But not even yet did the civil war within the walls of Jerusalem cease. Eleazar had opened the temple to worshippers : those who wished to offer sacrifice were admitted after close inspection by Eleazar's guards. On account of the great number of pilgrims at the feast of Pascha this inspection could not of course be thorough ; John took advantage of this fact and had the most daring of his followers slip into the temple ; here they attacked Eleazar,

and finally, with the shedding of streams of blood, captured the temple. Now once more there were but two parties in Jerusalem and John was in control of the entire temple. Josephus reports the number of able bodied defenders of Jerusalem at twenty-three thousand four hundred all told.

Now Titus moved his lines nearer to the city, and was again met with a sortie which caused his troops to waver and led to a retreat. Every prospect of taking Jerusalem by storm being thus excluded, a systematic siege was begun on the 23d of April; soon the engines were constructed and the battering ram began its dismal activity against the outer walls. Only now, amid the dull thuds of the battering-ram, did internecine war cease, and Simon and John joined forces to combat the enemy from without. The first united sortie was made with such violence that they succeeded in setting fire to the Roman works; the entire destruction of the badly damaged works was prevented only by the personal participation of Titus, who with his own hands struck down twelve Jews. The one Jew who was taken alive was crucified in sight of the walls.

On the 7th of May the Romans had effected a breach in the outer wall, the Jews withdrew behind the second, and the Romans were masters of the New City. Five days later, on the 12th of May, the second wall also was stormed, and Titus was one of the first to force an entrance; but now there arose such a desperate hand-to-hand struggle that the Romans were finally forced out. For four days the Jewish defenders covered the breach with their bodies; then their resistance weakened, and the Romans again entered on the 16th of May, and now held their own in the suburb and razed the second wall.

Already the defenders were short of provisions and people were dying of hunger in Jerusalem, but no one thought of surrender; the resistance only became the more stubborn and desperate. Once more Titus tried peaceful measures. The troops were about to be paid, and Titus commanded them all to appear in parade uniform at a point visible from the city. In fact all Jerusalem hastened to the roofs and walls to enjoy the rare military spectacle. But if Titus had expected thus to intimidate the besieged he had miscalculated. When Josephus was sent out to summon them to surrender he was met with abuse and missiles.

In the city, meantime, famine was increasing. In order to provision the troops soldiers were sent into the houses to search for food; where they brought nothing to light the unhappy occu-

pants were put to terrible tortures in order, by indescribably exquisite torment, to force from them a confession of their hidden stores. Driven to desperation by this, the people sought the mercy of the Romans. They stole out of the city; but Titus had all the deserters, as many as five hundred in one day, crucified after inhuman tortures, and when, as Josephus says, crosses enough could not be obtained, he cut off their hands and drove them back into the city, where Simon and John were competing in the work of hunting down traitors and friends of the Romans in order to reduce the number of superfluous mouths to be fed.

On the 29th of May the Romans had moved four ramparts up against the inner wall. John succeeded in destroying two of these by digging mines beneath, supported by timbers, and then burning the timbers; the other two were burned by Simon two days later. Thus the laborious achievement of weeks was undone, and matters were just where they had been before. Now the Romans held a council of war, the conclusion of which was that, the engines being destroyed, famine should be left to complete the work of destruction. Titus had a wall with thirteen watch-towers built around the entire city, thus to make a complete blockade: the Romans are reported to have built this wall of more than three miles in length in three days.

I pass over the scenes of horror that follow: suffice it to say that, according to the declaration of a captive taken by the Romans, whose business it was to count the dead in order to pay from the public treasury the burial fee, there were carried out through one gate under his charge one hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty corpses, in the period from April 14 to July 1, that is, in two and a half months. Unfortunately the beginning of the siege had fallen in the Paschal week, so that all the pilgrims from without were shut up in the city.

Now Titus's humanity was touched, and he permitted the Romans to receive fugitives; the starved wretches were even cared for—to be sold afterwards as slaves, of course. But it came to light that one of these unfortunates had swallowed a few gold pieces, his last possession, and from that time on the Syrian and Arabian troops ripped open the bodies of the fugitives and tore out their bowels in order to hunt for gold. In this brutal fashion two thousand were slaughtered in one night. Titus learned of the monstrous deed, but could not punish it because there were too many implicated in it; despite his severest prohibition the abominable performance was continued, only more secretly and more cautiously

—and so at last it seemed preferable to starve in Jerusalem than to perish thus.

Now Titus undertook to restore the ramparts that had been destroyed. The whole region for ten miles around was stripped of timber, and after untold labor the ramparts were completed at the expiration of twenty-one days. This time everything was hazarded. If these structures were destroyed the Romans could not renew them because of the entire lack of timber; on the other hand the city was lost if it did not succeed in destroying them. On the 1st of July the Jews made a desperate sortie under John; but the Romans had learned wisdom from the previous sorties, while as a matter of course the strength of the Jews, who were emaciated by famine, was less. The sortie was repulsed, and in the following night the inner wall fell under the blows of the battering-ram; but to their astonishment and dismay the Romans found back of this a new one; John had anticipated the case and made his arrangements accordingly. After repeated failures this new temporary wall was scaled on the 5th of July, and the Romans poured in. In the confusion Titus undertook to storm the temple forthwith, but met there such desperate resistance that he retreated; however, the Lower City remained in his possession, and he proceeded to raze the last wall and prepare for a regular assault upon the temple. Wood had to be fetched from twelve miles away, but the Romans, despite all obstacles, pushed their work persistently and once more the ramparts rose from the earth.

On the 17th of July the daily morning and evening sacrifice in the temple was finally suspended. We are filled with a feeling of shuddering admiration when we read this report. For three months the most terrible famine had prevailed; thousands and hundreds of thousands had succumbed to it, and yet day after day they burned upon the altar the sacrificial animals prescribed by the law, and only a short time before had John ventured to touch the stores of sacred wine and sacred oil and distribute them among the starving people.

Titus having once more made through Josephus a fruitless demand for surrender, fighting still continued about the temple and with incomparable bravery on both sides. Once more, on the 27th of July, the Jews were able to inflict heavy losses on the Romans. They filled the west porch of the temple with combustibles and lured the Romans thither by a sham retreat; then it was fired, and the whole force of Roman soldiers perished miser-

ably in the flames before the very eyes of their comrades, who were unable to succor them.

On the 8th of August the ramparts were at last finished and the battering-ram began to operate; but it was ineffective against the massive foundations of the temple. The scaling-ladders were run up for an assault, but in this attempt the Romans even lost several standards without accomplishing anything. Then another method was tried. Next day the Romans set fire to the gates. Titus had the fire put out in the night and the final assault was to be made on the 10th of August.

Titus had given strict orders to spare the temple, but after the Jews had twice in succession made desperate attacks upon the assailants the Romans lost patience. To hasten matters a soldier hurled a torch through an open window into the temple building proper, which straightway burst forth in flames. Titus galloped up to check the work of destruction, but even the iron discipline of the Romans weakened in the fire of passions roused to madness. There was no stopping them. More and more torches and fire-brands flew into the temple, within whose walls Romans and Jews were fighting for life breast to breast in inextricable confusion. With the crackling of the darting flames and the crash of falling timbers were mingled the heartrending screams of the dying and the triumphant yells of the victorious Romans.

Titus had barely time to secure the sacred vessels of the temple and to enter the Holy of Holies; then the temple of the God of Israel went down never to rise again. Upon its smoking ruins the legions hailed the son of their emperor as "imperator" and offered a sacrifice to the Roman Jupiter. Then fire and murder resumed their sway. The conflagration became general, neither age nor sex was spared. The priests had succeeded in hiding themselves; on the fifth day, driven by hunger, they came forth and begged for their lives, but Titus replied: "It is fitting for priests to perish with their temple," and had them beheaded.

But not even yet was Jerusalem subdued. Simon still held the Upper City, and John too had been able to make his way thither with the remnants of his troops. They asked for a conference, and Titus consented. He with his troops was on the east side of the Tyropœon valley, Simon and John, surrounded by the Jews, on the west side. They said they had sworn never to surrender to the Romans, and begged therefore for permission to withdraw, promising to leave the country. Titus felt unable to permit this and now the formal siege of the Upper City began.

Not even now were passions subdued. Simon and John still fought each other, and suspected Roman sympathisers and traitors were still being killed. Josephus gives the number of such at eight thousand four hundred. With incalculable labor and difficulty the Romans began on the 20th of August the erection of ramparts against the Upper City; on the 7th of September they were completed and the engines were moved up; the worn-out defenders were no longer able to offer resistance, and with a rush the walls were scaled. The Romans, grown suspicious, feared a ruse; but they were soon convinced that all that were left in the city were dead or nearly so. Simon and John, with their last troops, had hidden in subterranean passages; Jerusalem was finally and completely conquered. Everywhere fire was set, the houses having first been plundered and the occupants murdered: on the 8th of September the rising sun shone down upon what was no longer a city—the smouldering ruins of Jerusalem. Only three towers were left standing as memorials of the prowess of the Romans in the conquest, together with a part of the wall to shelter the garrison that was left to guard the ruins. Aside from this the city was so nearly levelled to the ground that, as Josephus said, no one who visited the place would have believed that a city ever stood there.

Driven by hunger, John came forth from his hiding place and begged for mercy; Titus put him into heavy chains and let him live. In Rome he perished forsaken in prison. Simon tried to escape by an underground passage, but failing in this he suddenly appeared rising out of the earth like a spectre in a white garment with a purple cloak on the spot where the temple had stood. But the Roman guards seized him; confessing his identity, he also was cast into chains.

The total number of those who perished in the siege and capture of Jerusalem is estimated by Josephus at one million one hundred thousand persons; ninety-seven thousand were taken captive by the Romans. Of these, seven hundred of the finest and strongest were selected to grace the triumphal procession of Titus. The old and the weak, who could not be used, the Romans had butchered in cold blood; those over seventeen years of age were part of them sent into the Egyptian mines, part of them forced to appear in battle with wild beasts and be torn to pieces by them, or to fight as gladiators with one another to delight the eyes of the heathen populace. In Cæsarea Philippi alone, at the celebration of the birthday of Domitian, more than two thousand five hundred Jews

shed their blood in the arena. The males under seventeen years of age and the women were sold directly into slavery. Titus, with all his prisoners and all his booty, marched to Rome, where he had a brilliant triumph in the year 71 A. D.; the sacred vessels of the temple were carried before the "Imperator" and Simon and John, for the first time shoulder to shoulder, were obliged to march before the chariot of the victor with the seven hundred chosen captives. Simon, being the real leader, was first scourged and then throttled at the stake, in accordance with Roman custom; John finished his career in prison.

But although Titus had thus celebrated his triumph, Judea was not yet wholly subdued. The three fortresses Herodeion, Machærus, and Masada, still stood unconquered, held by all that were left of the rebels. The legate Lacilius Bassus was commissioned to complete the pacification of the country. Herodeion seems to have surrendered immediately, but Machærus, trusting to its exceptionally strong position, took the risk of a siege. Both sides fought with the greatest bravery and desperation, a certain noble youth named Eleazar distinguished himself particularly among the Jews; but in a sortie he advanced too far and was captured by the Romans. Bassus had him scourged in sight of the besieged and erected a cross as though to crucify him; at this the garrison promised to surrender the fortress in return for the liberty of Eleazar and free retreat for themselves. Of course Bassus accepted these terms and actually kept them, but the inhabitants of the city were partly slaughtered and partly sold into slavery. The retiring garrison united with various stragglers who had succeeded in escaping from the underground passages of Jerusalem and found a hiding-place in the forests east of the Jordan; Bassus had the whole region surrounded by cavalry and then cut down the forests, so that every man of them perished, three thousand in number.

Now only Masada was left. Here Eleazar was in command, a descendant of Judas the Galilean and a near kinsman of that Menahem who had fought in Jerusalem as leader of the Sicarii. Eleazar too had fought under his banner, but when disaster befell Menahem he had been able to escape from Jerusalem and take refuge in Masada. By its location the place was almost impregnable. Flavius Silva, now commanding in place of Lacilius Bassus, who had died meanwhile, had a wall built about the whole place to make the escape of the garrison impossible; then with tremendous exertion he built a rampart at the only vulnerable spot, and thereupon had the engines approach the walls. They succeeded in de-

stroying the wall; but behind it Eleazar had constructed a new one of wood and earth, against which the battering-ram was powerless. Accordingly they tried fire against the new wall, and the whole wooden structure went up in flames. This sealed the fate of Masada. The assault was planned for the next day, and the watchfulness of the guards was doubled in the intervening night in order that no victim might escape. That night,—it was the night of Pascha—Eleazar took a desperate resolution. Nobody should fall into the hands of the Romans; all preferred death to captivity. Ten were selected by lot who were to kill all the others, and of these ten one, who in turn should first kill the other nine and finally himself. The horrible plan was actually carried out. The sole survivor went about once more to all the corpses to make sure that no life was left. When he was convinced of this he hurled the torch into the house and thrust his sword into his own breast. Only an old woman and a mother with five children had hidden themselves in an aqueduct. Nine hundred and sixty corpses covered the ground which they could no longer defend.

The next morning when the Romans advanced they were met with a deathlike silence; they suspected a ruse and raised a loud battle-cry. Then the seven survivors came forth and told the Romans what had happened. On the 15th of Nisam, i. e., of April, in the year 73 A. D., the first day of the Easter festival, the same day on which, according to tradition, the God of Israel had led his people out of Egyptian bondage into freedom, the last bulwark of Israel's liberty had fallen, and Israel was delivered into Roman bondage. Fifty years later, indeed, it made once more an attempt to conquer its freedom from Rome with the sword, but God had decreed otherwise: this attempt led only to more wretched slavery. Israel as a people, as a nation, was dead, and was destined to remain dead.

Rome was rude and heartless in letting the conquered nation feel the *væ victis*. Innumerable are the medals and memorial coins of the three Flavian emperors: Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, on the obverse of which appears beneath a palm-tree a woman sitting on the ground in inconsolable grief, with the legend, "Conquered Judea." The whole country became a Roman province, and the soil was declared the personal property of the Emperor; perhaps no provision seemed to the Jews so much like bitter mockery as this, that they were now compelled to pay to the imperial treasury and deliver upon the Capitol the tithes which formerly, in accordance with the law, they had paid annually to the temple; the Capitoline Jupiter was to take the place of the God of Israel. As

a picture which touches the depths of the heart, I quote a passage from a Jewish writing composed under the fresh impression of these awful blows of fate:

"Well for him that is unborn, or who, if born, has died. But woe to us who live, that we must see the afflictions of Judah and the fate of Jerusalem. Arise and prepare to lament, begin to mourn with me and lament along with me. Ye husbandmen, scatter seed no more, and thou earth, why givest thou thy fruit? Keep back the sweetness of thy nourishment. Thou grape, why givest thou still thy wine when it shall no longer be offered in Zion and no firstlings be sacrificed? And thou heaven, withhold thy dew, neither open the storehouses of the rain. And thou sun, hold back thy shining light, and thou moon, quench thy clear beams; for to what end shall any longer lights arise after the light of Zion is sunken in darkness? And ye young men, go not into the bridal-chamber, and ye virgins, deck not yourselves with bridal wreaths, and ye wives, pray not to become mothers; for the barren shall rejoice, and those who have no children be glad; and those who have children shall lament. For wherefore shall they bring forth with pain and bury with groans? Wherefore shall they have sons henceforth, and their names be kept alive, when the mother of all is desolate and her children dragged into bondage? Therefore speak no more of ornaments, neither think how ye shall deck yourselves. But ye priests, take the keys of the sanctuary and cast them up to heaven, giving them back to God, and say: Do Thou guard Thy house, we could not do it! And ye maidens who weave byssus and silk with the gold of Ophir, take it all swiftly and cast it into the fire, that the fire may give it back to Him that made it, and the enemy obtain it not. Our fathers rest without griefs, and the righteous slumber in the earth in peace: for they know nothing of this distress and have not heard of the fate that is come upon us. O that thou haddest ears, thou earth, and thou a mouth, thou dust, to go and proclaim it in the under world and say to the dead: Blessed are ye above us who still live."

Our eyes fill with tears as we see the curtain go down upon all this misery and woe. The tragedy is over. We are at the end of the History of Israel. Dreadful as this end has been, we cannot refuse our admiration. The Jewish people fell like a man and a hero, and even in its fall it triumphed over the victor. All-powerful Rome could destroy Israel but not pervert it. Israel did not give way to Rome to the extent of even a single thought; it remained what it was, and all its misfortunes served only to confirm and

strengthen it in its essential character. While Rome has long since passed away, and only ruins tell us of its glory, Israel is still, after two thousand years, what it was. It has survived all the vicissitudes of history, all the changes of ages, ever consistent, comparable in the life of nations to one of those erratic boulders, which wear out the tooth of time and mock at eternity, a strange yet imposing spectacle, a living witness of long-vanished millenniums.

Indeed, in a certain sense we may say that Israel has become the heir of Rome. To this day there stands in Rome the arch of Titus with the sculptured representation of the sacred vessels of the temple at Jerusalem, which were carried before the wondering eyes of the Roman populace in that triumphal procession; this arch tells us still in its mighty stone language what happened at Jerusalem eighteen hundred years ago. But what a change in Rome itself! When the glory of the Cæsars had fallen into the dust and Rome had become a provincial city, there arose in Rome a new universal dominion, a dominion so powerful and extensive that even the empire of the ancient Roman emperors grows pale in comparison. And the wielder of this new Roman dominion was the man with the triple crown, the successor of the Jewish high priest. The new spiritual power, which originated on Jewish soil, has overcome the whole world and triumphed over Rome. To it even Rome was compelled to bow, confessing the supremacy of Jerusalem. For empire passes away, but the spirit endures. It is the only imperishable thing on earth and in history.

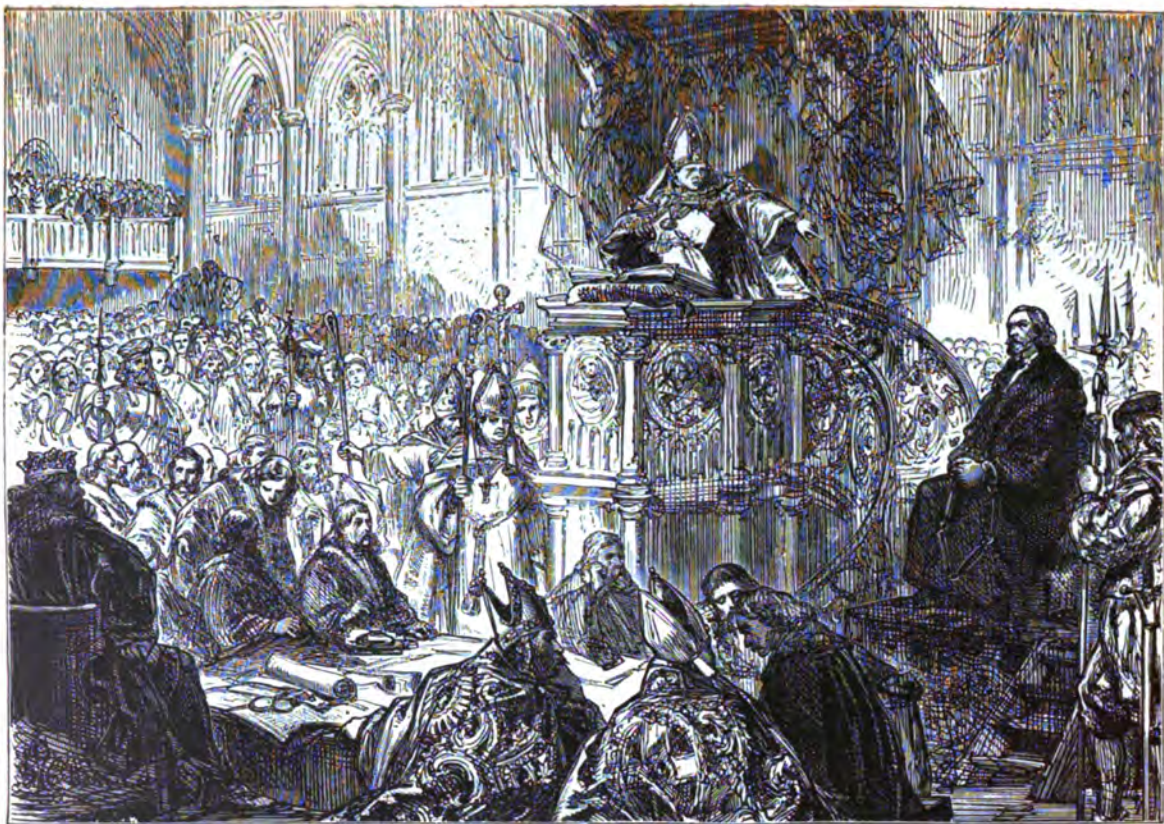
SAVONAROLA.

THE FOURHUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS MARTYRDOM

(MAY 23D.)

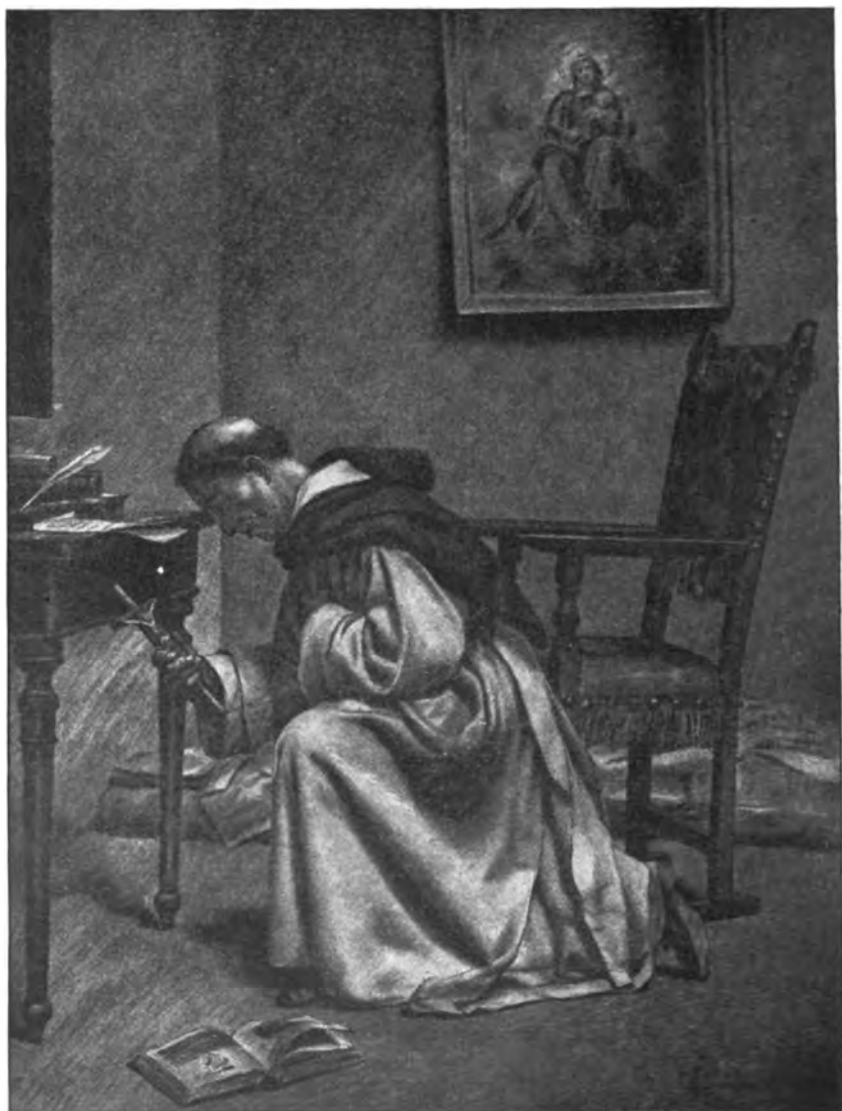
“THE ROLL of Italian great men,” says Madame Villari, “contains few grander names than that of Savonarola, and the career of this patriot-priest, reformer, and statesman is one of the strangest pages of Italy’s history. Amid the splendid corruptions of the Italian Renaissance he was the representative of pure Christianity, the founder and ruler of an ideal Christian republic, and, when vanquished by the power of Rome, suffered martyrdom for the cause to which his life had been dedicated. His doctrines have been the theme of interminable controversies and contradictory judgments. He has been alternately declared a fanatic bent on the revival of mediæval barbarism and an enlightened precursor of the reformation, a true Catholic prophet and martyr, and a shameless impostor and heretic. It is enough to say here that his best biographers and critics give satisfactory proofs that he was chiefly a reformer of morals, who, while boldly denouncing Papal corruptions, preserved an entire belief in all the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church.”

Girolamo Savonarola was born in 1452, thirty-seven years after the burning of his great precursor, the Bohemian reformer and martyr, Huss. The career of the great Italian martyr bore in some respects a strong resemblance to that of his Bohemian forerunner. The most striking difference, however, was that the triumphs of Savonarola were greatest and most celebrated during his lifetime, while the power and influence of Huss was most effectively shown after his death. From a simple monk, by sheer genius and talent, and with no help but his own indomitable independence and unswerving religious conviction, Savonarola became the ruler and



THE BISHOP OF LODI PREACHING AT THE TRIAL OF JOHN HUSS. (From Castelar.)

saint of one of the wealthiest, most cultured, and most powerful cities of Europe. The city of Florence, licentious and Godless be-



SAVONAROLA PRAYING IN HIS CELL. (From Castelar.)

yond credibility, was converted in a few years by the example and energy of this great thinker and orator into an ideal republic of

saints. "Abjuring pomps and vanities, its citizens observed the ascetic régime of the cloister; half the year was devoted to abstinence and few dared to eat meat on the fasts ordained by Savonarola. Hymns and lauds rang in the streets that had so recently echoed with Lorenzo's dissolute songs. Both sexes dressed with Puritan plainness; husbands and wives quitted their homes for convents; marriage became an awful and scarcely permitted rite; mothers suckled their own babes; and persons of all ranks—nobles, scholars, and artists—renounced the world to assume the Dominican robe. Still more wonderful was Savonarola's influence over children, and their response to his appeals is a proof of the magnetic power of his goodness and purity. He organised the boys of Florence in a species of sacred militia, an inner republic, with its own magistrates and officials charged with the enforcement of his rules for the holy life."

In this Puritan commonwealth Savonarola ruled supreme. He denounced Rome and its corruptions, defied the Pope on numerous occasions, and politely declined all the invitations of the great Pontiff summoning him to Rome to account for his conduct. Savonarola appealed to the whole Catholic world for assistance in his attempts at reforming the Church, and when in 1496 the combat between the humble friar and the great and powerful Pope Alexander VI. was at its height, by a reactionary turn in affairs the secular ascendancy of Savonarola in Florence was undermined, and by a combination of his political and religious enemies, he was silenced forever. The Pope Alexander VI. insisted upon his trial, either by the Florentines or by a Roman tribunal. Savonarola appealed to all Christendom against the unrighteous Pontiff, and dispatched letters to the rulers of Europe, adjuring them to assemble a council to condemn Alexander VI. But his only friend and protector, Charles of France, was dead, and the appeal was made in vain. His trial was ordered, his judges were chosen from his bitterest foes, and after inhuman tortures on the rack he was condemned to die at the stake, "even," as the Pope said, "were he a second John the Baptist."

The burning took place on May 23d, 1498, just four hundred years ago this month. At the ceremonial of degradation, to the Bishop's formula: "I separate thee from the Church militant and from the Church triumphant" Savonarola replied in firm tones: "Not from the Church triumphant; that is beyond thy power."

Savonarola possessed the divine inspiration of the prophet and foretold the occurrence of many significant happenings during his



BURNING OF SAVONAROLA. (After Don Ricardo Balaca.)

life. But his last words contained a greater prophecy. In the commemorative celebration to be held in Florence this month, the Church whose representatives four hundred years ago sought and took his life, are to hold a solemn service in his honor. Savonarola has not been separated from the Church triumphant, not even from the Roman Catholic Church triumphant, which itself seems conscious of the great service which the excommunicated and martyred friar performed for it. It has always been said that his faith in the dogmas of the Church never swerved, and that his preachings were directed solely against its corruptions. If his reliance on the Bible as the surest guide in religious matters and his intense moral earnestness connect him pre-eminently with the Reformation, he was no less a reformer within the Roman Catholic Church itself. He had in his day declared the Pope's bull of excommunication null and void, and the Church itself now sanctions his action.

BELLIGERENCY IN CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHRISTIANITY is a religion of peace, but the Christian nations are warlike, and at the very beginning of the Christian era the need was felt to consecrate the military spirit by religious sentiment and to have it represented in saints and angels.

The military leader of the hosts of the Lord has always been Archangel Michael, who was identified with Zeus fighting Ty-



GIGANTOMACHY; THE GIANTS STORMING HEAVEN.

Bas-relief of an ancient sarcophagus. Now in the Museum of the Vatican.

phœus and the Titans when they endeavored to storm the heavens. We read in the Revelation of St. John, xii. 7-9 :

"And there was war in Heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon ; and the dragon fought and his angels ; and prevailed not ; neither was their place found any more in Heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world ; he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him."

The passage reflects the words of Hesiod, where he describes the conflict between Zeus and the monsters of the deep, as described in the Theogony :

"When Zeus had driven the Titans out from Heaven, huge Earth bare her youngest-born son, Typhoeus, . . . whose hands, indeed, are fit for deeds on ac-

count of their strength. . . . On his shoulders there were one hundred heads of a serpent, of a fierce dragon, playing with dusky tongues. From the eyes in his wondrous heads fire struggled beneath the brows. From his terrible mouths voices were sending forth every kind of sound ineffable,—the bellowing of a bull, the roar of a lion, the barking of whelps, and the hiss of a serpent. The huge monster would have reigned over mortals unless the sire of gods and men had quickly observed him. Harshly he thundered, and heavily and terribly the earth re-echoed around. Beneath Jove's immortal feet vast Olympus trembled, and the earth groaned. Heaven and sea were boiling, Pluto trembled, monarch of the dead. The Titans in Tartarus trembled also, but Jove smote Typhoeus and scorched all the wondrous heads of the terrible monster. When at last the monster was quelled, smitten with blows, it fell down lame, and Zeus hurled him into wide Tartarus."

The Christian patron saint of fighters is St. George, and it is natural that the English, who among the Christian nations are not



SATAN BROODING. (After Doré.)

the least pious and at the same time not the least belligerent, have chosen the name of St. George for their battle cry.

The legend of St. George appears first in the *Legenda Sanctorum* of Jacobus de Voragine, who tells us of a pagan city, the neighborhood of which was infested by a dragon that had to be appeased with human sacrifices. The monster was finally slain by St. George, a chivalrous Christian knight, who arrived at the moment the king's daughter was offered as a victim. The princess, at the request of the knight, tied her girdle round the dragon's neck, who now, although the beast had been reported dead, rises and follows the virgin like a tame lamb to the city. The people are frightened by the sight, but St. George kills him once more, this time for good. St. George is richly rewarded, but he distributes his wealth

among the poor, converts the King and his subjects to Christianity, and goes to another land, where he dies a martyr's death.

The historical St. George, an archbishop of Alexandria and a follower of Arius, possesses no features whatever of the heroic dragon-slayer of the legend. According to the unanimous report of Christian and pagan historians, he was an abject, cringing fellow, and when he had attained the high position of archbishop



THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL HOLDING IN
HIS HAND THE SCALES FOR
WEIGHING SOULS.¹

(After Lorenzo Sabbatieri.)



ST. GEORGE, THE PRINCESS, AND THE
DRAGON.¹

proved a cruel and extortionate tyrant who was greatly hated by the people. He was deposed by the worldly authorities and put in jail on Christmas eve, 361. But his enemies, mostly poor people belonging to his diocese, grew tired of the delay of the law; a mob broke open the prison doors and lynched the deposed archbishop on January 17, 362. His violent death was later on regarded as a sufficient title to the glory of the martyr's crown. The most important service he rendered the Church consisted in this, that the offi-

¹ Reproduced from Scheible, Vol. VII. pp. 289 and 362.

cial recognition of an Arian saint helped to reconcile the followers of Arius.¹

It is an unsolved problem how St. George could have been identified with the dragon-slaying deities of ancient pagan mythologies. The connecting links are missing, but it is probable that there is no deeper reason than a similarity in the sound of names. Was perhaps a solar deity somewhere worshipped under the name *γεωργός*, i. e., tiller of the ground, because the civilisation of agriculture overcame the dragon of savage barbarism? Or is perhaps



ST. ANTHONY STRUGGLING WITH
DEMONS.²



ARCHANGEL MICHAEL CONQUERING
SATAN.

(By Raphael. In the Louvre.)

Gergis, a Mohammedan prophet and dragon-slayer (originally, in all probability, a Persian God-incarnation), the first prototype of the legend? It would be quite natural that on the Christianisation of the story the deeds of its hero should be transferred to that Christian saint whose name sounded most like Gergis.

The final conqueror of the dragon, however, is not St. George, but the Archangel Michael, who, on the day of judgment, plays the

¹ Gelarius seems to be the first Roman Catholic Pope who mentions St. George, and he knows nothing of his life, but counts him among those saints "who are better known to God than to mankind" (*qui Deo magis quam hominibus noti sunt*).

² Reproduced from Scheible, *Das Kloster*, Vol. VII. p. 94.

part of the Teuton God Thor, slaying the Midgard serpent; and when the victory is gained he will hold the balances in which the souls are weighed.

The belligerent spirit did not remain limited to Michael and St. George, but was also imputed to other saints who proved their prowess in various ways in their encounters with the Evil One. St. Anthony, of Egypt (251-356), the founder of the Christian monastery system, is reported to have battled with evil spirits in the desert near Thebais, whither he withdrew from the world to practice severe penances. His heroic deeds, which consist of frightful struggles with the demons of his imagination, have been recorded by the good Bishop Athanasius, whose book on the sub-



ST. DUNSTAN AND THE DEVIL. (Reproduced from Scheible.)

ject is of special interest because it contains an essay written by St. Anthony himself, containing the gist of his wisdom and experience in struggling with evil spirits.¹

A comical story is told of St. Dunstan, Abbot of Glaston, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. While busily engaged at the hearth in the fabrication of a golden Eucharist cup the Devil suddenly appeared and worried him. But the Saint was not frightened. He took the pincers out of the fire and seized Satan's nose, who ran off with a howl and never again dared to molest him. St. Dunstan. The event is commemorated in an old rhyme:

¹ See the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bolandists for January 17, which is observed as St. Anthony's day. In addition there are several Latin translations of St. Anthony's letters extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* m.

" St. Dunstan, as the story goes,
Once pulled the Devil by the nose
With red-hot tongs, which made him roar
That he was heard three miles or more."

A similar act of bravery is told of St. Cuthbert. Sir Guy Le Scroope (as Thomas Ingoldsby tells us, closely following the chronicle of Bolton) expected company, but finding at the ap-



THE LEGEND OF ST. CUTHBERT. (From the *Ingoldsby Legends*.)

pointed hour the banquet hall empty, because the guests had been kept away through a bad joke of the inviting messenger, he called on the Devil and ten thousand fiends to eat the dinner for him and take all with them to the infernal regions. The Devil came with his devilish company and all the folk of Sir Guy fled, leaving his little heir behind, who was at once seized by Black Jim, the leader of the fiendish company. In his anxiety Sir Guy cried to St. Cuth-

bert of Bolton, who actually made his appearance and forced the demoniac crowd to surrender the child, but he generously allowed them to remain the guests of Sir Guy, adding :

" 'But be moderate, pray,—and remember thus much,
 Since you're treated as Gentlemen, shew yourselves such,
 And don't make it late, But mind and go straight
 Home to bed when you've finished—and don't steal the plate!
 Nor wrench off the knocker—or bell from the gate.
 Walk away, like respectable Devils, in peace,
 And don't "lark" with the watch or annoy the police!
 Having thus said his say, That Palmer grey
 Took up little Le Scroope and walk'd coolly away,
 While the Demons all set up a 'Hip! hip! hurray!
 Then fell tooth and claw on the victuals, as they
 Had been guests at Guildhall upon Lord Mayor's day,
 All scrambling and scuffling for what was before 'em,
 No care for precedence or common decorum."

One more story of a saint's courage which is told of St. Medard, who while once promenading on the Red Sea shore in Egypt, saw Old Nick carrying in a bag a number of lost sinners. The saint took compassion on the poor souls and slit Satan's bag open, whereupon Old Nick's prisoners escaped.

" Away went the Quaker,—away went the Baker,
 Away went the Friar—that fine fat Ghost,
 Whose marrow Old Nick Had intended to pick,
 Dress'd like a Woodcock, and served on toast!
 " Away went the nice little Cardinal's Niece,
 And the pretty Grisettes, and the Dons from Spain,
 And the Corsair's Crew, and the coin-clipping Jew,
 And they scamper'd, like lamplighters, over the plain!
 " Old Nick is a black-looking fellow at best,
 Ay, e'en when he's pleased; but never before
 Had he look'd so black As on seeing his sack
 Thus cut into slits on the Red Sea shore."

Old Nick took up a stone and threw it at the saint.

" But Saint Medard Was remarkably hard
 And solid about the parietal bone."

The stone recoiled.

" And it curl'd, and it twirl'd, and it whirl'd in the air,
 As this great big stone at a tangent flew!
 Just missing his crown, It at last came down
 Plump upon Nick's Orthopedical shoe!

" It smash'd his shin, and it smash'd his hoof,
Notwithstanding his stout Orthopedical shoe ;
And this is the way That, from that same day,
Old Nick became what the French call *Boiteux* !



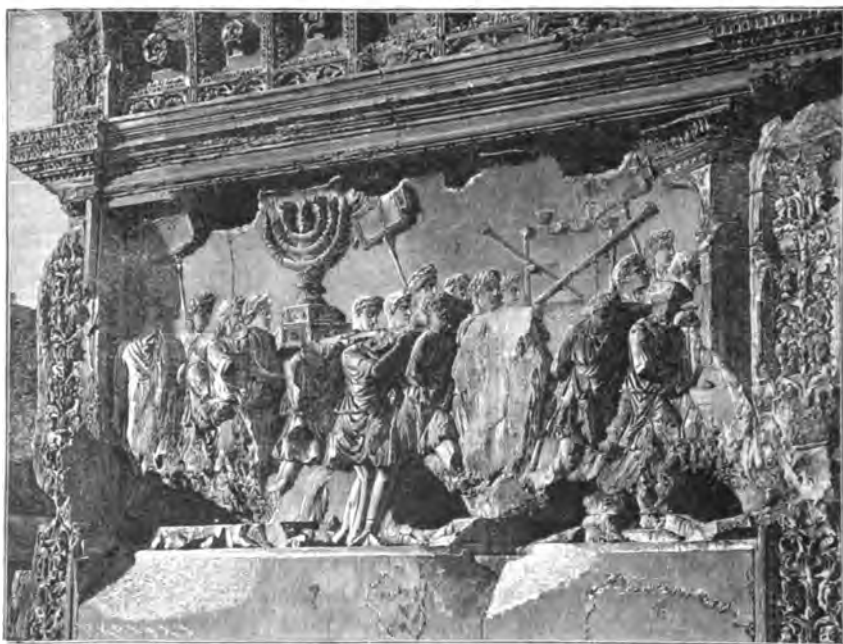
THE LEGEND OF ST. MEDARD. (From the *Ingoldsby Legends*.)

There can scarcely be any doubt that the original doctrine of Jesus of Nazareth was an ethics of peace; not only peacefulness and gentleness of mind in general, but peace at any price, and a non-resistance to evil. That the warlike spirit among later Christians and the worship of belligerent archangels and saints was introduced into the writings of the early Church from pagan sources there can be no doubt, for the New Testament preserves even the language of Greek mythology. The writer of St. Peter's Second Epistle, speaking of the revolution of the angels, uses the verb *καταρῶν*, i. e., "to hurl to Tartarus," which is translated in the version of King James, "Cast down to Hell."

THE POLYCHROME BIBLE.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE NEED of a new Bible translation is felt most intensely by those Bible readers who are best informed on the progress of science in all kindred fields,—history, philosophy, text criticism,



RELIEF ON THE ARCH OF TITUS, ROME.

Showing the Seven-branched Candelabrum and the Golden Table of the Showbread. Together with Two Trumpets, All Taken from Herod's Temple.

(From the *Polychrome Bible*.)

and archæology. New problems have arisen since the authorised version was made, none of which have been dealt with in the revised

version. Conditions are so radically changed that entirely new methods have to be employed in the interpretation of doubtful passages, for the very conception of inspiration itself which three centuries ago was commonly accepted not only among laymen but also among theologians has given way to a more spiritual aspect of revelation in general, and we appreciate now more than ever the importance of the apostle's advice to search the Scriptures with diligence.

Considering the great importance which the Bible has in our religious life, the enterprise of producing a new translation based upon the maturest results of an exact scientific research cannot be overrated, and we must congratulate those who have speeded this great undertaking, not only for having focussed here within the small compass of a few notes all the scholarship of the great Biblical investigators, but also for the unprecedented method of presentation employed which shows the most important facts at a glance. Things that would have to be expressed in long-winded notes and historical explanations are exhibited to the eye directly by the employment of a few simple mechanical devices. Thus, the different periods in which passages of one and the same book have been written, the emendations of redactors, additions, reconciliations, etc., are shown by the different colors which cover the text. The reader may, by ignoring the colors, read the new translation as a version of the traditional text as it stands; yet he will, without perusing the notes, be at once informed by the change of the color of the background on which the print appears that he is now, when no color appears, reading the original report of an ancient Judaic history (briefly called J), and that when the background changes to dark blue he is reading another original source which is written by an Ephraimitic author (briefly called E) whose views naturally differ from those of the Judæan account. When the color changes to light blue he knows that the words are later additions of the same character (briefly called E 2). Dark purple indicates the hand of a redactor who has fused the Judaic and Ephraimitic accounts so as to defy analysis (briefly called JE). Occasionally the dark purple changes to light purple, which at once calls our attention to the fact that we are confronted with a later redaction of this same Judaico-Ephraimitic version (briefly called R, JE). Yellow is the color of post-Exilic comments and italics indicate the efforts of harmonisers and glossators, representing the latest strata of the text.

In addition to this simple scheme for indicating the origin of

the various passages, there are a number of similar devices which afford even the unschooled reader an insight into the nature of the text and permit him to judge of the value of the arguments on which the present translation has been based. Whenever the present translation is based upon ancient versions (for the Old Testament is perhaps richer in versions than any other book of antiquity) the passage appears in a parenthesis of V-shaped brackets (·). Wherever the text is so corrupt that it can be reconstructed only by conjectures, the brackets are C-shaped (⌋). Again, where the oldest text has been retained but with a change of vowels, the brackets are cornered (⌋) and resemble in appearance the form of a Hebrew נ (nun) signifying the word נִקּוּד (nīqqûd, i. e., punctuation). Wherever a marginal reading has been adopted the passage is enclosed between two little Q's signifying מְרָבֵּ (qěrbē, i. e., marginal reading) in opposition to the כְּתִיב (kěthīb, i. e., the written text). Brackets formed of parallel lines indicate changes introduced by reason of parallel passages; queries (⌋) signify doubtful readings; a combination of the V-shaped bracket with the parallels (⌋) indicate deviations from the traditional text suggested by both different versions and parallel passages. In the same way a combination of ⌋ with V-shaped brackets (⌋) indicate readings supported by the ancient versions based on the consonantal text. Crosses (x) include those words which in the authorised version are utilised as words implied but not expressed in the Hebrew text. Passages which are corrupt and unintelligible are indicated by dots (· · ·), while stars (* * *) show the lacunæ in the text.

These marks are made small enough to be quite unobtrusive. They do not interfere with the reading and can be neglected by any one who does not care at the moment to enter into these questions of detail. But they are at the same time plain enough and on account of their mnemotechnic suggestions so easily remembered, that they will be of great service.

This method of employing practical and simple contrivances for showing at a glance all that pertains to the critical apparatus, is carried out with great ability in every respect. The marginal figures on the outer margin of the translation refer to chapters and verses; the figures on the inner margin simply count the lines of the translation, both of them being employed for references in the notes. Heavy-faced numerals indicate the chapters, and those in the usual type the verses. Reference to Biblical passages follow the authorised version and not the Hebrew text, for (as scholars know) the division of chapters and verses are not the same in the

Hebrew text as in the authorised version. References to the original Hebrew text would be useful only to a few scholars, who, however, will be able quickly to find any passage in the original from a reference to the translation of the authorised version.

Prof. Paul Haupt, the editor in chief, is the well-known Assyriologist of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Md. The publishers are Dodd, Mead & Co. of New York.

As to the translation, great care has been employed, first to have it exact, and then to express the literal translation in as good and appropriate English as faithfulness to the original will allow. For this purpose, one of the greatest authorities of English philology, Professor Horace Howard Furness of Philadelphia, has been secured to revise the translation simply for the English. Professor Furness has entered upon his labors with great devotion, and we do not doubt that he contributes greatly to the success of this great undertaking.

A few characteristic Hebrew expressions have for obvious reasons been left untranslated. It would, for instance, be wrong to translate the term *sheol* by the English word "hell," for it does not denote a place of torment, but the abode of departed spirits or the habitation of the dead, analogous to the Greek *hades*. Further, the word *Asheráh* denotes in a few passages a divinity called Astaroth or Astarte, who is worshipped in combination with the Baals, but mostly it is used as a name for the sacred poles which were erected at the place of worship, not only by the Gentiles but also by the Israelites. They were not the symbols of any particular divinity, be it Baal or Astarte, but had an undefinable general significance, and played as great a part in the Jahveh worship as in the idolatry of pagans. The Assyrian inscriptions show illustrations of the *Asheráhs*, and the Polychrome Bible gives in Judges, p. 57, the illustration of an Assyrian seal with a sacred tree and an *Asheráh*.

In order to preserve the popular tone of the translation the Biblical names have been written in the form given them by the authorised version, but the transliteration of other Hebrew words or modern Oriental names has been made according to the principles now commonly accepted by scholars, which, however, are easily understood and need scarcely any further comments.

Thus this new translation is excellent in every respect. Its appearance will be puzzling to the uninitiated only for a short time, for as soon as a student has accustomed himself to the methods employed, he will utilise with ease and a great saving of labor the rich resources which have been here made accessible.

Some of the illustrations are purely ornamental, but most of them subserve the explanations of the text.

We must not forget to call attention to the cheap price of this edition, which appears in small *quarto*. Three books so far have been published. The Book of Judges costs \$1.25; the Psalms and Isaiah, which are considerably thicker, each cost \$2.50. The paper is according to the needs of the print, heavy and strongly calendered.

There can be no doubt that the new Bible will soon be an indispensable part of every library in the country, and no Bible class, no church library, no Sunday-school, no public library, will be complete without it.

As to the objections which in some narrow circles may be made to the whole enterprise, we would fain prophecy that they will rapidly pass away when people become acquainted with the character of the work. The editors have done well to call attention in the introductory remarks to the analogous conditions which prevailed three centuries ago when the now commonly so-called authorised version of the Bible was published. The editors of the authorised version had to encounter prejudices, which perhaps were stronger than those which now obtain, for the narrowness of former centuries and the opposition to innovations was greater than it is at present. The editors of the authorised version of 1611 said in their preface:

" Things of this quality have ever been subject to the censures of ill-meaning and discontented persons. For was there ever anything projected, that savored any way of newness or renewing, but the same endured many a storm of gainsaying or opposition? In some commonweals it was made a capital crime once to motion the making of a new law for the abrogation of an old, though the same were most pernicious. As oft as we do anything of note or consequence, we subject ourselves to every one's censure. So hard a thing it is to please all, even when we please God best, and do seek to approve ourselves to every one's conscience.

VICTOR CHARBONNEL.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

A RUSSIAN writer has said: "When I read Zola's *Rome*, the Abbé Paul Fromant in that novel immediately reminded me of the Abbé Victor Charbonnel. Both are idealists, both true children of this agitated century, having dared, in their sublime *naïveté*, to dream of putting new blood and fresh life into the aged body and rigid forms of Roman Catholicism. They would also reconcile the Church with science, enlighten it with their vivifying torch and force it to advance. Both wrote books into which they put all their soul, and both looked to the Vatican as their guiding star. But time soon showed that their dreams were doomed to disappointment. There was, however, at least one difference between the two men. They did not enter the Church through the same door. Pierre Fromant began preparation for the priesthood from his earliest childhood, whereas Victor Charbonnel turned towards the same career only when he had reached the age of manhood."

Victor Charbonnel was born at Murat, in south central France, in 1863, so that he is still a comparatively young man. He was a law student at the Lyons University when, in 1880, was brought forward in Parliament the famous "Article 7," which prohibited the existence in France of unauthorised religious bodies. Up to that moment the idea of becoming a priest had never entered the head of the young Charbonnel. His father had always been indifferent to religious matters, and his mother, though pious, had never tried to influence her son, leaving his mind perfectly free to develop at its will. The decisive action came from without. When Jules Ferry's law was promulgated began what was considered by many minds to be a violent persecution of the Catholic clergy. The police closed the convents and scattered the monks to the four quarters of Europe. This policy appeared cruel and sacrilegious to

Victor Charbonnel and several of his student friends. To them, the persecuted and oppressed clergy became martyrs, and the young men stepped forth in defence of them and of the principle of liberty of conscience. They organised meetings of protest and delivered lectures and did all in their power to awaken public opinion against this abuse of power. The high-minded activity of these young men did not pass unnoticed by the Church, which now undertook to draw them within its circle. With this end in view, the most liberal and highly educated priests were delegated to bring them over. In this way Victor Charbonnel was prevailed upon in a moment of genuine enthusiasm to enter the priesthood.

But scarcely had Charbonnel taken orders when doubts began to rise in his mind, and when, later, he was brought into close contact with the Jesuits while a teacher at one of their great schools, his faith in the Church received its first severe shock. So he forthwith turned his back on the Jesuits, though still remaining a priest. He kept within the pale of the Church in the hopes of spreading about him more liberal ideas, thinking that the clergy and the faithful themselves would in the end welcome and strive after greater independence. But he soon found that such was not the case. "I could not succeed, he says, "in awakening any idea of independence, in starting a movement of conscience. It was only too evident that they did not wish to be delivered from the yoke, and I was at length convinced that it was useless to try and give light and air to the Catholic Church."

While in this uneasy and dissatisfied state of mind, news of the famous Parliament of Religions of Chicago reached the eager ears of the Abbé Charbonnel. It immediately appealed to his liberal mind, his large heart, and his vivid imagination, and he forthwith determined to bring about the assembling of a similar body at Paris during the International Exhibition of 1900.

The proposal was at first approved by the Catholic clergy of America and France, and was even looked upon with favor by the Pope himself. Cardinal Gibbons, who happened to be passing through France at this moment on his way to Rome, took upon himself to place in the hands of his Holiness the preliminary plan for the Congress drawn up by the Abbé; and the latter was informed that the document had been read by Leo XIII. and was received with marked signs of sympathy. Therefore the French archbishops and bishops began a vigorous attack upon the proposition and brought to bear great pressure on the Vatican, with the result that the Abbé Charbonnel soon found himself left in almost

absolute isolation, being abandoned by the high and low ecclesiastical dignitaries who had at first given him the warmest encouragement. This whole story is told by the Abbé in an interesting volume¹ which throws a flood of light on European Catholicism.

After a lecture tour in France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Scotland, where the Abbé explained his plan of a Congress, he returned to Paris last year convinced that the Catholic Church would never enter into the scheme as a Church. He then thought that the opposition might be disarmed if, instead of a Congress of Religions or of Churches, which had been his first idea, where each sect would enjoy official *representation*, the Congress should bring together all religious men, *representative* by their knowledge or their moral authority and under conditions which should assure complete individual independence. So he turned to the leading lay advocates of liberal Catholicism and put before them a very conciliatory declaration in which the aim and plan of the proposed Congress was given in its chief outlines. They approved the idea, the form, everything, in a word, connected with the undertaking, but dared not assume the responsibility of publicly putting their names at the bottom of the circular. They had consulted the ecclesiastical authorities and declined to act. "The determination of the Church," writes Abbé Charbonnel, "to turn a deaf ear to the new spirit of tolerance which showed itself at the Chicago Parliament of Religions and which might spread to the Old World, was now clearly evident; and it was also evident that we did not possess a body of liberal laymen capable of taking a bold initiative. In the meanwhile Cardinal Gibbons denied in a letter published in Paris that he had ever encouraged the friends of the movement here in favor of such a Congress. He repudiated, at the risk of repudiating his own conduct at Chicago, our enterprise, and our efforts. . . . To be supported by such men as Gibbons and Ireland, by the young Catholicism of America, had been my greatest hope.

¹ *Congrès Universel des Religions en 1900: Histoire d'une Idée*. Paris: Colin, 5 rue de Mézières. See also by the same author *Le Congrès des Religions et la Suisse*. Paris: Fischbacher 33 rue de Seine. As might be expected, Abbé Charbonnel has secured, on the whole, warmer support in Switzerland than in his own France. He accuses Cardinal Gibbons of duplicity. In a long article on the proposed Congress, printed in the *Revue de Paris* of last September, the Abbé Charbonnel quoted the Cardinal as having not only approved of the enterprise, but as having said: "The Pope will be with you, that I know." Thereupon, the Cardinal wrote a letter to the editor of this periodical, which was published in the number for October 1, in which he denies having ever encouraged the Abbé and in which he especially declares that he never spoke the words about the Pope's support. But in the number—February 1—of the *Revue*, which appears just as I am sending off this article, M. Charbonnel returns to the attack and again asserts, supported this time by M. Bonet-Maury, Professor at the Paris Protestant Theological School, that what was said in the first article, even the remark concerning the Pope, is strictly and wholly true.

Abandoned by them, I had simply to recognise that I was beaten and to leave a Church where, for a man of my liberalism, there was nothing to do."

The matter stood thus when appeared Abbé Charbonnel's book, *La Volonté de Vivre*, which, though devoted to religious subjects, does so in such an exceedingly liberal manner—the author cites even the name and thoughts of Renan, that *bête noire* of Catholicism—that no priest could publish such a book and hope to go unpunished. He seemed to be well aware of this, for, whereas the title page of all his previous works bore the title of Abbé, this one was signed simply Victor Charbonnel. But this did not suffice to shield the author from ecclesiastic animadversion. He was soon given to understand that if a retraction were not sent to the Archbishop of Paris, he would be put on the retired list, to use a military phrase, and classed among the unfrocked priests. Victor Charbonnel would not suffer such an indignity, and so, with tears in his eyes, he sent a firm, kindly, and dignified letter, to the Archbishop of Paris, informing him of his intention to quit the Church. On the morrow the soutane was abandoned for the garb of the ordinary citizen.

A friend who visited Charbonnel two days later, reports: "So solemn was everything in his modest little apartment that I felt as if a dead body were in the house," and when I called on him two months afterwards I was struck by this same sadness of the atmosphere, especially when M. Charbonnel remarked: "In a few days I am going to start on a lecture tour. I should have done so earlier, but I wished to remain quiet for a period in order not to seem to have left the Church for the immediate purpose of attacking it."

To the friend already mentioned he said: "The crisis through which I have just passed is terrible. I do not know whether I am right or not. But my conscience would not permit me to act otherwise. I find consolation in the fact that I have left the Church without a scandal, that there has been no immorality in my life. I have no intention of marrying, and in the new field in which I am entering I shall try to be useful to humanity. I am cradled by no false hopes. I know that the position of an ex-priest is a hard one, for by discarding the soutane I lose prestige and authority. But I shall labor, I shall take up my pen, I may even go back to teaching. But of this be assured, the past is no more."

Here is the text of the letter which the Abbé Charbonnel wrote to the Archbishop: "In giving my life to the Church in the ar-

dent sincerity of my youth, I wished to give my life to God. But long and sad trials have brought me to this disappointing conviction that to serve the Church or the men among us who pretend to govern it, is not serving God. I cannot henceforth, without feeling arise in me a too painful reproach, preserve the appearance of solidarity with an ecclesiastical organisation which reduces religion to administrative cleverness, which makes it a source of domination, a means of intellectual and social oppression, a system for the exercise of intolerance instead of a prayer, an elevation of the heart, a searching after the divine ideal, a moral support, a principle of love and fraternity, which, in a word, causes it to become a common human policy, not a pure faith. For the sake of a free, honest conscience, and for the peace of my soul, I feel that I should inform your Eminence that I am no longer a priest, that I hereby sever my connexion with the Church."

This break with the Church has also severed Charbonnel's connexion with the proposed Congress of Religions, "for," as he said to me yesterday, "the Catholics will now have nothing to do with me." But it is probable that the enterprise will not be wholly abandoned, though considerably modified, and will pass into quite other hands. It will be taken up by the professors of religious sciences at the Sorbonne, and the gathering will resemble somewhat that held a little time ago at Stockholm. In a word, it will become a Congress of Religious Sciences rather than a Congress of Religions.

A few days after the dispatch of his letter to the Archbishop, M. Charbonnel wrote these lines in a newspaper article: "I could no longer, without blaming myself, abandon my faith, my humble devotion and all my soul to a Church which is simply an organised administration of pontiffs who proclaim themselves the sole masters of the word of Christ, using this organisation simply to give the appearance of truth to their injurious or ambitious lies and to produce, as is apparent to everybody, an intellectual enslavement, a moral nihilism, and social immobility in a world which has to be made entirely new again by means of an ideal, I might almost say, by a religion of charity and by fraternal justice. It is only too plain that this ideal, this religion for which all hearts yearn, has been driven from the Church by the pontiffs. Therefore have I had to abandon my old faith, to pluck from me my very soul, which act wounds more deeply and is more painful, as I know by the bitterness of my tears, than that death which takes from us the poor existence of this earth. I have blasted dreams, friendships,

recollections. I have bid a last farewell to what has so long been my very life, and I have started on my way, a pilgrim of the unknown and veritable God, who is not where I at first thought to find Him. . . .

"If I could have chosen my lot, I should probably not have chosen this one, surrounded by so much that is unpleasant. But it often happens that one no longer believes what one would like to believe, while one believes what one would like not to believe. It seems to me that the only law which should govern one's conscience is a sincere and courageous conformation of one's life to one's thought. This is what I felt I was doing. Why should anybody wish that I should condemn myself for life to a lie and to hypocrisy by staying in the Church when I no longer believed in it? . . . In human affairs real progress is accomplished only through upheavals, destruction, death, whence springs the soul of the new generations. These heroes—Luther, Galileo, Pascal, Rousseau, Lamennais, and Tolstoi—have alone aided humanity to rise to a higher ideal of life."

In another article he exclaims: "Why may not our soul and the soul of future humanity be like the happy river? Why, when finally delivered from the religious phantoms and terrors imposed upon it by the tragic or ridiculous fancies of dogma, may it not open to the vision of the wide heaven and to God who creates the order and supreme beauty of heaven? Why, having relegated to the land of shades the dead religions, may it not turn towards the living religion, whose ineluctable law, it knows, is written in the starry nights and in the heaven of the conscience? Why will it not recognise this religion which is a longing to live beyond our own nature, nearer to God than to ourselves, and which is, as a sage has said, only a 'morality in infinity?' Then would the existence of the soul be indeed the sweet, tranquil course of a river peacefully bearing the mirror of heaven on its bosom, along the immortal springtime of its banks."

M. Victor Charbonnel has indeed turned his back on the Church and has boldly started out on a literary career. He is now a frequent contributor to the daily press. Articles from his pen appear almost monthly in the reviews. His name has already appeared on the title pages of several volumes. Two of these have been mentioned above. Another—*Volonté de Vivre*—is a lofty study of the problems of moral life, suffering, and death. In its pages he tells without passion, without criticism, without bitterness, but rather in a sort of veiled melancholy, how he has passed from Cath-

olic dogmatism to "the religion of the ideal," to the free Christianity of Channing and Tolstoi. This book has made no little stir in Romish centres, and more than one of the faithful deplore and regret the exile of its author.

Victor Charbonnel has a very large intelligence. His pen can write elegantly and with authority on other than purely moral and religious subjects. This is shown in his recent volume *Les Mystiques dans la Littérature Présente*, a series of delicately turned articles of literary criticism which appeared originally, if I am not mistaken, in the *Mercur de France*, and in which he gives the history of the origin, rise, and future, of the school of French mystics. "Ten years ago," he says, "every poet would have been called a Parnassian; every novelist, a naturalist; every thinker, a positivist. But little by little, the poets, novelists, and thinkers, become mystics," and he then goes on in a prettily printed little volume of some two hundred pages to tell us what modern mysticism is and who the modern mystics are. It is a work of pure literary criticism that brings out an entirely new and delightful side of the intellectual powers of Victor Charbonnel.

And still another gift of M. Charbonnel has already been hinted at. I refer to his oratorical powers, to his talents as a lecturer. This faculty reveals itself in his conversation. His thoughts are abundant and striking. His language is rich and flowing. He is eloquent even in his modest little study. I have never heard him lecture, but those who have tell me that he possesses the true fire of the born orator. It is natural, therefore, that he now intends to utilise still more than in the past this means of propagating his ideas and adding to his slender income. In fact he is now on the point of starting on a lecture tour through Belgium and Holland, and he has in mind, I believe, a lecture tour some day in the United States, and as his knowledge of our tongue—he cannot speak it but reads it—would enable him to commit in English his lecture or at least read it from his manuscript, the objection of a foreign language is removed. Under these conditions, I venture to predict that Victor Charbonnel would prove to be a successful lecturer in our country.

Perhaps it is not too much to say, therefore, that Victor Charbonnel is destined to place himself among the religious renovators of this century and that the future historian of the intellectual movement of Europe during the hundred years now drawing to an end will write his name alongside of those of Lamennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, Hyacinthe Loyson, and Didon. It seems as if it would always be the fate of liberal Catholicism to fire with enthusiasm some noble souls, to provoke a grand, magnificent struggle, only to crush them and it under the oppression of absolutism and uncompromising orthodoxy. Victor Charbonnel is now entering upon the first stage of this hard battle, and he must often ask, as do his friends, whether it will end in victory or in defeat. *Qui vivra, verra.*

THE REASON WHY ABBÉ CHARBONNEL FAILED.

BY THE EDITOR.

VICTOR CHARBONNEL, the enthusiastic advocate of a Religious Parliament to be held at Paris in 1900, has left the Church. He is no longer an abbé. He is now bitterly denouncing the men to whom he formerly looked up with reverence and confidence. He accuses them of duplicity and condemns their conduct in strong terms.

The former Abbé is said to be an orator of great power. He puts his heart into everything he does, and his heart is warm and large. No wonder he is impatient, and this disposition, although he must be a lovable character and a charming man, renders it difficult for him to bide his time with patience, which is indispensable to an organiser. There can be no doubt that Abbé Charbonnel is deeply religious, and in addition he has been, and perhaps he is still, a fervid Roman Catholic, only his view of the Roman Catholic Church differs considerably from the policy of his superiors, and in convening a Parliament of Religions he apparently intended to influence the future development of the Church and to commit it to the broad liberalism which he himself represents. No wonder that the leaders of the Church, having at first encouraged his zeal, withdrew from the field and disavowed the Abbé's plans.

The secret of the success of the Religious Parliament at Chicago lies in the policy rigidly insisted upon from the beginning by the President of the World's Congresses, that the purpose of the Parliament should be presentation pure and simple. The great religions of the world were invited to state their doctrines and to explain them through duly appointed delegates, without attacking others, without being expected to endorse any principle or opinion of the committee of the Parliament, its president, its chairman, or

any one of its officers. Thus the Roman Church, which was represented by one cardinal, several bishops and archbishops, many clergymen and a respectable number of laymen, was nowhere in the least compromised or committed to any new maxim or theory. The Church, being assured of her independence, His Holiness the Pope sent his blessing through Cardinal Gibbons; and he was ready to confer his blessing also upon the proposed Paris Parliament. But here Leo XIII. himself insisted on the principle that a Religious Parliament should not be committed to any Church; therefore, while giving his "absolute approbation," he added that "he did not think it wise to give it his direct patronage lest the Parliament of Religions, which should be independent and open to all, should give the impression of being a "Congress of the Pope."¹

We do not intend here to criticise either the Roman Church or Victor Charbonnel; our purpose is to explain, for thus alone shall we be able to understand the situation. We can appreciate the noble nature of the former Abbé, although we regret the vehemence of his impetuous language when he accuses the American prelates of duplicity and inconsistency. It is true that Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and Bishop Keane, took part in the Chicago Parliament, and it appears that they would undoubtedly be glad to have another Parliament take place at Paris in 1900; but they, as a matter of course, must see to it that the new Parliament is so inaugurated that the dignity of their Church is preserved.

In Chicago the Roman Catholics were guests, the dominant religion of the country being Protestant Christianity, but in France the Roman Church would have been the hostess. Considering the claims of the Roman Church as the sole Catholic institution, this circumstance rendered the situation more difficult than in America. When those who are in power call a Parliament, it may easily appear as a concession, and the world will be inclined to interpret the step as a surrender of the traditional policy. Apparently the participation of the Church in a Religious Parliament in America is different from directly holding a Religious Parliament in a Roman Catholic country.

In Chicago, where the bracing air of American liberty swept through the variegated assemblies of the World's Fair, extravagances could occur without compromising any one. The very conditions invited the free utterance of opinion. Everybody knew that equality on the platform did not involve any other identification :

¹ Literally quoted from the report published in various French newspapers.

it was parliamentary equality, based on courtesy and brotherly love. It was an exchange of thought where everybody offered the best he had, and we listened to those who differed from us in the hope of understanding their position and learning from them as representatives of their religion the arguments of their faith. This exchange of thought was beneficial, as it did not level religion down to the low-water mark of indifference, but rather tended to raise those who stood on lower ground to the level of those who had attained a deeper insight and nobler convictions. It would have been very difficult to repeat the Chicago Parliament in Paris, for in conservative Europe the conditions are different. A free exchange of thought under the ægis of Rome might, in the opinion of many, have meant something more than under the stars and stripes, and the same thing in different places is no longer the same thing.

The Roman Church is well aware of the difference between a Parliament in Chicago and in Paris. The Church as such is not opposed to the Parliament idea itself. The Pope has plainly expressed his sympathy, but his consent naturally depends upon the fulfilment of conditions which guarantee the Church against misinterpretations.

Whether or not the Roman Catholic Church is in a position to hold a Parliament is not for us, nor for any outsider, to decide. The leaders of the Church alone can know whether the time is ripe for it. Probably the scheme is premature. The Roman Church is the Church of France, but this does not necessarily imply that the Roman Catholic faith is firmly rooted in the minds of the thinkers of the nation. This much is sure: Only a religious institution which is strong can afford to convene a Parliament; the refusal to compare notes with others is always an indication of weakness. Protestantism in America is not endangered by a Religious Parliament; it can hold its own when compared with other faiths. Almost all Protestant Churches sanction free inquiry and are open to progress. And here exactly lies the blessing of the Parliament idea. If you are confident that the faith that is in you is the truth, you will come forward and let its light shine. Says Christ:

"Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.

"Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.

"Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

The light is the faith that is in you, and the Religious Parliament is the candlestick.

We regret exceedingly the failure of the plan for holding a second Religious Parliament in Paris. We watched with sympathy, but not without anxiety, the zealous efforts of Abbé Charbonnel and were deeply affected when the news reached us that he had left the Church. One reason why he failed is undoubtedly his rash temperament which, although it does honor to his heart, betrays a lack of patience and self-control, so indispensable for the accomplishment of a difficult undertaking where one untimely word may forever ruin the prospect of success.

It is probable that the leaders of Church politics in Europe do not as yet realise what a glorious chance they have lost to prove to the world that definiteness in doctrine does not mean intolerance. We must frankly confess that Roman Catholicism is not credited with good intentions among the large masses of the population of the United States. On the contrary, there is a deep-seated distrust against Rome and her representatives in the minds of many people, so much so that any affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church would render a man unfit to figure as a mere candidate for the highest office of our country. Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and Bishop Keane have done much to remove these prejudices, but their influence is almost neutralised by the rumors that their views are disapproved of in the Vatican. It is unfortunate for the Church that the failure of Abbé Charbonnel will naturally be interpreted as a condemnation of the Parliament idea by the Church. This, however, is not so. Considering the Pope's friendly attitude during the Chicago Religious Parliament, we claim without fear of contradiction that he is not opposed to the Parliament idea as such. The conditions which make it advisable for the Church to hold a Parliament in Europe may or may not be lamentable; they may or may not be due to the immaturity of the people or their leaders, or both, or to any other factor. Not having any reliable information on the subject, we abstain from forming and uttering an opinion. We only regret that since Abbé Charbonnel has ceased to be a Roman Catholic priest, the plan of holding a Religious Parliament at Paris in 1900 has been wrecked, and large numbers of mankind may thereby be excluded from participating in the new light which will show religion in a higher and nobler glory than before.

The Parliament idea itself will not suffer, for the Parliament idea is a movement that no man, no institution, no reactionary policy can hinder or check in its evolution. It has come as a test to try the metal of men's hearts; it is a touchstone which will dis-

solve the baser amalgams, but leave the pure gold intact. Even though the very builders reject the stone that will become the head of the corner, the ideal of true catholicity will be realised, and only such truths are catholic as can be placed upon the candlestick. If in Christ's time the people had shown such an extraordinary longing for religious information, to hear all sides and to let every preacher be heard, would he not have gone himself to deliver the message of his heavenly Father? And when he bade his disciples preach the doctrine, did he tell them to stickle about authority or to stipulate conditions before they spoke in any assemblage? No! He did not. He sent them out into the world to preach the Gospel to all people. If a light can at all be kept under a bushel, we may rest assured that it is no light at all.

We regret the occurrence for several reasons, among which our sympathy with M. Charbonnel himself is by no means the least. How much he suffered before he saw himself compelled to take so serious a step as renouncing his allegiance to the Church which in former years had been the most sacred tie of his life, those alone can appreciate who have passed through a similar conflict with the same harassing soul-struggles. Mr. Theodore Stanton's article will throw much light on the whole affair. To be sure, it is an *ex parte* exposition. Mr. Stanton is a friend of M. Victor Charbonnel; he sides with him without waiting for further explanations on the part of the Church authorities. While we are fully convinced of the honesty of the former Abbé and the nobility of his heart, we cannot help thinking that a grain of discretion might have averted the conflict; and, at any rate, we believe that the accusation of duplicity which he lays at the doors of some high dignitaries of the Church are mainly conditioned by the disparity of his own sentiments. First he interpreted the Cardinal's words in the light of his sanguine optimism and now he is embittered by the pessimism which naturally results from his disappointment.

It sometimes happens that a man's very enthusiasm renders him unfit to accomplish the cherished ideal of his life. The very consciousness of his own good intentions makes him careless and he becomes himself his worst enemy; not from any moral fault or intellectual shortcoming, but through the very eagerness and impatience with which he struggles for the realisation of a noble aim. It appears that Abbé Charbonnel's very love of the Church and his anxiety to reform it according to his ideals, render his personality undesirable as the chairman of a Religious Parliament.

Abbé Charbonnel could have succeeded in his great enterprise

only if some friendly counsellor had been his constant companion to lend him his advice in matters of grave importance and occasionally to check the impulsive nature of his ardent soul. While the advocate of a great enterprise, such as a Religious Parliament would be in Paris, must be a man of enthusiasm, he must at the same time be possessed of a calm judgment and of discretion which will enable him to move slowly where the field is not as yet prepared.

Victor Charbonnel is not yet at the end of his career. In his intellectual development he is at present under the influence of the religious mysticism which is quite fashionable in certain liberal circles. He may pass through it to more matured and clearer views. But those who know him personally will alone be able to foretell whether he will remain outside of the Church like Father Hyacinthe, or return to its fold as did Dr. M'Glynn. Whatever may be the ultimate result, we cherish the confidence that the afflictions and soul-struggles of a man who is serious in his convictions will not have been in vain.

MISCELLANEOUS.

LAO-TZE.

Since some of the seaports of China have fallen into the hands of European powers, the importance of China for Europe as well as for America will gain steadily. For not only will the rich resources of Eastern Asia be opened to the world, but the Chinese themselves will become familiar with the advantages of Western civilisation. And they are good disciples, being at the same time steadfast and reliable in character. They are slow but patient and intelligent. When they begin to imitate the example of Japan, they will in time rise to greater power than their smaller sister-nation of the rising sun; being forced by recent events to enter upon the new career of surrendering their principle of seclusion, the Chinese will learn rapidly from the Europeans and may even make their influence felt in the future development of mankind.

The Chinese appear to be different from us, and they are so in many externalities of life, but at core they are the same,—they are the same human beings, with the same sentiments and the same ideals; while even their religious development presents many close analogies. It is true that they are unprogressive and uncritical, that their national and family life is full of superstitions and evil practices, but the ideals are the same, and if we only try to understand them and approach them in the spirit of brotherly kindness, we shall soon gain their ear and confidence. If we wish to open commerce with them, to build factories in China (as is now being done in the valley of the Yan-tze-kiang) we must above all learn to comprehend the people, for thus alone shall we be able to deal with them.

These are all reasons which make it desirable to the people of the Western world for their own mercantile interests to study the character of the Chinese, for it is to be hoped that the grievous mistakes of which the Christian nations have been guilty in the past (such as the opium war and the ruthless interference with the Tai Ping rebellion) will in the future be avoided. But there is a higher point of view from which we may contemplate the facts of Chinese civilisation. And that is the religious point of view. The Apostle declares that "God at sundry times and in divers manners has spoken in time past to the fathers by prophets," for "He has none left without a witness." What, then, is the nature of these witnesses?

The official religion of China is Confucianism, a kind of ethical culture based upon agnosticism, which leaves the religious question alone and neither asserts nor denies the existence of God or gods, of the soul, and of its immortality. Its morality is based upon authority, the authority of parents, of our elders and superiors, of the government, and above all of the great sages of yore whose wisdom is laid

down in the canonical books of China. But by the side of Confucianism there is Buddhism and Taoism, both being pure and lofty in their original doctrines and degraded only by ignorant or fraudulent representatives. Greed of priests on the one hand, and the superstitions of the people on the other, soon corrupt the noblest teachings.

The Open Court Pub. Co. presented to its readers some time ago a summary of the Buddhist religion in Dr. Carus's *Gospel of Buddha*, and we have had the satisfaction of seeing that the book has been welcomed in both hemispheres by Christian and Buddhist readers. The book has been translated into the vernacular of several Buddhist nations, and its Japanese and Chinese editions have been officially used by various Buddhist sects. The same author now, after a few years of concentrated study of the Chinese language and Chinese modes of philosophising presents his readers with a translation of the canonical book of Taoism, the canon of Reason and Virtue by Lao-Tze, the old philosopher. Lao-Tze is in the eyes of many, an atheist, for his Deity, the Tao, is not an individual being and is not represented as such, except where avowedly allegorical language is used. But on the other hand, there are so many surprising analogies with Christian thought and sentiment in it that we would deem the *Tao-Teh-King* written under Christian influence were its authenticity and pre-Christian origin not established beyond the shadow of a doubt. Not only does the term Tao (word, reason) correspond quite closely to the Greek term Logos, but Lao-Tze preaches the ethics of requiting hatred with goodness. He insists on the necessity of becoming like unto a little child, of returning to primitive simplicity and purity, of non-assertion and non-resistance, and promises that the deficient will be made entire, the crooked will be straightened, the empty will be filled, the worn will be renewed, those who have too little will receive, while those who have too much will be bewildered. (Chapter 22.)

The *Tao-Teh-King* is brief, but it is filled to the brim with suggestive thoughts and a historical preface taken from Sze-Ma-Ch'ien gives us all the reliable biographical data of Lao-Tze's life, who was a famous man in the days of Confucius, whose senior he was by about fifty years. He was the keeper of the state archives at Cho (the capital of the State of like name) where Confucius paid him a visit. The interview of these two greatest Chinese thinkers was not satisfactory to either party.

While Confucius sought to establish his doctrine through the favor of kings, Lao-Tze renounced his position and left the country when he saw the doom of its corruption approach. The frontier-pass officer Yin Hi received the old philosopher kindly and entertained him for some time, urging him to write a book. And there the lonely old sage at the verge of existence sat, full of sadness, writing down his views of life. The people around him were happy and did not see the curse of the sins of their time. Like Isaiah he uttered his lamentations, and like Jesus of Nazareth he knew not where to lay down his head for rest. The twentieth chapter reflects the sorry plight of the situation, where he says: "Forlorn am I, O so forlorn! It appears that I have no place whither I shall return home." Seeing the pretensions and self-sufficiency of the pharisees of his days, he exclaimed: "Abandon your saintliness, put away your prudence, and the people will gain a hundred-fold." (Chap. 19.) The gist of his ethics is expressed in Chap. 49: "The good I meet with goodness; the bad I also meet with goodness; for virtue is good [throughout]. The faithful I meet with faith; the faithless I also meet with faith, for virtue is faithful [throughout]."

In the traditions of Chinese art Lao-Tze is represented as a venerable, thoughtful man, riding an ox, scroll in hand, as pictured in the frontispiece of our edition, for which the picture was specially drawn by a prominent Japanese artist.

The translation of the *Tao-Teh-King*¹ which the Open Court Pub. Co. has just brought out has been made with great care, and we hope also correctly and with tact. The literature on the subject has been diligently utilised, and the assistance of native Asiatic scholars has been resorted to. The Chinese text has been carefully revised, and the transliteration, which is given in addition to the translation, enables almost any one, be he ever so little versed in Chinese philosophy, to revise and study the work in the original. There is also an introduction and notes. The book is appropriately bound in yellow and blue, with a special design, and with gilt top.

ON SOME RECENT ELEMENTARY MATHEMATICAL TEXT-BOOKS.

Philosophy has been steadily infiltrating the terrain of pedagogy in recent years, and it has beneficently shaped the character of instruction in almost every field of knowledge. But whereas the teachings of philosophy, and especially of modern psychology, have found direct and almost immediate application to the reformation of instruction in the sciences and technical callings, mathematics has been one of the last subjects that it has touched. The relations here are at first sight so impalpable, so elusive, yet withal so rigidly pre-formed, that the systematic and early cultivation of mathematical experience was thought both supererogatory and impossible. Yet the philosophical opinion of the ages has borne unmistakable witness to the existence of a world of forms immanent in reality, from which the abstracting mind has by experience rough-hewn the material of logic and mathematics, and which exists externally with unlimited though strictly law-conforming possibilities. And it has also borne witness to the fact that the cosmic process is repeated in a measure in the individual. The notion of mathematical experience in this sense was quite clear to Plato, and formed a cardinal conception of his system. The mathematical "ideas" of the world in the Platonic signification were the prototypes from which single and individual conceptions emanated or separated, by a sort of ethereal fission. Their having entered the individual mind through the organs of sense was a later conception most prominently advocated by Locke and his followers, and it forms to-day the dominant conception of that school of psychology which has most influenced pedagogy. We may waive the question as to the metaphysical and intrinsic character of mathematical notions. Genetically, or rather ontogenetically and in the experience of the individual, they have been formed through contact with objective and subjective reality, have been initiated and are ever afterwards fostered by the intimations of sense. And even in the constituent elements of them which may be called purely *a priori*, they are founded upon a perfectly analogous *intellectual experience*, which is equally susceptible of systematic educational cultivation. For the mind has its workshop and work-benches as much as nature has.

Until recently in the teaching of mathematics the view here taken has, except in a few sporadic cases, never been practically and systematically applied. Both arithmetic and geometry have been inculcated as finished, Procrustean systems.

¹ Chicago, 1898. Pp., 345. Price, \$3.00.

Their transmission to the mind of the pupil has not been one of organic growth and becoming, but one of mechanical injection. In arithmetic, names and processes have been taught utterly disjoined from the reality which they represent, and consequently in the majority of cases they remain inert, useless knowledge. For ideal results of instruction the individual must live over again, in a sort of abridged experience, the history of the development of his science. When *his* growth, in a miniature way, has not been *its* growth, the knowledge he assimilates can never be applicable in its full extent to the facts of which it is a potential representation.

The relations of form, in an *a priori* consideration, are as immediate to the mind as the relations of resistance are to the body, and yet, despite their importance, and possibly in consequence of their ideality and remoteness from the needs of life, they never reach the same instinctive immediacy as the relations of force, pressure, etc. Into mathematics, therefore, we do not when young carry the same store of instinctive knowledge that we do into mechanics. And so the development of that knowledge should in the nature of things proceed step by step with experience. If it ever outstrip it the result will be an unbridgable chasm between knowledge and the sphere of application of knowledge—helpless, crippled knowledge, ignorance. And this is too often the history of individual mathematical instruction. There are more people hopelessly ignorant of and unable to apply the little mathematics they have been taught than there are people who know imperfectly their geography, their little physics, and their little chemistry. Laboratories of physics and chemistry exist, but there are no established laboratories of mathematics. And yet ideally they exist. The field of mathematical experience is a field of mental and sensory experience; mathematical concepts are merely directions to perform certain, well-ascertained intellectual and sensory constructions; and the laboratory work required is simply that practical and living contact with the reality of forms which all have at hand and which should be properly established in the earliest years of life, never afterwards to be severed. With the proper "laboratory" beginnings the elementary mathematical knowledge of every individual can be made as secure and unmovable as any of the instinctive acquisitions of education, and when the start has once been made acquirement will progress by its own momentum. "A fool," said De Quincey, "can learn mathematics"—meaning that as to the simplicity of the intellectual machinery involved the fool stands upon the same footing with the wise man. The remark has its application, although here as in all studies, the setting, the character, the associative woof of the mind is determinative.

* * *

Of the recent noteworthy attempts to incorporate into practical primary instruction some such ideas as those advanced above may be named the series of text-books projected and partly completed by Mr. William Speer, assistant superintendent of schools, Chicago, and published by Ginn & Co. of Boston. Two books of the series have already appeared, to-wit: *Primary Arithmetic*,¹ First Year, for the Use of Teachers, and *Elementary Arithmetic*.² The books were written mainly for the use of teachers, a commendable piece of foresight, quite apart from the nature of the knowledge conveyed, for the majority of teachers are more in need of instruction than their pupils, and one of the main causes of lopsided primary education is the fact that the pupils and not the teachers are compelled to study their text-books.

¹ Price, 35 cents.

² Price, 45 cents.

Mr. Speer's idea, and in fact the essence of his innovation—which we may say has been long a recognised truth and doubtless has long since found its application—is that mathematics is a science of quantitative relations actually existing in reality, which can be learned by experience on the same educational principle that the facts and relations of other sciences can that more directly affect the senses. The groundwork of his method is a philosophical idea; as to the application it is sought to render it accordant with sound pedagogical principles. The fundamental thing in teaching arithmetic, the author says, is to *induce* judgments of relative magnitude. The child is to be made sensitive to relations of equality by handling equal units, with the attention withdrawn from the concomitants of color, texture, quality, etc. The mind is to begin with elements, is to advance from vague to clear conceptions by its own efforts; premature questioning, premature analysis is absolutely deprecated. The child begins with sense-experience, comparisons of equality and quantitative relations generally; gradually the mind is freed from the concrete, and the attention directed to the relations. The hand, the eye, and the mind, are trained coincidentally, harmoniously, and interdependently.

The aids and mechanical devices to the ends which have been set are numerous and varied—as numerous and varied as abstraction from everything but quantitative relations demands. Geometrical blocks and surfaces, liquid measures, weights, coins, balances, clocks, faggots, etc., are all part of the pedagogical mechanism. One must take the series as a whole and begin with the first book; otherwise it is rather difficult to grasp the author's purpose. The books can be used by teachers or mature persons only. The treatment is full. We could have wished it more continuous and connected. But the requirements Mr. Speer has had in view diverge from the demands of mere exposition. The examples are numerous, and are the basis of the development. The author has adorned his books by quotations from the philosophers and scientists, in which much wholesome advice is embodied, and which seem to have been dictated by philosophical insight and a thorough grasp of the teachings of scientific pedagogy.

* * *

We now come to geometry, and have first to notice Mr. Rupert Deakin's *Euclid: Books I.-IV.*, a text-book of the University Tutorial Series published by the University Correspondence College Press (London: W. B. Clive. New York: Hinds & Noble, 4 Cooper Institute. Pages, 309; price 70 cents). Euclid has held its own in England to the present day as the standard text-book of geometry, and in the elementary schools of that country no modern text-book has permanently dislodged it. The work is also used in several American colleges and schools, and there are many reasons, intrinsic and extrinsic, for its retention, at least collaterally. It is the culminating flower and expression, the *corpus juris*, so to speak of the age and race which, of all, were most splendidly endowed geometrically. So far as enunciation is concerned, it will remain for all time to come the classical incorporation of a development which is now ended. Geometry, said Lagrange, on the occasion of the publication of a new edition of Euclid by Peyrard, and speaking as the incarnate consciousness of the analytical glory of the eighteenth century, is a dead language and should be studied in its original incorporations. Modern developments have impugned the absolute validity of Lagrange's remark, but the elementary geometry of the schools is still largely pre-Euclidean, and so comes partly within the range of the great mathematician's animadversion.

The language of Euclid, the setting of the propositions and the proofs, are unwieldy and cumbersome. Geometry cannot be *learned* from it. To derive benefit

from its study one must approach it with a large stock of geometrical experience. Its strength is its logical composition, its intellectual structure, its systematic, rigorous movement. Methods of reasoning one can learn from Euclid if one cannot learn potential geometry from it, and in the former respect all modern imitations have fallen short of it,—a state of things which is easily explained when we reflect that the Euclidean work is the last stage of an evolution, of a long geometrical tradition in instruction, the codification, so to speak, of Greek geometry, having more logical perfection than the *Cours d'analyse* of the French Polytechnical School which represents an analogous though briefer tradition, and possessing in its way something similar to the finish of the German translations of the ancient classics and of Shakespeare, which have been the outcome of many minds and generations of labor.

The language, the methods, the order and structure of Euclid, have entered the culture of the logical and mathematical world, as the literature of the Greeks and Rome have impregnated the arts and letters. Without familiarity with Euclid one has not a rounded mathematical education. It still remains the standard of geometrical reference, and stripped of its ponderosity of expression and seconded by the devices of mechanical typography and modern nomenclature, it still has its delights for the adolescent reader.

The edition of the first four books of Euclid by Mr. Deakin, who is Headmaster of King Edward's Grammar School, Stourbridge, England, has much to recommend it over some of its predecessors. The editor has in his notes given special attention to the methods of proof and to the logical philosophy of the subject; he has supplied a great many original propositions and riders; and he has grouped the results of the various sections, so affording a synoptic view of the subject as a natural whole. He has given instruction to the learner on the method of writing out propositions; he has supplied alternative proofs, and incorporated several modern propositions; and last but not least he has materially facilitated the understanding of the proofs by the use of shaded lines in figures and diagrams, a feature which should be universally adopted.

* * *

We pass to the *Plane and Solid Geometry*¹ of Prof. Woodruff Beman of the University of Michigan and of Prof. David Eugene Smith of the Michigan State Normal School. The joint work of Professors Beman and Smith is an ambitious attempt to invest the ancient geometry with something of the spirit of modern mathematics. The usual sequence of propositions as far as and including the elementary geometry of the circle has been remodelled upon the lines laid down by the Association for the Improvement of Geometrical Teaching in England. The treatment of proportion is largely algebraical. Use has been made of the law of homology, of the modern geometrical notions of symmetry, positive and negative directions, of similarity, of reciprocity, and notably of the principle of continuity. The demonstrations are largely couched in the shorthand mathematical symbols adopted in relatively recent times. The steps of the proofs are numbered. There is a large and good selection of original exercises, and the method of attacking original problems are amply and intelligently treated. Not the least of the many excellences of the work is the constant reference to the history of the subject, incorporation of historical problems in the exercises, and brief historical notes on the development of the science.

So far as contents are concerned, the book resembles somewhat the *Elements*

¹Ginn & Co., Boston.

of Lacroix, although the treatment is more formal and didactic. Nevertheless the demonstrations have been constantly framed with the end in view of throwing the student on his own resources. The text, the exercises, the notes, all give the impression of an organic and carefully excogitated whole, which with careful study cannot fail of producing satisfactory and harmonious results. Yet despite the authors' assurance that the innovations are not startling and revolutionary, we are curious to know what the psychological state of mind of the ordinary teacher and student will be who takes up its study. The authors do well to advise that haste should be made slowly at the beginning. To most students the shorthand symbols will at first require close attention, and possibly may divert attention from the demonstrations. There can be no question as to the simplicity and directness introduced by the use of modern notions, but it is doubtful if some of the methods of demonstration have the same evidency and *Anschaulichkeit* that the older methods have, cumbersome though the latter be.

But there should be no hesitancy here. If geometry had been limited to *Anschaulichkeit*, it would never have passed to the stage even to which the Greeks brought it. There is nothing in the nature of things to determine where ocular evidence, sensory demonstration, should end, and intellectual demonstration begin. The feeling and power of individuals is different in this matter. One may by careful study acquire a vivid sensory appreciation for the proofs of the fifth book of Euclid, which are such a stumbling block to the average imagination, and which render the treatment of propositions relating to proportion so difficult. For the general purposes of education, the sensory elements at the beginning should never be accumulated to the point where they impede progress, and even in geometry after a certain stage artificial devices, algebra, and analysis should be allowed full sway. There can be no sensible objection to the introduction of any device, physical or intellectual, which untrammels thought, provided it does not defeat its own purpose by requiring as much study and attention as the end itself.

As to the beginning of instruction, there is no question that the sense-element should predominate and that proof should be relegated to second place. Even in algebra the inductive method, which is that of progress from particular to general cases, from specific types to general types, is the only method which beginners and even adolescent students can grasp: general demonstrations, however rigid they may be and however satisfactory to their inventor, leave no conviction whatever in the minds of young students, and most frequently serve only to confound their ideas. Only after familiarity with a province has been obtained is the mind in a position to grasp its general relations.

And so the present authors have not hesitated to appeal to the eye where the eye is the easiest instrument of research, and to appeal to the intellect where the steps were too complicated to be carried in the region of sense. Of the new features which they have incorporated in their work, perhaps the most elucidative and helpful has been their skillful use of the principle of continuity, which will be a boon and a delight to many students. It is the application of the principle of growth and evolution to the province of forms, and derives its power from the fact that no satisfaction is comparable to that of witnessing the becoming and genesis of the things with which our knowledge is concerned. In the organic world all growth and evolution, says Hegel, is withdrawn from observation: but it is the beauty and privilege of the intellectual world to have lifted itself to planes which are above the application of that apothegm.

The publishers have done much to make the book serviceable. It might have

been an improvement had the figures generally been larger, and owing to the treatment having been broken up into books and sections, it would have been a great help to reference had the numbers of the books and sections been inserted in the inside corners of the pages. But so much has been done to aid the eye that it would be ungracious to carp at trifles. The numerical, biographical, etymological, and pronouncing tables, are an enhancement of the value of the work.

* * *

The same authors have also hazarded a new and unique venture in the way of a *Higher Arithmetic*¹ (Ginn & Co.: Boston) which they hope will be of service "to progressive teachers in high-schools, academies, and normal schools." It is not a beginner's book, but is designed to supplement and to extend the lamentably deficient knowledge of the subject which the average student brings with him from the common schools. The writing and reading of numbers are discussed, the variants of the fundamental operations, not ordinarily given in the schools, are set forth, abridged methods of multiplication, approximations, checks, tests of divisibility, etc., are placed in the foreground. The greatest common divisor is more fully discussed than in ordinary books, as are powers and roots. The metric system, longitude and time, mensuration, ratio, proportion, series, logarithms, and notably the subject of graphic arithmetic are amply treated. The remainder of the book is devoted to commercial arithmetic. We have here again to commend the excellent plan of incorporating important propositions and results in the exercises, to the utter eschewal of the nonsense that usually makes up the disciplinary portion of arithmetical books. The authors, in fact, have devoted special attention to this matter, and the applied problems all refer to the ordinary commercial and technical life of the day or to elementary questions from the physical and chemical laboratory, and form thus, so to speak, in themselves a distinct body of knowledge.

The problems in pure arithmetic have been intended to furnish training in mathematical analysis. Under this last heading exercises in the different systems of numeration might have been incorporated to advantage. Something might have been said about the elementary theory of continued fractions, and under the method of testing divisibility by 7 some helpful idea of the theory of remainders might have been given. So also in the arrangement of the work of approximations in multiplication we think the rule stated in Vol. XI., No. 11, of *The Open Court*, page 703, is simpler from its being purely mechanical. But it is not for us to suggest what material the work should contain, since the range of selection is indefinitely wide, and in the construction of a book of this kind such matters must be left to the judgment and experience of the authors and not to the crotchets of individual readers.

* * *

We have still to mention the *Tutorial Trigonometry* of Mr. William Briggs principal of the University Correspondence College, London, and Mr. G. H. Bryan, F. R. S., a book of the Tutorial Series above mentioned, and published by the Correspondence Press (London: W. B. Clive; New York: Hinds & Noble. Pages, 326. Price, \$1.00). Little need be said of this work, which maintains the general excellence of the text-books of the Tutorial Series. The treatment is usually full and complete; inverse functions, trigonometric equations and elimination, trigonometric functions of a variable angle with graphic representations, limits of trigonometric functions, regular polygons and quadrilaterals, the circles of a triangle being treated, in addition to the usual matter of elementary trigonometries.

¹ Price, 80 cents.

The use of tables has received special consideration, the examples are numerous and are a logical development of the text. For one who wishes to have an exhaustive elementary treatise of trigonometry the book will be valuable. It can certainly be said not to contain too little. Indeed much of the matter might be profitably left for consideration until the higher mathematics were reached. It is essential generally in sound instruction that the elements should be as thoroughly and speedily dispatched as possible: for in the light of a higher knowledge they take a form which renders their minute elaborations more readily capable of assimilation.

THOMAS J. McCORMACK.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON "THE HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL."

A reader of *The Open Court* has proposed a number of questions on "The History of the People of Israel" which Professor Cornill has answered one by one. We publish the following condensed statement referring to this subject:

On page 389 (*Open Court*, Vol. XI.) occurs the remark: The composer of the Book of Kings had before him the official annals of the ancient kings of Israel and Judah. The frequent reference in the Book of Kings for wanting matter to "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel" or "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah" is probably supposed by uncritical readers to mean the Bible Book of Chronicles, as on the other hand the references in the latter book to "the book of the kings of Israel" or sometimes "the book of the kings of Israel and Judah" are supposed to be to the Biblical Book of Kings.

Professor Cornill explains: "The chronicles of the kings of Israel, or of Judah, to which the author of the Biblical Book of Kings constantly refers cannot be the Biblical Book of Chronicles, since the latter comes at the earliest from the Persian period and is in any case much younger than the Book of Kings. How thus could it be possible for the Book of Kings to refer to the Book of Chronicles, and *vice versa*? For the evidence on the latter statement, and the probabilities regarding the actual "chronicle of the kings of Judah" which constituted the authority of the writer of our Book of Kings, see Cornill's *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, pp. 108-128."

In the description of the Holy Land (p. 392, *Open Court*, Vol. XI.) occur the statements: "the land is almost entirely shut off from the world outside," and at the bottom of the same page, "at the same time it is a bridge and highway of world-commerce without parallel." How are these two statements to be reconciled? Professor Cornill's answer is: "The characterisation is derived from no less an authority than the great geographer Karl Ritter. As an explanatory illustration the reader is referred to Switzerland and the Tyrol. By virtue of the passes through the Gotthard and St. Bernard, in the case of Switzerland, and of the Brenner Pass in the case of the Tyrol, these two lands constitute 'a bridge for the commerce of the world without a parallel' and were formerly the highways for the entire commerce between Italy and the North, while nevertheless both countries are shut off by themselves and secluded."

The characterisation of Tacitus's description of Palestine as "notoriously unjust" (*berüchtigt*) seems severe, and in reply Professor Cornill refers to the passage in Tacitus's History, V., 2-9, "in which all the anti-Semitic slander of the world seems to be collected."

Professor Cornill accepts Abraham as a real historical person, but rejects all the other patriarchs, saying, "However plastic and distinct the individualities of Ishmael and Edom, Israel and Joseph may seem to us, they are all only personifications and representations of the races or tribes whose names they bear." "Races never adopt the names of individuals, but the patronymic tribal ancestor is first and ever a composite, a personification of the people." (*Open Court*, pp. 483-4, Vol. XI.) When asked on what ground he rejects Isaac, for instance, Professor Cornill explains that "Isaac too is only a patronymic, and that the name is plainly a synonym of Israel (just as Jacob is used in parallelism to Israel), in the only two passages in which it occurs outside the Pentateuch. (Amos vii. 9, 16.)" Moreover, Professor Cornill does not regard Isaac as an imposing personality, but on the contrary strikingly subordinate and painted in dull colors; he is merely the son of his father and the father of his own children.

The curious shifting of the names Gideon and Jerubbaal in Judges viii. 29 to ix. 1, led to some confusion, which is cleared up by the observation that Gideon and Jerubbaal are two names for one and the same person. He had taken into his barem, from purely political considerations as tribal king of Manasseh, a noble woman from the important Canaanite city of Schechem, and her son, with the help of his kinsmen of Schechem, set himself up as king after the death of his father. This story of Abimelech is especially well and reliably transmitted and is an historical genre-piece of first quality.

The seeming conflict of characteristics in Saul (*Open Court*, Vol. XI. pp. 546-7), who is spoken of as having a noble and chivalrous nature, a strong and yet sensitive nature, but of whom Professor Cornill also says that his whole character has a rude and commonplace cast (*spießbürgerlich*), is explained on the ground that *spießbürgerlich* is not of itself a reproach; "the *Spiessbürger* is thoroughly honest and honorable, an honest man in the fullest sense of the word, and generally an excellent fellow; the application of the epithet only implies that Saul was entirely without genius. This is the tragic feature of the situation: It is no reproach to be without genius, but in Saul's circumstances genius was needed."

It will be observed that Professor Cornill entirely ignores the Goliath episode. In reply to a request for his reasons, he states: "The episode of Goliath is pure legend, inasmuch as the giant Goliath, according to the indisputable testimony of 2 Samuel, xxi. 19, was killed in David's wars with the Philistines, and by the Bethlehemite Elhanan." The phrase "the brother of," preceding "Goliath," is not in the original. The corresponding passage 1 Chronicles, xx. 5, is corrupt. The writer of Chronicles, which is much later, or some copyist, misunderstood the word Beth-lehemite (lechemi) in 2 Samuel, xxi. 19, and brought out of it "Lachmi" as the name of the person slain, which is not to be found in the source, and then to make this harmonise with the legend of David he inserted the words "brother of" before Goliath. Older translators then adopted this phrase into the original passage in 2 Samuel.

In the first book of Samuel, as is well known, in the chapters from xviii. to xxvi., there are apparently two occasions on which Saul hurls a javelin at David while he is with him in his house, and two occasions on which David approaches Saul, while the latter is pursuing him, and leaves evidence that he might have taken Saul's life but spared it out of consideration for the royal office, and perhaps for the sake of Jonathan. Professor Cornill speaks of but one of the first incidents because there are two parallel accounts involved and rather clumsily woven together. He entirely passes over the other incident, the duplication of which is to

be explained in the same way, not because he questions the verity of the incident, but because it is relatively insignificant; it may be an important testimonial for David's character, but has no particular influence upon the political development of the people of Israel.

Our history (*Open Court*, Vol. XI., p. 659) after mentioning the accession to the throne of Israel of the usurper Pekah, adds: "In Jerusalem the crown had just been assumed by Ahaz, the grandson of Azariah," whereas 2 Kings, xvi. 1 says that this occurred in "the seventeenth year of Pekah." Moreover Professor Cornill entirely ignores King Jotham, to whom 2 Kings, xv. 32 gives a reign of sixteen years. Of this and the general confusion in the dates of these two chapters Professor Cornill says: "The chronology of the period in Israelitish history from the accession of Jehu to the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib is extremely uncertain. It is conceded and undeniable that the chronology of the Bible is inconsistent here and objectively incorrect. We are forced to depend here upon the chronology of the Assyrians which is at our disposal and which we have to use as a basis. According to the accounts of the Assyrians it is beyond doubt that Jehu occupied the throne of Samaria in the year 842, wherefore the murder of Abaziah had already taken place, while by Assyrian records Ahaz must have reigned in Jerusalem in 735. Since Ahab of Israel was still ruling in 854, we must accept 842 as the first year of Jehu, and consequently of Athaliah also. Now the Bible reckons: Athaliah 6 years, Joash 40, Amaziah 29, Azariah-Uzziah 52, and Jotham 16 years, that is all together 143 years, whereas according to Assyrian chronology there can have been but 107. Since therefore the Judean series must be shortened it will be simplest to either strike entirely from the list or reduce to a minimum the reign of Jotham, who according to the express declaration of 2 Kings, xv. 5, was regent for his leper father. But after all we must give up the attempt to entirely reconcile the "synchronisms" of the Book of Kings.

The victory at Raphiah, referred to on page 662 (*Open Court*, Vol. XI.) of Sargon the Assyrian over the combined Egyptians and Canaanites, is not referred to by the Hebrew Scriptures, but it is attested by the Assyrian monuments of Sargon himself. Raphiah is the same place where in 217 occurred the famous battle between Ptolemy IV. and Antiochus III.

In reply to a question regarding the seeming confusion in the account of the deeds of King Hezekiah, Professor Cornill says: "The only explanation that can be offered for the statement, 2 Kings, xviii. 8, that Hezekiah smote the Philistines even to Gaza, coming where it does, is that Hezekiah actually succeeded in regaining some parts of his country which Sennacherib had taken from him. It signifies nothing that this statement occurs in the Bible before the account of the invasion of Sennacherib, and since Isaiah as well as Sargon and Sennacherib, there seems to be no other way but to assume that 2 Kings, xviii. 8, belongs in fact after chapter xix., just as the last half of chapter xx. plainly belongs after chapter xviii., verse 8.

The history of Israel states that Elijah (1 Kings, xviii. 21) was advocating the calves of Dan and Bethel. On the surface this seems quite contrary to the fact, and Elijah's address beginning with this verse is commonly quoted as an evidence for the purely monotheistic zeal of Elijah. Professor Cornill's statement and his reasons can be understood only in connexion with 1 Kings, xii. 28-33, and what follows up to the passage in question. He says: "It is implied in 1 Kings, xviii. 21, that Elijah advocated 'the calves of Dan and Bethel'" (*Open Court*, p. 661, Vol. XI.). The 'calf-worship' was the official religious service of Israel's Jahveh

cult. (1 Kings, xii. 28-33.) Not a word of criticism of this is reported to us on the part of Elijah. Consequently when he grows zealous for the national Israelitish worship as against the Tyrian Baal, he is 'advocating' the calves of Dan and Bethel. It is not to be overlooked that these 'calves' were not idols in the technical sense, but merely symbolical representations of Jahveh, the god of Israel; Hosea was the first who regarded them as idols.

ON THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

We have just received the following personal letter from a friend who holds high rank in connexion with the army, and in consideration of the present strained condition of public interest, and of the sound judgment which the letter conveys, we deem it no indiscretion to publish it:

"I have been so busy lately arranging personal and official affairs in case I have to take the field in the impending war with Spain, that I have had time to write nothing except my pressing letters. We are here now all in readiness for a move either to Chicamauga or Cuba if necessary, and only await the action of Congress which we will know in a few days, though I do not see how the war can be averted unless Spain will withdraw her troops from Cuba; and even then it seems to me that at least twenty thousand American soldiers must be sent there to preserve the peace of the island and enable the Cubans to establish an independent government with as little atrocity as possible. The Spaniards are a proud, passionate, half civilised people; they are guided by their impulses and instincts, and I do not believe are capable of self-government, and I believe a reign of terror would be established in the island after the Spanish troops withdraw, more terrible than occurred in Mexico after the capture of the city by the Americans—when the factions of Santa Anna and the other aspirants to supreme power vied with each other in assassinations and other *Spanish methods* of warfare.

"I deprecate a war with Spain more than I can tell you for I passed through our war of secession from 1861 till its close and know all of its horrors, but to battle in Cuba not only against an armed *human* enemy, but against climate and pestilence, is still worse.

"Our great General Sherman said, with the fullest knowledge of its meaning, 'War is hell.' And if our poor young men had only seen some of the horrors of battle that *he* saw and *I* saw they would think long before they decided to risk those horrors and the horrors of yellow fever, cholera, small-pox, and other diseases *always* endemic, and *always* existing in a country misgoverned, half-fed, half-clad, ignorant of the most common laws of hygiene and with not even the rudimentary laws of sanitary police.

"It seems to me to be a fearful risk for our country to take even upon the highest humanitarian principles; and the question has often arisen in my mind whether 'the game will pay for the candle.' What will be our guerdon or reward? Even granting that we make Cuba and Porto Rico free and independent republics. We will have avenged the foul assassination of the sailors of the Maine and established our country as the ruler of the Western Hemisphere; but we will have added to our pension list another ten millions of dollars; for I feel confident that though *Spanish bullets* will kill but *few* of our men, the deadly climate of those islands will result in the death or permanent disability of fifty per cent. of our troops that are sent there if we have to remain there during the rainy season. . . .

"If it becomes *necessary* for our people to have a scrap with the Dons, I should like to be in it, for my father and grandfather were soldiers. . . .

"I hope you will pardon all of this *personal* matter, for I feel that it is presuming, but you must excuse it on the ground that at a military post as large as this this subject is *the one* prevailing topic of conversation and thought. We are officers of the army, and it is not only our *privilege* but our *duty* to take part in the defence of the honor of our government wherever it is assailed."

THE NEW LARGE PHILOSOPHICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PORTRAIT SERIES.

A sufficient number of advance subscriptions have at last been guaranteed to encourage The Open Court Publishing Co. in proceeding with its plan of publishing a selected series of large-sized portraits of the world's philosophers and of a supplementary list of representative psychologists. The first instalment of the portraits, containing the names of Thomas Aquinas, Bacon, Hobbes, Descartes, Spinoza, Locke, Hume, Leibniz, Wolff, Kant, Schopenhauer, Spencer, etc., is now nearly ready, and it is hoped that their announcement will lead to immediate further support of the undertaking. No pains have been spared to procure good sources and the photogravure reproductions made by the Synnburg Co. of Chicago will be found to have attained the highest standard of excellence. The readers are referred to the Prospectus of the Series, which appears on the outside cover-page of *The Open Court*, for full information regarding the enterprise.

THE APRIL MONIST.

Prof. Ferdinand Hùppe, the well-known Professor of Hygiene in the University of Prague, contributes an interesting and important article to the April Monist on *The Causes of Infectious Diseases*. Professor Hùppe is a bacteriologist of the modern school, but nevertheless opposes the main doctrines of Koch, Pasteur, and Virchow; few will dissent from the reasonableness of the position he takes, which harmonises the facts of the new theories with the established principles of the old. Both physicians and laymen will be interested in Professor Hùppe's presentation of modern bacteriology.

In the same number, the Italian criminologist, Prof. Cesare Lombroso seeks to establish his favorite theory of the degeneracy of genius by considering certain *Regressive Phenomena in Evolution*. Dr. Woods Hutchinson discourses eloquently and with rare ability upon *Lebenslust*, or the joy of life. A distinguished English writer, E. E. Constance Jones, discusses *An Aspect of Attention*. Prof. John Dewey of the University of Chicago treats of ethics in the light of evolution. And finally, the editor, Dr. Paul Carus, in a long article on *The Unmateriality of Soul and God*, seeks to lay a firm foundation for correct views of these momentous questions. The number concludes with entertaining Literary Correspondence from Europe, and the usual number of Book Reviews in the fields of science, philosophy, and religion. (Single numbers, 50 cents; annually, \$2.00. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 324 Dearborn St.)

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

LES CROYANCES DE DEMAIN. By M. Lucien Arréat. Felix Alcan, 108 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris. 1898. Pages, 176. Price, 2 fr. 50.

The distinguished French writer and critic, M. Lucien Arréat, whose name is well known to the readers of *The Open Court* and *Monist*, has just published a no-

table booklet entitled "The Beliefs of To-morrow," in which he has devoted his wide historical and scientific knowledge and no little power of analysis to the solution of the great religious questions which are agitating humanity. M. Arréat has not set himself in this work the Herculean task of defining in precise terms the religion of the future, but has contented himself with merely adumbrating the probable course of religious development viewed as the logical outcome of the reigning disorganisation of civilised beliefs. Though the sciences of sociology, biology, psychology, ethics, and the history of civilisation have been largely drawn upon, the author's exposition is yet simple and popular and would appeal to the reading public at large with as much force as it does to thinkers.

A great part of the author's inspiration has been drawn from the circumstances attending the late Parliament of Religions in Chicago, and the views of both *The Open Court* and *The Monist* have received flattering consideration. We selected from advance proof-sheets, and published in the February *Open Court*, a portion of one of the chapters which will have given our readers some conception of the direct and positive way in which M. Arréat has attacked these problems. The necessity of religion for regulating conduct in life, the author frankly admits. He shows what an infinitesimal part of the world's population is really leading an irreligious life, and that even in the case of this minority but a few have obtained the genuinely scientific state of mind and have stripped from their spiritual being all traces of the old sectarian life. In nearly all, the nucleus still remains. He points out the danger and vanity of radical negations. He sees in the partial degeneracy of all classes of societies the results either of a lack of religious belief or of a revolt against the meagre intellectual and spiritual contents of existing religious beliefs. Philosophical doubt, he says, has its grandeur, but it is the privilege of rare minds only. The average man cannot safely occupy it. New and disturbing forms of mysticism are arising, while amid all the conservatism and all the disintegration the leaders of the old religions, will neither see nor understand the reason for the persistence of their creeds or for their partial transformation.

The fact is, the mass of men are still vainly groping after the solution of the same old problems. Their needs must be satisfied, but they must be satisfied by the knowledge of to-day, and not by the knowledge of centuries ago. In contrast to the conservatism of the people appears the wild temerity of reformers. Who will solve the perplexing situation? Who will re-formulate for us the truth that still exists in the old and which has found its literal and artistic incarnation in the hearts and in the civilisation of untold generations of people, and in addition clothe the results in the verified terms of modern science. There is an ideal in the world,—an actual, realisable ideal. The whole body of human knowledge and of human science, which is speedily being transformed, points unflinching to it.

It is to such problems as this that the author has sought to sketch tentative answers. He has cast his work into two parts: (1) the certitude which exists; (2) the conjectures which can be formed concerning their outcome. The first part embraces seven chapters entitled: "The Religious Question"; "Mechanical Justice in Nature"; "Moral Justice in Life"; "Man and Moral Evolution"; "Individual Sanction"; "The Sanction of History"; and "Progress and the Human Ideal." The second part is likewise divided into seven chapters: "The Cosmos"; "The Soul"; "God"; "Religion and Science"; "The Religious Sentiment"; "Education and Worship"; and finally "Special Questions." To all a Conclusion has been added, while the Introduction to the book, "The Parliament of Religions," summarises the work and significance of the great Chicago Congress.

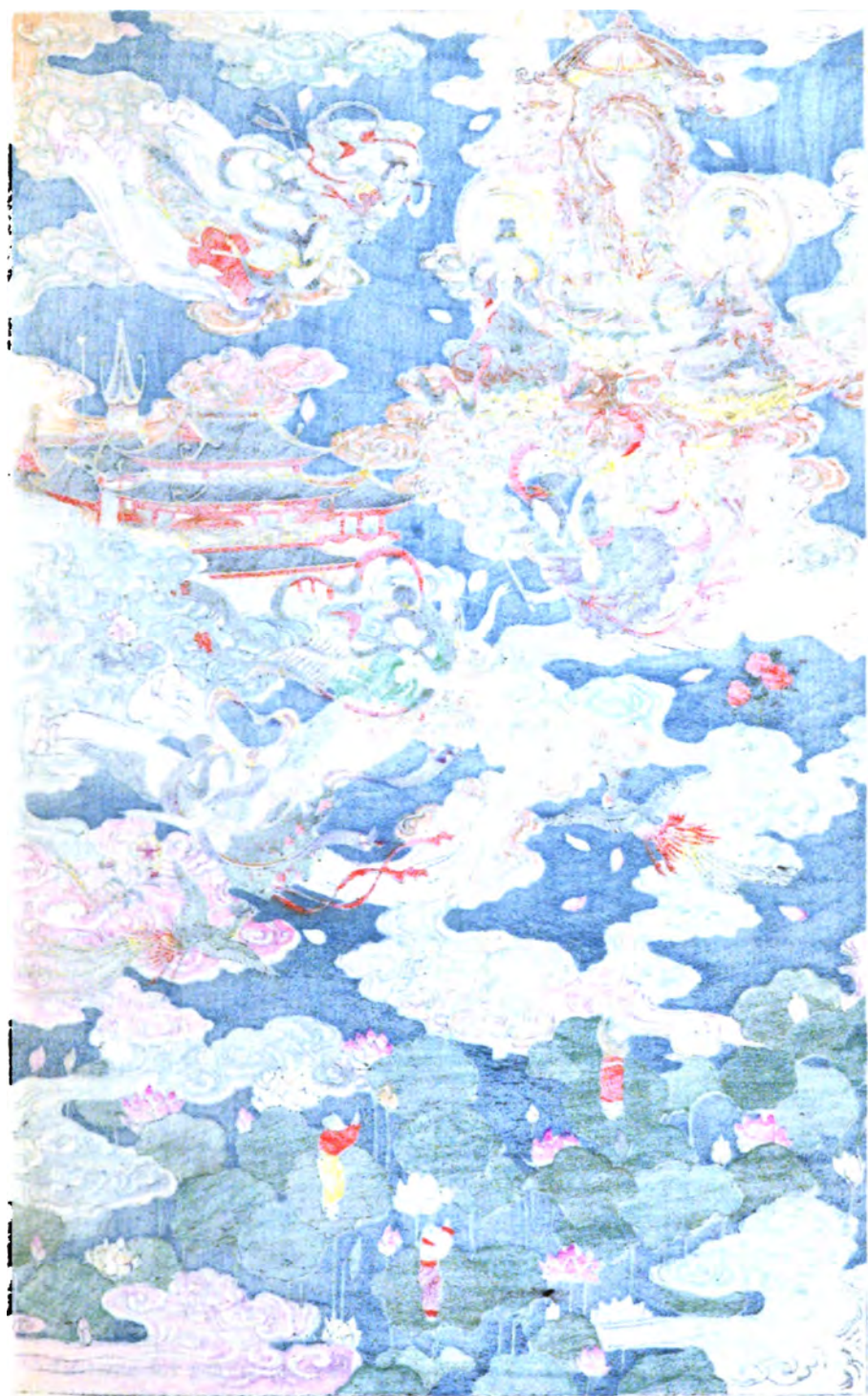
The questions mentioned have all been treated by M. Arréat with competency and penetration, and we can cordially recommend the little book to our readers and give them the assurance that they will derive great profit and edification from its perusal.

T. J. McC.

Miss Jane Addams, of the Hull House, Chicago, has published in *The International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1898, an article entitled "Ethical Survivals in Municipal Corruption." We find here an extremely interesting and instructive analysis of the psychology of the inhabitants of poorer wards of large cities. They elect the "good" man, and their standard of goodness is very different from the inhabitants of the better-educated quarters. What of it, if an alderman is a boodler and is publicly known to sell franchises and contracts for a consideration in money, so long as he is good to the widow and the fatherless, so long as he assists a boy of a voter who got into trouble with the police, so long as he proves to have a "pull" with the magistrates and can fix up matters with the State's attorney, so long as he distributes turkeys on Thanksgiving day among the poor, gives wedding presents, procures passes from the railroads for his constituents to visit friends, and has always an open purse for benefit entertainments, fairs, and other occasions. The idea prevails that he takes the money from the rich and distributes it like another Robin Hood among the poor. He is not elected because he is corrupt, but rather in spite of it; and the truth is that his standard of morality suits his constituents. He exemplifies to them their type of a good man. That after all the poor suffer more than the rich under his mismanagement is not obvious. When the water is foul the prosperous can buy bottled water from distant springs; the poor are limited to the tainted city supply. When garbage contracts are not enforced the rich have the means to remove it themselves, while the poor are helplessly exposed to the foul atmosphere of their surroundings. But the worst view of these conditions consists in the lowering of standards; for what shall become of the upgrowing generation if they are told that a certain kind-hearted, good alderman owes his success in life to law-breaking. Miss Addams, living in her settlement among the poor, and knowing of these conditions from her own experience, has found it necessary to enter into politics, for politics touch the vital interests of all, and it will not do to shirk the responsibilities on election days. We are living in a democracy, which means that we are bound to move forward or to retrograde. No one can stand aside, for our feet stand on the same soil and our lungs breathe the same air.

The publishers of *The Open Court* will be pleased to receive copies of the February number from readers who may have no special need for them, and will send in return any future or any current number of the magazine.

The series of Professor Cornill on *The History of the People of Israel* concludes with the present number of *The Open Court*. We hope that all our readers have followed Professor Cornill's brilliant portrayal of the fortunes of the Jewish race with the interest which it has deserved. The series will soon be published in book form.





THE WESTERN PARADISE.

EXPRESSLY DESIGNED FOR THE OPEN COURT BY K. SUZUKI, AND PRINTED AT TOKIO, JAPAN.

OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION, THE RELIGION OF SCIENCE, AND
THE EXTENSION OF THE RELIGIOUS PARLIAMENT IDEA.

JUNE, 1898.

NO. 505

SOLOMONIC LITERATURE.

BY MOSCURE D. CONWAY.

SOLOMON AND THE SATANS.

When Solomon ascended the throne, Jerusalem must have been a wretched place without any art or architecture, with a mongrel population, mainly of paupers. The holy place was a tent, and the altar of unhewn stone accurately reflected the rude condition of the people, among whom Solomon found workmen of skill enough to build a temple. It is not excessive to say that he compelled a good many of them into the ranks, but it was probably no more than a national conscription of the unemployed paupers in Jerusalem, chiefly on fortification for their own defence. There was apparently no slave-labor. It seems rather bitter to conscript people for public works than in our modern way, for cutting their neighbor's throat. Most of them were the remnants of tribes that once occupied the region, much despised by the Israelites, and probably engaged on Solomon's plan of building Jerusalem into a city of refuge, giving everybody employment and support, as a socialistic movement. An Ephraimite, Jeroboam, who tried to start a revolt in Jerusalem does not seem to have found any sympathy. The only people who complained of any yoke—and the complaint is only heard of after some centuries—were the oppressed and prophet-ridden Israelites who had become fanatical about the strange shrines built for the king's foreign wives, and the splendid carvings and forms in the temple itself. The first two commandments in the decalogue were put forward with special reference to some Solomonic cult with an acknowledged taste for graven images and foreign shrines.



THE WESTERN PARADISE.

ENTERED BY DEED FOR THE OPEN COURT BY K. SUZUKI, AND PRINTED AT TOKYO, JAPAN.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XII. (NO. 6.)

JUNE, 1898.

NO. 505

SOLOMONIC LITERATURE.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

SOLOMON AND THE SATANS.

WHEN Solomon ascended the throne, Jerusalem must have been a wretched place without any art or architecture, with a swarming mongrel population, mainly of paupers. The holy ark was kept in a tent, and the altar of unhewn stone accurately symbolised the rude condition of the people, among whom Solomon could find no workmen of skill enough to build a temple. It is not easy to forgive him for compelling a good many of them into the public works; but it was probably no more than a national conscription of the unemployed paupers in Jerusalem, chiefly on fortifications for their own defence. There was apparently no slave-mart, and it seems rather better to conscript people for public industries than, in our modern way, for cutting their neighbor's throats. Most of them were the remnants of tribes that once occupied the region, much despised by the Israelites, and probably they looked on Solomon's plan of building Jerusalem into a city of magnificence, giving everybody employment and support, as a grand socialistic movement. An Ephraimite, Jeroboam, who tried to get up a revolt in Jerusalem does not seem to have found any adherents. The only people who complained of any yoke—and their complaint is only heard of after some centuries—were the priest-ridden and prophet-ridden Israelites who had become fanatically excited about the strange shrines built for the king's foreign wives, and the splendid carvings and forms in the temple itself. Probably the first two commandments in the decalogue were put there with special reference to some Solomonic cult with an æsthetic taste for graven images and foreign shrines.

There can be little doubt that Solomon, by his patronage of these foreign religions, detached them from the cruel rites traditionally associated with them. Among all the censures pronounced against him none attributes to him any human sacrifices, though such are ascribed to David and Samuel. (1 Sam. xv. 33, 2 Sam. xxi. 9.) The earliest rebukes of sacrifice in the Bible are those attributed to Solomon. "To do justice and judgement is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice" (Prov. xxi. 3). "By mercy and truth iniquity is atoned for" (Prov. xvi. 6). "Mercy and truth preserve the king; he upholdeth his throne by mercy" (Prov. xx. 28). "Deliver them that are carried away to death: those that are ready to be slain forbear not thou to save" (Prov. xxiv. 11). "Love covereth all transgressions" (Prov. x. 12).

Solomon may not indeed have written these and the many similar maxims ascribed to him, but they are among the most ancient sentences in the Bible, and they would not have been attributed to any man who had not left among the people a tradition of humanity and benevolence. Had the royal "idolator" or his wives stained their shrines with human blood the prophets would have been eager to declare it. Two acts of cruelty are ascribed to Solomon's youth, in the book of Kings: one of these, the execution of Shimei, carried out his father's order, but only after Shimei had been given fair warning with means of escape; while the other, the execution of Adonijah (Solomon's brother), if true, is too much wrapped up in obscurity to enable us to judge its motives; but it cannot be regarded as historic.

The second historiographer of Kings, setting out to record Jahveh's anger about Solomon's foreign wives and shrines (1 K. xi.) says, with unconscious humor, that Jahveh raised Satan against him,—two Satans. One of these was Hadad, an Edomite, the other Rezon, a Syrian. The writer says that this was when Solomon was old, his wives having then turned away his heart after other gods. Fortunately, however, this writer has embodied in his record some items, evidently borrowed, which contradict his Jahvistic legend. One of these tells us that Hadad had been carried away from Edom to Egypt, when David and his Captain Joab massacred all the males in Edom; that he there married the sister of Pharaoh; and that he returned to his own country on hearing of the death of David and Joab. When this occurred, Solomon, so far from being old, was about eighteen. The Septuagint (Vatican MS.) says that Hadad "reigned in the land of Edom." We may conclude then that on the return of this heir to the throne Edom

declared its independence, nor is there any indication that Solomon tried to prevent this. Another contradiction of this writer is a note inserted about Rezon the Syrian,—“He was an adversary of Israel all the days of Solomon.” Not therefore a Satan raised up by Jahveh against Solomon when in old age he had turned to other gods. Rezon “reigned over Syria,” and there is no indication of any expedition against him sent out by Solomon. Bishop Colenso (*Pen-tateuch*, Vol. III., p. 101), in referring to these points, remarks that we do not read of a single warlike expedition undertaken by Solomon.¹

The remark (1 Kings xi.) about the Satans set against Solomon is more applicable to the Shiloh traitors, Ahijah and Jeroboam. Jeroboam,—a servant whom Solomon had raised to high office,—was instigated by Ahijah, a “prophet” neglected by Solomon, to his ungrateful treason. Ahijah pretended that he had a divine revelation that he (Jeroboam) was to succeed Solomon on account (of course !) of the king’s shrines to Istar, Chemosh, and Milcom. If the narrative were really historic nothing could be more “Satanic” than the lies and treacheries related of those self-seekers. Were the story true, the failure of these divinely appointed “Satans” to overthrow the kingdom of Solomon, who did not arm against them, must have been due to his popularity. In after times this impunity of the glorious “idolator” would have to be explained; consequently we find Jahveh telling Solomon that, offended as he was by the shrines, he would spare him for his father’s sake, but would rend the kingdom, save one tribe, from his (Solomon’s) son. That this should be immediately followed by the raising up of “Satans” to harass Solomon and Israel, Jahveh having just said the trouble should be postponed till after the king’s death, suggests that the whole account of these quarrels (1 K. xi. 14–40) is a late interpolation. Up to that point the old record is unbroken. “He had peace on all sides round about him. And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon” (1 K. iv. 24–25).

Jahveh, in his personal interview with Solomon (1 K. xi. 11–13), said, “I will surely rend the kingdom from thee and will give

¹ The marriage of Hadad with Pharaoh’s sister and that of Solomon shortly after with Pharaoh’s daughter might naturally, Colenso says, lead to some amicable arrangement between these two young princes, representing respectively the ancient domains of Jacob and Esau, and the Bishop adds the pregnant suggestion: “Thus also would be explained another phenomenon in connexion with this matter which we observe in the Jehovistic portions of Genesis—viz., the *reconciliation* of Esau and Jacob” (Gen. xxxiii). That Solomon was on good terms with Edom appears by the fact that his naval station was in that land (1 K. ix. 26).

it to thy servant." That is, as explained by the "prophet" Ahijah, to Jeroboam. As a retribution and check on idolatry the selection, besides violating Jahveh's promise to David (1 Chron. xxii), was not successful: after the sundering of Israel and Judah into internecine kingdoms, Jeroboam, King of Israel, established idolatry more actively than either Solomon or his son Rehoboam. On Jeroboam, his selected Nemesis, Jahveh inflicted his characteristic punishment of visiting the sins of the fathers on the children: as David was left the seduced wife whose husband he had murdered, while his son was executed; as Solomon was left in peaceful enjoyment of his kingdom and none of the sinful shrines destroyed, while his son bore the penalty; so now Jeroboam, elect of Jahveh, built golden calves, surpassed Solomon's offences, and vengeance was taken on his son Abijah, who died. This Abijah left a son, Baasha, who, undeterred by these fatalities, continued the "idolatries" with impunity for the twenty-four years of his reign, the punishment falling on his son Elah, who was slain after only two years reign by his military servant Zimri. And this Zimri, who thus carried on Jahveh's decree against idolatry, himself continued "in the ways of Jeroboam," the shrines and idols themselves being meanwhile unvisited by any executioner or iconoclast until some centuries later.

In Josiah there arrived a king, of the line of David, who might seem by his fury against idolatry to be another "man after God's own heart." He pulverised the images and the shrines, he "sacrificed the priests on their own altars," he even dug up the bones of those who had ministered at such altars and burnt them. He trusted Jahveh absolutely. He went to the prophetess Hulda who told him that he should be "gathered to his grave in peace." He was slain miserably, by the King of Egypt, to whom the country then became subject.

Josephus ascribed the act of Josiah, in hurling himself against an army that was not attacking him, to fate. The fate was that Josiah, having exterminated the wizards and fortune-tellers, repaired to the only dangerous one among them, because she pretended to be a "prophetess," inspired by Jahveh. Her assurances led him to believe himself invulnerable, personally, and that in his life-time Jerusalem would not suffer the woes she predicted. Josiah, "of the house of David," seems to have thought that his zeal in destroying the shrines which his ancestor Solomon had introduced, mainly Egyptian, would be so grandly consummated if he could destroy a Pharaoh, that he insisted on a combat. Pharaoh-

Necho sent an embassy to say that he was not his enemy, but on his way to fight the Assyrian: "God commanded me to hasten; forbear thou from opposing God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not." Here, however, was the fanatic's opportunity for an Armageddon: Pharaoh had appealed to what Solomon would have regarded as their common deity, but which to Josiah meant a chance to pit Jahveh against the God of Egypt. On Jahveh's invisible forces he must have depended for victory. So perished Josiah, and with him the independence of his country.

Solomon, the Prince of Peace, had made the house of Pharaoh the ally of his country. Josiah carries his people back under Egyptian bondage. Solomon had built the metropolitan Temple, whose shrines, symbols, works of art, represented a catholicity to all races and religions,—peace on earth, good will to man. Josiah, panic-stricken about a holy book purporting to have been found in the Temple, concerning which the King by his counsellors consulted a female fortune-teller, makes a holocaust of all that Solomon had built up.

THE SONG OF SONGS.

The praise of the virtuous woman, at the close of the Proverbs, is given a Jahvist turn by verse 30: "Favour is deceitful and beauty vain; but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised." But the Solomonists also had their ideas of the virtuous woman, and of beauty, these being beautifully expressed in a series of dramatic idylls entitled *The Song of Songs*. To this latter, in the original title, is added, "which is Solomon's"; and it confirms what has been said concerning the superstitious awe of everything proceeding from Solomon, and the dread of insulting the Holy Spirit of Wisdom supernaturally lodged in him, that we find in the Bible these passionate love songs. And indeed Solomon must have been superlatively wise to have written poems in which his greatness is slightly ridiculed. That of course would be by no means incredible in a man of genuine wisdom—on the contrary would be characteristic—if other conditions were met by the tradition of his authorship.

At the outset, however, we are confronted by the question whether the *Song of Songs* has any general coherency or dramatic character at all. Several modern critics of learning, among them

Prof. Karl Budde and the late Edward Reuss, find the book a collection of unconnected lyrics, and Professor Cornill of Königsberg has added the great weight of his name to that opinion (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. 1891. Pp. 236). Unfortunately Professor Cornill's treatment is brief, and not accompanied by an analysis of the book. He favors as a principle Reuss's division of Canticles into separate idylls, and thinks there has been imported into the collection of songs an imaginary system and significance. This is certainly true of the "allegorical" purport, aim, and religious ideas ascribed to the book, but Professor Cornill's reference to Herder seems to leave the door open for further treatment of the Song of Songs from a purely literary standpoint. He praises Herder's discernment in describing the book as a string of pearls, but passes without criticism or denial Herder's further view that there are indications of editorial modifications of some of the lyrics. For what purpose? Herder also pointed out that various individualities and conditions are represented. This indeed appears undeniable: here are prince and shepherd, the tender mother, the cruel brothers, the rough watchman, the dancer, the bride and bridegroom. The *dramatis personæ* are certainly present: but is there any drama?

Admitting that there was no ancient Hebrew theatre, the question remains whether among the later Hellenic Jews the old songs were not arranged, and new ones added, in some kind of *Singspiele* or vaudeville. There seems to be a chorus. It is hardly consistent with the general artistic quality of the compilation that the lady should say "I am swarthy *but comely*," or "I am a lily of the valley" (a gorgeous flower). Surely the compliments are ejaculations of the chorus. And may we not ascribe to a chorus the questions, "Who is this that cometh up out of the wilderness?" etc. (iii. 6-10.) "What is thy beloved more than another beloved?" (v. 9.) "Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness leaning upon her lover?" (viii. 5.)

As in the modern *vaudeville* songs are often introduced without any special relation to the play, so we find in Canticles some songs that might be transposed from one chapter to another without marring the work, but is this the case with all of them? The song in the first chapter, for instance, in which the damsel, brought by the King into his palace, tells the ladies of the home she left, and of maltreatment by her brothers, who took her from her own vineyard and made her work in theirs, where she was sunburnt,—this could not be placed effectively at the end of the book, nor the

triumphant line, "My vineyard, which is mine own, is before me," be set at the beginning. This is but one of several instances which might be quoted. Even pearls may be strung with definite purpose, as in a rosary, and how perfectly set is the great rose set, the hymn to Love in the final chapter! Or to remember Professor Cornill's word *Scenenwechsel*, along with his affirmation that the love of human lovers is the burden of the "unrivalled" book, there are some sequences and contrasts which do give some impression of dissolving views, and occasionally reveal a connexion between separate tableaux. For example the same words (which I conjecture to be those of a chorus) are used to introduce Solomon in pompous palanquin with grand escort, that are presently used to greet the united lovers.

"Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness like pillars of smoke"? (iii. 6.)

"Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness

Leaning upon her beloved"? (viii. 5.)

These are five chapters apart, yet surely they may be supposed connected without *Hineininterpretation*. Any single contrast of this kind might be supposed a mere coincidence, but there are two others drawn between the swarthy maiden and the monarch. The tableau of Solomon in his splendor dissolves into another of his Queen Mother crowning him on the day of his espousal: that of Shulamith leaning on her beloved dissolves into another of *her* mother pledging her to her lover in espousals under an apple tree. And then we find (viii. 11, 12) Solomon's distant vineyards tended by many hirelings contrasted with Shulamith's own little vineyard tended by herself.

The theory that the book is a collection of bridal songs, and that the mention of Solomon is due to an eastern custom of designating the bridegroom and bride as Solomon and Queen Shulamith, during their honeymoon, does not seem consistent with the fact that in several allusions to Solomon his royal state is slighted, whereas only compliments would be paid to a bridegroom. Moreover the two—Shulamith and Solomon—are not named together in any one place idyll. It will, I think, appear as we proceed that the Shelomoh (Solomon) of Canticles represents a distinct conventionalisation of the monarch, with some traits not found in any other book in the Bible. Nevertheless there is one verse near the close, to be presently considered, which suggests that the bride and bridegroom are at that one point represented, though not exactly named, as Solomon and Solomona.

Renan assigned Canticles the date B. C. 992-952, mainly because in it Tirza is coupled with Jerusalem. Tirza was a capital only during those years, and at any later period was too insignificant a town to be spoken of as in the Song vi. 4:

"Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah,
Comely as Jerusalem,
Dazzling as bannered ranks."

But Mr. Russell Martineau, a thorough and unbiassed scholar, points out in the work phrases from Greek authors of the third century B. C., and assigns a date not earlier than B. C. 247-222.¹ But may it not be that the Alexandrian of the third century built on some earlier foundation, as Shakespeare adapted the "Pound of Flesh" and the "Three Caskets" (Merchant of Venice) from tales traceable as far back as early Buddhist literature? or as Marlowe and Goethe used the mediæval legend of Faustus?

The several songs can hardly be assigned to one and the same century. The coupling of Tirza and Jerusalem points to a remote past for that particular lyric, and is it credible that any Jew after Josiah's time could have written the figleafless songs so minutely descriptive of Shelumith's physical charms? Could any Jewish writer of the third century before our era have written iv. 1-7 or vii. 1-9, regarding no name or place as too sacred to be pressed into his hyperboles of raptures at every detail of the maiden's form, and have done this in perfect innocency, without a blush? Or if such a poet could have existed in the later Jahvist times, would his songs have found their place in the Jewish canon? As it was the book was admitted only with a provision that no Jew under thirty years of age should read it. That it was included at all was due to the occult pious meanings read into it by rabbins, while it is tolerably certain that the realistic flesh-painting would have been expunged but for sanctions of antiquity similar to those which now protect so many old classics from expurgation by our Vice Societies. These songs, sensuous without sensuality, with their Oriental accent, seem ancient enough to have been brought by Solomon from Ophir.

On the other hand one cannot now, with Herder, ascribe the whole book to the Solomonic period. The exquisite exaltation of Love, as a human passion (viii. 6, 7), brings us into the refined atmosphere amid which Eros was developed, and and it is immediately followed by a song that hardly rises above doggerel (viii. 8,

¹ *American Journal of Philology*. Vol. III.

9). This is an interruption of the poem that looks as if suggested by the line that follows it (first line of verse 10) and meant to be comic. It impresses me as a very late interpolation, and by a hand inferior to the Alexandrian artist who in style has so well matched the more ancient pieces in his literary mosaic. Herder finds the collection as a whole Solomonic, and makes the striking suggestion that its author at a more mature age would take the tone of Ecclesiasticus.

Considered simply as a literary production, the composition makes on my own mind the impression of a romance conveyed in idylls, each presenting a picturesque situation or a scene, the general theme and *motif* being that of the great Solomonic Psalm.

This psalm (xlv.), quoted and discussed in a former article brings before us a beautiful maiden brought from a distant region to the court, but not quite happy: she is entreated to forget her people and enjoy the dignities and luxuries offered by her lord, the King. This psalm is remarkable in its intimations of a freedom of sentiment accorded to the ladies wooed by Solomon, and the same spirit pervades Canticles. Its chief refrain is that love must not be coerced or awakened until it please. This magnanimity might naturally connect the name of Solomon with old songs of love and courtship such as those utilised and multiplied in this book, whose composition might be naturally entitled A Song (made) of Songs Which Are Solomon's.

The heroine, whose name is Shulamith,—feminine of Shelomoh Solomon)¹—is an only daughter, cherished by her apparently wid-

¹ In 1 Chron. iii. 19 Shelomith is a descendant of Solomon. In my article "Abishag the Shunamith," 1 Kings, i. 2, will be conjecturally connected with Psalm xlv., and the identity of her name with Shulamith has also been mentioned. This identity of the names was suggested by Gesenius and accepted by Fürst, Renan, and others. Abishag is therefore also called "Solomona." In 1 Kings i. there is some indication of a *lacuna* between verses 4 and 5. "And the damsel (Abishag) was very fair; and she cherished the King and ministered to him; but the King knew her not. Then"—what? Why, all about Adonijah's effort to become king. David did not marry Abishag; she remained a maiden after his death and free to wed either of the brothers. The care with which this is certified was probably followed by some story either of her cleverness or of her relations with Solomon which gave her the name Shunamith—Shulamith—Solomona. Of the Shunamith it is said they found her far away and "brought her to the King"; and in the beginning of the Song Shulamith says "The King hath brought me into his chambers." This suggests a probability of legends having arisen concerning Abishag, and concerning the lady entreated in Psalm lxxv., which, had they been preserved, might perhaps account for the coincidence of names, as well as the parallelism of the situations at court of the lady of the psalm, of Abishag the Shunamith, and of Shulamith.

The "great woman" called Shunamith in 2 Kings 4 was probably so called because of her "wisdom" in discerning the prophet Elisha, and the reference to the town of Shunem (verse 8) inserted by a writer who misunderstood the meaning of Shunamith. This story is unknown to Josephus, though he tells the story of the widow's pot of oil immediately preceding, in the same chapter, and asserts that he has gone over the acts of Elisha "particularly," "as we have them set down in the sacred books." (*Antiq.* Book ix. ch. 4.) The chapter (2 Kings iv.) is mainly a mere travesty of the stories told in 1 Kings xvii., transparently meant to certify that the miraculous

owed mother but maltreated by her brothers. Incensed against her, they compel Shulamith to keep their vineyards to the neglect of her own. She becomes sunburnt, "swarthy," but is very "attractive," and is brought by Solomon to his palace, where she delights the ladies by her beauty and dances. In what I suppose to be one of the ancient Solomonic Songs embodied in the work it is said :

" There are threescore queens, and fourscore concubines,
And maidens without number;
Beyond compare is my dove, my unsoiled ;
She is the only one of her mother,
The cherished one of her that bare her :
The daughters saw her and called her blessed,
Yea, the queens and the concubines, and they praised her."¹

Thus far the *motif* seems to be that of a Cinderella oppressed by brothers but exalted by the most magnificent of princes. But here the plot changes. The magnificence of Solomon cannot allure from her shepherd lover this "lily of the valley." Her lover visits her in the palace, where her now relenting brothers (vi. 12) seem to appear (though this is doubtful) and witness her triumphs ; and all are in raptures at her dancing and her amply displayed charms—all unless one (perhaps the lover) who, according to a doubtful interpretation, complains that they should gaze at her as at dancers in the camps (vi. 13).²

Although Mr. Russell Martineau believes, against most other commentators, that Solomon is only a part of the scene, and not among the *dramatis personæ*, the King certainly seems to be occasionally present, as in the following dialogue, where I give the probable, though of course conjectural, names. The dancer has approached the King while at table.

Solomon—

" I have compared thee, O my love,
To my steed in Pharaoh's chariots.
Thy cheeks are comely with plaits of hair,
Thy neck with strings of jewels.
We will make thee plaits of gold
With studs of silver."

power of Elijah had passed with his mantle to Elisha. There is no mention of Shanem in the original legend.

¹ Compare Psalm xlv. 12-15.

² 1. "Why will ye look upon Shulamith as upon the dance of Mahanaim"? The sense is obscure. Cf. Gen. xxxii. 2, where Jacob names a place Manhanaim, literally two armies or camps; but it was in honor of the angels that met him there, and it is possible that Shulamith is here compared to an angel. If the verse means any blush at the dancer's display of her person it is the trace of the fig-leaf in the book, and betrays the Alexandrian.

Shulamith, who on leaving the King meets her jealous lover—

" While the King sat at his table
My spikenard sent forth its odor.
My beloved is unto me as a bag of myrrh
That lieth between my breasts,
My beloved is unto me as a cluster of henna-flowers
In the vineyards of En-gedi."

Shepherd Lover—

" Behold thou art fair, my love, behold thou art fair ;
Thine eyes are as doves,
Behold thou art fair, my beloved, yea pleasant :
Also our couch is green.
The beams of our house are of cedar,
And our rafters are of fir."

Shulamith—

" I am a (mere) crocus of the plain."

Chorus—

" A lily of the valleys."

Shepherd Lover—

" As a lily among thorns
So is my love among the daughters."

Shulamith—

" As the apple-tree among forest trees
So is my beloved among the sons.
I sat down under his shadow with great delight,
And his fruit was sweet to my taste."

Here we find the damsel anointing the king with her spikenard, but for her the precious fragrance is her shepherd. Against the plaits of gold and studs of silver offered in the palace (i. 2) her lover can only point to his cottage of cedar and fir, and a couch of grass. She is content to be only a flower of the plain and valley, not for the seraglio. Nevertheless she remains to dance in the palace; a sufficient time there is needed by the poet to illustrate the impregnability of true love against all other splendors and attractions, even those of the Flower of Kings, who however puts no constraint on her, one song, thrice repeated, saying to the ladies of the harem—

" I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem,
By the (free) gazelles, by the hinds in the field,
That ye stir not up, nor awaken love,
Until it please."

This refrain is repeated the second time just before a picture of Solomon's glory, shaded by a suggestion that all is not bright—

ness even around this Prince of Peace. The ladies of the seraglio are summoned to look out and see the passing of the King in state, seated on his palanquin of purple and gold, but escorted by armed men "because of fear in the night." In immediate contrast with that scene, we see Shulamith going off with her humble lover, now his bride, to his field and to her vineyard, and singing a beautiful song of love, strong as death, flame-tipped arrow of a god, unquenchable, unpurchasable.

"If a man offer all the wealth of his house for love
He would only be despised."

Though according to the revised version of (vi. 12) her relatives are princely, and it may be they who invite her to return (vi. 13), she says, "I am my beloved's." With him she will go into the field and lodge in the village (vii. 10, 11). She finds her own little garden and does not envy Solomon.

"Solomon hath a vineyard at Baalhamon;
He hath let out the vineyard to keepers;
Each for the fruit thereof was to bring a thousand pieces of silver:
My vineyard, which is mine, is before me:
Thou, O Solomon, shalt have the thousand,
And those that keep the fruit thereof two hundred."

There was, as we see in Koheleth, a prevailing tradition that Solomon felt the hollowness of his palatial life. "See life with a woman thou lovest." The wife is the fountain:

"Bethink thee of thy fountain
In the days of thy youth."

This perhaps gave rise to a theory that the shepherd lover was Solomon himself in disguise, like the god Krishna among the cow-maidens. It does not appear probable that any thought of that kind was in the writer of this Song. Certainly there appears not to be any purpose of lowering Solomon personally in enthroning Love above him. There is no hint of any religious or moral objection to him, and indeed throughout the work Solomon appears in a favorable light personally,—he is beloved by the daughters of Jerusalem (v. 10)—while his royal estate is, as we have seen, shown in a light not altogether enviable. Threescore mighty men guard him: "every man hath his sword upon his thigh" (cf. Psalms xlv. 3) "because of fear in the night," and "the day of the gladness of his heart" was the day of his espousals (iii. 8, 11). His "gladness," by the way, is mentioned also in Psalms xlv. 7).

It is not improbable that there is an allusion to Solomon's magic seal in the first lines of the hymn to Love (viii. 6). The legend of the Ring must have been long in growing to the form in which it is found in the Talmud, where it is said that Solomon's "fear in the night" arose from his apprehension that the Devil might again get hold of his Ring, with which he (Aschmedai) had wrought so much mischief. (*Gittin*. Vol. 68, col. 1, 2). The hymn strikes me as late Alexandrian :

" Wear me as a seal on thy breast
 As a seal-ring on thine arm :
 For love is strong as death,
 Its passion unappeasable as the grave ;
 Its shafts are arrows of fire,
 The lightnings of a god. [Jah.]
 Many waters cannot quench love,
 Deluges cannot overwhelm it.
 Should a noble offer all the wealth of his house for love
 It would be utterly spurned."

Excluding the interrupting verses 8 and 9, the hymn is followed by a song about Solomon's vineyard, preceded by two lines which appear to me to possess a significance overlooked by commentators. Shulamith (evidently) speaks :

" I was a wall, my breasts like its towers :
 Thus have I been in his eyes as one finding peace.
 Solomon hath a vineyard," etc. [as above.]

The word "peace" is *Shalôm*; it is immediately followed by *Shelomoh* (Solomon, "peaceful") ; and *Shulamith* (also meaning "peaceful"), thus brings together the fortress of her lover's peace, her own breast, and the fortifications built by the peaceful King (who never attacked but was always prepared for defence). Here surely, at the close of Canticles, is a sort of tableau : *Shalôm*, *Shulamith*, *Shelomoh* : Peace, the prince of Peace, the queen of Peace. If this were the only lyric one would surely infer that these were the bride and bridegroom, under the benediction of Peace. It is not improbable that at this climax of the poem Shulamith means that in her lover she has found her Solomon, and he found in her his Solomona,—their reciprocal strongholds of *Shalôm* or peace.

Of course my interpretations of the Song of Songs are largely conjectural, as all other interpretations necessarily are. The songs are there to be somehow explained, and it is of importance that every unbiassed student of the book should state his conjectures, these being based on the contents of the book, and not on the dog-

matic theories which have been projected into it. I have been compelled, under the necessary limitations of an essay like the present, to omit interesting details in the work, but have endeavored to convey the impression left on my own mind by a totally unprejudiced study. The conviction has grown upon me with every step that, even at the lowest date ever assigned it, the work represents the earliest full expression of romantic love known in any language. It is so entirely free from fabulous, supernatural, or even pious incidents and accents, so human and realistic, that its having escaped the modern playwright can only be attributed to the superstitious encrustations by which its beauty has been concealed for many centuries.

This process of perversion was begun by Jewish Jahvists, but they have been far surpassed by our A. S. version, whose solemn nonsense at most of the chapter heads in the Bible here reached its climax. It is a remarkable illustration of the depths of fatuity to which clerical minds may be brought by prepossession, that the closing chapter of Canticles, with its beautiful exaltation of romantic love, could be headed: "*The love of the Church to Christ. The vehemency of Love. The calling of the Gentiles. The Church Prayeth for Christ's coming.*" The "Higher Criticism" is now turning the headings into comedy, but they have done—nay, are continuing—their very serious work of misdirection.

It has already been noted that the Jewish doctors exalted Bathsheba, adultress as she was, into a blessed woman, probably because of the allusion to her in the Song (iii. 2) as having crowned her royal Son, who had become mystical; and it can only be ascribed to Protestantism that, instead of the Queen-Mother Mary, the Church becomes Bathsheba's successor in our version: "*The Church glorieth in Christ.*" And of course the shepherd lover's feeding (his flock) among the lilies becomes "*Christ's care of the Church.*"

But for such fantasies the beautiful Song of Songs might indeed never have been preserved at all, yet is it a scandal that Bibles containing chapter-headings known by all educated Christians to be falsifications, should be circulated in every part of the world, and chiefly among ignorant and easily misled minds. These simple people, reading the anathemas pronounced in their Bibles on those who add anything to the book given them as the "Word of God" Deuteronomy iv. 2, xii. 32, Proverbs xxx. 6, Revelation xxii. 18), cannot imagine that these chapter-headings are not in the original books, but forged. And what can be more brazenly fraud-

ulent than the chapter-heading to one of these very passages (Revelation xxii. 18, 19), where nothing is said of the "Word of God," but over which is printed: "18. Nothing may be added to the word of God, nor taken therefrom." But even the learned cannot quite escape the effect of these perversions. How far they reach is illustrated in the fate of Mary Magdalen, a perfectly innocent woman according to the New Testament, yet by a single chapter-heading in Luke branded for all time as the "sinner" who anointed Jesus,—“Magdalen” being now in our dictionaries as a repentant prostitute. Yet there are hundreds of additions to the Bible more harmful than this,—additions which, whether honestly made or not originally, are now notoriously fraudulent. It is especially necessary in the interest of the Solomonic and secular literature in the Bible that Truth shall be liberated from the malarious well—Jahvist and ecclesiastical—in which she has long been sunk by mistranslation, interpolation, and chapter-headings. The Christian churches are to be credited with having produced critics brave enough to expose most of these impositions, and it is now the manifest duty of all public teachers and literary leaders to uphold those scholars, to protest against the continuance of the propaganda of pious frauds, and to insist upon the supremacy of truth.

SUBJECT AND OBJECT.

BY WILLIAM MORTON PAYNE.

A DROP of water from the ocean's face
Dashed up, to sparkle a moment in the light,
Then fall, its impulse spent, leaving in sight
Upon the eternal vast expanse no trace
Behind ; a phantom, hounded in the chase
By cruel clamorous years ; an atom, quite
Helpless, and hurled along in aimless flight
Upon the void unbounded ways of space—

Viewed from without, even such is man, but how
Other, seen by himself, within ; the sum
Of sufferings measureless, of raptures dumb,
Being beyond reach of words ; purpose his brow
Enthroning, defiant of fate's deepest curse ;
His mind the bearer of the universe.

BUDDHA PICTURES AND STATUES.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE MAY fairly assume that in Buddhism the Buddha pictures, like the Christ pictures in the history of Christianity, belong to a comparatively late period. The original method of keeping the memory of the teacher vivid in the minds of his followers was by relics. These relics were and are still kept buried under dagobas or preserved in artistic caskets in the Buddhist temples. With few exceptions they are not human bones, but dainty little pearl-like bodies, in size like a grain of rice and scarcely larger than a pea. They are said to have oozed out from the metal coffin when Buddha's body was burnt,¹ and were distributed at the time among his followers in the various Buddhist countries.

Relics are still held in reverence in Buddhist countries, but Buddha images are not less dearly cherished. Representations of Buddha are almost more frequent among Buddhists than Christ images among Christians, and in spite of the typical similarity of all Buddha-images



BUDDHA AFTER HIS SEVERE FASTS.

The condition of Buddha reminds us somewhat of the emaciated figures on Christian crucifixes. Since Buddha is commonly represented as the Blessed One, a statue exhibiting his sufferings is very rare.

¹ See *The Open Court*, Vol. XI., No. 489, p. 122, where a Buddhist High Priest of Ceylon gives his view of Buddhist relic worship.

there is a great variety of them, conforming to national taste and religious preferences. There are the old Hindu Buddha pictures dating from the time when India was still a Buddhist country. There are the wall frescoes in the Buddhist caves showing Buddha in almost every attitude. There are the Gāndhāra sculptures of Græco-Buddhist origin which date back to the time when after the Alexandrian invasion Greek princes ruled in the northwestern



AN EMBLEM OF DIVINE OR
MAGIC POWER.
Especially used by the priests
of the Shingon sect.



A JAPANESE RELIC CASSET.
Containing (1) a relic of Buddha himself, (2) a relic of a
Buddhist saint, and (3) a small beryl. The walls are
made of crystal.

part of India; the most famous of these Greek princes being King Meleander, the King Milinda of the Buddhist scriptures. There are the Buddha statues of Tibet, of China, of Japan, of Siam, and of Ceylon, all of them differing in taste and expressing different aspects in the interpretation of the doctrines of the Buddha. The Tibetan pictures are more mystical than the others, while those of China and Japan show almost every shade of sectarian belief.

Occidental taste differs greatly from Oriental taste. This becomes most obvious in religious art. There are few Buddha statues which appeal to us as directly as do the best Christ statues,

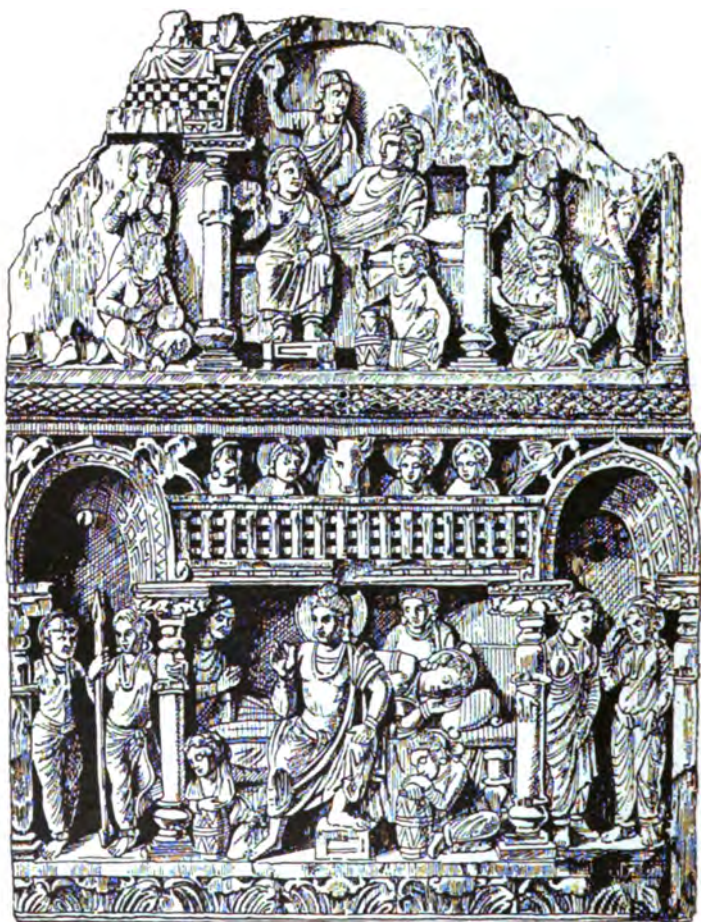


A FRESCO FROM THE AJANT. CAVES.

(The central piece appears like a Buddhist illustration of "Suffer little children" etc.)

such as Thorwaldsen's famous masterpiece. And there can be no doubt that of all the Buddha statues Western people will give the preference to the Gāndhāra sculptures,

A Japanese statue which is here reproduced (p. 348) has played of late an important part in connexion with the Budh-Gâya temple. The Budh-Gâya temple which had fallen into ruins has been re-



BUDDHA'S RENUNCIATION.

Gandhâra Sculptures of Jamâlgarhi. The upper part shows the prince surrounded by servants, musicians, and dancers. The lower part represents the moment when he leaves his wife. The ox in the gallery indicates the date, which was the full moon of the month Ashâda, when the moon stood in the zodiacal sign of the Bull (Uttarâshâdhâ). (See Grünwedel, *Buddh. Kunst.* page 109.)

stored through the action of the English Government to its pristine beauty. It is in the possession of a Hindu high priest called the mahant, who derives a considerable income from the pilgrims visit-

ing it. The Anagárika H. Dharmapála had received from the Japanese Buddhists a Japanese Buddha statue made of sandalwood to be set up in the Buddh-Gâya temple, but the mahant had it removed.



BUDDHA HEALING. From the Gandhāra Sculptures. (Takht-i-bahāi.)

At first the British Government sided with the mahant, but Dharmapála appealed to the courts, and after a thorough investigation of the claims of the Buddhists to the usage of the temple, a document



A GRÆCO-INDIAN BUDDHA. From the Gandhāra Sculptures. (Takt-i-bahāi.)

was found which substantiated their right to a rest-house for pilgrims within the precincts of the temple, whereupon the decision was rendered that the Japanese Buddha-image should receive an appropriate place in the temple and Buddhist pilgrims should not be interfered with in their devotional services.

Among the other Buddha statues here reproduced, some possess a historical value. There is, for instance, Dharmapâla's Bud-



ONE OF THE PROTECTORS OF THE GOOD LAW.
A favorite Buddhist saint.



ENTERING INTO SAMADHI (trance).
A Tibetan Buddha, showing the mystic bias
of Lamaism.

dha statue, which he carried with him round the world when visiting the Chicago Parliament of Religions in 1893. The image was found in the Budh-Gâya temple near the spot which, according to tradition, marks the place where Buddha attained to enlightenment. The inscription reads as follows:

"Om | Ye dhammā hettappabhavā,
Tesaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato āha.

Tesañ ca yo nirodho.
Evaṃ-vādi mahāsamaṇo."

Which means, according to Henry C. Warren's translation :

"Om ! The Buddha hath the causes told
Of all things springing from a cause ;
And also how things cease to be
'Tis this the Mighty Monk proclaims."¹



A TYPICAL BUDDHIST STATUE OF DARJEELING.
Indian workmanship.)



BUDDHA.
An ancient Indian bronze carried by
Buddhist missionaries, probably of
the sixth century of our era, from In-
dia to Japan.

The inscription on the pedestal reads :

"Om [namo] kamaladeva dharmmadā [nam],"²

which means: "Om, adoration! The religious gift of Kamala-
deva !"

¹ H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 89. The inscription at the base mentions the donor's name.

² The bracketed letters, especially the latter syllable, marked with an asterisk, do not come out clearly.

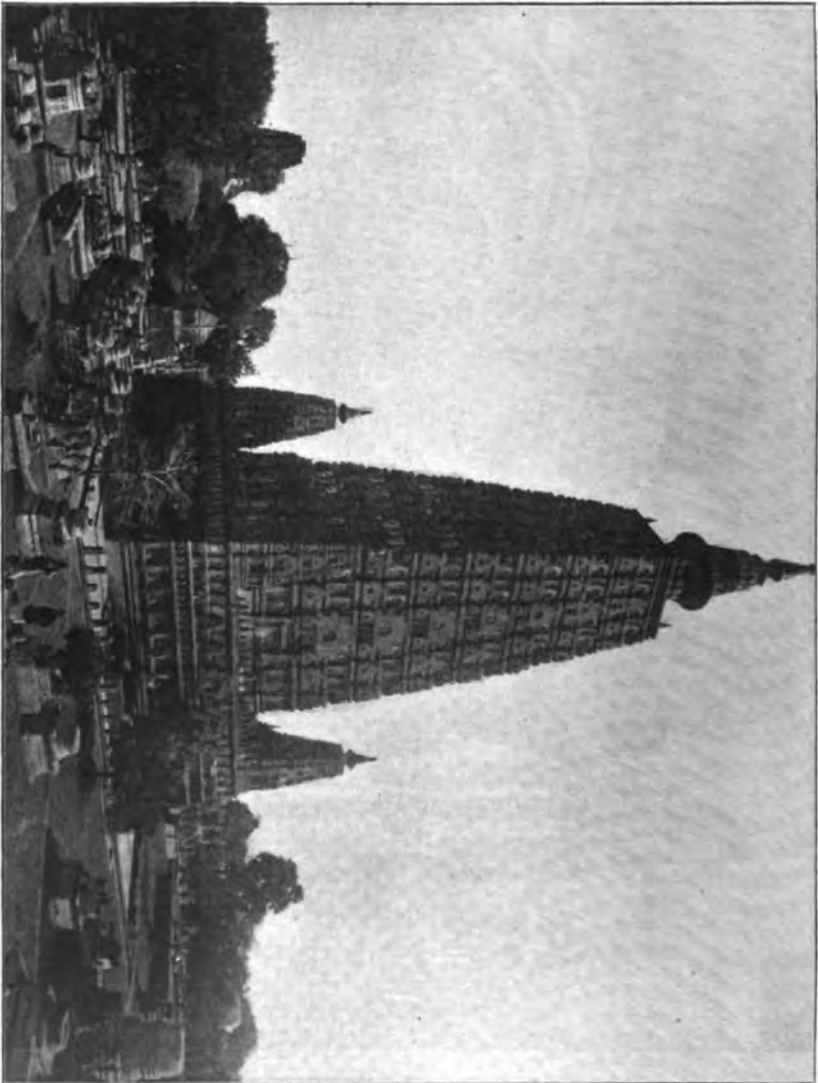


BUDDHA STATUE OF BUDH-GAYA.
Now in possession of the Anagárika H. Dharmapála.

Professor Bühler, in a private letter, says :

"The characters are of a late type which is the immediate precursor of the modern Devanāgarī, and may belong to the eighth or ninth century A. D., possibly

BUDH-GAYA AFTER ITS RESTORATION. FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH.



even to the tenth. You will find plenty like them on Plate V. of my palæography in the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde*, published by Mr. Karl J. Trübner in Strassburg."



BUDDHA THE TEACHER. Carved wood of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. A typical image such as is found in almost every household shrine.

Another Buddha statue of great interest is the little figure made of bronze which, according to the testimony of the Rev.

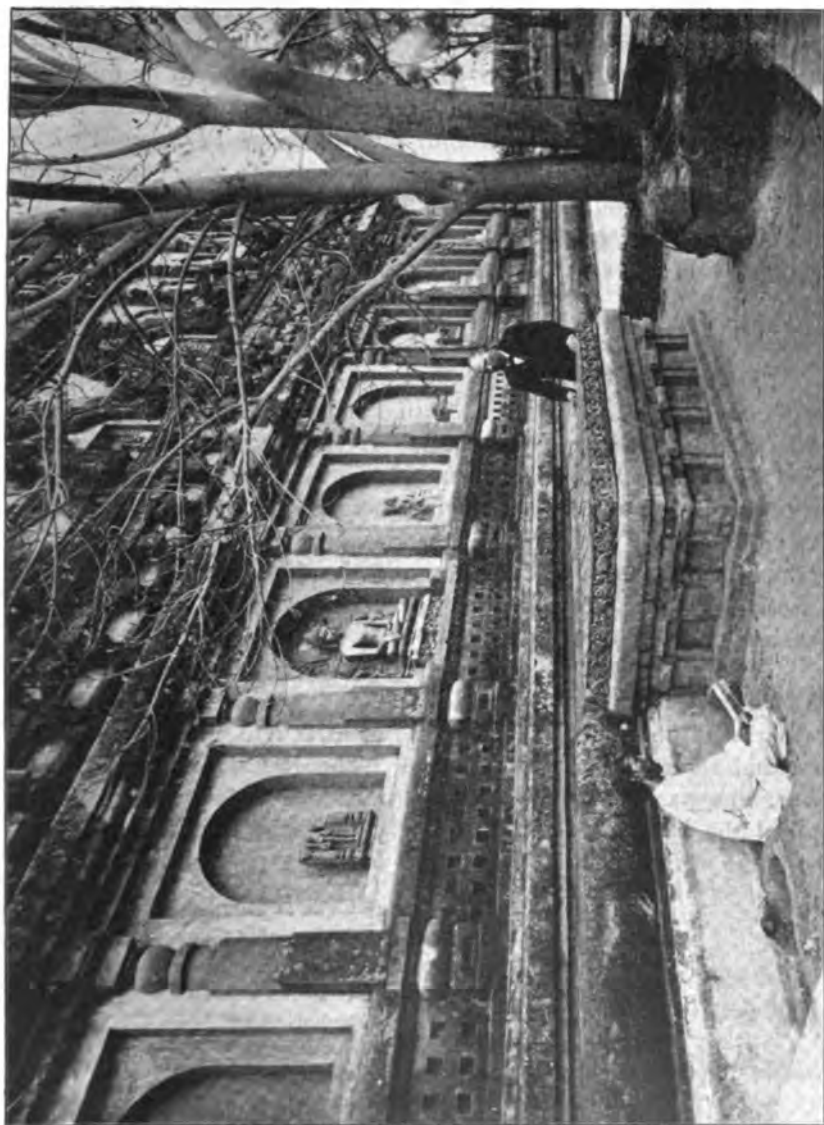


JAPANESE BUDDHA. (Modern taste.)

This statue is a present which was given by the Japanese to the Budh-Gaya temple, where it was set up by the Anagarika H. Dharmapala. The Mahant (a Hindu high priest) had it removed, but after a long law-suit it was restored to its place by a decree of the courts.

Shaku Soyen, a Buddhist abbot of Kamakura, was brought centuries ago from India to China and from China to Japan by Bud-

dhist missionaries. The bronze is of poorest Indian workmanship, but, judging from the fact that it is solid, not hollowed out, as are



THE DIAMOND-SEAT. This stone indicates the place where Buddha attained to enlightenment. In front is seen the Anagarika H. Dharmapala reading in the Buddhist Suttas.

all later bronzes, it must be very old. Its historical value is extraordinary. Think of a cross which Christian missionaries had brought from Rome to Great Britain! The size of the figure is small enough

to allow it be carried in a pocket without any inconvenience. The statue was some time ago in the possession of the Rt. Rev. Fukuda Gyokai, the Superintendent-General of the Jodo sect, who was so pleased with the success of the Kokyosha, a society devoted to the publication of all Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Buddhist scriptures, that he gave this precious little statue to its founder Mr. Irokawa Teiichi, who, in his turn, handed it over to the Rev. Shaku Soyen on his departure to the Religious Parliament with the request to hand it to some one in America whom he would deem worthy of it. Shaku Soyen thereupon met at Chicago the author of the *Gospel of Buddha*, to whom he presented the statue together with an explanation of its history and significance.

THE WESTERN PARADISE OF THE BUDDHISTS.

Paradise, this dearest thought of the pious Buddhists, is quite analogous to the idea of the Christian heaven. The doctrine prevails in the Mahâyâna, and cannot as yet be traced in the older Hinayâna. The Mahâyâna sects believe that all good people, and especially good Buddhists, who have invoked the name of the Buddha in faith, will be reborn in the Paradise of the West, which is praised in many beautiful hymns and described in sutras as the Pure Land where only goodness prevails and no disharmony, no passion, no trouble, will worry the souls of the faithful.

The Paradise, or Pure land, is pictured in many wall-hangings in Buddhist temples, and the Pure Land sect derives its name from the importance which its priests attach to the belief in an eventual rebirth in the Pure Land. The Rev. Hampden C. Du Bose, who was fourteen years a missionary at Soochow, translates one of the hymns to Amitâbha, the Buddha of Infinite Light, in the home of the blest, as follows:

HYMN TO AMITA IN THE HOME OF THE BLESSED.

" See, streaming forth radiance for thousands of miles,
 Ever sits the compassionate Buddha and smiles,
 Giving joy to victims of sorrow and strife,
 Who are saved by his law from the evils of life.
 All his features of beauty no words can express,
 For the sands of the Ganges in number are less;
 The flowers of the lotus encircle his seat,
 As if of themselves they spring up round his feet.
 Whoever would enter the home of the blest,
 In his innermost thoughts should incessantly rest
 On that beautiful form like the moon on high,
 When she marches full-orbed through an unclouded sky.

By that halo of light that encircles his head,
 On all living beings a radiance is shed ;
 The sun at noon-day is less glorious than he,
 His compassion resembles a bottomless sea.
 His golden arms are outstretched to relieve
 The sufferers that weep and the hearts that do grieve ;
 His mercy is such as none else can display,
 And long years of gratitude cannot repay."

The favorite thought of the Buddhist devotee, however, is the Buddha of the life beyond, the supreme ruler of Paradise.

In explanation of the Buddhist belief in the Paradise of the West, the same missionary translates from some of the sacred books of Buddhism the following passage :

" Ten million miles to the west there is an earth called Paradise, the home of Amita. Why is it called Paradise? Answer : Because all the creatures born there have no sorrow. There are seven rows of balustrades, seven rows of precious trees around, and seven precious lakes with golden sands. The streets are a compound of gold, silver, pearls, and crystal. There are towers and pavilions adorned with gold, silver, pearls, crystal, and agate. In the lakes are lilies the size of wheels, azure, yellow, red, and white.

" Six hours of the day and six hours of the night there is a rain of flowers. The inhabitants gather them in their robes in the morning, take them to other lands to the ten billion other Buddhas, and return, being absent about as long as it takes to eat rice.

" The birds of Paradise, variegated in plumage, are famous ; white cranes, peacocks, and parrots, chant the Buddhist prayers. These birds have no original sin.

" In that happy land the three evils do not exist,—not even the names of the three evils are known. Amita, wishing the 'law-sound' (our word gospel is 'happy sound' to be constantly chanted, expelled these evils.

" If a gentle zephyr blows amid the trees, there are delicate surprising sounds like to a hundred thousand musical instruments ; the listener must necessarily have a heart to chant of Buddha, the Law, and the Church."

Mr. Du Bose quotes the following lines on the Pure Land from a Buddhist hymn :

" The pure land of the West, say, what language can tell
 Its beauty and majesty ? There ever dwell
 The men of this world, and the Devas of heaven,
 And to each has the same wreath of glory been given.
 The secrets of wisdom unveiled they behold,
 And the soil that they tread on is bright yellow gold ;
 In that land of true pleasure the flowers never fade,
 Each terraced ascent is of diamond and jade.
 The law of great Buddha sung by each bird,
 From thicket and grove in sweet music is heard ;
 The unwithering Upata, fairest of flowers,
 Sheds fragrance around in those thrice-lovely bowers.

There, each from the world that he governs, are found,
 Assembled in conference long and profound,
 The ten supreme Buddhas, who cease not to tell
 The praise of the land where the genii dwell :
 For there is no region so happy and blest
 As the heaven of Amita far in the West.
 On the moment of entering that peaceful scene,
 The common material body of men
 Is exchanged for a body ethereal and bright,
 That is seen from afar to be glowing with light.
 Happy they who to that joyful region have gone,
 In numberless *kalpas* their time flows on ;
 Around are green woods, and above them clear skies,
 The sun never scorches, cold winds never rise,
 And summer and winter are both unknown
 In the land of the Law and the Diamond Throne.
 All errors corrected, all mysteries made clear,
 Their rest is unbroken by care or by fear ;
 And the truth that before lay in darkness concealed,
 Like a gem without fracture or flaw is revealed."

In explanation of further details connected with the Buddhist belief in the Western Paradise, Mr. Du Bose says :

" The beautiful lotus is the flower of Paradise. Buddhists never say, 'go to heaven,' but to be 'born in heaven.' The faithful believer records a vow to be born in the 'pure land,' at which time a lotus springs up in a pond. If he is pious the flower will flourish, and when he dies a man will be born out of the flower. This exhortation is given in one of the Buddhist sutras : 'At the approach of death, do not fear it ; always think this body has many sorrows ; it is defiled by sin, and subject to transmigration. If this unclean body is thrown off and you are reborn in a pure land, is it not a happy event ? It is like throwing off old clothes and putting on a new suit. If any one will call upon Amita with a fixed heart, at death Amita with his holy throne will appear before him ; his heart will not be agitated, and he will be reborn in Paradise.' "

The frontispiece to the present number is an illustration of the traditional view of the Western Paradise, painted especially for The Open Court Publishing Co. by a well-known Japanese artist, Mr. K. Suzuki, and reproduced by Hasegawa of Tokio. You see flowers raining down, angels playing musical instruments, and birds of Paradise hovering in the air. The triune Buddha is sitting on lotus seats, and in the background the city of Nirvāna is visible.¹ The lotus pond below shows the budding lotuses from which the faithful Buddhists are reborn at the moment of the discontinuance of their earthly life.

¹ The frontispiece to the April number, by Mr. Mishima, represented the same subject. The three main figures, however, do not represent the triune Buddha, but Buddha Shakyamuni with his two companions Samānta-bhadra and Mandjuśrī, the former of whom is frequently represented as standing on a lion, the latter on an elephant.

NEW YEAR'S RECEPTIONS AT THE VATICAN.

BY G. M. FIAMINGO.

THE USUAL RECEPTIONS which the Pope holds at the beginning of the year are now over. It is customary for the Pontiff to receive, in the first place, the Sacred College, the dean of which reads a congratulatory address containing allusions to the principal political and religious questions of the day, to which the Holy Father replies, returning the good wishes expressed by the Sacred College and commenting on the political and religious situation. The New Year's receptions, inaugurated by the Sacred College, continue during the subsequent days, when the Pope receives the homage and good wishes of his noble guards, of the Roman aristocracy, and of the diplomatic corps accredited to the Holy See.

The greatest importance is attached to these ceremonies by the Vatican, by whom they are surrounded with unusual solemnity, and when some important political or religious question is on the *tapis*, the Pope's answer to the address of the Dean of the Sacred College is always awaited with no slight degree of impatience. Leo XIII., however, is fond of imitating, also in this particular, the reserved attitude of reigning sovereigns, and usually prefers to hint at important subjects, merely to show that he takes an interest in them, without openly expressing an opinion. His Holiness piques himself greatly on being an able diplomatist, and therefore makes it a point of scrupulously observing those two elementary principles of diplomacy, reserve, and diffidence.

There is only one question on which Leo XIII. never tires or hesitates to express a decided opinion, namely, the question of the Temporal Power. Regularly every year, on the occasion of the New Year's receptions, at fixed intervals of twelve months, His Holiness indulges in the same lament to the Sacred College on the

arbitrary imprisonment of which he is the victim, or the damage caused to the whole Catholic Church by the absence of temporal power, and on the necessity of vindicating the rights of the Holy See. Although he always clothes his sentiments in an elevated form of speech, Leo XIII. sometimes makes use of violent expressions, but as a rule his allusions to this painful subject take the form of a mere lament. Last year the Holy Father was concise and forcible in his vindication of the liberty of the Church, which, he asserted, was threatened by the suppression of the temporal power, while this year his speech has been of a far more peaceful nature. It would be difficult to explain the reason of these oscillations in the papal allusions to so trite a question, but there is no doubt that Leo XIII. is perfectly aware of the absolutely Platonic value of his protests, as also of the great exaggeration in his statements concerning the damage which the Catholic Church has suffered from the absence of temporal power.

Shortly after the reception of the Sacred College, the Holy Father receives the diplomatic corps accredited to the Holy See. Now this diplomatic body is the last remaining vestige of that temporal power which no longer exists. At first sight it appears absurd to have a diplomatic corps accredited to a personality not having true and proper political interests in connexion with the nations represented, for where there is no actual possession of a state no right of representation can exist. When the law of guarantees was being discussed by the Italian Parliament many years ago, it was first intended to limit the Pope's right of sending and receiving ambassadors, with a view to allowing only diplomatic relations of a strictly religious character, but the opinion afterwards prevailed of not placing any restriction on the papal right in this matter.

And this explains why the Vatican attaches so much importance to its prerogative of having diplomatic representatives of different countries accredited to the Holy See. In a certain sense it is the last poor mirage of temporal power to which it clings so tenaciously.

The Vatican is extremely grateful to the French Government for giving the good example to other European countries by keeping a minister accredited to the Holy See, and would be overjoyed if England were to follow her example. When the British envoy extraordinary, Monsignor Errington, came to Rome several years ago for the purpose, it was alleged, of definitely arranging, in conjunction with the Vatican the ecclesiastical hierarchy in India, but

in reality with the object of inducing the Vatican to adopt a more friendly attitude towards the British Government in the Irish question an earnest attempt was made by the Holy See to persuade the Foreign Office to transfer Monsignor Errington's temporary mission into a permanent one.

But the strangest instance of this policy is to be found in the Vatican representative accredited to the Sublime Porte. The Apostolic Nuncio at Constantinople, as a matter of fact, is nothing but a dependant of the French Ambassador to the same court, and the Christians of Crete and Armenia in vain awaited, through him, an energetic protest of the Holy See against the Turkish massacres and the shamefully apathetic attitude of the European powers. Leo XIII.'s protest never came, as the policy which his Nuncio was obliged to follow at Constantinople, conforming himself almost servilely to the attitude of the French Ambassador, forbade it.

If the results of having an official representative at Constantinople are negative in the extreme, it cannot be said that the Vatican reaps any advantage whatever from its being represented at Washington. As the Government of the United States could not possibly recognise an official representative of the head of the Catholic Church, Monsignor Martinelli was sent to Washington in 1896 not as Apostolic Nuncio but simply as Apostolic Delegate, only recognised by Catholics. But, as a matter of fact, not even the latter have really recognised him. The Catholic clergy of the United States enjoy certain privileges and liberties which they do not wish the Apostolic Delegate to abolish or even to change, so that, whenever any important question arises concerning its relations with the Church of Rome, the United States' clergy completely forget that there is such a thing as an Apostolic Delegate, representing the Vatican, at Washington, and, ignoring his very existence, they address themselves directly to the authorities at Rome, to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide or to the Cardinal Secretary of State.

After the negative results which have attended Monsignor Martinelli's installment at Washington it is not very probable that Leo XIII. should contemplate sending another Apostolic Delegate to Ottawa. It is a fact that while the Vatican aspires to increase the number of its Apostolic Nuncios accredited to the various powers, even Catholic countries refuse to receive these representatives of the Holy See. For instance in 1877 the Federal Congress of Switzerland decided to recall its representative in Rome, thus

necessitating the recall of the Papal Nuncio at Berne, and in spite of the repeated offers and attempts on the part of the Vatican to reopen diplomatic relations, the Swiss Catholics themselves, strange to say, always opposed the idea. The reason of this diffidence on the part of governments towards Apostolic Nuncios may be sought in the fact that the latter not only deem it their duty to exercise their functions towards the governments to which they are accredited, but think it right to exercise a great influence on all the bishops and Catholics in general of those countries, and this attitude is diametrically opposed to the *jus canonicum* itself. In short, the Apostolic Nuncios really usurp the Papal authority in the countries where they are accredited, and in so doing it is easy to understand that they become intolerable to the Catholic populations themselves, all the more as they are generally ignorant not only of the social and political conditions, but also of the language of those countries. This is chiefly due to the fact that the pontifical diplomacy is almost exclusively composed of Italians, with an insignificant sprinkling of foreign prelates. There is no doubt that the latter possess a far greater culture, especially in the knowledge of languages, than their Italian confrères, and it may be said with perfect truth that the papal diplomacy of to-day is far inferior to that of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, when its members were recruited in a far more cultured *milieu* than that from which the Apostolic Nuncios of our times are derived.

On the other hand, the representatives of the different governments accredited to the Holy See may be said to exercise their diplomatic functions only in so far that they bring the influence of their country to bear at the Vatican or try to obtain a favorable attitude towards their respective governments, but also through this limited action the Vatican loses a great deal of that liberty of action which ought to characterise all its policy in the face of the Catholic world.

From the foregoing statements it will be easy to see that the diplomatic body accredited to the Holy See, and the system of Apostolic Nuncios, this diplomatic make-believe which is the only spar of the temporal power to which the Vatican clings so tenaciously, is, after all, far from useful or beneficial to the Catholic cause. But the Vatican does not appear to benefit from the undoubted proofs of this fact, and boldly persists in demanding the reintegration of the whole temporal power!

A LETHEAN APOCALYPSE.

BY W. H. G.

I HAVE been under fire more than once during the late war and in "scraps" with the Apaches and Sioux since then. I had once suffered a dislocation at the right shoulder joint by dismounting too hastily from a kicking broncho; and in El Paso I inadvertently stopped a revolver bullet that was intended for a less peaceful man. But those incidents occurred years ago when I was young and lusty, "full of red blood and blue veins" and willing to take my chances on almost anything.

Then I could ride day in and day out with any trooper in the command and had no fear of apoplexy, heart failure, or loss of appetite. Now I was a good way on the wrong side of fifty; my chest measure was only forty inches while my waist was forty-two. Both my cheeks and my nose were a very pronounced pink; I had a manifest tendency to develop a double chin; my eyebrows were still black but my hair and mustache were more than slightly grey; my nervous system was by no means run down but I felt the cares and worries of life more than I did formerly, and was more careful about the fit of my shoes, having them made broader across the toes and particularly loose over the great toe joints. I was very intolerant of pain, and, like all physicians, disliked to take medicine; but after being on my back more than a week going through the whole gamut of agony and setting my household frantic in their efforts to give me relief, my wife took the matter in her own hands and sent for Dr. Ryeon, who came in, quite by accident *of course*, and after many leading questions and a careful examination of my anatomy, he informed me in his pleasant *degagé* manner, that I had "appendicitis" and must be operated upon *at once*.

To say that I was surprised and shocked hardly expressed my feelings. I was dumbfounded; I did not know how to take it. I

felt that it was a punishment I hadn't deserved. It was the irony of fate. I had always been careful of my diet; never in my life had I swallowed seeds of any kind. I had an excellent set of natural teeth and always chewed my food carefully, and why my *appendix vermiformis* at this late period of its career should behave in this dreadful manner was to me a mystery. Might the doctor not be mistaken? I was a surgeon myself and I well knew how possible it was for surgeons to make mistakes, and I hoped Dr. Ryeon might be mistaken in my case. I had known of good reliable dentists extracting the wrong teeth by mistake many times, and I once heard of a surgeon in the excitement of battle amputating the *left* leg when he should have cut off the *right*; but this was not Dr. Ryeon. I knew *him* to make but one mistake in his whole life, and that was when he married the wrong wife. Still, many physicians make that mistake; they run across some young lady patient early in their professional career who is nervous and hysterical and minister to her real and imaginary ills; the physician is young, enthusiastic, and sympathetic, the patient is morbidly grateful and dependent; they marry, and the physician is handicapped for life.

I had known Dr. Ryeon all my life; we were born in the same town and were classmates at Columbia in '57, though I had seen but little of him after the war closed and he went to Chicago to practice his profession. Our lives had drifted apart, and since I came to live in the city I had seen him only two or three times until my wife sent for him to see me professionally; and now he told me I had "appendicitis" and must be operated upon at once.

I had no especial fear of death, for my life was insured for quite as much as it was worth; my will was properly made out, signed, and witnessed, and my wife and family were amply provided for in case of my death. I did not believe in a material hell, nor a malignant human devil with such a disagreeable rôle as a perpetual tormentor; nor could I believe in an anthropomorphic personal deity, who balanced the debit and credit accounts of poor weak mortals every twenty-four hours and punished by inconceivable torture all their inherited weaknesses and frailties. Then too I had grown into the habit of balancing every day's accounts myself, and it seemed to me that if I could not be set down as "one of those who loved God" yet I might be classed with *Abou Ben Adhem*, for I did love my fellow man. I was rather quick-tempered, I knew, but I honestly tried to deal justly, love mercy, and walk as humbly as my rather portly figure would permit. I never coveted renown as a philanthropist, nor headed subscription lists, nor gave

alms that they might be seen of men, but I gave ungrudgingly my time, counsel, and labor, and what of my means I could spare to assist the sick and needy.

But none of those thoughts made the thought of death less unpleasant; this world was good enough for me, even if it was Chicago. I could still enjoy and digest a good dinner and a glass or two of good wine quite as much as when I was only twenty-five. My palate was not yet sated with the taste of reed-birds, canvas-backs, or terrapin, and I did not require to be instructed about the bouquet and flavor of any brand of Champagne and Burgundy. I loved to hear a good opera and could appreciate a good play, and I did not want to die. I couldn't ride with the "boys" as well as formerly, nor stay on the floor as long at the hops, nor quite "keep up with the procession" without getting "blown," but still I got a good deal of enjoyment out of life, and I could appreciate what rational enjoyment was better than I could twenty-five years ago.

Then too there was a good many people who had come to depend on my judgment in the management of their affairs; not only my wife and family and my dear little ward Allie, but old Judge Graham, Mr. Farquason, Col. Brinkerhoff, and the poor little widow Hastings. What were they all going to do in case I died under the operation, or in consequence of it? I pitied them all from the bottom of my heart, for I knew more about their affairs than any one else did, or than they did themselves. Still I pitied myself the most, for they could find some one else to help them bear their burthens in case I went "over to the majority"; but no one can help a patient stand the shock and pain and danger of a severe surgical operation when the injury is sudden and the operation has to be done at once. When an operation is foreseen and time allows, the body in a measure can be prepared for it by soothing and toning up the nervous system and placing the heart, blood, and secretory organs in a healthy condition. But there was no time for preparation in my case, it seemed, nor even to do any of the many things I had intended to do when I was taken sick. My article on "Chemical Affinity as a Vital Force" must be revised before it was sent to the publisher; I had not told my assistant how to use the *cerebrin* in the case of Mrs. Caruther's little epileptic boy, and my lecture on "The Hygiene of Dwellings" was to be delivered before The Sorosis the next Saturday. I had a thousand things to do that I had postponed "till a more convenient season," and I really felt that I had no time to be sick.

Thus my mind maundered on while Dr. Ryeon sat in the arm-

chair at my bedside with his fingers on my pulse and his thermometer under my tongue ; until another great wave of pain commenced in my right side and surged over me, convulsing my whole being in such a delirium of agony that I scarcely felt the prick of the needle in my arm where the doctor had injected morphine. I was, of course, often forced to give morphine to my patients and knew its effects upon others thoroughly well, but I had rarely taken it myself, and the few times I *had* taken it it acted peculiarly ; but I had no time to discuss the matter with Dr. Ryeon, for I was in such torture that I would have taken anything for relief, and before I could tell him anything about its action upon me every quivering nerve-fibril that but an instant before had pierced like a red-hot stiletto through my body eased off gradually into a not unpleasant tingling that vibrated from the ends of my fingers and toes clear up to the tips of my ears. In a nebulous mist, like a blurred photograph, I saw the anxious face of my wife as she bent over to wipe the perspiration from my hands and brow ; and like the far-off sound of a voice remembered from a dream, I heard the Doctor say : " There is no doubt whatever, madam, about the diagnosis, and we have no time to lose ; the operation must be performed this afternoon." Then a delicious languor crept over me ; sounds became confused and indistinct and soon ceased entirely ; external objects appeared as dim silhouettes, then faded away. There was no more anxiety, nor care, nor pain ; nor any emotion, nor sensation ; the sensorium was benumbed, dead. The spirit was freed from the cares and trammels of the body with its earthly needs and longings and soared into the realms of space, where there seemed no fixed point, nor bound, nor direction, nor time ; nothing but illimitable infinite space. I was conscious of neither limbs nor wings nor other means of motion ; but volition became motion, and I soared through the abyss profound, at will, as I listed. As my spirit floated on, its sight became quickened, and at the farthest verge of vision I could see a deep blue, steely dome, seemingly of condensed ether, surrounding and marking off the limitation of space above, below, and on all sides around. Set in the blue vault, whichever way I turned my eyes, were myriads of shining points that waxed and waned in brilliance, from the tiniest phosphorescent glimmer of the glow-worm to the fullest glories of the noonday sun, and as each point gained in splendor and effulgence it shot out coronal coruscations dyed in richest rainbow hues, that sped on in wavy motion until the undulations from one point impinged upon first one and then another, and then mixed and

blended in every shade of color like the ever-varying tints shown by some vast stereopticon.

Anon at these luminous vortices appeared whorls of beautifully colored flowers of every shape and hue, and some of even more wondrous forms and colors than mortal eye had ever seen. At one point stately roses with brilliant diaphanous petals of adularia, garnet, or ruby, and stems and leaves of malachite and emerald; at others rosettes of dainty marguerites in topaz, chalcedony, and pearl, or gaudily colored tulips, dahlias, or peonies, with petals and leaves of precious gems, mingled in grand bouquets and garlands with violets, Eschscholtzias, carnations, and lilies; all pregnant with resplendent colors, as if their glowing petals had absorbed the richest tints of the rainbow, or the gorgeous hues of the dying sun. With the genesis of these wondrous light-born flowers, I perceived a subtle perfume: at first faint and evanescent, like the scent of some far-off field of clover blossoms borne on the fitful breeze; then gaining substance and strength, every flower breathed out its own fragrance, and I could detect the odor of roses, violets, geraniums, lilies, and carnations, and myriads of others unknown to me; each odor separate and distinct, yet so sweetly blended as to unite into one ravishing harmony of perfume.

Scarcely had my spiritual sense grown accustomed to these marvellous revelations of light and odor, when I also perceived that the vast abyss was instinct with a divine harmony, as if hundreds of thousands of voices and instruments had united into one gigantic choir attuned to hymn the music of the spheres. Not only could I detect the tones of all the instruments I had ever seen or heard before, but many others that were the especial gifts of the gods to man in the infancy of the world. The golden notes of Orpheus's lyre rose and fell with the same ravishing sweetness that had charmed to sleep hell's wrathful sentinel, and lured Eurydice back from the nether world; then clear and silvery as the sorrowing voice of Syrinx could be heard the wailing of Pan's pipe and the soothing dulcet tones of Æolus's harp, as if its strings were touched by the gentle fingers of Zephyrus; while solemn and majestic as the awful roar of some great cataract deep organ tones joined in to swell the divine harmony. No articulate word was uttered, human language was inadequate to convey through the bodily ear the idea of such celestial music, but as the mighty chorus swelled and vibrated and resounded throughout the vast concave, there was borne to my spirit the thought of Rook's beautiful motet,

"Rest! Spirit, rest!"

And then as the divine chorus lapsed into musical silence, the gorgeous light-flowers and their wondrous perfume faded away, and every atom and attribute of my being sank into rest; physiological, psychical; perfect rest of body, mind, and spirit. There was no sensation nor emotion; not a quiver nor tremor of a muscle or a nerve-fibril; the ruddy blood no longer bounded through its accustomed courses, the life-giving air had ceased to swell the heaving chest, the throbbing heart was at rest, and all the body was as still and motionless and inanimate as if it were an insensate form of clay into whose nostrils never had been breathed the quickening breath of life.

How long this "death in life" lasted I could not count nor reckon; it might have been but an instant; it may have been, for aught I know, many hours. Feebly and slowly the heart once more resumed its labors, and gradually life crept back into parts of the brain, but there was not yet rational self-consciousness with a recognition of personal identity and surroundings. There was still no physical pain but neither was there power to move nor will; the motor tracts seemed to be benumbed by the opiate, while the ideational centres were stimulated into a wild delirium, in which long dead memories, scenes, and ideas, arose in the mind, lingered an instant, then faded away, to be followed by others in never-ending succession, but in no more logical sequence or with no more dependence one upon another, than some fantastic association of ideas or casual resemblance between the sounds of words.

First there came to me the impression of a dull, confused rumbling and roar—probably the noise of the animals and vehicles in the street—and at once memory reproduced a picture from my former life on the plains away back in '69, when our camp was nearly overrun by a herd of buffalo.

We had marched over forty miles across a dry, alkaline plain one seething day in August, and late in the afternoon went into camp at a place called "The Buffalo Holes." There was no wood to cook our suppers and the water was so foul and alkaline that not even a pack-mule would drink it. Animals and men were tired out and soon sought oblivion in sleep; but scarcely had the camp gotten quiet when we were awaked by a dull, muffled rumbling, roaring and bellowing, quickly followed by the sharp peal of the trumpet sounding "boots and saddles" and as we hastily seized our arms; we saw in the bright starlight an immense herd of buffalo making straight for the water-holes. For more than an hour we sat in our saddles firing into the dense black moving mass before their course

was turned and the thunderous noise died away in a cloud of stinging dust.

As this vision faded out it was at once replaced by a spirited painting (of Stanley's, I think) of a pack of wolves attacking a buffalo, and then I found myself repeating Byron's lines in "The Siege of Corinth":

" As the wolves that headlong go
On the stately buffalo,
Though with fiery eyes and angry roar,
And hoofs that stamp and horns that gore,
He tramples on earth or tosses on high
The foremost who rush on his strength but to die ;
Thus against the wall they went,
Thus the first were backward bent."

And then by some fantastic mental thaumaturgy the words "backward bent" reminded me of Holmes's charming little poem entitled "The Last Leaf," and I remembered :

" . . . a crook is in his back,
And a melancholy crack
In his laugh.
I know it is a sin
For me to sit and grin
At him here ;
But the old three-cornered hat
And the breeches and all that
Are so queer !
And if I should live to be
The last leaf upon the tree
In the spring,
Let them smile, as I do now,
At the old forsaken bough
Where I cling."

Without a moment's intermission the scene in this wonderful phantasmagoria again shifted and memory recalled a visit I had made to Mammoth Cave many years before. I was accompanying a young lady from New Orleans ; and just after the door was unlocked and we were about to pass through, we espied a peculiar looking object clinging to an old rotten bough of a tree near the door ; the lady reached up and touched it to find out what it was, when to her amazement and disgust, it *mobilised* into a bat and flew away. Instantaneously all the wonders and beauties of this great *lusus naturæ* came back to me, and again I saw the groined arches and domed ceilings with their graceful pendants of stalactites, the giant's huge coffin with its petrified pall ; peered down the yawn-

ing throat of the bottomless pit ; crossed the dark and silent Styx, and once again witnessed the beautiful mimic effects of sunset and sunrise in the grand star-chamber. The lapse of time had not added to or taken away one object or point of interest ; even old "Mat"—the guide, and his dog "Brigham" were presented in memory just as I had seen them a quarter of a century before. Then I remembered that as we came back from the cave, the sun was setting over the western hill tops and the cows were coming home to be milked, and as memory recalled their clover-scented breaths and the kingle, klangle, kingle of their bells—presto!—the scene shifted again and I was attending "High Jinks" at the Bohemian Club in San Francisco and Mr. B—— was reciting for the entertainment of his fellow Bohemians :

" When kingle, klangle, kingle,
Far down the dusky dingle,
The cows are coming home ;
Now sweet and clear and faint and low,
The airy tinklings come and go,
Like chimings from the far-off tower
Or patterings from an April shower
That make the daisies grow ;
Ko ling, ko-lang, ko-lingelingle,
The cows come slowly home,
And old-time friends, and twilight plays,
And starry nights and sunny days,
Come trooping up the misty ways,
When the cows come home.
With jingle, jingle, jingle,
Soft tones that sweetly mingle.
The cows are coming home—
Malvine and Pearl and Florimel."

At the name *Florimel*, Bohemians and club-room dissolved into mist, and there came before me the image of a dear friend, long since dead ; she was as lovely in person and character as her sweet prototype whom Spenser has idealised in his *Faerie Queene*.

It was a gorgeous evening in May, the sun had gone to rest enwrapped in gauzy clouds of rosy fleece, and we were reclining on the ramparts of the old fort at St. Augustine waiting for the moon to rise. The wind had died out and the waters of the bay were so still that scarcely a ripple tinkled against the foot of the old coquina wall ; the fireflies had lighted their tiny lamps among the oaks and cedars, bats were flitting around the dilapidated watch tower and away to the southeast the beacon light on Anastasia Island warned the mariner of the shoals and quicksands that guarded the entrance

to the harbor. Anon the eastern sky grew brighter ; then on the watery horizon appeared a rounded line of burnished silver, and soon the full-orbed moon emerged resplendent from the watery deeps, and as her bright beams danced over the sleeping waves and glorified Florimel's fair face, she repeated almost in a whisper :

" We watched toward the land of dreams,
The fair moon draw the murmuring main ;
A single thread of silver beams
Was made the monster's rippling chain.

" We heard far off the siren's song :
We caught the gleam of sea-maids' hair,
The glimmering isles and rocks among :
We moved through sparkling purple air.

" Then morning rose, and smote from far,
Her elfin harps o'er land and sea ;
And woodland belt and ocean bar
To one sweet note sighed—' Italy ! ' "

Gladly would I have lingered in the sparkling, purple air, and been lapped to rest by syren's song and elfin harps ; but in that hurrying, wierd phantasia, there was no halt nor lingering ; directing will power was in abeyance and the thoughts and images that were developed on memory's plate came without warning or warrant ; each one remaining only long enough to be recognised and appreciated, and dying in giving birth to another ; as if every separate cell of the brain was a distinct dynamic centre which only waited to make connexion with a centre of opposite polarity to discharge its quota of energy.

At the word " Italy " the fair moon, the murmuring main, and Florimel's dear face, vanished into nothingness—and I was standing beside a condemned murderer on a rude scaffold in the prison yard of a small town in western Texas looking down into the faces of a crowd of men who had assembled to witness his execution. He was a swart, beetle-browed Italian, lithe and muscular, with black eyes, hair, and beard, and with the same malignant expression upon his dark, cadaverous face that one sees in the face of a serpent about to strike its prey. His real name was unknown and he had been arraigned, tried, and convicted, under the *soubriquet* of " Italy " for brutally stabbing to the heart an inoffensive companion for no other inducement than was held out in an old pipe and bag of tobacco. I had been ordered to be present at the execution of the sentence of the law, and, in company with the Catholic Priest, Father O'Regan, followed the prisoner and sheriff upon the

scaffold, where the sheriff read him the sentence and asked him if he desired to say anything, to which he surlily replied: "No, I killee de Irishmans, you killee me, dam quick." Father O'Regan then came to him and begged him to repent of his crime and presented the crucifix, from which he turned with a contemptuous shrug of his shoulders and a sardonic grin upon his face and stepped on the trap under the fatal noose, which was adjusted around his neck, the black cap was drawn over his face, the signal was given by the sheriff, and the bolt was sprung; the body shot down to the end of the rope, then swayed back and forth two or three times in the fierce March wind, the knees were spasmodically drawn up to the body, the chest heaved convulsively, and then—all was still—the neck was broken; I placed my fingers on the pulse, the heart had ceased to beat—"Italy" had expiated his crime.

What association or connexion there could have been between the execution of the Italian murderer and the phantom that followed I can form no conjecture; but as the rude pine coffin with its dishonored clay was placed in the cart, the scaffold and its dreary surroundings faded away, and out from chaotic darkness I beheld an *eye* fixed upon me; large, calm, and beautiful, but with a weird, mysterious beauty that was neither human nor earthly. It was self-luminous, and by its phosphorescent glare I could distinguish the round, full pupil, the brown, lustrous iris, the pearly conjunctiva, the pink-tinted lids, and the black brow and lashes; yet it was not a shining, radiant luminosity that lighted up other objects, but rather a vitreous sheen like the eye of some gigantic feline seen through the thick blackness of a fathomless cavern; though in its expression there was not a suspicion of the ferocity or malignity of the feral animal; it was the passionless embodiment of judicial power, superadded to the detective vision of the all-seeing eye of the Omnipotent. Its gaze never changed nor wavered, but whichever way I turned it was still fixed upon me. I placed my hands before my face to shut out the mystic vision, but its cold, fateful stare was as irremovable as the sphinx. Then I saw that its gaze was not focussed upon my face, but *through* my face, as if it were a diaphanous mask, its piercing vision looked into my soul: and I knew that it read not only the *present*, but the *past* and *future* as well—the sins of deed, word, and thought—sins of omission as well as commission; as if my whole life—what had passed, what was still to be, and the present, was spread out as a written scroll. Laboriously I pondered upon the cause and meaning of this won-

drous vision, but neither thought nor imagination could give me a clue to its significance. My memory buried no secret crime; my acts feared no just judgment; yet I felt that I was being tried and judged and being weighed in the balance; and every moment I feared to see a phantom hand write on the wall of darkness, in letters of fire:

"*Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin.*"

In my distress I cried out in the words of Job:

"Let me be weighed in an even balance
That God may know mine integrity."

And as this sorrowing plaint left my lips, the menacing eye fled away, and there came before me a parchment scroll with the following words of Bryant's "*Thanatopsis*" printed in large Roman characters:

" . . . Yet a few days and thee
The all-beholding sun shall see no more
In all his course; nor yet in the cold ground,
Where thy pale form was laid with many tears;
Nor in the embrace of ocean, shall exist
Thy image. Earth that nourished thee, shall claim
Thy growth to be resolved to earth again;
And lost each human trace, surrendering up
Thine individual being, shalt thou go
To mix forever with the elements—
To be a brother to the insensible rock
And the sluggish clod which the rude swain
Turns with his share and treads upon."

While my eyes were still fixed upon the scroll, the words became less and less distinct, and soon between the *printed* lines appeared *written* characters; at first dim and hardly decipherable, but quickly becoming distinct enough for me to see that the scroll was an old Greek manuscript. The parchment had lost its sheen and freshness, and was sallow and crinkled with age; and the characters were in that crabbed archaic Greek, termed by palæographers—*uncial*. Slowly constructing the blurred and half-effaced characters into meaning, I discovered that the words were a part of an ancient copy of the Apocalypse where St. John the Evangelist tells the seven churches of Asia of the vision he had seen in his cave in Patmos on the Lord's day. All I could decipher were the following verses:¹

Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ Ἀλφα καὶ τὸ Ὠ, λέγει Κύριος, ὁ Θεός, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ.

Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν καὶ συνκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ ἐν Ἰησοῦ, ἐγενόμην ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάτμῳ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἤκουσα ὀπίσω μου φωνὴν μεγάλην ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγομένης Ὁ βλέπεις γράψον εἰς βιβλίον καὶ πέμψον ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις, εἰς Ἐφεσον καὶ εἰς Σμύρναν καὶ εἰς Πέργαμον καὶ εἰς Θυάτειρα καὶ εἰς Σάρδεεις καὶ εἰς Φιλαδελφίαν καὶ εἰς Λαοδικίαν.¹

As this curious Greek palimpsest faded out, there came into mind Byron's lines :

" The isles of Greece ! the isles of Greece !
Where burning Sappho loved and sung,
Where grew the arts of war and peace,
Where Delos rose and Phœbus sprung
Eternal summer gilds them yet,
But all except their sun is set.

" The Scian and the Teian muse
The hero's harp, the lover's lute,
Have found the fame your shores refuse ;
Their place of birth alone is mute
To sounds which echo further west,
Than your sires' ' Islands of the Blest.' "

As the tintinnabulum of the rhyming verse fell upon my ear, the hand on the dial of time moved back more than a dozen cycles, the curtain from the past was raised, and memory again brought up a glimpse of the blue Ægean. Athens, the Piræus, the watery labyrinth through the verdure-clad "Cyclades." The granite rock of Delos with its ancient ruins and sterile Patmos with its sacred cave all passed in quick review, and I was standing in the bell-tower of the grand old monastery of Nea-Moni on "Rocky Chios," the (probable) birthplace and home of Homer. It was a lovely morning in December ; the soft south wind blew gently from rocky Patmos and rugged Nicaria and tossed the mimic waves in sparkles of sapphire and pearl at our feet, and tuned the palms and olives to melody and song. The bright warm sun was nearly in the zenith and not a flake of cloud marred the pure azure of the sky.

I have given the excerpt here in modern Greek characters, as it is impossible for me to reproduce the appearance of the original. In the English version these verses are translated as follows :

" 8. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

" 9. I, John, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

" 10. I was in the spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice as of a trumpet.

" 11. Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last ; and What thou seest, write in a book, and send it to the seven churches which are in Asia ; unto Ephesus, and Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicia.

Steamers, and graceful sailing vessels, dotted the blue Archipelago in every direction; and off Ipsera the black hull and frowning guns of a big war ship loomed up through a cloud of smoke. Brother Felix—one of the monks—showed us the rare treasures of the monastery, its relics, antique manuscripts, and costly vessels, and gave us in classic Italian the history of the house from its founding in the eleventh century down to the terrible earthquake of 1881, which caused such fearful loss of life and property on the island. Brother Felix was a Greek, old and bowed, and his gaunt emaciated frame showed that he was no stranger to vigils, penance and fasts, but when he spoke of the uprisings of 1822 and '27 and the terrible punishments the Chians had received at the hands of "the unspeakable Turk" his sunken eyes gleamed and his waxy face showed plainly that even in *his* beatified soul there was one small spot that still harbored hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness.

As we turned to leave the tower the bell struck the hour of noon. Brother Felix bowed his head in prayer and then—Nea-Moni, Rocky Chios, and the blue Ægean vanished, and I was in the operating-room of a hospital looking down upon an operation about to be performed. The patient was in deep lethean slumber, motionless on the wheeled table, the surgeon and his assistants, clad in linen robes, with arms bared to the elbow, stood near him, and deft-fingered nurses in snowy gowns and caps were in their appointed places. The evening sun shone brightly in through the domed skylight and high windows, and was reflected back in sparkles from the crystal vases of medicaments and polished instruments carefully arranged on the shelves and tables. As the surgeon turned to take the keen scalpel from his assistant I recognised the bald head, fearless blue eye, and kindly face of my friend, Dr. Ryeon, and, turning my eyes toward the table, I saw that the patient lying there was *myself*; still it was not my conscious self, but an *alter ego*, or rather a shell or cloak of myself, as if my sensory, perceptive and thinking being, had shirked the torturing knife and left only its material envelope upon the operating table. As I saw the keen blade part the living tissues no wounded nerve quivered, no alarm of pain smote the sensorium, no failing heart-beat told of loss of blood. To my quickened vision the integument and enveloping tissues became as transparent as glass, and through them I saw the bones, muscles, viscera, veins, arteries, and nerves. I saw the slow, rhythmic actions of the lungs, and the busy throbbing of the heart as it dilated and contracted to send the blood on its life-giving mission. Even the vital processes of the brain were dis-

closed, and I saw the dormant nerve centres lying still and motionless in the power of the subtle lethean, like wearied sentinels asleep on the post of Duty. Quickly Dr. Ryeon reached the diseased "appendix" and with wondrous gentleness and skill separated the inflamed tissues from the healthy, and then with practised fingers the divided structures were again united, the dressings were applied to the wound, the patient was removed from the operating-room—and I awoke to consciousness to find the Doctor's genial face beaming upon me and his fingers on my pulse.

As soon as I was recovered sufficiently to tell Dr. Ryeon of the wonderful spectres and visions that had been conjured up in my brain by the morphine and ether, he laughingly waved his hand around my head and repeated Coleridge's lines :

" Weave a circle round him thrice,
And close your eyes with holy dread,
For he on honey-dew hath fed,
And drunk the milk of Paradise."

THE SONG OF SONGS.¹

BY PROF. C. H. CORNILL.

LIKE the book Koheleth (Ecclesiastes), the Song of Songs seems strangely out of place among the books of the Old Testament. For no unprejudiced observer can doubt for even a moment that love, the love of man for woman and of woman for man, is the sole and unvarying theme of the Song of Songs. And these matters are treated and depicted indeed with an unambiguous directness which comes near to shocking our sensibilities, and yet, because of its very naïveness, cannot be characterised as lascivious. One feels directly that the author of the Song of Songs is a genuine poet, to whom some god gave the faculty for saying how happy he felt; we feel especially charmed and affected by the marvellously developed appreciation of nature: the poet lives and moves in nature, which becomes to him the mirror and the witness of his joy; everything joins with him in his praise and tunes his heart to rapture. But who is then the poet?

The superscription, i. 1, the meaning of which can be only "Most excellent of the songs of Solomon," points out Solomon accordingly as the "philosopher with the wreath of myrtle and roses" who created this wonderful work. That Solomon was a poet, and a prolific poet, is testified by 1 Kings, v. 12, which refers to one thousand and five songs of Solomon. And the contents of the Song of Songs seems to agree with this: five times Solomon is mentioned, and in two of these cases expressly as *הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה* "the king"; a king is also spoken of i. 4, xii. and vii. 6, and queens in vi. 8 and 9; in i. 9 we meet the steed in Pharaoh's chariot, and in iv. 4 the tower of David. Furthermore the repeated mention of the daughters of Jerusalem, i. 5, ii. 7, iii. 5, 10, v. 8, 16, viii. 4, agrees perfectly with this assumption. If we then ask whether that passage in 1 Kings, v. 12, has any connexion with the Song of Solomon, the answer is that the passage does not refer to it: it is

¹From his *Einführung in das alte Testament*. Leipzig. 1896. Pp. 253-257.

simply inconceivable that the "one thousand and five songs of Solomon" should mean our book of one hundred and sixteen stanzas, while on the other hand verse 1, chapter i., of the Song of Songs, may very well have been composed with 1 Kings, v. 12 in view, and surely was,—in a word, the connexion is the same as between 1 Kings, v. 12, and Proverbs, i. 1. If the saying, "Thy speech betrayeth thee" applies to any book of the Bible it is to the Song of Songs, the language of which must be placed far later than that of Proverbs and close to that of Ecclesiastes. The repeated occurrence of *ו*, the contraction of the relative pronoun found in the Song of Songs is met elsewhere only in Ecclesiastes and in some of the latest psalms; *וְלִמָּה* i. 7, occurs right beside *וְלִמָּה* Jonah i. 12, and especially the frequent adverbial use of *ו* the same contraction, as well as *וְעַר* i. 12, ii. 7, 17, iii. 4-5, iv. 6, viii. 4, *וְקִנְיָט* iii. 4, is decidedly late, and especially phrases like *וְלִמָּה* i. 6, viii. 12, and *וְלִמָּה* iii. 7, are unparalleled in the entire Old Testament and are purely Talmudic (of the character of the Mischna). *פֶּרֶדִּים* (paradise), iv. 13, is, as a distinguished authority on Iranian languages has determined, a specifically Persian word, the presence of which refers us with mathematical precision to a date not earlier than the Persian period, being found otherwise only in Nehemiah ii. 8 and Ecclesiastes ii. 5, and the solitary instance of *וְעִירָיוֹן* which can be interpreted by no Semitic etymon, is the same as the Greek *φορεῖον*, hence a Greek loanword. There is good ground for doubt whether *נָרְדִּים* (narde), i. 12, iv. 13, 14, and *זַרְעֹנִים* (saffron), iv. 14, were known, either the word or the thing, at the time of Solomon or in the pre-exilian period, and also whether at that time there was an organised police force or an established body of night watch, iii. 8, v. 7. But the linguistic evidences alone are absolutely convincing against placing the Song of Songs earlier than the Persian period. If vi. 4 is repeatedly cited, where Thirza is brought into parallelism with Jerusalem, and the inference drawn that the Song of Songs must be older than Omri, the reply is, that a post-exilian Jew would never dream of mentioning Samaria in parallelism with Jerusalem, less probably the later he lived; that Thirza was for a while the capital was known from 1 Kings, and moreover this city was especially suggested by the perfectly evident appellative meaning of its name—Belleville. Therefore even vi. 4 does not preclude the post-exilian origin.

But in any treatment of the Song of Songs especial consideration must be given to the artistic form. Since it clearly contains addresses and replies and these alternate regularly, the prevailing

tendency is to see in it a drama which after the fashion of our theatrical productions presents in monologue, dialogue, and chorus, with constant change of scene, a regularly developed dramatic action. As a consequence of this assumption the sole persons introduced by name, Solomon and "Shulammite," vii. 1, had to be called *dramatis personæ*, and a controversy arose as to whether the whole was intended to glorify Solomon or be a satire against him. But—in the first place—we have no report of the existence of any sort of drama among the Semites, notwithstanding the Alexandrine Jew Ezechiel, who worked up the Exodus from Egypt as a Greek drama; and then, how can we conceive of a stage performance with only one hundred and sixteen verses, and at least twelve changes of scene? We should be obliged to think of it as an opera or a vaudeville. Besides there is no hint of anything of the kind in the text itself. In this way the door was opened wide for the exercise of conjectural ingenuity, and the overwhelming charm of this probably accounts for the constant recurrence of the attempt to establish the dramatic character of the book. Yet there is at the bottom of even this theory one correct factor: that we cannot possibly see in the Song of Songs one single, coherent, and closely connected poem. On the contrary, it is clearly separated into several longer and shorter songs, "which have no closer connexion than a series of beautiful pearls upon one string." (Herder.)

Now if the Song of Songs consists of a collection of separate songs, if the composition by Solomon or in his time is out of the question, and if nevertheless Solomon is frequently mentioned in it, what is the original sense and significance of these songs? The modern Orient has furnished the explanation. Among the country folk of Syria the seven days' wedding celebration is named "the king's week," because during this time the young couple are called king and queen, and, sitting upon an improvised throne, are treated and served as such by their village and by the neighboring communities which have been invited as guests. In this connexion a series of formal and distinct solemnities is customary, all of which are accompanied with song, games, and dances. The credit is due to Budde for having been the first to apply consistently and to the whole book this knowledge which we owe to J. G. Wetzstein, and which had been frequently referred to by others in the interpretation of the Song of Songs. It seems as though scales were falling from our eyes as we read the treatise by Budde in which the proofs are offered of the coincidence of the individual songs with the various solemnities of "the king's week," and the

very correct conclusion drawn that the Song of Songs could never, according to Oriental views, have depicted the love of affianced, but only of wedded lovers. The "king" is the young husband, who is called also Solomon, as being the richest and happiest of all rulers. The young wife is the "Shulammite," who is praised, like Abishag the Shunammite, 1 Kings, i. 3, as "the fairest damsel throughout all the coasts of Israel." And thus the enigma of our book, the solution of which had seemed to be beyond all hope, is finally solved. For this same point of view applies to the Old Testament in general, as is shown particularly by Song of Songs iii. 11, where a crown is mentioned "with which his mother crowned him on the day of his marriage," with which compare Isaiah, lxi. 10; and among the prescribed Jewish marriage customs is, as is well known, the coronation of the groom with the *קֶטָנֶת הַחָתָן* groom's crown, and of the bride with the *עֲטֻרַת הַכֶּלֶה* bride's crown, which are found in every synagogue, artistically shaped of pure gold, or of an alloy of gold and silver, and richly set with jewels.

Furthermore, it is not even probable that the individual songs, all of which have the tone of the genuine folk-song, are by one and the same poet. They may be a collection of especially beautiful songs in use at these celebrations, and the question might well be raised whether we have to do with a mere collection or with a revision. As the order is by no means the same as that of the parts of the celebration, which was certainly the same two thousand years ago, as it is to-day, and as individual portions are noticeable which are less poetical, and, judging by their language independent of the older parts misunderstood and taken literally, the assumption of the book's being a revision would seem to be the more correct. Budde is of this opinion in connexion with iv. 8, vi. 1-3, viii. 3-5, and 13-14.

The time of the origin of the book in general is absolutely fixed by linguistic evidence. But when and where the individual songs originated, when and by whom they were gathered into the present "wreath of song," cannot be established with even approximate correctness. But when the work was once in existence, it is easy to understand, in view of the repeated recurrence of the name of Solomon and his especially erotic character, how the opinion grew up that it was composed by Solomon. And then, of course, it had to be admitted to the Canon, and they got over the offensive and difficult passages by resort to allegorical interpretation. But the admission to the Canon was not accomplished without vigorous opposition.

MISCELLANEOUS.

UNIVERSITY REFORM IN FRANCE.

Ever since 1871 the more liberal-minded educators of France have been dreaming of restoring to their system of higher education the university form somewhat similar to that which flourished under the ancient régime, and which served as a model to other nations in the building up of their various university organisations. But the task was fraught with so many political and administrative difficulties that even the boldest and most energetic Ministers of Public Instruction were forced to keep adjourning the consideration of the reform. But thanks to the transitory measures drawn up by M. Liard, Director of Superior Instruction, and especially thanks to the decree of 1885 which created a General Council of the Faculties in each academic district, the future universities began, at least in the chief centres of the nation, to assume a certain university stamp. So when in 1896 the moment came to enact a law actually constituting more or less autonomous universities, little else had to be done than to legalise what already existed.

Of course one of the chief difficulties in the way of university reform in France was, and is still, the excessive centralised and bureaucratic form of the government. Comparing American and French educational institutions, M. Ernest Lavisse has said: "With us who are free but who are far from possessing all the habits and virtues of liberty, an omnipotent corporation would be too apt to look out wholly for its own interests, which would lead to decay." But while accepting the inevitable, M. Lavisse holds that the new institutions must enjoy absolute intellectual freedom. "It is because we have this freedom," he goes on to say, "that our universities exist, and when we shall be fully conscious of the fact, they will prosper. What we most need at this hour is to become thoroughly conscious of this fact. The lingering remnants of the functionary spirit must wholly disappear from our universities. Intellectual life cannot flourish under any sort of functionaryism, with its rules, its precautions, and its claims of respect." M. Jules Lemaitre bows as resignedly to this state control tyranny as does M. Lavisse, for "in our present political condition it cannot be otherwise."

But M. Brunetière, generally so conservative, is radical on this point, and squarely combats the view held by his two colleagues of the Academy; and it is to

¹It is the custom of the American University Dinner Club of Paris to invite to each of their three annual banquets a prominent French professor or ex-professor and request him to respond to a toast to the French universities. It thus happens that we have the views of Ernest Lavisse, Gaston Paris, Ferdinand Brunetière, Jules Lemaitre, etc., concerning the various aspects of French university reform. The quotations scattered through this letter are taken, in most cases, from notes made during the delivery of the speeches of these educators.

be noted that he spoke thus before his American trip. "To be entirely worthy of its name 'university,'" he says, "the University of Paris should enjoy entire independent autonomy. A university deserves its name only when it is the single and sovereign master of its own budget, when it can dispose of its revenues according to the changing exigencies of knowledge, when it is free to modify its curriculum in accord with the ever-varying requirements of the social state, and when, finally, the choice of its professors is wholly in its own hands."

Another criticism which M. Brunetière has to make of the new University of Paris is the leaving outside its circle several of the great special schools of the capital. He points out that "if Pasteur or Sainte Beuve were alive to-day and a foreign student wished to listen to their lectures, it would be impossible, because Pasteur and Sainte-Beuve taught only at the Superior Normal School. The same thing would hold true of Renan and Burnouf, who lectured at the College of France whose schedule is arranged totally regardless of that of the Sorbonne, so that clashing of hours is sure to occur."

M. Gaston Paris, who is Administrator of the College of France, took exception, later, to M. Brunetière's statement, and while he had to admit that the great special schools of Paris, do not form part of the University, he thought, nevertheless, that they might fairly be considered as closely allied thereto, because "these schools have exerted considerable influence on the new spirit of the universities." He might even have gone further and stated that, at least in the case of the Superior Normal School, one or two foreigners may always obtain permission to study there; and he would also have been quite within the bounds of truth if he had declared that the Sorbonne is now so well equipped that it can turn out as capable candidates for future professorships as the Normal School. In fact, M. Michel Bréol, of the College of France, said to me recently that, for this very reason, the Normal School would not be founded to-day if it did not already exist, "for both institutions substantially now go over the same ground."

Another obstacle encountered by the University reformers was that spirit of selfishness which shows itself in nations as in individuals, but which is peculiarly out of place in the French character when international and foreign affairs are concerned; for it is in direct contradiction with the history and true nature of French republicanism, which has always been so universal, especially in the early days when its catholicity sometimes bordered on sentimentality. The question was asked, and vigorously pushed home, in many quarters, whether the increased presence of foreign students which was to be one of the results and, in fact, aims, of the new system, would not work ill to French students. Even M. Lavissee felt that this narrow view had to be conciliated; for in one of his reports to the Superior Council of Public Instruction we find him saying: "We have no right to carry hospitality to the point of being detrimental to our own countrymen. . . . We have already quite a number of foreign students, and under the express and natural reservation that the rights and interests of our own students be safeguarded, we may express the hope that this number may increase."

Another hard battle was fought over the establishment of an advanced general degree for foreign students. Most all French University students are preparing for a profession which can be entered only after obtaining a second degree. Therefore, concluded M. Lavissee quite illogically when viewed from the American standpoint, the régime of these State degrees cannot be modified so as to embrace foreign aspirants. But he also pointed out that all the time of the professors is not occupied in this labor of preparing students for these degrees, and further remarked

that many French students—most of those, for instance, at the School of Political Sciences in the Rue St. Guillaume are of this category—would like to study and take a degree without having in view the ulterior purpose of entering upon some State profession.

The great majority of the French faculties of science were strongly opposed to the proposed innovation, and if it had not been for foreign influences and the patriotic desire of a little body of enlightened Frenchmen to keep up and even increase the prestige of this country beyond its own boundaries, the creation of this *doctorat d'Université*, as the new degree is called, would never have been carried through. M. Emile Picard, Professor of Pure Mathematics at the Sorbonne, in closing his report last March to the faculty of sciences of the University of Paris, said on this point: "There is no exaggeration in declaring that the peril is imminent when we see what efforts foreign universities are making to attract to their lecture-rooms greater numbers of foreign students."

Antipathy to Germany, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, a desire to check the growth of Teutonic influence abroad at the expense of French influence, also contributed not a little to bring about this reform. Not long ago the Paris *Temps* contained a leading article, believed to be from the pen of M. Liard, pointing out that German universities conferred such a degree, that without it foreigners and "especially Americans"—one of the many examples of the important part played by our university element in this campaign—will not attend French seats of learning, and that, finally, our countrymen returning to the United States with a German parchment, give a Teutonic bent to the rising generation across the Atlantic, until German books, scientific instruments and ideas flourish there to the exclusion of those of French origin. "Make inquiries," the writer goes on to say, "among our publishers of scientific works, in our shops where surgical instruments are sold, in our pharmacies, and among the industries connected therewith, and ask how many books, instruments, and remedies are sent to America. You will be told that the amount is almost insignificant. What is the cause?" The indirect reason, we are led to infer, is the absence in the French universities of a doctor's degree for foreigners, with the consequences arising therefrom.

"The establishment of a doctorate, as in Germany, which is open to foreigners," said M. Gaston Paris at the American University Dinner last Thanksgiving Eve, "was largely due to American influence. In fact, we have to thank our American friends for having requested this and other reforms in our system of higher education." To Professor Parker of Chicago redounds the honor of having given organised form to this desideratum. There was formed in Paris a year or two ago a committee composed of leading French educators, whose purpose was to promote the presence in France of students from abroad. In co-operation with it, a purely American committee was also established, with one branch in the United States, of which Professor Simon Newcomb was chairman, and with another here in Paris. The latter is now on the point of being reorganised.

The various universities of France having been invited to send to the Superior Council of Public Instruction their views concerning the organisation of the new doctorate, this request has been acquiesced in. M. Lavissee is now busy on the report in this matter for the University of Paris, and the Council will unify the subject, while leaving as much latitude as possible to each university in the arrangement of the details. This spirit of decentralisation and individual initiative is, in fact, one of the dominant characteristics of this whole movement for university reform and is sure to bear much good fruit in the near future.

And now a word about this new degree itself. It is generally conceded that the course leading up to it will be far more difficult than is the case with the Ph. D. in Germany and will show greater ability on the part of the successful candidate. One of the reasons why the standard is sure to be high and to be kept high is that the different universities are to be left free, in a very large measure, as has just been seen, to regulate, each for itself, the nature and extent of the required studies. Thus each university will feel that it has as rivals all the other French and foreign universities and so must in no respect debase its own doctor's degree. This healthy competition on the part of the provincial universities is one of the very things desired by the Paris educators. "Our wish," said M. Bréol to me the other day, "is not only to attract foreign students to Paris, but to induce them to attend also the other French universities as well. With this end in view, we have made it one of the rules of the new doctorate that the candidates may pursue their studies successively in more than one institution, and the time passed in several will count as if spent wholly in one." Much latitude is also left to the private initiative of the student himself,—liberty in the choice of the studies offered, in the length of time to be given to a special branch, and in the composition of the jury which may be formed of professors chosen by the candidate and whose lectures he has followed. In a word, the relations between professor and student will be as free and close as possible. I may add that a dozen or more Americans are already matriculated here in Paris for the doctor's degree.

Those of your readers who have followed me to this point, even though they may be but cursorily acquainted with the subject, will be apt, perhaps, to share this opinion of M. Lavissee, who exclaimed at one of our banquets: "Those who like me have watched from day to day the transformation which has taken place in our system of higher education, and can exactly compare the former state of things with what we have now, may have firm hope in the future, for it has required but a quarter of a century to bring about such great changes. But we still have much to do; we have taken only the first step in the right direction."

THEODORE STANTON,

NOMOTHEISM.

To the Editor of the Open Court:

In presenting the conception of an unconscious and impersonal God who is characterised as "superpersonal" (*The Open Court*, Oct. 1897-Feb., 1898), Dr. Carus indulges in unlimited drafts upon the terminology of the God-idea which he antagonises. The portrayal throughout both his articles is an ingenious and artful appeal to habits of thought and ideas that are fundamentally conflictive with the God-conception which he seeks to establish.

The aim of science is single; its office is to seek and proclaim truth; its methods in presenting truth are severely simple and direct. A truth for which science is announced as sponsor needs least of all, to commend it to the souls of men, a recourse to terms that are expressive of ideas to which it stands opposed. If from this impersonal God there be stripped the rhetorical finery with which Dr. Carus has so profusely endowed it, if it be despoiled of the wealth of words which invest it with life, will, reason, thoughts, ideas, love, goodness, personality, and sex, there will remain, for those who can accept it, a God that is "natural law," or "relations," or the "cosmic order"—in short, an immaterial automaton that is nothing and pro-

duces nothing. It is, after the best has been said of it, but a one-sided and emasculated cosmolatry that Dr. Carus has provided to satisfy the yearnings of the religious element in human nature.

Science teaches that force and matter are "uncreated and eternal"; whence it follows that relations, too, are necessarily eternal, since nothing can exist or be, without having relations to, or with, other existences. Science has not committed itself to any theory purporting to go beyond the facts of matter and energy and accounting for their mutual interactions; it is therefore to Dr. Carus, not to science, must be accredited the discovery that "relations" correspond to, or are identical with, the Logos of St. John. Indeed, so far as science affords us any warrant to speak of "relations" or the "cosmic order," they, or it, are merely concomitant to the facts of matter and energy; they, or it, bear the same relation to material realities as does a man's shadow to the man himself.

In defining the "superpersonal God," Dr. Carus tells us that it is the "eternal laws, or necessary relations, or universal verities, or whatever else you may choose to call them, which constitute the entire cosmic order." When defining the cosmic order, we are told that it is the "purely rational, not the material." And again, "the order of the universe . . . is God Himself." It will be observed that matter and energy are studiously and rigidly excluded from any participation in the Godhood which Dr. Carus has erected for our adoration. The "order of the universe," then, must be conceived as a unity or God having existence apart (in the sense of being above, or superior) from all other existences, but controlling all.

But here there arises a difficulty. If cosmic order be predicated as existing, the inference is inevitable that cosmic order is predicated of something which itself is *not* cosmic order, but which exhibits or discloses cosmic order as its attribute. It may not be said that cosmic order (God) is a state or condition of cosmic order (God), that would be making an attribute of a thing of the thing itself, and would be quite as meaningless and absurd as to speak of the clock of a clock. Cosmic order then, is a state, condition, or quality, that has for its foundation some reality that is other than itself. All immaterial or hyperphysical laws, verities, etc., being included in the term "superpersonal God," we are, by the imperative requirements of reason, forced to the conclusion that the cosmic order (God), or the order of the universe (God), or eternal law (God), is but an appearance or reflexion of the grand and harmonious inter-workings of Force and Matter.

The conclusion which has been reached may be ridiculed or denounced as materialistic, but if the attempt to explain or account for the order of the universe be conducted in accordance with logical principles, it is difficult to conceive that any result other than that which sees in the "superpersonal God" an attribute of matter and energy, can be attained.

The conception of God as a personality is, on various grounds, an indefensible one; so too is that of Nomotheism or the cosmic-order-God. For him who fully apprehends the inconsistencies which the idea of a personal God involves, there is no refuge other than that which may be found in Pantheism or a modest Agnosticism.

RICHARD JENKINS.

[The God-conception presented in *The Open Court* October, '97, and February, '98, and in *The Monist* (April, '98) is not meant to be an "ingenious and artful appeal to habits of thought and ideas that are fundamentally conflictive with the God-conception," but an application of the significance of the God-idea in the religious history of the world. Nor is the superpersonal God the Divinity that shapes the world as its formative factors, "an attribute of matter and energy,"

but is a reality of its own and independent of the reality of the material universe.

Mr. Richard Jenkins's view is based upon the philosophical assumption that "matter" is the thing in itself and that all other realities are attributes of matter. This is a materialistic metaphysicism which frequently parades under the name of monism; but it is a pseudo-monism based upon the assumption of a one-sided unification of the data of experience. It is a view to which among naturalists Prof. Ernst Haeckel of Jena inclines¹ and which has ably been set forth by Lester F. Ward² and Mr. Paul R. Shipman.³

Matter is an abstract which comprehends a definite quality of our experiences. We need not discuss the details of the subject, for they are very complicated because there are two distinct notions of matter, one being ponderable or gross matter, viz., matter in the sense of the physicist as the generalisation of the qualities which all the chemical elements possess in common, i. e., mass and volume; the other being matter in the vague sense of material, i. e., the stuff the world is made of, including, together with the chemical element, the cosmic or luminiferous ether. Whatever we may mean by matter, this much is sure, it is a mere quality of existence, and not existence itself; true, it is the highest generalisation of its kind, but so is energy, so is form, so is sentiency. We have no right to take one abstraction and regard it as the sole reality while all other realities are degraded into mere qualities of matter. The apparent continuity and durability of matter is no reason to regard it as more real than other apparently evanescent qualities, such as color, sensation, and the forms of things. In fact, the durability of matter is illusory; the abstract notion of matter remains the same, but not concrete, real matter of objective existence; it is constantly shifting and undergoing radical changes; and there are many material things in this world in which matter is the accident, while their form is the main and essential feature. The whirl in a river is not a mass of water possessed of the attribute of rotation; nor is the rainbow a cloud possessed of certain ether motions produced by the sun and perceived as broken light; nor is man a heap of atoms possessed of the attributes of reason, will, and purposive action, etc., etc. The last instance most obviously proves that the form is the remaining and enduring, and therefore the essential feature of man's existence, while the material which is passing through this form of life is an incidental, although indispensable, attribute.

Materialistic metaphysicism is based upon the nominalism of the Middle Ages which in France and England developed into sensualism, standing upon the one-sided statement that all experience is ultimately based upon sensation. This view leaves out of sight the most important feature of experience which is its formal or purely relational aspect; it endeavors to derive mathematics, causation, and all kindred conceptions, from sensory impressions, and from them alone. Consequently it rejects the philosophical notion of universality, claiming that because twice two apples are four apples, we cannot be sure that twice two chestnuts will also be four chestnuts. The sensationalist school denies universality and it denies the realness of the purely formal which is tacitly supposed to be a mere quality of the various objects of sense. Consequently, it does not recognise the universal applicability of the purely formal. Sensationalism necessarily leads to agnosticism, for it refuses to acknowledge the basic principle of scientific certitude. The keen Scotchman, David Hume, was the first philosopher to see this inference, and he

¹ See *The Monist*, Vol. II. No. 4.

² See *The Monist*, Vol. IV. No. 2.

³ See *The Open Court*, No. 235.

boldly pronounced himself a skeptic. Kant, on the other hand, was the first philosopher to comprehend the nature of the problem which puzzled Hume and rendered its final solution possible by pointing out the contrast between the sensory and the purely formal.

We need not enter here into an explanation of his philosophy or set forth the reasons why after all he failed to arrive at the right and in our opinion sole legitimate conclusion, that the things in themselves are not unknowable objects but the systematic sum total of their formal relations, which are quite knowable and determinable, being analogous to Plato's ideas, which exist in a spaceless and timeless transcendency as the prototypes of all material things and beings. Suffice it that Kant recognised their existence as "a supersensible world" which is the sphere of all spiritual, artistic, philosophical, and moral, aspirations.

Our conception of God as this supersensible world conceived in its unity is not an assumption, a mere hypothesis; nor is it a gratuitous interpretation of facts. It is the reality whose overwhelming dominion in life makes itself felt everywhere, underlying all religious, moral, artistic, scientific, and philosophical aspirations of man. If you prefer to avoid the name God, you may call it by whatever name you please, but you must recognise its reality and paramount importance. If with the sensationalist school of philosophy you deem it best to look upon the purely formal as something that has no existence, because its existence is not material concreteness, you will be driven to the conclusion that this non-existent something is the most important feature of the world. If, with John Stuart Mill, mathematics and the other formal sciences are mere imaginary conceptions which are not even perfectly true, because mathematical lines, squares, circles, etc., are copies of real (i. e. material) lines, squares, circles, etc., purposely deviating in certain respects from their originals, we should have to confess that something purely imaginary and untrue affords us the key to the riddles of the universe.

The authoritativeness of these superreal factors of life naturally produced the idea of God which is the most direct and impressive symbol of their significance for us in their unity. Every one is at liberty to invent a better name than the word God, which would show the religious import of the omnipresent norm of being in a more telling and more personal manner. We need not quarrel about words if we agree about realities. Since we deem the old sensationalism and the materialistic metaphysicism and also agnosticism as refuted, atheism (so far as we can see) can only raise a protest against the word, not against the reality of God.

Not the least advantage of our formulation of the God-problem consists in the fact that it affords a basis upon which theists and atheists can come to an agreement. P. C.]

ONI NO NEM BUTZU.

Captain C. Pfoundes, of Japan, writes about the Japanese Devil picture (called "the Dunning Devil") published in *The Open Court* for February on page iii. as follows:

"The collectors of accounts, 'duns,' are called *Oni*, i. e., demons; and the money due and payments thereof *On harai*—*On*, honored; *harai*, payments; also prayers, driving away evil, demons, etc. Thus a double meaning makes a punning rendering. *Oni harai*, demon praying, and getting rid of the devil by paying him.

"The figure illustrated, however, does not suggest to the Japanese any connex-

ion with the New Year's eve settlements, but simply the begging demon in the garb of a priest.

"The picture is what is called in Japan *Oni no nem-butzu* (*Oni*, Demon of; *nem*, prayers or invocations; *Butzu*, Buddha). A demon repeating the *Namo-mita bhaya Buddhaya*; in Japanese *Na-mu A-mi-da Bu-tzu*, which is the invocation of the Jo-do and the Shin-Shiu sects that rely on the saving help of Amittābha (or Amitayus), hoping for spiritual rebirth in Sukhavati. The book in the left-hand is the Subscription List; the circlet on the abdomen is a gong struck with the mallet held in the right-hand. The gong is rhythmically struck with the mallet at each syllable, with an emphasis on the last one: *Na-mu A-mi-da BUTZU*. (the capitalised word extra vigorously). The robes are those of a mendicant Bonze, an umbrella on the back. The curls of the Buddhist head are changed to horns of a demon. The little Devil holds the Patra,—Japanese, *Tetzu patzu*—(teppats) i. e. iron bowl, the Buddhists' mendicant's begging bowl.

"There is a proverb in the 31-syllable verse that illustrates the popular idea as regarding this.

<i>Me ni mi-ye-nu</i>	Eyes see not
<i>Hi-to no ko-ko-ro wo</i>	the people's hearts
<i>O-so-ro shi-ki</i>	How fearful
<i>Ko-ro-mo ki-se-de-mo</i>	Tho' clad in vestments
<i>O-ni ga o-ni na-ri</i>	The demon is still a demon, or the demon is sounding (the gong) ¹

"The Japanese grotesque art does not stop short of religion; and the worldliness, etc., of the Bonzes, especially their breaches of the Vinaya, lay them open to the good-humored jests of the irrepressible."

BOOK-REVIEWS AND NOTES.

LIVING PLANTS AND THEIR PROPERTIES. A Collection of Essays. By *Joseph Charles Arthur*, Sc. D., Professor of Vegetable Physiology and Pathology in Purdue University, and *Daniel Trembly MacDougal*, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Botany in charge of Plant Physiology in the University of Minnesota. New York: Baker & Taylor. 1898. Pages, 234.

This is a fascinating little book, affording us considerable insight into the psychology of plants. Although the articles are written by two men, professors of botany at universities which are quite distant from one another, they are yet so harmonious that were the names of their respective authors not appended nobody would suspect that they had not flowed from one and the same pen. That plants are sensitive has been surmised in verse and fable by the ancients, but a scientific investigation of the nature of this sentiency is only of late origin. Charles Darwin's experiments in this line are perhaps best known. Nevertheless Linnæus's definition of the three kingdoms of nature, viz., that "minerals grow, plants grow and live, animals grow, live, and feel," is still regarded as orthodox in many scientific circles. Julius Sachs, however, and many other botanists of distinction, have shown beyond the shadow of a doubt that the irritability of plants is, in spite of

¹ This is a pun in Japanese.

the great difference that obtains between the vegetable and animal kingdom, not void of sentiency. Plants are as much subject as animals to the effects of anæsthetics and stimulants. Though their psychological nature is in many respects radically different from ours, they are nevertheless possessed of souls, which, although not conscious like ours, are in their way sentient and can even do what in human life would be called reasoning. The thought seems fantastical, but there is a great and important truth in it which has here been delineated by Messrs. Arthur and MacDougal in a most attractive popular presentation based upon sound scientific knowledge.

P. C.

LEAVES OF THE LOTOS. By *David Banks Sickels*. New York: J. Selwin Tait & Sons. Pages, 82.

This little volume contains a number of good poems, all of which have the flavor of a longing for a widened vision in the religious field. The author loves India, and opens his volume with some beautiful verses on the lotos:

- " Skies are bluest,
Hearts are truest,
Life has fewest woes;
Hopes are brightest,
Toil is lightest,
Where the lotos grows.
- " Flowers are rarest,
Maids are fairest,
Friends outnumber foes;
Years are fleetest,
Love is sweetest,
Where the lotos grows.
- " Thoughts are purest,
Faith is surest,
Doubting never knows;
Dreams are newest,
Cares are fewest,
Where the lotos grows.
- " Life is longest,
Ties are strongest,
Passion finds repose;
Friends are dearest,
God is nearest,
Where the lotos grows."

The statement may not be true, but the rhymes are pretty, and perhaps the author does not mean by the land where the lotos grows, poor, famine-stricken India, but that ideal realm which exists nowhere in reality, but is longed for in our dreams.

That this author shows deep interest in Oriental thoughts such as the pre-existence of the soul and reincarnation, is almost a matter of course. In this sense he writes some thoughtful lines on the themes "Who knows we have not lived before?" and, thinking of those who have parted from life, he says "They are not

lost," his argument being "for in the land of mysteries all life is immortality." He does not enter into details as to the nature of immortality, but he expresses sometimes very thoughtful ideas. For instance when he says :

" They are not always dead who die
Nor living all who live ;
For life's best years may oft deny
What death alone can give."

His argument in favor of immortality is expressed in a verse of the poem " It cannot be," which has not been embodied in the present volume, but was published about a year ago in the *New York Sun*. Mr. Sickels says :

" It cannot be that after all
The mighty conquests of the mind,
Our thoughts shall pass beyond recall
And leave no record here behind ;
That all our dreams of love and fame,
And hopes that time has swept away :
All that enthralled this mortal frame,
Shall not return some other day."

The author of the sketch "A Lethean Apocalypse" is a distinguished physician in the United States' army, being lieutenant colonel and deputy surgeon general at Ft. Thomas, Ky. The incident is not pure fiction, but is based on the actual experience of the author. He writes in a private letter : "The 'Lethean Apocalypse' was written when I was a patient in St. Luke's Hospital, recovering from a severe surgical operation, and the visions are the result of morphine and chloroform, though elaborated and corrected when my brain was in its normal condition."

Supplement to The Open Court, June 1898.

AMERICAN WAR MARCH.

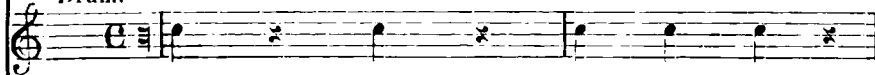
Cornet in B \flat .

By ROBERT GOLDBECK.



1. Co - lum - bia's sons, take up your arms And shout your battle-cry!
2. Au - gus - ti brags as Spaniards do, With pride and much dis-play.
3. The na-tion speaks, Mc-Kin - ley calls: Deal tyr-an - ny her doom!

Drum.



Piano. *f*

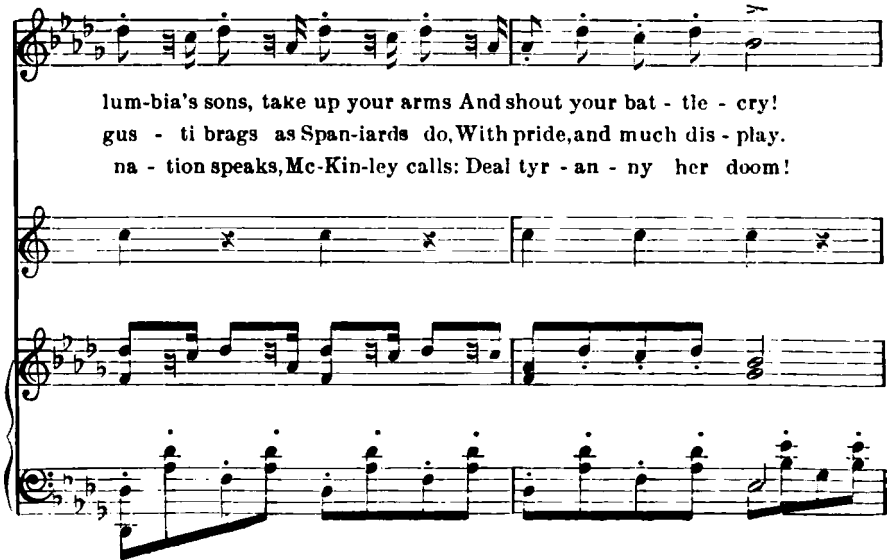


Copyright, 1898, by The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago.

AMERICAN WAR MARCH.



Free-dom calls; tar - ry not! Con-quer ye, or die! Co-
 Mon - te - jo shel-ter seeks In Ma - nil - a's Bay. Au-
 Free-dom thrills ev - 'ry soul 'Mid the bat-tle's boom. The



lum-bia's sons, take up your arms And shout your bat - tle - cry!
 gus - ti brags as Span-iards do, With pride, and much dis - play.
 na - tion speaks, Mc-Kin-ley calls: Deal tyr - an - ny her doom!

AMERICAN WAR MARCH.

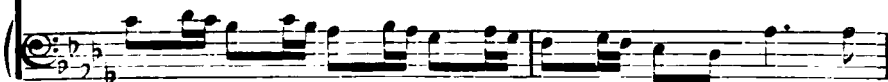
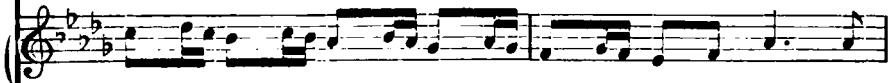
3



Free-dom calls; tar - ry not! Con - quer ye, or die. Old
 Mon - te - jo shel - ter seeks In Ma - nil - a's Bay. But
 Free-dom thrills ev - 'ry soul 'Mid the bat - le's boom. Our



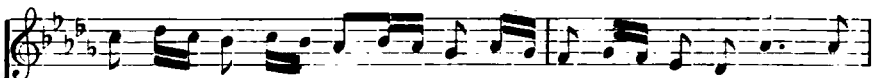
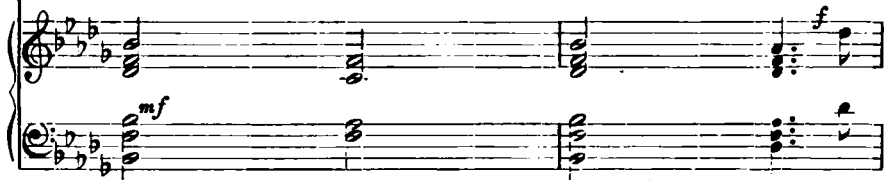
Glo - ry gleams, her banner streams! To meet her cru - el foe. Our
 thun - der-like will Dew-ey strike. Look out, ye Dons, for Spain! Hush,
 Sampson's fleet, Schley's squadron brave. Will ter-mi - nate the war And



AMERICAN WAR MARCH.

mf ad lib.

moth - ers, sis - ters, sweethearts true, They weep, yet bid us go. It
list - en to the warn - ing voice: Re - mem - ber ye the Main! Lo!
peace bring free - dom to the flag Of Cu - ba's fair, lone star. The



is through Spanish treach er - y The con - flict has be - gun: Then
Dew - ey at Fort Ca - vi - te Draws on in bat - tle line; He
Phil - ip - pines, a wel - come prize, In dis - tant east - ern seas, Will



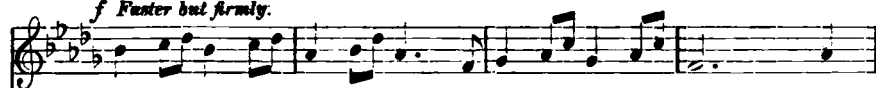
join the flag, pre - pare for war And man each faith - ful gun. Give
fear - eth not a Span - ish shell Nor a - ny Span - ish mine. Our
hail Old Glo - ry's star - ry folds Un - furled up - on the breeze. Then



AMERICAN WAR MARCH.

5

f *Faster but firmly.*



lib - er - ty to Cu - ba's Isle, Think of the Maine's brave crew, And
gun - ners aim right gal - lant - ly And sink the Spanish fleet. Re -
peace with honor we'll en - joy; Peace, Honor, lib - er - ty! For



sail, sail on to vic - to - ry, Ye gal - lant lads in blue.
mem - ber, Spain, 'tis for the Maine! For treach'ry take de - feat.
jus - ti - fied is Free - dom's cause, And vanquished Tyr - an - ny.



AMERICAN WAR MARCH.

Chorus, *Unison to end.*

Give lib - er - ty to Cu - ba's Isle, Think of the Maine's brave
 Our gun - ners aim right gal - lant - ly And sink the Span - ish
 Then peace with hon - or we'll en - joy; Peace, Hon - or, Lib - er -

Cornet *f*

f
8va

crew, And sail, sail on to vic - to - ry, Ye
 fleet. Re - mem - ber, Spain, 'tis for the Maine! For
 ty! For jus - ti - fied is Free - dom's cause, And

f
8va

AMERICAN WAR MARCH.

7

gal - lant lads in blue. Co-lum-bia's sons, take up your arms And
 treach-'ry take de-feat.
 van-quish tyr-an-ny,

sf sf sf sf

8va

ff

Detailed description: This block contains the first system of the musical score. It features a vocal line with lyrics, a piano accompaniment, and a double bass line. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are: 'gal - lant lads in blue. Co-lum-bia's sons, take up your arms And treach-'ry take de-feat. van-quish tyr-an-ny,'. There are dynamic markings *sf* (sforzando) and *ff* (fortissimo). An *8va* marking is present above the piano part.

shout your bat-tle-cry! Free-dom calls; tar-ry not!

Detailed description: This block contains the second system of the musical score. It continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'shout your bat-tle-cry! Free-dom calls; tar-ry not!'. There are accents (^) over the notes for 'bat-tle-cry' and 'tar-ry'. The piano part continues with chords and moving lines.

AMERICAN WAR MARCH.

Con-quer ye, or die! Co-lum-bia's sons, take up your arms And

The first system of the musical score for 'American War March'. It consists of five staves. The top two staves are for the vocal melody, with lyrics 'Con-quer ye, or die! Co-lum-bia's sons, take up your arms And'. The bottom three staves are for the piano accompaniment. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is 2/4. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some triplets indicated by a '3' over a group of notes.

shout your battle-cry! Freedom calls; tar-ry not! Con quer ye, or die.

The second system of the musical score. It also consists of five staves. The top two staves are for the vocal melody, with lyrics 'shout your battle-cry! Freedom calls; tar-ry not! Con quer ye, or die.' The bottom three staves are for the piano accompaniment. The key signature remains B-flat major. The music continues with similar rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and features a crescendo leading to a final strong accent marked with a 'V' and a fermata.



NICOLÁI IVÁNOVICH LOBACHÉVSKI.

(1793-1856.)

The July Open Court.

Copyrighted.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XII. (NO. 7.)

JULY, 1898.

NO. 506

SOLOMONIC LITERATURE.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

SOLOMONIC ANTIJAHVISM.

THE FEROCITIES of Josiah and his Jahvists indicate the presence of an important Solomonist School. Their culture and tendencies are reflected as we have seen in the rage of prophets against them, and the continuance of their strength is shown in the preservation of Agur's Voltairian satire on Jahvism, and Job's avowed blasphemies:

"If indeed ye will glorify yourselves above me,
And prove me guilty of blasphemy—
Know then, that God hath wronged me!"

This translation from Job, quoted from Professor Dillon, need only be compared with that of the authorised and the revised versions to show us the *causa causans* to-day which of old added four hundred interpolations to the Book of Job to soften its criticism.

It appears strange, however, that Professor Dillon has not included among *The Sceptics of the Old Testament* three writers in the composite eighty-ninth Psalm, nor remarked its relation to the Book of Job. At the head of this wonderful composition the mythical wise man of 1 Kings iv. 31, Ethan, rises ("Maschil of Ethan the Ezrahite," perhaps meaning Wisdom of the Everlasting Helper) to attest the divine mercies and faithfulness in all generations. This is in two verses, probably pre-exilic, which a later hand, as I think, has pointed with a specification of the covenant with David. After the "Selah" which ends these four verses come fourteen verses of sermonising upon them, in which nearly all of the points made by Job's "comforters" are put in a nutshell. The sons of

God who presented themselves, Satan among them, in his council (Job i. 6) appear here also (lxxxix. 6):

"Who among the sons of the gods is like unto Jahveh,
A God very terrible in the council of the holy ones."

After the mighty things that "Jah" had done to his enemies have been affirmed an Elohist takes up the burden and a "vision" like that of Eliphaz (Job iv. 13) is appealed to:

"Then thou speakest in vision to thy holy ones."

The vision's revelation (Job v. 17) "Happy is the man whom God correcteth" is also in this psalm (32, 33): "Then will I visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes, but my mercy will I not utterly take from him." And Eliphaz's assurance "thy seed will be great" (v. 25) corresponds with that in our psalm (verse 36), "His seed shall endure forever."

When the psalmist of the vision has pictured, as if in dissolving views, the military renown of David, God's "servant," and Solomon, God's "first-born," the transgressions of the latter are foreseen, but the seer continues to utter the divine promises:

"My covenant will I not break,
Nor alter the thing that has gone out of my lips.
One thing have I sworn by my holiness;
I will not lie unto David:
His seed shall endure forever,
And his throne as the sun before me;
As the moon which is established forever
Faithful is the witness in the sky. Selah."

Then breaks out the indignant accuser:

"But thou HAST cast off and rejected!
Thou hast been wroth with thine 'anointed';
Thou hast broken the covenant with thy 'servant,'
Thou hast profaned his crown to the very dust;
Thou hast broken down all his defences;
Thou hast brought his strongholds to ruin!
All the wayfarers that pass by despoil him;
He is become a reproach to his neighbors.
Thou hast exalted the right-hand of his adversaries,
Thou hast made all his enemies to rejoice.
Yea, thou turnest back the edge of his sword,
And hast not enabled him to stand in battle.
Thou hast made his brightness to cease,
And hurled his throne down to the ground.
The days of his youth thou hast shortened;
Thou hast covered him with shame! Selah."

A sarcastic "Selah," or "so it is!"—if Eben Ezra's definition of Selah be correct.

Then follow four verses by a more timid plaintiff, who, almost in the words of Job (e. g., x. 20), reminds Jahveh of the shortness of life, and the impossibility of any return from the grave, and asks how long he intends to wait before fulfilling his promises. He also supplies Koheleth with a text by the pessimistic exclamation, "For what vanity hast thou created all the children of men!"

After this writer has sounded his "Selah," another rather more bitterly reminds Jahveh, in three verses, of how not only his chosen people are in disgrace but his own enemies are triumphant.

(These two are much like the writer of Psalm xlv. 9-26, who almost repeats the points made by the above three remonstrants, and asks Jahveh, "Why sleepest thou?")

Finally a Jahvist doxology, fainter than any appended to the other four books, completes the strange psalm:

" Praised be Jahveh for evermore!
Amen, and Amen!"

Great is Diana of the Ephesians! Or is this the half-sardonic submission of Job under the whirlwind-answer, which extorted from him no tribute except an admission that when the ethical debate became a question of which could wield the biggest whirlwinds, he gave up.

In Job's case the only recantation is that of Jahveh himself, who admits (xli. 7) that Job had all along spoken the right thing about him (Jahveh). The epilogue is as complete a denial of Jahvist theology as the words of Jesus (Luke xiii.), which an interpolation has tried to stultify: "Think ye those Galileans who suffered were worse than others? Think ye the men on whom the tower fell were worse than others? *No!*"

Job's small voice of scepticism which followed the whirlwind was never silenced. The fragment of Agur (Proverbs xxx. 1-4) appears to have been written as the alternative reply of Job to Jahveh. Job had said, "I am vile, I will lay my hand upon my mouth, I have uttered that I understand not." Agur adds ironically, "I am more stupid than other men, in me is no human understanding nor yet the wisdom to comprehend the science of sacred things." Then quoting Jahveh's boast about distributing the wind (Job xxxviii. 24), about his "sons shouting for joy" (*Ibid.* 7), and giving the sea its garment of cloud (*Ibid.* 9), Agur, the "Hebrew Voltaire," as Professor Dillon aptly styles him, asks:

" Who has ascended into heaven and come down again?
 Who can gather the wind in his fists?
 Who can bind the seas in a garment?
 Who can grasp all the ends of the earth?
 Such an one I would question about God: 'What is his name?
 And what the name of his sons, if thou knowest it?'"

The stupid Jahvist commentator who follows Agur (Proverbs xxx. 5-14) and in the same chapter interpolates 17 and 20, has the indirect value of rendering it probable that there were a great many "Agurites" (a "bad generation" he calls them) and that they were rather aristocratic and distrustful of the masses. This commentator, who cannot understand the Agur fragments, also shows us, side by side with the brilliant genius, lines revealing the mentally pauperised condition into which Jahvism must have fallen when such a writer was its champion.

It is tolerably certain that such fragments as those of Agur imply a literary atmosphere, a cultured philosophic constituency, and a long precedent evolution of rationalism. Such peaks are not solitary, but rise from mountain ranges. Professor Dillon, to whose admirable volume I owe much, finds Buddhistic influence in Agur's fragments.¹ But I cannot find in them any trace of the recluse or of the mystic; he does not appear to be even an "agnostic," for when he says "I have worried myself about God and succeeded not," the vein is too satirical for a mind interested in theistic speculations. He is a man of the world,—more of a Goethe than a Voltaire; he regards Jahveh as a phantasm, is well domesticated in his planet, and does not moralise on the facts of nature in the Oriental any more than in the Pharisaic way. He appears to be a true Solomonic philosopher and naturalist. I cannot agree to Professor Dillon's omission of the "Four Cunning Ones" (Proverbs xxx. 24-28) because they are not of the same metrical form as the others, and lead "nowhither." The lines

" The ants are a people not strong,
 Yet they provide their meat in the summer,"

no doubt led to the famous parable of Proverbs vi. 6-11, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard." Being there imbedded in an otherwise commonplace editorial chapter, they may possibly be derived from some commentator on Agur.

Agur apparently represents the Solomonic thinkers brought with the rest of the people under the trials that made Israel the Job

¹ *The Sceptics of the Old Testament*, pp. 149, 155.

of nations. They are such as those who led astonished Jeremiah to ask "what kind of wisdom is in them?" (Jeremiah viii.) They "do not recognise Jahveh's judgments"; in "shame, dismay, captivity, they have rejected Jahveh's word." The exquisite humor of Agur shows that these philosophers did not lose their serenity. Agur sees man passing his life between two insatiable daughters of the ghoulish, "the Grave and the Womb,"—Birth and Death,—and amid the inevitable evils of life he will be wise to refrain from rage and lay his hand upon his lips.

But silence was just what the Jahvist omniscients could not attain to. Notwithstanding Jahveh's confession that Job was right in his position, and the orthodox wrong in their theory that all evil is providential, the "comforters" rise again in the commentator who begins (Proverbs xxx. 5):

"Every word of God is perfected.
He is a shield to them that trust in Him,"

and proceeds in verse 14 with his inanities. And these have prevailed ever since. Even Jesus, when he took up the burden of Wisdom, and rebuked the Jahvist superstition that those on whom a tower fell were subjects of a judgment, must have his stupid corrector to add, "Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish." This simpleton's superstition has taken the place of the great successor of Solomon, and to-day, amid all the learning of Christendom, is proclaiming that the Father is "permitting" all the Satans,—war, disease, earthquake, famine,—to harry his children just to test them or to chasten them. Why should omnipotence create a race requiring worse than inquisitorial tortures for its conversion? In all the literature of Christendom there is not one honest attempt to deal with the evils and agonies of nature; and at this moment we find theists apotheosizing the "Unknowable from which all things proceed," without any appreciation of the fact that in the remote past Jahvism sought the same refuge, and that it was proved by Job a refuge of fallacies. In an awakening moral and humane sentiment Job stands in this latter day upon the earth, and again steadily repeats his demand why one should respect an Unknowable from whom all things,—all horrors and agonies,—proceed.

Ethically we are required to do no evil that good may come; theologically, to worship a deity who is doing just that all the time. This is no doubt a convenient doctrine for the Christian nations that wish to preserve their own property and peace at home, while

acting as banditti in Africa, China, and the Sandwich or other islands. All such atrocities are enacted and adopted as part of the providential plan of spreading the Gospel, latterly "civilisation"; but it is very certain that there can be no such thing as national civilisation until evil is recognised as evil, good as good,—the one to be abhorred, the other loved,—and no deity respected whose government would wrong a worm.

WISDOM IN THE BOOK OF PROVERBS, AND THE AVESTA.

The legend of the Queen of Sheba forms not only a poetic prologue to the epical tradition of Solomon's wisdom, but has a substantial connexion with the character of that wisdom, to whose final personification she contributed.

The corresponding Oriental stories do not necessarily deprive this legend of historic basis, but point to the region of this "Queen of the Seven (Sheba)." Those Oriental pilgrimages of eminent women to great sages, however invested with magnificence, are natural; even such romances could not have been invented unless in accordance with the genius of the country in which they were written. There is no great antecedent improbability that a queen, belonging to a region in which her sex enjoyed large freedom, might have made a journey to meet Solomon.

The Abyssinians, who regard her as the founder of their dynasty, at the same time show how little characteristic of their country the legend was, by their ancient tradition, that it was the Queen of Sheba who provided that no woman should sit on the throne, forever! They claim that this Queen is referred to in Psalm xlv.—"At thy right hand doth stand the Queen, in gold of Ophir." This psalm is Solomonian, but the reference is no doubt to the Queen Mother, Bathsheba (whose throne was on his "right hand," 1 Kings, ii. 19). Neither Naamah the Ammonitess, mother of Solomon's successor, nor the daughter of Pharaoh, who was especially distinguished as his wife, is described as a queen,—this indeed not being a Jewish title for a king's wife. The psalm indicates much glory to be conferred on a woman by wedlock with Solomon, but not that he was to derive any honor from either or all of the "threescore queens" assigned him in later times (Cant. vi. 8). In another Solomonian Psalm (lxxii.) it is said :

" The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents :
 The kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts,
 Yea, all kings shall fall down before him."

No glory is here supposed to be derivable from a woman, and an inventor would probably have merely devised a saga on the last of the lines just quoted, which is adapted in 1 Kings, iv. 34, to Solomon's wisdom, or he would have imagined some instance of a particularly illustrious monarch coming to pay homage to Solomon. That the only example is that of a woman carries some signs of reality.

Assuming that there was ever any King Solomon at all, this Psalm lxxii., whose Hebrew title is "Of Solomon," might have been written in the height of his reign. The title of "God" given him in Psalm xlv. is here approximated in the opening line, "Give the King thy judgments, O Elohim," and in the ascription to him of such virtues and such beneficent dominion, "from the river (Euphrates) to the ends of the earth," without any further reference to God, that an indignant Jahvist expands the doxology (18-20) to include a reclamation for Jahveh. The ancient lyric closes with verse 17, which says of Solomon :

" His name shall endure forever ;
 His name shall have emanations as long as the sun ;
 Men shall bless themselves in him ;
 All nations shall call him The Happy."

The Jahvist answers :

" Blessed be Jahveh Elohim, the Elohim of Israel,
 Who alone doeth wondrous things,
 And blessed be His glorious name forever ;
 And let the whole earth be filled with His glory.
 Amen, and Amen."

Now in this beautiful poem (omitting the doxology) the elation is especially concerning some connexion with Sheba. In verse 10 it is said "The kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts"; in verse 15, "To him shall be given of the gold of Sheba." These lines might have been written on the announcement of a royal visit, or meeting, which had not mentioned a queen. But what country is indicated by Sheba (the Seven)? In India there are seven holy rivers, and seven holy Rishis, represented by the seven stars of the Great Bear. But these correspond with the Seven Rivers of Persia which enter into the Persian Gulf, in the Avesta called Sata-vāsa, a star-deity. In the Yir Yast 9 it is said :

"Satavæsa makes those waters flow down to the seven Karshvares of the earth, and when he has arrived down there he stands, beautiful, spreading ease and joy on the fertile countries, thinking in himself, 'How shall the countries of the Aryas grow fertile?'"

As there are seven heavens, there are seven earths (Karshvares), and these, as already shown (*ante* II.), are presided over by the "seven infinite ones" (Amesha-Spentas). Of these seven the first is Ahura Mazda himself, and of the others only one is female—Armaîti, genius of the earth. Of this wonderful and beautiful personification more must be said presently, but it may be said here that Armaîti was the spouse of Ahura Mazda, and Queen of the Seven,—the seven Ameshi-Spentas who preside respectively over the seven karshvares of the earth.

The function of Armaîti being to win men from nomadic life and warfare, to foster peace and tillage, she was a type of "the eternal feminine"; and such an ideal could hardly have been developed except in a region where women were held in great honor, nor could it fail to produce women worthy of honor. That such was the fact in Zoroastrian Persia is proved by many passages in the Avesta, wherein we find eminent women among the first disciples of Zoroaster. There is a litany to the Fravashis, or ever living and working spirits, of twenty-seven women, whose names are given in *Favardin Yast* (139-142). Among these was the Queen Hutaosa, converted by Zoroaster, the wife of King Vistâspa, the Constantine of Zoroastrianism. Hutaosa was naturally a visible and royal representative of Armaîti, "Queen of the Seven," a princess of peace, a patroness of culture, to be imitated by other Persian queens.

That the sanctity of "seven" was impressed on all usages of life in Persia is shown in the story of Esther. King Ahasuerus feasts on the seventh day, has seven chamberlains, and consults the seven princes of Media and Persia ("wise men which knew the times"). When Esther finds favor of the King above all other maidens, as successor to deposed Vashti, she is at once given "the seven maidens, which were meet to be given her, out of the King's house; and he removed her and her maidens to the best place of the house of the women." Esther was thus a Queen of the Seven,—of Sheba, in Hebrew,—and although this was some centuries after Solomon's time, there is every reason to suppose that the Zoroastrian social usages in Persia prevailed in Solómon's time. At any rate we find in the ancient Psalm lxxii., labeled "Of Solomon," Kings of Sheba (the Seven) mentioned along with the Eu-

phrates, chief of the Seven Rivers (Zend Hapta-heando) ; and remembering also the "sevens" of Esther, we may safely infer that a "Queen of Sheba" connoted a Persian or Median Queen.

We may also fairly infer, from the emphasis laid on "sevens" in Esther, in connexion with her wit and wisdom, that a Queen of the Seven had come to mean a wise woman, whether of Jewish or Persian origin, a woman instructed among the Magi, and enjoying the freedom allowed by them to women. There is no geographical difficulty in supposing that a Persian queen like Hutaosa, a devotee of Armaîti (Queen of the Seven, genius of Peace and Agriculture), might not have heard of Salem, the City of Peace, of its king whose title was the Peaceful (Solomon), and visited that city,—though of course the location of the meeting may have been only a later tradition.¹

The object of the Queen's visit to Solomon was "to test him with hard questions" as to his wisdom. It was not to discover or pay court to his wisdom, though he received from her "of the gold of Sheba" spoken of in the psalm. As a royal missionary of the Magi her ability and title to prove Solomon's knowledge, and decide on it, are assumed in the narrative (1 Kings x.). Several sentences in her tribute to Solomon's "wisdom and goodness" recall passages in the Psalm (lxxii.). There is here an intimation of some prevailing belief that Solomon's wisdom was harmonious with the Zoroastrian wisdom. Whether the visit of the Queen be mythical or not, and even if both she and Solomon are regarded as mythical, the legend would none the less be an expression of a popular perception of elements not Jewish in Solomonian literature.

Of course only Biblical mythology is here referred to. The Moslem mythology of Solomon and the Queen (Balkis) has taken from the Avesta Wise King Yima's potent ring, and his power over demons, and other fables, in most instances to be noted only as an unconscious recognition of a certain general accent common to the narratives of the two great kings. Yet it can hardly be said that the stories of Yima in the Avesta and of Solomon in the Bible are entirely independent of each other,—as in Yima's being given by the deity a sort of choice and selecting the political career, Ahura Mazda saying: "Since thou wanted not to be the preacher and the bearer of my law, then make thou my worlds thrive, make my

¹ It may be mentioned that the Moslem name for the Queen of Sheba is Balkis, which points to the great Zoroastrian city of Balkh, near which are the Seven Rivers (Saba' Sin), whose confluence makes the Balkh (Oxus), with whose sands gold is mingled. (Cf. Psalm lxxii. 15.)

worlds increase : undertake thou to nourish, to rule, and to watch over my world." Ahura Mazda requests Yima to build an enclosure for the preservation of the seeds of life (men, animals, and plants) during a succession of fatal winters, and some of the particulars resemble both the legend of the ark and that of building the temple. Yima was, like Solomon, a priest-king (he is also called "the good shepherd"); he was, like Solomon, beset by satans (daêvas), and after a reign of fabulous prosperity he finally fell by uttering falsehood. What the falsehood was is told in the Bundahis : the good part of creation was ascribed to the evil creator.

Several other heroes of the Avesta have assisted in the idealisation of Solomon, notably King Vîstâspa, already mentioned. Like Solomon, he is famous for his horses and his wealth. Zoroaster exhorts him, "All night long address the heavenly Wisdom ; all night long call for the Wisdom that will keep thee awake." From Zoroaster the "Young King" learned "how the worlds were arranged"; and he is advised "have no bad priests or unfriendly priests."

It is now necessary to inquire whether there is anything corresponding to these facts in the ancient writings ascribed to Solomon. The lower criticism has little liking for Solomon, and makes but a feeble struggle for the genuineness of his canonical books against the higher criticism, which forbids us to assign any word to Solomon. But these higher critics acquired their learning while lower critics, and it is difficult to repress an occasional suspicion of the survival of an unconscious prejudice against the royal secularist, apparent in their unwillingness to admit any participation at all of Solomon in the wisdom books. Is this quite reasonable?

It is of course clear that Solomon cannot be described as the author of any book or compilation that we now possess. But neither did Boccaccio write Shakespeare's "Cymbeline," nor Dryden's "Cymon and Iphigenia," nor the apologue of the Ring in Lessing's "Nathan the Wise," nor Tennyson's "Falcon," in which, however, his Tales are used. I select Boccaccio for the illustration because his defiance of "the moralities" led to his suppression in most European homes, thus facilitating the utilisation of his ideas by others who derive credit from his genius, this being precisely what might be expected in the case of the great secularist of Jerusalem. But no one can carefully study the Book of Proverbs without perceiving that a large number of them never could have been popular proverbs, but are terse little essays and fables, some of them highly artistic, which indicate the presence at some

remote epoch of a man of genius. And I cannot conceive any fair reason for setting aside the tradition of many centuries which steadily united the name of Solomon with much of this kind of writing, or for believing that every sentence he ever uttered or wrote is lost.

It would require a separate work to pick out from the two Anthologies ascribed to Solomon—the First, Proverbs x. 1, xxii. 16, and the Second, xxv. 29,—the more elaborate thoughts, and piece together those that represent one mind, even were I competent for that work. But this fine task awaits some scholar, and indeed the whole Book of Proverbs needs a more thorough treatment in this direction than it has received.

Of the last seven chapters of the Book of Proverbs, one (xxx.) containing the fragments of Agur and his angry antagonist, is elsewhere considered. Chapters xxv., xxvi., xxvii., and xxxi. 10–31, may with but little elimination fairly come under their general heading, “These are also proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah, King of Judah, copied out.” Chapters xxviii. and xxix., with their flings at princes and wealth, contain many Jahvist insertions. The admirable verses in xxiv., 23–34, and those in xxxi. 10–29, 31, represent the high secular ethics of the Solomonic school.

The verses last mentioned (exaltation of the virtuous woman) are curiously enough blended with “The words of King Lemuel, the oracle which his mother taught him.” The ancient Rabbins identify Lemuel with Solomon, and relate that when, on the day of the dedication of the temple, he married Pharaoh’s daughter, he drank too much at the wedding feast and slept until the fourth hour of the next day, with the keys of the temple under his pillow. Whereupon his mother, Bathsheba, entered and reproved him with this oracle. Bathsheba’s own amour with Solomon’s father does not appear to have excited any rabbinical suspicion that the description of the virtuous wife with which the Book of Proverbs closes is hardly characteristic of the woman. She was the “Queen Mother,” a part of the divine scheme, and Jahveh can do no wrong.

The first nine verses of this last chapter in the Book of Proverbs certainly appear as if written at a later day, perhaps even so late as the third century before our era, and aimed at the Jahvist tradition of Solomon. Lemuel seems to be allegorical, and we here have an early instance of the mysterious disinclination to mention the great King’s name. His name, Renan assures us, is hidden

under "Koheleth," but he is not named in the text of that book or even in that of the "Wisdom of Solomon." In Ezra v. 11 the mention of the temple as the house "which a great king of Israel builded and finished" seems to indicate a purposed suppression of Solomon's name which continued (Jeremiah lii. 20 is barely an exception) until this silence was broken by Jesus Ben Sira, and again by Jesus of Nazareth.

The removal of verse 30 (Proverbs xxxi.), clearly a late Jahvist protest, leaves the praise of the virtuous woman with which the book closes without any suggestion of piety. Yet we find here that "her price is far above rubies," "she openeth her mouth with wisdom," and one or two other tropes which probably united with some in the First Anthology to evolve more distinctly the goddess Wisdom. Some sentences of the First Anthology grew like the mustard seed. "Wisdom resteth in the heart of him who hath understanding" (Proverbs xiv. 33), reappears in 1 Kings iii. 12; and in x. 24 it is definitely stated that it was the wisdom which God had put into Solomon's heart that made all the earth seek his presence. It was a miracle they went to see; the glory is not that of Solomon but that of God.¹

The nearest approach to a personification of Wisdom in the First Anthology is proverb xx. 15: "There is gold and abundance of pearls, but the lips of knowledge are a (more) precious jewel." This expands in Job to a long list of precious things—gold, coral, topaz, pearls—all surpassed by Wisdom, and the similitudes journey on to the parables of Jesus, wherein the woman sweeps for the lost silver, and the man sells all he has for the pearl of price. This however was a comparatively simple and human development. And the first complete personification of Wisdom, growing out of "the lips of knowledge," and perhaps influenced by the portraiture of "the virtuous woman," is an expression of philosophical and poetic religion. This personification is in Proverbs viii and ix., which are evidently far more ancient than the seven chapters preceding them, and no doubt constitute the original editorial Prologue to the so-called "Proverbs of Solomon," with the exception of some Jahvist cant about "the fear of Jahveh." We hear from "the lips

¹In many places in the Avesta (e. g., *Sîrôzah* i. 2) a distinction is drawn between "the heavenly wisdom made by Mazda, and the acquired wisdom through the ear made by Mazda." Darmesteter says: "Asnya khratu, the inborn intellect, intuition, contrasted with *gaoshô-srûta* khratu, the knowledge acquired by hearing and learning. There is between the two nearly the same relation as between the *parâvidyâ* and *aparâvidyâ* in Brahmanism, the former reaching *Brahma in se* (*parabrahma*), the latter *sabdabrahma*, the word-brahma (*Brahma* as taught and revealed)." (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXIII., p. 4.)

of knowledge " a reaffirmation of the "excellent things " said in the Anthologies about the superiority of Wisdom to gems. (The word "ancient " given by the revisers in the margin to viii. 18 may possibly signify the antiquity of the Anthologies when this Prologue was written.) The scholarly writer of the Prologue had closely studied the ancient proverbs, and occasionally gives good hints for the interpretation of some that puzzle modern translators. Thus Wisdom, in describing herself as "sporting " (viii. 30) indicates the right meaning of x. 23 to be that while the fool finds his sport in mischief the wise man finds his sport with wisdom. (This proverb may also have suggested the laughter of the "virtuous woman " in xxxi. 25.)

In viii. 22-31 Wisdom becomes more than a personification and takes her place in cosmogony. This passage, which contains germs of much of our latter-day theology, must be quoted in full, and comparatively studied. Wisdom speaks :

22. Jahveh acquired me in the outset of his way,
Before his works, from of old.
23. From eternity was I existent,
From the first, before the earth.
24. When no deep seas I was brought forward,
When no fountains abounding with water.
25. Before the mountains were fixed,
Before the hills, was I brought forward :
26. When he had not fashioned the earth and the fields,
And the consummate part of the dust of the world.
27. When he established the heavens, I was there ;
When he set a boundary on the face of the deep ;
28. When he made firm the clouds above ;
When the fountains of the deep became strong ;
29. When he gave to the sea its limit,
That the waters should not pass over their coast ;
When he marked out the foundation pillars of the earth :
30. Then was I near him, as a master builder ;
And I was his delight continually,
Sporting before him at all times ;
31. Sporting in the habitable part of his earth,
And my delight was with the sons of men.

Let us compare with this picture of Wisdom that of Armaîti, genius of the Earth, in the sacred Zoroastrian books. In the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, 7, it is said : "To succor this life (to increase it) Armaîti came with wealth, the good and true mind : she, the everlasting one, created the material world ; but the soul, as to time, the first cause among created beings, was with thee " (Ahura Mazda).

Thus, like Wisdom, Armaîti is everlasting: she was not created but "acquired" by the deity. When Ahura Mazda, as chief of the seven Amesha-spentas, ideally designed the world, she gave it reality, as master builder, and, like Wisdom, hewed out the foundation pillars he had marked out,—namely, the Seven Karshvares of the earth. The opening lines of Proverbs ix. read almost like a quotation from some Gâtha—

" Wisdom hath builded her house,
She hath hewn out her seven pillars."

Like Wisdom, Armaîti was the continual delight of the supreme God. In an ancient Pâli MS. it is said that Zoroaster saw the supreme being in heaven with Armaîti seated at his side, her hand caressing his neck, and said "Thou, who art Ahura Mazda, turnest not thy eyes away from her, and she turns not away from thee." Ahura Mazda tells Zoroaster that she is "the house-mistress of my heaven, and mother of the creatures."¹ Like Wisdom, Armaîti has joy in the "habitable part" of the earth, and the "sons of men" from whom she receives especial delight ("the greatest joy") are enumerated in the Vendîdâd, also the places in which she has such delight. They are the faithful who cultivate the earth morally and physically, and the places so watered or drained, and homes "with wife, children, and good herds within."

Armaîti has a daughter, "the good Ashi," whose function is to pass between earth and heaven and bring the heavenly wisdom (Vohu-Mano, "Good Thought") to mankind. The soul of the world thus reaches, and is reached by, heaven, and Armaîti thus becomes a personification of the human and celestial Wisdom, ascribed to great men, such as Solomon. At the same time the "sons of men" are all the children of Armaîti and she finds delight among them. Even the rudest are restrained by her culture. "By the eyes of Armaîti the (demonic) ruffian was made powerless," says Zoroaster,—who is said to have laughed at his birth; and the spirit of the Earth, laughing with her flowers and fruits, survived in Persia the sombre reign of Islam, to sing in the quatrain of Omar Khayyam: "I asked my fair bride—the World—what was her dower: she answered, 'My dower is in the joy of thy heart.'"

"The sons of men" is not an Avestan phrase, for to Armaîti

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. XVIII. Pahlavi Texts tr. by West. The text quoted above (from p. 415) is of uncertain age, but it is harmonious with the more ancient scriptures, and no doubt compiled from them.

her daughters are as dear as her sons, but we find in the Vendîdâd "the seeds of men and women." These are sprung from those who were selected for preservation in the Vara, or enclosure, of the first man, Yima, made by direction of the deity, when the evil powers brought fatal winters on the world. The deformed, diseased, wicked, were excluded, the chosen people were those formed of "the best of the earth." From long and prosperous life on earth the Amesha of immortality, the good angel of death, conducted them to eternal happiness; they are the immortals, children of the demons being mortals. There was something corresponding to this in the Jewish idea of their being a chosen people, as distinguished from the Gentile world (see Deut. xxxii. 8), and no doubt the phrase "sons of men" represented a divine dignity afterwards expressed in the title "Son of Man."¹

The Solomonic hymn of Wisdom at the creation (Proverbs viii. 22-31) contains other Avestan phrases. "From eternity was I formed" recalls Zervan akarana, "boundless time," and verse 26, relating to the earth, is still more significant: in it "the sum" has been substituted by the Revisers for (E. V.) "the highest part" (of the earth) but in either rendering it is near to the Avestan phrase, "the best of Armaîti" (Earth). This phrase is reproduced in the Bundahis (xv. 6), where the creator, Ahura Mazda, says to the first pair, "You are man (cf. Genesis v. 2, he 'called their name Adam'), you are the ancestry of the world, and you are created the best of Armaîti (the Earth) by me." (West's translation. *Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. V., p. 54, n. 2.) The word for Earth in Proverb 26 is *adamah*, and in the Septuagint (various reading) it is actually translated *Appaiθ*,—Armaîti's very name. We may thus find in proverb 26 (viii) the idea that man is the supreme expression of the Earth.

Whether there is any connexion between the Sanskrit *Adima* and Hebrew *Adam* is still under philological discussion: probably

¹ Among the cultured Jews, just before our era, there was a recognition of the dignity of man as is seen in the Wisdom of Solomon vii. 1, "I myself am a mortal man, like to all, and the offspring of him that was first made of the earth." Solomon ascribes his superiority only to the divine gift of wisdom. This idea of human equality was in the preaching of John the Baptist (Matt. iii. 9)—probably a Parsi heretic, at any rate an apostle of purifying water and fire—and it underlay the title of Jesus, "Son of Man." That in Armaîti there was a conception of a humanity not represented by race but by character and culture will appear by a comparison with the Vedic Aramati, a bride of Agni (Fire) to whom she is mythologically related, on the one hand, and on the other to the spirit of the earth who came to the assistance of Buddha. This story, related in many forms, is that when the evil Mâra, having tempted Buddha in vain, brought his hosts to terrify him, all friends forsook him, and no angel came to help him, but the spirit of the earth, which he had watered, arose as a fair woman, who from her long hair wrung out the water Buddha had bestowed, which became a flood and swept away the evil host. Watering the Earth is especially mentioned in the Avesta as that which makes her rejoice, and marks the holy man.

not, for their meaning is different, Adima meaning "the first," and Adam relating to the material out of which he is said to have been formed. Adam is derived from Adamah: after all, man came from the great Woman,—“the Mother of all living.”¹ Adamah, according to Sale, is a Persian word meaning “red earth,” and in Hebrew also it connotes redness. Armaïti might have acquired an epithet of ruddiness from her union with Âtar, the genius of Fire (Fargard xviii. 51–52. Darmesteter Introductory, iv. 30). In Hebrew *adamah* combines three senses,—a fortress, redness, and cultivated ground. In Proverbs (viii. 31) we have the fortress or enclosure, “the habitable part of his earth”; in verse 26 the cultivated earth, “the highest part (or sum, or best) of the dust of the earth.” The “delight” in which Wisdom dwelt (verse 30) is Eden, the garden of delight, and in verse 31 this delight associated with the human children of the earth. Here we have the elements of the narrative of the creation Adam in Genesis, and the garden, though they clearly are not derived from Genesis. And in Genesis we find something like a personification of the earth, as in ix. 13, “It (the rainbow) shall be a token of a covenant between me and the earth.”

The idea of a creative deity requiring, as in Proverbs viii., the assistance of another personal being, is foreign to Jahvism, but it is of the very substance of Zoroastrianism, and it reappears in the Elohimism of Genesis. Another important and fundamental fact is, that we find in the prologue to Proverbs a deity contending against something, circumscribing forces that need control, not of his creation. It is plain that the conception of monotheistic omnipotence had not yet been formed. There are higher and lower parts of the earth.

Although there is no evidence that any such compilation as our “Genesis” existed at the time when the prologue (viii., ix.) to the “Proverbs of Solomon” was composed, the Elohist opening of Genesis, especially in its original form, harmonises with the Parsi conflict between Light and Darkness.

“When of old Elohim separated heaven and earth—when the earth was desolation and emptiness—darkness on the face of the deep, and the spirit of Elohim brooding on the face of the waters,—Elohim said, Be Light; Light was.”²

¹ Even in the legend in Genesis ii. the “rib” is a misunderstanding. Eve (Chavah) was the female side of Adam, which was the name of both male and female (Gen. v. 2). The “rib” story arose no doubt from the supposition that Adam’s allusion to “bone of my bone” had something to do with it. But Adam’s phrase is an idiom meaning only “Thou art the same as I am.” (Max Muller’s *Science of Religion*, p. 47.)

² These two, darkness and the brooding spirit, may seem to be related to the raven and the dove sent out of the ark by Noah, but this account only indicates the origin of the story of the

The spirit of God "brooding" over the waters (Genesis i. 1) may be identified with the Wisdom of Proverbs ix. 1, who "builds her house" as the Elohim built the universe, and "hath hewn out her seven pillars" like a true Armaîti, "Queen of the Seven." She is the Spirit of Light. And probably the darkness that was on the face of the abyss suggested the antagonistic personification in the next chapter (ix.) named by Professor Cheyne "Dame Folly." Wisdom, having builded her house, spread her table, mingled her wine, sends forth her maidens to invite the simple to forsake Folly, enjoy her feast, and "live." Dame Folly,—who though she has "a seat in high places" is "silly,"—clamors to the wayfarer to believe that the bread and water of her table, being surreptitious, are sweeter than the luxuries and wine offered by Wisdom. This appears to be the meaning of Dame Folly's somewhat obscure invitation.

" ' Waters stolen are sweet !
Forbidden bread is pleasant !'
He knoweth not her phantoms are there,
That her guests are in the underworld."

In this contrast between Wisdom inviting all to enter her house, drink her wine, and "live," and Folly inviting them to her "Sheol," we have nearly a quatrain of Omar Khayyam: "Since from the beginning of life to its end there is for thee only this earth, at least live as one who is on it and not under it."

In the Avesta the good and wise Mother Earth (Armaîti) is opposed by a malign female "Drug" (demoness), whose paramours are described in Fargard xviii. (Vendîdâd). These two are fairly represented by Wisdom and Folly as personified in Proverbs viii. and ix.

The Jahvist who in Proverbs i. 1-7 (excepting the first six verses) undertakes to edit the original and ancient editor as well as Solomon, presents the curious case of one of Dame Folly's phantoms interpreting the words of Wisdom's guests. Unable to com-

Deluge; for the raven was in Persia an emblem of victory, and in the Biblical legend it was the only living creature that defied the Deluge and was able to do without the ark. In the corresponding legend in the Avesta, where King Yima makes an enclosure (Var.) for the shelter of the seeds of all living creatures, the heavenly bird Karshipta brings into that refuge the law of Ahura Mazda, and as the song of this bird was the voice of Ahura Mazda, it may have been an idealised dove.

(" For lo, the winter is past,
The rain is over and gone . . .
The voice of the turtle is heard in the land.")

But when Yima lent himself to the lies of the Evil One his (Yima's) "glory" left him in the form of a raven (Zambâd Yast, 36). But both the raven and the dove were tribal ensigns, and it is not safe to build too much on what is said of them in Eastern and Oriental books.

prehend their portraiture of Dame Folly, he imagines that the allusion must be to harlotry, admonishes his "son" that "Jahveh giveth wisdom," which among other things will "deliver thee from the strange woman," whose "house sinketh down to the underworld and her paths unto phantoms." Which recalls the pious lady who on hearing her ritualistic pastor accused by a dissenter of leanings toward the Scarlet Woman, anxiously inquired of a friend whether she had ever heard any scandal connected with their vicar's name!

Our Jahvist editor seems to be one who would often say of laughter "it is mad"; and naturally could not imagine how Wisdom could "sport" before the Lord (viii. 30) unless she were in some sense mad. The sport before Jahveh could only be in mockery of some sinner's torment, like the derision ascribed to Jahveh (Psalm ii. 4); consequently our editor represents Wisdom crying abroad in the streets:

" Because I have called and ye refused . . .
I also will laugh in the day of your calamity.
I will mock when your fear cometh."

But Pliny mentions the Mazdean belief, confirmed by Parsi tradition, that Zoroaster was born laughing. To him Ahura Mazda says: "Do thou proclaim, O pure Zoroaster, the vigor, the glory, the help and the joy that are in the Fravashis (souls) of the faithful."

However, we may see in these first seven chapters of Proverbs that Wisdom had become detached from the sons of men, in whom she had once found delight, was no longer in the human heart, but had finally ascended to wield the heavenly thunderbolts. And, alas, it is probable that we owe to this vindictive and menacing attitude of deified Wisdom the preservation of so many witty and sceptical things in books traditionally ascribed to Solomon. The orthodox legend being that the Lord had put supernatural wisdom into Solomon's heart, and never revoked it despite his "idolatry" and secularism, it followed that the naughty man could not help continuing to be a medium of this divine person, Wisdom, and that it might be a dangerous thing to suppress any utterance of hers through Solomon,—a kind of blasphemy. However profane or worldly the writings might appear to the Jahvist mind, there was no knowing what occult inspiration there might be in them, and the only thing editors could venture was to sprinkle through them plenteous disinfectants in the way of "Fear-of-the-Lord" wisdom.

The proverbs in which the name Jahveh appears are not, of course, to be indiscriminately rejected as entirely Jahvist interpolations. It seems probable that little more than the word Jahveh has been supplied in some of these,—e. g., xix. 3, xx. 27, xxi. 1, 3, xxviii. 5, xxix. 26. But in a majority of cases the proverbs containing the name Jahveh are ethically and radically inharmonious with the substance and spirit of the book as a whole, which is founded on the supremacy of human "merits" as fully as Zoroastrianism, in which salvation depends absolutely on Good Thought, Good Word, Good Deed. In dynamic monotheism (as distinguished from ethical) of which Jahvism is the ancient and Islam the modern type, the doctrine of human "merits" is inadmissible: a man's virtues are not his own, and in Jahveh's sight they are but "filthy rags," except so far as they are given by Jahveh. But in the Solomonic proverbs the highest virtues, and the supreme blessings of the universe, are obtained by a man's own wisdom, character, and deeds. And in some cases the claims for Jahveh appear to have been inserted as if in answer or retort to proverbs ignoring the participation of any deity in such high matters. I quote a few instances, in which the antithesis turns to antagonism:

Solomon—By kindness and truth iniquity is atoned for.

Jahvist—By the fear of Jahveh men turn away from evil. (xvi. 6.)

Solomon—He who is skilful in a matter findeth good.

Jahvist—Whoso trusteth in Jahveh, happy is he! (xvi. 20.)

In several other cases entire proverbs seem to be inserted for the correction of preceding ones,—these being not always understood by the interpolator:

Solomon—Treasures of evil profit not,

But virtue delivereth from death.

Jahvist—Jahveh will not suffer the righteous man to be famished,

But the desires of the unrighteous he thrusteth away. (x. 2, 3.)

Solomon—The tongue of the just is choice silver;

The heart of the evil is little worth:

The lips of the just feed many,

But fools die through heartlessness.

Jahvist—The blessing of Jahveh, that maketh rich,

And work addeth nothing thereto. (x. 20-22.)

Solomon—The virtuous man hath an everlasting foundation. (x. 25.)

Jahvist—The fear of Jahveh prolongeth days. (x. 27.)

Solomon—Hear counsel, receive correction,

That thou mayst be wise in thy future.

Jahvist—Many are the purposes in a man's heart,

But the counsel of Jahveh, that shall stand. (xix. 20-1.)

Solomon—The acceptableness of a man is his kindness :

Better *off* the poor than the treacherous man.

Jahvist—The fear of Jahveh *addeth* to life ;

Whoso is filled *therewith* shall abide, he shall not be visited by evil. (xix. 22-3.)

Solomon—The upright man considereth his way.

Jahvist—Wisdom is nothing, heart nothing,

Counsel nothing, against Jahveh. (xxi. 29, 30.)

In one instance the Jahvist has made a slip by which his hand is confessed. In xvii. 3 we find :

The fining-pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold,
But Jahveh trieth hearts.

But he omitted to notice the repetition in xxvii. 21, where we find the profound sentence which the Jahvist had reduced to commonplace :

The fining-pot for silver and the furnace for gold,
And a man is *proved* by that which he praiseth.

The Jahvist spirit is also discoverable in xx. 22 :

Say not "I will retaliate evil":
Wait for Jahveh and he will save thee.

Also in xxv. 21-2 :

Solomon—If he that hateth thee be hungry, give him bread to eat,
If he be athirst give him water to drink.

Jahvist—For thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head,
And Jahveh shall reward thee.

A similar mean and vindictive spirit is shown in xx. 18, following a magnanimous proverb ; but in the earlier xxiv. 29, we find the unqualified rebuke of retaliation :

Say not "As he hath done to me, so will I do to him,
I will render to the man according to his work."

It was this generosity that Buddha exercised,¹ and Jesus ; and it was left to Paul to recover the Jahvist modifications of Solomon's wisdom in order to adulterate for hard Romans the humane spirit of Jesus (Romans xii. 19, 20). The Solomonic sentences are normally so magnanimous as to throw suspicion on any clause tainted with smallness or vulgarity. The pervading spirit is, "The benevolent heart shall be enriched, and he who watereth shall himself be watered."

¹ See my *Sacred Anthology*, p. 240.

There is one proverb (xiv. 32) which suggests a belief in immortality, or possibly in the Angel of Death :

By his evil deeds the evil man is thrust downward,
But the virtuous man hath confidence in his death.

According to the Avesta every man is born with an invisible noose around his neck. When a good man dies the noose falls, and he passes to a beautiful region where he is met by a maid, to whom he says, "Who art thou, who art the fairest I have ever seen?" She answers, "O thou of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, I am thy actions." The evil man meets a leprous hag, embodiment of his actions, who by his noose drags him down through the evil-thought hell, the evil-word hell, the evil-deed hell, to the region of "Endless Darkness" (Yast xxii.). This darkness may be metaphorically spoken of in Proverbs xx. 20 :

He who curseth his father and mother,
His lamp shall be put out in the blackest darkness.

But generally the allusions to death in the Solomonian proverbs do not seem to allude to physical death. In x. 2 "virtue delivereth from death" is in antithesis to the unprofitableness of evil treasures, and in 16 :

The reward of a virtuous man is life;
The gain of the wicked is sin.

Here "life" and "sin" are in opposition. Other sentences to be compared are :

The teaching of the wise is a fountain of life,
To avoid the snares of death. (xiii. 14, cf. the Jahvist xiv. 27.)
Understanding is a fountain of life to those who possess it,
But the snare of fools is Folly. (xvi. 22.)
He who hateth reproof shall die. (xv. 10.)
The way of life is upward to the wise,
So as to turn away from the grave (sheol) beneath. (xv. 24.)
Death and life are in the power of the tongue
And they who love it shall eat its fruit. (xviii. 21.)

(In the last clause "it" probably refers to "life," unless the pronoun be cancelled altogether.)

The getting of treasures by a tongue of falsehood,
Is *getting* a fleeting vapour, the snares of death. (xxi. 6.)
In the way of virtue is life,
But the way of the by-path leadeth to death. (xii. 28.)
The man who wandereth from the way of instruction
Shall rest in the congregation of the phantoms. (xxi. 16.)

The two proverbs last quoted may be usefully compared with the ancient Prologue (viii., ix.) already referred to in this chapter, as they are there reproduced pictorially in Wisdom and Dame Folly sitting at their respective doors. Wisdom offers long life and happiness :

But he who wandereth from me doeth violence to his own life,
All who hate me love death. (viii. 36.)

Dame Folly tries to turn into her by-path those who are "proceeding straight in their course" (ix. 15), but her victim—

He knoweth not her phantoms are there,
That her guests are in the underworld. (ix. 18.)

The same Hebrew word *Rephaim* (phantoms or shades) is used here and in xxi. 16.

All of these references to death and the underworld (*sheol*), except perhaps xiv. 32, refer to the living death, moral and spiritual, which is of such vast and fundamental significance in Zoroastrian religion. In this religion the evil power is "all death." The universe is divided by and into "the living and the not living."¹ "When these two Spirits came together they made first Life and Death,"—words sometimes used as synonymous with the "Good and the Evil Mind." Ahura Mazda representing all the forces that work for health and life, Angromainyu (Ahriman) all that work for disease and destruction, have ranged with them all animals and plants, on one side or the other, in this great conflict. The life of an Ahrimanian creature is "incarnate death." (Darmesteter's Introduction to the Vendidad, v. 11.) His destructiveness is equally against virtue, wisdom, peace, health, happiness, life, and all of these, not merely physical dissolution, are included in his Avestan title, "The Fiend who is all death." He is the Abaddon of Revelation ix. 11, also he "that had the power of death" in Hebrews ii. 14, and probably came into both of these from Proverbs xxvii. 20 :

Sheol and Abaddon are never satisfied,
And the eyes of man are never satisfied.

Dr. Inman (*Ancient Faiths*, i., p. 180) connects Abaddon with "Abadan (cuneiform), the lost one, the sun in winter, or darkness," which conforms with the Avestan Ahriman, who is emphatically a winter-demon, his hell being in the north (cf. Jeremiah

¹ Gaya and aiyāiti, translated by Haug "reality and unreality" (*Parsiis*, p. 303). The translation "living and not living" was sent me by Prof. Max Müller in answer to a request for a careful rendering.

i. 14 and elsewhere), and is the natural adversary of the Fire-worshipper.

Among the Zoroastrians there were not only Towers of Silence (Dakhma) for the literally dead, but also for the confinement of those tainted by carrying corpses, or by any contact with the death-fiend's empire, such as being struck with temporary death. "The unclean," says Darmesteter, "are confined in a particular place, apart from all clean persons and objects, the Armêst-gâh, which may be described, therefore, as the Dakhma for the living." Here then are the dead-alive guests of Dame Folly (Proverbs ix. 15), who opposes Wisdom, as Ahriman created Akem-Mano (evil thought) to oppose Vohu-Mano (good thought), and here is the assembly that might give the Solomonic proverb its metaphor :

The man who wandereth from the way of instruction,
Shall rest in the congregation of the phantoms (or shades, *Rephaim*).

The Zoroastrian books from which I have been quoting contain passages of very unequal date, but it is the opinion of Avestan scholars that most of them are from very ancient sources, pre-Solomonic, and there is no chronological difficulty in supposing that such institutions as the Armêst-gâh, for the separation of the unclean, should not have been well known in ancient Jerusalem before the corresponding levitical laws concerning the unclean and the leprous existed.

The Book of Proverbs was also a growth, and although, as has been stated, there is reason to regard as later additions most of the proverbs containing the word Jahveh, as they are inconsistent with the general ethical tenor of the book, there are several in which that name is evidently out of place. Even in the editorial Prologue we can hardly recognise orthodox Jahvism in the conception of a being, Wisdom, not created by Jahveh yet giving him delight and some kind of assistance at the creation ; and nowhere else in the Old Testament do we find such an idea as that of xx. 27, "The spirit of a man is Jahveh's lamp," or in xix. 17 :

He who is kind to the poor lendeth to Jahveh,
And his good deed shall be recompensed to him.

But in the Zoroastrian religion men and women render assistance and encouragement to the gods, and we find the chief deity, Ahura Mazda, saying to Zoroaster concerning the Fravashis, or souls, of holy men and women : "Do thou proclaim, O pure Zoroaster, the vigor and strength, the glory, the help and the joy, that are in the

Fravashis of the faithful . . . do thou tell how they came to help me, how they bring assistance unto me. . . . Through their brightness and glory, O Zoroaster, I maintain that sky there above." (Favardin Yast, 1, 2.) As Frederick the Great said, "a king is the chief of subjects," so with Zoroaster Ahura Mazda is the chief of the faithful; or, as Luther said, "God is strong, but he likes to be helped."

The similitude in Proverbs xx. 27 is especially important in our inquiry :

The spirit of man is the lamp of Jahveh,
Searching all the chambers of the body.

The word for "spirit" here is *Nishma*, which occurs in but one other instance in the Bible, namely, in Job xxvi. 4. Job asks :

To whom hast thou uttered words?
And whose spirit came forth from thee?

This chapter of Job (xxvi.) is closely related to Proverbs viii. and ix., both in thought and phraseology: the Rephaim, or phantoms, the "pillars," the ordering of earth and clouds, the boundary on the deep; and there is an allusion to "the confines of Light and Darkness" which point to the domains of Wisdom and Dame Folly. Job and the proverbialist surely got these ideas from the same source, and also the word *nishma*, translated "spirit," which throughout the Old Testament is *ruach*, save in the two texts indicated. But there is no text in the Bible where *ruach*, spirit, or soul, is associated with light like the *nishma* of the proverb, and in Job *nishma* evidently means a superhuman spirit. Now there is a Chaldean word, *nisma*, which in the Persian Boundahis appears as *nismô*, and is translated by West "living soul." The ordinary word for soul in the Parsî scriptures seems to be *rûbân*, and West regards the two words as meaning the same thing, the breath, or soul, basing this on the following passage of the Bundahis, representing the separation of the first mortal into the first human pair, Mâshya and Mâshyoi :

"And the waists of both were brought close, and so connected together that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one whose living soul (*nismô*) of Aûrhmazd (God) is not away (lacking). As it is said thus: 'Which is created before, the soul (*nismô*) or the body? And Aûrhmazd said that the soul is created before, and the body after, for him who was created; it is given into the body to produce activity, and the body is created only for activity; hence the conclusion is this, that the soul (*rûbân*) is created before and the body after. And both of them changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man, and the breath (*nismô*) went spiritually into them, which is the soul (*rûbân*).'"¹

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. V., pp. 16, 53-54. Text and notes.

With all deference to the learned translator, I cannot think his exegesis here quite satisfactory. In the first sentence *nismô* is the breath of God; and although in the second the same word is used for the human soul, the writer seems to have aimed in the last sentence at a distinction: the divine breath or spirit (*nismô*) creates a soul (*rûbân*), to receive which the plant is transformed into a body fitted for the "activity" of an imbreathed soul. West twice translates *nismô* "living soul," but *rûbân* only "soul." Does not this indicate Ahura Mazda as the source of divine life, as in Genesis ii. 7, where Jahveh-Elohim breathes into man, who becomes a "living soul,"—a being within the domain of the god of life, not subject to the god of death? Is it not his *rûbân* that is the image of *nismô*? (Cf. Genesis ix. 5, 6.)

Turning now to the Avesta, we find the famous Favardin Yast, a collection of litanies and ascriptions to the Fravashis. "The Fravashi," says Darmesteter, "is the inner power in every being that maintains it and makes it grow and subsist. Originally the Fravashis were the same as the Pitris of the Hindus or the Manes of the Latins, that is to say, the everlasting and deified souls of the dead; but in course of time they gained a wider domain, and not only men, but gods and even physical objects, like the sky and the earth, had each a Fravashi." "The Fravashi was independent of the circumstances of life or death, an immortal part of the individual which existed before man and outlived him."

In Yast xxii. 39, 40, it is said: "O Maker, how do the souls of the dead, the Fravashis of the holy Ones, manifest themselves?" Ahura Mazda answered: "They manifest themselves from goodness of spirit and excellence of mind."

Favardin Yast, 9: "Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathrustra, I maintain the wide earth," etc. 12: "Had not the awful Fravashis of the faithful given help unto me, those animals and men of mine, of which there are such excellent kinds, would not subsist; strength would belong to the fiend."

In other verses these Fravashis (the word means "protectors") help the children unborn, nourish health, develop the wise. The imagery relating to them is largely related to the stars, of which many are guardians. These are probably the origin of the Solomonic similitude of reason, "The spirit (*nishma*) of man is the lamp of —?"

With all of these correspondences between the Solomonic proverbs, nothing is more remarkable than their originality, so far as any ancient scriptures are concerned. While they are totally

different from the Psalms, in showing man as a citizen of the world, relying on himself and those around him for happiness, and exalting nothing above human virtue and intelligence, without any religious fervor or wrath, the proverbialist is equally far from the ethical superstitions of Zoroastrian religion, which abounds in fictitious "merits" and anathematizes fictitious immoralities. It is as if some sublime Eastern pedlar and banker of ethical and poetic gems, who had come in contact with Oriental literatures, had separated from their liturgies and prophecies the nuggets of gold and the precious stones, polishing, resetting, and exciting others to do the like. At the same time many of the sentences are the expressions of an original mind, a man of letters, neither Eastern nor Oriental, and these may be labelled with the line of the Persian poet Faizi: "Take Faizi's *Díwán* to bear witness to the wonderful speeches of a freethinker who belongs to a thousand sects."

LOBACHÉVSKI.

BY DR. GEORGE BRUCE HALSTED.

ELEMENTARY GEOMETRY has been the most stable part of all science. Firm fixed as the Egyptian pyramids for two thousand years, how strange that in our century it should melt at a thought, be transformed utterly, present us with a potential new universe, while the old remains as nothing more than a special case of the new!

For philosophy the question of space has ever been fundamental. How shall she envisage this present of a completely new kind of universal space? Kenlore began with the geometric axioms. As typical of absolute *a priori* knowledge was our certainty that of two intersecting straight lines one at least would meet any third straight line coplanar with them. Of imperishable interest is the Russian who dared to doubt this axiom, and who made good his position against an adverse world. He shattered an enchanted barrier which had ever held imprisoned the human mind. Vast consequences resulted. To-day we are all his disciples.

Nicolái Ivánovich Lobachévski was born October 22 (November 2), 1793, in the town of Makariev, about forty miles above Nijni-Novgorod on the Volga. His father, an architect, died in 1797, leaving in poverty his widow with two small sons. The widow removed to Kazan, and succeeded in placing her sons at the cost of the state in the gymnasium there, and afterward in the university.

Lobachévski was admitted to the gymnasium in 1802, and was received at the university in 1807. The records of the inspector attest that in the sciences he outstripped his comrades. Nevertheless his disobedience and wilfulness often drew upon him the displeasure of the faculty. Once he was menaced with expulsion from the university, escaping only because of the protection and inter-

vention of the professor of mathematics, Bartels, toward whom Lobachévski was ever profoundly grateful to the end of his life.

This outspoken and passionate youth in a young university just opened in a half-wild country, in the *ultima Musarum Thule*, as the first professors, Germans, called it, was typical of the there prevailing ardent desire for knowledge, enthusiasm for study, for progress. With this fire of spirit there reigned among the pupils, as says S. T. Aksakov in his *Family-Chronicle*, "complete contempt for everything bad and low, and deep veneration for everything honest and noble, even if it were unreasonable."

Due to Bartels, the teaching of pure mathematics in the University of Kazan was placed on the same level with the teaching in the best universities of Germany. All the classical works of that time, the *Differential and Integral Calculus* of Euler, the *Mécanique Analytique* of Lagrange, the *Applications d'Analyse à Géométrie* of Monge, the *Disquisitiones Arithmeticae* of Gauss were interpreted by the talented and erudite Bartels. From his own syllabus, Bartels taught the history of mathematics, unfolding before his audience the grand picture of the progress of human thought in this domain.

In spite of "bad deportment," Lobachévski received the grade of "Magister" July 10, 1811, "for extraordinary advance and talent in mathematical and physical sciences," and upon his thesis, "Theory of elliptic movement of the heavenly bodies." Then, four hours weekly at Bartels's home, under his direction, he studied the *Disquisitiones Arithmeticae* and the first volume of Laplace's *Mécanique Céleste*. In 1813 he presented a paper "On the Solution of the Algebraic Equation $x^n - 1 = 0$." In 1814 he was made adjunct professor of mathematics in the university.

Thus far the intellectual life of this luminous epoch inaugurated in Kazan, the ancient capital of Mohammedan Tatars, the gifted professors awakening ardent new spirits to the light of science, made a mental atmosphere well adapted to the nurture of our idealistic Lobachévski, with his longing for truth, his freedom, his liberty of spirit. Well-knit, well-nourished, well-matured was thus his genius, his character, his scientific ardor, before began the heavy shocks, the opposition, the indifferentism, the ironies of contemporaries, through which he was to persist in trying throughout life to teach a most unwilling world. He begins now his independent intellectual work rich in enthusiasm, energy, idealistic hopes.

Within two years we know he was deep in the fight with the

theory of parallels, where for a decade he struggled on and up through a series of failures. A manuscript exists written from the lectures which Lobachévski gave at the University of Kazan in 1815 and 1816. In this are presented three systematic treatments of the parallel-theory, each a wholly different attempt at its establishment. In one the idea of direction is presumed as fundamental, in the second the consideration of infinite biangles (Bertrand, 1778) is introduced, the third joins on to Legendre's proof that the sum of the angles of a triangle cannot be greater than two right angles. In this latter investigation occur proofs of theorems such as "the angle-sum is two right angles in every triangle if it is in any," "the angle-sum of a triangle contained in another having in common one side and angle, is greater than the angle-sum of the greater triangle," theorems which belong permanently to non-Euclidean geometry. The lecture-notes show that Bartels never touched upon this subject and gave no help. Lobachévski was unconsciously repeating the experience of the ages.

In 1816 he was made full professor. But now a dark epoch overshadows the University of Kazan. Magnitski became curator, "a hypocrite and malicious enemy of science and human reason." Yet to this monster in 1823 Lobachévski presented a manual of geometry by himself, hoping to have it printed at public cost. Magnitski sent the book over to the academician Nicolaus Fuss. Fuss judged the work very severely, finding "that if the author thinks it can be used as a manual, thereby he shows he has no right idea of the requirements for a text-book, that is, no idea of the completeness of the geometric truths making the content of an elementary course of the science, of the mathematical methods, of the need of sharp and clear definitions of all ideas, of the logical order and methodical division of the matter, of the requisite gradation of geometric truths, of the inevitable and, if possible, pure geometric rigor in their demonstration. Of all these necessary qualities there is not a trace in the geometry examined by me."

Fuss, pitiless in his judgment, could not foresee that to-day the whole learned world would rejoice could this lost manuscript-geometry be recovered. Lobachévski worked but waited. It seems more than a coincidence that on February 8, 1826, began the "revision" of Major-General Jeltuhin which consigned Magnitski to prison, while three days after, February 11, 1826, the physico-mathematical faculty examined Lobachévski's paper, "*Exposition succincte des principes de la Géométrie avec une démonstration rigoureuse du théorème des parallèles.*"

The title is unfortunate, especially so, as this essay never was published and does not exist even in manuscript. His memoir, published in 1829 in the *Kasan Courier* under the title "On the Foundations of Geometry," establishes a non-Euclidean geometry, a geometry independent of Euclid's celebrated axiom, the parallel-postulate. The last page gives a way of turning any relation in the non-Euclidean into a relation of the ordinary Euclidean geometry, proof final that the non-Euclidean can never lead to any contradiction. Thus at a stroke the mathematician shattered the reasoning of the deepest of philosophers.

The philosopher had perceived that certain axioms and theorems in Euclid could never have been gotten by experience or observation, since they have absolute metric precision and generality, while results of any observations have definite limits of precision and particular conditions. Thus the theorem that the angle-sum of every rectilinear triangle is two right angles, could never be obtained by experience. Therefore it was supposed that geometry gave certain knowledge about the real world, independently of experience. As explanation given for this, we have the doctrine of space as an entirely subjective transcendental form of our intuition, *a priori*, preceding any experience, independent of all experience.

The crushing answer of Lobachévski is that there exists no real necessity for any of these exact theorems in geometry. He presents a perfect geometry wherein the angle-sum of a rectilinear triangle can be less than two right angles, varying with the size of the triangle; a system involving a constant, a parameter to be fixed approximately by actual observation and experiment, and so always ready to fit any results given by more precise observation. Henceforth there is an empirical element in geometry. He says: "Accordingly it can have nothing contradictory for our mind, if we admit that some forces in nature follow one, others another special geometry." He would not be confounded even if measuring triangles in England gave no defect of angle-sum, while in Germany a recognisable defect appeared.

In a word Lobachévski's account of space is by evolution. In this evolution the evolving mind bears a creative part, but unconsciously. He says explicitly, "Geometric ideas are artificial products of mind." The principle of economy, of parsimony, would settle upon the simpler of forms representing empirical data with requisite approximation.

After seventy years the non-Euclidean geometry has won the expert world. Says Klein in 1897:

"Ein Mathematiker, der die nichteuklidischen Theorien kennt, wird kaum noch die Meinung früherer Zeiten festhalten wollen, als seien die Axiome nach ihrem concreten Inhalte Nothwendigkeiten der inneren Anschauung: was dem Laien als solche Nothwendigkeit erscheint, erweist sich bei längerer Beschäftigung mit den nichteuklidischen Problemen als Resultat sehr zusammengesetzter Prozesse, insbesondere auch der Erziehung und der Gewöhnung."

On May 3, 1827, at the early age of thirty-three, Lobachévski was made rector of the University of Kazan, a place he held for nineteen years. On July 5, 1828, he pronounced a remarkable address "On the Principle Objects of Education," from which I quote the following:

"Imagine the condition of a man separated from human society, left at the will of wild nature. Turn then the thoughts to a man who in the midst of an organised and cultivated citizenship of these last enlightened centuries redounds with his deep science to the honor and glory of his country. What a difference! What immeasurable distance separates one from the other.

"This difference is made by education. Education begins in the cradle. First by imitation alone it is acquired. Gradually develop reason, memory, imagination, the sense of beauty; then awakes the love of self, of one's neighbor, the love of glory, the sense of honor, the desire to enjoy life. All the capabilities of the spirit, all the talents, all the passions, are perfected by education and joined in one harmonious whole, and the man, as if new-born, appears as a perfect creation."

But education must not suppress and destroy the passions in a man and his inborn desires.

"All that must be retained in him; otherwise we will mar his nature, hurt its power and injure his happiness.

"Nothing is more usual than to hear complaints about the passions, but how justly has Mably said: the stronger the passions, the more useful are they to society; only their misdirection can be injurious.

"But intellectual culture by itself does not yet finish education. While a man enriches his spirit with knowledge, he must also learn to know how to enjoy life. Thereby I refer to the culture of taste.

"To live means to feel, to enjoy life, continually to feel something new which reminds us that we live.

"Nothing so much contracts the stream of life as ignorance; it guides life on a dead and straight way from the cradle to the grave.

"In the lower classes, exhausting necessary labor alternating with rest, may satisfy the spirit of the farm-hand, the workman; but you whose existence unjust fate has imposed as a heavy burden on others, you whose spirit is dulled and feelings extinguished, you do not enjoy life. For you Nature is dead, the beauties of poetry foreign, architecture has no charm, no magnificence, the world's history no interest.

"I console myself with the idea that from our university will never go out such products of a vegetable nature; even that they will not come here if unluckily born to such a fate. They will not come here, I repeat, for here reigns the love of glory, the sense of honor and of inner merit.

"Nature, having dowered man so generously at his birth, seems not yet satisfied, and so has inspired in every one the wish to surpass others, to be known, to be an object of admiration, to become celebrated; and in this way has she imposed on man the duty to care for his own perfecting.

"In unceasing activity aspires the spirit to win honors, to elevate itself; the whole human race advances from perfection to perfection—and where is an ending visible?"

This address of the young rector may be interpreted as autobiographic. He exemplified it in a beautiful life rich and full with work for science and his university.

But the extraordinary paper published in 1829–30 attracted no attention. In 1835 he restated the matter in a paper entitled "Imaginary Geometry" in the *Scientific Memoirs of the University of Kasan*. This same year he started to publish his largest work, *New Elements of Geometry with Complete Theory of Parallels*. This also remained unnoticed. In 1897 the Introduction was published in English. This is all that has ever appeared in any language but Russian.

In 1836 appeared *Application of Imaginary Geometry to Some Integrals*. In 1837, having failed of any recognition in Russia, Lobachévski published in *Crelle's Journal*, Vol. 17, a French translation of his *Imaginary Geometry*. This offered the matter to the attention of the whole learned world, but without result. In 1840 Lobachévski published in Berlin in German a little book on the subject, but again without avail.

After fifteen years, after terrible misfortunes, public, family, personal, including loss of sight, the end drew near. But the unconquerable scientist, progressive to the last, substituted for the designation *Imaginary Geometry* the better name *Pangeometry*, and under that title dictated a treatise in Russian and also in French, published in the year of his death, 1856.

For ten years after his death the dust of oblivion settled over his grave. Not even one of his pupils worked at his ideas, or appeared as their convinced defender. The academician V. Bunyakovski in his work *Parallel Lines* (1853) does not mention the investigations of Lobachévski. All seemed ended forever, forgotten forever. But in 1866 Baltzer brought to the attention of Hoüel, who had been working on parallels, the *Geometrische Untersuchungen zur Theorie der Parallellinien* of Lobachévski. Hoüel published a French translation of it, saying in his preface: "In spite of the high value of these researches, they have not hitherto attracted the attention of any geometer."

This was the bugle-call, heralding the new day. In a dozen years the literature had so grown as to warrant a "Bibliography of non-Euclidean Geometry," by Halsted (*American Journal of Mathematics*, 1878). This was reproduced in Russia by Vashtchenko-Zaharchenko at Kiev in 1880, and was instrumental in inducing the University of Kazan to issue an edition of the geometric works of Lobachévski (1883-86).

At the centenary of his birth an international committee composed of the foremost mathematicians of the world raised a memorial fund, establishing the Lobachévski prize, five hundred roubles, given every three years for work in geometry, preferably non-Euclidean geometry. It has just been awarded to Sophus Lie.

From the surplus of this fund a marble bust of Lobachévski has been placed in the hall of the university, and a bronze statue¹ in the square now named for the great geometer, facing the university with which his noble life is so inseparably connected.

Henceforth this very monument must aid in what he taught as the aim of the university: not only to enlighten the spirit with knowledge, but also to inculcate virtues, to implant a desire for glory, a feeling of nobility, justice, honor, a sacred honesty resisting all temptation, apart from any punishment.

¹ The frontispiece to the present *Open Court* is a reproduction of the bust of this statue.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN THIBET.

BY THE EDITOR.

CONSIDERING the many myths that are now rife about Thibetan Mahatmas and the sensational reports of recent would-be travellers, whose fictitious discoveries are seriously accepted by many readers, it seems appropriate to remind the reading public of a famous but now almost forgotten book, *The Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China*, of the two Jesuit missionaries Huc and Gabet. These gentlemen did not find in Thibet lost manuscripts of the life

of Jesus, nor do they describe the Thibetans as savages. Their half-dead servants did not take kodak pictures of them while being tortured on the rack. Nor did they use the powers of hypnotism in their dealings with the Lamas and while being subjected to outrageous tortures. There is, in fact, nothing incredible in M. Huc's story, and yet, perhaps because of this reason, the book is far more interesting than any report that has since appeared.



AT HOME. IN JESUIT COSTUME.

The sensation which M. Huc's book created on its first appearance has subsided, and it is now only known to scholars and historians. Indeed the book is out of print, and can, both in its original French and in its German and English translations, only be had through second-hand book dealers, where the copies are at a high premium. Under these circumstances it has seemed desirable that the book should be reprinted and once more placed before

the reading public.¹ What a storehouse it is for the ethnologist, geographer, the scholar interested in religious customs, the reader of travels, and the student of human nature!

Our two Jesuit missionaries have good common sense, they are quite critical whenever they meet with superstitions or find themselves surrounded with pagan darkness, but as to the traditions and beliefs of their own church they are like ingenuous children, believing in the bodily devil, as represented in Christian legends. No wonder therefore that these missionaries find themselves beset by Old Nick, who repeatedly tries to thwart their work



THE TEST.

An infant who is supposed to be a reincarnation of a deceased Tale Lama, giving miraculous evidence of his identity by a recollection of incidents of his prior life.

and prevent them from proceeding on their journey. At the same time they credit the miraculous events, of whose truth they have become convinced by some credulous Buddhists, to the superhuman power of the Evil One. We read for instance with reference to the evidences of the transmigration of souls of living Buddhas at the moment of their death into infants:

"We Catholic missionaries believe that the great liar who once deceived our first parents in the earthly Paradise still pursues his system of falsehood in the world. He who had the power to hold up in the air Simon Magus may well at this day speak to mankind by the mouth of an infant, in order to maintain the faith of his adorers."

¹The work will be published during the present month by The Open Court Publishing Co., 324 Dearborn St., Chicago. 2 vols. Price, \$2.00.

They proceeded in their missionary work very cleverly—cleverly as serpents and guilelessly as children. In China they lived as Chinese among the Chinese ; but when they left for Thibet they cut off their queues and dressed like Thibetan Lamas. They know very well that, not only in Old England but also in ancient Asia, religion is first a question of vestment and secondarily only of doctrine ; and they are well received everywhere.



M. M. HUC AND GABET DRESSED AS LAMAS.

The itinerary of MM. Huc and Gabet is full of most interesting details, and many of their observations have become famous, although their source has been forgotten. An instance of the way in which animals accept facts as a matter of course without arguing their cause or connexion,—for they do not possess

that power of reflexion which is erroneously ascribed to them in



STARTING IN CHINA.
WEARING CHINESE COSTUMES.

analogy to our own modes of human thought,—is an incident mentioned in the second volume of our book :

One day, a Lama herdsman, who lived in the same house with ourselves, came

with a long dismal face, to announce that one of his cows had calved during the night, and that unfortunately the calf was a *karba*. The calf died in the course of the day. The Lama forthwith skinned the poor beast, and stuffed it with hay. This



A TARTAR ENCAMPMENT.

proceeding surprised us at first, for the Lama had by no means the air of a man likely to give himself the luxury of a cabinet of natural history. When the operation was completed, we remarked that the hay-calf had neither feet nor head; here-



INTERIOR OF A TARTAR TENT.

upon it occurred to us that, after all, it was merely a pillow that the Lama contemplated. We were in error, but the error was not dispelled until the next morning, when our herdsman went to milk his cow. Seeing him issue forth, his pail in one hand, the hay-calf under the other arm, the fancy occurred to us to follow him.

His first proceeding was to put the hay-karba down before the cow ; he then turned to milk the cow herself. The mamma at first opened enormous eyes at her beloved infant ; by degrees, she stooped her head towards it, then smelt at it, sneezed three or four times, and at last proceeded to lick it with the most delightful tenderness.



SAMDACHIEMBA, THE CAMELEER.

This spectacle grated upon our sensibilities ; it seemed to us that he who first invented this parody upon one of the most touching incidents in nature, must have been a man without a heart. A somewhat burlesque circumstance occurred one day to modify the indignation with which this trickery inspired us. By dint of caressing and licking her little calf, the tender parent one morning unripped it ; the hay issued from within, and the cow, manifesting not the smallest surprise or agitation, proceeded tranquilly to devour the unexpected provender."

The Jesuit missionaries, accompanied by Samdachiemba, a Tartar cameleer, travel through China and Tartary and pass through the desert of Goombi until they reach Lhasa the capital of Thibet. They frequent Chinese inns, enter the tents of the Tartars, visit the



AT THE MONEY CHANGERS.

Lamaseries and Buddhist temples, have dealings with the money changers, order the cast of a bronze crucifix at an idol foundry of Tolon Noor, meet with brigands on the road, and tell all their various adventures in the most unsophisticated and direct manner.

Most of the interesting information which we obtain from the book is of a religious nature. We read, for instance :

"During our short stay at the Blue Town we had constant conversation with the Lamas of the most celebrated Lamaseries, endeavoring to obtain fresh information on the state of Buddhism in Tartary and Thibet. All they told us only served to confirm us more and more in what we had before learnt on this subject. In the Blue Town, as at Tolon-Noor, every one told us that the doctrine would appear more sublime and more luminous as we advanced toward the West. From what the Lamas said, who had visited Thibet, Lha-Ssa was, as it were, a great focus of light, the rays of which grew more and more feeble in proportion as they became removed from their centre.

"One day we had an opportunity of talking with a Thibetian Lama for some time, and the things he told us about religion astounded us greatly. A brief explanation of the Christian doctrine, which we gave him, seemed scarcely to surprise him; he even maintained that our views differed little from those of the Grand Lamas of Thibet. 'You must not confound,' said he, 'religious truths



A BUDDHA IDOL CAST AT TOLON-NOOR.



THE IDOL FOUNDRY AT TOLON-NOOR.

with the superstitions of the vulgar. The Tartars, poor, simple people, prostrate themselves before whatever they see; everything with them is Borhan. Lamas, prayer-books, temples, Lamaseries, stones, heaps of bones,—'tis all the same to them; down they go on their knees, crying Borhan! Borhan!' But the Lamas them-

selves admit innumerable Borhans?' 'Let me explain,' said our friend smilingly; 'there is but one sole Sovereign of the universe, the Creator of all things, alike without beginning and without end. In Dchagar (India) he bears the name of Buddha, in Thibet that of Samtche Mitcheba (all Powerful Eternal); the Dcha-Mi (Chinese) call him Fo, and the Sok-Po-Mi (Tartars), Borhan.' 'You say that Buddha is sole; in that case who are the Talé-Lama of Lha-Ssa, the Bandchan of Djachi-Loumbo, the Tsong-Kaba of the Sifan, the Kaldan of Tolon-Noor, the Guison-Tamba of the Great Kouren, the Hobilgan of the Blue Town, the Hotoktoui of Peking, the Chaberon of the Tartar and Thibetian Lamaseries generally?' 'They are all equally Buddha.' 'Is Buddha visible?' 'No, he is without a body; he is a spiritual substance.' 'So, Buddha is sole. and yet there exist innumerable



A TEMPLE, SHOWING THE BUDDHIST TRINITY ON THE ALTAR.

Buddhas; the Talé-Lama, and so on. Buddha is incorporeal; he cannot be seen, and yet the Talé-Lama, the Guison-Tamba and the rest are visible, and have bodies like our own. How do you explain all this?' 'The doctrine, I tell you, is true,' said the Lama, raising his arm and assuming a remarkable accent of authority; 'it is the doctrine of the West, but it is of unfathomable profundity. It cannot be sounded to the bottom.'"

"These words of the Thibetian Lama astonished us strangely; the Unity of God, the mystery of the Incarnation, the dogma of the Real Presence, seemed to us enveloped in his creed; yet with ideas so sound in appearance, he admitted the metempsychosis, and a sort of pantheism of which he could give no account.

"These new indications respecting the religion of Buddha gave us hopes that we should really find among the Lamas of Thibet a symbolism more refined and

superior to the common belief, and confirmed us in the resolution we had adopted of keeping on our course westward."

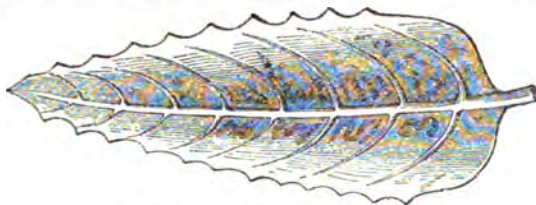
Further we learn of the actual existence of the tree of the ten thousand images, which, it is said, sprang from the hair of Tsong-Kaba, a great Buddhist reformer. We read :

"It will here be naturally expected that we say something about this tree itself. Does it exist? Have we seen it? Has it any peculiar attributes? What about its marvellous leaves? All these questions our readers are entitled to put to us. We will endeavor to answer as categorically as possible.

"Yes, this tree does exist, and we had heard of it too often during our journey not to feel somewhat eager to visit it. At the foot of the mountain on which the Lamasery stands, and not far from the principal Buddhist temple, is a great square enclosure, formed by brick walls. Upon entering this we were able to examine at leisure the marvellous tree, some of the branches of which had already manifested themselves above the wall. Our eyes were first directed with earnest curiosity to the leaves, and we were filled with an absolute consternation of astonishment at finding that, in point of fact, there were upon each of the leaves well-formed Thibetian characters, all of a green color, some darker, some lighter, than the leaf itself. Our first impression was a suspicion of fraud on the part of the Lamas; but, after a minute examination of every detail, we could not discover the least deception. The characters all appeared to us portions of the leaf itself, equally with its



THE TREE OF KOUNBOUM, THE TEN THOUSAND IMAGES.



LEAF OF THE TREE OF KOUNBOUM.

veins and nerves; the position was not the same in all; in one leaf they would be at the top of the leaf; in another, in the middle; in a third, at the base, or at the side; the younger leaves represented the characters only in a partial state of forma-

tion. The bark of the tree and its branches, which resemble that of the plane tree, are also covered with these characters. When you remove a piece of the old bark the young bark under it exhibits the indistinct outlines of characters in a germinating state, and, what is very singular, these new characters are not unfrequently different from those which they replace. We examined everything with the closest attention, in order to detect some trace of trickery, but we could discern nothing of the sort, and the perspiration absolutely trickled down our faces under the influence of the sensations which this most amazing spectacle created. More profound intellects than ours may, perhaps, be able to supply a satisfactory explanation of the mysteries of this singular tree; but as to us, we altogether give it up. Our readers possibly may smile at our ignorance; but we care not so that the sincerity and truth of our statement be not suspected.



THE GRAND LAMA OF KOUNBOUM.

"The Tree of the Ten Thousand Images seemed to us of great age. Its trunk, which three men could scarcely embrace with outstretched arms, is not more than eight feet high; the branches, instead of shooting up, spread out in the shape of a plume of feathers, and are extremely bushy; few of them are dead. The leaves are always green, and the wood, which is of a reddish tint, has an exquisite odor, something like that of cinnamon. The Lamas informed us that in summer, towards the eighth moon, the tree produces large red flowers of an extremely beautiful character. They informed us also that there nowhere else existed another such tree; that many attempts had been made in various Lamaseries of Tartary and Thibet to propagate it by seeds and cuttings, but that all these attempts have been fruitless.

"The Emperor Khang-Hi, when upon a pilgrimage to Kounboun, constructed at his own private expense a dome of silver over the Tree of the Ten Thousand

Images; moreover he made a present to the Grand Lama of a fine black horse, capable of travelling a thousand lis a day, and of a saddle adorned with precious stones. The horse is dead, but the saddle is still shown in one of the Buddhist temples, where it is an object of special veneration. Before quitting the Lamasery Khang-Hi endowed it with a yearly revenue for the support of three hundred and fifty Lamas."

The Jesuit missionaries were again and again received most cordially by their Buddhist brethren, and were hospitably entertained. When reaching a Lamasery MM. Huc and Gabet expected "that the entire population would have their eyes fixed upon them. Nothing of the sort. The Lamas whom we met passed silently on, without even turning their heads or paying the slightest attention to us in any way. The little chabis (pupils), harum scarum rogues, in common with school boys all over the world, alone seemed to notice our presence."

Commenting on the reception received at one of the Lamaseries, our Jesuit friars exclaim:

"How potent is the empire of religion over the heart of man, even though that religion be false and ignorant of its true object! How great was the difference, for example, between these Lamas, so generous, so hospitable, so fraternal towards strangers, and the Chinese, that thorough nation of shopkeepers, with hearts dry as a ship-biscuit, and grasping as a monkey, who will not give a traveller even a cup of water except for money or money's worth. The reception given to us in the Lamasery of Kounboun at once recalled to our thoughts those monasteries, raised by the hospitality of our religious ancestors, in which travellers and the poor ever found refreshment for the body and consolation for the soul."

At Kan-Sou MM. Huc and Gabet met a great dignitary of the Buddhist church bearing the title of a living Buddha and had a conversation with him:

"A Breviary that lay on a small table beside us, immediately attracted his attention, and he asked permission to examine it. Upon our assenting, he took it up with both hands, admired the binding and the gilt edges, opened it and turned over the leaves, and then closing it again, raised it reverentially to his forehead, saying, 'It is your Book of Prayer; we should always honor and respect prayer.' By and by he added, 'Your religion and ours are like this,' and so saying he put the knuckles of his two forefingers together. 'Yes,' said we, 'you are right; your creed and ours are in a state of hostility, and we do not conceal from you that the object of our journey and of our labors is to substitute our prayers for those which are used in your Lamaseries.' 'I know that,' he replied smilingly; 'I knew that long ago.' He then took up the Breviary again, and asked us explanations of the



THE GINSENG.
A medical plant reminding one of the mandrake.

engravings. He evinced no surprise at what we told him, only, when we had related to him the subject of the plate representing the crucifixion, he shook his head compassionately, and raised his joined hands to his head. After he had examined all the prints, he took the Breviary once more in both hands, and raised it respectfully to his forehead. He then rose, and having saluted us with great affability, withdrew, we escorting him to the door."

We are surprised at the many similarities that obtain between Christianity and Buddhism, some of which may be attributed to the influence of Nestorian missionaries, while others (as, for instance the use of the rosary and censer, processions, responsories, sprinkling with holy water, etc.) are undoubtedly older than Christianity. We read :

"Upon the most superficial examination of the reforms and innovations introduced by Tsong-Kaba into the Lamanesque worship, one must be struck with their



A THIBETAN CHIEF.

affinity to Catholicism. The cross, the mitre, the dalmatida, the cope, which the Grand Lamas wear on their journeys, or when they are performing some ceremony out of the temple ; the service with double choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms, the censer suspended from five chains, and which you can open or close at pleasure ; the benedictions given by the Lamas by extending the right hand over the heads of the faithful ; the chaplet, ecclesiastical celibacy, spiritual retirement, the worship of the saints, the fasts, the processions, the litanies, the holy water, all these are analogies between the Buddhists and ourselves. Now, can it be said that these analogies are of Christian origin ? We think so. We have indeed found, neither in the traditions nor in the monuments of the country, any positive proof of their adoption, still it is perfectly legitimate to put forward conjectures which possess all the characteristics of the most emphatic probability.

"It is known that, in the fourteenth century, at the time of the domination of

the Mongol emperors, there existed frequent relations between the Europeans and the peoples of Upper Asia. We have already, in the former part of our narrative, referred to those celebrated embassies which the Tartar conquerors sent to Rome, to France, and to England. There is no doubt that the barbarians who thus visited Europe must have been struck with the pomp and splendor of the ceremonies of Catholic worship, and must have carried back with them into the desert enduring memories of what they had seen. On the other hand, it is also known that, at the same period, brethren of various religious orders undertook remote pilgrimages for the purpose of introducing Christianity into Tartary; and these must have penetrated at the same time into Thibet, among the Si-Fan, and among the Mongols on the Blue Sea. Jean de Montcorvin, Archbishop of Peking, had already organised a choir of Mongol monks, who daily practised the recitation of the psalms and the ceremonies of the Catholic faith. Now, if one reflects that Tsong-Kaba



A BUDDHIST PRAYER IN THIBETAN WRITING.

lived precisely at the period when the Christian religion was being introduced into Central Asia, it will be no longer a matter of astonishment that we find in reformed Buddhism such striking analogies with Christianity."

The Thibetans are a warlike race, but their military tendencies are subdued by an extreme religious devotion, which affects even highwaymen and brigands. Far from being exclusively Buddhist, their educated men are as broad as the most scholarly philosophers of Europe and America. Think only of the Thibetan custom, strongly reminding us of the Christian Angelus, of the whole people praying in common at certain hours! Think of the interest which the Regent of Lhasa took in the Christian religion! How he trembled when the maps were found,

which, if they had been drawn by hand, would have branded the missionaries as English spies, and how he triumphed when the innocence of our travellers was brought out! How eagerly he studied the Christian doctrines! With what humor he treated the ignorant Lamas and their superstition, typical of the popular Buddhism of the masses! Even when the Chinese Plenipotentiary urged to him the danger of Christianity's replacing Buddhism in Thibet, the attitude of the Regent of Lhasa towards the Jesuits remained unaltered. He said to them: "Religious persons, men of prayer, belonging to all countries, are strangers nowhere. Such is the doctrine taught by our holy books. Lhasa being the peculiar assembling place and abode of men of prayer, the title of itself



KI-CHAN, THE CHINESE PLENIPOTENTIARY.

should always secure for you liberty and protection." His answer to the Chinese Plenipotentiary is also characteristic: "If the doctrine which these men hold is a false doctrine, the Thibetans will not embrace it: if on the contrary it is true, what have we to fear? How can the truth be prejudicial to men."

The most remarkable character of the Thibetans whom our missionaries meet is the Regent of Lhasa, who is described as follows:

"The Regent was a man of extraordinary capacity; of humble extraction, he had raised himself gradually, and by his own merits, to the dignity of First Kalon. This had occurred three years before. Up to that time he had always fulfilled arduous and laborious functions; he had frequently traversed, in all directions, the



LHASA.



BUYING TEA CUPS AT LHASA.

immense regions of Thibet, either to make war or to negotiate with the neighboring states, or to inspect the conduct of the Houtouktou governors of the various provinces. So active, so busy a life, so apparently incompatible with study, had not prevented him from acquiring a profound knowledge of Lamanesque works. Every one concurred in saying that the knowledge of the most renowned Lamas was inferior to that of the Regent. The facility with which he conducted public business was matter of especial admiration. One day we were with him when they brought him a great many rolls of paper, dispatches from the provinces; a sort of secretary unrolled them one after the other, and gave them to him to read, bending on one knee. The Regent hastily run his eye over them, without interrupting the conversation with us. As soon as he had gathered the contents of a dispatch he



THE REGENT OF LHASA.

took his bamboo stile and wrote his order at the bottom of the roll, and thus transacted all his affairs with promptitude, and as if for amusement. We are not competent to judge of the literary merit that was attributed to the First Kalon. We can only say that we never saw Thibetian writing so beautiful as his.

"The Regent was very fond of engaging in religious discussions, and they most frequently formed the subject of our conversations. At the commencement he said to us these remarkable words: 'All your long journeys you have undertaken solely with a religious object. You are quite right, for religion is the thing most essential to man, I see that the French and the Thibetians have the same view on that subject. We do not at all resemble the Chinese, who hold the soul of no account; yet your religion is not

the same as ours. It is important we should ascertain which is the true one. Let us, then, examine both carefully and sincerely; if yours is right, we will adopt it; how could we refuse to do so? If, on the contrary, ours is the true religion, I believe you will have the good sense to follow it.' This arrangement seemed to us excellent; we could not at the time desire better.

"We commenced with Christianity. The Regent, always amiable and polished in his conversation with us, said that, as we were his guests, our belief ought to have the honor of priority. We successively reviewed the dogmatical and moral truths. To our great astonishment, the Regent did not seem surprised at anything we said. 'Your religion,' he incessantly repeated, 'is conformable with ours; the truths are the same: we only differ in the explanations. Of what you have seen and heard in Tartary and Thibet, there is, doubtless, much to blame; but you must not forget that the numerous errors and superstitions you may have observed

were introduced by ignorant Lamas, and that they are rejected by well-informed Buddhists.' He only admitted, between him and us, two points of difference—the origin of the world and the transmigration of souls. The belief of the Regent, though it here and there seemed to approximate to the Catholic doctrine, nevertheless resulted in a vast pantheism; but he affirmed that we also arrived at the same result, and he did his best to convince us of this.

"The Thibetian language, essentially religious and mystic, conveys with much clearness and precision all the ideas respecting the human soul and divinity."

MM. Huc and Gabet might have remained in Thibet, had they not been driven away by the Chinese Plenipotentiary, who informed



A BUDDHIST HERMIT.

them that they would have to leave the country. The French missionaries write :

"We hastened to the Regent in order to acquaint him with the melancholy interview we had had with Ki-Chan. The chief Kalon had been made aware of the projects of persecution which the Chinese Mandarins were hatching against us. He endeavored to reassure us, and told us that protecting in the country thousands of strangers, he was powerful enough to give us the protection which the Thibetian Government extended to all. 'Besides,' added he, 'even though our laws did prohibit strangers from entering our country, those laws could not effect you. Religious persons, men of prayer, belonging to all countries, are strangers nowhere; such is the doctrine taught by our holy books. It is written: "The yellow robe has no country, the Lama no family." Lha-Ssa being the peculiar assembling-place and abode of men of prayer, that title of itself should always secure for you liberty and protection.' This opinion of the Buddhists, which constitutes a religious man

a cosmopolite, is not merely a mystic idea written in books, but we have found it recognised in the manners and customs of the Lamaseries; when a man has had his head shaved, and assumes the religious habit, he renounces his former name to take a new one. If you ask a Lama of what country he is, he replies, 'I have no country, but I pass my time in such a Lamasery.' This manner of thinking and acting is even admitted in China, amongst the bonzes and other classes of religionists, who are called by the Generic name of Tchou Kia-Jin (a man who has left his family).

"There was, respecting us, a controversy of several days' duration, between the Thibetian Government and the Chinese ambassador. Ki-Chan, in order to insure better success to his aims, assumed the character of defender of the Talé-Lama. This was his argument: Sent to Lha-Ssa by his Emperor, to protect the Living

Buddha, it was his duty to remove from him whatever was calculated to injure him. Certain preachers of the religion of the Lord of Heaven, animated, no doubt by excellent intentions, were propagating a doctrine which, in the end, tended to destroy the authority and power of the Talé-Lama. Their avowed purpose was to substitute their religious belief for Buddhism, and to convert all the inhabitants of Thibet of every age, condition, and sex. What would become of the Talé-Lama when he had no worshippers? The introduction into the country of the religion of the Lord of Heaven, does it not lead directly to the destruction of the sanctuary of the Buddha-La, and consequently to the downfall of the Lamanesque hierarchy and of the Thibetian Government? 'I,' said he, 'who am here to protect the Talé-Lama, can I permit, at Lha-Ssa, men who propagate such formidable



THE PRAYER-MILL.

doctrines? When those doctrines have taken root, and it is no longer possible to extirpate them, who will be responsible for such a misfortune? What shall I reply to the Grand Emperor when he shall reproach me with my negligence and cowardice? You Thibetians,' said he to the Regent, 'you do not comprehend the gravity of this matter. Because these men are virtuous and irreproachable, you think they are harmless—it is a mistake. If they remain long at Lha-Ssa, they will spell-bind you. Among you, there is not a man capable of disputing with them upon religion. You will not be able to keep from adopting their belief, and then the Talé-Lama is undone.'

"The Regent did not enter at all into these apprehensions, with which the Chinese ambassador endeavored to inspire him. He maintained that our presence at Lha-Ssa could not in any way be prejudicial to the Thibetian Government. 'If the doctrine which these men hold,' said he, 'is a false doctrine, the Thibetians will not embrace it; if, on the contrary, it is true, what have we to fear? How can

the truth be prejudicial to men? These two Lamas of the Kingdom of France,' he added, 'have not done any harm: they are animated with the best intentions towards us. Can we, without good ground, deprive them of the liberty and protection which we extend here to all strangers, and particularly to men of prayer? Can we make ourselves guilty of an actual and certain injustice, through an imaginary fear of some possible evil to come?'"

In spite of the repeated assurance of the Regent's protection, MM. Huc and Gabet deemed it best "to submit and accept with resignation the crown of persecution." They decided to leave the country under protest against the violation of their rights on the part of the Chinese Government. It is difficult to understand why, after having courageously endured so much tribulation in their journey, they at last gave up their cause so easily when they seemed to be at the very brink of a glorious success.

The itinerary of MM. Huc and Gabet consists of two volumes, each of over three hundred pages. The extracts here given are samples of the style of the whole work, which is instructive and interesting wherever one might begin to read it. Quite apart from its interest to the general reader, the account of these travels through Thibet will be welcome to all persons interested in Christian missions and also to the student of Buddhism and Buddhist institutions.

A FEW SUGGESTIONS.

BY THE EDITOR.

EVERY new experience teaches a lesson, and so does the present war, which has been forced upon us against our inclinations.

When the war began we were scarcely ready for it. Our regular army is numerically very insignificant, and our navy, although stronger than that of Spain, is by no means proportionate to the commercial and political interests of the United States. Our navy would be by no means too large if it were twice or three times as large as it is now. If the Spaniards had been equal to our people in quality of men, in boldness of attack and in circumspection, we should have had to pay dearly for our almost criminal neglect of national defences. When a war breaks out, it is too late for building battleships and fortifying harbors. Hence the first lesson of the present war is, *We must in the future be better prepared for eventualities of war.*

As to our diplomacy, we cannot say that we have been able to convince the world (perhaps with the sole exception of England) of the righteousness of our cause; and the obvious reason is that we are children in diplomacy. Our principle of not meddling with the cabals of European politics, which for certain reasons and within certain spheres is quite commendable, simplified matters for us; but it rendered diplomatic services almost unnecessary. Thus it happens that diplomacy is an unknown art among us, while every other country possesses men of ability who have had a special training in the methods of dealing with foreign powers. Monarchical governments enjoy the advantage of steadiness. The continuity is never broken even though the policy may change; and continuity is of importance for the sake of preserving traditions and gathering diplomatic experience. Our party politics make matters

worse still, for it destroys even that continuity which would naturally develop if the affairs of the Government were handed over from one president to another in a business-like way. According to the notion of our party politicians, a new president, if there is a change of party, enters the White House like a victorious conqueror to undo all that has been done by his predecessor and to begin the world over again. Why cannot the two presidents and their cabinets leave alone for awhile all their partisan preferences and familiarise themselves with the routine of government affairs. A king on his death bed, has as a rule, many important communications to make to his successor, and has an outgoing president to give no information to the incoming president? The latter need not take the advice of the former, but it would be wise to listen to him for half an hour and learn from his experiences. It would be difficult to establish anything that would resemble the continuity of monarchical governments in this country, but it ought to be possible to let the men of the new administration be initiated into the current affairs of the government by those who have just had the opportunity to learn something about its difficulties. To accomplish this without implication and to render, according to circumstances, a more or less intimate exchange of thought possible, some president should establish the precedent of cultivating a social intercourse both with his predecessor and with his successor. It would be a good thing if the custom could be established of holding a meeting of the two cabinets, the incoming and the outgoing, at the White House. And this meeting should be as little ceremonious as possible; it should bear the character of a purely social occasion, but should in this way offer at least an opportunity to the men entrusted with the welfare of the nation to discuss the situation, to profit by the experiences of others, and to gather information about the needs of the day.

There is an old Latin proverb, *Si vis pacem para bellum*, i. e., If you desire peace, be ready for war. If we had borne this rule in mind, the war would probably never have become necessary, for Spain knew very well that our navy and army were small. She only forgot two things, (1) that quality counts for more than quantity, and (2) that the people of the United States are possessed of an unparalleled energy. They can do things more quickly here than the people of Europe. Within a short time their industrial enterprises, formerly devoted to peaceful manufacture, may become subservient to the demands of warfare, and our engineers and workingmen will exhibit the same good judgment, boldness, and efficiency in war-

fare as they show in peaceful enterprises. This is the strength of our nation, which will insure our victory in the present emergency with Spain. But we ought to consider that we might become implicated in graver difficulties. We are by no means sure that through some unfortunate turn of diplomacy a combination of several European nations may be brought about, and while we are engaged in fighting one power the navy of another power will be at liberty to harass our coasts. Our enemies might even take one of our ports and land an invading army. For this reason, we must not only procure more good battleships, but should also be in condition to be able to fight at home. It would neither be necessary nor advisable to become a military nation such as is Germany, but it might be a good thing if our young men received a military training of some kind—perhaps in such a fashion as prevails in Switzerland. No harm would be done if all the young men of the same townships between eighteen and twenty-one years would come together in the autumn for military practices. Our militia system, which is at present restricted, might perhaps be extended so as to embrace this scheme and extend it even to thinly populated townships. The boys should not be mustered in as regular soldiers, nor receive soldier's wages, but should convene for common camping, healthy exercises, and a good outing. Officers and a number of corporals of the regular army should be detached to give them the necessary instructions, and while our young men would have a good time practising sham battles and strategic marches, they would at the same time acquire a good deal of knowledge that would be valuable in case of war, and would render this country proof against any enemy. On the seashore and in harbor cities, a certain number of boys should be taken on board a man-of-war and drilled in naval warfare and coast defence. The cost of these military outings would not be great, and the obligation of schooling our young men might, without any additional expense, become a regular duty of our standing army. The advantages would be many, for these exercises would make our boys more patriotic, would strengthen their health and qualify them better for all kinds of bodily exertion; but above all they would create new bonds of brotherhood between all of them and make rich as well as poor feel more as members of one and the same large family.

MISCELLANEOUS.

UNFURL THE FLAG.

Unfurl the flag in colors gay,
The stripes and the stars of our banner,
Unfurl the flag, and forever and aye
The world shall do it honor.
Unfurl the flag in spite of the gale,
Let it flutter from ocean to ocean.
While its folds in the wind are waving, we hail
Old Glory with rapturous devotion.
O dauntless flag of the brave and the free,
Remain thou the symbol of Liberty,
Proud banner of our Republic,
We greet thee loyally!

REFRAIN—Rally, Columbia's sons!

Rally round the flag!
Mindful of her laws,
Faithful to her cause,
Struggling with might for our country's expanse,
Anxious its weal and renown to enhance,
Jubilant o'er its triumphal advance,
Rally, Columbia's sons!
Rally round the flag!

In stripes alternately white and red
The spirit appears of the nation,
Whose liberty to law is wed
In glorious combination.
The Northern snow and the Southern fire,
So brightly blend together.
Joint love to friends, to foes joint ire,
Thus braves our flag all weather.
Securest refuge in distress,
Thou symbol of true manliness,
Proud banner of our Republic,
Bold emblem of success!

REFRAIN—Rally, Columbia's sons !

Rally round the flag !
 Mindful of her laws,
 Faithful to her cause,
 Struggling with might for our country's expanse,
 Anxious its weal and renown to enhance,
 Jubilant o'er its triumphal advance,
 Rally, Columbia's sons !
 Rally round the flag !

What means the blue of the starry field ?
 The blue is a vision of heaven.
 To genuine faith which in deeds is revealed,
 The promised land is given.
 And the silvery stars in the fields of blue,
 Like the stars in the sky that are real,
 Are our trusting hopes, our guides so true,
 Our aspirations ideal.
 These stars shall unto humanity
 A new and a higher covenant be,
 Proud banner of our Republic,
 Where is a flag like thee ?

REFRAIN—Rally, Columbia's sons !

Rally round the flag !
 Mindful of her laws,
 Faithful to her cause,
 Struggling with might for our country's expanse,
 Anxious its weal and renown to enhance,
 Jubilant o'er its triumphal advance,
 Rally, Columbia's sons !
 Rally round the flag !

'Tis under our flag at the present day,
 That the bliss of futurity resteth.
 We cherish its gallant and beauteous display,
 And love dearly the thoughts it suggesteth.
 Our flag uniteth the life of the past,
 Old foes exchange now greetings,
 And reconciled are their contentions at last,
 In hearts that are higher beating.
 New covenant thou of humanity,
 O symbol of noble fraternity,
 Proud banner of our Republic,
 We greet thee loyally.

REFRAIN—Rally, Columbia's sons !

Rally round the flag !
 Mindful of her laws,
 Faithful to her cause,
 Struggling with might for our country's expanse,

Anxious its weal and renown to enhance,
 Jubilant o'er its triumphal advance,
 Rally, Columbia's sons !
 Rally round the flag !

THE ANGLO-SAXON ALLIANCE.

Old England and the United States,
 The freedom-loving nations,
 Have a common aim that consecrates
 Their labor and plodding patience.
 The Union Jack and the Stripes and Stars
 Can bid the world defiance
 Be they united in peace and in wars
 In brotherly sacred alliance !
 Hurrah for the people of Saxon speech,
 Who laws of freedom practise and preach !
 Join hands, and the word of the Saxon
 O'er all the world shall reach.

REFRAIN—Join, Columbia's sons !
 Greater Britain Join !
 Never were better allies,
 Never more sacred ties :
 Kindred in race and in language the same,
 Wedded in purpose, both bent on the aim
 Good-will and peace upon earth to proclaim.
 Join, Columbia's sons !
 Greater Britain join !

P. C.

AGNOSTICISM IN VERSE.

To the Editor of The Open Court :

I do not remember seeing more than one poetic article in your columns for two or three years ; so I conclude you do not " run to poetry " much.

But I have written something which certainly is not appropriate for any magazine or publication that I know of, unless it is *The Open Court*. So I drop it into the hopper—wondering whether, like " bread cast upon the waters," there is any possibility of its returning after many days.

J. L. MCCREERY.

MY PHILOSOPHY.

I have been young, and now am old :
 And slowly I have builded me
 A system of philosophy
 To all of which I firmly hold.

Certain I am that I am right ;
 But now the structure is complete,

And ready all assaults to meet,
This truth dawns slowly on my sight :

'Tis part of the eternal plan,
Escape from which there cannot be—
That every man's philosophy
Is fruit and outgrowth of the man.

The fountain cannot count for naught :
The bee its healthful sweets distils :
The snake its fangs with venom fills ;
And as the man is, is his thought.

As I my theory rehearse
So might a silkworm self-commune,
And fondly deem its own cocoon
The model of the Universe.

So my illusions fade and fall ;
My perfect philosophic scheme
Is but a self-begotten dream,
And I know nothing after all.

[Agnosticism has rarely found so logical and typical an expression as in Mr. J. L. McCreery's poem "My Philosophy," voicing the deep-felt conviction of the poet, who here in a few strong outlines sketches the summary of his life's experience And what is the lesson he teaches us? He says :

" My perfect philosophic scheme
Is but a self-begotten dream
And I know nothing after all."

The argument of this sad conclusion is based upon the theory "that every man's philosophy is fruit and outgrowth of the man." This is true; at least the idea that underlies the proposition. But it would be more correct to say that "the philosophy of the man characterises the man; it is part of him; in fact the most important part of his mind. But what does it prove? Mr. McCreery derives from it a rigid subjectivism, denying any and all objective validity to the make-up of the character of thought, and his argument is given in allegories. The bee distils honey, the snake venom, and thus the poet's thoughts are not a reflexion of the universe, but of his own subjectivity. He says :

" As I my theory rehearse
So might a silkworm self-commune,
And fondly deem its own cocoon
The model of the universe."

Granting this view to be true, would not the subjectivity of all creatures be an unfathomable mystery? So it is, says the agnostic, and joins hands with the mystic. But is this true? Is not the doctrine of evolution, so eagerly accepted by the inconsistent agnostics, a solution of the problem of the divergence of character discovered among the various beings. Every creature is the product of its antecedents. The silkworm in the cocoon is not an unaccountable subjectivity, but the result of the peculiar activity of its ancestors which are a special part of the

display of life in the universe. The cocoon has been modelled by the universe, and if we knew the cocoon perfectly in all its relations and conditions we should know, as Tennyson says, "what God and man is." The venom of the snake, the honey of the bee, the thought of man, are but so many expressions of the character of the universe.

Among all the expressions of the universe, there is none like man's thought, because man's thoughts alone transcend the limits of subjectivity and comprehend the nature of universal law that in the manner of uniformities permeates the whole sphere of objective existence. The sense-element of man's mental images is purely subjective, but the thought-element, which is based upon purely formal calculations, attains to objectively valid statements of fact. We can by the usual methods of science state what things are, independently of our sensations of them. The rainbow image in the beauty of color is a subjective representation of a natural phenomenon, but the physicist's description of it, based upon mathematical calculations, is *de facto* an interpretation which elucidates the character of the rainbow as it is in itself.

Philosophy has long followed the practice of purely subjective, and therefore vain, speculations. The old methods lead either to worthless vagaries or to agnosticism or to mysticism. What we need is a philosophy of science. This is a slower and more difficult task than the metaphysical plan of taking the heaven of knowledge by storm; but then while the metaphysical thinker rises into cloudland, or, if he be sober, must confess that he found nothing but vacancy, the philosophy of science will progress slowly but steadily. New problems will turn up with every solution of an old problem; we shall never reach the end. But this is no cause for despair, for posterity, too, is anxious to do something and to advance into the new fields of inquiry. Let us be satisfied with life and these conditions of existence which after all are a preference, not a drawback, for they show life's illimited potentialities and are a reflexion of the infinity of the universe.—P. C.]

SOLOMONIC LITERATURE.

Dr. Moncure D. Conway's article on Solomonic Literature in the present *Open Court* is of special interest and deserves a careful perusal on account of the many analogies which it indicates between the wisdom literature of the Jews and the sacred books of the Avesta. But it seems to us that he goes too far in assuming the existence of an anti-Jahvistic party in Israel, which expressed its sentiment in this Solomonic wisdom so called. We do not deny that there is a contrast between the philosophical background of the Jewish wisdom literature and the spirit of Judaism. Nor do we deny that the Solomonic wisdom literature originated through foreign influence, which, however, was by no means limited to Persia; but we regard it as more than doubtful that the Jewish literature was intended to oppose the national religion of the Jews and the worship of Jahveh. On the contrary, we read the various passages which Dr. Conway quotes as indicating that some pious Jew, who has imbibed foreign philosophy, is endeavoring to introduce the wisdom of the Gentiles and to give it a Jewish interpretation. A religious Jew saw no contradiction in such contrasts as these: "By kindness and truth iniquity is atoned for;" and "By the fear of Jahveh men turn away from evil." Or, to take another example, "The virtuous man has an everlasting foundation;" and "The fear of Jahveh prolongeth days." Far from finding an anti-Jahvism in Solomonic literature,

we should characterise this spirit as a cosmopolitanism. The author has drunk at the fountains of some foreign philosophy; he has possibly used some lost book of foreign origin, with the thoughts of which he was anxious to enrich his nation.

The book *Ecclesiastes* (Kohleth) is supposed to have been written, according to Hitzig, in the year 204. The language, according to Delitzsch, unmistakably betrays the approach of the atmosphere of the Mishna. And Cornill says that although Hitzig's arguments may not be altogether sound, he appears to have placed the book at the right time. But we cannot go down to the times of the Maccabees when foreign philosophy and Jewish piety began to be regarded as contradictions. The spirit of the age of the later Maccabees down to the destruction of Jerusalem characterises the narrow Jahvism of which Dr. Conway speaks. And yet even during this time there were outside of Judea many Jews who very well understood how to reconcile foreign philosophies with their religious traditions, the most glorious example of which is the famous philosopher Philo. The whole Wisdom literature has grown up on this soil of a reconciliation between Jewish piety and foreign philosophies, some of which actually stand in glaring contradiction to the spirit of any religion, for they preach a dreary materialism and the vanity of all things, declaring that there is nothing good for man except that he eat and drink and be as happy as possible in his misery. The uncanonical Solomonian literature entitled the *Wisdom of Solomon* was not even written in Hebrew but is in the Greek of the Diaspora, probably written during the first century B. C. in Alexandria.

BOOK-REVIEWS AND NOTES.

The Macmillan Company have begun issuing a little series of *Economic Classics*, which is intended to comprise the chief fundamental works on Political Economy. We have before us Turgot's *Reflections on the Formation and the Distribution of Riches*, which was published in 1770, six years before the appearance of Adam Smith's great work, *The Wealth of Nations*. As in many other departments—it will be remembered that Turgot was the first to enunciate in its essential form Comte's law of the three stages,—so here the great French statesman gave in a brief compass the germs of a valuable economic theory and a wise economic policy. The volumes which have already been published in the *Economic Classics* are: Thomas Mun: *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade* (1664); Adam Smith: *Select Chapters and Passages from the Wealth of Nations* (1776); Malthus: *Parallel Chapters from the 1st and 2d Editions of the Essay on Population* (1798); Ricardo: *First Six Chapters of the Principles of Political Economy* (1817); Richard Jones: *Peasant Rents* (1831); Augustin Cournot: *Mathematical Principles of the Theory of Wealth* (1838); and Gustav Schmoller: *Mercantile System* (1884). (Price 75 cents.)

Few people are aware of the value of the *Annual Reports of the Smithsonian Institution*. These volumes being bound in the style of the Patent Reports and other national documents, have a very dismal and unprepossessing appearance, and so share in the general prejudice which exists against the literature published by the Government,—a literature which is usually rated at its coefficient of combustibility. But the *Smithsonian Reports*,—after deducting the necessary introductory matter, which treats of the condition of the Institution, its museums, accessions, and general business,—contain a vast amount of original scientific

research, either in the form of contributions by its members and by officers engaged to do special work, or in the form of translations of foreign scientific essays and memoirs. Of late years much of the best work done in Europe has been made accessible to American readers in this way. The preference has usually been given to archaeology, ethnology, and anthropology, but the other sciences have also been very fairly represented. The scientific part of *The Report for 1895*, which is just published, is mainly devoted to papers describing and illustrating collections in the United States National Museum. There is a very exhaustive monograph by Franz Boas on *The Social Organisation and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians, a Tribe of British Columbia*, richly illustrated with photographs of their weapons, their manufactures, their dwellings, vessels, costumes, etc., and also giving specimens of their music, literature, poetry. This monograph is a book in itself and takes up over 400 large pages. The next memoir is on *The Graphic Art of the Esquimaux*, by Walter James Hoffman,—also an exhaustive report of more than 200 pages, based upon the collections in the National Museum, and richly illustrated with plates representing Esquimaux art in its various pictorial, ornamental, plastic, and industrial forms. George P. Merrill contributes some very interesting notes *On the Geology and Natural History of the Peninsula of Lower California*, a veritable *terra incognita* to most people. The remaining articles are *The Tongues of Birds*, by Frederick A. Lucas; a description of *The Famous Ontonagon Copper Boulder in the United States National Museum*; *Taxidermical Methods in the Leyden Museum*, by R. W. Shufeldt; and *The Antiquity of the Red Race in America*, by Thomas Wilson. The Smithsonian Reports may be obtained *gratis* on application by the proper institutions and persons.

The Annual Literary Index for 1897 has appeared. It contains an index to all the best English and American periodicals for 1897, an index to general literature, an author-index, a list of American-English bibliographies for 1897, a necrology, and last but not least in importance, an index to dates, which will be found to be practically an index to the files of newspapers. The volume is indispensable to libraries, literary offices, to students, and men of affairs. (New York: Office of the Publishers' Weekly. 1898.)

We had occasion some time ago to refer to Part I. of the *Tutorial Chemistry (Non-Metals)*, by G. H. Bailey and William Briggs. The second part of this chemistry has now appeared, and is devoted to *Metals* proper. (London: W. B. Clive; New York: Hinds & Noble. Pages, 300. Price, \$1.00.) The treatment of Mr. Bailey and Mr. Briggs differs from that of most elementary treatises in the attention which they devote to chemical physics and crystallography. The elements are considered in the order suggested by the periodic system, the relationships between the different members of the same family emphasised, and the elements consequently represented as a continuous series. A list of experiments has been given at the end. The Tutorial Series is to be recommended not only for the character of the instruction which it imparts, but also for its unusual cheapness.

Christ in the Daily Meal is a little book of 138 pages by Norman Fox, DD., and is devoted to the task of infusing new vitality and spiritual force into Christ's injunction at the Last Supper, "This do in remembrance of me." The position taken in the book is that Jesus bade his disciples eat and drink "in remembrance" of him, not merely once a month, once a week, occasionally, now and then, but whenever they ate bread and drank wine, even in their own homes; that his words

do not command a separate meal, but a remembrance of him in the ordinary meal; that the New Testament knows no "supper" consisting of but a morsel of bread and a sip of wine, the only meal of the Apostolic churches being the *agape*, or love-feast, an actual repast. The writer offers no suggestion of change in the present church supper, although it has no scriptural precedent; he merely contends that it should not be called *the*, but only, to use Paul's expression, "a supper of the Lord." (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1898. Pp. 138. Price, 50 cents.)

The Rev. Minot J. Savage has published under the title *Religion for To-day* a collection of sermons delivered by him during the year 1897. "What shall be the sacraments, what shall be the rituals, what shall be the method of government, of the Church of to-morrow?" says Mr. Savage in his closing sermons. "I know not, I care not. We are free to express our beliefs in any terms we choose, only we must not bind ourselves by any. We are free to arrange our music as we will to organise our rituals and services, and make them grand and imposing as we will. We are free to organise our ecclesiastical governments according to any idea which suits us. These do not touch the essential things for which the Church stands." (Boston: George H. Ellis. Pp., 250. Price, \$1.00.)

Two books of essays in criticism have come to us within the last year: (1) *Modern Poet Prophets*, by William Norman Guthrie (Cincinnati: Robert Clark Co. 1897); and (2) *Matthew Arnold and the Spirit of the Age*, being papers of the English Club of Sewanee, Tenn. (New York: Putnams). The work of Mr. Guthrie treats of subjects such as Ideal Womanhood in the Masterpieces of Dante, Goethe, and Robert Browning, the influence of the Senancour on Matthew Arnold, the Agnostic Poets of Our Day, the Prometheus Unbound of Shelley, Walt Whitman, etc. It is a book of considerable literary merit and of considerable profundity of thought. The second work is an expression of the literary aspirations of the South. The English Club of Sewanee, Tenn., has been in existence for thirteen years, and with slight interruptions and with changing membership, has systematically pursued the study of the English language and of literature. So high finally did their opinion of their work become that they ventured to give to the latest efflorescence of their thoughts and labors a permanent form. The essays, which were written by members of the club, are fourteen in number, and cover nearly all the phases of Arnold's career, the influences which affected his life, and the main results of his activity. They reveal a standard of excellence and a directness of insight which is uncommon in such productions, and are welcome evidence of the silent work of culture which is going on in our smaller cities.

It is surprising that so clear and outspoken a profession as *The Protestant Faith or Salvation by Belief* of Mr. Dwight Hinckley Olmstead could have been uttered in the theological milieu of 1856 (it was first printed in 1874) and delivered at that date as an address before the Young Men's Christian Union of New York. Its having passed through three editions can be well understood. The author has published his essay in the hope that it will be of service to those disquieted by modern doubts,—to Catholic and Protestant alike. Starting with some brief remarks on the limitations of thought, he reviews the history of the Protestant Reformation and finds its doctrinal culmination in the dogma of justification by faith, and in a theology which looks to the mere salvation of the soul. He argues that all belief is

involuntary, that erroneous opinions are not necessarily sinful, that salvation is not a proper incentive to the performance of duty, etc. He says :

"The churches practically cannot live on their faith alone. The faith is not enough. The conduct according to the professed faith is and must be a necessary test in addition to the formal creeds."

And again :

"In no sense did this so-called scheme of redemption—salvation through faith or belief ('the just shall live by faith'), as understood by Luther and his followers, contain the solution of any religious question. It did not differ in kind from the theology of the Roman Church. To Luther's assertion of the necessity of free thought, and the right of free speech, together with the revival of letters, must be attributed the great uprising of his age ; and it is not too much to say that Protestants, in embracing and giving such prominence to religious tenets—especially the error of adopting creeds as a test of membership in their churches—have failed to comprehend their own history, and totally lost sight of the principle of personal authority and individual judgment, which is the foundation and root of every protestation they have uttered.

"I am aware where I stand. I stand on a platform which holds sectarianism in its exclusive form, to be both irreligious and unphilosophical, and all wars of sects unholy ; which throws down the barriers between 'evangelical' and 'un-evangelical' denominations, and renders meaningless those terms as now applied ; and which summons all men—Christians and Pagans—from unseemly contentions to obedience to the high rule of tolerance and charity."

The book is wholesome throughout. It is true, much of its material is drawn from the utterances of several decades ago, and from works which though then in vogue do not now express existing opinion. We should also not accept such sentences as "Religion in its noblest, broadest acceptation, recognises no ultimate authority foreign to the person himself," but doubtless the author understands "authority" in a different sense, while for "the person himself" we should substitute "criticism and science in its best sense." (New York and London : G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pages, 74.)

Renan's Life of Jesus can now be obtained in an unabridged edition from Peter Eckler, 25 Fulton St., New York. The book is bound in cloth, contains 328 pages, and is sold for the very reasonable price of 75 cents. There are several illustrations. The same house also publishes a cheap paper reprint (25 cents) of Mr. T. Bailey Saunders's translation of Schopenhauer's *Wisdom of Life*,—a famous book which holds the interest of every one by its epigrammatic sagacity. We suppose the reprint has been made with the consent of the translator, Mr. Saunders, and of the original publisher. The book is adorned with a frontispiece portrait of Schopenhauer, which is the same as that which appeared not long ago in *The Open Court. Faith or Fact*, by Henry M. Taber, is a production of the same house. It is adorned by a preface from the pen of Col. Ingersoll, and is devoted to a criticism of "false claims and pretenses of Christianity." (Pp., 331. Price, \$1.00.)

The most recent issues of the Bibelot Series are : (1) *Browning's Men and Women*, by William Morris, for March ; (2) *The Poetry of Michael Angelo*, by Walter Pater, for April ; (3) *Tares: A Book of Verses*, by Rosamund Marriott Watson, for May ; (4) *The Flight of the Princess*, by Robert Louis Stevenson, for

June. (Thomas B. Mosher, Portland, Me.) Everything Mr. Mosher publishes is "exquisite,"—exquisite to the point of ebullition. His Series are all veritable strings of pearls,—pearls melted and dropped from the golden crucibles of fancy in the form of printer's ink on very unromantic Dutch hand-made paper. But they are pleasing to the eye, nevertheless; and food to the mind, withal: and we commend them to all lovers of beauty,—beauty internal and beauty external,—promising them delight and satisfaction. Each of the little books costs five cents.

The Wealth of Households, by J. T. Danson, issued by the Clarendon Press of Oxford, England, is an excellent treatise on political economy,—simple, direct, and sound in doctrine. Were it not for its size (360 pages) we should call it a primer. We learn from a brief prefatory note that the book was put together more than twenty years ago by a man of business who sought to make use of his experience in the education of his children; that it was afterwards recast and delivered as a series of lectures at Queen's College, Liverpool, and that in 1886 it was written as a text-book, with special reference to some of the economic questions of the day. Though not bearing a recent date, we may yet refer to it, and recommend it to all who would gain in a simple way a knowledge of the first principles of economic science.

We announce with profoundest regret the death of Dr. G. H. Th. Eimer, Professor of Zoölogy and Comparative Anatomy in the University of Tübingen. Dr. Eimer was a distinguished biologist whose work and name were widely known in science. He was an antagonist of Weismann and represented a line of biological thought something similar to that of the Neo-Lamarckian school of America. One of his largest works, namely, that on *Organic Evolution*, was translated into English many years ago, while only recently his memoir on *Orthogenesis*, which originally appeared in *The Monist* and which contains a summary of his views on evolution, was published in the Religion of Science Library. Dr. Eimer was only fifty-five years of age when he died.



UNFURL THE FLAG

A NEW NATIONAL HYMN

UNFURL THE FLAG.

Words by
PAUL CARUS.

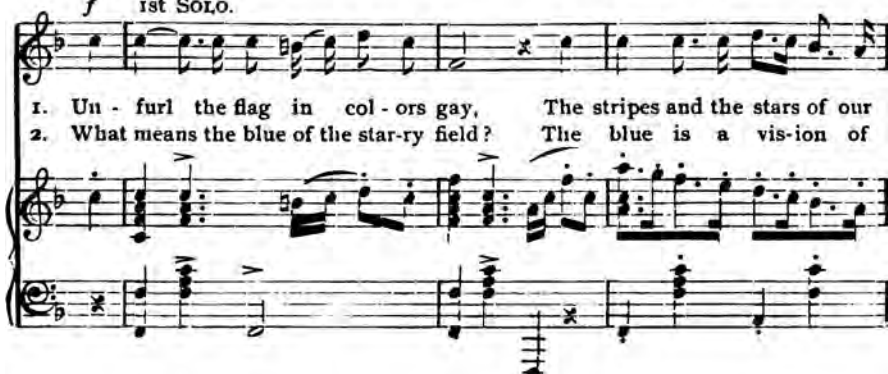
SOLO AND CHORUS.

Music by
C. CROZAT CONVERSE.

Marziale e molto marcato.



f 1st SOLO.



NOTE. The following order of performance may be observed:

First Solo, first verse: First Chorus, sung by four or more voices, the soprano voice taking the lower closing A flat: Second Solo, first verse.

First Solo, second verse: First Chorus, as before, the soprano taking the higher or lower closing A flat: Second Solo, second verse, either closing with second chorus by all the voices, or by repeating First Solo, first verse, followed by second chorus

UNFURL THE FLAG.

world shall do it hon-or. Un - furl the flag in spite of the
prom-ised land is giv-en. And the sil - v'ry stars in the fields of

This system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major, featuring a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes. The middle staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef, both providing harmonic support with chords and single notes.

gale, Let it flut - ter from o - cean to o - cean. While its
blue, Like the stars in the sky that are re - al, Are our

The second system continues the musical composition. The vocal line maintains its melodic flow, while the piano accompaniment provides a steady harmonic foundation. The lyrics are printed below the vocal staff.

folds in the wind are wav - ing, we hail Old Glo - ry with rapturous de-
trust - ing hopes, our guides so true, Our as - pi - ra - tions i-

The third system concludes the page. The musical notation follows the same three-staff format. The lyrics are printed below the vocal staff, ending with a hyphen.

UNFURL THE FLAG.

8

vo - tion. O
de - al. These

daunt - less flag of the brave and free, Re-main thou the sym - bol of
stars shall un - to hu - man - i - ty A new and a high - er

Lib - er - ty. Proud ban - ner of our Re - pub - lic, We
cov - nant be. Proud ban - ner of our Re - pub - lic, Where

ff *fff*

Ped. *

UNFURL THE FLAG.

ffff

greet thee loy - al - ly!
is a flag like thee?

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

Lento.

Ped. * *Ped.* *

UNFURL THE FLAG.

5

REFRAIN. *Con spirito.*

Ral-ly! ral-ly! Co-lum-bia's sons, Ral-ly round the flag!

This musical system consists of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. It contains the lyrics 'Ral-ly! ral-ly! Co-lum-bia's sons, Ral-ly round the flag!'. The second staff is a piano accompaniment line in bass clef. The third and fourth staves are piano accompaniment lines in treble and bass clefs respectively, featuring a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.

Mind - ful of her laws, Faith-ful to her cause, Ral-ly round the

This musical system consists of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. It contains the lyrics 'Mind - ful of her laws, Faith-ful to her cause, Ral-ly round the'. The second staff is a piano accompaniment line in bass clef. The third and fourth staves are piano accompaniment lines in treble and bass clefs respectively, featuring a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.

UNFURL THE FLAG.

flag! Struggling with might for our coun - try's ex-panse,

The first system of the musical score for 'Unfurl the Flag'. It consists of four staves. The top two staves are for the vocal parts, and the bottom two are for the piano accompaniment. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The vocal melody begins with a rest followed by the lyrics 'flag! Struggling with might for our coun - try's ex-panse,'. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active melody in the left hand.

Anx - ious its weal and re - nown to en-hance, Ju-bi-lant o'er its tri-

The second system of the musical score. It continues the vocal and piano parts. The vocal melody includes dynamic markings: *ff* (fortissimo), *fff* (fortississimo), and *f* (forte). The piano accompaniment continues with complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and features a crescendo leading to a final chord.

UNFURL THE FLAG.

7

umphal advance, Ral-ly round the flag! Jubilant o'er it's tri -

This system contains the first four measures of the piece. It features a vocal melody in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The piano part includes a prominent eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand.

umphal advance, Ral-ly round the flag!

This system contains measures 5 through 8. The vocal melody continues with a melisma on the word 'Ral-ly', indicated by a 'rit.' (ritardando) marking. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support, with the right hand playing chords and the left hand continuing its rhythmic pattern. The system concludes with a 'mf' (mezzo-forte) marking and a final flourish in the piano part.

UNFURL THE FLAG.

2nd SOLO. *mf Andantino e espressione.*

The first system of the musical score. It features a vocal line on a treble clef staff and a piano accompaniment on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The tempo and mood are indicated as '2nd SOLO. mf Andantino e espressione.' The lyrics are: 'In stripes..... al-ter-nate-ly white and red The 'Tis un - der our flag at the pres - ent day That the'.

The second system of the musical score. It continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'spir - it ap-pears of the na - tion, Whose lib - er - ty to law is bliss of fu - tu - ri - ty rest - eth. We cher - ish its gal - lant and'.

The third system of the musical score. It concludes the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'wed..... In glo - rious com - bi - na - tion. The beauteous display, And love dear - ly the tho'ts it sug - gest - eth. Our'.

UNFURL THE FLAG.

9

cres.

North - ern snow and the South - ern fire, So bright - ly blend to -
flag u - nit - eth the life of the past, Old foes ex - change now

The first system of the musical score for 'Unfurl the Flag'. It features a vocal line in treble clef and a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The vocal line begins with a 'cres.' (crescendo) marking. The lyrics are: 'North - ern snow and the South - ern fire, So bright - ly blend to - flag u - nit - eth the life of the past, Old foes ex - change now'.

geth - er, Joint love to friends, to foes joint ire, Thus
greet - ings, And rec - on-ciled are their contentions at last, In

The second system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: 'geth - er, Joint love to friends, to foes joint ire, Thus greet - ings, And rec - on-ciled are their contentions at last, In'.

Piu moto.

braves our flag all weath - er, Se - cur - est ref - uge
hearts that are high - er beat - ing. New cov - 'nant thou of hu -

The third system of the musical score. The tempo marking 'Piu moto.' is present. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: 'braves our flag all weath - er, Se - cur - est ref - uge hearts that are high - er beat - ing. New cov - 'nant thou of hu -'. The piano accompaniment includes a forte 'f' marking.

UNFURL THE FLAG.

in dis-tress, Thou sym - bol of true man - li - ness, Proud
man - i - ty, O sym - bol of no - ble fra - ter - ni - ty, Proud

The first system of the musical score for 'Unfurl the Flag'. It features a vocal melody in G major (one flat) and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line has a melisma on 'Proud' at the end. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

f a tempo *molto rit* *f*

ban - ner of our Re - pub - lic, Bold em - blem of suc - cess; Bold
ban - ner of our Re - pub - lic, We greet thee loy - al - ly, We

The second system of the musical score. It begins with a vocal melody marked *f a tempo*, followed by a piano accompaniment. The tempo then changes to *molto rit* (marked *f*), and the system ends with a vocal melody marked *f*. The piano accompaniment features a more active bass line.

fff

em - blem, Bold em - blem, Bold em - blem of suc - cess!
greet thee, We greet thee, We greet thee loy - al - ly.

The third system of the musical score. It features a vocal melody marked *fff* (fortississimo) and a piano accompaniment. The system concludes with a final vocal melody and piano accompaniment.

UNFURL THE FLAG.

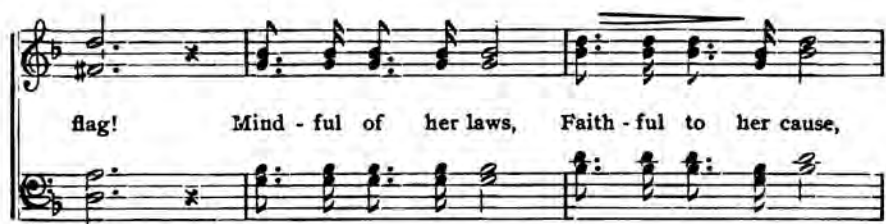
11

Tempo primo.

D. C.



CHORUS.



UNFURL THE FLAG.

First system of musical notation. The treble staff contains a melody with eighth and quarter notes, and the bass staff contains a harmonic accompaniment with chords and eighth notes. The lyrics are: coun - try's ex - panse, Anx - ious its weal and re -

Second system of musical notation. The treble staff features dynamic markings *ff* and *f*. The lyrics are: nown to en - hance, Ju - bi - lant o'er its tri - umph - al ad - vance,

Third system of musical notation. The treble staff includes a dynamic marking *ff*. The lyrics are: Ral - ly round the flag! Ju - bi - lant o'er its tri -

Fourth system of musical notation. The treble staff includes dynamic markings *fff* and *ffff*, and ends with the word *Finis.* The lyrics are: umph - al ad - vance, Ral - ly round the flag!

UNFURL THE FLAG.

Con spirito.

Music by OLIVER H. P. SMITH.

1. Un - furl the flag in
 2. In stripes al - ter - nate - ly
 3. What means the blue of the
 4. 'Tis un - der our flag at the

col - ors gay, The stripes and the stars of our ban - ner, Un -
 white and red The spir - it ap - pears of the na - tion, Whose
 star - ry field? The blue is a vis - ion of heav - en. To
 pres - ent day, That the bliss of fu - tur - i - ty rest - eth. We

furl the flag, and for - ev - er and aye The world shall do it
 lib - er - ty to law is wed In glo - rious com - bi -
 genu - ine faith which in deeds is revealed, The prom - ised land is
 cherish its gal - lant and beauteous display, And love dearly the tho'ts it sag -

UNFURL THE FLAG.

hon - or. Un - furl the flag in spite of the gale, Let it
 na - tion. The North - ern snow and the South-ern fire, So
 giv - en. And the sil - very stars in the fields of blue, Like the
 gest - eth. Our flag u - nit - eth the life of the past, Old

*rit.**a tempo.*

flut-ter from o - cean to o - cean. While its folds in the wind are
 bright-ly blend to - geth - er. Joint love to friends, to
 stars in the sky that are real, Are our trust - ing hopes, our
 foes ex - change now greet - ings, And reconciled are their con -

*rit.**allegro.*

waving, we hail Old Glo - ry with rapturous de - vo - tion. O
 foes joint ire, Thus braves our flag all weath - er. Se -
 guides so true, Our as - pi - ra-tions i - de - al. These
 tentions at last, In hearts that are high - er beat - ing, New

UNFURL THE FLAG.

3



daunt-less flag of the brave and the free, Re-main thou the sym-bol of
 cur-est ref-uge in dis-tress, Thou sym-bol of true
 stars shall un-to hu-man-i-ty A new and a high-er
 cove-nant thou of hu-man-i-ty, O sym-bol of no-ble fra-



Lib-er-ty, Proud ban-ner of our Re-
 man-li-ness, Proud ban-ner of our Re-
 cove-nant be, Proud ban-ner of our Re-
 ter-ni-ty, Proud ban-ner of our Re-



pub-lic, We greet thee loy-al-ly!
 pub-lic, Bold em-blem of suc-cess!
 pub-lic, Where is a flag like thee?
 pub-lic, We greet thee loy-al-ly!

UNFURL THE FLAG.

REFRAIN. *Men's voices in Unison.*

Ral - ly Co - lum - bia's sons! Ral - ly 'round the

The first system of the musical score for the refrain. It consists of three staves: a vocal staff in treble clef, a piano accompaniment staff in treble clef, and a piano accompaniment staff in bass clef. The vocal line begins with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a half note D5, a quarter rest, a quarter note E5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note C5, and a quarter note B4. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a steady eighth-note pattern in the left hand, with chords.

flag! Mind - ful of its laws.

The second system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a half note D5, a quarter rest, a quarter note E5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note C5, and a quarter note B4. The piano accompaniment continues with the same eighth-note pattern and chords.

Faith - ful to its cause, Strug - gling with might for our

The third system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a half note D5, a quarter rest, a quarter note E5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note C5, and a quarter note B4. The piano accompaniment continues with the same eighth-note pattern and chords.

UNFURL THE FLAG.

5

country's expanse, Anx - ious its weal and re-nown to enhance,

The first system of the musical score for 'Unfurl the Flag'. It features a vocal melody in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staves. The lyrics are: 'country's expanse, Anx - ious its weal and re-nown to enhance,'.

Ju - bi-lant o'er its triumphal ad-vance. Ral-ly, Co-lum - bia's

The second system of the musical score. The lyrics are: 'Ju - bi-lant o'er its triumphal ad-vance. Ral-ly, Co-lum - bia's'.

sons, Ral - ly round the flag!

The third system of the musical score. The lyrics are: 'sons, Ral - ly round the flag!'.



RENÉ DESCARTES.

(1596-1650.)

The August Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XII. (NO. 8.)

AUGUST, 1898.

NO. 307

THE PSALMS IN UNIVERSAL LITERATURE.¹

AN ADDRESS BY CARL HEINRICH CORNILL.

PSALMS and universal literature!² Two great and significant expressions! Two mighty and heart-stirring facts! We Germans especially cannot fail to feel pride and joy when we speak the phrase "universal literature," for the phrase and the idea originated on German soil, are the fruit of the German mind. The phrase, as is known, comes from Goethe, the most universal genius of Germany, and perhaps of mankind; but the idea we owe to Herder. Goethe himself frankly declared this in five fine stanzas composed in honor of Herder. I cannot forbear quoting them because they are among the less familiar of Goethe's compositions, and because they develop in a manner quite classic the idea of universal literature. In a masque for the 18th of December, 1818, the Ilm is represented as introducing the four literary princes of Weimar: Wieland, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, and characterises Herder as follows:

A noble man, and eager to discover
How everywhere the human spirit grows,
Harks for the word or tone the wide world over
That in its songs from countless sources flows,
Through earlier and through later ages wending,
His ear to every region's voices lending.

And thus he hears from nation sung to nation
What has touched each man in his native air,
And hears repeated in naïve relation
What grandsires gave to sires of good and fair,

¹ Separate Print from the *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*. (Translated by W. H. Carruth, of the University of Kansas.)

² *Weltliteratur*. The translation is not quite adequate; but the German has the advantage of us with his beautiful words: *Weltgeschichte, Weltgericht, Weltliteratur*.

Amusement and instruction both revealing
As though 'twere all but one man's act and feeling.

Whate'er casts down the soul, whate'er upraises,
Quickly confused and carelessly combined,
One thought for each, a thousand words and phrases
From Eden to the present have defined.
Thus chants the bard. saga and song renew it,
We feel it all as though we had lived through it.

If the black cliffs and overclouded heaven
To pictures here of gloomy woe constrain,
The sun-kissed vault by jubilant songs is riven
Of rapt souls yonder on the open main ;
Their will was good, what everywhere should woo man
They too desired : the universal human.¹

Where'er concealed, his was the art that found it,
In serious guise, or masked for lightsome game,—
Humanity,² in loftiest sense to ground it
For future times be our eternal aim !
O would his spirit now might see them leave us,
Healed by humanity,—the plagues that grieve us !

Herder, you know, was an East Prussian, and since I have become acquainted with East Prussia through my own observation, I am inclined to regard it as not a mere matter of chance that it was an East Prussian mind that first developed the idea of universal literature. For East Prussia has peculiar ethnographic conditions such as are found nowhere else in Germany. Here, among and along with the Germans, dwell two other races of distinctly marked individuality and of great poetic endowment: the Poles and the Lithuanians. And Herder's native town, Mohrungen, is situated in close proximity to the wholly Polish province of Ermland, which in his day still belonged politically to the Kingdom of Poland. As a result of these early impressions, and of the similar conditions in Riga, where he spent the next five years after finishing his studies at Königsberg, his ear could not fail to become sensitive to the peculiarities of national tones, while his eye was opened to what was common in national characteristics: to the purely human.

Moreover, Herder had the gift of catching the utterances of nations in their most individual and at the same time most purely human manifestations, in the spontaneous expressions of their

¹ " Sie meinten's gut und fromm im Grund, sie wollten
Das Menschliche,—was alle wollen sollten,"

² *Menschlichkeit* assumes here, of course, much of the second sense of humanity, i. e., humaneness.

racial peculiarity. Herder has a marvellous eye and a unique sense for racial peculiarities ; he is in truth the discoverer of the race-soul. Whether dealing with Esthonians or Persians, with Lithuanians or Spaniards, with Scots or Israelites, with equal insight Herder recognises and understands their innermost emotions, and finds in their popular literature their poetic echo and their artistic self-revelation. All humankind is to him a gigantic harp in the hand of God, each nation constituting a string and producing a distinct tone, and all together, when touched by the hand of one divine master, joining in a jubilant accord of everlasting harmonies ; for the same God enabled them all to give utterance to their sorrows and their joys. This is all that they say, each in the tone given by God.

How Herder, through this way of looking at the matter, made an epoch in the appreciation of the sacred literature of Israel, I may assume to be generally known. While before it has been regarded solely as the supernaturally revealed word of God, the human factor wholly ignored, and while the father of the historical treatment of the Biblical books, the aged Johann Solomon Semler in Halle could see in the Old Testament nothing but the unedifying literature of an untutored people, Herder taught that it was the artistic product of the intellect of the Hebrew nation and at the same time a religious monument, and thus in a certain sense he re-discovered it for his contemporaries and for all succeeding generations and revealed its nobility. Whoever occupies himself to any extent with the sacred literature of Israel, and whoever loves it, owes to no one greater gratitude or sincerer admiration than to Johann Gottfried Herder.

A providential dispensation brought this seer and prophet into closest intimacy with Goethe at the most critical and important period for the latter, when the springtime of life was expanding within him, "and all the buds were swelling." As a matter of course, in the case of Goethe's far richer and far more comprehensive genius, such suggestions fell upon fruitful ground. He could not fail to see in the poetic activity of the various nations "a dance of spheres, harmonious amid tumult," as he expresses it in the poem entitled "Universal Literature." He found for the fact the expressive name "Universal Literature (*Weltliteratur*)."
Whatever beautiful and permanent work a man or a nation has achieved has been wrought not solely for this man or that nation, but for humanity, for the whole world. Before the universal power of poetry and beauty all national barriers fall, the bounds of its influence

extend as far as poetry and beauty reach, that is to say, wherever human hearts beat.

But this phrase coined by Goethe is used in a double sense: both as the confirmation of a fact and as a critical judgment. It is true that all the imaginative productions of mankind together constitute universal literature, as the imaginative manifestation of the human mind. This imaginative manifestation is innate to it, is part of its very nature, blows whither it listeth, being restricted to neither nationality nor race. Yet only a small number of poetic geniuses, indeed, only certain of their works, may be said in a special sense to belong to universal literature.

And what do we mean when we pronounce such a judgment?

We mean that these works not only have a significance for their nation, but that they belong to the world. Of course these are only the most prominent productions of the individual literatures, the most immortal creations, in which poetic genius has, so to speak, excelled itself, just as in a mountain panorama to one standing at a distance the lower mountains combine and blend into a compact and formless mass, while plastic and individual effects are produced only by the highest peaks, which tower like monarchs and in solitary majesty into the bright blue of the ether, kissed by the very first breath of the dawn while night still spreads her dusky pinions over hill and valley, and flushed by the last rays of the setting sun while deep twilight has already settled upon the earth. That is what we mean when we speak of universal literature, when we ascribe to a poetic product a place in universal literature.

And what are the claims that support this position?

That such works must be finished works of art is so much a matter of course that it need scarcely be said; for in every art only the finished has any claim to permanence. The essential qualifications for a place in universal literature have been shown plainly and clearly by Goethe in the already quoted poem to Herder,—

—"what everywhere should woo man
They too desired,—the universal human."

The content of such works must be universally human; they must arouse in us feelings which appertain to every human being as such, no matter in what zone or among what people he was born, they must be international in the pre-eminent sense of the word. But Goethe mentions a second essential requisite, in the words that they sing

"What has touched each man in his native air."

Such works must also be national in the pre-eminent sense of the word, must be characteristic of the nation which gave them birth, and at the same time the highest and purest artistic self-revelation of its special individuality.

There is scarcely anything on earth more sacred and divine than the individuality of man or of nation ; it is the first and indispensable duty of either to live out and develop it. Just as, in Rückert's profound saying, the rose adorns the garden by adorning itself, even so with man : the individual and the individual nation become valuable members of humanity precisely in so far as they develop their own distinct peculiarities, which could be developed in just the same way by no other man and no other people.

Accordingly the intellectual products that belong to universal literature must be finished works of art, representing in a specifically and distinctly national form a purely and universal human content, so that such a work could be produced in this manner only by the very people from which it comes.

After thus surveying the ground let us approach the treatment of our theme. This will develop in two directions. We must ask : Do the Psalms belong to universal literature at all in the pre-eminent sense intended by us ? And if we answer this question affirmatively, then : What is the significance of the Psalms in universal literature ?

Pray do not consider it pedantry, or even quite superfluous, if I ask first : Do the Psalms belong to universal literature at all ? Wide distribution alone is no criterion. The Koran, for instance, can rival the Bible in the matter of wide distribution, for it is the bible of 200,000,000 human beings in Europe, Asia, and Africa ; yet for my part I would never include the Koran in universal literature. True, it is national in a pre-eminent sense, a most typical expression of the peculiar combination of dry, sober reason and luxuriant, sensually glowing imagination which constitutes the national character of the Arab. But the Koran never got beyond the national, and rises to the height neither of the purely human nor of the finished work of art. The hopelessly dull prose portions and the over-ornate poetic pieces are unedifying to any but an Arab, unless he is constrained by religious considerations to regard this book as a divine revelation.

But the case is different with the Psalms. True, the one hundred and fifty different songs of which the collection consists are not all of equal value and significance ; in the familiar expression of Horace, even Homer sometimes nods, and thus a weak verse or

a dull episode creeps into his work. But we judge and estimate a poet or a literature by its best, and no competent critic who knows the Psalms will deny that among them are a considerable number of the finest and noblest things in all lyric poetry.

Moreover, almost any one will admit that the Psalms are products of the specific Israelitish intellect, and characteristic for the people of Israel. In what other literature, indeed, have we anything like them? True, poems have recently been found in cuneiform literature which have an undeniable resemblance to the Psalms; they are constructed with that peculiar parallelism of members, that thought-rhythm, which we know in Israelitish poetry, and even in the phraseology there is much that involuntarily suggests the language of the Psalms. But any one who should even remotely match these Assyrian and Babylonian psalms with the Hebrew, or undertake a serious comparison of the two, would thereby testify to his own literary incompetence; the very similarity of form and superficial features make us doubly conscious of the entire difference in spirit and content, just as one becomes fully aware of the whole greatness, nobility and incomparableness of Goethe's "*Hermann und Dorothea*" only by a comparison with Voss's "*Luise*."

But do the Psalms rise to the height of the purely human? Or must we not finally on the most important point judge them as we did the Koran? The Psalms are religious poems, the classical expression of the religion of Israel, and the question is finally reduced to the more important and vital one: Is the religion of Israel merely one conditioned and limited by its nationality, or has it a significance for the world, for mankind?

There are not a few, especially in our day, who unqualifiedly deny it this importance, and propose at the best to let it stand as a more or less interesting curiosity which belongs entirely to the field of history. And they offer reasons for this view. The sacred literature of Israel is said to contain unworthy conceptions of God. Certain it is that the Old Testament speaks of God in a very human fashion, when it tells how God walked at eventide in the Garden of Eden, how He closed the door of Noah's ark with His own hands, how He visited Abraham under the oaks of Mamre, and showed only His back to Moses, since the sight of His face is fatal to man: it attributes to God human form and human emotions, and in one passage of the Psalms we even read the unparalleled figure: "Then the Lord awakened like one out of sleep, like a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine." (Psalms lxxviii. 65.)

But one who takes offence at such expressions and regards them as demeaning to God only proves thereby that he lacks appreciation for religion and poetry. What appears to our local prejudice a defect in the Old Testament is in truth its chief strength and its highest claim to fame; for this is only a consequence of the fact that the religion of Israel took seriously the fundamental requisite of all religion—the requisite of a personal God.

Religion is the most personal matter in the universe, the surrender of one's own self to a higher being, not in order to lose oneself, but to find oneself, in order to receive oneself again from this higher being in the transfigured and more perfect form which an inner voice tells us corresponds to the deepest and truest essence of our self. Such a reciprocal giving and receiving, such a mutual relationship, is possible only between persons; we can just as little enter into a personal relation with a mere abstraction, a pure idea, as the feeling of love in the highest sense, such as pervades a man with irresistible power, lends wings to his soul and lifts him out of himself, is conceivable toward a statue, be it ever so true to life, or even much more beautiful and noble than any earthly being of flesh and blood. The famous phrase of the poet:

"And full of bliss or full of sorrow,
Each heart needs a companion heart,"

applies not only to the relation of man to man, but also to that of man to God.

Religion requires a God with whom man can enter into a personal, loving relation of heart to heart, to whom he can pour out his heart, to whom he can pray. It is not merely accidental, but very significant, that David Friedrich Strauss, in his *Old and New Faith*, having once surrendered the personality of God, answers the second question, "Have we still a religion?" no longer unconditionally, but with "That depends on how you understand it." This centre and soul of all religion, the belief in a personal God, is the pillar of the religion of Israel. And it fathomed this truth with incomparable and triumphant energy, and expressed it with incomparable poetic power.

But how is one to describe a personality or speak of it otherwise than in the forms and according to the manner of the only personality known to us: the human? It is the wonderful secret of the Old Testament, that, speaking in such a human fashion of God, it simply brings Him nearer to us without detracting in the least from His divinity. One may apply here the words of the poet:

" 'Tis bliss in his demesne to dwell
 And every heart near him doth swell,
 But loftiness and dignity
 Forbid familiarity."

Yes, 'tis bliss in his demesne to dwell, and every heart swells; he appears to us as a dear saviour and helper, as a trusted friend and counsellor, but familiarity, all irreverent approach is excluded—for even in this dear and intimate form He remains God, enthroned above this earthly sphere, to whom its inhabitants are as grasshoppers, to whom the nations are esteemed as a drop in the bucket and as the fine dust of the balance. Thence it comes accordingly—for me one of the strongest proofs of the divinity of the religion of Israel—that all who have broken with the belief in a personal God honor the Old Testament with their especial dislike; for the God of Israel is not to be mocked; there is no treating and bargaining with this mighty personality; He cannot be dissolved in any philosophic *aqua fortis* or vaporised in any pantheistic rector; He is the great I Am, the same yesterday, to-day and forever, who speaks and it is done, who commands and it comes to pass, who made the heavens by his word and all the hosts thereof by the breath of His mouth, who looketh on the earth and it trembleth, who toucheth the hills and they smoke, who withdraweth his breath and they perish and return to the dust of which they were made.

But does not the Old Testament represent its God as too human? Does it not ascribe to Him unattractive human qualities? For among them wrath plays a part, and there has been a great deal said about the wrathful God of the Jews, and this meets one constantly where the purpose is to disparage and discredit the religion and the sacred literature of Israel. True, the Old Testament speaks much and often and not infrequently in very strong terms of the wrath of God. In one Psalm it is said:

"Then the earth shook and trembled, the foundations also of the mountains moved and were shaken because He was wroth. There went up a smoke out of His nostrils, and fire out of His mouth devoured: coals were kindled by it." (Psalms xviii. 7-8.)

This, to be sure, seems more like Moloch than Jehovah. But let us look more closely. There is nowhere such a multitude of errors as concerning the wrath of God. What is wrath anyway? We think we have an example of it when we see any one scolding and ranting, railing and tearing, but such a person is simply in a rage, and rage and wrath are two very different things. Genuine

righteous wrath is one of the divinest passions of which man is capable, for it is the primal revolt of the divinity in man against all that is low and mean, because in this it perceives the degradation and desecration of his true nature. It is well known that great and superior men never appear greater and more superior, that their greatness and superiority never come more directly in evidence than when they are wroth with this genuine righteous wrath; how the figure seems to tower, the eye flashes lightning to consume what is mean with atoning and purifying flames,—a spectacle as grand and impressive as that of a thunder-storm, in which man has always believed that he heard most directly the voice of God. Wrath, in fact, is one of the most essential qualities of the divine image after which man was fashioned, and can we expect it to be absent from the archetype? The wrath of God is nothing else than the reaction of the divine holiness against all that is unholy and ungodly. For, as a passage of the Psalms has it: "Thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness; the evil man shall not sojourn with thee." (Psalms v. 4.) A God lacking in this trait would be like a man lacking in conscience. And to ascertain the true opinion of the Old Testament of the relation of this one trait to the complete conception of God, we need only to consider the verse of the Psalm (xxx. 5): "For his anger is but for a moment. His favor is for a lifetime; weeping may come in to lodge at even, but joy cometh in the morning."

Those that are so stirred up over the wrathful God of the Jews either do not know, or forget, that the divine wrath is not only a Jewish but also a Christian doctrine, so that all the stripes and kicks bestowed upon the Old Testament on this account fall equally upon the New Testament. And when those that fancy themselves to have a monopoly of Teutonic race consciousness, who hold up Siegfried and Wuotan against David and Jehovah, and, impelled by their Teutonic race conscience and sentiment, testify against the wrathful God of the Jews, we are really at a loss what to make of it. For the wrath of God especially is a genuine and distinctly Teutonic conception, for which the religion of the Teutonic races coined a special word, calling the wrath of the gods, "*ásmôdr*" (*áss*, a god, and *môdr*, wrath). The primitive Germans were far too keen and vigorous in their feeling, too genuine and noble children of nature not to conceive a militant and triumphant idea of moral and ethical power.

When we read in the Edda how Thor, in order to destroy the powers of darkness and give victory to the good,

"When he saw the heavens with wickedness heavy,
Seldom he lingers when the like he looks on,"

now, as the Voluspa says, seizes his fearful hammer in godlike wrath (*ásmôdi*) and bravely smites the terrible dragon, no one will deny that these are similar views to those in Isaiah, where we read: "And the Lord saw it, and it displeased Him that there was no judgment. And He saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was none to interpose: therefore His own arm brought salvation unto Him, and His righteousness, it upheld Him. And He put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation upon His head; and He put on garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak. According to their deeds accordingly He will repay, fury to His adversaries, recompense to His enemies. . . . So shall they fear the name of the Lord in the west and His glory from the rising of the sun.' (Isaiah lix, 15-19.)

This too shows what a decided kinship there is between the feeling of the Teutonic soul and that of Israel, a fact that was first pointed out, so far as I know, by a man whose name is not to be mentioned any longer in certain quarters without danger of being stoned,—I mean Heinrich Heine, who, however, was right in this as in many other things. And if, in spite of all this, the enemies of the Old Testament should insist upon their case,—for with unreason and unfairness the gods themselves contend in vain,—and grow indignant still in their Teutonic race temper at the wrathful God of the Jews,—well, then I profess myself on this point frankly and unreservedly a Jew, and dwell in the serene confidence that I am no worse a German and no worse a Christian for all that.

II.

But the contemners of the Old Testament discover in Hebrew literature, and especially in the Psalms, not only theological defects but profound ethical faults. On the one hand, where Israel is concerned, an arrogant, impious self-righteousness which approaches the Lord and demands reward of him, on the other hand, where non-Israelites are concerned, an inhuman, bloodthirsty temper which knows only feelings of hatred and revenge, and expects and even implores of God for this portion of mankind only wrath and damnation.

First let me make a general prefatory remark: that Israel also incurs the wrath of God and stands in constant expectation of it, is expressed in the Psalms themselves most clearly and most impres-

sively. And the judgments which the Psalmists hope and expect are aimed in very considerable measure not at the heathen, but at impious and apostate Israelites. As for the undeniable expressions of self-righteousness, if we are to judge justly we must not forget that they are balanced by at least an equal number of descriptions of the sinfulness and corruption of the people, painted in the very highest colors. So Israel did not flatter itself, nor try to delude itself as to its own condition; indeed, we cannot but admire its unsparing devotion to the truth in this respect. And in this matter of self-righteousness it should be observed further that such expressions are not intended in a personal and individual sense, but refer to Israel as a congregation, for the Psalms are the hymns of the congregation, and the "I" which speaks in them is the congregation. And was not Israel justified, when it considered the night and darkness of the heathenism round about it, in feeling a glad and grateful consciousness of the gift of grace which it had received in its revelation of God? Was it not actually justified, in view of the abominations of heathendom, in speaking of its righteousness and declaring that it had kept the commandments of the Lord? Even the Christian Church, in the so-called Apostles' Creed, characterises itself as the Communion of the Saints, and no Christian takes offence at this, although he knows that this communion by no means consists of saints alone, indeed that there is not in it a single one who could be regarded as a saint when measured by the standard of divine holiness.

Further there is absolutely no denying the expressions of unfriendliness toward others. For instance, the sixty-ninth Psalm, and still more the one hundred and ninth, contain a series of imprecations upon the enemy which are surely not exemplary, and which we cannot wish to be the expressions of the feelings of all men, and when at the close of the one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm, which begins so nobly and very impressively, the wish is expressed that the enemy may seize the children of the Babylonians and dash them to pieces on the stones, we must see in this an animosity which no one will venture to defend or excuse; I would gladly have my right hand cut off if this one verse were not in the Psalter. Later prophetic literature, too, furnishes disagreeable things in this respect, and even the Jews themselves have justly taken serious exception to the Book of Esther.

But here too it is after all but a matter of isolated instances and tendencies which are offset by equally strong ones of the opposite sort. How many Psalms speak of the godless and the enemy

with solemn ethical earnestness, but without passion and animosity, wishing only that they may be confused and brought to a recognition of their wickedness! Indeed, can this unrighteous zeal for God be rebuked better and more pointedly than in the precious words of the thirty-seventh Psalm, which our glorious Felix Mendelssohn used in his *Elijah* in order to check the fiery zeal of *Elijah* by the mouth of an angel: "Be still before the Lord and wait patiently for him; and He shall give thee the desires of thy heart. Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in Him and He shall bring it to pass. Cease from anger and forsake wrath: fret not thyself, it tendeth only to evil-doing?" (Psalms xxxvii. 7, 4, 5, 8.) Indeed, even those undeniably offensive and painful expressions, examined in the right light, are only the defects of virtues, excesses and excrescences of qualities in which the strength of the religion of Israel consists. This staking of the whole person for the cause of God, this complete surrender to it, is the mighty power of the religious sentiment.

The Israelite sees his God persecuted, hated, oppressed, assailed, when he himself thus suffers, and sees in the success of the wicked the failure of the sacred cause of his God.

"Should not I hate them that hate Thee, O Lord? I hate them with perfect hatred: I count them my enemies," the language of the one hundred and thirty-ninth Psalm, must be taken as the motto of all this sort of expressions: it is never a matter of personal hostility, but of the holy cause of God, in the feelings of these singers, and even the evils which they call down upon the enemy are only his own sins which God is asked to let fall back as misfortunes upon his head. Even where this judgment of God appears in the form of the victorious wars of Israel, it is never their own glory or their own honor which they seek: "Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy holy name give the glory." (Psalms cxv. 1.) "I will not trust in my bow, neither shall my sword save me; but Thou savest us from our adversaries and puttest to shame them that hate us." (Psalms xlv. 6, 7.) And what the singers have to suffer they are conscious of suffering for the sake of God and their faith: "For Thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter," laments the singer of the forty-fourth Psalm (v. 22), and in the much-quoted Psalm of vengeance, the sixty-ninth, we read: "O God, thou knowest my foolishness, and my sins are not hid from thee. Let not them that wait on thee be ashamed through me, O Lord God of hosts: let not those that seek Thee be brought to dishonor

through me, O God of Israel! Because for Thy sake I have borne reproach; shame hath covered my face. For the zeal of Thine house hath eaten me up; and the reproaches of them that reproach Thee are fallen upon me." (v. 5-8.) Their cause is also God's cause, and their honor God's honor. Were the heathen, then, to be suffered to continually shout in mockery, "Where is then your God?" Often the singers express most touchingly how difficult it is to restrain themselves and keep still in the presence of this apparent defeat of the cause of God, and amid the arrogant sneers of the ungodly victors.

No, here too the root is not evil; we have here only the ferment of an unclarified vintage that has been pressed from noble grapes. We all know that even the sun has spots, and yet it is and always will be to us the symbol of brightness and purity. So we may admit that there are some dark spots in the Psalms, and yet we may justly hold to their predominantly sunny quality; they offer us relatively so much more that is purely and truly human than even from this standpoint we need not feel compelled to surrender their claim to a place in universal literature.

But what, then, is their significance in universal literature?

They are for the world what they were for Israel, the prayer-book and hymn-book. In fact we have in the Psalms the purest expression of the religious sentiment in the artistic form of the lyric, the crown of sacred poetry. Their wealth, like life, is inexhaustible; all the situations and events of life are viewed in the light of godly meditation and consecrated and ennobled by piety, so that they are transfigured into prayers and hymns. In them we hear every chord struck, and all with equal purity and strength: lamentation and mourning, confession and penitence, prayer and praise, thanksgiving and adoration. There is scarcely a situation or a mood imaginable which has not found its classic expression in the Psalter.

John Calvin, probably the greatest of all commentators upon the Psalms, calls the Psalter for this reason an anatomy of the soul, saying that the human soul knows no mood nor impulse that is not mirrored in the Psalms. And Martin Luther, spiritually the most closely akin to the Psalmist, says in his preface to the Psalter: "Thence too it comes that the Psalter is the book of all the saints, and that every one, whatever his business may be, finds in it psalms and sayings which are adapted to his affairs and fit him as if they had been composed expressly on his account, such that he himself could neither compose nor invent nor wish them bet-

ter." Shall we test this utterance of Luther? Certainly, for after having said so much about the Psalms, we surely shall wish to hear something from the Psalms themselves.

Let us begin with pleasant pictures. "O taste and see that the Lord is good" (Psalms xxxiv. 8), thus the Psalmist himself invites us. "Oh how great is Thy goodness, which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee, which Thou hast wrought for them that put their trust in Thee before the sons of men!" (Psalms xxxi. 19) thus another cries in adoration. "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage" (Psalms xvi. 6), we hear a third one sing.

"Thy loving kindness, O Lord, is in the heavens; Thy faithfulness reacheth unto the skies. Thy righteousness is like the mountains of God; Thy judgments are a great deep; Lord, Thou preservest man and beast. How precious is Thy loving kindness, O God! And the children of men take refuge under the shadow of Thy wings. They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of Thy house; and Thou shalt make them drink of the river of Thy pleasures. For with Thee is the fountain of life; in Thy light shall we see light. O continue Thy loving kindness unto them that know Thee, and Thy righteousness to the upright in heart." (Psalms xxxvi. 5-10.) And this feeling has found its classic expression in the universally known twenty-third Psalm, "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want," and whenever the heart feels constrained to offer its gratitude to the giver of all these good gifts, how can it be done more briefly, more simply, and yet more expressively than in the words of the Psalm, "Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good, and His mercy endureth forever?" (Psalms cxviii. 1.) And where is the sacred duty of thanksgiving brought home to the heart of every man more touchingly and more impressively than in the words of the Psalm: "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits?" (Psalms ciii. 1-2.) And where is there a more forcible expression of the feeling of security in the strong hand of God and of His mighty protection, than in the words of the Psalm: "The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the stronghold of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?" (Psalms xxvii. 1.) "The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge" (Psalms xlv. 7); "God grants that I praise His word; in God have I put my trust, I will not be afraid; what can flesh do unto me?" And the repose and the peace which then enter the heart are depicted in the saying: "My soul waiteth in silence for God; from Him

cometh my salvation. He is my rock and my salvation, He is my high tower; I shall not be greatly moved." (Psalms lxii. 1-2.) And the mighty "Nevertheless" of faith, which hopes even where it cannot see,—with what invincible power we hear it in the words: "Nevertheless¹ God is good to Israel, even to such as are pure in heart." For no one is disappointed who waits upon God, and the faithfulness of God is far above the faithfulness of the most faithful men: "My father and my mother have forsaken me, but the Lord will take me up." (Psalms xxvii. 10.) The sense of communion with God overcomes all grief and sorrow; it outweighs a world, and nothing can deprive us of this highest of possessions. "If I have but Thee I care for neither heaven nor earth. Though my flesh and my heart fail, yet is God the strength of my heart and my portion forever." (Psalms lxxiii. 25.) Where was ever the longing for God expressed more powerfully and more effectively than in the forty-second Psalm: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God. When shall I come to appear before God?" (Psalms xlii. 1-2). And where shall we find expressed more concisely and more movingly the anxious waiting upon God and the longing watching for Him amid feelings of temporary desertion by Him, than in that sighing aspiration, only a breath as it were, of the sixth Psalm: "My soul is sore vexed. And Thou, O Lord, how long?" or in the question filled with mortal anguish, of the twenty-second Psalm: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" And just here I must not fail to point out a characteristic fact. It is well known that lamentation occupies much space in the Psalter. But with the single exception of the eighty-eighth Psalm not one of these hymns is all lamentation: they all overcome the sorrow and grief and wrestle their way out to hope and faith so that the lamentation finally ends with praise and thanks. We find the most touching and stirring example of this in the recurring verse of the forty-second Psalm, where we can still see in the confidently hopeful eye of the singer the gleam of the tear which his grief has forced from him: "Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise Him, who is the health of my countenance and my God." (v. 5.) That is the manly and heroic trait in Israelitish piety, which is one of its most precious treasures and a model to the whole world, the "universal human, which everywhere should woo man."

¹ The English version has here "Surely."

And in the Psalter, too, as every one knows, we find the profoundest and most heart-stirring tones of sin and penitence, as well as the clearest and most uplifting language of mercy and forgiveness. "If Thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?" (Psalms cxxx. 3.) "Mine iniquities are more than the hairs of my head, and my heart hath failed me." (Psalms xl. 12.) "Who can discern his errors? cleanse Thou me from secret faults." (Psalms xix. 12.) And then: "He dealeth not with us after our sins nor rewardeth us after our iniquities. For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is His mercy toward them that fear Him. As far as the East is from the West so far hath He removed our transgressions from us. Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him." (Psalms ciii. 10-13.) And lest in the light of the mercy of God the solemnity of His holiness be forgotten, we read in the one hundred and thirtieth Psalm the profound saying: "For there is forgiveness with Thee that Thou mayest be feared." (v. 4.)

And now, a few sayings of the Psalms for human relationships. Can peace and harmony be commended more simply and more urgently than in the language of the singer of the one hundred and thirty-third Psalm: "Behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" And can domestic happiness and the blessings of family life be depicted more delightfully and in a way that goes more to our hearts than in the language of the singer of the one hundred and twenty-eighth Psalm: "Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord, that walketh in His ways. For thou shalt eat the labor of thine hands: happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee. Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine in the innermost parts of thy house, thy sons like olive plants around thy table. Behold, thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord."

And yet one more glance, this time at the nature poetry in the Psalter, which was admired and praised by no less a master than Alexander von Humboldt. The earth is the Lord's and all that is therein, the world and they that dwell thereon, and so the Israelite sees God everywhere in nature; he does not make nature God, but it is to him a revelation of God. "Nature," says Humboldt, "is not described as something existing independently and glorified by its own beauty; it always presents itself to the Hebrew singer as related to a higher, overruling spiritual power. Nature is to him a work of orderly creation, the living expression of the omnipresence of God in the elements of the world of sense."

I will only refer to the splendid Psalm of thanksgiving for harvest, the sixty-fifth: "Thou crownest the year with Thy goodness, and Thy paths drop fatness;" to the magnificent twenty-ninth Psalm, the storm Psalm, which depicts with sublime majesty the glory of God in the thunder-storm, and above all to the one hundred and fourth: "O Lord, how great and manifold are Thy works; in wisdom hast Thou made them all: the earth is full of Thy goodness"—a hymn which has not its equal in all literature. "One is disposed to say," as Humboldt puts it, "that the picture of the whole cosmos is presented in this one psalm, the one hundred and fourth. . . . We marvel at seeing the universe, heaven and earth, depicted in a lyric composition of such slight compass with a few great touches. Contrasted with the animated primal life of nature, we have here the noiseless, toilsome labors of man from the rising of the sun to the close of his day's work in the evening." And where else is man more profoundly comprehended and depicted as but a tiny atom in nature, and yet in accordance with his royal mastery in it, than in the eighth Psalm? Where is the whole creation as a thousand-voiced proclamation of the glory of its creator better depicted than in the nineteenth Psalm, in which the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handiwork, the sun rises as a bridegroom cometh forth out of his chamber and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race!

And of still another sort of poetry, the didactic aphorism, do we find in the Psalter matchless jewels. A considerable number of the Psalms are like necklaces, where the most profound sentences, the most glorious thoughts are strung pearl on pearl. Wherever we turn our gaze, a rich canopy, star after star, an inexhaustible treasury!

Permit me in closing to mention a recent personal experience of mine, illustrating the manner in which the Psalms give us the fitting word for every situation in life. One who for days and weeks has watched in anguish over the life that is dearest to him on earth,—when he has already prepared to surrender it, there comes a turn for the better, and the angel of death who has already spread his dark wings over the victim, departs, and life returns,—who could express what overwhelms his deeply stirred heart in such a moment save in the words of the Psalm: "God is unto us a God of deliverances; and unto the Lord belongeth escape even from death." (Psalms lxxviii. 20.)

The Psalms are the prayer-book and hymn-book of Israel; and

as Israel is pre-eminently the religious race, they are the prayer-book and the hymn-book of the whole world, or at least deserve to be. Of all the precious things which Israel has given mankind they are perhaps the most precious. They resound, and will continue to resound, as long as there shall be men, created in the image of God, in whose hearts the sacred fire of religion shines and glows; for they are religion itself put into speech. To them applies what one of the noblest of them says of the revelation of God in nature: "That is neither speech nor language, the voice of which would be unintelligible. Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world." (Psalms xix. 4.)

Religion itself put into speech for all mankind,—that is the significance of the Psalms in universal literature.

EMILE ZOLA.

BY ARTHUR MAC DONALD.

THE study of any human being with the means at present in the hands of science would make a volume. Such an investigation of modern civilised man is one of the most recent methods of empirical inquiry. It is paradoxical that man is the last object to be thoroughly studied by man. There is less definite knowledge of modern man than of uncivilised man; there is more definite knowledge about rocks and plants, than about man, and though we have made sciences of the former, a science of human beings hardly exists.

The term "science" has been applied to sociology, criminology, and like studies, but they are only sciences by courtesy, and not in the rigid sense of the word; for until there has been a systematic study of large numbers of individual persons, it is difficult to see how sufficient knowledge can be established to constitute sociology a science. The instrumental investigation of man, as carried on at present, is simply a more precise method of procedure, presenting the effects of mental, moral, and physical forces upon the body, of many of which we are unconscious. Empirical methods of studying modern man are being undertaken in many countries, and thus we may come to have in the future an anthropology of the living as well as of the dead.

The most recent study and perhaps the most thorough one ever made of an individual in society (a number have been made on criminals in prison¹), is an investigation of Zola, conducted by a number of French specialists.²

Zola, after reading the results of these studies that he had per-

¹ See *L'Homme Criminal*, by Lombroso, and *Le Type-Criminal*, by the writer.

² Toulouse, Manouvrier, Bertillon, Black, Huchard, Joffry, Robin, Mofet, Sarveaux, Bonnier, Henry, Phillippe, Crepieux-Jamin, Passy, and Galippe.

mitted the scientists to make on him, says in brief: "I have read these pages, they have interested me much and I willingly grant authority to publish them as authentic and true; for I have one desire in life, the truth, and one purpose, to make the most of truth. That which tends to truth cannot but be excellent. I give this authority because I have never hidden anything; I have lived openly, spoken freely and without fear that which I believed to be good and useful. In the thousands of pages I have written, I have nothing to withdraw. If my works have certain vices, they may be good for something in serving as a lesson. This study of me is about one who has given his life to work and dedicated to this work all his physical, mental, and moral forces."

ANTECEDENTS.

It seems probable that Zola inherited from his parents and grandparents a vigorous physique and from his mother a nervous gout or neuro-arthritic condition.

Zola was born at Paris on April 2, 1840. He was not nursed by his mother. He was weaned at the normal time. He did not



ZOLA AT SIX YEARS.

have convulsions, though in his early infancy he was puny and easily alarmed. He began to walk at the usual age. He was backward in learning to talk; the letter "s" was pronounced like "t," and at present there is a trace of this defect. At the age of two, Zola was attacked with a violent fever, probably cerebral; for some hours he was thought to be dead. Between the ages of six and seven he was affected with other troubles, about which little is known; they necessitated numerous blisters applied to both arms. After recovery he remained pale and delicate, but later he became strong with a tendency to corpulency, which has increased with

age. The picture reproduced here is one taken of Zola when six years of age.

It shows him as a strong child, with a somewhat lymphatic look. The left eye is less open than the right, on account of an orbicular contraction which is still persistent.

The signs of puberty were manifested between thirteen and fourteen, and his sexual instinct was always characterised by a certain timidity, as is often the case with neuropathic persons on account of inhibitory ideas.

Zola finished his studies at Paris at eighteen. At this time he had a severe attack of typhoid fever. The disease lasted six weeks ; he was delirious in its acute stages. He remembers the intense heat in his feet and nausea and nightmare with sensations of balancing in space.

After he had abandoned his studies at the Lycée¹ in Paris, he had a life of material privations, so much so at times, that he remained in bed in order to keep warm. This in connexion with his intense intellectual activity afforded sufficient cause to give form to his congenital neurotic condition. His nervous troubles increased more and more ; from the age of twenty to forty, there were intestinal pains ; from forty-five to fifty they took the form of cystitis and angina pectoris with pains in the left arm. At thirty-five he ceased to smoke on account of his cardiac troubles. About this time morbid ideas made their appearance ; but such ideas do not seem to have had any antecedents in his youth. When Zola began to be successful, he was more at ease, his health was better ; he increased in size and weight, so much so, that the least exertion put him out of breath. He had symptoms of gastric dilatation, pyrosis, stomachal pains, and drowsiness after eating. He resolved on a dietetical régime, which he continues in part to-day ; never drinking anything during a meal, and never wine ; during the day he takes a litre of tea. In eighteen months he lost forty pounds. Since infancy, and especially since his attack of typhoid fever, his teeth have been bad ; their condition was attributed to a general feebleness following upon his loss of flesh.

MENTAL EVOLUTION.

Zola was not a precocious child, he did not know how to read at seven. At this time his father and mother went to Aix. He remained there five years, from seven to twelve ; during this time he did not learn very much, but enjoyed much freedom in out-door recreation. As early as ten he had his little love affairs ; at twelve they became less superficial and more complicated, although purely mental. Notwithstanding this seeming precocity, women did not play a great rôle in his life as a young man. With his comrades he

¹ Our grammar and high school, combined with our college, would correspond to the Lycée.

was reserved, not making acquaintances easily, but affectionate towards those who were his friends. This reserve was probably increased by his timidity; it is a permanent trait in his character.

At twelve he entered the eighth class at the Lycée in Aix; he was much behind in his studies, being at the foot of his class. But he went to work seriously and gained several prizes at the end of the year, and continued doing well in the subsequent years. He chose the scientific course as much on account of his repugnance to the dead languages, especially Greek, as by his attraction for natural science. He was a methodical and practical student, not lazy, not over-enthusiastic. Zola was versed in what may be called the new art of the future, the art of knowing what to omit, to do only the indispensable; this was fundamental in his character.

When eighteen he left Aix with his parents to return to Paris, where he entered the Lycée to continue his studies. But he felt somewhat behind his comrades; they also made sport of him on account of his provincial accent. He did not go with any of the students. Becoming discouraged and disgusted with classical training, he did not follow the course and did not do well in his other studies. After finishing philosophy he presented himself for the baccalaureate in science, but did not pass in German history and even failed in literature.

Now thrown upon the world with his mother, who had lost little by little all her resources, his natural disposition caused him to utilise the conditions of poverty, which in the lives of most men seem to be necessary to develop personality to its utmost possibility. He was forced to start out independently, with neither father nor brother, with whom he could discuss his opinions; he was free to choose his own path; to this Zola attributes his pursuit of independent literature.

He assisted his mother in housekeeping, kept strict account of all the details and finances. He was obliged to live among the poor of Paris. It is interesting to note how he utilised those experiences in his writings.

Zola did not plan at first to live by his pen, for he was not conscious of his great literary talent. At fifteen he felt a taste for literature and read with two friends a little of everything. The three enjoyed Hugo and Musset the most. They preferred long walks into the country, rather than the pleasures of the theatre or games. Zola could not choose any of the liberal professions, because he was not a Bachelor of Arts; so as he himself says, he was forced to take to literature, because there was nothing else to do. But literature

pleased him and gradually he found that he could earn enough to live by his writings.

GENERAL PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Zola is now fifty-seven years of age. He is below medium stature and of robust appearance. The chest is large, the shoulders high and narrow, the muscles are fairly developed, although he exercises little. The skin is white and wrinkled in places; his hair and beard were dark, but to-day they are grey; the head and face are large, the features are accentuated; his look is searching; but



PORTRAITS OF ZOLA AT FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS.

rendered somewhat vague by near-sightedness. In general, his physiognomy expresses continuous reflexion of a serious nature. His voice is good but the final letters are sometimes uttered in falsetto.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXAMINATION.

Before giving some of the results of these investigations in detail, we may ask as to the utility of so many minute measurements.

It is true that in the modern psychophysical and anthropological mode of inquiry, there is a danger of making too fine distinctions, such as insisting on half-millimetres, or valuing too much a difference of a few thousandths of a second, or of massing together a large number of facts, which like a pile of bricks, have no definite relation to each other. But new lines of study require more detail.

It is better to have too many facts than too few. For by leaving out data in a preliminary line of inquiry, we assume that we know in advance what material will be important and what not important and thus exclude facts for theoretical reasons, allowing presuppositions undue influence. If we knew beforehand what was of most value, the investigation might be superfluous.

The utilitarian objection to empirical inquiry fails to understand the foundation of all love of knowledge. It is frequently asked what is the use of this or that experiment, "will any good come out of it," "will any evils of society be lessened," etc., etc. It may be answered that if sociological evils are to be remedied, the first step is to find out their *causes* definitely, and experimental investigation is one of the best methods. But the primary idea of science is truth for its own sake, and under the inspiration of this ideal, most of the discoveries of utility to humanity have been made. In all experimental work much may be done that subsequently is seen to have been unnecessary. But often the real significance of a fact cannot be known, until other facts have been brought to light.

We give some of the anthropometrical measurements and descriptions made by Bertillon, the inventor of the "Bertillon System of Identification," and by Manouvrier the distinguished physical anthropologist:

ANTHROPOMETRICAL.

Height, 1 m. 705 mm.	Length of left foot, 262 mm.
Sitting height, 890 mm.	Length of right foot, 269 mm.
Arm reach, 1 m. 770 mm.	Vertical diameter of head, 143 mm.
Maximum length of head, 191 mm.	Bizygomatic diameter of head, 146 mm.
Maximum width of head, 156 mm.	Chest girth, 1 m. 60 mm.
Cephalic Index, 81 mm.	Waist girth, 1 m. 70 mm.
Length of right ear, 69 mm.	Weight, 160 pounds.
Width of right ear, 31 mm.	

Forehead: Superciliary arches medium; inclination medium; height and length above average; several horizontal wrinkles.

Color of left iris: Aureola chestnut, periphery greenish slate.

Nose: Root of medium depth; ridge rectilinear; base slightly elevated; medium in height and prominence; tip bilobed; nostrils wide.

Lips: Nasolabial height medium; upper lip prominent, medium thick.

Chin: Inclination prominent; height low.

Mouth: Medium in size; corners lowered.

Right ear: Original ridge medium; superior and posterior ridge large.

Lobe: Contour square; slightly adherent to cheek; height large.

Anti-tragus: Inclination oblique; profile rectilinear; reversion (turning over) intermediate; small in size.

Folds: Inferior concave; superior intermediate; rectilinear in form.

Left ear: Original ridge small; superior ridge medium; posterior ridge large.

Lobe: Contour square, slightly adherent to cheek; height large.

Anti-tragus: Inclination oblique; profile rectilinear; reversion (turning over) intermediate; small in size.

Folds: Inferior concave; superior intermediate; rectilinear in form.

Eyelids: Palpebral fissure or slit medium; superior left one uncovered.

Hair: Chestnut; insertion in points.

Beard: Light chestnut, turning to gray.

PHYSICAL PECULIARITIES.

Zola is a little below the average in height and sitting height, but in arm-reach he is about the average. His head is more than average in size; but this would not necessarily mean a larger brain, on account of the thickness of the bones of the cranium being unknown.

The anti-tragus of the ears is almost absent and the border adheres to the cheek. The upper left eyelid is somewhat low. The wrinkles of the forehead are very old, existing as early as the age of six; so that at that time he was called serious or grave. Manouvrier regards these wrinkles as a sign of emotivity. Wrinkles in London school children were shown by Warner¹ to indicate dullness; in examining school children in this country, the writer has found this to be a general truth, except where children are near-sighted, in which case the wrinkles may be due to the strain of the eyes. Wrinkles may be normal in mature people, but not in children. One cause of the wrinkles may be this: a dull child finding its lessons difficult, must make more of an effort or strain, which is expressed by wrinkles on the forehead; repetition gives these wrinkles permanence in early life. Zola's near-sightedness may account for the wrinkles in his childhood. There are vertical wrinkles in front of the ear especially on the left side; Zola hears best on this side. Toulouse thinks this might indicate more active movements in connexion with hearing.

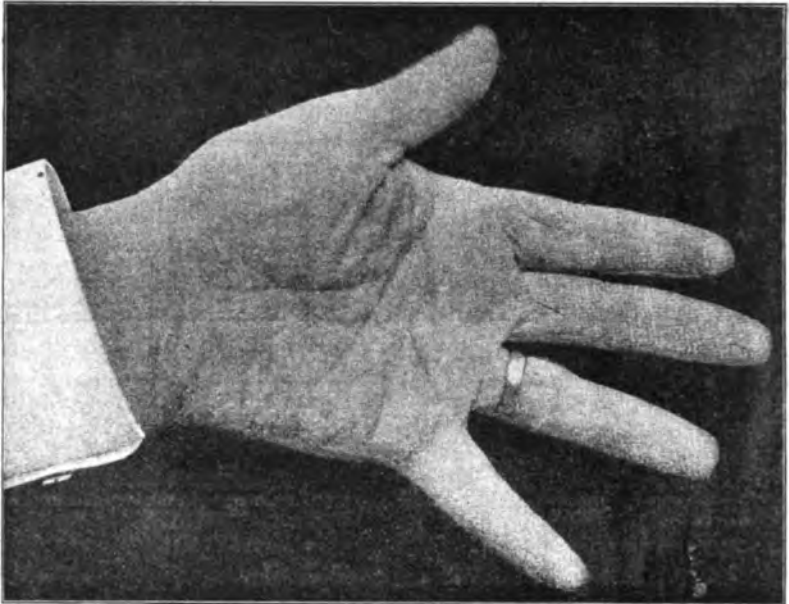
When in a state of repose and looking at a distance, the left eyebrow is notably lowered; this is probably due to an orbicular contraction of long standing and can be considered as a neuropathic stigma.

FORM OF ZOLA'S HANDS.

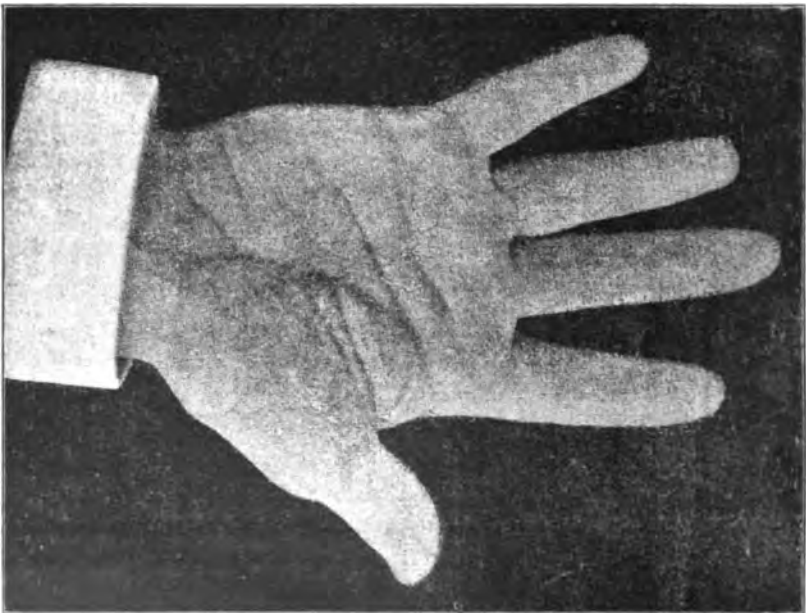
His hands are 112 millimetres in breadth and 110 millimetres in length, they are broad rather than long, emphasising the human

¹ Warner, Francis. "On Mental Condition of 50,000 London School Children." See *Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education 1890-1891*, Vol. 2, pp. 1681-1138.

PALM OF LEFT HAND.



PALM OF RIGHT HAND.



type as distinguished from the simian. The two median folds in the palms unite at their radial extremities. When the hand is flat and the thumb rests against the index finger, the muscular extension into the interosseous space is greatly increased. This indicates, according to Féré, a great possibility of movement. The finger nails are small and round.

FINGER IMPRINTS.

The upper column in the figure represents the imprints of the left hand, the lower column those of the right hand. The imprints of the thumbs begin at the extreme left and follow in succession, ending with those of the little fingers.



FINGER IMPRINTS.

In accordance with the general principle that complexity of function and design are parallel, Féré finds among the degenerate the most simple forms as that of an arch; this arch he finds in the imprint of Zola's middle left finger. But this idea has not been confirmed as yet by other investigators.

The imprints of the left-hand fingers, especially the three last, are not so clear, the skin at the ends being very wrinkled; the little hairs are almost effaced. This may be because these fingers are used less; for age affects immediately those functions the least exercised. Galton affirms that in all his investigations he has not as yet found any relation between finger imprints and moral or other characteristics.

Toulouse finds Zola, from an anatomical point of view, free

from any notable defects which would make him pass beyond the limits of normal variation.

CIRCULATORY ORGANS.

The circulatory organs are sound ; the pulse slow (fifty five) ; the form of pulse taken by the sphygmograph of Marey is here given :



PULSE, TRACED BY SPHYGMOGRAPH, REDUCED ONE NINTH IN SIZE.

The line of ascension is straight, the line of descension is undulated ; the slight polyerotism,¹ or wave-like line, indicates great arterial elasticity. Arterial pressure is strong, being about nine hundred and fifty grams. Sometimes there are pains in the thoracic region on the left with constrictive sensations and irradiation in the left arm ; this angina symptom alternates with crises of false cystitis.

There is a constant capillary pulse, indicated thus :



CAPILLARY PULSE FROM PLETHYSMOGRAPH OF HALLIOW AND COMPE.

RESPIRATION.

Zola was rarely subject to colds before forty-five, but since then he has become more susceptible. His respiration is calm, regular, and of normal frequency, about eighteen a minute. The movement of the chest in respiration as traced by the pneumograph is here given :

¹A condition of secondary waves or beats of the heart.



RESPIRATION TRACED BY PNEUMOGRAPH, REDUCED THREE FIFTHS.

The ascending line represents inspiration, it is shorter and straighter than the descending line, which represents expiration.

The writer has endeavored to show experimentally the effects of emotional and mental states on the respiration, and the result would seem to indicate, that every thought and feeling affects the respiration, the sensibilities, and circulation. The object of such investigation is to measure these effects, however slight they may be. By making such studies on large numbers of persons, it may be possible to gain more definite knowledge of the causes of our mental, moral, and emotional experiences in life.

DIGESTIVE APPARATUS.

The teeth are bad. The alveolar arch is not normal. The digestive functions have been troublesome for a long time; but of late they have very much improved by a special regime; at 9 a. m. a piece of dry bread without drink; at 1 p. m. a light breakfast without liquid or food containing starch; at 5 p. m. some cake with tea; at 7:30 p. m. a light dinner; at 10 p. m. two cups of tea; no wine. When riding bicycle Zola takes a great deal of tea, as much as one litre per day. In this way he has kept his corpulency in check. To hold oneself to such a regime indicates great tenacity.

MUSCULAR SYSTEM.

The muscles are well developed, although little exercised; but lately Zola has taken moderate exercise on a bicycle. When resting he has a sensation of numbness; there is also a trembling of the fingers in fine movements; in voluntary movements it is exaggerated so that he sometimes turns a tumbler over, when trying to drink from it. This phase of his nervous troubles is still more exaggerated by emotion, so that he has not been able to read a public address.

The strength of his right-hand grasp, as indicated by the dynamometer, is forty-two kilograms; that of his left hand, thirty-six kilograms. This power of grasp seems to vary under the influence of certain excitation. One day when he felt dejected, the power of

grasp of both hands was at the maximum. It is well known how music affects the power of hand grasp.

The functions of hand and arm are considered of much importance because they appear in close relation with the brain.

NERVOUS SYSTEM.

The sensibility of the skin is very developed ; this may be due in part to the abundance of little hairs on the skin, which extend much beyond the normal with Zola. The sensitiveness of heat and cold is very great. Reflex sensibility is normal, but tendon reflexes are somewhat exaggerated. The muscular sense seems normal.

When standing there is a slight oscillation to the right, if the eyes are closed and the feet placed together. Zola is troubled with vertigo. He is exceedingly sensitive to pain.

Sleep, which is a general function of the nervous system, is good, yet after seven or eight hours of rest he awakes with a feeling of fatigue, with cramps in the whole body and with a sensation of painful lassitude.

Zola's nervous system in its entirety presents cardiac spasms, cramps, pollakiuria, trembling, etc. It is notably subject to crises of pain, which date from the age of twenty. From this time on to forty there were periods of nervous colic. From forty-five to fifty these crises took the form of angina pectoris, of acute cystitis and of articular rheumatisms. At present these troubles are less, but they are replaced by a state of almost constant feebleness and irritability. Sometimes gastric troubles are the occasion of nervous manifestations, but at present it is intellectual or muscular effort which provokes them ; sometimes the slightest thing is sufficient to awake them, such as a too close fitting garment ; thus the squeezing in a crowd once provoked a crisis of agony with false angina pectoris ; so the pricking of his finger has been felt in his arm for several hours.

There exists then in Zola a certain lack of nervous equilibrium, an exaggerated morbid emotivity, which under the influence of slight excitations, causes disordered and painful reactions.

This condition frequently accompanies intellectual superiority, develops with exercise of brain and mind, and tends gradually to increase the lack of nervous equilibrium.

PSYCHOPHYSICAL EXAMINATION.

Psychophysical examination is difficult with a neuropathic subject. Mental experiments or tests are subject to many variations,

their results are at best approximate, yet within certain limits they can indicate tendencies in a personality that may be as valuable to know as any physical data. Another difficulty is that many of the tests have not been made on a sufficient number of persons to form any basis for comparison. Such results will be of more value in the future, when the study of living men shall have reached a more developed stage.

SENSATION AND PERCEPTION.

Sensation from one point of view is physiological, from another standpoint, it is psychical; that is, it is perception. The tactile perceptions, like the sensations, are generally acute in Zola. Thus tests were made in the perception of surface, of form, of thickness, and of weight. Visual perceptions are feeble owing to near-sightedness; they consisted in distinguishing length, surface, muscular movements, and color.

In perceptions of hearing, Zola shows a very poor musical ear. He has neither colored audition, nor any psychical analogue. Perceptions of smell are not quantitative, but in comparing and distinguishing odors he shows the finest precision. One of his distractions is to tell what he is to have for dinner; he can distinguish tomatoes, chicken, mutton, and different species of fish. His memory of olfactory sensations is very strong. Odors play a prominent rôle in his writings as well as his life. There is nothing peculiar in his perception of taste, of time, or of space.

The nature of his mental images is auditive, that is, in the art of verbal thinking he tends to make use of the auditive images of the word.

In speaking he has no qualities of an oratorical nature; he is very nervous and timid, and emotion inhibits or paralyses him. He also has a poor memory of words, phrases or constructions. He has never been able to learn another language. He has tried to commit his discourses to memory, but he has only increased his difficulties.

His hand-writing varies very much. In copies, the small letters are normal, inclined to the right and not higher than two millimetres; in his note book, the letters reach five millimetres in height and vary continually in inclination, corresponding to the intensity of his thought.

MEMORY.

Zola remembers one or two events that occurred when he was two years old. As a boy, he had an excellent memory. After his

third year his memory became less reliable. Tests were made on his tactile and visual sensations, on his memory of objects, of form, of surface, color, movement, of ideas, of letters, of words, phrases, and figures.

As a result of these experiments in memory, his involuntary memory is much more feeble than his voluntary memory. The degree of his power of retention depends much upon the utility of the thing to be remembered, thus enabling him to employ his memory to the best advantage and with the least loss. He uses auditive images rather than visual images. While sight is the door to memory, the ear fixes and reveals memory. Zola is a visualist for objects and an auditive for words.

ATTENTION.

Concentration of attention with Zola is not long. He does not study with success longer than three hours at a time ; during most of this time he can hold his attention to work in hand without wandering on subjects that have nothing to do with the task before him. While then his attention is short, it is intense and is like to his muscular effort.

He easily becomes oblivious to all surroundings when studying. Thus when coming down to breakfast he finds that the bell has been ringing many times, the dog barking a long time, and that the weather has suddenly changed. At table, in the street, or in an ordinary conversation his power of attention is small ; he is often absorbed in reflexion, meeting acquaintances, apparently looking at them and yet not recognising them. His faculty of observation is very much developed, in addition to being greatly exercised.

REACTION TIME.

His reaction time is 136 thousandths of a second, which is less than the general average, but its extreme regularity indicates power of attention and assimilation. The motor reactions are shorter than the sensorial. The reactions of choice are a little shorter than the normal.

IDEAS OF ZOLA.

His knowledge is extensive if not profound ; he was attracted to the natural and medical sciences.

Genius according to Zola is not rarity nor perfection ; its three characteristics are creation of being, power, and fecundity ; genius reproduces nature with intensity.

Right is the application of justice. There is an antithesis between natural law and written law, which is a bad application of justice to society.

Justice is a social idea ; it does not exist in nature ; equality is not in the nature of things.

Woman has less equilibrium and initiative than man and in general she is inferior to man ; yet, in little things she is superior to her husband.

Zola does not respond to metaphysical ideas ; he is a positivist ; yet he believes in complete annihilation after death. God for him is a naïve hypothesis and all affirmations of religious dogma seem inconsistent and without common sense.

He bases morality on observation of moral laws. He has a pagan conception of life ; that which is healthful does not injure ; that which is outside of nature is incomprehensible. His ideas of order and method are very developed, he is a slave to them ; they extend from the care of his toilet to the composition of his works. Everything has its place in his apartment ; disorder pains him ; his study table is so well arranged that one would not know that he used it ; he classifies his work in envelopes. He keeps the letters he receives, although the most of them are of no use to him.

EMOTIVITY.

While physically Zola is somewhat abnormal in his sensations, yet not so in all his manifestations of sensibility. The simple emotions of joy and sadness are intense. Health, self-control, and an easy functioning of his organism give him great pleasure. Moral pain depresses him, but without causing violent reaction. His sympathy is with natural things ; it is not quickly aroused. He does not make acquaintances easily.

As to his taste, there are three things most beautiful : youth, health, and goodness. He loves jewels and steam engines, that is, the fineness and solidity of labor. He loves city scenes and landscapes. In the world of colors, he prefers red, yellow, and green, and faded shades. In odors, he prefers the natural ones, the flowers, but never artificial ones. He likes sweet things.

Fear is the principal emotion in him connected with the instinct of self-preservation. He has not much fear of the bicycle, but he does fear to ride through a forest at night. He has no fear of dying suddenly. He has no fear of being buried alive, yet sometimes when in a tunnel on a railroad train, he has been beset with the idea of the two ends of the tunnel falling in and burying him.

He never has had any ideas of suicide. He sometimes becomes angry at illogical things. The motives which provoke him most easily, are not, as with the majority of men, personal assaults ; but any injury to his moral feeling, especially if he is accused of injustice, arouses him.

Zola likes the young woman ; that which he likes in her most is freshness, health, physical and moral harmony, gentleness and charm ; he attaches no importance to style of dress. He has no fetishisms in love. In his jealousies he retires within himself, reacting little and suffering in silence.

SENTIMENTS.

Zola does not have the religious sentiment, although he is given to certain superstitions. His æsthetical preferences are in literature ; he is fond of Balzac, as creator of beings, and Flaubert as writer. The modern theatre displeases him ; he prefers a tragedy of Racine or Corneille. In music, he does not like symphony, which he does not understand, but he likes opera, but wants to hear the words without which all music seems obscure to him. He prefers simple airs, but operetta and café-concerts disgust him.

Zola is domestic, his indulgences are restrained. He does not like any game of chance, neither cards nor billiards interest him. He likes chess, but it fatigues him very much.

MORBID IDEAS.

Zola's tendency for order is so strong that it sometimes reaches a morbid stage, for it provokes a certain suffering in cases of disorder.

From about the age of thirty certain morbid ideas have developed, but they do not cause him pain when not satisfied ; he lets them run into "their manias," as he says, and he is then contented. The idea of *doubt* is one ; he is always in fear of not being able to do his daily task ; or of being incapable of completing a book. He never re-reads his novels for fear of making bad discoveries ; he has no confidence in himself in this respect.

Another morbid idea is arithmetical mania. He says this is a result of his instinct for order. When in the street, he counts the gas-jets, the number of doors, and especially the number of hacks. In his home, he counts the steps of the staircases, the different things on his bureau, he must touch the same pieces of furniture a certain number of times before he goes to sleep.

From this desire to count arise superstitions; certain numbers have a bad influence for him, if by adding to the number of a hack he obtains a superstitious number, he will not hire the hack; or if he is obliged to, he fears some evil will befall him, as not to succeed in the errand he is upon. For some time, "3" was a good number, to-day "7" reassures him; thus in the night, he opens his eyes seven times to prove that he is not going to die. But the number 17, which reminds him of an important date that fate has willed, disturbs him.

But Zola has superstitious ideas outside of his arithmetical mania. He accomplishes certain things from fear if he should not, disagreeable experiences would fall to his lot.

Zola appreciates the absurd side of these morbid ideas, which nevertheless are accompanied by slight emotions. He can resist these impulses with success, and it costs him neither struggle nor pain. It is curious how little morbid ideas affect his mental equilibrium.

LITERARY EXPERIMENT.

Passages were read to Zola from a number of well-known authors, as Balzac, Pascal, Molière, Rousseau, and Hugo, and he did not recognise the author in a single instance. Thus a great writer may read very little, both for want of time and through fear that he might lose his individuality in style and thought.

Extensive knowledge and culture are not necessary to originality of thought.

The intellectual sentiment that causes Zola to work is not a pleasure, but the necessity of accomplishing the task he has imposed upon himself.

The emotional language of Zola is feeble; he cannot imitate a voice or gesture, and he knows that he could not be an actor.

WILL.

His chief characteristic is tenacity. When at work and a difficulty arises, he does not stop, he does not get up to distract his mind; he remains at his table; difficulties develop him. His acts are guided more by reason than sentiment. When pushed by passion, he reflects, weighs the consequences, and he is conscious of being master of himself. He never feels constrained in spite of himself to commit an act which he would deem unjust. He does not comprehend the violent passions of Hulot in fiction, nor those

feelings which pushed General Boulanger to suicide. Zola is a type of mind that has contributed to the hypothesis that man is a master of his actions.

ZOLA A NEUROPATH.

As to the relation of intellectuality to neuropathy, comparatively little is positively known. Zola is neither epileptic nor hysterical, nor is there the least sign of mental alienation. Although he has many nervous troubles, the term "degeneracy" does not apply to him wholly. Magnan classes him among those degenerates who, though possessing brilliant faculties, have more or less mental defects. It is true, as we have seen, that Zola has orbicular contraction, cardiac spasms, thoracic cramps, false angina pectoris, sensory hyperæsthesia, obsessions, and impulsive ideas; his emotivity is defective, and certain of his ideas are morbid, but all this is not sufficient to affect in any appreciable manner his intellectual processes. His strong and harmonious constitution give him immunity, his intellect is not contaminated. Toulouse says he has never seen an obsessed or impulsive person who was so well balanced.

Yet Zola is a neuropath, that is, a man whose nervous system is painful. Heredity seems to have caused this tendency, and constant intellectual work to have affected the health of his nervous tissues. Now, it is a question whether this neuropathical condition is not an excitation that has given rise to the intellectual ability of Zola. Whether a diseased nervous system is a *necessary* cause of great talent or genius, is quite another question. Yet pathological facts have been such constant concomitants of great talent and genius that the relation seems to be more than a temporal one and suggests the idea of cause and effect.

In brief, the qualities of Zola are fineness and exactitude of perception, clearness of conception, power of attention, sureness in judgment, sense of order, power of co-ordination, extraordinary tenacity of effort, and above all a great practical utilitarian sense. With these qualifications he would have succeeded in whatever path in life he might have chosen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Toulouse, E. Emile Zola. Paris, 1896.—*Toulouse E.* Les causes de la folie, 1896. *Binet et Jacques Passy.* Etudes de psychologie sur les auteurs dramatiques. Année psychologique, 1894-1895, page. 61.—*Lombroso, C.* L'Homme de génie, 1896. The Man of Genius, in English.—*Morreau, (de Tours).* La psychologie morbide dans ses rapports avec la philosophie de l'histoire, 1859.—*Réveillé-Paris.* Physiologie des hommes livrés aux travaux de l'esprit, 1848.—*Manouvrier.* Essai sur les qualités intellectuelles considérées en fonction de la supériorité cérébrale quantitative. Revue de l'Ecole d'anthrop. Tome IV. Mars, 1894.—*Ribot.* L'hérédité psychologique. 1873.—*Galton.* Hereditary Genius.—*Lemaître, Jules.* Nos contemporains.—*MacDonald, A.* Abnormal Man.

THE CANONICAL ACCOUNT OF THE BIRTH OF GOTAMA THE BUDDHA.¹

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THERE are two canonical accounts of the wonderful circumstances attending the birth of Gotama, viz., the *Nāḷaka Sutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta*, which was translated by Dr. Fausbøll in 1881 (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. X., part 2, p. 124) and the Dialogue in the Middling Collection, now translated for the first time. This was first pointed out by Oldenberg in 1881, in his *Life of Buddha*, where he gave us one or two details concerning it (Oldenberg's *Buddha*, English translation, 1882, p. 417). In 1894, Chalmers gave an account of it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and the Pāli text was printed by him in the same learned journal for October, 1895. It is from this text that our translation is made, except that in some doubtful readings I have compared the version of the King of Siam, which has lately been distributed throughout the United States.

An *uncanonical* account of Gotama's birth (apart from the inevitable commentary on our present text) is to be found in the Commentary on the Birth Stories. This account has been twice translated: by Rhys Davids in 1880 (*Buddhist Birth Stories*), and by Henry C. Warren in 1896 (*Buddhism in Translations*, p. 38). It is based upon our present Sutta and the one in the *Sutta Nipāta*. The portion based upon the latter is given by Warren at p. 48. As in the case of the Haggadah of the Hebrews, it was reckoned quite fair among the ancient Hindus, to add embellishments to a narrative in the form of commentary. It will be seen, however, that not even in the commentary do the Buddhists

¹ Translated from the Pāli text of the Middling Collection of the Dialogues of Gotama.

claim for their master a virginal nativity, but only a birth attended with marvels. The idea that Gotama remembered being born and remembered also a pre-existent state is derived from the familiar doctrine of transmigration.

All other accounts of the Buddha's nativity, such as those translated from the Sanskrit or Chinese, of which we have a specimen in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vols. XIX. and XLIX.,¹ are late patristic poems, on an entirely different footing from the canonical Pâli texts. There is no doubt that these last have come down to us from the men who knew Gotama. Our present Sutta is quoted in a work as old as the Christian era (the *Questions of King Milinda*); and the chain of transmission is strong.

DIALOGUE ON WONDERS AND MARVELS.

(*Majjhima Nikâya, Sutta 123.*)

THUS HAVE I HEARD. On one occasion the Blessed One was staying at Sâvatthi in the Jetavana cloister-garden of Anâthapiṇḍika. Now a number of monks, after returning from the quest of alms, and having eaten their meal, were sitting assembled in the room of state, when the following conversation arose :

“Wonderful, O brother ! marvellous, O brother ! is the occult power and magical might of the² Tathâgata : when, for instance, upon the decease of the former Buddha, who has broken down obstacles and avenues, exhausted his transmigrations and passed beyond all pain, the Tathâgata perceives : ‘Such were the families of the Blessed Ones, such were the names of the Blessed Ones ; their clans were so-and-so ; such were their moral codes, such their doctrines, their knowledges, their dwellings, and those whom they delivered.’”

After such talk as this, the venerable Ânanda addressed the monks and said : “Wonderful, brethren, are the Tathâgatas, and endowed with wonderful qualities ; marvellous, brethren ! are the Tathâgatas, and endowed with marvellous qualities.”

Such was the course of conversation among the monks when it was broken off. Now, the Blessed One, having arisen from retirement at eventide, came into the room of state and sat down upon the seat prepared for him. While sitting there the Blessed One addressed the monks and said : “Monks ! What now is the subject of your conversation while sitting together ? And what,

¹ These two volumes represent the same work, Vol. XIX. being translated from a Chinese version, Vol. XLIX. from the Sanskrit original.

² The indefinite article may be read here with equal propriety.

moreover, was the course of your conversation which you just broke off?"

[They answered]: "Here, Lord, having returned from the quest of alms and having eaten our meal, we have been sitting assembled in the room of state, when the following conversation arose: 'Wonderful, O brother! marvellous, O brother! is the occult power and magical might of the Tathâgata,' (etc., repeated from above, down to the end of Ânanda's speech). "This, Lord, was the course of conversation which was broken off. Just then the Blessed One arrived."

Hereupon the Blessed One said to the venerable Ânanda: "And so, Ânanda, the wonderful and marvellous qualities of the Tathâgata become more and more apparent."

[Ânanda replied]: "*In my presence, Lord, was it heard [from the lips] of the Blessed One, and in my presence received: 'Ânanda, the Bodhisat is mindful and conscious of being born when he is born with the Tusita body.' This fact, Lord, that the Bodhisat was mindful and conscious when he was born with the Tusita body, I hold to be a wonderful and marvellous quality of the Blessed One.*

2. "Ânanda, the Bodhisat abode for a lifetime in the Tusita body.¹

3. "*Ânanda, the Bodhisat is mindful and conscious when he leaves the Tusita body and descends into his mother's womb.* [These words occur identically in the Pâli, in slightly different order, in the Book of the Great Decease III. 15. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI., p. 46.]

4. "Ânanda, when the Bodhisat leaves the Tusita body and descends into his mother's womb, then in the world of the devas, together with those of Mâra and Brahma, and unto the race of samanas and brahmins, devas, and mortals, there appears a splendor limitless and eminent, surpassing the might of the devas. And even in the boundless realms of space, with their darkness upon darkness, where yonder sun and moon, so magical, so mighty, are felt not in the sky, there too appears the splendor limitless and eminent, surpassing the very might of the devas, so that beings who are born there observe among themselves by reason of that splendor: "Friend, indeed there are other beings born here, and this ten-thousand world-system rocks and quakes and tremendously trembles: a splendor limitless and eminent appears in the universe surpassing even the might of the devas."

¹Repetitions similar to those italicised in the above paragraph occur at the beginning and end of the eighteen statements which follow. They are here numbered for convenience.

5. "Ānanda, when the Bodhisat descends into his mother's womb, the four sons of the devas who keep watch over the four quarters approach him and say: "Let neither mortals nor demons do harm unto the Bodhisat or the Bodhisat's mother!"

6. "Ānanda, when the Bodhisat is descending into his mother's womb, she is pure from sexuality,¹ has abstained from taking life, from theft, from lusts, from evil conduct, from lying, and from all kinds of wine and strong drink, which are a cause of irreligion.

7. "Ānanda, when the Bodhisat is descending into his mother's womb, among the attendants around her no lustful thought arises, and she is unsurpassed by any shining attendant of the night.

8. "Ānanda, when the Bodhisat is descending into his mother's womb, she is possessed of the five qualities of pleasure; she is surrounded by, established in, and endowed with the five qualities of pleasure.

9. "Ānanda, . . . the Bodhisat's mother has no sickness at all, but is happy in a body free from pain, and sees the Bodhisat transparently in the womb (literally, gone across the womb) in full possession of all his limbs and faculties. Even as a gem or precious stone, Ānanda, being radiant, fine, octagonal, and well wrought, is therefore strung upon a dark-blue string or upon a tawny or a red or a white or a yellow string, so that any man with eyes, upon taking it in his hand, may reflect: "This gem or precious stone, being radiant (etc. . . .) is therefore strung upon this dark-blue string, or . . . yellow string,"—even so, Ānanda, when the Bodhisat descends into his mother's womb, his mother has no sickness at all, but is happy in a body free from pain, and sees the Bodhisat transparently in the womb in full possession of all his limbs and faculties.

10. "Ānanda, seven days after the birth of the Bodhisat, his mother departed this life, and was born with the Tusita body.

11. "Moreover, Ānanda, while other women bring forth after a gestation of nine or ten months, the Bodhisat's mother does not

¹Cf. Diogenes Laërtius on the birth of Plato: "Then he kept her pure of marriage until the birth." (*Lives of the Philosophers*, Bk. 3.)

This abstinence, ascribed to the mother of Plato, we know from the context to imply a divine paternity, such as that which is the subject of the *Ion* of Euripides. The abstinence of Gotama's mother, on the other hand, implies no such thing, but refers merely to the period of gestation. Such abstinence is enjoined in the *Institutes of Vishnu*, LXIX. 17, and was also observed by the Essenes. (Josephus, *Wars*, II. viii. 13.) It is a familiar practice of Oriental hygiene. Moreover, Gotama is credited with parents. (*Milinda*, IV. 4. 11, quoted from some Sutta not known to Rhys Davids in 1890.)

act in the usual way with the Bodhisat: just ten months does she carry the Bodhisat before she brings him forth.

12. "Moreover, Ânanda, while other women bring forth when sitting or lying down, the Bodhisat's mother does not bring forth the Bodhisat in the usual way: she actually brings him forth standing.

13. "Ânanda, when the Bodhisat leaves his mother's womb, devas are the first to receive him, and mortals afterwards.

14. "Ânanda, when the Bodhisat leaves his mother's womb, he does not touch the ground: four sons of the devas stand before his mother and receive him. "Be thou a blessed goddess," they say: "unto thee is born an eminent son."¹

15. "Ânanda, when the Bodhisat leaves his mother's womb, he leaves it quite clean, undefiled with matter or blood, but pure, clean, and undefiled by any impurity. As in the case of a gem or a jewel, Ânanda, laid in Benâres cloth, the gem or jewel does not defile the shining² cloth at all, nor the Benâres cloth the jewel or the gem (and why?—because they both are pure): even so, Ânanda, when the Bodhisat leaves his mother's womb, he leaves it quite clean, undefiled with matter or blood, but pure, clean, and undefiled by any impurity.

16. "Ânanda, . . . there come two showers of water from the sky, one of cool water and the other of warm, to supply the needed water for the Bodhisat and his mother.

17. "Ânanda, the new-born Bodhisat stands sheer upright on his feet, walks northwards with a seven-paced stride, holding³ over himself a white canopy, and looking forth in all directions utters the bull-like speech: "I am the chief of the universe, I am the best in the universe, I am the eldest in the universe. This is my last existence: I shall now be born no more!"

18. "Ânanda, when the Bodhisat leaves his mother's womb, then in the world of devas, together with those of Mâra and Brahma, and unto the race of samâṇas and brahmans, devas, and mortals, there appears a splendor limitless and eminent, surpassing the might of the devas; and even in the boundless realms of space, with their darkness upon darkness, where yonder sun and moon, so magical, so mighty, are felt not in the sky, there too ap-

¹ Cf. Luke i. 28.

² The King of Siam repeats "Benâres cloth" here: *Kāṣikavattham*, instead of *Kāṣitāṃ vattham*.

³ A participle in the Middle Voice. The commentary on the Birth Stories says that the god Brahma held it! *Canopy* appears to me a more dignified translation than "parasol" or "umbrella." It is an emblem of royalty.

pears the splendor limitless and eminent, surpassing the very might of the devas, so that beings who are born there consider¹ among themselves by reason of that splendor: "Friend, indeed there are other beings born here, and this ten-thousand world-system rocks and quakes and tremendously trembles: a splendor limitless and eminent appears in the universe surpassing even the might of the devas."

"Therefore, Ânanda, do thou hold this also to be a wonderful and marvellous quality of the Tathâgata. In this world, Ânanda, the sensations of the Tathâgata are known when they arise, are known when they continue, are known when they decline. Known are the phases of his consciousness when they arise; his reflections are known when they arise and known when they decline. Therefore, Ânanda, do thou hold this also to be a wonderful and marvellous quality of the Tathâgata.'

"This fact also, Lord, that the sensations of the Blessed One are known when they arise, are known when they continue, are known when they decline; that his phases of consciousness are known when they arise; that his reflections are known when they arise, known when they continue, and known when they decline,—this also, Lord, I hold to be a wonderful and marvellous quality of the Blessed One."

Thus spoke the venerable Ânanda. The Master assented, and the monks were rapt and rejoiced at the discourse of the venerable Ânanda.

[Here ends] the Dialogue on Wonders and Marvels, third [in a particular subdivision of the Middling Collection].

¹ This is practically the only verbal difference in this stereotyped repetition.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

BY THE EDITOR.

PRAYER is commonly regarded, and perhaps rightly so, as one of the most important religious exercises, and every religion has its own characteristic prayer.

The early Christians used the prayer which was known to them as the Lord's Prayer. It is very brief and we have two reports of it, one in Matthew, vi. 9-15, and the other in Luke, xi. 1-4. These two passages do not quite agree in their details, but they are sufficiently similar to warrant their having been derived from a common source. The briefer form of the prayer is given in Luke, and since it is not probable that any copyist would have omitted part of the prayer, which as a Christian he knew by heart, this form in Luke is commonly supposed to contain the older and more original form. According to the tradition of both Matthew and Luke, it was Jesus himself who taught his disciples to pray, and there is no reason why we should doubt the statement. The former report is inserted in the famous Sermon on the Mount, which contains, as it were, the whole programme of the new doctrine, and the latter is given in a direct response to the disciples' request of having a prayer taught them. The passage in Matthew reads as follows :

"And when thou prayest thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are : for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.

"But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret ; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.

"But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do : for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking.

"Be not ye therefore like unto them : for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him.

"After this manner therefore pray ye : Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name.

"Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.

"Give us this day our daily bread.

"And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.

"And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil : For thine is the kingdom and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.

"For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you :

"But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."

This is the report as it stands in our present Bible translations, but it contains some later additions which are not found in the oldest and best codices ; especially the clause "For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever, Amen," is a liturgic conclusion which naturally slipped in through the pens of careless copyists who knew the Lord's Prayer in the form in which it was used in church services. It is obvious that the abrupt ending of the original Lord's Prayer seemed to require a summary, which was given it in the Doxology, viz., the praise given to God, and this conclusion is not redundant, for it gives an artistic unity to the prayer and adds not a little to its acceptability as an integral part of the church service.

Let us now look at the passage in Luke, which, quoting from one of the best sources, reads in the original Greek as follows :¹

Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον, ὡς ἐπαύσατο, εἶπεν τις τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, Κύριε, διδάξον ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ· εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ὅταν προσεύχησθε, λέγετε, Πάτερ, ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν· καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν· καὶ μὴ εἰσεύγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν·

A translation of the passage, using as much as possible the revised version, reads as follows :

"And it came to pass as he [Jesus] was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him : Lord teach us to pray, as also John taught his disciples. And he said unto them : When ye pray say, Father, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, our needful² bread give us this day, and forgive us our faults as we ourselves forgive every one who is indebted to us, and lead us not into temptation."

¹ Quoted from the Tischendorf edition. The edition of Westcott and Hort, Cambridge and London, Macmillan and Co., adopts throughout the same reading.

² Here the authorised version translates "daily." The whole sentence reads "Give us day by day our daily bread."

Prayers for daily use of this kind were customary among the religious sects of Palestine. St. John taught his disciples a prayer, and so did Rabbi Eliezer who recommended the words: "Thy will be done in Heaven above as it is on earth," as the briefest and most comprehensive oration. When Jesus taught his disciples the Lord's prayer he apparently followed a well-established Jewish tradition.

The Lord's prayer has been prayed by Christians since the foundation of Christianity and deserves a careful inspection and analysis.

It will be noticed that first the original address is simply "Father," and not "Our Father," nor with the addition of "which art in heaven"; secondly, the third prayer, "Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven," is missing, and so is the seventh prayer, "Deliver us from evil." There are five prayers only, not seven. The probability is (as says Professor Holtzmann in his *Handcomentar zum N. T.*, p. 114) that the original prayer was intended to be prayed with the assistance of the five fingers of one hand, which serve as natural beads and which even the poorest people had at their command.

As to the briefer form, which is contained in the best codices of Luke, being the original text of the Lord's Prayer, there can be no doubt, not only for reasons of textual criticism but also because Origen (xxvi. 29) was not familiar with any version which contained the third and seventh prayer, and even Tertullian and Augustine verify only the briefer form of five prayers. The Itala codex, ff. 2, and also the codex *syr. cur.* omit the third prayer; the Vulgate and the Armenian version omit also the seventh prayer, while codex α has only the third and not the seventh prayer. All these omissions prove, as Holtzmann points out (*Ibid.*, p. 115) that the briefer form as found in the most reliable MSS. of Luke can alone be regarded as the original and well attested form. Holtzmann does not express here his own opinion, but simply sums up the general opinion of theological scholars. For instance, Delitzsch, than whom there is no greater authority among our theologians, is in perfect agreement with Holtzmann. Delitzsch says concerning the Lord's Prayer, as follows:

"In its briefest form, which is in Luke, xi. 2-4, the address according to the best codices reads: 'Father,' without any addition, and there are missing the third and seventh prayers. It consists of 2+1+2 prayers. Accordingly it contains all that which for God's sake we have to wish or to ask for: food, forgiveness, and preservation, although in this briefer form it is less developed than in the

seven prayers. The doxology 'For thine is the kingdom,' etc., is missing in Luke and also in several of the most important MSS. of Matthew; and not one of the exegetical fathers up to Chrysostom knows of it. The old Latin translation, the so-called Itala, and the translation by Jerome (Vulgate) do not contain it, which is the reason why Luther omitted it in his Catechism. They finish the seventh prayer at once with 'Amen,' serving, according to common usage, as a word of confirmation. The beautiful and impressive Doxology, together with the 'Amen' is an older liturgical addition. It interrupts, however, in the Sermon on the Mount, the context between the three briefer prayers and Matthew vi. 14."

As to the language of the Lord's Prayer Delitzsch continues :

"There can be no doubt about it that the Lord's Prayer in its original form as the Lord taught it was Hebrew, and there are none of the ingredients of the New Testament which so easily and so surely can be retranslated into its original language, for there is no word and no sentence which does not offer, in the Jewish Tal-



EGYPTIANS PRAYING. From the Monuments.

mudic literature, parallel passages in the very same words. Even the whole plan corresponds in a surprising way to the injunction of Rabbi Jehuda."

The Lord's Prayer was very popular among the early Christians, and we may fairly assume that it summed up the characteristic faith of the first disciples. As Jesus himself did not appear to be conscious of proclaiming a new religion, but insisted even on retaining the very letter of the law, including the very diacritical points, so this prayer does not yet contain any idea which deviates from the traditional Judaism. Indeed, we must assume that it existed in this very same form or in similar forms in the days of Jesus, and that he simply adopted it. All of the prayers can be traced in almost literally the same form to Jewish sources. First, God as Father is mentioned frequently in the Old Testament. Moses says in the song which he taught the People (Deut. xxxii. 6):

"Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? Is not He thy father that hath bought thee? has He not made thee and established thee?"

In similar words the psalmists and prophets speak of God. Jeremiah makes the Lord proclaim :

"I am a father to Israel and Ephraim is my son." (xxxi. 9.)

And again :

"Thou shalt call me My Father, and shalt not turn away from me." (iii. 19.)

And Malachi says :

"Have we not all one father? Has not one God created us?" (ii. 10.)

The psalmist (ciii. 13) praising God's mercy, sings :

"Like as a father pitieth His children,
So the Lord pitieth them that fear Him."

And in the eighty-ninth Psalm David is taught to pray (verse 26) :

"Thou art my father my Lord, and the rock of my salvation."

In addition to the fact that the name of father is directly given to God, Israel is frequently spoken of as the son of God.¹

During the pre-Christian Gnostic period which produced the Wisdom literature and the Apocrypha, this view of regarding God as the Father increased and became more and more typical of the religious faith of the people. Jesus Sirah addresses God :

"Lord God, father and master of my life."
(xxiii. 1.)

And he says :

"I called on the Lord my father and ruler, that he should not leave me in distress." (li. 14.)

The books of wisdom speak of the righteous as "calling himself the child of God" (ii. 13), and "he maketh his boast that God is his father." (ii. 16.) Concerning the passage through the raging waves (an oriental simile reminding us of the stormy ocean of Samsara), the same book declares :

"But thy providence, O Father, governeth it."

Tobit says in his prayer (chapter xiii. 4) :

"He is our Lord and He is the Lord our father forever."

¹ In Exodus iv. 22. In Hosea xi. 1. Deuteronomy xiv. 1. Malachi. i. 6.



A PILLAR STATUE OF THE TEMPLE OF MADURA.

Showing the prayer attitude of the Hindus, both Brahmans and Buddhists.

In continuing this line of tradition Jesus calls himself the Son, omitting any further explanation, but implying the Sonship of God.

Concerning expressions in Hebrew literature which remind us of the Lord's Prayer, Delitzsch says :

" 'Our Father and King' is the ancient New Year's call of the synagogue, and in the ten penitential days of the atonement-festival Rabbi Eliezar replied to the question, How must a prayer be which should be brief: 'Thy will be done in Heaven above as it is on earth.' (Tosefta Berachoth, iii.) And the Kaddish, which in the liturgy of the synagogue takes about the same place as our Lord's Prayer in the Church, begins: 'Glorified and hallowed be thy great name,' which contains the summary of the first three prayers. The Kaddish includes the sentiment of the address of the Lord's Prayer, for it also speaks of God as the Heavenly Father.' Other parallelisms to the sentiment, 'Thy will be done,' are found in the *Proverbs of the Fathers* (Aboth ii. 5; v. 23). The idea of representing sin as a debt in the sense of the Latin *debitum*, as it appears in the Lord's Prayer, is a Jewish conception. (See Targum to Ezekiel xxxiii. 16.) The prayer 'Lead us not into temptation' is, according to the Berachoth lx, b, part of the daily morning prayer; and so is the prayer 'deliver us from evil,' according to Berachoth xvi. b, which is a passage that is exegetically of great value to prove that the conception of evil has been narrowed down, against the original sense of the passage, to the idea of seeking salvation from the Evil One."



A COIN OF PERTINAX.
Exhibiting a woman
praying.



ANCHISES PRAY-
ING.

From an illus-
trated MS. of
Livy.

The utilitarianism of praying for reward, which characterises post-exilic Judaism, generally appears transfigured in the report according to Matthew, but is not entirely overcome.

Delitzsch insists that the Lord's Prayer is not a typically New Testament prayer, and he adds, "Nor can it be so, for before His passing away the Lord said to His disciples (John xvi. 24), 'Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name. Ask and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full.'" Delitzsch continues:

"It is only the death of the Saviour that makes an end of the old covenant, and his resurrection makes a beginning of the New Testament days, and with His glorification the Lord's prayer is intensified and deepened in a typically New Testament sense. For now salvation and Messiah are no longer a matter of the future, for the Jew who prays the Kaddish they are so even to-day. Fatherhood, name, kingdom, God's will, all these words gain a new significance through the revelation of God in the only Son of God, which renders the new relation between God and man actual."

While the original Christian prayer as Jesus taught it to his

disciples must have had five prayers, we may fairly assume that the prayer of seven prayers was already in vogue among the Jews before the Christians or the Nazarenes adopted the five-prayered form; for we know, as Delitzsch informs us, from Rabbi Jehuda, that among the Jews a seven-prayered oration was customary which contained the prayer for food in the middle prayer, i. e., in the fourth one. Rabbi Jehuda, as quoted by Delitzsch from Berachoth (xxxiv. e), says:

"A man should never pray for his necessities in the first three prayers and not in the last three prayers, but in the middle one; for, as Rabbi Chanina says, in the first three prayers he must be like the servant and expatiate in praise of his Lord."



CHRISTIANS PRAYING. Decoration of the Catacombs.

Rabbi Jehuda apparently refers to a prayer which must have been the same as, or certainly very similar to, the seven-prayer version of the Lord's Prayer. Rabbi Jehuda lived some time after Christ, but it is not probable that the Jews after the origin of Christianity adopted prayers from the Christians. On the contrary, we must expect that they dropped the prayer as soon as the Lord's Prayer became a kind of shibboleth for the apostate sects of the Nazarenes and Ebionites, who soon began to be persecuted by the Jewish authorities.

Apparently the five-prayered oration as well as the seven-prayered one are originally Jewish, and Jesus was familiar with the briefer version which he taught his disciples. At the time when the gentile propaganda began, this briefer form of the Lord's prayer was alone used among the few Christians. But some of the Nazarenes must have known the enlarged form of seven prayers

and introduced it into church service, and we may fairly assume that it supplanted the other version first in the litany and then also in the Gospel account.

The Greek author of Matthew apparently had before him a Hebrew text of the Gospel (perhaps the Gospel according to the Hebrews), and having the choice between the seven-prayered oration as he found it in the Hebrew and the five-prayered oration of Greek texts which he compared, naturally preferred the former. The reasons above quoted are sufficient evidence to prove that the

oldest MSS. of the Gospel of the Hebrews must have contained the five-prayered oration and that this was the form which Jesus, following an older tradition, taught his disciples; but if the more elaborate form of seven prayers already existed in Christ's time by the side of the briefer form, as we must assume on the testimony of Rabbi Jehuda's remark (quoted by Delitzsch), we can easily understand that some copyist added the third and the seventh prayers, and, once established, the seven-prayered oration alone seemed complete. While thus the five-prayered form was alone known during the first and second centuries among Gentile Christians, we are well assured that the introduction of seven-



A CAPTIVE GOES PRAYING.
From the Triumphal Column of Theodosius the Great.

prayered form dates back to the Nazarenes of Palestine and must there have taken place after the first attempts at Gospel writing, but before the author of our present Gospel according to Matthew wrote his Greek version of the Gospel.

When we go over the seven prayers we find that none of them is a prayer in the genuine sense of the word. There is not one begging for any favor of God; not one request that God should do our will, but on the contrary they indicate a submission to God's will, the spirit of which is well characterised in the prayer "Thy will be done." The three last prayers are apparently exhortations, the significance of which lies in the clause "Forgive us our debts *as we forgive our debtors.*" This prayer contains a promise that we will forgive our debtors and so hope to receive forgiveness for our-

selves. The sixth prayer, "Lead us not into temptation," is a suggestion to avoid temptation, which of course is the best method of preventing evil thoughts from rising within our souls.

There is only one prayer which is a real prayer actually praying for a gift from God: "Give us this day our daily bread," and here we must state that this prayer has always been a stumbling-block to the early Christians and to Christian preachers. The word *ἐπιούσιος*,¹ "daily," or, more literally, "needful," is a term which occurs nowhere else in Greek literature. The word etymologically means "for use" or "for our needs," and the original sense appears to be that we should pray not for luxuries, but only for that which is actually needful; and if we compare this prayer with other passages in the Sermon on the Mount, viz., "Take no thought for your life," (vi. 25), "Take no thought, saying what shall we eat or what shall we drink (vi. 31), and "Take no thought for the morrow" (vi. 34), we shall easily interpret this prayer, too, in the sense of an exhortation, the significance of which would be, "Let us be satisfied with our daily bread." Nevertheless we must grant that the fourth prayer is an actual prayer, and in this sense it has appeared offensive to the early Christians. It is on this account that the Vulgate translates "needful" by "*supersubstantialis*," interpreting the word to mean "What is above the daily necessities," and claiming that Jesus meant us to pray for the spiritual food of the soul. There are still great church authorities, especially in the Roman Catholic Church, who interpret the fourth prayer in this sense.

As to the ceremonies of praying, we know that in pagan religions as well as in the Old Testament, the habit prevailed of prostration. As conquered people prostrate themselves before the victor, or slaves before their master, so the religious devotee intended to show his entire submission to God by humiliation. This habit gradually changed into kneeling, which continued even in the Christian Church, and is still frequently practised. But we should remember that the early Christians insisted on the more dignified mode of praying in a standing posture, which was rigorously insisted on in their Sunday services. The attitude of stand-

¹ *ἐπιούσιος* is probably derived from *ἐπι* and *ούσια*. The latter word means "being, substance, especially one's own substance, property, use." *ούσια* is a derivative from *εἶναι*, to be. Others derive *ἐπιούσιος* (with a neglect of the *ι*) directly from *ἐπιεῖναι*, to come upon, which serves in Attic Greek as the future tense of *ἐπιέρχασθαι*, and interpret the term "coming upon" in the sense of "serviceable for a special time; sufficient for the moment." In either case the word is not a good Greek formation, but the meaning "needful; for present use; belonging to the necessities of life," appears sufficiently established.

ing expresses reverence without humiliation and was expressive of the idea that the Christian's relation to God is not that of a slave to his master, but of a child to his father.

The attitude of lifting or folding the hands is very old and is found to have prevailed in ancient Egypt, in India, in Greece, and Italy,¹ and among the Northern nations. It continued in Christianity, where the folding of hands remains especially popular among the Germans.

¹ The Romans called folded hands a comb or *pectem*, and regarded it as the sign of magic fetters. See for instance Ovid IX., III, 609 "*digitis inter se pectine junctis*" and Clin. 28, 59 "*digitis pectinatum inter se implexis*." Cf. also Lucan. III., 609. For further details see Böttger *Ilithyia*, p. 38.

MISCELLANEOUS.

RENÉ DESCARTES.

(1596—1650.)

It has rarely fallen to the lot of a philosopher, pure and simple, to achieve a lasting name in science. Yet achievements in science,—and by science we do not exclude triumphs in the science of mind,—constitute in the end the only enduring title to fame. Systems of philosophy grow and become fashionable, wane and pass away, but only in so far as they contain truth,—that is, science,—do they remain permanent. Of the magnificent speculations of a Bacon, a Locke, a Berkeley, a Hume, a Kant, a Hegel, what has remained for life, so far as life touches the populace and material existence, but their inspiring influence, exerted now on a select circle only, and as the expression of a spiritual development, which, potent as it is in its silent influence, has no direct and grossly visible bearing on the world at large!

But it was reserved for Descartes to share both in the material as well as the spiritual advancement of humanity. He broke loose from the traditions of the past, as much as a man who is the product of society can, and by dint of sheer independence and originality alone, advanced the practical knowledge of the world as powerfully as he advanced the theoretical knowledge of the mind. The author of the *Géométrie* , the forerunner of Newton and Leibniz, the author of the *Discours de la Méthode* , the forerunner of Hume and Kant and of all that is lasting in modern epistemology, stands unique in the history of philosophy, if not in the history of science. The ideas which have made the world great are little ideas, little in their expression at least, and do not require ponderous volumes for their utterance. The *Discours de la Méthode* ,—a work (fifty pages) which with all its faults from our modern hypersensitive point of view, our epistemologies and reaction-times, retains all the zest, the freshness, and independence of a man who dared to brave and flaunt tradition and abide by the dictates of his own reason at a time when reason was authority,—the work of a typical *Landsknecht* , alone in the battle of thought (see our frontispiece, the fierce expression and the soldier's mustachio),—the *Géométrie* (106 pages): what a wonderful influence these two little tracts, as we may call them, have had on the progress of civilisation!

Descartes was primarily a mathematician. He found in mathematics, as did Kant and Comte, the type of all faultless thought; and he proved his appreciation of his insight by the invention of a new symbolical mechanism and artifice for the application of algebra to geometry (*Analytic Geometry* , as it is now called, which,

in a growing sense, let it be said, existed before him), and by his discoveries in the theory of equations, which were fundamental in their importance. These achievements, far as they may seem from the common life, are shot through the warp and woof of our technical civilisation, and our whole existence bears their hidden impress.

Technical philosophers will be prepared to dispute the relative importance of Descartes's mathematical and philosophical works. And it remains to be said that the *Discourse on Method*,¹ together with Hume's *Inquiry*² and Kant's *Prolegomena*³ are still, in their conciseness, their historical sequence, and rugged simplicity, the finest introductions to philosophical study that the young student of philosophy can procure.

Like Bacon, a theorist too, Descartes was unfortunate in his physical speculations. While his doctrine of vortices, as a pure matter of cosmological imagination, has been revived by modern scientists and been made the subject of exact and successful investigations, he failed to appreciate in their full extent the masterful achievements of his contemporary, Galileo, than whom no one has left a more enduring, incorrectible, and unerring imprint on science. Of the defects of Descartes's system, of his almost morbid taste for abstract and simple solutions, his contempt for history and what we now would call sociology, we will not speak here but shall conclude with some extracts on the "father of modern philosophy" from a forthcoming book on the *History of French Philosophy* by an eminent professor at the Collège de France, M. Lévy-Bruhl.

"After we have added up all the influences, both of the past and of the present, which were exercised upon him, the originality of Descartes shines out all the more conspicuously. Hegel has named him a "hero," and this hyperbole may, in a certain sense, be justified. Descartes had, indeed, no vocation of martyrdom. He was always fond of peace, and averse to vain controversy, which is a mere waste of time. But nature had endowed him with that higher sort of courage which is love of truth and devotion to science; and if the name of "hero" is befitting for the men whose exertions laid open new paths of human thought, Descartes undoubtedly was entitled to the name.

"Not only did the discovery of analytical geometry mark a decisive epoch in the history of mathematics, which it provided with an instrument of incomparable flexibility and power, but it furthermore gave Descartes a right to hope for the philosophical method he was seeking. Ought not a last generalisation to be possible, by means of which the method he had so happily discovered should become applicable, not only to the 'universal mathematical science,' but also to the whole system of truths which the weakness of our minds would permit us to reach?

"Thus was formed, in Descartes's mind, the method which he has summed up in the *Discours de la Méthode*, and which was destined to replace the ancient logic, long since useless and sterile. It is inexpedient here to explain these rules minutely. We must, however, observe that the first one, 'Never to hold a thing as true unless there is evidence of its being so,' is not, properly speaking, a precept of method. Such precepts are set forth in a subsequent set of rules, where Descartes successively prescribes analysis for splitting up difficulties, and synthesis for constructing and expounding science. But the first rule is quite different. It does not lay down a process to be used in order to discover truth. It concerns method only

¹English translation by Veitch (Edinburgh, 1890).

²New Edition by Selby-Bigge (Oxford, 1894).

³Bohn's Library.

in so far as method is not separated from science itself (and such indeed was Descartes's meaning). For the first step of method—or of science—must be to determine accurately by what sign we can recognise what is to be regarded as true, and what is to be set aside as being only probable or dubious. This sign is evidence. This first rule may have been suggested to Descartes, as the others were, by mathematics. Even as, in his method, he generalised the processes used for mathematical researches and demonstrations, so, in this formula, he laid down the regulating principle to which this science owes its perfection, and which was also to become the regulating principle of the new philosophy.

"Thus the famous rule 'of evidence' reaches far beyond the compass of a mere principle of method. Both from what it excludes and what it implies, it may be looked upon as the motto of the Cartesian philosophy. It first rejects any information grounded upon authority alone (excepting the truths of religious creed). Even though Aristotle and all his commentators should agree on one opinion, this would be no proof of its being true; and should it really chance to be so, the authority of Aristotle would count for nothing towards establishing its citizenship in science. Nothing can be admitted in science but what is evident; i. e., nothing but what is so clear and plain as to leave no possibility of doubt, or is rightfully deduced from principles which offer such evidence. The whole doctrine of scholasticism (metaphysics, logic, physics) thus stands irretrievably condemned in the lump. The so-called moral sciences which cannot attain to a degree of evidence comparable to that of mathematics, and which have to content themselves with greater or lesser probabilities, are likewise rejected by the Cartesian formula; in fact, Descartes, as has already been observed, had but little esteem for history and for sciences of erudition.

"In building up his system, he first casts aside as false (at least temporarily) all the opinions which he has hitherto held as true, and which are only probable. 'For instance,' he says, 'having sometimes found my senses deceitful, I will distrust all that they teach me. As I have happened to err with regard to very simple reasoning, I will distrust the results of even the most undoubted sciences. Lastly, I may suppose that an evil genius, who is all-powerful, takes delight in making me err, even when I believe I see the truth most plainly. I will, therefore, by a voluntary effort, which is always possible, since I am free, withhold my judgment even in cases where evidence seems to me irresistible.' Is there any proposition which is not affected by this 'hyperbolic' doubt? There is one, but one only. Let my senses deceive me, let my reasonings be false, let an evil genius delude me concerning things which appear to me most certain; if I am mistaken, then I am, —but this truth 'I think, therefore I am,' *cogito, ergo sum*, is so self-evident and so certain that the most extravagant doubt of sceptics is unable to shake it. Here then is the first principle of philosophy sought for by Descartes. And even as Archimedes requested only a fulcrum to lift the world, so Descartes, having found an indubitable proposition, set to work to erect his whole system upon it.

"The *cogito* of Descartes displaced, so to speak, the axis of philosophy. To the ancients and to the scholastics (setting theology apart), the thinking mind appeared as inseparable from the universe as from the object of its thought, while the soul itself was conceived to be the 'substantial form' of the living body. According to Descartes, on the contrary, the existence of the thinking mind, far from being dependent on any other existing thing, is the essential condition of every other existence conceivable to us: for if I am certain of the existence of something beside myself, with far better reason am I certain that I, who have that thought,

am in existence. The only reality I cannot possibly question is that of my own thought.

"Both the adversaries and the successors of Descartes started from this point. All the modern forms of idealism, so utterly different from the idealism of the ancients, have a common origin in the *cogito*. The tempered and prudent idealism of Locke, the Christian idealism of Malebranche, the sceptical idealism of Hume, the transcendental idealism of Kant, the absolute idealism of Fichte, and many other doctrines derived from these, which have appeared in our century, are all more or less distantly related to the principle of the Cartesian philosophy. Moreover, the conception of nature in modern science is also connected with it. For when Descartes set thought, that is, the soul, so distinctly apart from everything extraneous to itself, at the same time he made a new conception of force and life necessary in the material world.

"Descartes fully acknowledged the indispensableness of the experimental method. Anecdotes depict him to us as rising very early, in Amsterdam, in order to choose in a butcher's shop the joints he wished 'to anatomise at leisure'; or answering an inquirer who wished to see his library, 'Here it is,' at the same time pointing to a quartered calf which he was busy dissecting. In the latter part of his life he devoted little more than a few hours a year to mathematics, and not much more to metaphysics. He scarcely busied himself with anything beyond experiments in physics and physiology.

"'To meet causes half-way with effects,' is Descartes's felicitous definition of experimenting. It clearly shows the functions he ascribed to it. Were there only one way in which a certain effect might be deduced from given causes, experimenting would be unnecessary. But natural phenomena are so complex, and the possible combinations of causes are so numerous, that we may nearly always explain in several ways the production of a given effect. Which is the right way? Experience alone can decide. Let us make a distinction between ready-made science and science which is being made. To expound ready-made science the suitable order is deduction,—descent from causes to effects. But science which is being made cannot yet adopt this order; and to discover unknown laws, it must employ the experimental method, must meet causes halfway with effects.

"The philosophy of Descartes was in accord with the leading tendencies of his time. The success which attended it from the moment it appeared is a proof of its opportuneness, and it is difficult to determine whether it formed rather than expressed the spirit of the age. As has been said, the seventeenth century in France was pre-eminently the 'age of reason.'

'Aimez donc la raison; que toujours vos écrits
Empruntent d'elle seule et leur lustre et leur prix,'

said Boileau; yet perhaps, were it not for the Cartesian philosophy, this taste for reason might not have asserted itself so earnestly, and have been so perfectly conscious of its existence.

"This philosophy of 'clear ideas' spread over all Europe. Though vigorously attacked in the eighteenth century, both as to its metaphysics and its physics, it nevertheless remained discernible in the very methods of its adversaries. Locke, Hume, Condillac, no longer understood evidence as Descartes did; but their empiricism was still as fond of clearness as his rationalism had been. Newton combated the hypothesis of 'vortices,' but he preserved the Cartesian notion of a mechanical explanation of physical phenomena. For a thoroughgoing and express negation of the Cartesian spirit we must go to the end of the eighteenth century.

"The philosophy of Descartes affords but little scope to sentiment, and still less to imagination and to the hidden and unconscious activity of the mind. It places value on evidence alone, whose vivid, but glaring light, dispels the chiaroscuro so dear to romantic writers.

"At the time when Descartes's philosophy appeared it was really necessary. It was a deliverer. It made away with superannuated doctrines, the domination of which was still heavily felt. It cleared the ground and set physics free, once for all, from the clogs of metaphysical hypotheses. Lastly it formulated problems which needed formulation. Descartes wished to furnish science not only with a powerful and flexible instrument (which Bacon had already sought), but also with an unchanging and immovable basis. Thence sprang the 'provisional doubt,' with which his method bids him begin, which obliges him to test all previously acquired informations, and which may be looked upon as the starting-point of all modern theories of knowledge. For this doubt, which successively reaches perception, imagination, reasoning power, and stops only before the immediate self-intuition of thought, is already a criticism of the faculty of knowledge. It studies it in its connexion both with the outward object and with the very mind which is thinking; in short, it heralds Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*.

"The philosophy of Descartes is a sort of cross-road whence diverge the chief ways entered upon by modern thought."

T. J. McC.

THE PARIS SOCIAL MUSEUM.

M. Joseph de Pineton, Count de Chambrun, was born in 1821. He studied law and then entered into the Government service, becoming sub-Prefect and later Prefect. In 1857 he entered parliamentary life, being a Deputy for nearly twenty years, and in 1876 became a Senator, in which body he remained for three years, retiring to private life in 1879. But it will not be as Prefect, Deputy, or Senator, that the Count de Chambrun will be remembered by his country. His name will go down to posterity as the founder and benefactor of the Paris Social Museum.

Count de Chambrun was always charitably inclined. But never satisfied with simple charitable acts, he began to seek the cause of poverty and social distress, and finally came to the conclusion that an institution, which eventually took the name of Social Museum, could do much to check pauperism and ameliorate the condition of the laboring classes. He once remarked: "My fortune is entirely due to labor and it should go back to labor,"—an allusion to his late wife, who was the daughter and granddaughter of the owners of the celebrated glass-works at Baccarat, France.

The work attempted by the Social Museum may be divided into eight different categories. The most important of these is the Consultation Department. The greatest difficulty in the way of those who take up social questions is to be exactly informed concerning the constitution and conditions of the working of different institutions at home and abroad whose aim is to improve the material and moral situation of the working classes.

When workmen wish to form a co-operative society, a mutual benefit society or the like, or when the head of a business house desires to admit his employees to a share in the profits, to establish a pension fund, etc., or when philanthropists interested in the welfare of the working classes are led to form societies for the construction of workmen's homes, etc., the initial obstacle is ignorance of how to

go to work to create and organise these various institutions. And this first difficulty surmounted, it often happens that the interested parties perceive that their organisations might be bettered, that a more scientific basis is necessary or a form more in accordance with surrounding requirements.

Here it is that the Social Museum comes into play. It stands ever ready to aid all parties,—laborers, heads of houses, societies, etc., and is prepared to furnish them gratis any information which they may need, to give them advice, and to show them what has already been done or is now being done in these same lines in France and in foreign lands.



COUNT DE CHAMBRUN.

When the question is an ordinary one, the managers of the Museum immediately furnish the desired information. But if the matter laid before the Museum is new and its solution calls for the aid and experience of specialists, it is referred to one of the appropriate standing committees for examination and a report. There are seven committees of this kind whose members are as distinguished for their competency as for their devotion to the public good. I find on them such well-known specialists as Professors Zolla, Espinas, Liesse, Paul Beauregard, Glasson, Lyon-Caen, Alix and Boutmy, and such public men—Senators or Deputies—as Waldeck-Rousseau, Jules Siegfried, Louis Ricard, Guieysse, and Ribot.

That the Museum is doing much good is shown by the statistics for a single year. During 1896, it answered three hundred and forty-two requests for information, of which number thirty-one concerned cheap dwellings for the laboring man, forty-nine co-operative stores, and twenty-four co-operative manufactories. Verbal replies to these and other questions were furnished immediately at the Museum itself to six hundred and twenty-four inquirers. Since 1896 all these figures have grown and some doubled.

The Museum has already an important library of over ten thousand volumes, under the charge of a very intelligent librarian, M. Martin-Saint-Léon, catalogued in such a way that a few minutes' glance at the cards tells the searcher all the books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, possessed by the Museum in any particular field. Though the great bulk of the volumes have to do exclusively with social questions, many sets of general periodicals, such as the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the *North American Review*, etc., are found on the shelves. Nowhere else in Paris can such a full collection of printed matter bearing on social economy be found and the fact is gradually becoming known.

But the information to be obtained at the Museum is not limited to its committees and its library. Delegates are sent out into France and foreign countries to observe and report on social institutions and are instructed to proceed in their investigations in a strictly scientific and impartial manner. The result of their observations is made the subject of publications and lectures; aid in the replies to questions laid before the Museum and in forming *dossiers* which are deposited in the library. These missions also bring about valuable relations between the Museum and the labor and scientific centres of France and other nations.

When a strike occurs the Museum sends one or more delegates to the scene of the trouble to learn its origin, cause, and effects. Other representatives of the Museum attend congresses and make reports thereon. Thus during the single year 1896, the Museum had its agents at a half-dozen socialistic and labor congresses of various kinds held in Paris, Caen, Tours, London, and Edinburgh. In 1895 seven congresses—among them one each in London, Berne, Brussels, and Breslau—were attended by these delegates. During the long and dangerous strike at Carmaux, in Languedoc, the museum kept there for many weeks one of its agents. During 1897 and the present year, this side of the Museum's work has received still greater development.

Besides these "missions of inquiry," the liberality of Count de Chambrun has made possible "missions of study." In this latter case, the delegates are expected to examine, with absolute impartiality, into social institutions. Their aim is to be scientific and philanthropic. The subjects chosen for examination are of a kind to interest the working public and the results made known are of a nature to enlighten this same public. Missions of this sort have been sent to England, Germany, Italy, the United States, etc. Four of the Museum's specialists made a careful study a year or two ago of the labor organisations in our country.

But the Museum is not satisfied with having temporary and special agents charged with missions, it seeks also to have permanent correspondents in foreign parts. The services rendered by this last category of representatives are many. They send the Museum information concerning the social movement in their respective countries, the new institutions created there, the recent legislative measures, etc. If a question is so important as to merit special attention, a detailed report on it is made to the Museum, which is published in one of the Museum circulars or deposited in the library with the accompanying documents. In this way

there is growing up in the library a mass of valuable original documents bearing on a large number of economic questions. The Museum has now a half-dozen or more of these foreign correspondents, the American representative being Mr. W. F. Willoughby of the Washington Labor Bureau.

The information obtained by these specialists sent on missions is also presented to the public in the form of lectures delivered during the winter in the commodious hall attached to the Museum. A dozen lectures of this kind are given every year on such subjects as English Trades Unions, Peasant Associations in Germany, The Knights of Labor, Co-operation Among Italian Workingmen, How English Workingmen Organise and Hold a Congress, etc. The lectures for the last year were very well attended, though the managers are disappointed in the small number of workingmen who were present. But this is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that the Paris laboring classes hold, for the most part, views diametrically opposed to those advocated by this institution, whose aim is to preserve the present social system while reforming it, whereas the Paris laboring classes are militant socialists and revolutionists, bent on destroying what exists before building anew. Here, in fact, is the weak side of the Museum,—it is forced to be academic in spite of itself.

The Museum circulars number a score or more each year. Some five or six thousand copies are printed and are sent gratis to labor associations, co-operative societies, specialists, etc. These circulars are divided into two categories,—the first being of a more popular nature and the second being devoted to more special and technical questions. The value of these publications is shown by the fact that not a few readers subscribe annually for the whole series.¹

Another series of publications issued by the Museum consists in volumes giving complete reports of the special missions already referred to, and printed under the general title *Library of the Social Museum*. So far a half-dozen volumes have appeared, including "Trade Unionism in England," and "The Carmaux Strike."

The founder of the Museum has placed at its disposal a sum of fifty thousand francs to be employed in offering prizes to meritorious workingmen and for awarding a large prize of the value of twenty-five thousand francs to be competed for by the authors of essays relative to the amelioration of the lot of the laboring classes. The first class of prizes, twenty-five in number, consist of a life income of two hundred francs, accompanied by a medal, and are awarded to workmen who have spent at least thirty years with the same firm and whose life has been exemplary. The first of these ceremonies occurred in May, 1896, in the presence of the President of the Republic, several ministers, and other persons of distinction, and the last a few days ago under most distinguished auspices.

The Museum is splendidly housed in the early home of the founder, situated in the heart of the old aristocratic district of Paris, the St. Germain quarter, and this fact and the almost luxurious manner in which the big *hôtel* is furnished accentuate the *bourgeois* character of the institution. Neatly carpeted stairways, comfortable chairs in the reading-room and large lecture-hall, the electric light, uniformed doorkeepers, and the like, would naturally tend to create a suspicion in the mind of the Paris workman daily fed on collectivist literature. But all this renders more agreeable the sojourn there of students of social questions, to which class—and not a class to be overlooked—the Museum seems so far to especially address itself.

¹ The subscription is twenty francs, and may be sent to the address of the Museum, 5 rue Las Cases, Paris.

But the liberality of Count de Chambrun in the direction of social economy is not limited to the Museum. He has founded two chairs of social economy,—one at the School of Political Sciences in the Rue St. Guillaume and another at the Sorbonne. The latter chair is filled by M. Alfred Espinas, the scholar of Bordeaux University who has done so much to introduce Herbert Spencer to France. Professor Espinas has so far lectured on Sir Thomas More, Campanella, the philosophers and social economists of the eighteenth century, Rousseau especially; on the French Revolution as an effort to secure the happiness of the people—he is bringing out at this moment a weighty book on this subject—on St. Simonism, on Fourier, etc. "The doctrines with which I occupy myself," remarked Professor Espinas to me recently, "have in view happiness by means of economic reforms, which is my definition of *social* economy." This lecture course is attracting more and more attention each year.

Questioned by one of his relatives as to the ruling idea of the Social Museum, Count de Chambrun said: "Ours is not a church charity nor a state charity. Both of these, in different ways, are doing good and will go on doing good indefinitely. Ours is a work of individual initiative, of free and spontaneous association. Thus, our origin is quite different from their origin. We have made a step in advance. After our effort, after those of the Church and State, there remains a fourth force Revolution. I am ready to recognise the fact and even to discuss it fairly. But the moment it quits the domain of reason and passes to that of action and violence, I prefer to kill the Devil rather than to be killed by him, and so I will strike first."

In other words, the aim of the Social Museum and its friends is to go forward and meet the difficult problem of the hour in all civilised countries,—the reconciliation of the proletariat with the present social order. In France the aggressive party of Revolutionary Socialists, who have a strong foothold even in the Chamber of Deputies, renders such a step imperative to all Frenchmen who think and who will not live in a dream, who prefer, to use the expressive words of Count de Chambrun, "to kill the Devil rather than be killed by him." In fact, the Social Museum wishes "to strike first."

PARIS, June, 1898.

THEODORE STANTON.

SCIENCE AND PROVIDENCE.

The Rev. Dr. Frank M. Bristol, formerly of Evanston, now pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Washington, preached a thanksgiving sermon in the presence of the President of the United States, which is characteristic of the New Orthodoxy that is slowly but surely, sometimes unconsciously, developing in the churches of this country. Dr. Bristol said in part:

"There is no chance, no accident, no fate. Law is universal. The more scientific a people become the stronger will be their belief and trust in Providence, and the less confidence will they have in luck, accidental chance, and the other absurdities. In the days of man's ignorance the providential was looked upon as the miraculous and the miraculous as the providential. But with the growth of science the miraculous becomes obsolete and unnecessary, while Providence becomes more evident and prominent in human affairs. There was a time when the greatest philosophers did not know that steam had been provided as a motive power to serve man; that electricity had been provided for a multitude of utilities. The Greeks did not know that more than seven metals had been provided for the arts, while

this age knows that from fifty to sixty have been provided. The ancients never dreamed of the possibilities of gunpowder and dynamite, the possibilities of a modern navy and the possibilities of Manila and Santiago victories by which America doth take accession by the hand and make the bounds of freedom wider yet.

"It is science, or knowledge, that brings us in touch and alliance with Providence. The more science, the more Providence. Yes, the more science, the more God in the world's history. The providential does not always mean or even imply the miraculous. God may work His will by the agencies of the laws of nature and the thoughts of men. We should not quarrel with the elegant old proposition, 'The winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators, for the ablest navigators know how to use the winds and waves and are in league with the mighty laws that govern things.'

"God is on the side of good, favoring good financiering, good politics, good guns, good battleships, good discipline, good generalship, and good causes. In the olden time men and nations allied themselves with Providence by faith; to-day men and nations ally themselves with Providence by knowledge. There was a time when the people found nature in sympathy with their struggles for freedom, and the storm overthrew the Egyptians in the sea, and the sun and moon stood still in the day of battle to give a righteous cause a good chance, and the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.

"What does all this mean? Was God teaching man the necessity of mastering the elements and forces of nature and yoking them to his purpose? Was He teaching that he who has the laws of nature on his side wins, and that he who contends against the right fights against the stars, against the law and order and very constitution of things and must fail?

"Is this a less providential age than the age of Moses? Is the electric light less providential than the pillar of fire? Is a Dakota wheat harvest less providential than a shower of manna? Is a South Carolina cotton crop less providential than the quails in the wilderness? Was the discovery of America less providential than the finding of Canaan? Was the declaration of independence less providential than the decalogue of Sinai? Were the guns of Dewey and Sampson less providential than the rams' horns of Joshua, the lamps and pitchers of Gideon or the rod of Moses? Were Manila and Santiago less providential in the history of human freedom than Jericho and Ai? Is Christian civilisation less providential than was Jewish barbarism? If God ever had peculiar people He has them now. They are the product of all struggles and aspirations of the past. The men who stand before Santiago are not the product of a day or of a century; they are the rich, consummate flower of ages.

"When we compare the twelve per cent. of illiteracy with Spain's seventy-five per cent. of illiteracy we boldly say the schoolmaster won the battle of Manila and the battle of Santiago.

"'Ye shall know the truth,' said the Christ, 'and the truth shall make you free.' We are witnessing the victories of truth in passing events. It is truth, the truth of great convictions, the truth of splendid courage, the truth of free American manhood, the truth of wise and patriotic legislation, the truth of naval and military discipline, the truth of scientific warfare, the truth of correct strategy, great accuracy, perfect aim, the truth of true heroism, the truth of a just cause, that is working out the freedom of the oppressed. Thanks to the Christ who came to set the captive free and proclaim the brotherhood of man. Thanks to His servants, the teachers of the past and present, who have given themselves to the high and holy

ministry of education, by which the generations have come armed and equipped to subdue error and superstition and establish the authority and sovereignty of truth.

"Thanks to all the sons of God who in offices of state and on the fields of battle have caught the spirit of the heroic Christ."

SYMPTOMS OF A BUDDHIST REAWAKENING IN INDIA AND CEYLON.

The Anagarika H. Dharmapala has founded a Buddhist institution at Colombo, Ceylon, which he calls the Ethico-Psychological College, and which is intended to afford a thorough education to students of Buddhism in the principles of ethics and psychology. The means were given him by a wealthy Buddhist of Ceylon, and its inauguration has been celebrated lately under the participation of all prominent Buddhists of Colombo and large numbers of visitors. Students will live in the place and give themselves up to study and contemplative self-discipline. While the institute has been set in working order, Dharmapala wants to acquire for the college the whole equipment of the modern psychological seminary such as frequently exist in American universities. But at present his funds have given out and he relies on further donations to realise his plans.

In the same place the Sanghamitta School has been put on a new footing through the efforts of the Countess M. de S. Canavarro, whom we mentioned some time ago in our columns, and who without antagonism to other religions, least of all the Christian, carries on a good work of educating Singhalese girls, and being herself quite imbued with Buddhistic thought she is much more able to reach the hearts of the people than English or American missionaries would be.

Another communication indicating a reawakening of the Buddhist faith reaches us from Calcutta, where C. C. Bose, the editor of the *Maha-Bodhi Journal*, informs us that thanks to the gift of 15,000 rupees from the Ceylon Maha-Bodhi Society to the Maha-Bodhi Society of Calcutta, they will enlarge the *Maha-Bodhi Journal*, which is published in the interest of Buddhism throughout India and serves as a centre for the Maha-Bodhi Societies of other countries, thus intending to unite all Buddhists in one great brotherhood of mutual good will and friendship, and assisting the Buddhists of all countries in the advance march of thought and civilisation. For the facilitation of their plans, they wish to buy a house in Calcutta which shall serve them as headquarters; but the sum of 15,000 rupees is not sufficient for the purpose and they want 35,000 rupees in addition, 1,000 of which have been subscribed by a distinguished Hindu gentleman of Bengal, who takes an active interest in the revival of Buddhism in his country. As the work should serve the common interest of all Buddhists, it is but fair that they expect to find assistance from Buddhists of other countries, and considering the enthusiasm which shows itself in the present revival of Buddhism they may be able to raise the sum.

We conclude this news concerning the awakening of Buddhism with the remark that it is a favorable sign of the times. It shows the increase of interest in matters of religion. Far from regarding it as a movement that will injure Christianity, we see in it an exhortation for Christians to do likewise. The old aggressiveness of Christian missions must yield to a new method of missionarising based on the proper Christian spirit of good will and mutual interest. Instead of condemning the great leaders of other religions, men like Buddha, Confucius, Mohammed, Christian missionaries must recognise those elements of truth which agree

with the teachings of their own master, and they will soon find a better response in the hearts of the followers of other faiths. They should not slur over the differences of the creeds; but they should gladly recognise that which we all hold in common, and try to understand the *raison d'être* of the differences in a brotherly spirit. Whenever other religions assert themselves in benevolent and missionary institutions, let us sympathise with their efforts and even assist them to reach the truth in their own way; for we need not worry about the truth. Let us propagate the truth as we see it, and the truth, whatever it may be, will be victorious in the end.

NOTES.

This number contains a psychological analysis of a man who has been for a long time and is still in the foreground of the political and literary life of France. Whatever we may think of M. Emile Zola as an author, we must admire his love of truth which prompts him in the face of an excited nation and its biased judges to have the courage of his convictions. His writings contain many things to which we would take exception, and his ideal of art seems radically different from our own. But there is a remarkable agreement concerning the principle that should be applied to religion, which is expressed by M. Zola in the following words: "A religion grafted on science is the indicated, certain, inevitable finish of man's long march towards knowledge. And is there not already some indication of such a religion? Has not the idea of the duality of God and the Universe been brushed aside, and is not the principle of unity, *monisme*, becoming more and more evident,—unity leading to solidarity?" M. Zola comes very near the formulation of the Religion of Science as expressed in *The Open Court*, although we do not doubt that in the formulation of the details of his religion he may considerably deviate from our views. Nevertheless, the coincidence is remarkable, perhaps the more so as he is probably not a reader of our magazine.

Mr. MacDonald is well known as an indefatigable worker in the line of social and criminal sociology, and the present article is a fair and valuable sample of the methods of that tendency in modern psychology which proposes to define and characterise the soul by reaction-times, by measuring the cranium, by determining the height and weight of a person, testing the sensitiveness of his skin, photographing his hands and thumb-prints, etc., etc. In our opinion the soul is of a subtler nature, and at the same time much less inaccessible than many of our modern psychologists imagine. The soul is in our thoughts, and in order to know the nature of a man we must know what he thinks, how he meditates, and what purposes he pursues. The hopes of catching the soul in the appliances of reaction-time measurement and other physiological symptoms will not be fulfilled. Nevertheless, we grant that to know the incidental characteristics of a man is also of great interest.



NICHOLAS DE MALEBRANCHE.
(1638-1715.)

COPYRIGHT 1898 BY THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY, CHICAGO.

Frontispiece to the September, '98 *Open Court*.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XII. (NO. 9.)

SEPTEMBER, 1898.

NO. 508

CHINESE FICTION.

BY GEORGE T. CANDLIN.

ONE of the most salient characteristics of modern life is its tendency to a cosmopolitan comprehensiveness. In the distribution and exchange, whether of the material goods of commerce, or of the richer and rarer treasures of the mind, we seem determined to carry the circulation round the whole habitable globe, and down through every layer of society to its lowest strata. From lucifer matches and cheap oleographs up to the highest products of art, of science, and of literature, there is an ever-increasing approach to universality, so that we do not know in what remote region of the earth we may pick up a translation of Shakespeare's plays, or which newly enlightened band of savages may be disporting themselves with Edison's phonograph. Our readiness to lend hardly surpasses our willingness to borrow, and the cold mountains of Norway furnish our theatres with the dramas of Ibsen, while Buffalo Bill is imported from the Wild West to provide new circus attractions for the British public.

So deeply has the modern mind been imbued with the cosmopolitan spirit, especially in the highest province of mental activity, that while national schools of art and science are formed, their attainments immediately become the common property of all, a glad communism in which there is rivalry but not detraction, patriotism expresses itself as the desire to have our own achievements stand well in the general record, and a knowledge of the distinctive features of each is thought necessary to a liberal education.

The wide field of fiction has been subject at least as much as any other department to this widening influence. While our own best novels have been translated into various languages no effort

has been spared, by translations and critical disquisitions, to make us acquainted with the genius of fiction as it has expressed itself in other races, and the chief masterpieces of imaginative literature are appearing with great rapidity in English dress. From of old we have been readers of the Decameron, Don Quixote, of the Arabian Nights, and of Gil Blas; but the last two decades have seen a new impulse to this desire for universality in the almost wholesale importation of novels from Russian, French, and German sources. It is quite impossible to go over the names of the works, or even of the authors pertaining to other nationalities, with which our literature has been enriched.

It is a step further afield to attempt to explore the novel literature of the Celestial Empire, but considering what a great, ancient, and singular people the Chinese are, and that they constitute more than a fourth of the whole human race, we cannot claim to be truly cosmopolitan while we leave them out. Moreover the "Flowery Kingdom" holds no mean rank amongst nationalities distinguished for literature, and very much has been done by Western savants to bring home to us the great value of its ethical, historical, and poetical writings. Yet so long as it possesses an extensive repertory of fiction, some of which is of a very high order indeed, but which is almost a complete blank, even in the best informed and widely sympathetic Western minds, our knowledge of this interesting people and of their bibliothecal treasures cannot be said to be exhaustive. It surely cannot be worthy of us as students of universal literature, to be quite ignorant of the work which so unique a people as the Chinese have done, and the success they have achieved in this department. Even if, as appears to be the case in certain quarters, we have concluded on some *a priori* ground that they have nothing worth talking about in this class of writing, would it not be well to know somewhat definitely and precisely why it is to be rejected?

If such motives as these are still considered insufficient to stimulate us to an examination of Chinese fiction there remains an appeal to what perhaps has been in the history of our race the strongest of all incentives to exertion and research,—the religious motive. To many it may appear an extravagant indulgence in paradox to associate very closely such different subjects as those of religion and fiction. Yet it is not difficult to show that in many cases their relations are most intimate. To confine ourselves particularly to "things Chinese," we may say that the connexion is very evident. If we would know, indeed, how religious doctrines

have been explained and expounded we need no help from sources extraneous to the religious classics, but if we would understand how religious beliefs have lived in the popular mind, and the supernatural conceptions with which they have through long ages been wound up, popular fiction is the strong mirror into which we must look. This, of course, is especially true if we wish to interpret not only the nucleus of truth which lies at the heart of Chinese religions, but also the massive nimbus of superstition by which it has been accompanied.

Religion and fiction alike owe their strength to the power of imagination, the mystic faculty which has peopled heaven and earth with intelligences other than man, and has followed man himself beyond the confines of our mortal life. So that whether we speak of Confucianism—that most rationalistic of all the world's great religions, so rationalistic as to almost forfeit its claim to be considered a religion at all—or of Buddhism or Taoism, in which imagination has been allowed far less restricted play, not to mention other forms of faith which consist almost entirely of imaginary conceptions, if we extend the meaning of the word "religion" so as to embrace all its attendant superstitions, the field of fictitious literature is the only one from which we can form an adequate conception of the way in which it has affected the national mind.

Goethe, somewhere, speaks of the poets as having brought down the gods to men. But the poet does not write in verse. Whether in verse or prose, let him satisfy the demand of the national imagination and he may create a deity. Kuan Yün Ch'ang is the Mars of China. He is also the hero of the national prose epic, *The History of the Three Kingdoms*. It is hardly assuming too much to say he is the god of the nation because he is the hero of the national story. We may well doubt whether any temple would have been built to his honor or any incense burnt at his shrine had fiction let him alone. If Lo Kuan Chung had not immortalised him he might long ago have been forgotten.

The Feng Shen Yen Yi has at least perpetuated, if it did not originate, the persistent belief in a great hierarchy of supernatural and mostly malignant beings. That peculiar mass of folk-lore known as the fox-myths probably circulated orally or in far less consummately elegant and less compact literary forms before the Liao Tsai was written, but who can say that these myths would not have died long ago if that brilliant star of superstitious literature had not made them unforgettable? The Shih Yu, a book as-

cribed to a Taoist priest, is the Pilgrim's Progress of Buddhism, a rich repertory of religious myths.

These instances sufficiently indicate the close connexion between popular religion and popular fiction. But what it is important for our readers to understand is that the mere study of a religion in its purified form affords no sufficient key to its influence on the national mind either for good or for evil. We cannot understand the concrete value of any religion until we take it as a whole "with all its imperfections on its head." Superstitions themselves thus become an important object of study. How could we understand the religion of the Greeks if we left out Greek mythology—if we knew nothing of Jupiter, of Venus, of Mercury, of Bacchus, the Gorgons, the Fates, or the nobly suffering rebel Prometheus? There is in like manner, closely associated with Chinese religious belief, a whole world of mythical lore. If we are quite ignorant of this we cannot understand the national mind or its mysterious workings. Now such literature as we propose to examine is the one channel open to us for the study of these complex supernatural and superstitious beliefs. If our object is to know simply what is true in Chinese religions we may safely neglect it, but then we cannot understand the Chinaman as he actually is. If we would understand how his religion has moulded his mind, through what obstructions and distortions the purer rays of truth have worked, we shall find in the historical and mythical novels of China the chief material of our study.

But this is not all, nor the chief part, of what is to be said. It is at least as interesting and much more instructive to observe the light which fiction throws upon the deep moral principles and spiritual intuitions which religions share in common, however diversified in external appearance and however varied their concrete value as agencies for the regulation of life, and which in reality give them their hold upon the reason and conscience of mankind. Fiction testifies not less to the common truths than to the diversified errors embodied in religious systems, and even to what we may call truth held in falsehood, as it shows us what are essentially the same spiritual instincts wearing such strange guises, that, though intrinsically identical, they appear strange and even antagonistic to each other, like members of the same family who, being dressed most diversely, have come to regard dress so exclusively as to forget their common ties of blood and feature and to treat each other as strangers and even enemies. No religion is wholly true and no religion wholly false. The falsest has more truth than it is

aware of, and the truest more falsehood than it will acknowledge. Even of the pure Gospel as preached by apostolic lips it had to be said "we have this treasure in earthen vessels." There is place here for the application of Emerson's apothegm, "the highest cannot be spoken of in words." Chinese devotees, whether Buddhist or Taoist, often refer to the beautiful legend of a *wu tsü ching* (a wordless classic), the idea being that of teaching so pure and spiritual that words must inevitably warp its truth and stain its purity. There is a common meeting ground of the creeds, whether Christian or heathen, which the fiery polemics of every camp alike ignore, and because they ignore it their word-contests are too often fruitless and indecisive, depending hardly at all on the intrinsic merits of the cause, almost entirely upon the intellectual strength of the champion, powerless to win over opponents, strong only to confirm each side in its own darling opinions. Why wonder that we do not reach pure truth and harmonise belief? Our discussions are too militant, too full of the fighting instinct which the battle-skirted march of the race through all past ages has imbued us with. Is it a question of civil or criminal justice? We have a fight about it, and plaintiff and defendant *contend* in an arena called a law-court. Is it a question of the wise government of a country? We have a fight about it, and Whig and Tory, Republican and Democrat *contend* in an arena called a parliament. Is it a question of religious teaching? We have a fight about it, and the champions of rival creeds *contend* in an arena of polemical discussion where confusion is greatest and feeling bitterest of all.

But it is always strife, not comprehension, victory, not edification, which is aimed at. All progress made hitherto has been chiefly that the ring is better kept and the rules a little fairer than they used to be. Only men of rare openness, fearless candor, and calm, patient love, see adequately the common ground which it is the interest of the champions to ignore, yet which has given to their creed its credibility and is the secret source of its strength. Even they are rather inwardly conscious of it than capable of giving it adequate expression. They cannot state it in any way that will in the least satisfy either the combatants or their several crowds of admirers. But what thoughtful student has not at some time had sight of the truth that the religions are all aiming dubiously and with but misty glimpses at a mark none of them adequately attain, that the heart of the matter, could they but think so, is one. All lead toward the mystery which none of them solve. All are conscious, however objectionable the manner in which they

express it, of the Divine Power that rules our lives, of hopes beyond the grave, of a life higher than the sordid struggle for wealth or place, all pronounce the sacred word duty and have risen to the exalting conception of righteousness. They differ? Yes! as much as you please; we will not minimise their discrepancies, by virtue of which, says the infidel, they are mutually destructive. His conclusion is wrong simply because in these high things they *agree* and their many differences are a proof of the essential truth of what they agree in. So fierce has been the strife between them they would have differed in everything if they could have done, as indeed in most cases they have *persuaded themselves* they do.

Now nowhere is this truth more clearly illustrated than in those delineations of life and character which presented naturally, which unconsciously let slip, as it were, in their dramatic course, the unauthorised and unformulated religious convictions and impulses of mankind. Fiction shows us, and hardly any more so than that of China, that every creed has nourished men of earnest and true piety, reverencing heaven, loving men, living pure lives and doing noble deeds. At the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, Buddhists and Brahmans alike spoke of God in much the same way as the Christian divines who were present. This was probably puzzling to many not only because those systems are only thought of by great numbers as mere idolatries, but because with more reason the most accomplished scholars have reduced the first to Atheism and the second to Pantheism. Perhaps we are right in saying that *theoretically* they are such, yet practice triumphs over theory, and the speakers were not conscious hypocrites. They were instinctively aware that what we reverence as God is in substance what they reverence. Fiction, saturated by the ideas of these schools, exhibits the same peculiarities.

Or to deal with religious conceptions of a more dubious character, Christianity has been peculiarly stamped by the spirit of chivalry, to which, perhaps, is due the elevation of woman of which it claims the merit. In Roman Catholicism this tendency has reached exaggerated expression in the worship of the Virgin. We see how natural this is when we consider that Buddhism has its Kuan Yin and Taoism its T'ien Hou Mang, both female impersonations of divinity, and in the pages of many a novelist we find these goddesses appealed to from precisely the same motives and for much the same objects as Mary would be in English novels depicting life and manners amongst Roman Catholics. We may be sure that while in each case the form which this natural feeling

has taken is erroneous and *super*-stitious, there is some truth behind craving in vain for right expression.

Again, nothing is more noticeable on a comparison of religions than that, while all have their sacred books, a formal doctrine of inspiration is peculiar to the Bible and the Koran. Yet no fact is worthy of more attention than that which fiction abundantly illustrates that in practice all treat their classics precisely as if they were inspired, reverencing them beyond all limits, so that paper and ink and the very errors in typography become sacred, quoting them as of final authority in controversy and regarding them as the summary of all truth. If you ask a Confucianist, "Are the Four Books inspired?" he will first be bewildered by the question, having never thought of them in that light. Your meaning having been more fully explained to him, he will probably say, "No." But in the result he will treat them with the same pious reverence and surrender with which you treat your Bible, if not even with more. For him they are practically inspired. It is a beautiful and true instinct of our humanity which cannot be eradicated by logic to hold in pious love the text-book of our religious teaching whatever it may be and the light literature which is the very opposite of the sacred books was the fullest testimony to the constancy of the sentiment.

Instances might be multiplied, but we have adduced enough to show how much light fictitious literature can throw upon the religious beliefs of those among whom it has sprung up; the weight of its testimony supporting the conclusion that just as our common humanity has shown strange diversity in different ages, with differing climes, under differing physical and social conditions; in laws, in customs, in dress, in external manners and ceremonies; yet is wondrously one at heart; so the strange and often wild and grotesque expression of those verities of the soul which we name religion hinders not that the spring and secret of their power has been alike, that it has been, though with varying dimness or clearness of insight, as the generations have kept their watch through the night of history, a true hope and vision of eternal things.

The tone in which the novel literature of China has been spoken of by Western scholars has for different reasons been almost invariably a tone of disparagement. Men who have taken pains to read but a strictly limited quantity, have not hesitated to pronounce it crude, puerile, and grossly impure. Like Browning's poems, it has been taken in quite homeopathic doses administered

at long intervals, yet has been pronounced nauseous as the drugs of the allopath. Those wonderful beings, a sort of Arhats or Mahatmas in literature, whose sacred function it is to reveal to common mortals the profound esoteric mysteries of Eastern bibliography, we mean the sinologues, intent as they are on the ancient and the heavy, would no doubt feel insulted if asked to take interest in anything so trifling as a mere novel. This whole field they pass by with the sublime unconsciousness of superior beings to whom such paltry matters are "trifles light as air." Rarely indeed has a voice been heard in approval. The one solitary testimony of any warmth which we have been able to find after much hunting is this of Remusat, which we take from the *Middle Kingdom*. In the midst of much respecting the defects and shortcomings of Chinese novels, he compares them (as a body, we suppose) to Richardson, and says: "The authors render their characters interesting and natural by reiterated strokes of the pencil which finally produce a high degree of illusion. The interest in their pages arose precisely in proportion to the stage of my progress; and in approaching to the termination I found myself about to part with some agreeable people, just as I had duly learned to relish their society." We give this with misgiving. It reads to us very like the "faint praise that damns." In fact China yet lacks that Western mind which has enough sympathy with this very large department of her literature to become in any degree its interpreter to the novel-loving Occident. Even Mr. Giles, the translator of the *Liao-Tsia*, the author of *Gems of Chinese Literature*, with his open sense and warm appreciation of all things Celestial, even Mr. Giles (we really beg his pardon if we take his name in vain) that Goliath champion of Chinese literature against the world, that Philistine blasphemous of the Western Israel, clerical and lay, has held in such light esteem this field of fiction, as in a book, professedly illustrating the *belles lettres* of China, to write of the Yuan the Mongol dynasty, which produced its great masterpieces, the *San Kuo Tzu*, the *Shui Hu*, the *Shih Hsiang*, the *Pi Pa Chi*, and the *Hsi Yu*, that "the imaginative power became visibly weaker, to decline later on to a still lower level of rule-and-line mediocrity." Yet we hope to show our readers that the Chinese have an enormous quantity (it is so hopelessly scattered and buried that we can hardly call it a collection) of prose imaginative writing, the great bulk of it by no means despicable, and some portions of it of a very high order of merit, which does not yield in interest or in literary finish, though perhaps it does in imaginative force, to the

best Western fiction; and which furnishes a mirror of Chinese life, household customs, ideals of character and superstitious folklore to be found nowhere else.

The feature to which we will first call attention is the extent of the field to be gone over by an investigator of Chinese fiction.

This is a matter on which it is too possible to be under a great delusion. China is a country in which there is nothing ready to your hand. Her literary productions are in a hopeless state of confusion, and no one knows what treasures of imagination may be buried under mountains of comparative rubbish. You cannot look at the end of a book and see advertisements of hundreds of others of its class. You cannot send for publishers' lists and pick them out at your ease. You cannot take up a history of literature and find them chronologically arranged. China has had great critics, but none who have dealt comprehensively with her literature. The *Taine* of the "Flowery Kingdom" has not yet appeared. An inquiry into the works of fiction she possesses is beset by difficulties which can only be likened to the fabulous search of "Hsuen Tsang" for the Buddhist canons. You must go on faith that they exist, that they are precious, and that they may be had by undaunted seeking: but it is a long way to fetch them, you have the vaguest possible idea where to look, and there are untold difficulties to be surmounted in the quest.

Your first impression is that you are in for a nice, neat, compact little thing, though you have a very ugly feeling of being in most disreputable company. The attitude of the ordinary Confucian teacher toward the fictitious writings of his ancestors is a charming study in masculine prudery. It is really a high-class article in the way of sentiment. It is such a lovely mixture of intellectual superiority, moral reprobation, fastidious delicacy, and hypocritical purity, as nearly withers you up. You are thoroughly ashamed of having supposed it possible that he ever was so weak as to betray the faintest interest in such low, trivial things. He is nearly as much scandalised as though you should make bold to ask him does he love his wife. Nothing can equal it except the avidity with which he will read novels on the sly. If you muster courage to go through this first stage and to be persevering in your inquiries, you will find that this highly proper individual knows more about novels than is consistent with his virtuous professions. He can if he likes give you a very fair outline of the *History of the Three Kingdoms*, and the names of its noted characters, though they amount to some seven hundred. He can detail no small num-

ber of the yarns in the *History of the Contending States*, give you the plot of the *Western Rooms*, incidents from the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, tales from the *Diversions of a Studio*, and the myths of the fabulous *Western Expedition*, and he at least knows the name of the *Tale of the Guitar*. You draw these things from him reluctantly, he evidently believing that it is much to his discredit to know anything about them. But there he comes to a sudden stop. You ask if these comprise the whole or the main works of fiction. "By no means," and he perhaps vaguely remembers the names of five or six others, some of which you must on no account read. You try another teacher, and another, and still another with the same result. But just as you are about to conclude that these are all that are worth notice, and that you have a manageable quantity to deal with, a sentence in the preface of a book or a stray observation sets you on a new track, you find that there are more and yet more books that no one you have met with has ever read, that no literary guide ever mentions, the names of which most people are ignorant of; and by dint of following a hint here and pursuing a clue there, you realise that you are in a trackless wilderness of unknown extent and of unexplored growth. There is no one publishing centre in China that corresponds to London: its Paternoster Row is distributed loosely through the Empire, but a very forest of timber must be tumbling about in lumber-rooms in the shape of wood blocks on which novels are stereotyped. So that we must dismiss from our minds the idea that Chinese fiction is a very limited quantity. There is any amount if you can get at it, but, bless us, it is like rummaging in an old second-hand book shop. The owner turns you in, bidding you pick out what you like, you select this and that from the dusty, piled-up heaps, but finally leave in disgust, unable to cope with the confusion, yet covetously longing to know all that's there. The quantity in existence may be inferred from a single fact. Chinese fiction, like Roman Catholic theology, has an *Index Expurgatorius*. In Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature* the list of prohibited novels published by this censorate contains the names of one hundred and thirty-seven different works. If such be the mere parings, the *excrementitia* of their novel literature, what must be the bulk of the whole body? A great deal of it is worthless enough, imitations are numerous, every really clever and popular novel has been plagiarised to satiety, but how much there is that has real merit it is impossible to say. A certain number of these books are known as "works of genius." We have got as far as ten of these in our researches, which we think is

關
羽



KUAN YŪN CH'ANG, THE MARS OF CHINA. See p. 515.
(From an illustrated edition of *San Kuo Yen Yi*.)

all, but are by no means certain. We give a list of fourteen of the most famous of Chinese novels, the names of which for convenience we have put into English, as follows :

1. History of the Three Kingdoms.
2. Annals of the Water-marshes.
3. The Western Excursion.
4. The Tale of the Western Room.
5. The Tale of the Guitar.
6. The Dream of the Red Chamber.
7. Diversions of a Studio.
8. The Contending States of the Eastern Chou.
9. Seeking a Match.
10. The Pear of Precious Beauty.
11. The Jade Sceptre.
12. Story of P'ing San and Leng Yen.
13. Exorcising the Devils.
14. History of the Apotheosis of Spirits.

These are all novels fairly well known, written with considerable force of imagination and literary skill. We shall not be able to deal at large with them all, but propose, for want of a better judge, to act as literary taster to our readers and try to give them an idea of the principal ones, what they are about, their various excellencies of style, and what are the chief characteristics of Chinese fiction, these being taken as the samples and criteria of judgment?

As an instance of the sentiment of Chinese poetry, we select a poem entitled "The Maiden and the Flowers," which is taken from the novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber*:

THE MAIDEN AND THE FLOWERS.¹

Flowers fading, flying, fly and fill the sky,
Colors melt and fragrance fails,—who pities when they die?
Flossy festoons dance around the sweet spring arbor sides,
To th' embroidered screen soft down-heads fasten clingly.

From her room a maiden issues pitying much the waning spring,
Full of sorrow past expression for the beauty taking wing;
Through the brodered screen she passes with her flower hoe in hand,
Stepping lightly 'mongst the blossoms, lest she trample anything.

Willow Floss and elm-tree scales unconscious fragrance pour,
Unregarded peach and plum-bloom hover light the wind before;
Peach and plum may bloom anew as next year's spring comes round,
But next year, alas! she knows not who will stand within the door.

¹ A translation of a poem from the Chinese novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber*.

張飛



CHANG-FEI. THE YOUNGER OF THE THREE COVENANT BROTHERS. A BRAVE BUT RECKLESS WARRIOR AND WASSAILER. See p 530.

(From the *San Kuo Yen Yi*.)

Fragrant nests are all completed ; 'tis the third moon's date.
 'Neath the bridge the twittering swallows now have ceased to mate.
 Though next year new flowers may bloom for plundering birds to peck,
 Maiden gone and bridge deserted, nests may hang disconsolate.

Of the year the days are numbered just three hundred and three score;
 Full they are of fierce annoyance cutting winds and keen frost hoar.
 Glowing charms and fresh young beauty cannot last for long,
 Swift as morn they ripple past us to be found no more.

Blowing flowers by all are seen, but falling disappear ;
 Sorely grieved the maiden buries what she held most dear ;
 Hoe in hand before the steps she scatters secret drops,
 Drops that mark the naked boughs with trace of many a tear.

Cuckoo notes have silent grown and twilight comes apace,
 Hoe in hand through double doors her steps she must retrace.
 Bright the lamp gleams on the wall where now she turns to sleep,
 Chill her couch and cold the rain-drops beating on her window-case.

Sad she muses : What deep feeling strikes with double smart
 Half of pity half resentment through my aching heart ?
 Pity spring should come so sudden, with resentment for its flight,
 Come so silent without warning and so soundlessly depart.

Yester' eve without the porch I heard a piteous strain,
 'Twas the souls of birds and flowers departing as in pain ;
 Souls of birds and souls of flowers cannot be detained ;
 Birds are hushed and flowers in blushes all too swiftly wane.

Would that from my ribbed sides a pair of wings might spring
 That to heaven's height with the flowers I my flight might wing.
 Yet on heaven's height
 Where to find their gathering ?

No ! 'twere better the fair form embroidered shroud should wrap,
 Gaiety be mounded o'er with fresh earth for a lap ;
 That which cleanly entered life as cleanly depart,
 Not abandoned to the gutter or defiled with foul mishap.

Poor dead flowers ! I buried you to-day within earth's breast,
 Not divining when my body must be laid to rest ;
 I, who buried flowers for pity, men would laugh to scorn :
 Soon the mourner, as the flowers, to the grave must be addressed.

Thus the Spring must waste away, thus the flowers are gone ;
 Nature's hues and human beauty perish one by one ;
 One brief morning's dream of Spring and beauty hastens to old age ;
 Falling flowers and dying mortals pass alike to the unknown.

One interesting fact about Chinese fiction should not be omitted. It came to us almost as a shock of surprise that all this branch of literature is comparatively modern. There are many dif-

昭烈帝



HSÜEN-T'Ê. THE ELDER OF THE THREE COVENANT BROTHERS, AFTERWARDS RULER OF ONE OF THE THREE KINGDOMS INTO WHICH CHINA WAS DIVIDED, A. D., 221-685. See p. 532. (From the *San Kuo Yen Yi*.)

ficulties connected with dates and authorship, but it seems certain that most if not all the books we have enumerated have been written within the last three dynasties. Of course the events related in the semi-historic novels belong to the distant past, the mighty actors and the stirring scenes of the "Chou" and the "Han" and the pious pilgrimages of the "Tang" dynasties. But we have not been able to trace the authorship of any novel to an earlier age than the times of the Mongols. There seems no doubt that the great masterpiece, the *San Kuo Tzu*, was produced at this time. This was China's golden age of fiction, but the production extended on through the "Ming" and into the present dynasty, to which the *Hung Lou Meng* and the *Liao Tsai* belong. The vast mass of fiction is later than *K'ang Hsi* and is being added to at the present time. This is a refreshing change. In reading Chinese books, ethics, poetry, history, it is so difficult to escape the belief that everything is a millennium old.

Let us commence our review with the work just referred to, the *San Kuo Tzu* or History of the Three Kingdoms, a novel of novels, which if it were the only work of fiction that the Chinese had ever produced, it would be impossible to deny their claim to be an imaginative people. It is of fine proportions, one hundred and twenty long chapters, the reputed author Lo Kuan Chung, a great genius gone down to oblivion with nothing left us but a name and this product of his pen. The story is semi-historical, that is about as historical as the Waverley novels, with which it may be compared, and the events cover nearly a century of time. As Shakespeare borrowed his historical facts from Hollingshead, so this author is indebted to an earlier but very dull work by Ch'en Hsou. Williams, in the *Middle Kingdom*, confuses the two. The work has been embellished with very racy notes from the pen of Mao Sheng San, a brilliant *littérateur*, and to these again are added most extensive introductions to each several chapter by Chin Sheng T'an, as much a prince among literary critics as Chu Shi was a "prince of commentators." These two great writers and scholars have agreed to set the stamp of their approval on the work. Their names take the place of the author's on the title page. Thus in reading text or notes or introductory passages you are amongst the best models of Chinese style. If asked what book in Chinese furnished the best example of the power of the Chinese language we should say the *San Kuo Tzu*. For simplicity, force, and fertility of imagination, it is unsurpassed in any language. The author has done his work with inimitable skill. While his diction is charged

貂蟬



T'IAO CH'AN. A BEAUTIFUL SLAVE-GIRL EMPLOYED BY WANG YÜN TO COMPASS THE DEATH OF LUNG-CHO, WHICH SHE DID BY AN INTRIGUE IN WHICH SHE PLAYED CLEVERLY A DOUBLE PART BETWEEN HIM AND LÜ-PU. See p. 532. (From the *San Kuo Yen Yi*.)

with the richest metaphor it is chosen so simply that in spite of his use of "Wenli" particles the Chinese characterise it as a book in the Mandarin dialect. He has interspersed it with numerous rhymes of no very high order, more stilted and less poetic than the prose, but serving admirably the double purpose of mnemonics to assist the memory and morals to apply the lessons. He is a writer brilliant and perspicuous as Macaulay, simple as John Bunyan.

Let us try to interest our readers in him by offering, with apologies for its clumsiness, a prose translation of the little poem with which he introduces himself :

" The ceaseless stream of time, how its waters roll ever eastward.

The gifted and the brave are engulfed in its curling wave ;

And right and wrong, and success and defeat, are gone with a turn of the head,
While as of old the green hills remain,

In a trice the sun reddens to even.

" We old men, white-headed, at leisure ; we spend our days as fishers and fowl
gatherers on our little isle in the stream.

We regard only the Autumn moon and the breezes of Spring.

With a pot of common wine we gleefully meet together,

And the past and the present, with all their concerns, are but food for a pleasant
tale."

The story opens with the fall of the Han dynasty. At the accession of the Emperor Ling disorders break out at court, and gloomy omens presage distress. The scene passes to the neighborhood of P'ing Yuen in Shantung, where three mysterious brothers, possessors of magic powers, appear at the head of rebel hordes who gather in strength myriadfold. The monarch is feeble, his empire is ruled by eunuchs, but speeding through the kingdom are requisitions for volunteers to arm and oppose the "Yellow Cap" rebels. The spirit of loyalty is awakened, and now the heroes of the story, the three immortal brothers, appear on the scene. Liu Pei is of royal lineage but poor and unknown. He is twenty-eight years of age as he stands sighing before the placard summoning loyal subjects to battle, and Ch'ang Fei's abrupt greeting falls on his ears : "If a big fellow like you will not help his country, why do you sigh so deeply?" They adjourn to an inn, and while at their wine Kuan Yu enters wheeling a barrow. He joins their conference and they declare their purpose to risk their all in upholding the house of Han. Liu Pei is a dealer in shoes and plaiter of mats, Kuan Yu a refugee, Ch'ang Fei a seller of wine and a butcher of pigs. The famous Covenant of the Peach Or-

呂布



LO-PU, A BRAVE WARRIOR AND RIDER OF RED-HARE, THE FAMOUS HORSE.
THE MURDERER OF TUNG-CHO, WHOSE FAVORITE HE HAD BEEN.
See p. 532. (From the *San Kuo Yen Yi*.)

chard is conceived in the happiest spirit of romance and forms one of the most striking of the many episodes with which the book abounds.

Let us take a short passage, once more with apologies for the translation; and here first our readers shall have a picture of a Chinese hero:

"He stood nine feet in height and his beard was two feet long. His face was like a heavy date, and his lips as rouge. With eyes like the red phoenix and brows where silk-worms might nestle: stern and lofty was his countenance, and his bearing awful and menacing."

This is the original of the countless images scattered all over China. You see one every time you enter a Kuan Ti temple, for this man is the Mars of China.

But now for the covenant. The peaches, he is careful to tell us, are in full bloom.

"Next day in the peach orchard they prepared a black ox and a white horse for sacrifice, with all other things needful, and the three men burnt incense, and after repeated obeisances pronounced their oath, which read: 'Liu Pei, Kuan Yu, and Ch'ang Fei, though of different families, yet as we have joined in brotherhood with heart and strength to succor distress and support the weak, to show loyalty to the Kingdom and to secure peace to the common people, care not to have been born at the same time, we would only that we might die together. May Imperial Heaven and our Royal Mother Earth search truly our hearts, and him who proves traitor to the vow or forgets this grace may Heaven and men combine to slay.'"

The oath ended, they did obeisance to Hsuen Te as elder brother, to Kuan Yu as next in rank, and to Ch'ang Fei as youngest.

Then when they had finished their sacrifice to heaven, they slew another ox, brought on the wine, and gathered the braves of their district, more than three hundred in number, to the peach orchard, where they drank to intoxication.

Next morning they are up betimes and off to the front of battle. With true epic instinct and with a fire and force of spirit, to which all material is plastic, the author proceeds to unroll the panorama of events. Tung Cho's usurpation and the wiles of the maiden Tiao Ch'an, Lu Pu's masculine beauty and invincible skill in battle, Ts'ao Ts'ao, matchless in guile, kingly in statecraft, and his path in warfare untraceable, Sun Chien strong and inexpugnable, the piteous state of the fugitive child-prince: on through treachery and bloodshed and ambuscade, the ceaseless shock of spears and ring of bucklers, with the twang of strong bow-strings and the hiss of poison-tipped arrows. Slowly and dubiously the three brothers with their small band rise to power, till the unfathomable Chu Ko

吳大帝



SUN CIEN. A NOBLEMAN WHO BECAME RULER OF THE THIRD KINGDOM.
See p. 532. (From the *San Kuo Yen Yi*.)

Liang is wooed from his retreat to become the Moltke of a rude wild age, and, espousing their side, unites magical resources with military strategy to make their cause victorious. He can call the rain and whistle the wind and shape wonderful automata that serve as battle steeds. He can read the secrets of men's breasts and fathom even Ts'ao Ts'ao's plans. All over the land the turmoil sweeps, the tide of battle rolling now east, now west, and now south, as Chu Ko goes to subdue the Man Tzu. A scene of wild confusion, change, and strife; battle everywhere; in palace and camp, in valley defiles, among mountain fastnesses, on land, on water, among the countless boats of Wu. And through it all the one golden thread of loyalty, the "argument" which gives unity to the story, is never lost sight of, and through it all the mighty three, true as steel in triumph and reverse, hold on their steadfast way. At last the storm sinks through sheer exhaustion and ends, not in complete victory, for Kuan Yün Ch'ang has been trepanned in battle and put to death by Sun Chien, and Chu Ko Liang's victorious career has been checked by Ssu Ma Yi. But Hsuen Te is king of Shu, and a settled compromise is reached in the formation of the Three Kingdoms.

This writer is great. He loves his characters, they are living and distinct, each has his individuality and separate portraiture, Ts'ao Ts'ao, subtle, treacherous; Kuan Yün Ch'ang, brave, generous; Ch'ang Fei, rash, coarse, but true; Hsuen Te, thoughtful, kingly; they are men; loving, hating, striving, boastful, magnanimous, often doing generous deeds, always their hearts throbbing with strong human passion. Then how he has contrived to image all the life and all the manners of the age, so that the China of by-gone days glows on his pages, so that as his witty commentator says of the *San Kuo Tzu* that it is "*Wu shuo pu yu*"—"Nothing that it has not got." How fond he is of incidents and genealogies, with what loving tenderness or reiterated mention he dwells on this and on that. Hsia Hou Tun swallowing his own eye, Yu Chi's priestcraft, Hua To's magic in surgery, K'ung M'ing's harp, Yun Ch'ang's sword, Lu Pu's spear, and the famous horse Red Hare, that would "go a thousand li in a day and cross water and mount hills as though on even ground."

The *San Kuo Tzu* may be characterised in one comparison. It is the Iliad of China. This was first pointed out by Sir John Davis. Many of the qualities of old Homer are in it, consummate dramatic art (which alone redeems the Greek epic from insufferable dullness), supreme love of battle, extravagant admiration of



CHU-KO-LIANG, THE MOLTRE OF HIS AGE, A FAMOUS GENERAL OF THE HAN DYNASTY. See p. 532. (From the *San Ruo Yen Yi*.)

bravery and feats of arms, wide and universal sympathy which puts him in touch with all his characters, fondness for detail, and copiousness, which leads him to pour into it the most miscellaneous facts, lists, names; skill in blending the supernatural with the ordinary course of events (for the *San Kuo Tzu* has its machinery as much as the *Iliad*), consuming patriotism that makes everything interesting which affects his country. It scarcely yields to the *Iliad* in fire and spirit and descriptive power. Like the *Iliad*, it makes its heroes utter bragging speeches on the battle-field and do single-handed deeds of "derring-do." Like the *Iliad*, it mingles strategy with force and makes the sage the companion of the hero. Like the *Iliad*, it is the darling of a nation's heart because it has best imaged forth what they most love and admire. For it is immensely popular in China. Your 'rikisha coolie, if you are lucky in him, can probably tell you more of this book than I can. It is drawn upon copiously for the rude plays which the people passionately love, its incidents are repeated in endless recitals in the tea-shops, its heroes are glorified in the national imagination, one was a king, another is still a god, and the burning passion of a nation's life has poured itself into this tale of a glorious past. Strangely enough, not its author, but its lively annotator, like Homer, was blind. We will part with it with one other specimen, Kuan Kung's first great victory.

The champion, Hua Shiung, is vaunting in front of the army, and the princes are deliberating in the tent whom they shall send against him. He has just slain two bold heroes opposed to him and their hearts sink with misgiving.

The general, Shao, said "Alas my chief generals, Yen Liang and Wen Chou, have not yet come. If only we had a man here we need not fear Hua Shiung."

Before he had finished speaking from below the step which led into the tent a loud voice called out, "I will go, will cut off Hua Shiung's head and present it before your tent."

They all looked at him and saw a man who stood nine feet in height, with a beard two feet long. "His face was like a heavy date and his lips as rouge. With eyes like the red phoenix and brows where silkworms might nestle. Stern and lofty was his countenance, and his bearing awful and menacing."

Mark this. Precisely the same description as you have had before. Pope has a long passage in the introduction to his *Homer* in which he defends his constant practice of repeating his epithets. Here we have just the same trick. It is a remnant of oral epics. If

曹操



TS'AO-TS'AO, THE VILLAIN OF THE *San Kuo Yen Yi*. HIS SON BECAME
RULER OF THE SECOND OF THE THREE KINGDOMS. See p. 534.
(From the *San Kuo Yen Yi*.)

the matter is something which takes hold of the imagination the people like to hear it repeated, as children love to hear the story over again. There is just one addition:

"His voice was like a great bell," and as he stood before the tent Shao asked:

"Who is this?"

Kung Sun Tsan said, "This is Liu Shuen Te's brother, Kuan Yu."

Shao asked, "What rank does he hold?"

Tsan replied, "He follows Hsuen Te as a mounted bowman."

Then Yuen Shu cried angrily from the tent, "Do you wish to flout our princes with the want of a general? How is it that a common bowman dares to talk nonsense in this presence?"

But Ts'ao Ts'ao hurriedly stopped him saying: "He must be a brave man to speak so boldly, and methinks you would do well to try him. If he does not succeed it will be time enough to rebuke him."

"But," Yuen Shao objected, "if we send a mere bowman to fight Hua Shiung will laugh at us."

Ts'ao Ts'ao replied, "This man's appearance and bearing are uncommon. How should Hua Shiung know that he is only a bowman?"

"If I do not conquer let me be beheaded myself," said Kuan Yu.

Upon this Ts'ao Ts'ao heated a cup of wine to give him as he mounted his horse. "Pour out the wine," said Kuan Yu, "I go before I drink and be back directly."

He left the tent, took his sword, flew on to his horse, and the princes heard without the gate the thundering sound of drums and the clamorous shouts rising, as though the heaven was moved, as though the earth had fallen in; it was like the shaking of lofty peaks and the downfall of mountains. They all trembled with alarm, but before they could inquire what was the matter, the tinkling bells jingled as the horse came back into the ranks, and Yun Ch'ang appeared with the head of Hua Shiung and threw it on the ground.

And his wine was still warm.

He had done it in the time which it took the cup of wine, poured out before he started, to be cool enough to drink.

This is genius, the sparing touch of a master's hand. Do not misunderstand the comparison we made to the Iliad. We cannot

華陀



HUA-T'O. THE FAMOUS SURGEON. See p. 534. (From the *San Kuo Yen Yi*.)

pretend to the knowledge of the subject and the critical capacity which would enable us to compare Lo Kuan Chung's book with Homer's and adjudge their respective merits, nor could our readers so divest themselves of preconceived ideas as to take the Iliad in one hand and this in the other and give an unbiased judgment. Here is none of the fineness and delicacy of the old Greek spirit, and it is in prose, not verse. Yet it must be remembered that this prose, like all the best writings of the Chinese, notably the "four books," is most rhythmic, and maugre its prose style it is virtually an epic. Where it should stand in the list we will not venture to say, but it is the work of a most gifted artist, and whether we recognise the fact or not, it deserves as much to be ranked with the world's great books (perhaps in the humblest place) as the Iliad, the Æneid, the Jerusalem, the Orlando Furioso, the Niebelungen Lied, or the Paradise Lost.

This novel is typical of a whole class, the historical novel. The two others we have on our list of this kind are the *Annals of the Water Marshes* and the *Contending States of the Eastern Chou*. Of these we shall have no room for extended illustrations.

Take the latter one first. The Chinese regard it as something like authentic history. It is not a book for conscientious reading. The parts of it which alone can pretend to be serious history constitute such a crowd of names of persons, names of places, and dates, which with an elaborate show of order are jumbled into a hopeless state of confusion, that if your intellect withstands the strain, you are assured against a lunatic asylum for the rest of your days. But having in mind the delicacy of the cerebral organisation in man, we would not advise our readers to risk it. You are familiar with the confusion which arises in the unstudious mind from reading the book of Chronicles, and finding the events and dates of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel recorded contemporaneously. The writer hops to and fro from Israel to Judah with an alacrity which you cannot imitate, and you find yourself every now and then in Israel when you ought to be in Judah, hobnobbing with Jehosophat when you ought to be walking with Ahab in Naboth's vineyard. But that is lucidity itself compared with this. This is as though a man should undertake to write the history of the Saxon Heptarchy, carrying the whole seven kingdoms along on his back in one continuous narrative, and keeping the other six in your mind as he speaks of each one. Only, guessing at it, we should think there are thirty or forty of them instead of seven. The sole redeeming merit of the book is its lies. The author him-

self, or else one of his editors, warns you what to expect. In the introduction to the work he tells you that "all other light literature, such as the *Shui Hu*, the *Shih Yu*, and the *Feng Shen Yen Yi*, are a pack of falsehoods, the *San Kuo Tzu* alone having a measure of truth in it, but the *Lieh Kuo* is different, being true in every detail and in every sentence," that as "he is unable to record the whole truth, where should he have the time to add make-ups, and though on this account it is less readable, yet its thoroughly reliable character is its recommendation." *Sancta Simplicitas!* And then we have amongst court chronicles and battle scenes, unilluminated by a spark of fire or life, such an endless series of absurd and superstitious legends as were never launched on the world before or since. They are all detailed in a tone of pious severity, but that does not hinder them from being so extravagant, miraculous, and scandalous, that Herodotus would blush to own them. It is the most magnificent collection of historic yarns which China, as prolific in these as it is in proverbs, can boast. These, and these alone, if you skip judiciously, make the book readable.

In the *Annals of the Water Marshes* we come back to a book much like the *Three Kingdoms* but of a lower strain. It contains less history and more personal narrative. Its style is phenomenal. Coarse, direct, graphic, intense, each word is like a fierce stroke from a graver's tool. If you have any notion that Mandarin Chinese is unexpressive, read this book. Here is the rude strength of the mountain quarryman, who cleaves deep into the heart of the rock; wild, fierce, sincere, Dante himself is not more terse and vivid. In the one quality of power, rugged, relentless, gloomy, like a storm-beat precipice, there is no book in Chinese to equal it, and no book in any language to surpass it. It is all pictures, struck with sharp, rough, but masterful strokes, and all the pictures are silhouettes.

In one respect this book is the very opposite of the *Three Kingdoms*. That rings all through with the clarion-tone of loyalty; this echoes only the harsh and menacing tone of rebellion. It represents the sinister side of the shield, discontented China. Its plot is laid in the time of Hui Tsung, one of the Sung emperors, and it is occupied in detailing the exploits of one hundred and eight famous outlaws whose stronghold was Liang San amongst the "Water Marshes." The stern, implacable demand of the undaunted rebel spirit for a justice which the law is too feeble and too corrupt to give, is enforced with terrible emphasis, and, as in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, or Schiller's *Robbers*, we get a deep insight into

cruelties and oppressions done in an age when right is defenceless and authority takes the side of the wrong-doer. This book illustrates one somewhat repulsive side of Chinese humor. The fact is not generally known in the Western World, but nearly every one who has been long resident in China is aware that he is known among the natives around him by a name which he neither derived from his parents nor received at the baptismal font, one quite unclassical and generally not flattering. You can usually get to know other people's but not your own. Nobody can nickname like the Chinese. Their genius in this direction is preternatural. In this novel we have a fine display of it. "The Little Whirlwind," "Jade Unicorn," "The Leopard-Headed," "The Devil's Neighbor," "Hail-Fire," and "The Black Whirlwind," are but a few of them. The book is the work of a powerful mind, though it is hung over with menace and gloom. Unscrupulous, defiant, stern as the fates, but true in covenant and brave in conflict, these men and women are not of the smiling, temperate, human sort; they are terrible; beings of the cave and the mountain den. On account of its subject the book is a forbidden one, but in China that is no hindrance to your getting it if you want to.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

NICOLAS MALEBRANCHE.¹

(1638-1715.)

BY PROF. L. LÉVY-BRUHL.

MALEBRANCHE was a philosopher, to use Plato's beautiful expression, from his whole soul. Far from raising a kind of impenetrable partition between his religious faith and his rational thought, he did not even conceive the possibility of a conflict between faith and philosophy, if the latter were genuine. "I am persuaded, Ariste, that one has need to be a sound philosopher in order to find one's way in the understanding of the truths of faith, and that the better fortified one is in the true principles of metaphysics, the more steadfastly will one cling to the truths of religion." These few words sum up the program which Malebranche endeavored to carry out, or, more exactly, the *postulatum*, the truth of which his whole philosophy seeks to establish.

To this end it was necessary for him to introduce new elements between Catholic dogma and the Cartesian rationalism, which would enable him to pass insensibly from the one to the other. These elements almost spontaneously offered themselves to him in Augustine, whose doctrine was particularly studied by the congregation of the Oratory, to which Malebranche belonged. With the help of Augustine, he dived deep into ancient philosophy, from which he chiefly borrowed Platonic notions, and towards whose notions the natural bent of his mind inclined him. Thus the tradition which Descartes thought to have definitely interrupted between the ancient and the modern philosophy was renewed with the very first generation which sprang from him, at the hands of his most illustrious successor. But Malebranche did not make himself a slave to Plato as Scholasticism had been to Aristotle. On the contrary, the mixture, or rather, blending, of these Platonic ele-

¹Extracts from a forthcoming work on the *History of Modern French Philosophy*.

ments with the Cartesian principles gave to Malebranche's writings an original flavor. The great work with which Malebranche busied himself for ten years, and which appeared in 1674, was entitled *La Recherche de la vérité*.

First of all, whoever undertakes such a research is to make a careful distinction between rational evidence, the only sign of truth, and the false light of the senses, which, in spite of its apparent clearness, gives but deceitful information. Our senses produce vivid impressions upon us, but do not enlighten us. The light of reason, which on the contrary seems cold, makes us see things as they really are. Therefore, we must close the eyes of the body, and accustom ourselves to see only with the mind's eye.

This precept is often expressed in language which reminds us of Plato's Socrates in the *Phædo*, and represents the body as a principle of trouble and darkness, offensive to the natural clear-sightedness of the soul, which it binds down to grossly deceitful appearances, leaving behind it but an imperfect reminiscence of eternal realities, being, in fact, a sort of poison, from which the wise man's soul yearns to be released. Malebranche likewise speaks of the tumult of the senses hindering the soul from hearkening to the voice of reason. He then insensibly passes on from the Platonic to the Christian point of view. The soul's subservience to the body becomes a consequence of the original fall; the dominancy of the senses over the spirit is said to be the result of sin, and the soul's possession of truth to be communion with God. "The spirit stands, so to speak, between God and the body, between good and evil, between what enlightens and what blinds it, what rules it well and what rules it ill, what makes it perfect and happy and what is apt to make it imperfect and unhappy."

Thus, according to Malebranche, as well as to Plato, philosophy first requires the soul to move to a different position from that which it occupied before reflecting. Things which are visible and tangible, which may be tasted and smelt, it first believed to be real: it shall henceforth look upon them as illusory. Things, on the contrary, which are neither seen nor touched, but purely intelligible, it shall look upon as alone real. Malebranche has no difficulty in bringing out the truth of this precept, even on Descartes's principles. He shows that the secondary qualities of bodies are all relative to the thinking subject. That property alone belongs to body which we conceive by means of our understanding—i. e., extension. Our senses therefore teach us nothing. We think we see the room in which we are. We think we see the sun. It is a delusion

and it is certain that we do not. It is not even possible to understand how we could see them; for in what way could such material objects act upon the immaterial soul, while there is nothing in common between it and them?

Shall we then entirely reject the notions of our senses as false and deceitful? No, says Malebranche; our senses are neither deceitful nor corrupted, if we make use of them only as regards their proper function; that is, the preservation of the body. They fulfil their duty admirably well, speedily warn the soul by means of pain and pleasure, by means of pleasant and unpleasant tastes, of what it must do or refrain from doing for the preservation of life. . . . They represent instinct in us, and have its blind unerringness. Were we to ward off by means of reflexion the various dangers which threaten our body at every moment, we should very soon perish. The senses are marvelously well suited for this office, and in most cases it is sufficient for us to trust to their spontaneous activity. But let us require nothing more from them! Valuable as they are for our preservation they are incapable of teaching us. Many of our errors arise from our neglecting to make this distinction. As our senses do not deceive us concerning what is profitable or harmful, we fall into the habit of trusting to them in all things, even where they may lead us astray.

This impulse is almost unavoidable. In order to make us heedful of the warnings given by the senses, God caused them to be attended with pleasure and pain. A pin's prick, though conveying no distinct information (for we do not even know what takes place here in the nerves and brain), produces upon us a most vivid impression, and compels us to give our attention to it. We thus form the habit of judging of the reality of things by their practical interest for us; that is, we trust to the senses in order to know what things are, and we are mistaken.

If, therefore, we are really acquainted with "outward objects," it is not by means of sensations, since these are dim and unfit to instruct us. It is by means of *ideas*—i. e., of representations clear to the understanding and which have nothing in common with sensations. Ideas are in God, and the mind perceives them in God. When it discovers any truth, or sees things as they are in themselves, it sees them in God's ideas—that is, with a clear and distinct vision of what is in God, who represents them. Thus, every time the mind knows the truth it is united with God; in some manner it knows and possesses God.

For the demonstration of this celebrated theory of "Vision

in God," Malebranche leans upon the Cartesian principles. He defines the soul as that which thinks, and the body as that which has extension. The instinct of feeling persuades us that these two are united, and we have no doubts about it. But we have no evidence either, and we even see quite plainly that the mind and the body are two beings of quite opposite kinds. We do not, then, understand how something corporeal—that is, something which has extension—can produce upon the soul an impression which should be called knowledge, or how the soul can go out of itself to "*aller se promener dans les cieux*."¹ The object of knowledge, therefore, can be nothing else than an idea. When I perceive the sun, for instance, whether it be above the horizon or not, whether I be awake or dreaming, matters little. In one case, no doubt, my perception is true, and in the other false, and we are not without a means of distinguishing between them; but it is never the material object that I perceive, it is always the idea of the object that offers itself to my soul.

Beset by the objections raised against him, Malebranche gave several successive forms to his theory of the vision of ideas in God. We cannot here make a distinction between them; let it be sufficient to mention the chief arguments on behalf of this theory. He examines, one after another, all the hypotheses which may explain our knowledge of ideas. He first eliminates the theory of "sensible images," which had been preserved from antiquity by scholastic philosophers. This hypothesis increases, instead of solving, difficulties, and one cannot understand how sensible images, being something material, could be transformed into something spiritual, as ideas are. Does, then, the human soul produce ideas spontaneously? It is mere human pride that imagines that the soul can produce anything. Such a supposition would imply that it was endowed with causality. Now, as will soon be shown, no creature is a cause. God alone acts in the Universe. Shall we say that ideas were created by God, together with the soul? A very improbable hypothesis, and not easily made to agree with God's wisdom, as it would suppose "infinities of infinite numbers of ideas" to exist in each created soul. Is it not far more reasonable to suppose that ideas are eternally subsisting in God? We know them when God deems it fit for them to be discovered to us. This hypothesis is not only the most "economical," but also the one which best enables us to perceive the state of dependency we are in with regard to God. As space encompasses bodies, so does God

¹ Roam through the heavens.

encompass minds. To know is to partake of divine intelligence. The ideas which represent God's creatures to our minds are but God's perfections corresponding to these very creatures and representative of them.

We perceive ideas only by means of pure understanding; for the world of ideas is a purely intellectual world to which the senses have no access. The worst sort of confusion would follow from mistaking sensations, which Malebranche terms the modalities of our soul, for ideas, which are within divine intelligence. But the mistake is impossible, so completely do the features of modalities contrast with those of ideas. The modalities of the soul are changeable, ideas are immutable; modalities are particular, ideas are universal; modalities are contingent, ideas are eternal and necessary; modalities are dim and obscure, and ideas are very clear and lucid; modalities are but dimly though keenly felt, and ideas are clearly known, being the foundation of all sciences. And not only do we see in God the ideas of "outward" objects, but we also see in Him the axioms of reason; and such truths as Bossuet, after Augustine, termed eternal.

The hypothesis of the Vision in God, the most, and indeed the only probable one, according to Malebranche, seems to our common sense wonderfully paradoxical. It called forth the taunts of his contemporaries, and the well-known line:

"Lui qui voit tout en Dieu n'y voit pas qu'il est fou."¹

Yet it is a direct consequence of the principles of Descartes; and the theories of Spinoza and Leibniz on this point, though different in expression, are not very remote from that of Malebranche. Descartes had proved that we are not made acquainted with objects by our senses, but by our understanding; and that matter, to the intuition of the mind, is nothing else than extension. Now the science of extension is geometry. It is composed of truths which appear to the mind as universal and necessary. Kant denominates them "*a priori*;" Malebranche calls them immutable and eternal. Where is the primary cause of these truths, and consequently of the whole physical world? Evidently not in my individual understanding, which is finite and perishable. It can be only in an understanding which is as eternal and necessary as those truths themselves. Descartes had already said that all our science is true only because God exists. Malebranche went a step farther, and asserted that there is no science save through our participation in di-

¹ "He who sees all things in God, sees not his own lunacy there."

vine thought. We see the truth only when we see things as they really are, which we never do unless we see them in Him who comprises them intelligibly.

Malebranche, as a good Cartesian, has a purely geometrical and mechanical conception of nature. "With extension alone," he says, "God has produced all the admirable things we see in nature, and even what gives life and movement to animals." Yet, though Malebranche agreed with Descartes in saying that animals are machines and "do not feel," he was visibly attentive to the discoveries just made by Swammerdam, Leeuwenhoek, and many other scientific men with the help of the newly-invented microscope. The theory of "encased germs," though he accepted it with Leibniz as the most plausible theory of the time, leaves him only half satisfied. He easily understands how, by the mere power of mechanical laws, the tiny tree hidden in the seed will grow progressively and gradually become the tall oak which we behold. No doubt the actual division of matter goes far beyond the reach of our senses, and it is probably the same with the organisation of matter. A drop of liquid, Leibniz says, is a pond full of fishes, and every drop of blood in one of those fishes is another pond full of fishes, and so on *ad infinitum*. Malebranche also concedes this, but he cannot so easily account for species' being preserved, each apart from the others, in their minutest features, by the power of purely mechanical laws. He does not see as plainly as Descartes does that with matter and the laws of motion one can completely account for a world similar to ours, including plants and animals. He would suppose something to exist besides, not unlike Plato's ideas, "divine models," "archetypes," which live forever in God's understanding, and which determine his choice among possible things. The permanence of species would seem to him inexplicable otherwise. Malebranche here stands half-way between Descartes and Leibniz. He begins, as the former does, with a geometrical conception of the science of nature; and almost finishes, as the latter, with a metaphysical conception, the predominant ideas of which are order and harmony.

We are hereby brought back to God. The sight of nature everywhere compels us to admire the simplicity and fecundity of her ways. Malebranche vividly feels the beauty of nature. But, as most men did in his time, what he feels above all in her beauty is the reason which it expresses. He sees also there, above all things, order. The idea of order is almost the central one in the

philosophy of Malebranche; not only is it the very principle of his ethics, but it holds a no less important place in his metaphysical speculations. He conceives reality to be an assemblage of "orders," corresponding and subordinate to one another. Above the order of the physical world rises the order of moral realities: the one being ruled by the laws of the magnitude or quantity, the other by the laws of quality or perfection. The order of grace comes next, not to change but to mend the order of nature. Even in the attributes and perfections of divine essence, order also reigns. All these "orders" converge in harmonious unity, of which our feeble understanding can have but a very imperfect glimpse. They have caused Malebranche's system to be compared to a magnificent palace—a vast and noble building, the richness and majesty of which, while flattering the imagination, give reason cause for supreme gratification. They might also be compared to the grand choral constructions of J. S. Bach, who also reaches to the sublime by the harmonious richness of a powerful development in which order always predominates.

Everything that is, owes its being to God; all that we know, we know in God. But how do we know God Himself? How are we made sure of His existence? What do we know of His nature and attributes? In what measure can we understand His relation to the world?

In such a philosophy as that of Malebranche the existence of God is not called in question. From the very first step which reason tries to take this idea demands acquiescence. If I am, God is; if I think, God is; if I know any truth, God is; if any phenomenon takes place, God is. Nothing can be or can appear without a cause, and there is no other cause than God. Therefore Malebranche might look upon a demonstration of the existence of God as superfluous. Yet he gives proof of it, and he even thinks that some of his arguments usually proffered are not worthless. He does not reject the proof based on final causes. The contemplation of the order which reigns in nature often fills him with admiration for the Author of so much splendor, inasmuch as there can be no doubt but some mind must be postulated to explain it. He reasons on this point as afterwards Voltaire did. When I see a watch, I am right in concluding that there is intelligence back of it, as mere chance cannot possibly have produced and combined all the wheels. How then could it be possible for chance and the meeting together of atoms to be capable of arranging in all men and animals the many various springs, accurate and well pro-

portioned, which we see in them, and for men and animals to beget others in their exact likeness.

This proof produces a strong impression upon souls; but Malebranche was aware that, from a logical point of view, it is not unimpeachable. The most beautiful, the noblest and strongest proof that may be given of the existence of God is drawn from our idea of the infinite. That we have this idea, is an undoubted fact. Even those who deny the existence of God have this idea, even while denying. Not only does the human mind conceive the idea of the infinite, but it conceives it even before the idea of the finite. For the idea of the infinite is given us together with the very idea of being. In order to form an idea of a finite being, we subtract something from the general idea of being, which must therefore be considered as an anterior one. Fénelon likewise says afterwards that, in spite of appearances, the idea of the infinite is positive, and the idea of the finite negative, since the former represents being as unlimited and the latter represents it as limited—i. e., with a negation of what is beyond the limit. Therefore, Malebranche concludes, the mind perceives nothing save through the idea it has of the infinite, and all particular ideas are but participations in the general idea of the infinite. And from this he demonstrates in several ways the necessary existence of God.

* * *

There is but one cause in the universe, and that is God. For a cause is that which produces or engenders an effect, and brings it to pass. Being a cause, then, means creating something, a power which belongs to God alone. Therefore, to suppose that a creature may be the cause of anything whatever, is to make it divine and to participate in the most dangerous error of the ancient philosophy. It means falling into the sin of pride, and failing to recognise the dependency in which all creatures are towards God. This appears evident enough if we consider only the essence of God, that of creatures, and the notion of cause.

The universe known to us is composed of spirits and bodies; that is to say, of thinking souls, and of extended substances. Malebranche seeks to prove that a spirit never acts upon a body, nor a body upon a spirit, nor a body upon a body. Spirits indeed are in communication with one another, but only through God; for God encompasses all spirits as space encompasses all bodies.

To say that the spirit never acts upon the body may at first seem contrary to what experience shows. If I *will* move my arm,

I move it ; is not my volition the cause of the motion of my arm ? No, answers Malebranche, unless you simply mean by "cause" the antecedent which constantly precedes a given phenomenon. But if the word "cause" means to you "what produces" the phenomenon, when you say that your volition is the cause of the motion of your arm, you go beyond what is known to you. All that you are conscious of is your volition, accompanied by a confused feeling of effort, and then the motion of your arm. But that the volition *produces* the motion is so little evident that you have no idea of the way in which it is done. In order to move your arm, you must have some animal spirits, and send them through certain nerves into certain muscles which they swell or shorten, for this is how the arm attached to them can move, or else, as some others think, we do not yet know how it is done. And we see that men who do not even know whether they have spirits, nerves, and muscles, move their arms, and indeed move them more skilfully and easily than those who are most versed in anatomy. Therefore, to say that my volition is the cause of the motion of my arm, is to give of the fact an explanation which I do not even understand, and which is a wrong one. But to say that God has willed it, that every time I have this or that volition, this or that motion is to take place in my arm, is to give an intelligible and satisfactory explanation, for it is sure that God is an effectual cause. So my volition is but the occasional cause of the motion of my arm. God is the real cause. A veritable cause, Malebranche says with deep meaning, is a cause between which and its effect the mind perceives a necessary connexion. Now, this necessary connexion I do not perceive between my volition and my movements. Experience alone makes it known to me.

* * *

Such then is the greatest, the most fruitful and the most necessary of all principles. We find in the universe but the *occasional causes* of the effects which God Himself produces. And as God does not act by means of particular volitions, He has regulated all the "infinitely infinite" combinations of physical with physical, and of physical with moral things in such a way that phenomena appear to us as subjected to necessary laws, and that like antecedents are always followed by like consequents. We may indeed go on using the current language ; we may say that the soul moves its body, that it is touched by the impression the body receives, and that bodies in motion transmit to each other part of their speed. We may do this, just as we say that the sun rises or sets. It is

sufficient that we should know that all the causes we speak of are purely occasional, and that the only real cause is God.

This remarkable theory marks a decisive stage in the history of philosophy. With regard to the past, it achieves the Cartesian revolution, and consummates the defeat of scholastic physics. Already Descartes, in his conception of nature, did not suppose any force or power, but chose to explain all phenomena by the laws of motion only. It is the very idea of "nature" that Malebranche attacks. The religion of the ancients made nature divine. The philosophy of Aristotle saw in the φύσις the inward power which gives to beings their shape and growth, and builds the ascending scale of genera and species. Malebranche shows that nature is but a word, a delusion, which the philosophy of clear ideas drives away. "I owe nothing to my nature, nothing to the imaginary nature of philosophers. I owe everything to God and His decrees." Natural causality is the last of occult qualities; it must disappear like the others. God has linked His works together, but He has not produced between them any *linking entities*. In short, Malebranche, as a worthy successor of Descartes, replaces the confused scholastic notion of *cause* by the clear scientific notion of *law*.

In this he forestalls the future. Prior to Hume and Kant he made clear the importance of the idea of causality in metaphysics. His criticism of the common notion of cause is a masterly one. Hume does not excel him in showing that the connexion between cause and effect escapes us precisely where we think we take hold of it, and that it therefore cannot be a notion given by experience.

Malebranche speaks a metaphysical and theological language. Strip his thought of this form, preserve the matter and give it a positive expression, and no theory of causality agrees with the spirit and practice of modern sciences better than his. Bacon first, and Descartes afterwards, had already recognised that the science of nature need not seek after final causes. Malebranche goes a step further. He exempts it from seeking even after efficient causes. Science henceforth will only have to determine constant successions, "reciprocal modalities;" and to state how such and such a phenomenon varies when such another phenomenon undergoes a given change. Now, this is exactly the point of view of modern physics. This science has wisely ceased to inquire why opium makes us sleep, and restricted its attention to phenomena and the laws of phenomena. What Malebranche says of the rela-

tion between body and soul, and of the action which bodies exercise upon one another, is no less apt to please our scientific men. On this point none ever contributed more than this great metaphysician to purge positive science of the popular metaphysics which for so long a time falsified its definitions and paralysed its progress. In this sense, the theory of occasional causes is a worthy sequel to the Cartesian theory of science.

* * *

Malebranche's ethics is closely linked to the rest of his system, being, like the latter, both rational and Christian. Silence your senses, imagination, and passions, and you shall hear the pure voice of the inward truth, the clear and evident answers of our common Master. He does not teach us only what we are to believe, but also what we are to do. He reveals to us what is beautiful and good, together with what is true, for he shows us the relative degrees of perfection between things, and the order in which we should prefer them one to another. Above all, he shows us the very principle of order—i. e., the supremely wise and kind Being, who gives us existence, thought, and will. When we lavish upon finite beings the love which God gives us for Himself, unless He has so ordained it; in a word, when we disobey Him, we do evil and we are sinful. Shall we say that it is God—being the only cause in the universe—who acts within us, and we are not responsible for our sins? that He has permitted, if not decreed, them? Malebranche replies to this formidable objection. No doubt we have no existence or activity but by God's will. His will, most certainly, makes us seek our own happiness, but it does not make us seek it in the gratification of the senses rather than in obedience to Himself. If being able to sin is a power, this power we have. We have sufficient liberty not to cast on the all-perfect Being the responsibility for our sins. God is just, and we were all born under the curse of original sin.

We shall not follow Malebranche through his theological explanations. Let us come back to the purely human domain of moral things, and observe that he has spoken of these with remarkable aptness and penetration. This "meditative" man is a keen observer of human nature. Such parts of the *Recherche de la vérité* as bear upon the errors caused by our imagination, inclination, or passions, are justly celebrated. Being pleasant and lively, they contributed in no small degree to the success of the work. They won to it a great many readers who, though not engrossed in

metaphysics, were charmed by the originality and liveliness of the author's moral reflexions.

Malebranche often opposes his ethics to that of the Stoics. The latter in his eyes represent heathenish pride, and their virtues are but vices to a Christian soul that knows nature to be powerless without God. He combats their paradoxes, he maintains that pain is an evil, and that men must needs seek after happiness. Nor does he agree that man, in his present state, being closely bound to the body, can suppress its passions; and this indeed is no duty, as passions are not essentially evil. Only we do not make use of our passions as we should. There are rightful passions, as, for instance, a desire to discover the truth, to acquire sufficient light to regulate our behavior, to be useful to others, etc.; there are also wrong or dangerous ones, as a desire to acquire reputation, to gain wealth in life, to rise above our fellow-creatures. . . . And it often happens that even our most injudicious passions more strongly urge us to seek after truth, and afford us more pleasant consolations for the pains we find therein than the most righteous and judicious passions would. Malebranche excels in discovering the hidden motives of human actions; in pointing out the means of combating them when we must, and of turning them to good account when we can. He has a most delicate psychological sense, though his clear-sightedness may occasionally be unmerciful. The passage in which he brings to light the vanity of Montaigne is a little masterpiece.

A general view of Malebranche's works shows that he carried out the programme he had set for himself. He made good the conformity of his rational doctrine with the Christian dogma, without the latter being altered, and without reason being obliged to give up its rights. This accordance is not brought about by dialectical tricks, by prodigious feats of dexterity and suppleness, leaving upon the reader's mind an uncomfortable feeling of perplexity. We do not wonder, as we sometimes do with Leibniz, whether the author is entirely sincere, and whether he does not seek the reconciliation merely for the sake of peace. Malebranche produces quite another impression, and a perfectly genuine one. We feel that he puts his whole soul and faith into his philosophy. "O Theodore!" he exclaims in one of his finest *Entretiens sur la métaphysique*, "how clear your principles are, how solid, how worthy of a Christian! But how lovely and touching they are also!" Malebranche's philosophical reflexion is perfectly sincere. He is checked by no after-thought and paralysed by no diffidence. He

shrinks from no rightfully deduced consequences. What need has he to fear, since reason and the divine Word are one? Then reason cannot, if its method is sound, come to any conclusion which may alarm a Christian conscience.

An admirable metaphysical system was the fruit of such candid boldness and pious temerity. Malebranche was thereby enabled to say, as a Christian, a great part of what Spinoza said as a free-thinker. He could, at the same time, be the idealist that had not distinctly appeared in Descartes; and that he was, with a fine passion for logic. He paved the way for Berkeley, Hume, and Kant. His glory, while he lived, was great, and his influence remained considerable in the eighteenth century in France and in England. In our days, his doctrine seems to have sunk somewhat into the background, between Descartes, from whom he proceeds, and the idealist philosophers who came after him. But while these philosophers owe to him many of their leading ideas, Malebranche still has the merit, rare in all countries and unique in France, of having constituted a religious philosophy which is not merely a philosophy inspired by religion.

SOLOMONIC LITERATURE.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

KOHELETH (ECCLESIASTES).

IN THE *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1897, a writer, in giving his personal reminiscences of Tennyson, relates an anecdote concerning the poet and the Rev. F. D. Maurice. Speaking of Ecclesiastes (Koheleth), Tennyson said it was the one book the admission of which into the canon he could not understand, it was so utterly pessimistic—of the earth, earthy. Maurice fired up. "Yes, if you leave out the last two verses. But the conclusion of the whole matter is, 'Fear God and keep His commandments: for this is the whole duty of man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil.' So long as you look only down upon earth, all is 'vanity of vanities.' But if you look up there is a God, the judge of good and evil." Tennyson said he would think over the matter from that point of view.

This amusing incident must have caused a ripple of laughter in scholastic circles, now that it is generally suspected, and by many critics believed, that both of the verses cited by Maurice are spurious. They alone, he admitted, could save the book, and the charm of the incident is that the verses were placed there by ancient Maurices to induce ancient Tennysons to "think over the matter from that point of view." The result was that the previously rejected book was admitted into the canon by precisely the same force which continued its work at Faringford, and continues it to this day. Only one must not suppose that Mr. Maurice was aware of the unguineness of the verses. He was an honest gentleman, but so ingeniously mystical that had the two verses not been there he could readily have found others of equally transcend-

ant and holy significance, without even resorting to other pious interpolations in the book.

Tennyson was curiously unconscious of his own pessimism. When any one questioned the belief in a future life in his presence his vehemence without argument betrayed his sub-conscious misgivings, while his indignation ran over all the conditional resentments of Job. I have heard that he said to Tyndall that if he knew there was no future life he would regard the creator of human beings as a demon, and shake his fist in His eternal face. This rage was based in a more profoundly pessimistic view of the present life than anything even in Ecclesiastes,—by which name may be happily distinguished the disordered, perverted, and mistranslated Koheleth.

It appears evident that the sentence which opens Koheleth,—in our Bibles “All is vanity, saith the Preacher; vanity of vanities, all is vanity,”—is as mere a supplied chapter-heading as that of our A. S. translators: “The Preacher sheweth that all human courses are vain.” It is repeated as the second of the eight verses added at the end of the work. Koheleth does not label the whole of things vanity; in a majority of cases the things he calls vain are vain; and some things he finds not vanity,—youth, and wedded love, and work that is congenial.

Renan (*Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*, Tome 5, p. 158) has shown conclusively, as I think, that the signature on this book, QHLT, is a mere letter-play on the word “Solomon,” and the eagerness with which the letters were turned into Koheleth (which really means Preacheress), and to make out the wise King to be a preacher of the vanities of pleasure and wisdom of the fear of God, is thus naïvely indicated in the successive names of the book, “Koheleth” and “Ecclesiastes.” We are thus warned by the title to pick our way carefully where the Jahvist and the Ecclesiastic have been before us; remembering especially that though piety may induce men to forge things, this is never done lightly. As people now do not commit forgery for a shilling, so neither did those who placed spurious sentences or phrases in nearly every chapter of the Bible do so for anything they did not consider vital to morality or to salvation. In Ecclesiastes we must be especially suspicious of the very serious religious points. Fortunately the style of the book renders it particularly subject to the critical and literary touchstone.

Is it necessary to point out to any man of literary instinct the interpolation bracketed in the following verses? “Rejoice, O

young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart gladden thee in the flower of thy age, and walk in the paths of thy heart, and according to the vision of thine eyes [but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment], and banish discontent from thy heart, and put away evil from thy flesh; for youth and dawn are fleeting. Remember also thy fountain in the days of thy youth, or ever the evil days come or the years draw nigh in which thou shalt say I have no delight in them."

It is only by removing the bracketed clause that any consistency can be found in the lyric, which Professor Cheyne compares with the following song by the ancient Egyptian harper at the funeral feast of Neferhotap:

"Make a good day, O holy fathers!
Let odors and oils stand before thy nostril;
Wreaths and lotus are on the arms and bosom of thy sister
Dwelling in thy heart, sitting beside thee.
Let song and music be before thy face,
And leave behind thee all evil dirges!
Mind thee of joy, till cometh the day of pilgrimage,
When we draw near the land that loveth silence."¹

There is no historical means of determining what writings of Solomon are preserved in the Bible and even in the apocryphal books. One may feel that Goethe recognised a brother spirit in that far epoch when he selected for his proverb:

"Apples of gold in chased work of silver,
A word smoothly spoken."

Koheleth also appreciated this, and also (x. 12) uses almost literally Proverbs xii. 18, "The tongue of the wise is gentleness." (Compare Shakespeare's words, "Let gentleness my strong enforcement be.") The lines previously cited, "Rejoice O young man, etc.," are also probably quoted, as they are given in poetical quatrains. There are many of these quatrains introduced into the book, from the prose of which they differ in style and sometimes in sense.

In none of these metrical quotations (as I believe them to be) is there any belief in God, the only instance in which the word "God" is mentioned being an ironical maxim about the danger coming from monarchs because of their oaths to their God, with

¹ *Job and Solomon, or the Wisdom of the Old Testament*. By T. K. Cheyne. (1887.) Those who wish to study the Solomonic literature should read this excellent work. It is very probable, although Professor Cheyne does not suggest this, that the Book of Job was imported by Solomon along with the gold of Ophir from some Oriental land.

whom they identify their own ways and wishes. Such seems to me the meaning of the lines (viii. 2, 4) which Dillon translates—

" The wise man hearkens to the king's command,
By reason of the oath to God.
Mighty is the word of the monarch :
Who dares ask him, ' What dost thou ? ' "

With this compare Proverbs xxi. 1, " The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord (Jahveh) as the watercourses ; he turneth it whithersoever he will." This proverb is evidently by a Jahvist, and Koheleth quotes another which signifies rather " Jahveh is in the king's caprice." But he adopts the neighboring proverb, " To do justice and judgment is more acceptable to Jahveh than sacrifice." Koheleth says (and this is not quoted,—" To draw near to (God) in order to learn, is better than the offering of sacrifices by fools."

Although the verses quoted by Maurice to Tennyson (xii. 13, 14) are not genuinely in Koheleth they correspond with sentences in the genuine text of very different import. Koheleth, though his quotations are godless, believes there is a God, and a formidable one. Sometimes he refers to him as Fate, sometimes as the unknowable, but as without moral quality. " To the just men that happeneth which should befall wrongdoers ; and that happeneth for criminals which should be the lot of the upright " viii. 14), and " neither (God's) love nor hatred doth a man foresee " (ix. 1). God has set prosperity and adversity side by side for the express purpose of hiding Himself from human knowledge (vii. 14) ; not, alas, as the Yalkut Koheleth suggests, in order that one may help the other. God does benefit those who please him, and punish those who displease him ; this is ' good ' and ' evil ' to Him ; but it has no relation with the humanly good and evil. (viii. 11-14) As it is evident that God's favor is not secured by good works nor his disfavor incurred by evil works, a prudent man will consider that it may perhaps be a matter of etiquette, and will be punctilious, especially " in the house of God " ; he will not speak rashly and then hope to escape by saying " it was rashness." His words had better be few, and if he makes any vow (which may well be avoided) he should perform it. But as for practical life and conduct, God, or fate, is clearly indifferent to it, consequently let a man eat his bread and quaff his wine with joy, love his wife,—the best portion of his lot,—and whatever his hand findeth to do that do with vigor, remembering that " there is no work, nor thought, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the inevitable grave."

Such is the Koheleth conception of life, which, save so far as it is marred by a vague notion of Fate which is fatal to philanthropy, is not very different from the idea of many in our own time. "The All is a never-ceasing whirl" (i. 8), and Koheleth advises that each individual man try to make what little circle of happiness he can around him. "O my heart!" says Omar Khayyam, "thou wilt never penetrate the mysteries of the heavens; thou wilt never reach that culminating point of wisdom which the intrepid omniscients have attained. Resign thyself then to make what little paradise thou canst here below. As for that close-barred seraglio beyond thou shalt arrive there—or thou shalt not!"

It is, however, impossible for any church or priesthood to be maintained on any such principles. Where mankind believe with Koheleth that whatever God doeth is forever, that nothing can be superadded to it nor aught to be taken away; and that God hath so contrived that man must fear Him; they will have no use for any paraphernalia for softening the irrevocable decrees of a Judgment Day already past. But Koheleth's arrows, feathered with wit and eloquence, were logically shot from the Jahvist arquebus. It was Jahveh himself who proudly claimed that he created good and evil, and that if there were evil in a city it was his work. It was Jahveh's own prophet, Isaiah, who cried (Iziii. 17), "O Lord, why dost Thou make us to err from Thy ways, and hardenest our heart from Thy fear?"

What then could Jahvism say when a time arrived when it must defend itself against a Jahveh-created world?

(ECCLESIASTICUS) WISDOM.

It was necessary that Koheleth should be answered, but who was competent for this? A fable had been invented of a Solomonic serpent who had tempted man to taste the fruit of knowledge and brought a curse on the earth, but the canonical prophets do not appear to have heard of it, and at any rate it was too late in the day to meet fact with fable. Nor had Jahveh's whirlwind-answer to Job proved effectual. However, some sort of answer did come, and significantly enough it had to come from Koheleth's own quarter, the Wisdom school. Pure Jahvism had not brains enough for the task.

The apocryphal book "Ecclesiasticus" is the antidote to Ecclesiastes. (These are the Christian names given to the two books.) This book, bearing the simple title "Wisdom," compiled and

partly written by Jesus Ben Sira early in the second century B. C., is as a whole much more than an offset to Koheleth. It is a great though unintentional literary monument to Solomon, and it is the book of reconciliation, or so intended, between Solomonism and Jahvism,—or, as we should now say, between philosophy and theology.

The newly discovered original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 15–xlx. 11, just published by the Clarendon Press (1897), enables us to read correctly for the first time the portraiture of Solomon in xlvii., with the assistance of Wace and other scholars :

12. After him [David] rose up a wise son, and for his [David's] sake he dwelt in quiet.

13. Solomon reigned in days of prosperity, and was honoured, and God gave rest to him round about that he might build an house in his name, and prepare his sanctuary for ever.

14. How wast thou wise in thy youth, and didst overflow with instruction like the Nile!

15. The earth (was covered by thy soul) and thou didst celebrate song in the height.

16. Thy name went far unto the islands, and for thy peace thou wast beloved.

17. The countries marvelled at thee for thy songs, and proverbs, and parables, and interpretations.

18. Thou wast called by the glorious name which is called over Israel.

18a. Thou didst gather gold as tin, and didst gather silver as lead.

19. But thou gavest thy loins unto women, and lettest them have dominion over thy body.

20. Thou didst stain thy honour and pollute thy seed ; so that thou broughtest wrath upon thy children, that they should groan in their beds.

21. That the kingdom should be divided : and out of Ephraim ruled a rebel kingdom.

22. But the Lord will never leave off his mercy, neither shall any of his words perish, neither will he abolish the posterity of his elect, and the seed of him that loveth him he will not take away : wherefore he gave a remnant unto Jacob, and out of him a root unto David.

23. Thus rested Solomon with his fathers, and of his seed he left behind him Rehoboam [of the lineage of Ammon], ample in foolishness and lacking understanding, who by his counsel let loose the people.

In the last sentence I have inserted in crochets an alternative reading of Fritzsche for the three words that follow. (Rehoboam's Ammonite mother was Naamah.)

It will be noticed that early in the second century B. C. there remained no trace of the anathemas on Solomon for his foreign or his idolatrous wives. He is now simply accused of being too fond of women,—a charge not known to the canonical books.

The verse 18 attests the correctness of the view taken of the

forty-fifth Psalm in a former article, written before this Clarendon Press volume appeared. It thus becomes certain that the Psalm was recognised as written in Solomon's time, and that it was he who was there addressed as "God" ("the glorious name").

The mention of this fact in "Wisdom," and the enthusiasm pervading every sentence of the tribute to Solomon, despite his alleged sensuality, supply conclusive evidence that the cult of Solomon had for more than eight centuries been continuous, that it was at length prevailing, and that it had become necessary for a broad wing of Jahvism to include the Solomonic worldly wisdom and ethics.

Jesus Ben Sira states that he found a book written by his learned grandfather, whose name was also Jesus, who had studied many works of "our fathers," and added to them writings of his own. The anonymous preface states that Sira, son of the first Jesus, left it to his son, and that "this Jesus did imitate Solomon."

It is not said that Sira contributed anything to this composite work, yet there appear to be three minds in it. There is a fine and free philosophy which savors of the earliest traditions of the Solomonic School; there is an exceptionally morose Jahvism; and there is also mysticism, an attempt to rationalise and soften the Jahvism, and to solemnise the philosophy, so as to blend them in a kind of harmonious religion. I cannot help feeling that Sira or some friend of his must have inserted the hard Jahvism between the grandfather and the grandson.

However this may be, it is evident that Jesus Ben Sira was too reverent to seriously alter anything in the volume before him, for the contrast is startling between the hard Jahvism and the philosophy of life. Their inclusion in one work is like the union of oil and vinegar. The Jahvism is hard and bald: fear Jahveh, keep his commandments, pay your tithes, say your prayers, be severe with your children (especially daughters), never play with them, guard your wife vigilantly, flog your servants. The philosophy is quite incongruous with this formalism and rigidity, most of the maxims being elaborated with care, and only proverbs in form. Some of them are almost Shakespearian in artistic expression:

"Pipe and harp make sweet the song, but a sincere tongue is above them both."

"Wisdom hid, and treasure hoarded, what value is in either?"

"The fool's heart is in his mouth, the wise man's mouth is in his heart."

"There is no riches above a sound body, and no joy above that of the heart."

"Whoso regardeth dreams is as one who grasps at his shadow."

"The evil man cursing Satan is but cursing himself."

"The bars of Wisdom shall be thy fortress, her chains thy robe of honour."

About the rendering of xli. 15 there is some doubt, and I give this conjecture:

Better the (ignorant) that hideth his folly, than the (learned) who hideth his wisdom.

In the Bible which belonged to the historian Gibbon, loaned by the late General Meredith Read to the Gibbon exhibition, I remarked a pencil mark around these sentences in "Wisdom":

"He that buildeth his house with other men's money, is like one that gathereth stones for the tomb of his own burial."

"He that is not wise will not be taught, but there is a wisdom that multiplieth bitterness."

To Jesus Ben Sira we may, I believe, ascribe the following:

"Glorifying God, exalt him as far as your thought can reach, yet will you never attain to his height: praising him, put forth all your powers, be not weary, yet ever will they fall short. Who hath seen him that he can tell us? Who can describe him as he is? Let us still be rejoicing in him, for we shall not search him out: he is great beyond his works,"

This has an interesting correspondence with the beautiful rapture of the Persian Sâdi:

"They who pretend to be informed are ignorant, for they who have known him have not recovered their senses. O thou who towerest above the heights of imagination, thought, or conjecture, surpassing all that has been related, and excelling all that we have heard or read, the banquet is ended, the congregation is dismissed, and life draws to a close, and we still rest in our first encomium of thee!"

To Jesus Ben Sira may be safely ascribed the passages that bear witness to the pressure of problems which, though old, appear in new forms under Hellenic influences. They grow urgent and threaten the foundations of Jahvism. It was no longer sufficient to say that Jahveh rewarded virtue and piety, and punished vice and impiety in this world. Job had demanded the evidence for this, and the centuries had brought none. Job was awarded his recompense in this world, but that happy experience did not attend other virtuous sufferers.

The doctrine of one writer in "Wisdom" is simply predestination, Paul's potter-and-clay similitude is anticipated, and the Parsê dualism curiously adapted to Jahvist monotheism: "Good is set against evil, life against death, the godly against the sinner and the sinner against the godly: look through all the works of the Most High and there are two and two, one against another."

But the liberal son of Sira is more optimist: "All things are double, one against another, but he hath made nothing imperfect: one thing establisheth the good of another." Freedom of the will is asserted: "Say not, he hath caused me to err, for he hath no need of the evildoer. He made man from the beginning and left him in the hand of his (own) counsel. . . . He hath set fire and water before thee, stretch forth thy hand to whichever thou wilt. Before man is the living and the not-living, and whichever he liketh shall be given him."

But the doctrine of human free agency is pregnant with polemics; has been such in Christian history, as proved by the Pelagian, Armenian, Jesuit, and Wesleyan movements. There are indications in Ben Sira's work that the foundations of Jahvism were threatened by a moral scepticism. His own celebration of the Fathers was enough to bring into dreary contrast the tragedies of his own time and glories of the Past, when "Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and fig-tree, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, all the days of Solomon." What shelter now in the divine fig-tree, which could bear nothing but legendary or predictive leaves? The curse on the barren tree was near at hand when Jesus Ben Sira uttered his pathetic complaint, veiled in prayer:

"Have mercy on us, O Lord God of all, and regard us! Send thy fear on all the nations that seek thee not; lift thy hand against them, let them see thy power! As thou wast (of old) sanctified in us before them, be thou (now) magnified among them before us; and let them know thee, as we have known thee,—that there is, O God, no God but thou alone! Show new signs, more strange wonders; glorify thy hand and thy right arm, that they may publish thy wondrous works! Raise up indignation, pour out wrath, remove the adversary, destroy the enemy: hasten! remember thy covenant, and let them witness thy wonderful works!"

The tables seem to be turned: instead of God looking down on the children of men to see if there is any that doeth good, man begins to search the heavens to see if there is any God that doeth good.

VEGETARIANISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

A FAMOUS German materialist who denied absolutely the existence of the soul used to say "Man is what he eats—*Der Mensch ist was er isst.*" Hence questions of religion gained a culinary foundation and morality was identified with the dietetics of the stomach. This is consistent with the principles of materialism, for if man were the matter of which his body is made, his diet would be the alpha and omega of his life. But this is not the case. As a table is a table on account of its shape and purpose, not on account of its being made of wood; as the Sistine Madonna is a beautiful picture on account of the forms of its figures and the delicacy of its tints, not on account of being a large piece of canvas covered with paint representing a thought of deep significance, so man is man on account of the ideas that prompt him to action, not on account of being made up of carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, oxygen, a few other elements, and some salts. Man is not what he eats but what he thinks and does, his character is not in the way he chews but in the way he acts; he is judged not by digestion but by words and behavior. This truth has been tersely expressed by the great Nazarene prophet, who said :

"Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man." (Matt. xv. 11.)

The question of food has no direct but only an indirect bearing upon morality. It is more important how we eat than what we eat. We eat for a certain purpose. We eat in order to live, and our food must be adapted to the purpose. It must keep us in good health and must enable us to be efficient in our work. The question of food, therefore, must ultimately be decided before the tribunal of hygiene. The gourmand is not the connoisseur whose advice should be most highly valued in eating and drinking, but

the physician, the man who knows the physiology of the human body and its needs.

The regulation of our diet, although it has only an indirect bearing upon morality, is nevertheless of great importance and its neglect is accompanied with severe punishments. Physicians alone know how many diseases are due to a neglect of the simplest rules of dietetics, and many valuable lives, cut short before their time, could have been longer preserved for the good of their families as well as for the welfare of society at large.

A mixed diet is apparently the best food for man. It is possible for man to subsist on vegetables alone, but he will have to take larger quantities of food and eat more frequently during the day; otherwise his energy would scarcely be sufficient to meet all the requirements of an active life. Yet on the other hand, man cannot live on a meat diet alone, for experience has proved that indulgence in meat is directly injurious to health.

During the Franco-Prussian war the army before Metz had not a sufficient vegetable supply, and was for some time confined to a pure meat diet, while the army before Paris in a similar way suffered from a want of meat, but enjoyed a superabundance of vegetables. The consequences were injurious only to the army before Metz, where diseases increased, while the health of the army before Paris remained satisfactory.¹ Pure meat diet apparently reduces in the system the power of resistance to infectious diseases, while the drawbacks of a pure vegetable diet are rather negative than positive, and some of them are avoided if food is taken in sufficient quantities.

The question of food becomes more complicated by the plea of those who deem it wrong for man to live on the flesh of animals. And no doubt the mere idea of feeding on our dumb fellow creatures is disagreeable. Nevertheless, we cannot help utilising lower life for the enhancement of the higher life, for otherwise we must either starve or at least be satisfied with a great reduction of human life and a restriction in the enfoldment of its capacities. Consider that if the principle of regarding animal life as on an equal level with human life be just, we must not only abstain from meat, but from everything that directly serves to sustain animals. Eggs are potential chickens, and the cow's milk is the righteous property of the calf. Butter and cheese would have to be forbidden together with milk, and to wear leather shoes or use brushes made of bris-

¹ We ought also to consider, however, that the army before Metz was more exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, especially to dampness, than the army before Paris.

tles would be a sin which encourages the slaughter of animals. It goes without saying that we must not make buttons of bone, horn, or mother-of-pearl; we must banish soap (with the exception of soaps made of vegetable oils) and make new inventions to replace glue.

Vegetarians are in the habit of making other people feel grown-up at the thought of flesh food. They call roast turkey carcasses and corpses, and declare that they do not want to make a graveyard of their stomachs.

It is easy enough to spoil the appetite of anybody, even of vegetarians. A friend of mine who is not in good health at present and has watched vegetable gardening in California, writes:

"Really this life is awful, and sometimes I would flee from it. For a long time meat was extremely repulsive to me. I could not bear the sight of it, but my appetite returned and I began to eat it from time to time. Some of my friends say 'You are improving in health,' others say 'The animal spirits demand recognition.' I would be happy if I could live on air. Things that grow wild are perhaps the purest food; but when I see the Chinaman enriching the land for his garden and the ranchman doing the same in the orchard, I long to quit the world that I'll never be compelled to eat vegetables and fruit again. The more delicious the asparagus and the oranges are, the more we ought to loathe them."

Certainly if we trace the material circuit of things, we might be disgusted with our own bodies. Even if we lived on air the situation would in this respect not be changed much. The probability is that the atoms of the blood which courses through our veins have served all kinds of foul purposes. Only think of the oxygen in the air and consider the combinations of the same element in putrefaction and other forms of decadence! But we must never leave out of sight that we are not made of matter: we are the thoughts and sentiments, the ideas and aspirations of our soul. The material particles are needed to give actuality to our soul; but the soul is constituted by the significance of their forms. The materiality of our body does as little defile the soul as an oil painting suffers detracting because the paints which constitute its beauty would be mere grease spots if they could be transferred to another place.

Ethics is of the spirit, not of matter. Thoughts embodied in words are the soul's food as meat and bread are the stomach's food. Important as is eating and drinking for the sustenance of life, important as is continence and the proper choice according to conditions, we repeat that the regulation thereof cannot be determined by psychological principles but only according to hygienic experiences.

Vegetarians love to quote a verse which is found in Deutero-Isaiah, and reads :

"He that killeth an ox is as if he slew a man." (lxvi. 3.)

The passage is supposed to be written in denunciation of the Samaritan temple practices. Whatever it may mean, it does not support vegetarianism at all, for it is directed against the sacrifice of animals, strictly tabooed by the Mosaic law, which were offered in Samaria, and the context implies that the lawful sacrifices should be offered. Hebrew scholars interpret the original in the sense of : "He who slaughters an ox, but also slays a man," and the prophet declares that God will bring on them the things they dread.¹

The Hindus are not so strict vegetarians as they are generally supposed to be. Their objection to the English as beef-eaters is not on the ground that they eat flesh, but that they slaughter oxen and cows. Many Hindus would without compunction slaughter a sheep and eat it, but they abstain from beef because the cow is a sacred animal, and with them the slaughter of a cow is actually not less a crime than the slaughter of a man. Could we trace in Isaiah any Indian influence, we might retain the traditional reading of the text and regard that strange verse (lxvi. 3) as a Hindu sentiment wafted upon the soil of Hebrew literature.

The Buddhists of China once prevailed upon a pious emperor to prohibit the manufacture of silk because the worms in the cocoons must be killed before their threads can be utilised. Of course if the silkworm's life is of the same dignity as man's life it would be wrong to destroy a cocoon for the purpose of providing human beings with clothes.

If the life of animals had to be regarded as sacred as human life there can be no doubt about it that whole industries would be destroyed and human civilisation would at once drop down to a very primitive condition.

We need not enter here into a detailed exposition of the suffering to which innumerable human beings would thereby be exposed. Many millions would starve and large cities would disappear from the face of the earth. But the brute creation would suffer too. There might be a temporary increase of brute life, but certainly not of happiness. Cattle would only be raised for draught oxen and milk kine, and they would not die the sudden death at the hands of the butcher but slowly of old age or by disease. Their

¹ For further details see the new translation in the "Polychrome Bible," Isaiah, pp. 114 and 199.

numbers would, after all, have to be considerably reduced, for it is not probable that the farmers would raise cattle as companions or for the mere enjoyment of feeding them.

We must see to it that the suffering of brute creatures be abolished or at least reduced to its minimum, but it would be more than foolish to regard an ox or any other dumb creature as of equal worth with man or to impute to brutes the same thoughts and sentiments as we possess ourselves.

Buddha is frequently supposed to have been a vegetarian and a strong supporter of vegetarianism; but this is an error. We grant that Buddhists all over the world show a strong preference for a vegetarian diet, but Buddha himself ate meat just as Jesus ate and drank with the sinners, laying himself open to the obloquy of being "a man gluttonous and a winebibber." (Matth. xi. 19.)

Moral courage, no doubt, was needed in a country such as is India to declare that meat-eating was no sin, but the Buddhist traditions are unequivocal on this point. Considering the vegetarian tendencies of Buddhists, and especially of the Buddhist priesthood, there is not the slightest reason to suspect these traditions as later inventions. I will not here insist on the report that Buddha's last meal consisted of dried boar's meat, because, according to Herr Zimmerman's ingenious hypothesis, we must interpret the word *Sûkaramaddavam* in the sense of boar's wort, which is supposed to be an edible fungus.¹ But there are other evidences of more importance which leave not the slightest shadow of a doubt as to their meaning. First of all, Buddha pronounced the principle that meat-eating does not defile. We read in the *Chûlavagga*, 2, 5:

"Those persons who in this world are unrestrained in sensual pleasures, greedy of sweet things, associated with what is impure, sceptics, unjust, difficult to follow—all this is what defiles, but not the eating of flesh."

This Sutta on things that defile (called *Âmagandha-Sutta*) is written in the form of a discussion between *Âmagandha-Brâhmana* and *Kassapa-Buddha*. The Brahman abstains from meat-eating because he claims that it defiles, but *Kassapa-Buddha*, representing the orthodox Buddhist standpoint, points out that no rituals, no fasting, no tonsure, nor wearing of matted hair, nor worshipping the fire, nor doing penances, nor oblations and sacrifices can purify a man; nor can abstinence from the eating of flesh. The refrain "but not the eating of flesh" is repeated seven times. The sutta ends with the conversion of the vegetarian to Buddha's more spiritual conception of defilement. (See *S. B. E.*, X, part I., pp. 40-42.)

¹ See Naumann, *Reden Gautamo Buddha's*, Leipzig, 1896, p. xix.

But the evidence that Buddha did not condemn meat-eating is more direct still. We read in Jataka, 246, that a layman, Siha-senāpati by name, when entertaining the Master, offered him food with meat in it. This gave offence to the naked ascetics, and the Jataka continues :

"The brethren discussed this matter in their Hall of Truth : ' Friend, Nātha-putta the Ascetic goes about sneering, because, he says, " Priest Gotama eats meat prepared on purpose for him, with his eyes open". ' Hearing this, the Master rejoined : ' This is not the first time, brethren, that Nātha-putta has been *sneering at me for eating meat which was got ready for me on purpose*; he did just so in former times. ' "

Buddhists consider it wrong to kill animals, and therefore they dislike the butcher. Priests are generally supposed to abstain from meat-eating, but they are not forbidden meat if it is offered. According to Hardy's *Manual* Buddha is reported to have said :

" My priests have permission to eat whatever food it is customary to eat in any place or country, so that it be done without the indulgence of the appetite, or evil desire. "

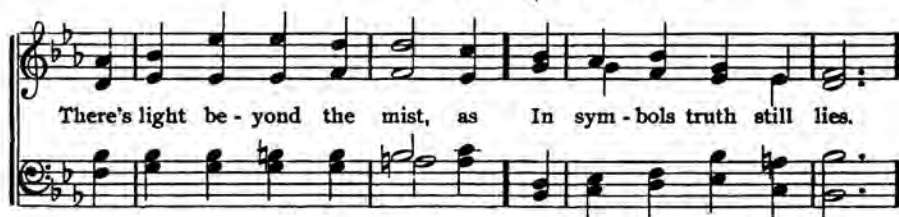
If any one took compassion on suffering creatures of any kind certainly Buddha did, and yet he was not a vegetarian. If vegetarianism could be upheld on any religious or humanitarian grounds he certainly would have preached it.

" Si Pergumum dextra defendi potuit certe hac defensa fuisset ! "

We are sorry to see the vegetarian movement carried on with a vigor which deserves a better cause, and wish heartily that the same efforts would be devoted to the broader aim of humanising man's conduct toward animals. Here the friends of the dumb creation would find the unreserved sympathy of everybody. The great mass of vegetarian literature, however, is simply ridiculous, and can, whenever taken seriously, only serve to spoil a man's appetite for everything and render him disgusted with the materiality of existence in general.

After these expositions we must make a confession which seems to surrender the whole case. While we grant that under present circumstances the slaughter of animals on the altar of civilisation could not be discontinued without demolishing an enormous part of the means by which mankind is sustained, we cannot help seeing in vegetarianism an ideal that might, to some extent, be realised on a higher level of existence when the sciences have been sufficiently advanced so as to produce the complex products of organic chemistry directly from the inorganic elements in the retorts of the laboratory. The idea is very pleasant, but to-day it is a mere dream.

THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE.



There are still higher vistas
Which open to our eyes,
There's light beyond the mist, as
In symbols truth still lies.
Religion's consummation
Through truth is yet to be.
The truth will bring salvation,
The truth will make us free.

We reverence tradition,
And heed inspired men's
Prophetic intuition,
But seek high'r evidence.
There is but one foundation,
But one sure ground, forsooth :
It is the revelation
Of science and its truth !

Not darkly through a mirror,
We must see face to face ;
We must discard all error,
The world's deep meaning trace.
And scan life's secret features
Anxious the truth to learn,
For every law of nature's
Is a thought of the etern.

Here is the rock of ages,
The universal norm,
Which stars and motes engages
Determining their form.
Here the God of creation
In eternal law revealed,
This is the sole foundation,
That ne'er can break nor yield. P. C.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A CLASSICAL WORK ON ELEMENTARY MATHEMATICS.¹

The instances in which mathematical inquirers of really first rank have written on the elements of the science are rare. Of formal text-books, we have from such men very few. One of the most notable exceptions was the German *Algebra* of Euler, which remained a standard elementary text-book to the present century, and has even yet lost none of its charms of simplicity and clearness. Later, during the French Revolution, lectures were delivered on elementary mathematics by the two greatest of the mathematicians then living, Laplace and Lagrange, and are to be found in the collected works of these authors. The present book is a translation of the lectures of Lagrange, delivered in the year 1795 at the *Ecole Normale*,—an institution which was the direct offspring of the French Revolution, and which gave the first impulse to modern, practical ideals of education.

The originality, elegance and symmetrical character of the lectures of Lagrange were pointed out by De Morgan, but have been especially lauded by E. Dühring, who places them in the front rank of elementary expositions. Coming as they do from one of the greatest mathematicians of modern times, and with all the excellences which such a source implies, unique in their character as a reading book in mathematics, and interwoven with historical and philosophical remarks of great value, they cannot fail to have a beneficial and stimulating influence. The book should find a wide circle of readers among students who have not had the advantages of a regular mathematical training, and especially by teachers who desire to introduce into their work something of the spirit and originality which marks the achievements of the great investigators.

The work is divided into five lectures, the first two of which treat of arithmetic, including continued fractions and logarithms, the theory of remainders, etc. The third lecture deals with the history of algebra and with the resolution of equations, particularly equations of the third and fourth degree; the expositions of this lecture cannot, for simplicity and insight, be equalled by any of the current text-books. The fourth lecture treats of the resolution of numerical equations, and is remarkable for the elegant development which it gives of the geometrical method of solving equations. This method is very rarely discussed in elementary text-books, but it is an educational and instructional help of the highest practical and

¹ *Lectures on Elementary Mathematics*. By Joseph Louis Lagrange. Translated from the French by Thomas J. McCormack. With a photogravure portrait of the author. Pages, 172. Cloth, \$1.00. Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co.

theoretical value. In the same connexion, constructions and instruments for solving equations are described. The fifth and last lecture treats of the employment of curves generally in the solution of problems. We have here a species of application of geometry and algebra, and a lucid presentation of the artifices for resolving in practice questions which offer great theoretical difficulties. The curve of errors, approximations, and interpolations, are discussed under this heading. The nature of the work renders it a species of supplement to the ordinary text-books, and those who desire to recommence their mathematical studies can accomplish their aim in no more pleasant and profitable manner than by acquaintance with this classical little book.

A fine photogravure portrait of Lagrange, reproduced from a steel engraving, constitutes the frontispiece; a biographical sketch of the author, an index, the marginal analyses of the text, have been added. (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. \$1.00.)

L.

NAEGELI'S THEORY OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION.

Although Naegeli's theory of organic evolution has played a highly important part in the development of biological science, there exists in English, so far as we know, no translation of his works. Especially in America is the slight influence of Naegeli upon biological thought unexplainable, for his theories appeal much more strongly to American students than do those of Weismann. The translation therefore, of Naegeli's *Summary* of his own work, by Mr. V. A. Clark and Prof. F. A. Waugh, of the University of Vermont, which now appears in the Religion of Science Library,¹ will undoubtedly be well received. We have now in the Religion of Science Library abridgements of the works of Weismann, Eimer, and Naegeli from the pens of these authors themselves, from which an exact general view of three of the most prominent of modern biological hypotheses can be obtained.

The dominant and characteristic feature of Naegeli's mechanico-physiological theory is the conception of an automatic, perfecting principle (*autonome Vervollkommnung*). This, briefly stated, is as follows:

1. That the formative and creative part of the reproductive plasm, called the idioplasm, from its being divisible and from its being transferred from generation to generation, in higher as well as in lower organisms, has a continuous or immortal existence, comparable to the trunk of a trailing vine which creeps on its way through all time, the twigs and buds of which alone drop from the parent stem and perish. We may add that this conception in its generalised form has profound philosophical and moral implications. The potential and essential capacities of the race are preserved; the non-essential perish.

2. During this continuous and immortal movement of life, the idioplasm goes through a development of its own, just as an individual organism goes, during its individual life, through a determinate cycle of development, the result being a constantly increasing complexity of structure and differentiation of function.

3. The development in question is automatic, and results from internal *perfecting* forces or movements.

¹ *A Mechanico-Physiological Theory of Organic Evolution. Summary.* By Carl Naegeli. Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co. Pp. 53. Price, paper, 15 cents.

4. As a consequence of this complexity, the entire organism itself becomes in time more and more differentiated, and so the progression of the idioplasm controls the phylogeny of the race, and marks out its course of evolution.

5. The organic world is not made up of branches of a single original idioplasm, but each race or group may have its own specific idioplasm, which may have taken its origin *independently* of the other idioplasms, *wherever the necessary conditions combined*. It will be apparent from this that Naegeli was virtually an advocate of spontaneous generation, or abiogenesis.

The automatic perfecting principle of Naegeli has been the mark of much animadversion; it has been criticised as mystical and reactionary; but as a hypothesis it is founded on considerations which have their analogies even in the so-called exact sciences. Be that as it may, the doctrines of Naegeli, on the whole, deserve careful consideration at the hands of all who are concerned with the history and advancement of biological thought. μκρκ.

A CHINESE SCHOLAR ON THE ORIENTAL QUESTION.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I thank you for sending me your translation of Lao-Tze's *Tao-Teh-King*. I have read the introductory portion with great interest and must heartily congratulate you upon the accuracy and lucidity of your rendering of a rather obscure work, even to Chinese scholars. In my opinion it is a marvel of literary assiduity and application on a par with Stanislas Julien's *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, and I am sure it will be as greatly appreciated by scholars. I see you have rendered the title into English as "Canon on Reason and Virtue." In the introduction I believe you have correctly defined the metaphysical significance of the word *Tao*. It is, as you said, Kant's "purely formal." I am, however, of opinion that so far as Lao-Tze was able to express his meaning, he intended to apply it to the word *Truth* as understood by modern philosophers more than to any other. The English word *Reason*, I am afraid, does not express all the definitions embraced in *Tao*. *Tao* is something *beyond* Reason or Rationality. It is the underlying fact of the whole cosmos, whether demonstrable to human knowledge or not. In common with the missionaries I see you would regard 眞 (*chen*) as equivalent to Truth. But from the construction of the character itself and its derivation from *muh*, "the eye" (see Williams's *Syllabic Dictionary*, p. 15) the Chinese regard it as akin to "demonstrable or ascertained fact." *Tao*, at least in the definition of the Sung philosophers, is something more absolute (see Meadows's *Chinese and their Rebelions*, pp. 353-356), hence its subsequent association with *li*, in order to, in my opinion, render it comprehensible by human methods. *Teh* would thereby be synonymous with *tao li*, and in terms of your own special advocacy of the "Religion of Truth" should mean "the manifestation of Truth in human conduct," i. e., "Virtue." I see you have made use of Drs. Williams's and Eitel's dictionaries, but a better standard would, I think, be Giles's *Chinese-English Dictionary* (1892), where you would find (p. 1066) *Tao* defined as "a road, a path, a way." Hence the road *for excellence*, the right way, the true path, the *Truth*, religion, etc. *Tao li* is right principle, doctrine, reason, argument. *Teh* is that which one does naturally, spontaneously, moral excellence, virtue. Dr. Giles is also author of a small monograph on *The Remains of Lao-Tze* (published also in *China Review*, Vol. XIV., pp.

231-280), which in spite of its negative criticism of the genuineness of the *Tao-Teh-King* is still of great value as a translation.

The Cho State in which Lao-Tze was archivist was the representative of the suzerain power in China, although in Lao-Tze's time it had dwindled down to almost a nonentity. Still it had preserved many of the records of ancient times and was looked to by the surrounding states as the nominal source of their authority and power. Hence Confucius's reputed visit to Lao-Tze. Your estimate of the influence of Confucius is, I regret to see, somewhat unfair to the Great Sage of China. His reputation doubtless suffers in Western estimation when compared to the original genius of his rival. Still I do not think he should be made responsible for the degeneracy (if any) of the race which he so manfully and perseveringly attempted to reform and educate, and which, it must be admitted, that but for him would long before now have disappeared from the ken of history.

As regards myself, I beg that you will kindly note that I have now been appointed sub-editor and translator to a new Chinese daily paper, the *Thien Nan Shin Pao*, to which all future communications to myself should, please, be made. The journal is intended to awaken the literary classes of China to a true appreciation of their position in the struggle now going on between Oriental and Occidental civilisation, and appreciating and relying on the vitality of our own race, we have every confidence that they will enthusiastically respond and work their own deliverance. I have no doubt that Occidentals, like Lord Salisbury, believe that they are a *dying* race. In a recent issue of the local *Straits-Chinese Magazine* I have given in English my own opinion as to the probable outcome of the present struggle in view of China's past history, and as soon as the articles are completely issued I shall make bold to forward you a copy. Meanwhile I am sure you will generously give us your sympathetic support, and we shall be only too pleased to be privileged to translate and publish whatever views or advices you may wish to tender on the subject. The editors are a Chinese Provincial Graduate of Fukien, Mr. Khoo Seok Wan, and Dr. Lim Boon Keng, M. B. C. M. of Edinburgh, Chinese member of the Legislative Council of this colony.

SINGAPORE, June 6, 1898.

TAN TEK SOON.

NOTES AND BOOK REVIEWS.

The Anglo-Saxon alliance is not a diplomatic treaty; nor should it be. It is the recognition of a deep-seated sympathy between two powerful nations, kin in blood, the same in language, similar in institutions, and cherishing peaceful ideals of civilisation. It is not in opposition to other nations, but simply indicates that the United States and Great Britain have become conscious of a solidarity of interests and would regard a war that unfortunately might break out between them as a civil war, deplorable under all conditions. The Anglo-Saxon alliance finally tends toward the establishment of a parliament of the world.

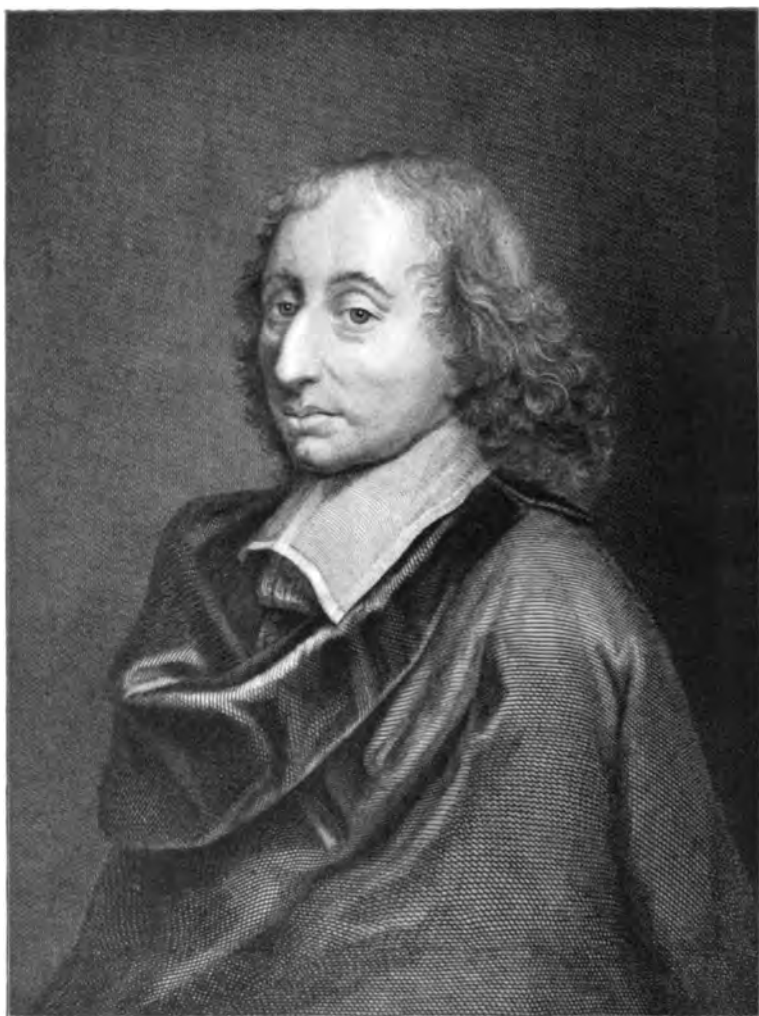
The article in the present *Open Court* on "Chinese Fiction," by Dr. Candlin, is a unique contribution to literary criticism, and, we trust, will be cordially welcomed by our readers, to whom a favorable insight into the Chinese genius and character, not otherwise obtainable, will be afforded. Dr. Candlin, who is a Christian missionary, is now in Tong-shan, in the far North of China, which is at pres-

ent greatly disturbed by revolutions. We regret that the proofs of the article, which were sent to Mr. Candlin several months ago, were unable to reach him.

We have learned with deep regret of the death of Dr. George Ebers, the well-known Egyptologist and novel-writer, at Munich recently. Dr. Ebers was a reader of *The Open Court*, and in his correspondence with the editor frequently expressed his sympathy with its aims.

Modern Rationalism, Being a Sketch of the Progress of the Rationalistic Spirit in the Nineteenth Century. By Joseph McCabe. (Watts & Co., London. Pp. 163. Price, 2s 6d.) Mr. McCabe has sought in this work to rewrite, from the point of view of rationalism, the history of modern human thought, considered in its most general aspects. He reviews the history of philosophy and the history of science in so far as these studies have influenced less tractable systems of social opinion; he traces the rise of rationalism and theology, the growth and extension of Biblical criticism, of comparative religion, mythology, etc. Rationalism, according to the author, is not a wholly modern movement, but is discoverable in every system of thought, ancient and modern, wherein the spirit of scepticism and criticism has shown itself. It is rather a "cast of thought" than an actual historical system. As such, and as the incarnation of the spirit of science, it is synonymous with the best-founded, most rigorously demonstrated, positive knowledge of every age. Mr. McCabe's book is readable, and the account of the many delicate controversies which it touches is fair and unimpassioned.

The August number of the *Bibelot* (Mr. Thomas B. Mosher, Portland, Me.) is made up of two poems of Mr. William Watson—*Wordsworth's Grave* and *Lachrymæ Musarum*. The September number will be *The School of Giorgione*, by Walter Pater. (Single numbers, 5 cents.)



From an Engraving by Ferd. Delauney.

BLAISE PASCAL.

(1623-1662.)

Frontispiece to the October, '98, *Open Court*.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XII. (NO. 10.)

OCTOBER, 1898.

NO. 509

CHUAR'S ILLUSION.

BY MAJOR J. W. POWELL.

IN the fall of 1880 I was encamped on the Kaibab plateau above the canyon gorge of a little stream. White men and Indians composed the party with me. Our task was to make a trail down this side canyon, which was many hundreds of feet in depth, into the depths of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. While in camp after the day's work was done, both Indians and white men amused themselves by attempting to throw stones across the little canyon. The distance from the brink of the wall on which we were encamped to the brink of the opposite wall seemed not very great, yet no man could throw a stone across the chasm, though Chuar, the Indian chief, could strike the opposite wall very near its brink. The stones thrown by others fell into the depths of the canyon. I discussed these feats with Chuar, leading him to an explanation of gravity. Now Chuar believed that he could throw a stone much farther along the level of the plateau than over the canyon. His first illusion was thus one very common among mountain travellers—an underestimate of the distance of towering and massive rocks when the eye has no intervening objects to divide the space into parts as measures of the whole.

I did not venture to correct Chuar's judgment, but simply sought to discover his method of reasoning. As our conversation proceeded he explained to me that the stone could not go far over the canyon, for it was so deep that it would make the stone fall before reaching the opposite bank; and he explained to me with great care that the hollow or empty space pulled the stone down. He discoursed on this point at length, and illustrated it in many ways. "If you stand on the edge of the cliff you are likely to fall; the hollow pulls you down, so that you are compelled to brace yourself

against the force and lean back. Any one can make such an experiment and see that the void pulls him down. If you climb a tree the higher you reach the harder the pull; if you are at the very top of a tall pine you must cling with your might lest the void below pull you off."

Thus my dusky philosopher interpreted a subjective fear of falling as an objective force; but more, he reified void and imputed to it the force of pull. I afterward found these ideas common among other wise men of the dusky race, and once held a similar conversation with an Indian of the Wintun on Mount Shasta, the sheen of whose snow-clad summit seems almost to merge into the firmament. On these dizzy heights my Wintun friend expounded the same philosophy of gravity.

Now in the language of Chuar's people, a wise man is said to be a traveller, for such is the metaphor by which they express great wisdom, as they suppose that a man must learn by journeying much. So in the moonlight of the last evening's sojourn in the camp on the brink of the canyon, I told Chuar that he was a great traveller, and that I knew of two other great travellers, among the seers of the East, one by the name of Hegel and another by the name of Spencer; and that I should ever remember these three wise men, who spoke like words of wisdom, for it passed through my mind that all three of these philosophers had reified void and founded a philosophy thereon.

Concepts of number, space, motion, time, and judgment, are developed by all minds, from that of the lowest animal to that of the highest human genius. Through the evolution of animal life, these concepts have been growing as they have been inherited down the stream of time in the flood of generations. It is thus that an experience has been developed, combined with the experience of all the generations of life for all the time of life, which makes it impossible to expunge from the human mind these five concepts. They can never be cancelled while sanity remains. Things having something more than number, space, motion, time, and judgment, cannot even be invented; it is not possible for the human mind to conceive anything else, but semblances of such ideas may be produced by the mummification of language.

Ideas are expressed in words which are symbols, and the word may be divested of all meaning in terms of number, space, motion, time, and judgment, and still remain, and it may be claimed that it still means something unknown and unknowable; this is the origin of reification. There are many things unknown at one stage

of experience which are known at another, so man comes to believe in the unknown by constant daily experience; but has by further converse with the universe known things previously unknown, and they invariably become known in terms of number, space, motion, time, and judgment, and are found to be only combinations of these things. It is thus that something unknown may be conceived, but something unknowable cannot be conceived.

No man conceives reified substrate, reified essence, reified space, reified force, reified time, reified spirit. Words are blank checks on the bank of thought, to be filled with meaning by the past and future earnings of the intellect. But these words are coin signs of the unknowable and no one can acquire the currency for which they call.

Things little known are named and man speculates about these little-known things, and erroneously imputes properties or attributes to them until he comes to think of them as possessing such unknown and mistaken attributes. At last he discovers the facts; then all that he discovers is expressed in the terms of number, space, motion, time, and judgment. Still the word for the little-known thing may remain to express something unknown and mystical, and by simple and easily understood processes he reifies what is not, and reasons in terms which have no meaning as used by him. Terms thus used without meaning are terms of reification.

Such terms and such methods of reasoning become very dear to those immersed in thaumaturgy and who love the wonderful and cling to the mysterious, and, in the revelry developed by the hashish of mystery, the pure water of truth is insipid. The dream of intellectual intoxication seems more real and more worthy of the human mind than the simple truths discovered by science. There is a fascination in mystery and there has ever been a school of intellects delighting to revel therein, and yet, in the grand aggregate, there is a spirit of sanity extant among mankind which loves the true and simple.

Often the eloquence of the dreamer has even subverted the sanity of science, and clear-headed, simple-minded scientific men have been willing to affirm that science deals with trivialities, and that only metaphysics deals with the profound and significant things of the universe. In a late great text-book on physics, which is a science of simple certitudes, it is affirmed:

"To us the question, *What is matter?*—What is, assuming it to have a real existence outside ourselves, the essential basis of the phenomena with which we may as physicists make ourselves ac-

quainted?—appears absolutely insoluble. Even if we become perfectly and certainly acquainted with the intimate structure of what we call Matter, we would but have made a further step in the study of its properties; and as physicists we are forced to say that while somewhat has been learned as to the properties of Matter, its essential nature is quite unknown to us."

As though its properties did not constitute its essential nature.

So, under the spell of metaphysics, the physicist turns from his spectroscope to explain that all his researches may be dealing with phantasms.

Science deals with realities. These are bodies with their properties. All the facts embraced in this vast field of research are expressed in terms of number, space, motion, time, and judgment; no other terms are needed and no other terms are coined, but by a process well known in philology as a disease of language, sometimes these terms lapse into meanings which connote fallacies. The human intellect is of such a nature that it has notions or ideas which may be certitudes or fallacies. All the processes of reasoning, including sensation and perception, proceed by inference; the inference may be correct or erroneous, and certitudes are reached by verifying opinions. This is the sole and only process of gaining certitudes. The certitudes are truths which properly represent noumena, the illusions are errors which misrepresent noumena. All knowledge is the knowledge of noumena, and all illusion is erroneous opinion about noumena. The human mind knows nothing but realities and deals with nothing but realities, but in this dealing with the realities—the noumena of the universe—it reaches some conclusions that are correct and others that are incorrect. The correct conclusions are certitudes about realities; the incorrect conclusions are fallacies about realities. Science is the name which mankind has agreed to call this knowledge of realities, and error is the name which mankind has agreed to give to all fallacies. Thus it is that certitudes are directly founded upon realities; and fallacies alike all refer to realities. In this sense then it may be stated that all error as well as knowledge testifies to reality, and that all our knowledge is certitude based upon reality, and that fallacies would not be possible were there not realities about which inferences are made.

Known realities are those about which mankind has knowledge; unknown things are those things about which man has not yet attained knowledge. Scientific research is the endeavor to in-

crease knowledge, and its methods are experience, observation, and verification. Fallacies are erroneous inferences in relation to known things. All certitudes are described in terms of number, space, motion, time, and judgment; nothing else has yet been discovered and nothing else can be discovered with the faculties with which man is possessed.

In the material world we have no knowledge of something which is not a unity of itself or a unity of a plurality; of something which is not an extension of figure or an extension of figure and structure; of something which has not motion or a combination of motions as force; of something which has not duration as persistence or duration with persistence and change.

In the mental world we have no knowledge of something which is not a judgment of consciousness and inference; of a judgment which is not a judgment of a body with number, space, motion, and time. Every notion of something in the material world devoid of one or more of the constituents of matter is an illusion; every notion of something in the spiritual world devoid of the factors of matter and judgment is a fallacy.

In the intoxication of illusion facts seem cold and colorless, and the wrapt dreamer imagines that he dwells in a realm above science—in a world which as he thinks absorbs truth as the ocean the shower, and transforms it into a flood of philosophy. Feverish dreams are supposed to be glimpses of the unknown and unknowable, and the highest and dearest aspiration is to be absorbed in this sea of speculation. Nothing is worthy of contemplation but the mysterious. Yet the simple and the true remain. The history of science is the history of the discovery of the simple and the true; in its progress fallacies are dispelled and certitudes remain.

BLAISE PASCAL.

(1623-1662.)

BY PROF. L. LÉVY-BRUHL.

TWO periods are to be distinguished in Pascal's life: the first, in which he busied himself with mathematical and physical sciences, and the second, in which, being thoroughly convinced of the vanity of these sciences, he confined himself to the science of morals.

As a natural philosopher Pascal was one of the most pronounced in his advocacy of the rights of experience and reason as against the method of authority. The fragment of the *Traité du Vide* expresses, in a wonderfully eloquent style, ideas which Bacon, Descartes and many others had previously advocated. Pascal's way of demonstrating them is decisive; by his very analysis of the notions of science and of antiquity he determines in what case and in what measure respect is due to the opinions of the ancients.

Here Pascal even brings to light a point already touched upon by Bacon, but ignored by Descartes. In laying down the first rule of his method "to hold nothing as true unless one has evidence of its being so," Descartes based his reasons entirely upon the abstract idea of science and upon the model of mathematics. For him these were sufficient motives to regard everything that preceded him as null and void, and absolutely to *ignore* tradition. He proposed to build up a philosophical system as if none had ever existed before him. Pascal, on the contrary, analyses the confused idea of tradition, and seeks to derive thence the idea of progress. He represents mankind in its entirety as a single man living forever and learning continually. Had not Descartes been so wholly taken up with his desire of utterly abolishing scholastic philosophy, he might also have noticed, were it but in geometry and astronomy, the onward march of scientific knowledge, which

is the most luminous illustration of "progress" that can be given. Pascal's idea is a remarkable one, inasmuch as it emphasises the continuity of progress. We shall find it reviving in the eighteenth century, under various forms, until the natural sciences, and particularly biology, substituted for the notion of uninterrupted progress the more complex conceptions of evolution and adaptation.

In Pascal's views of scientific method, the influence of Descartes is almost everywhere perceptible. Like Descartes, he has but little esteem for formal logic; real logic is to be found in mathematics. A method of avoiding error is sought by every one. Logicians profess to know the way to it, but geometers alone reach it, and outside their science and whatever imitates it, real demonstrations do not exist. Geometry therefore is the only real science, and this privilege it owes to the "order" which it follows. (Descartes himself had said, "The method consists wholly in the order to be observed," etc. Lastly, even as mathematics furnished Descartes with the idea of his philosophical method, so geometry suggested to Pascal that of a "still loftier and flawless" one. But, unlike Descartes, who thought he had found the demonstration of the true philosophy, Pascal believes that a perfect method is beyond the reach of man. Geometry has to take for granted the definitions from which it proceeds and the axioms on which it rests, whereas a perfect procedure would define and demonstrate everything. Geometers, however, are quite justified in not demonstrating that two quantities which are equal to a third are equal to each other, and in not giving a definition of space, time, and number, for such explanations as they might give of these notions would create obscurity rather than enlightenment. It is sufficient if their definitions and axioms be so perfectly clear and evident as absolutely to preclude denial. But still it is an imperfection in their science that these things have to be taken for granted.

Thus geometry, although the least imperfect of human sciences, can demonstrate nothing except by admitting undemonstrable principles, and define nothing except by using undefinable terms. The question, whence these principles and notions are derived, is a serious subject of discussion among philosophers. Some ascribe their origin to experience, others to the independent activity of the mind. According to Pascal, these principles spring from the "heart;" that is, we believe in them instinctively, and such a belief is as firm as any which reasoning can engender in us. "The heart" tells us that there are three dimensions in space, and that the succession of numbers is infinite. Principles we feel, proposi-

tions we infer, and both with certainty, although by different means. And there would be as much absurdity in reason's asking the heart for proofs of its first principles before adhering to them as in the heart's asking reason to feel all the propositions it demonstrates before accepting them.

This is therefore no check upon geometry. It merely supposes us to know what is meant by the words *motion, number, space*. Without stopping for useless definitions, it penetrates into the very nature, and discovers the wonderful properties, of these three things, "which," says Pascal, speaking as a true Cartesian, "comprise the whole universe." But if we try to push our reflexion higher, and to apply it to these principles themselves, we are stopped at the very first step and obliged to confess our ignorance. "Our soul is cast into our body, where it finds number, time, dimension; it calls these nature or necessity, and can believe nothing else." Seldom was Pascal more profound than in these few words. He touches here upon the idea of the relativity of knowledge. He intimates that the necessity of natural laws may possibly be only the necessity of the laws of our own thought, and that these fundamental laws, both of thought and of nature, may also, in some way unknown to us, proceed from the human organisation. Therefore, "what goes beyond geometry is beyond our reach."

The critique of the faculties of the human understanding, which was not in Pascal's plan, is partly replaced in his *Pensées* by the consideration of the Infinite, the idea of which plays an important part in his philosophy. According to him we know that the Infinite exists, but we are ignorant of its nature. We are acquainted with the existence of infinite number and of infinite space, but cannot form conceptions of them. We know, at least, that the finite is incommensurable with the infinite. Therefore man, being finite, is unproportioned to the idea of the infinite; is lost and swallowed up in it. In this infinite sphere, the centre of which is everywhere and the circumference nowhere—where do we stand? The question is of course unanswerable. "For what is man in nature? Nothing as compared with the infinite, everything as compared with nothingness—a mean between nullity and all. Utterly powerless to embrace the extremes, therefore the end and the principle of things are forever wrapped in impenetrable mystery for him. He is incapable, in fine, of perceiving either the nothingness out of which he is drawn, or the infinite in which he is gulfed."

From this it follows that nature is as incomprehensible as God Himself, who created it. It is therefore useless to reduce the sci-

ence of nature to that of geometry, as Descartes does (Pascal does not question here the rightfulness of the procedure); it is useless



BLAISE PASCAL.

to establish a geometrical "order," as the most perfect that man can attain to. It must still be admitted that between infinite space and the space which we conceive there is a boundless chasm, and

that our most intelligible science is based on principles which we do not understand. And if, instead of reflecting upon the object of science, we reflect upon the mind by which science is made, we are brought to the same confession; for we then perceive that our understanding, in the order of intelligible beings, holds the same place as our body in the order of extended objects.

The parallelism (a genuinely Cartesian one) involves conclu-



From an Engraving by St. Aubin of the bust of Pajou.

sions which Pascal draws at once. Even as our body is but an imperceptible speck in comparison with infinite space, so our understanding, in spite of all its exertions, is infinitely remote from the perfect comprehension of things. Whether contemplating them from above or from below, it is still equally far from the end. We are sequestered in a hidden province of the universe, from which it were sheer madness to think of escaping. We are likewise confined to a certain degree of intelligence, higher than which

our faculties forbid us to rise. In the range of thought, as well as of space, we are a mean between nothing and everything, infinitely remote both from lifeless, unthinking matter and from that Absolute Thought which sees Being while creating it. Our knowledge is bound to certain conditions. Man's pretension to absolute knowledge can spring only from an absurd—one might almost say, infinite—presumptuousness.



BLAISE PASCAL.

From an Engraving by Houff.

If, therefore, Pascal, in speaking of science, is now sympathetic and admiring, now scornful and derisive, the diversity of his language is easily explained, and we need not suppose that Pascal, after admitting the validity of human reason in the earlier part of his life, despaired of it in the latter, and abandoned himself to scepticism. It is sufficient to observe that Pascal in some passages views science from the standpoint of the finite and in others from

that of the infinite. In the first passages, when contemplating science from a purely human point of view, he finds it to be logically unassailable (at least as regards geometry) and he extends this praise to "what imitates it," probably alluding to philosophies of the stripe of Descartes's, which vies with mathematics in rigor. But when contemplating science and philosophy from the point of view of the infinite, their vanity, powerlessness and uselessness appear obvious to him, for there is no proportion between the human mind, which is finite, and the infinite object with which science is concerned. Thus Pascal may say, without recourse to moral or religious argument: "Philosophy (that is the science of nature) is not worth an hour's pains. . . . To write against those who pursue the sciences . . . to scoff at philosophy—that is to be the true philosopher."

For the same reasons, and without being self-contradictory, Pascal shows himself alternately favorable and hostile to Cartesianism; yet this is no reason for inferring that he has changed his opinion. If there must be a science of physics, he evidently prefers that of Descartes to that of Aristotle. What he thinks ridiculous is the vain hope of attaining to a complete and definitive explanation of nature. Therefore, in speaking as a geometrician or natural philosopher of the Cartesian doctrine, he does not hesitate to praise it; he even admires the *cogito* and the consequences inferred from it by Descartes. But when comparing such a philosophy to the infiniteness of nature, which is the object of it, he finds it no less presumptuous and bold than the others. The closer he considers the infinite, the less interested he becomes in geometry and natural sciences; not that they seem to him less true than they did before, but that he sees the emptiness of them more clearly. Another science attracts him—the science of man, in which all his dearest concerns are at stake.

* * *

The science of man, or of morals, as we know, was not to be found among philosophers. Pascal, however, was far from rejecting as worthless all that they had said on the subject. Two sects appeared to him particularly worthy of esteem, for each of them had partly descried the truth: the Stoics, represented by Epictetus, and the Epicureans, represented by Montaigne.

Epictetus knew the duties of man admirably well. He repeatedly stated that man's only study and desire should be to recognise and obey the will of God. He wished man to be persuaded that God governs all things with justice, to submit to Him willingly, and al-

ways to have before his eyes the thought of death and of the most unbearable sufferings; thus triumphing over mean thoughts and immoderate desires. But after speaking of the duties of man in such language as would befit a Christian, Epictetus fails to acknowledge man's powerlessness. He is carried away by his pride. He falls into perdition by presuming too much on man's strength. He does not perceive that the nature of man is incapable of fulfilling its duty toward God alone and unaided. He magnifies man's liberty, whereas man is really a slave to sin; he extols man's power, which he likens to that of the gods, whereas ever since the original fall man has been corrupt and miserable. And so this admirable system of ethics leads to "diabolical pride."

Montaigne falls into the opposite error. This philosopher has an incomparable faculty of making men realise their own weakness. He insensibly overthrows all that is looked upon by men as absolutely certain, not in order to establish the contrary with the very certitude which he rejects, but merely to show that since appearances point with equal force to both conclusions, we cannot possibly know whereon to ground our belief. He shows the pliability of reason for all purposes and the vanity of its principles, even of those which are regarded as firmest and most natural, the errors into which man is inevitably allured by his imagination, the tyranny exercised upon him by custom and example, and his ridiculous self-assumption. Thus reason, being "irretrievably foiled by its own weapons," is reduced to silence, and so abased that it can no longer decide whether it is superior or equal to the instinct of animals.

But on the other hand, Montaigne acts like a heathen. While pointing out admirably man's natural helplessness, which Epictetus ignored, Montaigne, with a cravenness doubly shameful in a Christian, neglects the duties of man, which Epictetus knew so well. He follows custom and instinct, and thus even as the Stoic is led astray by his pride, the Epicurean is led astray by his sloth.

Would, now, the solution consist in accepting both Epictetus's and Montaigne's mode of reasoning, merely placing them in juxtaposition? Shall we obtain the true science of morals by conceiving the duties of man as Epictetus did, and his helplessness as Montaigne did? No; such a solution is unacceptable. Montaigne does not complete Epictetus; he directly contradicts him. Placing them together would result in nothing except strife and mutual destruction; for as the one has established certitude and the other

doubt, and the one has championed the grandeur of man and the other his weakness, both their errors and their truths are mutually nullified. To reach an acceptable solution, we must discover a higher point of view, from which the contradictory elements will be reconcilable.

In spite of the diversity of the problems in question the method here followed by Pascal offers a striking analogy with that employed afterward by Kant in overcoming the antinomies of pure reason. In the third antinomy especially, Kant shows that reason cannot decide between two conflicting propositions. It cannot give up the idea that there are free causes in the universe, as for instance, man's will; but it also does not think it possible to give up the idea of the necessary concatenation of causes and effects. The interest of morals forbids that liberty should be sacrificed; the interest of science demands determinism. How does Kant overcome the antinomy? By showing that the two statements are not absolutely contradictory, but are only so in a certain sense, and that, *from different points of view*, they are both true. *In time* it is true that every phenomenon must needs be the result of antecedent phenomena. But *out of time* the law of causality is no longer necessary, and nothing justifies us in asserting of "things-in-themselves" what we know to be true as regards phenomena. So that determinism remains true in the world of experience, while liberty also prevails in that of absolute reality. The antinomy is overcome.

In the same way the moral science of philosophers, according to Pascal, results in a seemingly insoluble antinomy. Man cannot at the same time be incurably helpless, as Montaigne says, and have duties imposed upon him such as are pointed out by Epictetus; yet both of them were right. What, then, shall raise us to the higher point of view from which this contradiction disappears? Reason by itself is unable to do so. Its most strenuous exertions may carry it as far as Epictetus or Montaigne, but not beyond them. This the Gospel alone can do. It reconciles these contrarieties by a purely divine art; and by uniting all that is true, and by rejecting all that is false, makes of the result a truly celestial body of wisdom, wherein the conflicts which by human doctrine were irreconcilable are found to agree. And the reason of this success is that the philosophers of the world have always *put contrary things together in one and the same subject*, the one attributing man's grandeur to nature, and the other his weakness to the same source—a formal contradiction; whereas faith has always

taught us to place them *in different subjects*, attributing to nature what is infirm and what is powerful to the grace of God. Man in the helpless state conceived by Montaigne is man fallen and corrupted by sin. Man able to fulfil the duties conceived by Epicuretus is another man, regenerated and redeemed by Christ, supported by God's grace. Here also the antinomy is overcome.

There remains, however, an essential difference between the case of Kant and that of Pascal. Never for a moment does Kant abandon the ground of philosophy, and the elements of his solution are supplied to him by his own *Critique of Pure Reason*. But according to Pascal the antinomy of the science of morals would have remained forever insoluble had not God condescended to enlighten us. Pascal abandons the domain of reason and appeals to faith. In order to justify such a momentous step he had to show its undeniable necessity; in other words, he had to demonstrate that the antinomy could not possibly be solved in any other manner. The science of man must appear as evident and easy to grasp from Pascal's Christian point of view, as it is absurd and unintelligible from any other point of view.

In this sense, Pascal's *Entretien avec M. de Saci sur Epictète et Montaigne* may be looked upon as a sketch, afterward to become a completed picture in the *Pensées*. We see him, in this latter work, expatiating on the grandeur and misery of man with such a passion that the strokes never seem to him strong enough or the contrast sufficiently conveyed to the reader. "What a chimera man is, what a strange monster, what a chaos, what a subject for contradiction, what a prodigy! Judge of all things, and a miserable worm; a depository of truth, and a sink of uncertainty and error; at once the glory and the scum of the universe! . . . If he extols himself, I humble him; if he abases himself, I exalt him, and always I contradict him, until he comprehends that he is an incomprehensible monster." Then, but only then, could Pascal propose, or rather impose, the only solution which, according to him, was to throw a light into this darkness: "Hearken unto God."

Pascal's method was that of persuasive demonstration, which he adopted after mature meditation, and from which he never swerved. The criticism of the dogmatic and Pyrrhonian doctrines, the picture of man's incomprehensible condition, of his grandeur and misery, the examination of social ethics, the exposition of the proofs of Christianity, all tended to one object—namely, to showing that reason itself leads to belief and finally submits to revela-

tion. But the *Pensées* have been handed down to us in a fragmentary and unfinished form; and though one can restore the leading ideas and even the main lines of the plan followed and desired by the author, one is also at liberty to regard the book as a simple collection of reflexions and maxims without reference to their hidden links and connexions, and so to emphasise only certain parts of them to the relative neglect of the others. This has been done, for instance, by those who being chiefly impressed by what Pascal says of the weakness of human reason have mistaken him for a sceptic. Thus, also, the *Pensées* have often been read for their own sake, without much regard for the end which Pascal wished them to serve. And thus it has happened also that their influence, which has been great, has not fulfilled the intentions of their author, and through such not infrequent irony of fate this great apologist of the Christian religion has supplied its enemies with a whole arsenal of weapons.

His very theory of reason, which was impotent beyond certain limits, was in itself somewhat dangerous to the cause he wished to uphold. It was quite a different thing from Montaigne's scepticism. The latter was a means employed by Montaigne to combat fanaticism and the evils engendered by it; but it was only a means, and did not prevent Montaigne from preserving a certain number of moral convictions to which he was wedded; the arguments on which that scepticism was grounded had nothing original about them. Pascal's more penetrating genius raised the question of the legitimate use of human reason itself, and sought to assign its limits. On the one hand, he acknowledges the value of positive science (provided it admits the derived nature of its principles) and in this he is unlike the traditional and improbable sceptic invented by philosophers. But, on the other hand, he affirms that "what goes beyond geometry is beyond our reach," and we also know that science derives its principles from a superior domain, access into which is denied us. We are aware of the existence of the infinite, but ignorant of its nature, of which we must remain forever ignorant, since there is no proportion between us and the infinite. Pascal here opened the door to agnosticism, of which our century has beheld numerous and various forms. Now agnosticism may be and often is found associated with religious tendencies; but it may also be antagonistic to religion. At any rate, it is nowise connected especially with the Christian belief or the Roman Catholic dogma. History shows that the abandonment of rational metaphysics has not been beneficial to revealed religion.

Thus, as regards the relations between reason and faith, with which Pascal was so infatuated, the result of his exertions ran diametrically counter to his purpose. When he says that Christian dogma, in the eyes of the world, is a vain folly, that the original sin condemning thousands of guiltless beings to eternal damnation is revolting to our sense of justice, the philosophers of the eighteenth century are loud in their praise. Many also approve of Pascal's regarding the philosophical proofs of the existence of God as inadequate to convince hardened atheists. They easily grant that reason is one thing, that faith is another thing, and that there is no natural transition between the two. But when he thence infers that one must be a Christian, he is no longer followed. His premises are retained and his conclusions dropped, to the great benefit of unbelief and of natural religion, both of which he almost equally detested.

It was next in the order of Pascal's method of demonstration to prove, as Montaigne had done, that man's reason is powerless to regulate his conduct, and that custom and prejudice alone support morals. He proceeded to this proof with such earnestness and energy that even his friends were terrified, and did not dare to publish this part of the *Pensées* without extenuating, in almost every sentence, the boldness of his thought and the harshness of his words. Yet there remained in it reflexions on justice, on law, on property, on social distinctions and privileges, and even on sovereignty, the daring of which was not surpassed in the eighteenth century. Pascal concluded that all these social institutions are mere conventions, unjustifiable to reason. Not being able to make strong what was just, men have made just what was strong. These conventions, though not respectable in themselves, become so in the eyes of a Christian; so that the frame of the social order indirectly serves to prove the truth of Christianity, since on this truth the validity of the social frame depends. But the philosophers of the eighteenth century neither were nor wished to be Christians; they merely gathered from Pascal's arguments that social institutions were a heap of rubbish, nonsense, and injustice.

Lastly, Pascal, admitting no other direct proofs of supernatural religion than supernatural facts, grounds his faith on prophecies and miracles. "Were it not for miracles," he says, "I should not be a Christian." A momentous saying, because it was liable to be interpreted quite otherwise than Pascal intended. Pascal does not mean that if miracles appear incredible to a man he is thereby exempted from being a Christian. Pascal means, on the contrary

that whoever has faith finds in miracles wherewith to explain his faith, to himself at least. He understands that prophecies and miracles prove the truth of Christianity, and if the demonstration has no effect on certain minds, it is because God has willed them to remain blind. It is not the demonstration which is insufficient ; it is they who are not in a fit state to receive it.

Still Pascal was here again opening a dangerous path. Hitherto the discussion of the outward proofs of Christianity had seldom extended itself beyond the world of theologians. Pascal was among the first to transfer it to the public domain of philosophers and men of letters. He was as poorly armed for such a discussion as can be imagined, though it is true that very few men in his time were better equipped. The divine nature of the sacred texts had prevented even the thought of a critical examination of them. But the adversaries of Christianity, although rather inexperienced in this style of criticism, soon felt that they might turn to good account the example set by Pascal. The part played in their controversy by the discussion of prophecies and miracles is sufficiently well known. Voltaire was inexhaustible on the subject of sacred history. And we may wonder whether the scientific exegesis which came later, disinterested and impartial as it was, did not deal an even heavier blow than these gibes and taunts to the beliefs which Pascal would fain have strengthened !

THE SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF BLAISE PASCAL.

BY T. J. MCCORMACK.

M. LÉVY-BRUHL, whose article in the present *Open Court* on the philosophy of Pascal will have won the attention of our readers for one of the most remarkable geniuses of modern times, well remarks that by a strange irony of fate the very weapons which Pascal forged for the corroboration of his faith were by his successors turned into one of the deadliest instruments for its destruction. Science pursues its irresistible march through and in spite of the personalities in which it is incarnate, and amid all their aberrations, works out unfailingly its own salvation. Where it is impeded it sweeps to ruin, with puissant hand, the obstacles that are set in its path, and by virtue of that immanent and mighty power in the world which makes for truth, accomplishes eternally its own aims. "There are two souls," sayeth the poet, "inhabitant in every breast"; the one destined to immortality, the other to decay; the one clad in the eternal raiment of truth, the other in the muddy vestures of clay. And so it was with Blaise Pascal. Even that which was perishable in him had more, perhaps, of immortality in it than have the perishable parts of most men; but as compared with the standard of creation which he himself had set, it was fore-ordained to annihilation; and the World-Spirit, mocking and girding, as it were, at his worser half, and thinking forsooth that it was merry sport—

"To have the engineer
Hoist with his own petard,"

made his better part the saviour of the whole, and has handed him down to us, as an admirer has characterised him, "one of the sublimest spirits of the world."

Apart from Pascal's merits as a shaper of French literary style, and as an ethical essayist of the first order, it is his achievements in mathematics and physics, and not his pietistic and theological maunderings, however much they have been lauded, that constitute his real contribution to civilisation. We shall supplement, therefore, the fine exposition which Professor Lévy-Bruhl has given of his philosophy, by a popular reference to his work in science; but shall first give from another pen a brief sketch of his life.

"Blaise Pascal was born at Clermont in Auvergne, France, June 9, 1623. He was the only son of Etienne Pascal, President of the Court of Aids in that province, himself a learned and respectable man and able mathematician, who, when his boy had reached his eighth year, resigned his office and removed to Paris, for the purpose of watching over his education. From his childhood, Blaise displayed abilities far above the common order, and evinced so inquiring a spirit that, as his sister has recorded, he would not rest without knowing the reason of everything. The bent of his infantile genius was decidedly mathematical; but his father who was his only preceptor, and who was anxious that his attention should not be distracted from the study of the dead languages, resolved to exclude every notion of geometry from his mind, removed all books which treated of that science, and even abstained in the child's presence from any conversation on mathematical subjects with his friends. Notwithstanding these precautions, however, young Blaise, when only in his twelfth year, without the aid of books or oral instruction, began to draw figures with charcoal on the floor of his room, and had, without any assistance, made some progress in geometry before his father surprised him in these researches.

"After this discovery, he was thwarted no more in the pursuit of mathematical investigations; and at sixteen years of age he produced a treatise on the conic sections, of such excellence as to provoke the incredulity and wonder of Descartes, who would not believe that so extraordinary a performance was the work of a mere youth. In his nineteenth year he invented an ingenious machine for making arithmetical calculations, which excited the admiration of his times; and, afterwards, at the age of twenty-four years, the conjecture of Torricelli that the atmosphere had weight, and that this quality might account for effects before ascribed to the horror of a vacuum, led him to institute many able and successful experiments on this subject, which confirmed the truth of Torricelli's idea, and established his own scientific reputation. The results of these labors were collected into two essays, which appeared after his death, *On the Equilibrium of Liquids*, and *On the Weight of the Atmosphere*.

"From these researches, made before he had completed his twenty-fifth year, the great mind of Pascal was diverted entirely to objects of religious contemplation; and thenceforward he abandoned almost entirely the pursuits of science. He practised the most rigid abstinence from all worldly enjoyments, and wore next to his skin a cincture of iron studded with points, which he struck with his elbow into his flesh, as a punishment to himself whenever any sinful thought obtruded itself into his mind.

"It is a curious exemplification of the anomalous conditions of the human mind, that, while Pascal was immersed in these superstitious observances, he published his famous *Provincial Letters*, in which, under the name of Louis de Mon-

talto, he assailed the morality of the Jesuits with equal wit and argumentative acumen. He was induced to write this work by his adoption of the opinions of the Jansenists, which he warmly espoused, and which involved him in the religious disputes of his age and country. Among the fruits of his devotional exercises may also be named his *Pensées*, which were collected and published after his death; and in which he has beautifully availed himself of an idea of one of the ancient fathers, that he who believes in the existence of a God gains eternally if he be right, and loses nothing if wrong; while the atheist gains nothing if right, and renders himself miserable eternally if he be wrong. The weakly frame of Pascal was reduced to premature old age by infirmities, which were aggravated by his ascetic habits, but which he bore with exemplary patience; and he died in Paris, August 19, 1662, aged thirty-nine years. His life was written elaborately by his sister, Madame Perier." (Quoted from the *English Cyclopædia*.)

PASCAL'S ARITHMETICAL MACHINE.

Natural arithmetical machines have been in use among savage and civilised nations from the earliest time. Their employment, however, from our present advanced point of view, denotes rather an inferior than a superior stage of intellectual development. The fingers, strings of beads, knots in cords, notches in sticks, etc., etc., were the means primitively employed in computation; counting was a motor act, an act of sense, and not one of the intellect; the results were the actual things added or subtracted, and not symbols representing those results. The original intellectual advance, therefore, consisted rather in the abolition of this primitive machinery and in the substitution for it of a procedure which was mainly psychical and mnemonic, involving a mechanical knowledge of the simple combinations of numbers, of the multiplication table, and of the use of pencil and paper. But with the transference of computation to the psychical domain, came the new danger of the multiplication of errors; the more delicate and sensitive a mechanism is, the more apt it is to become deranged.

The abacus of the Romans and the swanpan of the Chinese were advanced types of the natural counting machine; but their manner of recording results, though an improvement on the old, and slightly symbolical, was almost identical with the operation to be performed, and involved little saving of labor. M. Huc, in his *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China*, has aptly illustrated this point by his recital of the astonishment of the Chinese money-changers at the rapidity and accuracy with which he and his companion performed their calculations,—a rapidity and accuracy that were far in advance of anything that the users of the swanpan could offer. The abacus, which in its various forms continued to be used in the South of Europe until the end of the sixteenth century, and in

England until even a later period, met, therefore, the natural fate of imperfection.

Nevertheless, after the abolition of the natural machines, and after facility in calculating by the new mental machines had been thoroughly established, the want of an absolutely certain, mechanical means of saving mental labor, and of eliminating psychical error, was widely felt by philosophers, and the first weak effort in this direction, which was after all a reaction, was a little instrument known as *Napier's Bones*.

One original source of error had been that the carrying of units to tens and of tens to hundreds, etc., was performed by the computer himself; the operation was not mechanical and was consequently liable to error. Napier's Bones merely dispensed with the use of the multiplication table, and reduced multiplication to simple addition; but the carrying was performed by the operator. Pascal, therefore, who devised a contrivance in which the operation of carrying was performed mechanically, may be regarded as the inventor of the first calculating machine. He had completed its construction in the year 1642, at the age of nineteen, and in a letter to the chancellor, Pierre Séguier, pointed out the advantages which were to be derived from its use. The instrument was the product of a long period of meditation and of experimenting, more than fifty models having been constructed before tolerable results were obtained. But Pascal's theory was far in advance of the technical art of his day, and his ideas never found full realisation; the chief cause of failure on the part of the mechanicians being their inability to overcome the friction of the parts. Copies of his machine are in possession of the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*. The boldness of his views, however, were appreciated, and his plan formed the groundwork upon which a long line of mechanical philosophers from Leibnitz and D'Alembert to Babbage, Roth, Scheutz, and a host of others, have reared an astonishing superstructure.

Two of the most elaborate types of the modern calculating engine were made by the Swedish inventor, Scheutz; one of them which was exhibited in Paris in 1855, and was afterward bought for the observatory at Albany, is now in the observatory of the Northwestern University at Evanston; the second of these machines, afterward constructed for the English government, is now used for facilitating the calculation of the mathematical tables of the Nautical Almanac. This machine, which is of the size of a small pianoforte, not only calculates mathematical tables, but actually stereotypes the results in a form ready for printing. It cal-

culates and stereotypes two and one-half pages of figures in the same interval of time that it would take a good compositor to set a single page of the same figures.

THE MYSTIC HEXAGRAM.

The precocity of Pascal's genius was most distinctly marked in his geometrical researches. The story that he rediscovered the principal propositions of Euclid while a mere boy may be taken *cum grano salis*, but it is certain that the famous *Essay on Conics*, which was brought into public notice by Leibnitz after Pascal's death, was written in his sixteenth year. Unfortunately, a part only of the original essay was published, and the world knows the remaining contents only from Leibnitz's report. In this essay ap-

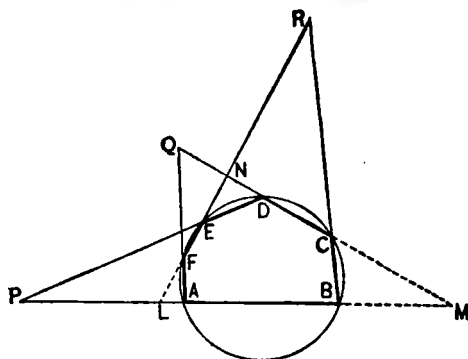


Fig. 1.

(From Beman and Smith's *Geometry*.)

pears the famous result known as Pascal's Theorem, viz., "that if a hexagon be inscribed in a conic, the points of intersection of the opposite sides will lie in a straight line." A special case of this theorem, and the one which is most popularly known, goes by the name of The Mystic Hexagram; it is that of a hexagon described in a circle. In the annexed cut (Fig. 1), if the inscribed hexagon *ABCDEF* be such that *BA* and *DE* meet at *P*, *CD* and *AF* at *Q*, *BC* and *FE* at *R*, then the points *P*, *Q*, *R*, are collinear; that is, lie in one straight line.

The wealth of content of Pascal's treatise was no less great than the methods which he employed were ingenious. Mersenne, who must be supposed to have seen the original work, remarks that from a *single theorem* Pascal deduced four hundred corollaries, which included all the results of Apollonius.

The last geometrical, and in fact the last mathematical, work of Pascal was that on the Cycloid, or the curve traced out by a point on a moving waggon wheel. It was produced during his period of religious seclusion, and owes its existence to eight nights of sleeplessness induced by a terrific toothache; it gives a tolerably full account of the geometry of the Cycloid,—reached by methods which, according to D'Alembert, form a connecting link between the geometry of Archimedes and the infinitesimal calculus of Newton and Leibnitz,—and suggests the thought that it would have been better for the world if Pascal had suffered from the same stimulating malady during the remainder of his natural life.

It remains to be noted that Pascal also left a fragment of a work which is the first modern attempt toward a philosophy of mathematics.

THE ARITHMETICAL TRIANGLE.

Pascal's researches in arithmetic and in the theory of numbers are most beautifully illustrated by his arithmetical triangle, which forms a conspicuous example of the close, logical interconnexion of the laws of mathematics generally. Pascal's arithmetical triangle was a magical key by which he unlocked the secrets of many problems; it is represented in the annexed cut, the construction of which is as follows (Fig. 2):¹

The Arabic numeral 1 is first repeated in a given number of squares, say ten, in a horizontal line; the second horizontal line contains one square less, namely nine, the next still one square less, namely eight, and so on. The numbers which fall in the successive squares of each row below that of the first are the sums of the numbers in all the squares which lie over and to the left of that number in the horizontal line above; thus, in the fourth row the number 20 is equal to the sum of $10 + 6 + 3 + 1$, which are the numbers above and to the left of it in the horizontal row just preceding.

Let us see what are some of the consequences of this simple construction. The horizontal rows form what are called *figurate numbers*; the numbers in the first line are of the first order, that is, mere natural number-signs; the numbers in the second line are numbers of the second order, or the natural numbers proper, and represent the results of the *summation* of the numbers of the first order; the numbers in the third line are of the third order, or

¹A somewhat similar table of numbers, but without the applications afterwards discussed, appeared in Stifel's *Arithmetica Integra* (1544); the fact has, however, no bearing on Pascal's researches.

triangular numbers, because if represented by points they can be disposed in the shape of triangles; the numbers in the fourth line are of the fourth order, etc. Again, the triangle possesses as many vertical columns as horizontal columns, and any column is the same as the correspondingly numbered row; thus running upward from 20 in the fourth column, we find the same numbers that we find in running to the left of 20 in the fourth row. Taking the diagonal rows we find that their sums are in geometrical progres-

1									
1	2								
1	3	6							
1	4	10	20						
1	5	15	35	70					
1	6	21	56	126					
1	7	28	84						
1	8	36							
1	9								
1									

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

(From Cantor's *Geschichte der Mathematik*.)

sion, each being twice the preceding. These rows represent the successive powers of 2.

The arithmetical triangle was made to solve problems in the theory of permutations and combinations. For this purpose, the diagonal rows are used; these diagonal rows have remarkable properties.

We take the seventh, for instance; the figures 1, 6, 15, 20, 15, 6, 1, each show in how many ways six objects can be transposed,—first, when they are all alike; second, when five are alike; third, when there are two groups, one of four alike and one of two alike;

fourth, when there are two groups, each of three alike, etc. Any row, say the fifth, gives the coefficients of the expansion of the binomial $(a+b)$ to that power which is one less than the number of the given row—in the present case one less than 5, or 4, thus:

$$(a+b)^4 = a^4 + 4a^3b + 6a^2b^2 + 4ab^3 + b^4.$$

The coefficients of the expansion of $(a+b)^5$ are given in the ninth diagonal row.

The arithmetical triangle was also employed by Pascal for the solution of questions in the theory of probabilities, of which he and Fermat are the joint founders. The original problem was as follows:

"Two players of equal skill want to leave the table before finishing their game; their scores and the number of points which constitute the game being given, it is desired to find in what proportion they should divide the stakes."

Pascal asks first, How many games must each player win in order to gain the entire stakes? He then adds the two numbers so obtained, and seeks the corresponding base, or diagonal row, in his arithmetical triangle, in which column he adds together the numbers of as many squares as correspond in each case to the number of games to be won, and so obtains the sums representing the inverse ratio of equitable division; thus, if the first player lacks two plays to win, and the second four, the base is six; the sum of the first four numbers in this diagonal row is

$$1 + 5 + 10 + 10 = 26,$$

and the sum of the first two numbers in the same row is $1 + 5 = 6$; wherefore, the ratio required is 26:6.

We see in these results the unerring sense which Pascal possessed for detecting the *determinative elements* of a given mass of mathematical experience. The arithmetical triangle of Pascal is a rough, unhewn quarry-block, in which the polished mathematical statuary of Newton and the Bernoullis was potentially contained. The mere result of additions, it yet involves the consequences of complicated formulæ, and so offers many a fruitful philosophical lesson. Its study might be profitably pursued in elementary arithmetical instruction and made the basis of much inductive work. As a recreation, the study of its properties is to be preferred to the study of magic squares.

THE PHENOMENA OF LIQUID PRESSURE.

The achievements of Pascal in physics most popularly connected with his name relate to the phenomena of liquid and atmospheric pressure. The problems of hydrostatics, or the equilibrium of liquids, their transmission of pressure equally in all directions, early engaged the minds of natural philosophers, and the researches of Archimedes, Stevinus, and Galileo, virtually disposed of the question. Pascal's share in the work consisted principally in his application to the problem, of the principle of virtual displacements—the principle that the work performed by a small weight acting through a long vertical distance is equal to that of a large weight acting through a short vertical distance, if the products are equal. We shall mention first his ingenious experiments illustrating the increase of pressure with the depth of a heavy liquid.

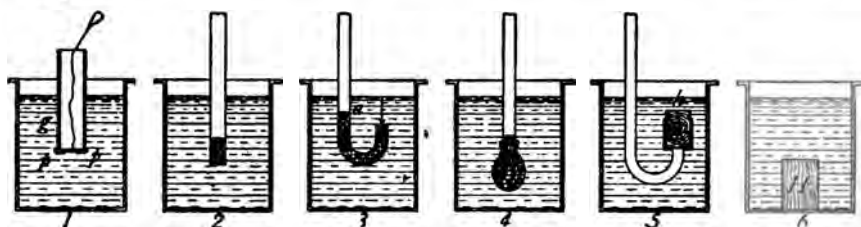


Fig. 3.

"In Fig 3, cut 1, is an empty glass tube g ground off at the bottom and closed by a metal disc pp , to which a string is attached. The whole is plunged into a vessel of water. When immersed to a sufficient depth we may let the string go, without the metal disc, which is supported by the pressure of the liquid, falling. In 2, the metal disc is replaced by a tiny column of mercury. If (3) we dip an open siphon tube filled with mercury into the water, we shall see the mercury, in consequence of the pressure at a , rise into the longer arm. In 4, we see a tube, at the lower extremity of which a leather bag filled with mercury is tied: continued immersion forces the mercury higher and higher into the tube. In 5, a piece of wood k is driven by the pressure of the water into the small arm of an empty siphon tube. In 6, a piece of wood H immersed in mercury adheres to the bottom of the vessel, and is pressed firmly against it for as long a time as the mercury is kept from working its way underneath it."

An ingenious illustration of a familiar mechanical principle is Pascal's Paradox. "A vessel *g* (Fig. 4), fixed to a separate support and consisting of a narrow upper and a very broad lower cylinder, is closed at the bottom by a movable piston, which, by means of a string passing through the axis of the cylinders, is independently suspended from the extremity of one arm of a balance. If *g* be filled with water, then, despite the smallness of the quantity of water used, there will have to be placed on the other scale-pan, to balance it, several weights of considerable size. *But if the liquid be frozen* and the mass loosened from the walls of the vessel, a very small weight will be sufficient to preserve equilibrium." The solution is that the *tiny* quantity of liquid lifted in any small displacement is forced *through the whole height of the narrow*

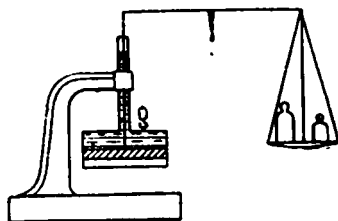


FIG. 4.

neck, while the *heavy* weights in the scale-pan move through only a *small* vertical distance.

THE PHENOMENA OF ATMOSPHERIC PRESSURE.

The action of pumps in raising water, the phenomena of suction generally, were attributed by the ancient philosophers to nature's abhorrence of a vacuum—to the *horror vacui*; and to this repugnance on the part of nature to emptiness in her domain there was supposed to be no limit. Imagine Galileo's surprise, therefore, on hearing of a newly-constructed pump, accidentally supplied with a very long suction-pipe, which was unable to raise water to a height of more than thirty-two feet. Galileo's immediate thought was that the *horror vacui* possessed a *measurable power*. His pupil, Torricelli, thereupon conceived the idea of measuring the resistance to a vacuum by a column of mercury. If the pressure which forced liquids into a vacuum was *definite*, then the mercury, which was fourteen times as heavy as water, would be raised to a column-height of only one-fourteenth of that of the water-column.

The prediction was confirmed by the experiment of Viviani.

A glass tube sealed at one end, filled with mercury, and stopped at the open end with the finger, was inverted in a dish of mercury so as to stand vertically, and the finger removed; the mercury stood stationary at a height of about twenty-eight inches.

Torricelli knew from Galileo's experiment that the air had weight, and he jumped to the conclusion that the column of mercury was balanced by the columnal mass of atmosphere superincumbent upon the free surface of the mercury in the dish, just as a weight of great specific gravity on one pan of a scales may be balanced by a bulky body of light specific gravity on the other.

Pascal, hearing a rumor of the experiment, reflected on it independently, and repeated it with the most beautiful variations—with wine, with oil, with inclined columns, with siphons, etc. But his chief merit was his establishing of the complete analogy between liquid and atmospheric pressure. He conceived the earth



Fig. 5.

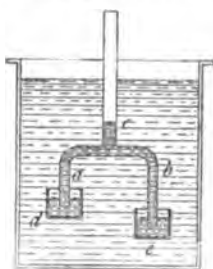


Fig. 6.

to be surrounded by an ocean of air, as the land is encompassed by an ocean of water. Every phenomenon which the new theory attributed to atmospheric pressure, he showed to have its analogy in liquid pressure. Into a deep vessel of water, a glass tube open at the top end to the air and having at its lower end a bag of mercury, is sunk (Fig. 5); as the tube descends the mercury rises by the pressure; as the tube rises the mercury falls. Why will not the same phenomenon happen in the ocean of air, if the distances of ascent be taken great enough to allow for the differences of density? Pascal requested his brother-in-law to perform the Torricellian experiment on the summit of the Puy de Dôme, a mountain in Auvergne. The mercury sank; the uses of the modern barometer were established.

"The invention of the barometer," says an eloquent writer, "is one of the most curious in the history of philosophy. No new discoveries, not even those first substantiated by the use of the tel-

escape, ever knocked so hard at the door of a received system, or in a manner which so imperiously demanded admission, as this one." And to Pascal, more than to any other, was due the merit of having overcome the prejudices of his contemporaries.

To clinch the new theory, Pascal mimicked the flow produced in a siphon by atmospheric pressure, by the use of water. "The two open unequal arms a and b of a three-armed tube abc (Fig. 6) are dipped into the vessels of mercury c and d . If the whole arrangement then be immersed in a deep vessel of water, yet so that the long *open* branch shall always project above the upper surface, the mercury will gradually rise in the branches a and b , the columns finally unite, and a stream begin to flow from the vessel d to the vessel c through the siphon-tube open above to the air."¹

* *

Such, in the main, were the scientific achievements of Blaise Pascal. His wit, the graces of his style, his theology and philosophy, have entered literature, and may be found in its dusty tomes, in all their pristine brilliancy, by those who have the desire to seek them. But his scientific achievements have entered life, the life of all nations, and remain there,—silent and unfelt, but none the less puissant in their eternal presence.

¹ Figures 3, 4, 5, 6 and the quotations accompanying them are from Mach's *Mechanics*.

CHINESE FICTION.

BY GEORGE T. CANDLIN.

[CONCLUDED.]

BUT now let us give our readers a change. We are tempted here to let a bit of our secret peep out and tell them at once that Chinese fiction broadly divides itself in our mind into a three-fold classification; the historic, the mythic, and the sentimental. History, under the potent spell of that mighty magician, the imaginative faculty, shades off on the spiritual side into the formless region of myth, where man vainly tries to express the mysterious and inexpressible side of his nature, and on the other side melts into the sentimental, where he finds happy play for its human side.

Now of the mythical novels we have four specimens on our list—*The Exorcising of the Devils*, *Diversions of a Studio*, *The Apotheosis of Spirits*, and *The Western Excursion*. This is a very important branch of Chinese fiction and is the fountain-head to which you must go if you would explore the folk-lore of the East. And it is only by knowing this that you can get at the roots of that inextricably twisted jungle-forest of superstition which chokes and shadows the Chinese mind. *The Exorcising of the Devils* is a kind of *Jack the Giant Killer* allegory. *The Diversions of a Studio* is a collection of short stories, something in the line of the *Arabian Nights*, where magical transformations and scenes of glittering enchantment abound, but all on the hypothesis that foxes constitute an intermediate order of being between the human and the demoniac, and that they assume at will the form of beautiful men and women. Their appearances are always sudden, like that of fairies, and, like fairies, they come with rich gifts, but intercourse with them is baneful. The book is exquisitely written in the most refined classic style, but as there is a translation we will say no more about it. About the third one we will say nothing at

all, because we have not read it. We will take the *Shih Yw*, The Western Excursion, as our type of the mythical novel.

Every one knows of the journey of Shuen Tsang to India to seek the Buddhist Canons. It was a journey full of danger, hardship and marvel. The author of our story is said to have made a similar journey in Mongol times. However that may be, he has used Shuen Tsang's pilgrimage as the foundation on which to build a superstructure containing all the most noted myths of Buddhist and Taoist beliefs. It is at the same time an extended allegory of a very subtle character, running into spiritual meanings of the first and second and even the third degree. Shuen Tsang is supposed to be the brother of one of the T'ang emperors who had become a priest, and who made a pious vow to perform the journey to India and fetch the holy books. But as there are always difficulties in the good man's path, he soon finds that this is no holiday excursion, but quite another guess matter. As soon as he begins to turn his steps westward his way is obstructed by the most unexampled hindrances. There are giants that want to eat him up and sorceresses that would fain betray him. He is put to it most sorely, for all the nether regions seem astir to prevent his progress. But on the other hand the celestial powers are propitious, and by dint of giving him some most marvellous travelling companions, and frequent interferences from the goddess of mercy herself, he is kept scatheless. Even the imperial sovereign of the skies, the great Yu Huang, is deeply interested in these bustling affairs. The first thing he knows he is caught up and swept off on the wings of a whirlwind by a beautiful enchantress who would have him as the companion of her bower, and his protectors have the most unheard of trouble to get him out of her clutches. He finds a betrayed maiden weeping sore in the forest, buried up to her waist in the earth, rescues her by the aid of his travelling companion, and takes her with him to the nearest monastery, full of pity for her distress. But this lovely maiden is a complete fraud, as like Armida in fact as you can expect any one woman to be like another. Sun Shing Che, his right-hand man, is at his prayers at midnight, when she steals on him and assails him with the most seductive arts. But he is a deep, suspicious customer, and has been all along persuaded that there is something wrong with her. He is not to be cajoled, but in the twinkling of an eye he finds her transformed into an Amazon of fearful might, vomiting smoke and fire, and wielding a magic sword of preternatural sharpness. In fact, you soon begin

to see that this is a *Pilgrim's Progress* and a *Faerie Queene* all in one.

This Sun Shing Che is himself a most wonderful being. The author has so far anticipated the Darwinian theory, or rather Bishop Wilberforce's jocular description of it, as to derive his origin from a monkey. He has been immortalised by the gods, and in virtue of necromatic study, is gifted with extraordinary powers of levitation, by means of which, like Puck, he can "put a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes." He has another trifling accomplishment in the way of being able to transform himself at will into the form and faculty of any member of the animal or insect kingdom. He has had escapades in the heavenly regions, such as stealing the golden peaches of Paradise, and letting loose the steeds of the immortals. A burly, humorous, infinitely mischievous kind of Puck. He is a champion to one's mind, wielding an iron staff with golden bands, which he got out of the sea-dragon's cave under the ocean, which was several thousand catties in weight originally, but which he judiciously reduced by a few hundred catties, so as to make it handy. When he finds it inconvenient to carry, it can be diminished to the magnitude of a needle, which he sticks in his ear. With a travelling companion like this and two or three others, notably one who fights with a rake, the devout pilgrim has a good prospect of getting through.

Many, however, are the risks they run, and most various the inducements held out to them to abandon the object of their pilgrimage. Here is a specimen of their adventures.

They are treading their way westwards through green hills and shining waters, where they behold an endless luxuriance of vegetation, and where flowers of every hue abound. But the way is long and evening draws on apace, so the chief pilgrim puts the somewhat human inquiry, "Where shall we go to rest for the night?" The reply of Shing Che is in the most approved style of pious devotion, but not comforting to flesh and blood:

"My father, he who has left home and become a priest must dine on the wind and lodge in the water, lie down under the moon and sleep in the frost; everywhere is his home, why then ask where shall we rest?"

This is all very well for our lightsome Puck, but Pa Chieh, who is the burden-bearer and carries the pilgrim's baggage, which is not inconsiderable, regards the division of labor as unequal; and at any rate would like some more matter-of-fact arrangement for the night. At a blow from Sun Shing Che's staff Shuen Tsang's

horse has started forward at a great pace, so that from the brow of a hill Shuen Tsang espies in the distance a grove of cypress trees, beneath the shade of which is a large enclosure, which they decide to make for as a place of rest. On approaching it they find that it is all that heart could desire, in fact a spacious establishment of some magnificence, as near a palace as they can expect to come at in those regions. As there is no sign of inhabitants, Shing Che makes his way inside, and finds that it offers very attractive quarters. While he is looking round on black varnished tables and gilded pillars a large scroll meets his eye on which the motto is certainly inviting: "Gentle willows hung with floss, and on the bridge the level sun at eve. In snowy flakes the scattered bloom has filled the court with spring."

While he is examining this, a lady about middle life, but of very charming appearance and bearing, steps into the court from an inner room with the inquiry, "Who is it that has ventured to intrude upon the household of a widow?" In truth according to Eastern etiquette he is in an embarrassing situation. But the lady is most affable, and as he explains their condition, cordially invites them in to rest for the night. They all enter, and Pa Chieh, who is by no means beyond human infirmities, casts more than one sly glance at the lady, whose attractions are thus described in rhyme:

"The clouds of hair upon her brow aslant like phoenix wings,
And set with many a precious pearl her pendant earrings.
No artifice of 'paint' she needs her natural charms to aid,
Yet gay and winsome is she still as any youngest maid."

The natural way of opening acquaintance is by describing their respective circumstances, and on her part the widow lady tells them that she has been left in possession of riches in abundance, her husband's parents having died as well as her husband, leaving her in charge of three beautiful daughters with three very pretty names—Truth, Love, and Pity. There is nothing like a Chinese novel for a surprise, and our private opinion is that the holy pilgrims were taken at a disadvantage of an unwarrantable kind, when the lovely widow made a plump proposal to them, not simply on her own behalf, but also on the part of her daughters three, and in a very business-like way pointed out the advantages the four pilgrims would derive from a quadruple marriage, which would secure to each of them a charming wife and store of wealth for the rest of their days. In fact, in her view they cannot do better than finish their journey here and be "happy ever afterwards." Inducements are manifold. She has mountain lands for trees and fruit,

and broad fields for grain, and flooded fields for rice, and of each kind more than five thousand acres. She has horses and oxen, pigs and sheep beyond all count, and farmsteads some sixty or seventy, on her vast domain. The grain of a dozen years is rotting in her granaries for want of eating, and mountains of silks and satins are being moth-eaten for want of wear. As for silver and gold, if the four pilgrims should turn prodigals they could not contrive to spend it in a lifetime. Prosperous Job himself was but a portionless beggar compared with her. To say nothing of herself and her lovely daughters, and though she is becomingly modest about her own attractions, they are not only the most surpassingly beautiful but the most completely accomplished of living maidens.

All this Shuen Tsang hears unmoved except by anger, not suspecting her guile but enraged that she should so tempt him from his heavenly purpose. Then ensues a contest between the lady and himself, of which we had hoped to offer our readers a translation, but no ingenuity we can command will avail to twist it into presentable English verse. The respective advantages of a life of worldly ease and of celibate devotion are sung by the two champions, and at the conclusion of the wordy contest the lady, finding her persuasions futile, angrily retires, slamming the door on them and leaving them seated in the hall disconsolate and unprovided for. During this scene the covetous Pa Chieh has taken another view of the situation. He would have been glad to close with the widow's terms, but seeing that may not be, he steals round to the back and secures a private interview, in which he seeks to arrange a marriage on his own account. Certain difficulties arise, mainly on account of his lack of masculine attractions, for as Sun Shing Che wears a monkey's form, so he wears a pig's, and his long face and big ears are objectionable. But the lady is not altogether uncompliant. She is at once so far mollified as to provide for the entertainment of the travellers, and in the meantime, through the prescience of Sun Shing Che, Pa Chieh's clandestine interview is made known to his chief. They thereupon, after sundry passages between them, insist upon his retiring within the household in the character of a son-in-law, the other three remaining merely as guests in the guest-chamber.

But now a new difficulty of a knotty kind starts up. The widow is apparently willing to give him one of her three daughters to wife, but for the life of her cannot decide which is to be the favored one. If she weds him to Truth, Love will feel neglected, and if to Love or to Pity, Truth will naturally feel aggrieved. In

this dilemma, or rather trilemma, a very cunning expedient occurs to her. She proposes to blindfold him with a handkerchief and then turn the three girls in on him and let him have whichever he can catch. Perhaps it was a supreme proof of courage, though not of discretion, for Pa Chieh is quite willing to do wittingly what many a man has had to do in real life unwittingly—play at blind man's buff for a wife. Yet as all three were consummately beautiful and accomplished, his chances could not be said to be so bad.

But alas! this was only another of those "best laid schemes" destined to "gang a glee." The bandage was tied over his eyes, he found himself groping in darkness, the tinkling sound of female trinkets was all around him, the odor of musk was in his nostrils, like fairy forms they fluttered about him, but he could no more grasp one than he could clutch a shadow. "Right and left, to and fro, he groped and fumbled. More female forms than he could count were round him, but in vain he thought to hold one. One way and another he ran till he was too giddy to stand, and could only stumble helplessly about. Eastward it was a pillar he embraced, westward he ran against a wooden partition, forwards against the leaves of the door, backwards into the wall, bumping and banging, head and heels, until with swollen tongue and bruised head, he could only sit down panting."

Thus reduced to a state of mingled exhaustion and imbecility, he was fain to seek a parley, for, as he expressed it, they "were much too slippery for him." Then his mother-in-law by anticipation unloosed his bandage and gently broke to him the intelligence that it was not their slipperiness but their extreme modesty which had prevented a capture, each of them being generously wishful to forego her claims in favor of one of her sisters. In fine, it was the old story, so true also in real life, that a lady is extremely difficult to catch when she is unwilling to be caught. Upon this he becomes very importunate and urges his suit in a most indiscriminate fashion for either one of her daughters, or for the mother herself or for all three or all four. This is beyond all conscience, but as an escape from their perplexity, the widow proposes a new criterion of choice. Each of her daughters wears a certain garment, an inner vest, embroidered in jewels and gold. He is to be allowed to try on one of these, and, in case he can get it on, he is to marry the lady who owns it. He consents, only modestly stipulating that he shall have a try with all three and succeed according to his deserts. There is no difficulty as to size, for, as most people know, all garments whatever in China would be roomy enough for Go-

liath. The good lady brings one in and he finds that one enough, for no sooner has he got it on, just as he is tying the cord round



A CURIOUS GAME AT BLIND MAN'S BUFF.
(From an illustrated edition of the *Sai Yü*.)

his waist, than it transforms itself to strong bands of rope wound round every limb. He rolls over in excruciating pain, and as he

does so the curtain of enchantment falls and the beauties and the palace disappear.

Next morning his three companions wake up, also to find the scene changed. "As the east shone white they opened their eyes and raised their heads, only to see that the great mansion and lofty hall, the carved beams and ornamental pillars had all disappeared, and they had been sleeping all night on the ground under the cypress grove."

But where was their errant companion, the eager bridegroom of the adventure? After a short search he was found bound fast to a tree and yelling with pain. They cut him down bruised and crestfallen, to pursue the journey sadder but wiser, and subject to many a gibe from his mischievous companions.

Or as a specimen of the marvellous play of imagination which this book affords, take the episode of the burning mountain. The pilgrims find it getting hotter and hotter as they proceed, and on resting for the night at a village by the roadside are told that they can go no further in that direction, as there is an enormous mountain in their path all on fire which reduces the whole region to sterility and which they can neither cross nor get round. Our active lieutenant and man of all work, by the simple expedient of questioning a vendor of pulse at the door, learns that the only way to deal with this obstacle is to obtain the loan of a certain palm-leaf fan, *made of iron*, which will put the fire out. It is in the hands of the iron-fan fairy, who dwells in a palm-leaf cave on a mountain called Ts'ui Yun San, Beautiful Cloud Mountain. It is fifteen hundred li away. "That is of no consequence," says Wu Shing Che, and before you can wink he was there. But he finds it no such simple matter. This fairy, called also Lo Sah, is wife to the ox-demon king, and a female of an uncertain disposition. Besides, while she is a sort of aunt to our doughty adventurer, he suddenly recollects that she has an ancient grudge against him, and it is more than likely that she will not put this indispensable fan at his disposal. However, he goes on the principle that "faint heart never won fair lady," and puts a good face on the matter. The old lady is distinctly pugilistic, and they turn to with sword and staff and have a royal battle there on the mountain. Sun Shing is likely to get the better of her, but she lends him the use of the fan in a sense he did not anticipate. She gives it one wave, and to his amazement he is blown on the breath of a hyperborean hurricane, against which he is helpless, and alights only by holding hard on to a rock by both hands, fifty thousand li away, being



THE QUENCHING OF THE BURNING MOUNTAIN.
(From an illustrated edition of the *Shih Yu*.)

lucky to stop at that. Here he is helped by a friend, who gives him a pill which he is to swallow, and then he can stand comfortably in the strongest wind that ever blew. Away he hies back, and this time the fan waves in vain. Then the old woman retires inside and slams the door on him. He turns into a bee, flies through a crack of the door, and after a most surprising battle gets the fan and makes off with it like lightning.

So now he will succeed, he thinks, and he will show his companions how it is done. They go as far toward the mountain as they can for the heat and flame. Then "Shing Che raised the fan, and advancing near to the fire waved it with all his might. At the first wave the blazing fire of the hill burst forth with intense heat. At the second wave it increased a hundred-fold. He tried a third, and the flame rose at least ten thousand feet high and singed all the hair off his legs before he could get back to Shuen Tsang. He cried out, 'Back! Back! Fire! Fire!' Shuen Tsang mounted his horse, and they all had to run for their lives."

Here's a pretty kettle of fish. The old aunty has played him a jade's trick. She has cunningly given him the wrong fan. We have no time to follow it in detail. Amongst other things, he learns, for there is deep symbolism here, that this fire-flaming mountain was kindled by himself, goodness knows how long ago. But he is not to be beaten. He personates the old lady's husband, who is playing truant with a younger fair, and goes through a very sentimental scene with her in this character, not, however, passing the bounds of propriety, if you remember the maxim, "All's fair in love and war." By this treacherous device he worms the secret out of her, and finds that the right fan, the genuine article, is a little thing, the size of an apricot leaf, but which can be magnified by touching a point in its stalk into twelve feet long. This he gets and again makes off. However, the ox-demon king is on his track, and as personification is a game at which two can play, he appears in the guise of Sun Shing's companion offering to carry the fan, which, that worthy having magnified, he does not know how to minimize, and on its being handed to him makes away back to the cave with it. Now Sun Shing's blood is up, and after a tremendous fight he gets final possession of it, and is once more before the mountain with his companions. In the meantime the "machinery" is invoked, various celestial beings are on the scene waiting for the "all-important event," and after due ceremonial "he took the fan, swung it one wave with all his might, and that fiery-flaming mountain slowly settled to rest, and the blaze went out.

Shing Che, greatly pleased, fanned one more stroke, and softly sighing winds began to move; at the third wave over the whole



THE STEALING OF THE MAGIC FAN.
(From an illustrated edition of the *Shih Yu*.)

heavens the clouds gathered dense, and the gentle rain fell thick and pattering."

Scandinavian legends and Thor's journey to Jotunland cannot surpass this.

We have now only the sentimental novels to deal with. Of these there are seven on our list, but their characteristics must be summarised. The best known amongst them, either to foreigners or natives, is the *Dream of the Red Loft*. We are not ourselves enamored of it; there are some pretty sentimental songs in it, but a weary lot of tiresome repetition of trivial details. Its recommendation to foreigners is that it is full of conversations in first-rate Pekinese; but if aristocratic life in China is anything like this picture of it—dressy, vain, empty, proud, idle, sentimental, licentious—it is a wretched existence.

Seeking a Match is a very surprising story, and affords the most graphic representation of the wiles and tricks of the unscrupulous Celestial to be found anywhere. The *Western Room* and the *Guitar* are the work of great artists. They are called novels, but are dramas of the operatic kind, the dialogue only being prose.

By a sentimental novel we understand one the subject of which is love, but as the marriage laws in China differ from those in England, our notions on this head get a rude shock. In a certain sense the Chinese novelist may be said to enjoy a great advantage over his brother artist of the West. When, for instance, as in one of these stories, a remarkably smart Chinese girl who is sued by an unwelcome lover, has cleverly contrived to juggle the engagement document, which a treacherous uncle has compelled her to write, and to put in the name and age of her cousin, who is plain-looking, to take her place on the wedding day, so that the unwelcome suitor is successfully married to another girl; you would expect that to be the end of the matter, and that the author had nothing for it but to bring in the right bridegroom, marry the heroine according to her heart's wish, and make them "happy ever afterwards." But the Celestial novelist is in no such straits, because the villain of the piece, though a good deal disgusted at being so tricked, need not in the least change his purpose. Having one wife, in a country where there are no laws against bigamy, does not preclude his having another, and thus his author is at full liberty to conceive a whole series of ingenious schemes and to amuse us with the story of their frustration.

Or again, where a young man is already engaged, and strangely enough a young lady disguised as a youth proposes to him on her own account, and he on his part is honest enough to tell her of his engagement, you would think that enough to discourage the

maiden. By no means. She readily signifies her willingness to accept the position of number two, and though we might think this somewhat lowered her dignity, we see the disparity of ethical standards when the author represents this as a supreme act of nobleness. Chinese heroines, by the way, are fond of assuming the masculine disguise.

We learn from these stories that the supreme height of ambition is to become a Chuang Yuen, that is, the first on the list for the Han Lin, which is the highest degree in the Government examinations. There is only one every two years, so its possessor is covered with unheard-of glory. He has plucked the "red olive spray" and is the man the Emperor himself "delighteth to honor." He is courted, caressed, famous, wealth showers in on him, beauty languishes at his feet, and he can have as many sweethearts as he likes, and marry them all when he pleases.

This class of novels is very extensive, and ranges from beautiful stories, told with unaffected simplicity and grace down to shady compositions which you can only compare with Boccaccio and Smollett. It seems to be the general belief that Chinese novels are peculiarly impure, that in fact they have no innocent novels. Stent, in the preface to his dictionary, tells us that he wanted to translate one, but "found none that he thought readable in English from the subject being utterly absurd, filthy, or childish, in fact untranslatable." To this one is bound to say he had read little or chosen badly or was a poor judge. Of the fourteen novels on our list six are so entirely innocent that they might be translated almost verbatim for a child to read, and not one of them is worse than Fielding's *Tom Jones*, which Macaulay, who will hardly be accused of low taste, declared to be the best novel in the English language. There are bad novels in Chinese, which far be it for us to defend, books to which we might well apply the saying of Carlyle concerning a novel of Diderot's, "if any mortal creature, even a reviewer, be again compelled to glance into that book, let him bathe himself in running water, put on a change of raiment, and be unclean until the even." But, on the other hand, we cannot afford to give way to a squeamish affectation which would compel us to close our Shakespeare.

It is a proof of the high degree of elaboration to which fiction literature in China has been carried, that most of their novels are thickly interspersed with poems of all orders of merit. No stronger evidence could be afforded of the fact that, whatever they lack, it is not literary finish. If anything, they have this in excess. These

poems are introduced in a variety of ways. The hero sends one in a *billet-doux* to the heroine, or he overhears her singing one, or perhaps a poetic contest is struck up, the fine on defeat being generally the compulsory drinking of so many extra flagons of wine. Wine-drinking and poetising almost invariably go together in Chinese novels, though whether they do so in real life we are unable to say. Above all things, every man who sets up to be anything in the way of a hero in Chinese fiction, must be prepared to extemporise by the ream in inimitable poetry.

Some attempt, however brief, to set forth the characteristics of this poetry should be made.

The treatment is very conventional, partly because the Chinese poet has had before him no great variety of models and partly because he is bound by mechanical fetters compared to which the most difficult Western verse is licence itself. It is nothing to see him make the same rhyme in from six to a dozen consecutive lines, and the laws which govern metre are indefinitely more complicated than our own. A favorite method is to rhyme the first, second, and fourth lines, leaving the third without any rhyme at all. This seems to have a peculiar charm for the native ear, though we have never been able to appreciate it.

There is an exasperating tendency to repeat over and over again the same succession of images. Indeed we do not know what the Chinese poet would do without his "spring winds" and "autumn moons" or if forced to speak of ladies' eyes as anything else than "autumn waves," their hair as anything other than "raven-clouds" or of their feet, crippled with bandaging to the bewitching measurement of two inches, as anything but "golden lilies"; and the hairs of his pencil would stand awry with dismay if you robbed him of his chrysanthemums and peonies, his cinnamon, peach, and plum, his willows and poplars. Even these calamities, however, are light compared with the wild despair which would fill his soul and reduce his muse to dumbness if some barbarian sportsman should recklessly shoot that darling phoenix, without which poetry could not be written, or exterminate his dragons, cranes, gibbons, his swallow, cuckoo, and oriole, and that ubiquitous pair of mandarin ducks which used to adorn the surface of English cottage dinner plates.

The only vein of feeling which the Chinese poet seems to have succeeded in giving adequate expression to is melancholy. We have never seen in Chinese poetry a pure gush of fresh and genuine delight. When they try to express pleasure they aim to be

funny, and generally end in a clumsy and coarse burlesque. A Chinaman is coarse in his pleasures, and only sadness refines him.

Yet these poems often contain exquisitely beautiful and gracefully simple language, while there is no speech in the world which can approach Chinese for terseness of expression. It is not easy to put into fourteen English syllables what the Chinese poet expresses readily in seven. The *Dream of the Red Loft* contains about the best of these sentimental poems which we have seen.

一憔悴若胭侍天樹桃凭閒風花桃東簾桃
聲悴眼將脂女機樹花欄苔透解花風外花
杜花觀人鮮金燒烟桃人院簾憐簾有桃簾
宇遮花淚豔盆破封葉向落櫳人外意花外
春憔悴比何進鴛一亂東門花花開揭簾東
歸悴易桃相水鶯萬紛風空滿也仍簾內風
盡人乾花類來錦株紛位掩庭愁舊櫳人賴

寂花淚淚花香春烘花茜斜庭隔簾花人桃
窈飛乾自之泉酣照綻裙日前簾中欲與花
簾人春長顏飲欲樓新偷闌春消人窺桃簾
櫳倦盡流色醺醒壁紅傍干色息比人花內
空易花花人胭移紅葉桃人倍風桃簾隔晨
月黃憔悴自之脂珊糝凝花自傷吹花不不妝
痕昏悴媚淚冷枕糊碧立凭情透瘦捲遠懶

Some of the dramatic novels especially are of surprising artistic merit. Our own particular favorite is the *Guitar*, which ought to be put into English. For simplicity, naturalness, and pathos, it is exquisite. How T'sai Po Chieh's father would have him go to the capital to get his degree, while his fond mother would keep him at home, and the wife, just past the honeymoon, is divided between love and duty, but consents for him to go. How he is away long and there is no news, and famine comes, and they have nothing to eat, and the daughter goes sadly on distribution days to re-

ceive the pittance which government is doling out to the famishing. How there is no grain in the granary and the little given to her is stolen from her on her way home. How mother suspects her of eating good food in secret and giving them bad, whereas she has eaten her meals alone because she had nothing but chaff to eat while they were complaining of better food. How father dies, then mother, and she is alone and helpless, but cuts off her hair and sells it on the street to buy a coffin, and scoops the grave with her own hand, carries the earth to cover them in her apron, then, worn out with hunger and exertion, she goes off to sleep. Then the spirit of the mountain region comes to her in her dream, whispers good cheer, and tells her heavenly guards attend her, and she is bidden to take her guitar and beg her way to the capital, where she shall find her husband. All the pathos of desertion is in it; it is a thing woven out of tenderness and sorrow.

Meanwhile the other side of the picture is skilfully contrasted with this. The husband, the Chuang Yuan of his year, fêted, feasted, courted, and a great general, Niu, will have him as husband to his only child. His refusal is set aside by the Emperor himself, and against his will he is married to the matchless beauty; but in the bridal chamber he is haunted by the thought of his absent parents and wife. The motives of the actors are different from those by which we should be swayed and the hero's course of conduct different from that which a noble Englishman would pursue in a similar situation; but we must take the author's reading of the customs and sentiments of his race, and then we shall see that he has combined his scenes and characters with surpassing skill.

We have attempted a rendering of a somewhat extended scene with which we hope our readers will not be too impatient. The portions we have put into blank verse to correspond with the original should rhyme, but the work of translation was too difficult, and we have sacrificed everything in order to give, as literally as might be, the matter, not the form, of the original. We must also ask our readers to remember that this drama is operatic, which must account for the characters addressing the audience, when, as we should think, they ought to be speaking to one another. Let our readers bear in mind the position of the bridegroom in this scene. He is remembering his first wife and duty while in the presence of his second wife and pleasure.

An inner court. [Enter bridegroom.]

Bridegroom—

The court with shade of locust trees is thick,
And odors of the lotus weight the screens.
How shall I pass this never-ending day?
By leaning idly on the balustrade,
Or spreading out my mat of Shiang make
And dreaming of the hills about my home
Till graceful bamboos flirting in my face,
Or else the wind shall startle me from sleep?
Those waving boughs seen on the water's face
Show like to golden palaces. The screens
Reflect the deep green shade of this lone place.
The day is long, with naught to do but sigh.
Though pleasant wine invites from fragrant flask,
I feel too idly sad to pour and drink,
But, ruminating with my bitter thoughts,
Remember how the year has passed away
And yet no tidings come of those I left.
Life is but such a year that hurries man
With swift exchange of cold and heat to age.
I'll tell my sorrows on my jewelled lute.
Ho, there, attendant! bring my lute and music book.

[Enter attendant.]

Attendant—

A yellow scroll to while away the time
And a harp to play to the passing breeze.
Sir, here are your lute and your book.

Bridegroom—

Call my two study pages.

[Enter two boys.]

Boys—

From earliest childhood we've been trained
To keep the study neat;
A pleasant life indeed, say some;
We think it not so sweet.
For oh! 'tis weary waving fans
And burning incense still,
And by the flow'ry arbor sides
The fierce east wind is chill.
And then there's nothing else to do
But daily meals to keep;
And, after we can no more eat,
To go to bed and sleep.

Bridegroom—

The day is pleasant with its cool, fresh air;
I'm sitting here alone with naught to do;

I'll take my harp and practise at some tune
 To chase away my melancholy thoughts.
 You three employ yourselves : one take the fan,
 And one burn sticks of incense in the court,
 The third may put the books in order for me,
 And none of you be idle at your task."

All—

" We understand sir !" [*Bridegroom plays.*]

Bridegroom—

" That I may greet the strings auspiciously
 I sit and face the perfumed south and play,
 Yet conscious am I that, beneath my fingers,
 The music has another meaning from of old.
 For all the running streams and lofty hills
 Before my eyes seem blown by evil winds :
 So they showed gloomy when I left my home.
 At every pause th' expression turns to grief,
 The wail of widow'd swan or lone gibbon,
 Or like the phoenix parted from his mate.
 Ah me ! why does the sound of death hang on the string ?
 As 'twere a mantis killing cicadas.
 In heaven's blue field the sun is clouded o'er,
 So when King Wang turned to a cuckoo bird
 Bright marriage omens turned to evil fate.
 The sweet sounds that I look for fail me now,
 They're broken strings that cannot be pieced out.

[*To his attendants.*]

The lady is about to come forth ; you must all retire.

Attendants—

" We attend, sir !" [*Aside.*] " Just so, the fortunate have men to wait on them ; the unfortunate must wait on men." [*Exeunt attendants.*]

[*Enter bride.*]

Bride—

" The tenderest green shows in the tanks of flowers
 Round which the fumigated air is playing,
 And glimpses of the bridal chamber show,
 With nursing swallows flying round its roof.
 The flowered mats are spread and cool silk screens,
 There's song from golden strings, the goblet's warm,
 And happily the fierce heat cannot strike
 Within this cool pavilion with its waters.

DIALOGUE.

Bride—

So you are here, sir, practising on your lute ?

Bridegroom—

Yes, I had nothing to do, and I thought I would amuse myself in this way.

Bride—

I have heard before that you are a most skilful musician. But why come away

where the sounds of silk and bamboo spend themselves on vacancy, unheard by other ears than your own? I count this a lucky day on which I have heard you practising. May I not make bold to ask that you will play me one more tune?

Bridegroom—

You would listen to the lute, lady? What tune would you like me to play you? What say you to the "Pheasant's Morning Flight?"

Bride—

No, do not play that. That is the song of one who was wifeless.

Bridegroom—

Then what do you say to "The Solitary Bird, the Widowed Swan?"

Bride—

What! Just when husband and wife have been newly married, you would sing of loneliness and widowhood?

Bridegroom—

Well, then, for want of anything else, I will play "Prince Chao's Complaint."

Bride—

Now, of all times, when we are at the height of married bliss, you would sing of grief in a palace? Oh, sir, all the beauties of summer are around us. Play me the tune "The Wind Through the Pines."

Bridegroom—

Very well. As it suits you. [*He plays.*]

Bride—

Stop, stop! You are mistaken. How is it that you play "Thoughts of Home?"

Bridegroom—

Hold a moment! I will play it again.

Bride—

Oh dear! You are wrong again. Now you are playing "The Crane's Lament."

Bridegroom—

Indeed I have again played wrongly.

Bride—

Sir, how is it that you contrive to play wrong every time? It must be that you are making fun of me on purpose.

Bridegroom—

How should I have such an intention? It is this lute string that I cannot use.

Bride—

Why cannot you use it?

Bridegroom—

I have only accustomed myself to play with the old string. This is a new one and I am not familiar with it.

Bride—

What has become of the old string?

Bridegroom—

The old string has been cast aside long since.

Bride—

Why did you cast it aside?

Bridegroom—

For no other reason than that I had the new string and had to cast aside the old one.

Bride—

But now, why not reject the new string and use the old one?

Bridegroom—

Lady, do you suppose I do not think of the old one? Only this new string I cannot cast away.

Bride—

Well, then, if you cannot cast away the new string, why think of the old one? Ah yes, I have it. Your heart is elsewhere and therefore all this idle talk.

Bridegroom—

Lady, the old chord is like to break,

And the new chord I cannot use:

'Tis hard the old chord again to take,

And as hard the new chord to lose.

I'll try once more,

I'll try once more,

And once more the notes I confuse.

Bride—

Sir, your heart is changed.

Bridegroom—

My heart has known no change,

But strangely this cool day,

As soon as one tune strikes your ear,

'Tis changed by the wind to a different lay.

It comes out all right after all; the suffering heroine finds her way to the capital, the stern general relents and acknowledges her claims, special honors are bestowed all round by the Emperor in recognition of their several virtues, and the only drawback is that the husband has two wives instead of one on his hands, which he bears with equanimity.

Here is a rhyme we would like to give our readers from the *Western Room*. The speaker sees in a cloudy but moonlit night the

閒離杳風水雲

愁恨階埽輪欵

萬千亂殘乍晴

種端擁紅湧空

reflexion of his own melancholy mood. It is almost impossible to do anything but parody it in English:

The clouds enshroud in gloom the eyes of space,

The moon in bursts her watery circle shows,

The wind sweeps up the broken blossoms red,
Which on the steps in fragrant heaps it throws:
Resentful I, with thousand cares oppressed,
And my sad heart is thronged with myriad woes.

Here is a Chinese love song, the *Song of the Harp*, which we are told the player did not sing, but the harp seemed to say it, being played so skilfully:

使我淪亡 不得于飛 攜手相將 願言配德 慰我傍徨 何時見許 欲訴衷腸 張琴代語 不在東牆 無奈佳人 四海求凰 鳳飛翔 思之如狂 一日不見 見之不忘 有美一人

She is a sweet girl,
See her and love;
One day without her
And mad you'll prove.

The phoenix soars far
Seeking his mate,
But my sweet fellow
In vain I wait.

Come, harp, speak for me
Tell all my heart,
When will she pledge me,
Bid fear depart?

I must her worth tell,
Join hands for aye,
Be her companion
Else pine away.

Or take this very melancholy one, expressive of the loneliness after parting and offering a succession of graceful but gloomy images. The translation attempts to reproduce a peculiar duplicated use of epithets which is most common in Chinese poetry:

Drooping, drooping, the green willow, half-screened by the wall from sight;
Lone, lone, the silent doorway, close-barred on clear autumn night;
Sharp, sharp, far-sundered tree-tops drop their leaves before the wind;
Far, far, and sad the moon peeps from the cloud's edge through the blind;
Grand, grand, the bamboo shadows, writhing, move like dragons, snakes;
Floats, floats, the empty vision of butterflies which "chuang tzu" makes;
Clack, clack, the weaver-cricket beats incessant, wearisome;
Sad, sad, the measured echo of the wash-stone's dismal drum;
Dire, dire, the pain of parting, sadder than all these sad things;
Burns, burns, the impatient fever, as my happy dream takes wings;
Lone, lone, and cold I sigh; tears, tears, fall tenderly,
For my sweetheart, where is she?

But we must close these wanderings in the field of Chinese romance. We will do so by asking the reader to join us in the conclusion that our friend John Chinaman is a being not lacking in imaginative faculty. One cannot help respecting a nation so rich in literary treasures, cannot help feeling a likeness of nature which it is well for us to feel, and, recognising how strangely similar in

the inmost essence of its life, one great nation is to another. The conventional idea of the Chinaman which prevails in England is that he is altogether a whimsical kind of being, not partaking of the ordinary qualities of human nature, full of absurdities, paradoxes, and endless topsy-turvyisms of thought and action. It is commonly supposed that he does almost everything in the opposite way to ourselves, with the implicit assumption that ours is the right way, and that he is a very funny fellow for doing things otherwise. In this is a double error, as it not only removes the Celestial from the category of rational beings and from the light of reality, but also places him in an entirely false light of spurious romance of our own invention. Those of us who have been long resident in Cathay, on the contrary, soon learn to strip off this meretricious guise of romance and to see the Chinaman in a most prosy, most commonplace, and most uninteresting light altogether. But we are too apt to give him credit for being interested in little else than "cash" and "chow-chow"; in spite of ourselves we cannot conceive him in an ideal aspect or credit him with any delicacy of feeling or fineness of taste.

Yet these people also are richly endowed with that mysterious creative power of imagination which gives to genius its light and to love its glory. Across their hearts also have swept the rush of enthusiasm for brave deeds and the sweetness of kind thoughts, trembling tenderness, discursive fancy, soft breathings of pity, and the rain of tears.

It has lifted them, as it has lifted us, above the dust, has made them fellow-heritors of the gifts of time, and taught them to build out of the rude and sordid conditions of their actual life an ideal world, wide and spacious, and filled with forms of nobleness and beauty.

MISCELLANEOUS.

JOHN CAIRD.

(1820-1898.)

Dr. John Caird, whose portrait we give in connexion with the present note, occupied the distinguished position of Principal of the University of Glasgow,



JOHN CAIRD.

Scotland, from 1873, till his lamented death in July, 1898. With the exception of Gladstone and Carlyle, he was in many ways the most remarkable Scotsman of the last generation. At all events it may be said that he, along with his eminent brother,

Edward Caird, now Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and for twenty-seven years Professor of Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, accomplished more than any two men elsewhere in Europe to alter the entire intellectual outlook of a nation.

John Caird was born at Greenock, on the Clyde, in 1820. In 1845, after a distinguished academic career, he graduated from the University of Glasgow, and entered the ministry of the Church of Scotland as a moderate Calvinist. Between 1845 and 1857 he gained the reputation, which he never lost, of being the most eloquent preacher in Britain. Those who know say that no one could stand comparison with him, and that only Schenkel of Heidelberg served to remind one of him. He thus gained enormous influence with masses of men; and his opportunity to use this continuously came when he was removed to Glasgow, in 1857. But, ere this took place, a change had come over his opinions. He had been deeply affected by German thought, especially by Hegel and Vatke. When he was appointed to the professorship of Theology at Glasgow, in 1862, he had both occasion and time to continue his researches, with the result that he became to his countrymen the great spokesman of a modified Hegelianism. For years he was regarded with veneration, especially by the younger generation, as the leader of liberal theology. In this capacity he wielded unbounded sway, so much so that, thanks to him and his brother, the philosopher, Scotland passed from Calvinism to a fervent and broad-minded spiritual religion. As Edinburgh had been the headquarters of philosophical influence in the later forties and early fifties, under Hamilton, and as Aberdeen had held the palm, in the sixties, under Bain, so, under the Cairds, Glasgow gained her old renown, which she had enjoyed at the end of the eighteenth century under Adam Smith and Reid and Hutcheson. During his incumbency of the Gifford Lectureship, Caird drew enormous audiences, far exceeding those gathered by other incumbents, not excepting Max Müller. His position in these prelections might be best described by saying that they represented Hegelianism of the Centre.

But Caird, with all his popular gifts, was a shy and retiring man; he was also a slow writer, and neither his public appearances, nor his three books and half-dozen printed addresses, account for his influence. It took source in the man's character. He seemed to be altogether unconscious of his wonderful endowment; pretension, thoughtless partizanship, and kindred qualities, had no place in his character. His power gained tenfold intensity from transparent sincerity, from his gentleness, and his readiness to be of service even to those who seemed to occupy unimportant places. Hence his death, though it suddenly arrived when he was full of years and honor, has been regarded as a national disaster by the Scotch. They possess no liberal standard-bearer to fill the empty place, and they have no orator who can be compared with him for a moment. From the Queen on the throne to the humblest workingman who takes thought concerning life, a thrill of grief has run over the northern land. As, when Burns died, Scotsmen the world over cried, "Who will be our poet now?" so when Caird passed, they wistfully inquired, "Who will be our preacher now?" They had to wait long for Scott; they will have to linger at least as long, ere they produce a man to follow John Caird, the Glasgow Chrysostomus.

R. M. WENLEY.

PROFESSOR GASTON BONET-MAURY.

The custom which has sprung up during the last few years in our American universities of inviting distinguished French scholars to lecture before the students,

seems, fortunately, to be taking still deeper and more solid root. After M. Ferdinand Brunetière and M. René Doumic, you have just recently had with you a professor not less able in his particular field, M. Gaston Bonet-Maury, who fills the chair of church history in the Protestant Theological Seminary of the Paris University. This learned and broad-minded clergyman has spent the summer in the United States lecturing at Chicago University, Chautauqua and elsewhere.

At first blush it strikes one as a little odd that a Protestant divine should have sprung from the Bonet-Maury family. The father was a Catholic and a soldier, who fought under Napoleon I., and died during the reign of Louis XVIII., having attained to the grade of general and being at the head of the famous Paris Polytech-



GASTON BONET MAURY.

nic School. He was born at Castres, one of the historic centres of *Languedocian* Protestantism, but it was the fact that his wife was a Lutheran and the consequent agreement that the children should be Protestant, that turned the young Gaston towards the Reformed Church. Perhaps it was this union of the two faiths under the same roof and the concessions and toleration which necessarily followed, that produced in the son a broad theologian, for M. Gaston Bonet-Maury is, to use the French ecclesiastical term, an anti-confessionalist or liberal, who accepts the doctrines of the early Unitarians of the James Martineau persuasion, as he once remarked to me.

It is not surprising, therefore, that M. Bonet-Maury's chief work, *Des Origines du Christianisme Unitaire chez les Anglais*, should be a glorification of

Unitarianism. "It is the Unitarians," he says, "who, by their name and principles, can prevent the imminent divorce between science and religion, between reason and faith." Though but a small portion of this scholarly book is devoted to the Unitarian movement in the United States, the names of Channing and Parker frequently appear on its pages. In one place we read: "When one notices the enthusiasm with which the centennial anniversary of the birth of W. E. Channing was celebrated and the success obtained by the translation of his works among our French Protestants and even in the remotest Catholic circles, this doctrine cannot be treated with the disdain affected by certain Calvinistic and Lutheran theologians."

In this same volume occurs this passage: "In our century, it is two American thinkers, Channing and Parker, who have given the greatest *éclat* to the Unitarian Christianity of the Anglo-Saxons. Channing, by the admirable simplicity of his heart, and by an intelligent sympathy for hard labor; Theodore Parker by his noble demand of liberty for the slave and by the uprightness of his character, gave to Socinian Unitarianism what it lacked in the way of heartiness and knowledge of the soul. It may be said that in Channing, Unitarian Christianity attained to the apogee of its development and manifested all the power of its social and emancipative forces. Channing's Christianity appears to us a synthesis of revelation and reason placed within the reach of all men."

The liberal-mindedness of M. Bonet-Maury is revealed in his own words in the closing passage of his introduction to his translation of Döllinger's letters and declarations concerning the decrees of the Vatican,¹ where he gives this passage from the author: "Whosoever believes in Christ, loves his country and the Christians of all sects and must hope to see founded, in a not-distant future, a church, which, being the legitimate heir of the ancient church of the earlier centuries, will offer sufficient room and will be attractive enough for our separated brothers; a church which will know how to reconcile liberty with order, discipline with morality, and unity of faith with science and free examination," and follows it with these comments: "Is not this aim worthy of obtaining the co-operation of all enlightened believers? Is not there the ideal future revealed by the founder himself of Christianity? *Fiat unum ovile et unus pastor!*" And elsewhere M. Bonet-Maury quotes with approval this "wise motto" of Augustine: "In certis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas."

But the breadth of M. Bonet-Maury's religious views comes out best perhaps in his strong admiration for the Chicago Parliament of Religions and in his labors to bring about a somewhat similar gathering at Paris during the International Exhibition of 1900. He went to the United States in 1893—"this voyage across the ocean dreamed of for twenty-five years and which has left on my mind ineffaceable recollections"—as a delegate from the liberal branch of French Protestantism to the Unitarian conference held at Chicago in that year; but when he learned that this gathering was only a part of the Parliament of Religions, "this grandiose conception . . . this assembly unique of its kind," he was carried away by "this strange congress" and forthwith began to send letters and articles about it to the *Journal des Débats* and other French periodicals, which excited so much curiosity that when he got home he was invited on all sides to lecture and write about it. "So during nearly a year the greater part of my leisure time was taken up with making it known and in propagating its spirit of peace and union." Finally, M.

¹The French title of this work is: *Döllinger, — Lettres et Déclarations au Sujet des Décrets du Vatican.* Paris: Armand Colin.

Bonet-Maury was invited by a leading publisher, Hachette, to prepare a book on the subject. Hence the origin of *Le Congrès des Religions*, perhaps the best of the works devoted to the Chicago Parliament of Religions.

Another characteristic of M. Bonet-Maury's mental make-up calls for a few words. I refer to his remarkable—especially for a Frenchman—linguistic accomplishments. He has a good acquaintance with at least ten different languages, three dead and seven living. This faculty for the tongues is inherited. His father and mother both knew two modern ones, while his uncle, M. Alfred Maury, who died in 1892 professor at the Collège of France, was conversant with some thirty or more. It was this distinguished polyglot who instilled into his young nephew a taste for linguistics. Of course, therefore, M. Bonet-Maury knows English, which he reads with perfect ease, writes with considerable correctness, and speaks with much fluency and but slight accent. His American lectures will be delivered in our tongue, except the final one in each course, which will be given in French in order that the audience may get a more exact idea of the lecturer at his best. M. Bonet-Maury's wide knowledge of modern languages is also brought out in his essay on Bürger—"G. A. Bürger et les Origènes Anglaises de la Ballade Littéraire en Allemagne"—where he does not hesitate to handle familiarly several tongues and dialects.

M. Bonet-Maury is a quiet speaker. What he says is given in almost a conversational tone, with an occasional reference to the manuscript which lies on the desk before him. There is no attempt at eloquence. Now and then a bit of gentle humor brightens the clearly stated facts and solid arguments. His gestures are few and simple. All this is quite in keeping with his cosy little lecture-room in the neat seminary back of the Paris observatory. I fear he may not appear to the best advantage in the large lecture halls of Chicago and Chautauqua, reading his type-written essays. But you will readily perceive that he speaks with authority, and will, I feel sure, overlook defects of manner and accent in listening to the learning and liberal thoughts which he will utter.

The series of Chicago lectures opens with an introductory one on religious liberty and the obstacles which lie in the way of its realisation. Then follows a lecture on John Huss, "martyr to religious liberty, inheritor of the thought of John Wycliffe, and the precursor of Luther;" a third on the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the repressive measures in France since 1698, "when Protestantism was put beyond the pale of the law, anybody found at a religious gathering sent to the galleys and every preacher condemned to death, Claude Bronsson being the first martyr"; another devoted to Peter Kheltchitsky, "the continuator of the Hussite reformation and the founder of the Church of the United Brethren of Bohemia and Moravia"; a fifth to the insurrection of the Camisards in Languedoc; another to John Alasco, the Polish baron and canon, converted to Protestantism by Zwingli and Melanchthon, "the greatest of the Polish reformers"; another to "the restorers in France of the reformed religion,—Antoine Court and Paul Rabant"; the eighth lecture to John Komensky (Comenius), "the last of the Moravian bishops, and the precursor of modern pedagogy and of the idea of a court of international arbitration"; the ninth to "the edict of 1787, promulgated by Louis XVI., which restored to the Protestants of France their civil rights and the tolerance of their religion, due to the efforts of Turgot, Malesherbes and General Lafayette, whose American friends had interested him in the lot of the French Huguenots"; the tenth to Rousseau, "whose Social Contract and letter to Archbishop Beaumont established the principles of the independence of Church and State and

of tolerance which finally prevailed at the end of the French Revolution"; and the eleventh to one of M. Bonet-Maury's heroes, Leo Tolstoi, "the Jean Jacques Rousseau of Russia, on whose shoulders has been laid the mantle of Khelitchitsky and Comenius, who is striving to reform the moral and religious state of his country by education, and who is defending at the peril of his own safety the cause of the religious dissenters of Russia persecuted by the orthodox clergy and the Holy Synod."

The final lecture at Chicago is peculiarly timely, as it has to do with the absurd but dangerous anti-Semitic movement now so active in France. M. Bonet-Maury finds its cause to be "the jealousies of Catholics, rivals of the clever Jew merchants and bankers," and declares it to be "in disaccord with the French spirit and incompatible with the Evangel." It is scarcely necessary for me to add that M. Bonet-Maury is one of those "intellectuals" who warmly support M. Zola in the effort to clear up the obscure Dreyfus affair, so that his treatment of this complex subject will be in sympathy with the feeling which prevails in America concerning it.

The five Chautauqua lectures are made up of the more popular and lighter elements of the Chicago course. The series begins with an account of Claude Bruns-son, "the martyred lawyer-preacher, who, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was executed in 1698 at Montpellier." This is followed by a similar study of Laporte-Roland, "the prophet-general, hero of the Camissard insurrection, who expired on the rack August 16, 1704." A third lecture is given up to Count Zinzendorf, "restorer of the Moravian sect"; a fourth to Antoine Court, restorer of the reformed church of France, and the final lecture is also on Tolstoi, who is this time described as "the reformer of Russian society and defender of the persecuted Russian Protestants," for, it should be remembered, at this very moment there exists in the Czar's realms suffering for conscience sake as deep and bitter as that which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The facts on this point which M. Bonet-Maury has been laying before his hearers have, I feel sure, aroused a spirit of astonishment and indignation surpassed only by pity for the victims.

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS.

RECENT FRENCH PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS.

A distinguishing feature of the philosophical thought of the last few decades has been its intimate relations with exact science; and the solidest and most enduring contributions which have been made to recent metaphysics have dealt with the critical foundations of positive research. Of the large number of thoughtful publications which have issued from the French press in the last half year on this subject, we shall mention first two essays by Dr. G. Milhaud, of the University of Montpellier, which bear the titles: (1) *An Essay on the Conditions and Limits of Logical Certitude*,¹ and (2) *On the Nature of Rational Knowledge*.² The first of the volumes mentioned is in its second edition, and aims to show that the principle of logical contradiction in no wise justifies affirmations extending beyond

¹ *Essai sur les conditions et les limites de la certitude logique*. By G. Milhaud. Paris: Félix Alcan, 108 Boulevard Saint-Germain. 1898. Pp. 203. Price, 2 francs.

² *La Rationnel: Etudes complémentaires à l'essai sur la certitude logique*. By Milhaud. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1898. Pp. 176. Price, 2 francs.

the particular facts directly observed, and that it is an illusion to imagine it can effect the definitive solution of problems that lie without the realm of experience. His method rests on distinguishing fundamentally *what is given in reality* from *what has been constructed in thought*; in other words, on the distinction of *facts* from *constructs*. In establishing his thesis, he appeals to examples in mathematics, the study of which he has made a specialty, discussing such subjects as number, algebraical magnitude, limits, energy, determinism, and free will, the Non-Euclidean geometry, and the mathematical antinomies of Kant. The second volume is in the nature of supplementary studies to the first, and discusses virtually the same topics. The two essays will be found pleasant and instructive reading, and give constant evidence of the author's wide knowledge of the history of science. To him, the development of science is not one of spontaneous, direct and conscious creation, but involves certain elements of contingency and indetermination.

* * *

The *Problem of the Classification of the Sciences* has always been one that has appealed strongly to the French mind, and numerous solutions of this fundamental question of descriptive philosophy have been attempted in recent years. The history of the problem began with Aristotle and found its most distinguished promoters in Bacon, D'Alembert, Ampère, and Comte. The idea of Ampère was that of a classification similar to the systems of natural history, in which the various divisions of science were made to correspond to the species of zoölogy and botany. Comte, as is well known, enunciated the idea of a hierarchical scale of the sciences—an idea which may be traced back to Descartes. The classification of Comte has been widely studied and widely adopted, but new research has in a measure antiquated the details of the system, and it is for this reason that Prof. Edmond Goblot,¹ of the University of Toulouse, has set himself the task of rectifying, extending, and generally improving, on the lines of new ideas, the system of his great countryman. But M. Goblot's work is entirely independent in character; it has been his object to define, so to speak, "the systematic position" of every science; to define the relations of each with one another. He conceives the sciences generally to be single in form; that the demonstrative method and the experimental method are not attributes of different kinds of science, but are distinctive of the different states of the progress of science generally. Science, in his conception, is not an artificial and factitious construction, not the product of the brain of a single philosopher, a masterpiece of art as it appears to the mind of Descartes; but science is a coherent unity, in spite of the differences of the laborers and architects who have constructed it. It is not the thought of one individual mind added to the thoughts of other individual minds, but it is the *truth* in the conceptions of one mind, joined to the truths in the conceptions of other minds; the personalities are effaced; their impersonal products are alone perpetuated. In such a work as the present, then, the task is merely that of observing and describing, and not of the construction of a rigid frame into which truth must be forced, even at the risk of mutilation; science is a living and growing organism, the progress of which has, for such a task as the present, simply to be observed and recorded.

It seems remarkable enough that M. Goblot originally approached the problem of the classification of the sciences from the point of view of political economy, and particularly of the so-called problem of "immaterial wealth." He was of the opinion that economical science had made scarcely any real progress, so far as matters

¹ *Essai sur La Classification des Sciences*. By Edmond Goblot. Paris: Félix Alcan, 108 Boulevard Saint-Germain. Pp. 296. Price. 5 francs.

of principle were concerned, since the time of Adam Smith and of Say, and that the reason for its stagnancy had been the restricting of its research to the study of material wealth alone, and he was thus led to the observation of a striking analogy between certain economical laws and certain laws of logic; even logic itself appeared to him as a branch of sociology; but since sociology itself was a nascent science, he here reached the heart of his task, and was brought face to face with the problem of the definition and conception of science in its entirety, of science as a composite made up of integrant and coherent thoughts. One is struck with the many wise observations which occur in his book regarding various fundamental questions of philosophy, and with the naturalness and clearness of his views. He believes that philosophy is contained in its entirety in the facts and relations of the individual sciences, in so far as it is rational, that is, comprehensible; but, in thus proclaiming the absorption of philosophy in science, M. Goblot expressly disclaims any intention of mutilating philosophy or of repudiating metaphysics proper, which still has its distinct and legitimate sphere. The crucial problems of metaphysics, so called in former times, are for him improperly formulated problems only, which when carefully analysed are discovered to be meaningless. When split up into their constituent elements they fall at once under the jurisdiction of some special science. The general ideas of Plato, the theory of "definition" of Aristotle, from having been questions of metaphysics, have been converted into questions of psychology and logic; there is no Unknowable, there are no "things in themselves," there are no insoluble problems; such problems are merely nonsensical and meaningless; they ask for knowledge which is not knowledge; it is not the answer, but the interrogation, that is at fault.

* * *

Readers of *The Open Court* will remember the biographical sketch which appeared in the August number, of Count Chambrun, the founder of the Social Museum in Paris, and a social philanthropist of educational rather than eleemosynary tendencies. Count Chambrun, in 1894, founded a free course of lectures on the history of socialism which were to be delivered under the auspices of the *Faculté des Lettres* of Paris. The present incumbent of the chair founded by Count Chambrun, M. Alfred Espinas, professor in the University of Bordeaux, has just published a book on the *Social Philosophy of the Eighteenth Century and the Revolution*,¹ which embodies the principal lectures of this course. The author has sought to determine the periods and circumstances in which socialism was promulgated in Europe, and to describe the crises of which it was either the symptom or the cause. He first gives us an introductory chapter which contrasts ideal ethics and politics with the ethics and politics which are the expression of the actual local and historical conditions in which states and societies have risen. He finds that there have been five great critical periods in which socialism has been proclaimed as a doctrine, viz., during the decline of the Greek states, during the decline of the Roman Empire (Christianity), during the Renaissance in England and Germany, during the Eighteenth Century in France and the Revolution that closed that century, and during the Revolution of 1848. Where others have seen in the Revolution an intellectualist movement created by an intellectualist philosophy, M. Espinas has been led to the opinion that the philosophy of equality which prevailed in this century involved a collectivist theory of the part which the state plays in the ques-

¹ *La Philosophie Sociale du XVIII. Siècle et La Révolution*. By Alfred Espinas. Paris. 1898; Félix Alcan. Pp. 412. Price. 7 francs.

tion of property, and he has pointed out the consequences which that theory bore from Mirabeau to Robespierre and Babeuf; these consequences he has traced in detail, laying special emphasis upon the philosophy of Babeuf with all the practical corollaries which that philosophy involved. Much of the research of M. Espinas with regard to this last point has been based upon unpublished documents.

* * *

We have to note also a work of importance in the *History of Philosophy*.¹ It is written by M. Emile Boutroux, a professor of philosophy in the University of Paris, and recently elected a member of the Academy of Sciences. M. Boutroux's conception of the history of philosophy is that of an independent consideration of the doctrines of the philosophers in and for themselves. He conceives all their doctrines as independent organisms, as living thoughts which it is the duty of the historian to resuscitate and rehabilitate in the glowing form which they took in the minds of their originators, and not to study as a total development or as a psychological evolution. It has been in this sense that he has devoted considerable study, which he has here recorded, to the systems of Socrates, Aristotle, Jacob Boehme, Descartes, Kant, and to the relations between the Scottish and the French philosophy,—studies all of which are signalised by a thorough grasp of their subjects.

* * *

Persons desiring healthful and invigorating exercise in metaphysics may read the work of M. Cyrille Blondeau² on *The Absolute and the Law of Its Formation*,—a production distinguished by literary merit and great philosophical erudition, but slightly diffuse. The aim of its author has been to rise above the Relative and the Conditioned, and to seek that higher "law," or phase, of existence in which man and nature are equally submerged. The opposition between sense and reason is the fundamental thesis from which he starts. The senses give relative results only; science must give the absolute. Things are only relations, but these things are relations within the infinite, within the absolute, and even science itself, which explains nature and yields knowledge of the reasons for facts, is part and parcel of the absolute from which all results are derived, and which is the goal of all rational study, dissipating the contradictions inherent in things from the point of view of relative science, and thus making everything converge toward metaphysics. Despite the metaphysical argumentation of the work, it proceeds in the main from the principles of modern mechanical and physical science, and of modern physiology and psychology, thus proceeding to ontology. The absolute or the universe itself is the infinity of space and of time in which all things are entangled; and the order of nature is merely the relation of things which in turn are relations of things, and so on to infinity. Everything is thus enwebbed in the mesh of relations which constitute the universe, and absolute unity remains unimpaired.

* * *

The most recent attempt at solving the ancient problem of the nature and origin of life has been made by M. Præaubert, professor in Angers, France, in a work entitled, *Life as a Mode of Motion*.³ The phenomena of life are, according to M. Præaubert, distinctly enough defined and sufficiently well known at the present

¹ *Etudes D' Histoire de La Philosophie*. By Emile Boutroux. Paris. 1897. Félix Alcan. Pp. 443. Price, 7 francs.

² *L' Absolu et Sa Loi Constitutive*. By Cyrille Blondeau. Paris. 1897. Félix Alcan. Pp. 350. Price, 6 francs.

³ *La Vie, Mode de Mouvement. Essai D' Une Théorie Physique des Phénomènes Vitaux*. By E. Præaubert. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1897. Pp. 310. Price, 5 francs.

time. We see them constantly associated with the phenomena of the inanimate world, and logically some bond must exist between them; there can be no reason whatever for establishing a barrier between them, or of prohibiting the explanation of any one by any other. The problem of life is involved in that of the organisation of nature in its entirety: it is but a particular case of universal cosmogony.

M. Pr  aubert is a physicist, and as the Pythagoreans explained the world by the properties of numbers, as Aristoxenes, the musician, explained the universe by the nature of harmony, and as certain modern nosologists have conceived the soul to be a composite of smells,—so M. Pr  aubert, being an expounder and champion of the modern theory of mechanical ether, explains life as a mode of motion of the fundamental *physical* world-substance. Biology with him is a question of mechanics and not one of chemistry. Life is a distinct and independent member of that great orchestra of forces which hymns the universe to its destiny. Its substratum is the ether of which it is a mode of motion, just as electricity and magnetism, heat and light, are. The vital movement is prior to the protoplasmic molecule. The albuminoid bodies are no more life than iron is magnetism: they are simply substances fitted for being the vehicle of life.

The work bristles with analogies from technical physics which in themselves have nothing more than a metaphorical value, and do not constitute a real acquisition. Nevertheless, the work contains ingenious comparisons of this sort, the most notable of which is the assimilating of life to "globular lightning" which exhibits a form of electrical stability of a really astonishing character. T. J. McC.

OCTOBER MONIST.

There are two noteworthy articles in the October *Monist* relating to the philosophy of mathematics and to the question of a universal scientific language. The first is *On the Foundations of Geometry*, and is by Prof. H. Poincar  , the most eminent mathematician of France; the second is *On Pasigraphy*, by Prof. Ernst Schroeder, of Karlsruhe, the leading European authority on the Algebra of Logic.

In the same number Dr. P. Topinard closes his series on *Science and Faith* with an article on *The Social Problem*. The readers of *The Monist* have been following Dr. Topinard's History of the Development of Man in Society for two years or more, and will be glad to learn the results to which his exhaustive inquiries have led him. The editor, Dr. Paul Carus, contributes an article on *God*. (Single numbers, 50 cents. Annually, \$2.00. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company.)

A MINISTERS' UNION OF ALL DENOMINATIONS.

This is an organisation which has been in existence for about four years. It meets semi-annually at the town hall in Ayer, Mass.—a spring and a fall meeting. There are rarely less than thirty ministers, of six or seven different denominations, Congregationalists, Unitarians, Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians predominating. It is an all-day convention, all dining together in a frugal repast, but making up in good-fellowship what it lacks in richness and variety of diet. Lately the afternoon session has been opened to the public, and questions of general interest pertaining to social, parish, and town life, reform, and good citizenship have been discussed by experts, and the meetings are closed by the joint recitation of the Lord's Prayer. No special efforts are made to interest non-members to join the

body or to attend the sessions. The presidents have been Baptist, Unitarian, and Methodist. Preceding the present incumbent (the Rev. Dr. Whittaker, Methodist), it was a Unitarian, the Rev. A. J. Rich, who presided for two one-half years. It is meant that the different denominations shall be alternately represented in the chairmanship, although the purpose is to drop the sect name and spirit as much as possible, and to strive for unity, brotherly love, truth, and helpfulness to each other in all ways which touch the common life and well-being of the members and their work and success as Christian preachers and pastors. Addresses have been given by Catholic priests, Jewish rabbis, and specialists on the vital questions of the day. Such men as Dean Hodges, Dr. Dickinson, of the Institutional Church (Berkeley), Boston; Rabbi Fleischer, of Boston, and Dr. Whittaker, have read papers. Dr. Hale has also spoken at the meetings. The Union owes its existence to the Rev. W. J. Batt, chaplain of the Concord (Mass.) Reformatory, formerly an Orthodox Congregational minister of a large and sympathetic spirit. The broadening influence of this organisation is seen and felt in all the circle of the non-ecclesiastical conference, devoted to religious unity; and, since its fellowship includes Jews as well as Christians, Catholics as well as Protestants, Free Religionists, and Pagans, if they choose to come, special emphasis is not given to any phase of religious belief or profession. It is quite sufficient to deal with questions of human interest and of practical well-being. A similar organisation called "The Souhegan Ministers' Union" was started in Milford, N. H., eight years ago, including ministers of all denominations in a circle of six or seven towns around. It met at first every two weeks, then every month. For about a year the meetings have been suspended, partly because of the removal of pastors, and partly because some brethren, fearing the result of such free mingling of orthodox and heretic, have withdrawn. An attempt will be made soon to resume the meetings, which for six years proved to be very interesting and profitable. In three or four Boston suburban towns similar unions have been started.—*The Outlook*, Sept. 10, 1898.

SPIRITUAL CATHOLICISM.

To the Editor of the Open Court:

A writer who assumes to instruct should be exact. In a very interesting and instructive article on "Chinese Fiction," by Mr. George T. Candlin, in the current number of *The Open Court*, appears this statement: "In Roman Catholicism this tendency has reached exaggerated expression in the worship of the Virgin."

The word worship is sometimes poetically employed in the sense of, to honor respect and love, as in the case of the lover who "worships" his loved one. In this sense no exception might be taken to the sentence quoted. But I think it is evident the writer uses the word to express the homage which the finite being pays to the Infinite—in this case misdirected to a finite being.

If this be true, then, it is a careless use of the term which is not in keeping with an article painstaking in its preparation and instructive. Catholic doctrine is an open book, and its erroneous presentation is inexcusable and worse, because it wilfully or carelessly compromises the judgment and belief of millions of people—no small fault surely. If one desires to be just to his neighbor it is worth while to know what his neighbor professes and believes before ascribing particular opinions and beliefs to him.

"We reverence tradition
And heed inspired men's
Prophetic intuition,
But seek higher evidence.

There is but one foundation,
But one sure ground, forsooth:
It is the revelation
Of science and 'the' truth."

Most men believe as a historical fact that Mary was the mother of Christ. Catholic doctrine teaches that Christ is the son of God the Father, coequal with Him in all things, and that there is but one God.

As the mother of God, Catholics accord all the honor to Mary it is possible to give a creature, but they worship or offer divine homage to God alone.

EL PASO, TEXAS.

FRANCIS W. GALLAGHER.

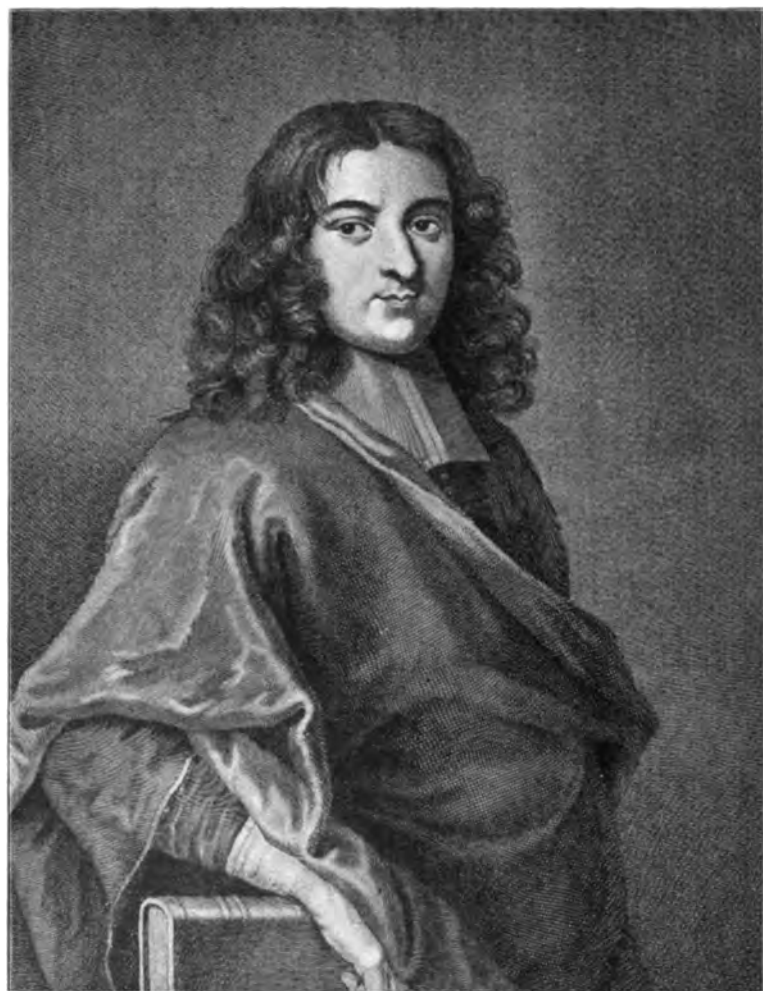
We regret that *The New World* descends to the publication of slander. E. Washburn Hopkins, in a book review of *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics*, speaks of "the notorious Dharmapāla, a Singhalese, who some time ago made himself somewhat ridiculous in India, and has more recently been in America, followed in his journey hither by warnings in the Anglo-Indian press to the effect that he is an impostor."

Dharmapāla is a pure-hearted man of deep and serious conviction, who has gained the good-will and friendship of many Americans not only among those who sympathize with his religious views but also among others, and most so among orthodox Christians. The following brief statement will explain the facts to which Professor Hopkins refers: Dharmapāla discovered that the Buddhists had some rights to the use of the Buddha Gaya temple in India, now under the control of a Hindu Mahant, although subject to the supervision of the Government. When Dharmapāla placed a Buddha statue in the Buddha Gaya temple, he was interfered with by a mob of natives who upon the whole are very hostile toward Buddhism. In a law suit which ensued and which was finally decided in favor of Dharmapāla, the local papers took the part of the Mahant and of the mob, and many bitter words were published against Dharmapāla which have no other foundation than the animosity of partisans. It is difficult to understand how a professor of Yale University can unblushingly make of himself a channel of slander and how a magazine like *The New World* can publish it.

We might say a few words in reply to the comments which Professor Hopkins makes on Dr. Carus's book, *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics*, but believe that the venomous spitefulness of his review is a sufficient refutation and self-condemnation.

The Welby prize of fifty pounds offered for the best essay on "The Causes of the Present Obscurity and Confusion in Psychological and Philosophical Terminology, and the Directions in which We May Hope for Efficient Practical Remedy," has been awarded to Dr. Ferdinand Toennies, of Hamburg, Germany. A translation of the successful essay will appear in *Mind* shortly. Although the name of the donor of the prize has not been revealed, it is pretty well understood in philosophical circles that it is the Honorable Lady Welby, of Denton Manor, Grantham, England, whose interest in terminology has taken not only the form of monetary encouragement but also that of independent contributions to the subject.

We are indebted for the four fine portraits of Pascal which adorn the present number of *The Open Court*, to the kindness of Principal David Eugene Smith, of Brockport, N. Y., who has placed his rich collection at our disposal. The originals from which these portraits were reproduced are very rare in this country.



From an Engraving by G. E. Petit.

PIERRE BAYLE.

(1647-1706.)

Frontispiece to the November, '98, *Open Court*,

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XII. (NO. 11.)

NOVEMBER, 1898.

NO. 510

INTELLECTIONS.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY.

BY MAJOR J. W. POWELL.

A STREAM of judgments flows through the mind. As the ego has self-activity it changes its position in the environment at will and a different environment plays on the senses at every change in the position of the ego. Then by different senses the environment solicits the attention simultaneously by all. Thus attention is solicited by more sense impressions than it can attend to, and it chooses for attention those which serve a temporary or more sustained purpose. Those serving a temporary purpose give rise to what has been called by Kant, the practical reason; those serving a sustained purpose, the pure reason.

Presentative judgments that originate in sense impressions, are often followed by representative judgments, and these are either discursive or volitional. Hence we see that the judgments which we make are exceedingly multitudinous and heterogeneous. But all these judgments are assembled in concepts by more temporary or more permanent purposes. What judgments can be made are determined by the environment; but what judgments the mind selects to make are determined by the purpose. Thus the ego is the creature of environment and self-activity. The stream of judgments is thought, and thought is controlled by self-activity and environment.

It may be well to further consider the process of combining judgments by reflexion.

I am wandering by the river. Why should the river here suddenly pass from a narrow gorge to a wide-spread plain and be transformed from a narrow to an expansive stream? And why should the turbulent waters above become so quiet below?

I climb a rock to study the problem. The bluffs standing back from the river converge at this point and seem as if they would join hands across the chasm through which the river plunges. Here the bluff is a cliff and the edges of sandstone strata outcrop in the escarpment, and I observe with care the succession of rocks from the bottom to the top of the cliff. But a robin flies down and perches on a willow near by, and in a instant cliff and geology vanish from my thought; I see a turkis egg and a nest in the apple-tree of my garden, and my daughter is shouting a song of childish joy in my mind's ear, for this she did not many weeks ago. In thought I am at home once more. Then home vanishes and I see the robin again flitting from bough to bough, and as it moves my eyes follow it until it is in a line between myself and the cliff, and the sight of the cliff brings back my geologic problem. I see the red sandstone below, the brown shales between and the white sandstones above, and recognise the succession as being similar to one seen before. If so, the summit of the cliff must be crowned by a limestone. Yes, there is the limestone with its angular outlines, in contrast with the round reliefs of the sandstone. I am one step farther in my problem. I put the facts of the succession together and say this is a carboniferous cliff. I know these rocks.

In climbing I hear a noise. In an instant I interpret it as the voice of a friend, and, turning about, find I am right. I hasten to announce my discovery, but he holds a flower aloft, waving it in triumph. That wand banishes the cliff with its succession of beds from my mind, and I see a bluebell drooping from its delicate stem and ringing a chime of cerulean beauty. In a twinkling of an eye my mind travels a thousand miles, and I am climbing the gray sandstone cliff which rises in the midst of the valley of Illinois River and is known as "Starved Rock." The miles my soul has travelled are only equaled by the time over which it has returned. I am a young man again, and I burst into a song:

" Its rare to see the morning breeze
Like a bonfire frae the sea."

Why do I sing that song? It was on my tongue when I found my first bluebell on "Starved Rock."

My friend bids me follow him. At one moment I am thinking of the cove, at another I am listening to the voice of my friend, and at still another I am watching the way over which we walk; and now and then my mind wanders away home and where not. Now my attention is attracted to a footprint in the sand. From its

shape I know it was made by a deer. Thus I make an inference beyond my perception. The track is the sign of something else. I see other tracks; they are arranged along our course in pairs several feet apart. By this arrangement I infer that the deer was leaping, as if fleeing from danger, and I imagine that the deer has been startled at our approach. This is an erroneous inference, for my friend tells me that he roused the deer as he came down the path some time ago. And as we still walk I study the rocks, and discover that a limestone forms the floor of the valley below; and then I discover by its contained fossils that it is the same formation as the one which crosses the summit of the cliff. The valley limestone was broken from the cliff limestone and dropped down by what geologists call a fault, and the fall or throw of the fault is more than a thousand feet. And now I discover the origin of the cascades in the canyon above and the broad and quiet flow of the river below. The last dropping of the sandstone by the fault decreased the declivity of the stream in the valley and increased the declivity of the stream above the valley, where it comes down through the canyon. All this is reasoning. It is a series of judgments controlled by will for a course of reasoning on a theme for which I have a permanent interest, interrupted by a multitude of adventitious judgments that are made by reason of temporary interest.

We sit down by the spring and my friend spreads the lunch on a fallen tree trunk, and away goes my mind to the bank of the Grand River in central Colorado, and I see a prostrate pine, and an emerald lake near by, and on the shore, cliffs of granite, and beyond, a snow-clad mountain, and about its summit the gathered clouds, and the sheen of clouds and snow-fields blends with stretches of forest and crags and peaks of towering grandeur. Years ago I was there, and the feast on this log brings back the feast on that log, with its attendant glories of mountain scenery. From that scene I am called back by the bidding of my friend to eat. Then a bird comes down to the fountain, and I am engaged in watching its coy advances to the water. And so my mind passes instantaneously from one object to another—now engaged in observing things present, now listening to the voice of my friend, now occupied in expressing my thought to him, now calling up some scene from afar; but ever thinking. On goes the stream of thought.

I eat of the turnover, and observe from the taste that it is made of blackberries; and then I think of the blackberry patches over

which I strayed in childhood on the hills of Southern Ohio, and of my companion, Charles Isham, who was killed at the battle of Shiloh. And I talk of battles, till my friend speaks of bread and butter. Thirst causes me to go to the spring, and I quaff from its crystal fountain, and listen to the jests hurled at me by my friend, and laugh at his wit. Still on goes the stream of thought.

We have eaten the lunch and gathered the plants, and return home. On the way a sharp, buzzing sound thrills me with horror. I know it as the warning of a rattlesnake. It is a familiar sound to me, for I have found many of these serpents in the wilderness. I look about, and there it is, coiled in the grass. With my cane I strike it a blow, and then another, until it stretches its length on the ground, dead. From the inanimate reptile I pluck the rattles. There are nine on its tail, which it was wont to ring when danger approached—discordant bells whose ringing is a symbol to the woodsman that reptilian hell is lurking near the pathway.

We have reached the river bank, and separate ; I climb about it in search of fossils. Soon I discover carboniferous fossils in the rock at the foot of the cliff, and climbing up beside the stream I discover limestone rocks which have come down from the summit of the cliff, and see the same fossils. My explanation of the origin of the cliff, the rapid descent of the river from above, the narrow channel through which it runs, the valley below, and the broad expanse of quiet water, is verified. Now, in my reasoning about the fall of a river into a quiet reach, I used concepts of form in the nature of the channel, and concepts of form in the structure of the rocks. I also used concepts of time in the succession of the rocks, and I reached a conclusion or judgment as to the cause of the rapid which was a judgment of causation, and I confirmed this judgment by reaching the same conclusion from the story of the fossils that I had reached from the story of the geological structure ; so concepts verify concepts. On careful examination it will always be found that judgments of causation are verified by the congruence of concepts.

The stream of thought is composed of a series of widely diverse elements, or mentations, that are judgments, all differing among themselves. Now, it is impossible for the mind to dwell on any one of these elements. You cannot think of a scratch long ; the mind immediately passes to something else—another sight or sound. Consciousness, which is awareness of a change in self, is the absolute, the independent of thought and that on which inferences are founded ; and consciousness is awareness of a succession

of impulses on self or by self, that flow with the rapidity of thought that seems almost to vie with the rapidity of air collisions in sound. Hence consciousness is serial, and inferences are serial, and judgments are necessarily serial; but thought must go on. Gaze into the eye of my lady and think of its sapphirine hue; in a moment you think of something else—the sable curtain, the coy glance, perchance the cerulean heaven, or the deep blue sea. It is impossible to hold your mind for more than a moment on the blueness of the eye; the thought must go on. But on to what? is the question. Tell me in the case of any individual the laws which govern the procession of his thought, and I will tell his name, be it sage or fool. There is always a nexus between contiguous elements in the stream of thought. Sometimes it is mere adventitious association. The thing seen or heard has at some previous time been associated with something else. The touch is associated with the mother's stroke on childish curls; the taste of that particular fruit is associated with an occasion of joy; the perfume of smoke is associated with the burning forest; the song is associated with some scene of glee; the robin is associated with the cottage home. But the nexus of association is not always adventitious. It is often controlled by an established design. With the fool, adventitious relation is the principal nexus of thought in the procession; with the sage, logical relation is the chief nexus.

The links of relation in the chain of thought are not always apparent to the thinker himself. Steps in the procession of reasoning are often cancelled; the mind passes, by great bounds, from one to another. When the steps in the course of logical reasoning have been taken many times, the mind finds it unnecessary to tread the ground again and again, with slow and measured pace, but it springs from point to point, and the greater reasoners make the greater leaps. This is a fact well known to scientific men, but it gives to the procession of mentations those characteristics which cause the greatest wonder to men, and which have led to many of the errors of psychology.

By reflecting on the past and comparing it with the present, we prophesy of the future and often our prophecies are confirmed. By day we prophesy of the night, and the night comes; at night we prophesy of the morning, and the morning comes. As the days, weeks, months, and years, go by, we learn by experience of the changes wrought in self and infer changes yet to be wrought. By experience we discover the changes wrought in others, and by inference judgments are formed of changes yet to be wrought. It is

by experience that we learn of all the changes in environment. The skies change ; the seasons change ; the river was low yesterday, it is a raging torrent to-day. The acorn bourgeons with leaflets, it sends rootlets into the earth and stem and branch into the air ; it grows from week to week, month to month, year to year, and under our experience it becomes a tree. The child is born, it grows to be a lad, a youth, a young man, a vigorous adult, an old man, and the judgments formed are compounded into ideas of becoming. It is thus by reflexion that a vast multitude of judgments are compounded into ideas of the changes wrought by time, and reflexion becomes the special process of cognising metagenesis. As on the wings of perception all lands are viewed, so on wings of reflexion all times are conned. The illimitable past and the illimitable future are all painted on the canvas of now by the artist of reflexion. Things that have been and things to be are emblazoned on the panorama of reflexional concept.

Thus we have ideas of sensation or classification, ideas of perception or integration, ideas of understanding or co-operation, and ideas of reflexion or history, all derived from the germs of sense impression as they have been made on the mind of the individual in moments, hours, days, and years.

A boulder cannot move from the bank into the swift channel in order that it may journey down the stream, but a man may travel from the distant hill to voyage on the river. The leaf cannot flutter in the air unless the air is sweeping by, and the air cannot move as a breeze without antecedent conditions of temperature. Every action is self-action and every passion is self-passion, but the action of one must have its correlate in the action of another, and the passion of one must have its correlate in the passion of another. In this respect animate bodies have a property which separates them from inanimate bodies, in that they perform actions which are self-directed, and in that they have passions that are self-chosen. The animal may choose to enter the current or it may choose to expose itself to the wind, and it may act for these purposes by placing itself under the proper conditions. Heretofore we have attempted to use the term activity in this sense as a chosen act. By such activities design or purpose is expressed. I see a bird fly from tree to tree and think of it as an activity prompted by design. I see a leaf blown from one tree to another and I see an act not determined by choice. All this is intended to make clear the distinction between activities and acts and to show that activities are manifestations of mind. The inanimate body is

conscious of mind, and through the manifestations of mind with others it is led to infer that they also have minds.

In the history of metaphysical philosophy the doctrine of presentative and representative judgments has undergone some strange vicissitudes. The distinction seems first to have been formulated by the terms impressions and thoughts, presentative judgments being called impressions and representative judgments thoughts. Spencer refers to the same distinction when he speaks of vivid impressions and faint impressions. Others have considered presentative judgments as instinctive or intuitive, for such judgments are often made instantaneously and without apparent consciousness of previous judgments. The nature of intuition we have already set forth. Kant also believes that representative judgments are controlled by forms of thought pre-existing in the mind and not derived from experience, in which all judgments are moulded. He supposes the mind to be endowed with the knowledge of space as empty space and of time as empty time, and that the ego fills the empty space and empty time with forms of thought. Thus the metaphysicians have always failed to discover the nature of a judgment with its pentalogic elements, in which both consciousness and choice appear with comparison, which completes the judgment. They also fail to discover that a presentative judgment is only initiated by a sense impression, and that the ego must still recall past impressions in a concept to make the judgment complete, and they also fail to discover that the representative judgment is initiated by recalling a past concept and comparing it with another concept of past judgments.

I see a worm crawling on the ground ; the worm causes a sense impression. I might stop to consider its color and have a judgment of sensation, or I might consider its form and have a judgment of perception, or I might consider its motion and have a judgment of understanding, or I might consider its cause as an egg and have a judgment of reflexion, or I might consider that the motion itself is directed molar motion and hence manifests mind in the worm ; then I would have a judgment of ideation. Any one of these judgments can be made from the same sense impression, and my interest, my purpose, my choice, determines the nature of the judgment made. But when made it needs verification. If the judgment as a sensation is valid and there is a color, if the judgment of perception is valid and there is a form, if the judgment of understanding is valid and there is a motion, if the judgment of causation is valid and there is an object developed from an egg,

then there is left for consideration the validity of the judgment of ideation, for the worm may not be moving by its own volition, but it may be dragged by an ant. Its motion must be due to an animate and designing cause, which may inhere in the worm itself or in another which is unknown to me, for it is molar motion caused by mind, and in order that I may verify my judgment of mind in the worm I must determine that it is living and free to use its own judgment; such verification comes only by the comparison of concepts. As ideation is the compounding of concepts, so verification in ideation is the comparison of concepts.

In sensation, perception, understanding, and reflexion, concepts are developed by the consolidation of judgments. In ideation we have a faculty by which judgments are added to judgments to constitute concepts and which then continues its power of forming judgments by combining concepts with concepts and forever forming new concepts thereby, while at the same time the power thus developed of comparing concepts with concepts is leading to a re-formation of the concepts themselves by the elimination of fallacies, for when concepts by comparison with concepts are found to be incongruous, the mind refuses to accept them as valid and seeks for the source of error. We must, therefore, discover the means by which concepts are compared with concepts.

We must now shoulder the task of explaining the laws of symbolism or association, which have been assumed from time to time and partially explained in this discussion.

That which I have sometimes called symbolism and that which I have sometimes called association are the same thing. When a sensation which is the result of a sense impression caused by one attribute of a body, is taken as a symbol of the body itself with all its attributes, it becomes a symbol of all with which it is associated. When a sense impression gives rise to a judgment of force it recalls many other judgments of force and thus becomes a symbol of other things. When a judgment of cause is formed it also becomes a symbol of other causes. Sense impressions are directly used by the mind in this manner in sensation, perception, apprehension, reflexion, and ideation, and it is thus that ideas are primarily associated. The memories of judgments are recalled by other judgments, as we have seen, so that not only do judgments which arise from sensations recall other judgments, but these other judgments recall still other judgments, and thus there is recollection in the second degree; and these revivals may go on from de-

gree to degree to an indefinite extent. All of these facts have been illustrated.

As we judge by comparing concepts with other concepts or with impressions, one judgment by a faculty is associated with other judgments by the same faculty, and as one property is concomitant with all the others, one property becomes a symbol of all the others, so that there is association by comparison of concepts and association by symbolism. Hence all our judgments are associated.

The quantitative properties are the reciprocals of the categoric properties, for the one is the reciprocal of the many which compose the one. The one is a kind, and the many is another kind, and the one kind is the reciprocal of the many kinds. So the one form of the body is the reciprocal of the many extensions of the particles. The one motion of the body is the reciprocal of the many motions of the particles, hence the one force of the body is the reciprocal of the many motions of the particles, for the force of the body is the reciprocal of the motion of the particles. The one time of the body is the reciprocal of the many times of a particle, hence the one causation of the body is the reciprocal of the many times of the particles. The one judgment of the body is the reciprocal of the many judgments of the particles, hence the one concept of the body is the reciprocal of the many judgments of the particles.

Judgments of quantitative bodies are reciprocal judgments of classic bodies, hence they are associated by reciprocity. Judgments of one property are concomitants with judgments of another property, therefore they are associated by concomitancy. Now judgments associated by concomitancy are often intuitive in the sense in which that term is used here; so judgments associated by reciprocity are often intuitive. But there are many judgments that are associated not by concomitancy or reciprocity, because they are chosen when we make judgments; of those chosen some are volitional, some discursive. The discursive associations are those usually recognised as such, and again we have association by kind or likeness, by form, by force, by causation, and by concept. Thus it is that the ego remembers by pentalogic properties. Thus association is the law of memory.

Units are associated with units, numbers with numbers, kinds with kinds, series with series, classes with classes, and all are associated in nature and considered in classification. Then extensions are associated with extensions, spaces with spaces, forms

with forms, metamorphoses with metamorphoses, organisms with organisms, and all these are interassociated and these associations are considered in morphology. Then speeds are associated with speeds, motions with motions, forces with forces, energies with energies, powers with powers, co-operations with co-operations, and all of these modes of motion are interrelated or associated and all are considered in dynamics. Again persistencies are associated with persistencies, times with times, causations with causations, metageneses with metageneses, developments with developments, and they are all interrelated and considered in evolution. Finally, sensations are associated with sensations, perceptions with perceptions, apprehensions with apprehensions, reflexions with reflexions, and ideations with ideations, and all are considered in intellection and are represented by words. Then numbers, spaces, motions, times, and judgments, are associated, and kinds, forms, forces, causations, and concepts, are associated, and the quantitative properties are associated with the categoric properties. There is a congeries of associations in which all of the contents of the mind are associated as fast as we cognise the bodies of the universe in their properties and relations.

Certain special associations of discursive thought have received special attention and various attempts have been made to account for them, while the multitudinous associations of thought have been neglected. This partial discussion of the subject has led to the classification of the associations of memory; and two laws have been formulated: the one called the law of likeness and the other the law of contiguity. They have also been formulated as three or more; but the essential nature of association has failed to receive attention because the five associated properties of matter have not clearly been understood; all of these methods, about which scarcely two psychologists agree, have been inadequate to properly set forth the subject. Especially do we notice that contiguity in space has been confounded with immediate succession in time by the habit of using a word with two meanings, and thus confounding succession with position. Particularly intensive associations by which striking events are recalled, because of the deep effects made on the mind, have been observed by thoughtful men for more than twenty centuries. In moods of contemplation a judgment recalls some remote judgment which was startling at the time, and as we go on from moment to moment, recalling a multitude of things by a multitude of associations, this special instance is thrust on the mind and we stop to consider it. I see a rock

which more or less resembles another which I once saw and now recall, together with an event which at that time made an impression on my mind; a man fell over the cliff. I smell the odor of burning brush in the wayside field and I suddenly recall the odor of the fire which I kindled for burning brush-piles on my father's farm. I taste the flavor of a nut and I recall the time when I threw to my shouting companions the walnuts from a wayside tree. Such startling revivals, often repeated, challenge attention, and though thoughtful men have given much attention to the phenomena, it has resulted in a very imperfect psychology of association and symbolism.

* * *

The manifestations of properties are symbols, because one becomes the representative of all the others in the body manifested. When animate beings develop the faculty of reading these symbols, they are said to be able to read the expression of the emotions and are themselves expert in the expression of emotions. Gradually these expressions become more and more artificial as animals advance in culture, until at last a conventional language is devised. This is speech, which is practised by the lower animals, but which is much more highly developed in man. Natural symbolism thus becomes conventional symbolism, and words are signs of concepts. A wholly conventional symbolism is thus devised, the symbols being symbols of concepts. Now, men practically and overtly consider their concepts and a language is a vast reservoir of conventional symbols used for this purpose. There is no human language so crude that it does not have tens of thousands of such symbols, which, put together in propositions or sentences, have the power of expressing all the judgments which the people who use the language are able to make. We now see the enormous development of ideation which man has accomplished by the invention of language.

A judgment is expressed in a proposition by conventional language. Unfortunately, in grammar, subject and object have a different meaning from that which they have in psychology. In grammar the subject means that something about which an affirmation is made, and the predicate means that which is affirmed of the subject, while object has various meanings in grammar. Until the terms of grammar are made to conform with the terms of psychology, there must always be some confusion. Formal logic is the logic of grammar, and the purpose for which it was devised

was success in disputation. Scientific logic is the logic of kinds, and it is of scientific logic that we speak in this essay. The logic of which we speak is the logic of reasoning, not the logic of grammar.

The methods of comparing judgments and concepts are innumerable, and every judgment is an act of comparison, and we are forever judging for the purposes of discovering congruities; an incongruous judgment acts upon a healthy mind as a moral irritant. If this and this judgment do not agree, it is an evidence of ignorance and a suggestion of imbecility. There is no other motive that clings to man so long as the desire for wisdom.

PIERRE BAYLE.

(1647-1706.)

BY PROFESSOR L. LÉVY-BRUHL.

THE philosophy of the eighteenth century in France, taken as a whole, presents so striking a contrast with that of the seventeenth century that the passage from the one to the other would be hardly intelligible did we not meet, as early as the end of the seventeenth century, with thinkers who, though of secondary rank, were yet bold and original, and who distinctly heralded the approaching era. In the seventeenth century speculative reason, having finally freed itself from Scholasticism and the authority of the ancients, declared its absolute independence and made the freest use of it. It attempted a rational construction of the universe, by intimately uniting metaphysics and physics and endeavored to realise the ideal of an intuitive and deductive science, which should be to the totality of natural phenomena what mathematics is to numbers and figures. In religion it was independent in fact but respectful in form. With Descartes and Gassendi, it refrained from touching upon sacred subjects; with Malebranche and Leibniz it flattered itself upon having established the conformity of reason with faith. Political and social problems, at least in France, it carefully abstained from entering upon,—doubtless from caution, but also because it felt that the method was lacking to enable it to do so successfully.

The eighteenth century presents a very different aspect. It is here difficult to discover what the prevailing philosophy really is for the precise reason that philosophy is everywhere,—in tragedies, novels, history, political economy. Every one is more or less of a philosopher. Yet no one makes the least original effort to conceive reality in its unity. Metaphysical problems are neglected, or at most are dealt with separately, without a thought of their mu-

tual dependency and without any controlling idea to give to them unity and to render the results harmonious. They are no longer attractive in themselves; the interest people seemingly take in them conceals an ulterior object. At the same time, the attitude of philosophers towards religion has totally changed. The majority, instead of seeking a peaceful compromise with revealed religion, assail it openly; many of them going so far as to attack natural religion, while they nearly all proclaim morals to be independent of religious dogma. Political, social, and pedagogical problems become the chief objects of study with philosophers. As the Church had, from time immemorial, given undisputed solutions of these questions, the matter was, so to speak, a new one. People took to it eagerly. They were anxious to occupy this new and wide domain, which was but just opened, and rushed forward to take complete and immediate possession of it. At the same time the influence of the natural sciences, which were progressing more slowly but more surely, increased as new discoveries were made, and gradually prepared the way for a new form of philosophical speculation, which soon set in.

The principles of Descartes were, as we have seen, in great measure responsible for the formation of a philosophy different from his own. Descartes himself sedulously avoided the discussion of political and social questions; but that his successors should have so applied the philosophy of "clear ideas," was inevitable. In the same way, the precaution he had taken to "set apart" the truths of faith was not equivalent to a treaty of peace with theology, accepted on both sides, and definitive. It was merely a truce, destined soon to be broken. The conflict was so inevitable that, even had theologians been perfectly reconciled to Cartesianism, the strife would nevertheless have been brought on soon thereafter, by the natural development of philosophical thought alone. If Cartesianism was looked upon suspiciously by Pascal, it did not alarm his friends at Port Royal: Arnauld and Nicole in their *Logic* showed themselves staunch Cartesians. Nor did the most illustrious of the leaders of the French Roman Catholic Church, Bossuet and Fénelon, conceal their sympathy for the philosophy of Descartes, being, as it seems, more desirous of finding Cartesianism conformable to the teaching of the orthodox doctrine, than of combating it in the name of the latter. It was from the ranks of philosophers themselves that serious hostilities began. Pure Cartesians these opponents were not; but they followed, more boldly than Descartes himself, the way he had laid open; and if they dif-

ferred from him, it was chiefly in applying his method and principles at the very points where he had abstained from so doing.

On the other hand there had been running, throughout the seventeenth century, a more or less hidden, but uninterrupted, undercurrent of opposition to the spiritualistic philosophy, which was then predominant, and above all to Christian philosophy. Being Epicureans in spirit, taste, and often in morals, and unbelievers in matters of religion, the "libertines" were naturally drawn to doctrines which were in accordance with their tendencies. They welcomed the empiricism of Gassendi; they would readily have espoused materialism, had the latter openly declared itself, and the most intelligent among them were not long in guessing the advantage which the cause of unbelief would draw from the method and physics of Descartes. All this, however, was not worked out, made clear, and openly presented to the public. To find the real precursors of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, we must go to the last quarter of the seventeenth. There then appeared two minds quite different from each other in all things save in one: that they both sowed many seeds which were soon to bear fruit. These men were Bayle and Fontenelle.

If by "philosopher" we understand a man whose ideas concerning the great metaphysical problems form a definite system, Bayle must be refused that name, for he pleads the natural weakness of the human mind, and takes refuge in a modest kind of scepticism. He should rather be called a scholar, a commentator of the ancients, a historian of theological controversies, and, above all, a journalist. Nothing interests and diverts him more than the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. He was born a Protestant, was converted to Roman Catholicism, but almost immediately after relapsed to Protestantism, on which account not being allowed to dwell in France, he finally fixed his residence in Rotterdam. He was not a daring man, at least in no respect did he appear so. His aspect was rather that of a person of the sixteenth century than of one of the eighteenth. He published large folios, full of learned discussions, and loved to point out and correct the mistakes of other scholars whose works nobody read. He liked not only history, but the crumbs of history, half buried in the dust of dictionaries. Such a universal and greedy curiosity cannot but seem harmless; and if peradventure a bold expression here and there causes the reader to prick up his ears, he is soon reassured. It required a keen insight to discover, amid such inexhaustible and minute erudition, constantly busied with almost forgotten things,

an engine of war destructive of nearly all that the seventeenth century held certain and sacred. Nevertheless that engine was there, or at least it came from there. And Voltaire had good reason for eulogising the immortal Bayle as "the pride of the human species."

One neither can nor ought to give a systematic account of ideas which their own author explicitly neglected to unite into a system. But Bayle's ideas, though not strictly linked together, are yet coherent. They centre about certain leading points, to which Bayle always reverts even when we least expect him to do so; and these points themselves have as a common centre—namely, the relations between revelation and reason, with all the consequences which the solution of that question involves.

Bayle boldly asserts at times that there can be no such thing as opposing reason. For there is, he declares, a distinct and vivid light which shines upon all men the moment they open the eyes of their attention: it is God Himself, the essential and substantial Truth, who then enlightens them immediately. It is in vain for one to try to deny this light. There are axioms which we cannot question, however hard we may try. We cannot believe that the whole is not greater than the part. Even though the opposite statement should be cited in Scripture a hundred times, man, such as he is, would not believe it. Therefore let nobody say that theology is a queen to which philosophy is a serving-maid merely; for the theologians themselves, by their very behavior, confess that philosophy is the queen and theology the servant. Hence the exertions and contortions which they inflict upon their minds to avoid being accused of a conflict with genuine philosophy. They would certainly not exert themselves so much if they did not tacitly admit that the authority of any dogma not confirmed, examined, and recorded in the supreme parliament of reason and natural light, is "wavering, and fragile as glass."

Had Bayle always spoken thus he would have not only pre-saged but forestalled the eighteenth century. But then he would have shocked the great majority of his contemporaries. Being condemned as irreligious and impious, he would have been far less read, and his influence would have been infinitely more restricted. He usually speaks a much more cautious language. Not only is he a believer, but he repudiates utterly the accusation of heresy. He objects to being mistaken for a Socinian, who refuses to believe in the Trinity and the Incarnation as contrary to natural light.

He even goes further. In the case of a conflict between

revelation and reason, the latter must yield. For, could reason lead us to a knowledge of truth, the token of this would be evidence. Now there are things entirely evident which a Christian rejects as false. Thus, says Bayle, you reject the axiom of identity when you accept the Trinity, the Eucharist, and Transubstantiation. Those who lived before the Gospel did not hesitate to accept as true some very evident propositions; but the mysteries of our theology have shown that these propositions, in spite of their evidence, are false. Let us profit by this lesson, and, in order not to fall into errors like those of the heathen, and thus less excusable, let us hold nothing as certainly true, save what is taught by the Church.

But let us notice the very special motives which Bayle gives for this attitude, apparently so submissive. Let us hear him speak to philosophers and theologians by turns. "Do not try to understand mysteries," he says to the former; "if you could understand them they would be mysteries no longer. Do not even try to lessen their apparent absurdity. Your reason here is utterly powerless; and who knows but that absurdity may be an essential ingredient of mystery? Believe, as Christians; but as philosophers, abstain." And, turning to theologians: "You are quite right in demanding that we should believe; but make this demand in the name of authority only, and do not be so imprudent as to try to justify your belief in the eyes of reason. God has willed it so, God has done so: therefore it is good and true, wisely done, and wisely permitted. Do not venture any further. If you enter into detailed reasons for all this you will never come to an end, and, after a thousand disputes, you will be compelled to fall back upon your original reason of authority. In this matter, the best use to make of reason is not to reason. Moreover, if you condescend to discuss the point, you will be beaten. You wish that truth, that is, revelation, should always have the best reasons on its side. You wish this to be so, and you imagine it to be so. What a gross mistake! How could a theologian's answers regarding mysteries, which are beyond the reach of reason, be as clear as a philosopher's objections? From the very fact of a dogma being mysterious and utterly incomprehensible to weak human understanding, it naturally follows that our reason will combat it with very strong arguments, and can find no other satisfactory solution than the authority of God.

"This is precisely what theologians do not often admit. Because I think the reasons they give in favor of the dogma are weak, they conclude that I do not believe in the dogma. I should

not indeed believe if God had not bidden me to do so; but He commands and I submit. But He does not bid me hold demonstrations as sound when they are not. Theologians must choose: either they must affirm their dogmas in the name of a supernatural light, without discussion; or, if they discuss them, they must not assume that they alone have the privilege of possessing truth. But they nearly always adopt a third method: they choose to discuss, and pretend to be right beforehand. If any one candidly and undisguisedly points out the strength of the contrary opinion, he makes himself odious and suspicious. Indeed, even theologians themselves scruple to state the strongest arguments urged against them, lest these should produce too forcible an impression upon the reader. These arguments they conceal, out of charity and zeal for truth. Was not Cardinal Bellarmine reproached for his candid statement of the reasons alleged by heretics, on the ground that it was prejudicial?"

If therefore a theologian desires to act prudently, while remaining sincere, he must abstain from entering upon a discussion in which he is sure not to prevail. He must present mysteries as they are, that is, as incomprehensible and absurd. The Christian will nevertheless believe in them, since they were revealed by God Himself. It is his sole reason for believing in them: but fortunately this reason is indisputable. One does not raise objections against God.

Yet Bayle did raise objections; and the strictures which he preferred against Providence elicited, as everybody knows, the *Théodicée* of Leibniz. According to Bayle, if we look upon things in a human way, i. e., from the point of view of mere reason, the partisans of Providence find it difficult to prove that everything in the universe is the work of Providence, and equally difficult to defend themselves against the Manicheans, who maintain that a principle of good and a principle of evil are continually at strife in the universe, and that neither is able to triumph over the other. No doubt, as God is all-powerful and all-bounteous, his work cannot but be the best possible, and we thence naturally infer the existence of Providence. But does experience confirm this reasoning? It does not: we see that man is wicked and miserable. Was the Creator unable or unwilling to make him otherwise? In both cases it is very difficult to defend Providence. Were there nowadays, says Bayle, Marcionites as skilled in disputation as are either the Jesuits or the Jansenists, they would not have advanced three syllogisms ere they had compelled their adversaries to confess that

they did not understand their own assertions, and that we come here to the verge of the unfathomable abyss of the sovereignty of the Creator, in which our reason is lost, there remaining nothing but faith to uphold as. A pagan philosopher would here have an advantage over the Christian.

It is evident that evil should be prevented, if possible. Now God does not prevent all the disorders in the world, and yet it was most easy for Him to do so. It is also evident that a non-existent creature cannot be an accomplice to an evil deed, and it ought not in justice to be punished later on therefor. And yet, does not God allow all men to suffer the consequences of the original sin? Can this sin justify all the sufferings in the world? The conclusion is: Believe in Revelation. "Revelation is the only store-house from which arguments can be produced against such people; by it alone can we refute the so-called eternity of the evil principle."

Leibniz had much ado to refute Bayle's objections. He shows indeed that the hypothesis of the Manicheans is shallow and that nothing is easier and more insignificant than to suppose a special principle in order to explain facts which puzzle us. But this Bayle is perfectly willing to grant him. Does Leibniz in his turn succeed in proving man's liberty and vindicating Providence? Hardly. The liberty which Leibniz recognises in man is a form of determinism merely; and his proposed explanation of the existence of evil in the universe, perhaps the least unsatisfactory that could be given, has but one fault; but the fault is a serious one. It forces its readers into pessimism. If this world be indeed the best of all possible worlds, *Candide* is not wrong in thinking it bad. We must therefore agree with Bayle that Revelation is our only resource here, and that reason, pure and simple, does not bear out the same conclusion.

But, one might object, the origin of evil, the cause of sin, and the relation of God to the world, are purely speculative questions, raised only by metaphysicians; and if reason finds it no easy thing to agree with Revelation on these points, it has quite as much difficulty in agreeing with itself when thrown on its own resources. Human reason, says Bayle, is a principle of destruction and not of edification; it is fitted only for raising doubts, and for evasions. "It therefore matters little if it runs counter to Revelation on problems which are beyond its reach. At least we clearly see that the two agree on questions connected with practical life, that faith engenders virtue, and that religion sanctions the supreme rule of conduct. Here no difficulties or objections appear.

True, says Bayle, but on one condition: religion must teach nothing contrary to morals. No doubt it is unlikely to do so; yet sometimes it does. Indeed have we not heard Fathers of the Church declaring, and contemporary priests repeating after them, that compulsion should be used to bring refractory people to the orthodox faith? Hence sprang the persecutions against heretics, the dragonades; hence the Protestants were hunted, pillaged, imprisoned, sent to the galleys, their children kidnapped, and their clergymen hanged; hence all the other methods of violent conversion set in motion when the Edict of Nantes was revoked. Now, not only are these proceedings absurd and even prejudicial to their own end; not only are these persecutions cruel and abominable, but the maxim that justifies them is based on a wrong principle. God cannot have said "*Compelle intrare*." Just as there is no right against right, there is no Revelation against Revelation. Now, in moral matters, the first revelation is that of the conscience, "the true light which lighteth every man which cometh into the world."

Bayle is here decidedly more affirmative than usual, and the cause is evidently the indignation he feels at beholding the persecutions. "If anybody presumes to assert that God has revealed to us a moral maxim in direct opposition to the first principles of all morals, we must deny the assertion, and maintain that such a person is misinterpreting the text, and that one ought rather to reject the testimony of one's criticism and grammar than that of one's reason. God cannot contradict himself. If the Scripture does not agree with our conscience, it is because we misunderstand the Scripture. And whatever contests may arise, conscience must always have the last word. For instance, it tells us that sincere ignorance is guiltless, and that a man cannot be responsible for a fault which he commits, without knowing that he commits it. We cannot therefore believe that a heretic or even an infidel, if he is sincere, can be punished by God for anything but for evil deeds which he may have done while knowing them to be evil. As for the deeds he may have done with a secure conscience—I mean a conscience which he has not himself maliciously blinded—I cannot be persuaded that they are crimes.

Likewise, the stories in the Bible are not always edifying. If they shock my conscience, shall I abstain from condemning them? Because David, for instance, partook of God's inspiration, shall I not look upon him as a murderer, an ungrateful man, an adulterer? If the Scripture, in relating a deed, blames or praises it, nobody is

allowed to appeal from its judgment ; we must all make our praise and blame conform to the pattern of the Scripture. But if the Holy Ghost has not qualified it we must not hesitate to censure what we think is a crime. There is no medium course : either such actions are worthless, or they are not wrong. Of these alternatives, our conscience can accept only the first.

Further, viewing the question more generally, religious faith does not seem to have any influence whatever upon men's manners. We have only to look about us. If we examine the morals of Christians, their lewd deeds, their scandals, their craftiness, and all that they do in order to procure money, or to obtain offices, or to supplant competitors, we shall find that they could hardly be more licentious, even if they did not believe in immortality. We shall find that, as a rule, they abstain only from such deeds as would expose them to infamy, or to the gallows, two checks which might restrain the corruption of a godless man as easily as it does theirs. A great many rogues and scoundrels believe in the immortality of the soul, whereas many godly and righteous men do not. Soldiers may be irreproachable in their faith, and indulge in all sorts of excesses. This is also seen in some women. There is nothing inexplicable about it. It is not the general opinions of the mind which determine our actions : it is the present passions of the heart ; and, as the English psychologists of the nineteenth century very rightly say, "*cognition does not produce action.*" Thus (always excepting those who are led by God's spirit), the faith a man has in a religion is no guarantee for his conduct. On the contrary, it is often quite apt to rouse in his soul anger against those who think differently, fear, and a kind of zeal for devotional practice, in the hope that outward actions, and a public confession of the true faith, will screen his disorderly life and gain pardon for it some day.

Thence arise consequences which we can hardly deny Bayle, and which are momentous ones. If believing in certain dogmas has no necessary influence on the conduct of man, we may truly say that morals are independent of belief. If Christians who are "irreproachable as regards faith" lead an evil life, we must needs infer that rightful conduct is not inseparable from orthodoxy. We may therefore imagine a state composed of men believing neither in the existence of God nor in an after-life. Were they, however, zealous in preserving the public good, in checking malefactors, in preventing quarrels, in upholding the rights of widows and orphans, in encouraging fairness in business, who can doubt but such

a state would be a highly civilised one? Throughout the eighteenth century this hypothesis of a "society of atheists" proposed by Bayle, is discussed, and though some, as Voltaire, for instance, may have been made uneasy by it, it still remains, for many others, a sort of ideal.

Recapitulating Bayle's views of the mysteries of religion and of belief in the supernatural, it appears that from the point of view of knowledge, such mysteries are offensive to reason and seem absurd; in a moral point of view, they do not make man any better, and are, to say the least, useless. What is to be inferred from this? That we may dispense with the belief in the supernatural and with mysteries; that we must seek what is good and true by human reason alone? Far from it. Bayle's conclusion is in direct opposition to this. Behold, he says in substance, the weakness and helplessness of human reason! If God did not teach us the truth, would our reason bring us to it? Reason is very far from it, and is ignorant of the ways that lead to it. Therefore, how much gratitude do we owe to Divine Kindness, that has especially revealed to us through the Scripture what we should never have discovered by ourselves and what would even seem to us absurd and unacceptable, were it not corroborated in this way.

One cannot carry submission farther. How can a man be suspected of impiety who does not hesitate a moment to silence reason when Revelation speaks? Still we may question whether this submission is without reserve, if this respectfulness comes from the heart or only from the lips. If he is sincere why does not Bayle, after the example of Malebranche, seek to make the inward revelation, which is our reason and conscience, agree with the outward revelation, which is the Scripture? Why does he purposely insist on the impossibility of making acceptable to reason what religion commands us to believe? And if insincere, his language becomes a dreadful irony. Then Bayle's defence of religion looks like an organised attack upon it: when he speaks of the "weakness and helplessness of reason," he really means the incomprehensibility and absurdity of revelation. In a word, with a show of deep respect, he patiently destroys one after another, all motives for believing in Christian dogmas. When he has finished, revealed religion can no longer hold its own; it is on the verge of ruin.

Therefore the works of Bayle, particularly his *Dictionary*, were an inexhaustible store for the unbelievers of the eighteenth century. To take but one instance among a thousand, this is how he foreshadows those who are to take advantage of the defects in

the sacred texts. "Were such an account to be found in Thucydides or Livy, all critics would unanimously conclude that the copyists had transposed the pages, forgotten something in one place, repeated something in another, or inserted spurious passages amidst the work of the author. But we must beware of such suspicions when the Bible is in question. Nevertheless, there have been persons bold enough to maintain that all the chapters or verses in the First Book of Samuel do not occupy the place they originally had." Suffer this cautious remark to pass and all of modern Biblical exegesis follows.

It accordingly matters little that Bayle is incapable of systematic thought; that he appears now as a Cartesian, and now as a Pyrrhonian, that at one time evidence dispels his doubt, and that again his doubt overcomes all evidence; and that he actually seems to take pleasure in these contradictions. The eddies no not prevent us from clearly perceiving the direction of the stream. Bayle is bent on nothing less than breaking up the system of belief and principles commonly accepted by his predecessors and contemporaries. This system was one of "Christian-rationalism." Bayle shows that a choice is imperative: either one must be a rationalist and cease to be a Christian; or be a Christian, and forego reason altogether. Scriptural texts had been relied on: Bayle gives us to understand that these texts are not proof against criticism. Religion had been looked upon as the basis of morals: Bayle proves that morals depend solely upon the conscience, and that religion, even the true religion, has no influence whatever upon men's conduct. It was thought—at least in France—that royalty was of divine right; but, says Bayle, "if we do not more often see kings dethroned, it is because the nations have not been worked upon by clever enough intrigues." We might make the enumeration longer: for the "prejudices" were not few that Bayle attacked. No one, indeed, was to go further than this precursor of the Enlightenment. And even in our days his conception of morals as independent of religion and metaphysics seems to many people dangerously bold.

LATIN AND AMERICAN IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY J. MURPHY.

IT is strange enough that our war with Spain should have had a repercussion in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. And yet of the immediate effects of the war that repercussion will possibly prove amongst those fraught with the most wide-reaching consequences.

The principle that motived the recent action of the United States has its counterpart amidst the theories and tenets that animate the dogmatic doctrine of a large portion of the Catholic ecclesiastics in this country. These theories are more or less at variance with traditions that obtain in Rome. Hitherto they were tolerated there, but the outbreak of the war has stirred up a certain amount of bitter resentment, which is at present being vented and which has just caused some incidents of a piquant nature.

An orderly narrative of a recent episode will probably be the best means of bringing out the nature of the conflict that exists on non-dogmatic points between the rulers of the Catholic Church in Rome and the Roman Catholic authorities in the United States.

First, however, it may be well to make clear who these Catholic authorities in the United States specifically are. It is fairly generally known that two currents of feeling exist among the Roman Catholic clergy in this country. The one is represented by the progressive Americans, who wish to bring the broad liberal principles that regulate the Government and administration of the United States to be as far as possible admitted as a part of that practical code in accordance with which the affairs of the Catholic Church are directed. The prominent names on this side are Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Keane, Archbishop Ireland, this last mentioned being the personification of the idea. The other current is repre-

sented by the so-called conservative section of the Catholics, and includes in the first place the Jesuits, secondly the Germans, and finally, though to a minor extent and probably for different reasons, Archbishop Corrigan. The parties are variously designated as the Americans and the Germans, or as the Irelandites and the Corriganites. This latter manner of describing them is unquestionably inexact, for Archbishop Corrigan's disconnection from the other party is due not to differences of aims and theories but merely to personal motives. This, however, is unimportant to the present consideration, what is to be brought out being simply the specification of that section of the Roman Catholic Church in America which has latterly drawn upon itself a certain amount of ill-feeling in Rome. Its chiefs are Archbishop Ireland, Cardinal Gibbons, and Archbishop Keane, and it is an unquestionable fact that behind these stand the bulk of the episcopacy and the vast majority of what may be considered the distinctively American or non-foreign section of the Roman Catholic clergy in this country.

Not very long ago a book was published in the United States entitled *The Life of Father Hecker*, its author being the Rev. Father Elliott. An innocent-looking publication in itself, it appeared to have only one aim, that of narrating the life of the founder of the Paulist Fathers, a man apparently endowed with the heroic degree of virtue which in the Roman Catholic Church is regarded as constituting sanctity. Cardinal Gibbons gave his enthusiastic approval to the work. It was eulogised by Archbishop Corrigan himself, and numbers of persons qualified to speak with authority declared that they had read it with much edification and spiritual profit.

But the work, besides narrating the holiness of Father Hecker's life, dwelt also on certain holdings of his with regard to the relations that may advantageously exist between Church and State. Father Hecker was a practical man. He left out of account the old scholastic theories of Canon Law, and looking facts in the face recognised that the Catholic Church in America enjoyed as much liberty and independence as any one in our generation could reasonably desire. Father Hecker maintained the necessity of Catholics in their own country being and having the appearance of being good citizens. For that purpose in many circumstances they would need to be not too rigidly uncompromising with regard to their theories, but, realising the inherent difficulties of statecraft, to be conciliative and liberal-handed with the rest of their fellow-countrymen.

Father Hecker's ideas in this regard were taken up for sepa-

rate treatment by Mgr. D. J. O'Connell, a former rector of the American College in Rome and the intimate friend and ally of Archbishop Ireland and Cardinal Gibbons. They were made the subject of a paper which he read at the International Catholic Scientific Congress held in August of last year at Fribourg in Switzerland. Afterwards they were printed and disseminated in pamphlet form.

The liberal ideas embodied in the pamphlet left the inference that the satisfactory working relations of Church and State in this country might be profitably put into actuation in other lands, and even in Italy itself, to the great spiritual gain of the Church. The pamphlet was a shell in the opposing camp, and its true import was accurately gauged by those most interested in the matter. It was well known that amongst the thoroughly business-like prelates of the United States dissatisfaction reigned as to the administration of the Church. It was known that these prelates were asking themselves if the Roman Catholic Church was to be really catholic, that is, universal, or if it was to be simply national, that is, Italian; and if the entire interests of the Catholic Church were to be identified with the question of the Pope's aspirations for temporal power. It was recognised that with the publication of this pamphlet the American prelates were now growing outspoken and assertive in a manner that augured ill for the future. Jesuit and Dominican felt that theories and tenets dear to them were being rudely shaken at their base. The war broke out and the wrath of Dominican and Jesuit was turned against all things American. The time, they felt, had come for a vigorous parry and thrust against "Americanism," as the liberal theories of the United States clergy began to be designated.

A French priest dealt the blow. One Father Magnen, a member of a religious community, got together materials for a volume which he entitled *Etudes sur l'Americanisme*, with the sub-heading *Le Père Hecker est-il un Saint?* Father Hecker's personality was again made the motive for the debate on "Americanism." The Platonic question of discovering whether Father Hecker is or is not a member of God's elect was a mere introduction to a fierce personal attack on the more prominent members of the American party, and to the syllogistic proof of the semi-schismatic character of the Church which they represented.

This book was to be published in Paris, and in accordance with the rules of the Index Expurgatorius it should bear the Imprimatur of the archbishop of that city. Cardinal Richard, how-

ever, on reading the book, informed the author that he could not give his Imprimatur to a *libelle* and to a publication which was a mere calumnious attack on the United States Episcopate. The author then brought his book to Rome. He added the name of a publishing firm in Rome to that of the true publishers in Paris, and although this action was *in fraudem legis* and foreseen and forbidden by article 41 of the rules of the Index, he readily obtained the Vatican Imprimatur. For this Imprimatur the direct responsibility belonged to the Master of the Sacred Palace, Fr. Lepidi, a Dominican monk and a candidate for the cardinalial purple.

The publication of a similar volume with a Vatican Imprimatur produced nothing short of amazement to the general public into whose hands it fell. But it was lauded to the skies in a review published by the Jesuit Fathers, and their encomiums were given prominent insertion in the clerical organs in Rome. In face of the insulting provocation directly put upon them, the American prelates did not think it behooved them to remain silent. Archbishop Keane, who lives in Rome, went to the Vatican to make direct representations to Cardinal Rampolla. The pontifical secretary of state disclaimed all connexion with the libellous volume. Neither the Holy Father nor he, he declared, knew anything about it, they deeply deplored the publication, and energetic measures would be taken against those who were at fault.

A liberal newspaper in Rome soon got wind of the affair and denounced the disingenuous action of those who had authorised the publication. To this an answer was made in the name of the Master of the Sacred Palace. It affirmed that he had read and studied the book, that he had thoroughly appreciated its contents, but that considering their importance he had desired to obtain the most authoritative approbation possible and had submitted it to the Holy Father himself. His Holiness, Fr. Lepidi was made to allege, read the book, and approved its publication.

Shortly after a Paris newspaper published a number of testimonials in favor of Father Magnen's book from members of the French Episcopate, and from those chiefly, by a strange coincidence, who had been most notoriously mixed up in the Diana Vaughan hoax. Furthermore Father Montsabr , the Dominican monk and master of asceticism who acquired celebrity by preaching many Lenten seasons to the cultured congregation of Notre Dame de Paris, added the weight of his word to the controversy. He had previously read, he stated in a letter to Father Magnen, *cette insupportable Vie du P re Hecker*. He had now read Father Magnen's

reply. He thoroughly agreed with it. It had only one defect and that was to treat the American prelates and their doctrines with *trop de douceur*.

A similar series of facts needs but little comment. Obviously an influential section of those who are in the very inside machinery by which the Roman Catholic conscience is directed from the Vatican, dread the advance of what, for conciseness, we may call the American idea. Not all of them probably go so far as the cardinal, holding high office in Rome, who in a recent colloquy with a French journalist referred to a rumor concerning Archbishop Ireland, and frankly expressed a hope that the "*quasi schismatique église*" of the United States was not going to have a second cardinal. The vast majority are well aware that dogma is in no risk of being tampered with. But they feel that with the ascendancy of the ideas which the Americans advocate many an old tradition dear to their hearts must go forever. The question of temporal power would soon be in risk of being rudely shaken, and even much of the pageantry of court life at the Vatican would have to be abandoned. Those Americans would gradually be seeking a practical answer to the oft-raised query, Why if the Italians are so conspicuously incapable of governing themselves, should they be allowed a monopoly of the government of the Catholic universe?

The American idea must accordingly be resisted with all possible energy. Thus, although we see Leo XIII. liberal and republican enough when it is a question, say, of France, we perceive that for the United States the strictest conservatism is put in vigor. The laicisation of the schools in France is going actively forward and there is no protest, and yet when Archbishop Ireland experimented with a lay school over here—and, remember, it was only an experiment and on a small scale and as a matter of practical necessity—all hands were raised in horror, and he is still under the imputation of having committed a bad action.

Not all ecclesiastics, however, having influence in the government of the Church are against Americanism. Cardinals there are, and prelates and monks and lay dignitaries, who are thoroughly in sympathy with the movement. They lack the courage of their American brethren. They believe that the cause being good it is sure to go on. They are confident that the American prelates will not be wanting in the necessary perseverance. They hope through their exertions a renovation of the Church in so far at least as it is a visible tangible body and a thing of this world.

THE GUIMET MUSEUM.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

THE Guimet Museum of Religions was founded at Lyons in 1879, by M. Emile Guimet, who, though a manufacturer and active business man, has long devoted his leisure hours and a large part of his ample fortune to the study of ancient religions. Ten years ago the valuable collections which M. Guimet had brought together were transferred to Paris and presented to the State. As early as 1882 M. Guimet had come to the conclusion that Lyons, essentially an industrial city, was not suited for the development of the museum. He felt that there it could not render all the service it was capable of rendering to the learned world. Its proper home, he held, was in a great capital like Paris, where it is now one of the most interesting objects to the tourist and to scholars from all parts of the globe.

At the start M. Guimet never imagined his collections were to become so important. For his own amusement and edification, he early began bringing together divinities, books, religious manuscripts, and sacred objects in general. Then he called to his aid natives of various countries whose duty it was to explain the meaning of these gods and their paraphernalia. Finally, the fame of his collections spread throughout France and foreign lands, till specialists and students began to correspond with M. Guimet or visit him, bringing or taking away information. So it gradually dawned on the founder of this museum that he had builded much better than he knew and that he had created something of universal interest and value. From that moment the Guimet Museum became an institution.

M. de Milloué, the scholarly director of the Guimet Museum, thus describes its object: "To propagate a knowledge of Oriental civilisations and to aid religious, artistic, and historic studies by

means of sacred images and books, objects of worship and art, found in its collections,—such is the aim of this foundation. But the history of religion, the primitive purpose of the museum, remains its principal object." He further says: "As a museum of religions needs, above all, to be a collection of ideas, we have especially tried to present a rigorously methodical classification, which in itself is a clear demonstration. Taking each people separately, we have classed its religions according to the chronological order of their appearance and subdivided them into their different sects and schools whenever the exactness of our information rendered this possible. In each one of these subdivisions we have grouped the different representations of the same divinity so as to well bring out the modifications which time or the progress of ideas has occasioned either in his characteristic traits, his form and attitude or in his attributes and his mythical significance. Whenever possible, we have also displayed in our glass cases those objects associated with the divinity most remarkable for their rarity, antiquity, artistic perfection, or the material used in their construction."

The museum building is situated in the Place d'Jéna, near the Trocadéro and the Seine, and is composed of four wings, three stories high, and a round central tower where is kept the library, which consists of some twenty-five thousand volumes. In two galleries on the ground floor is a collection of Chinese and Japanese ceramics brought together chiefly on account of their artistic and industrial value. A third gallery contains original monuments and casts from the ancient cities of Siam and the celebrated temples of Angkor, a ruined city near the frontiers of Cambodia.

On the floor above is a room filled with objects used in fire worship, a gallery divided into five rooms containing objects relating to the religions of Cambodia, Birma, Siam, Annam, Tonquin, Siberia, and the popular religions of the Chinese province of Fuh Kien. Six more rooms on this floor are given up to the religions and history of Japan and two more to Japanese art.

On the next floor are to be found four rooms devoted to the religion of ancient Egypt; others where are exhibited Japanese pictures and engravings and antiquities of Italy and Greece; six more where are monuments of archaic Greece, Assyria, Babylonia, Phœnicia, and Cappadocia; specimens of the Mussulman arts of Occidental and Central Asia and a very important series of Corean objects.

Though the great mass of the objects of the Museum came

from the generous hands of M. Guimet, the list of other donors who are continually enriching the collections is long and contains many distinguished names. I note among them Count d'Attanous, M. Gorges Clemenceau, ex-Deputy; Haky-Bey, Baron Huc, Major General Littleton Annesley, Count de Montefiore, Prince Hespère Outomsky, Admiral Marquis de Han, Governor of Formosa, and Baron Textor de Ravisy.

The Museum catalogue is drawn up with remarkable skill, and is full of instructive information. Instead of a dry list with number and name of the objects exposed, its pages are replete with valuable artistic, historical, ethnological, and religious notes, which add a new and fuller meaning to the objects with which you are brought face to face. M. de Milloué is to be congratulated on his conception of what a catalogue should be and on the successful way in which he has given form to his conception.

A number of important publications are issued, under the auspices of the Museum, by M. Ernest Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris. One collection is known under the general title of "*Annales du Musée Guimet*." More than a score of volumes have appeared, covering the whole subject of religious history, idol worship and various archæological questions pertaining thereto. All of these works are costly, the price of some being as high as sixty and seventy-five francs per volume. This expensiveness is occasioned by the illustrations and maps, some of which are of very rich design. Many well-known scholars, as Max Müller, for instance, are the authors of the best of this splendid collection.

A cheaper and more popular series of works on similar subjects is issued by the same publisher, likewise under the direction of the Guimet Museum. Here we find Amélineau's essay on the Egyptian monks, Milloué's history of the Indian religions, Sayce's history of the Hittites, rendered into French by M. Menant of the Institute, and several other like books which are put at the low price of three francs and a half per volume.

Nor must I overlook another publication of the Museum,—M. Jean Réville's semi-quarterly, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, with contributions from such distinguished scholars and publicists as Maspero, Darmesteter, Albert Réville, Gaston Boissier, Whitney, Goblet d'Alviella, Bonet-Maury, de Pressensé, Sabatier, etc.

But the interest of M. Guimet's creation is not limited to its collections, its library, and its periodicals. A few weeks ago, for instance, a Buddhist lama from Thibet, the first to come to Europe, conducted at the Museum a service according to the religious

rites of the Gelugpa sect founded in the fourteenth century. In the library room, which, some years ago, served as a temple to some Chinese bonzes, was raised a rich altar, surrounded by the various utensils necessary for the ceremony, and seated on a sort of throne was the lama Agouan Dordji, advisor and preceptor of the Grand Dalai Lama of Lhassa, who performed the service before a goodly number of the faithful. A Mongol of Transbaikalia, named Buddha Rabdanof, translated into Russian the priest's words, while another interpreter put them into French. The whole affair was peculiarly interesting in many ways and threw an entirely new and living light on the nature and scope of the Guimet Museum. "There is nothing dead about this place," was the commonplace but true remark of a visitor that day.

Any account of the Museum would be imperfect if no mention were made of the exploring expeditions which M. Guimet is continually sending out for the purpose of collecting new materials for the Paris galleries and cases. Thus, for the past two years, he has been directing the excavations on the site of the Roman city of Antinoë, between Memphis and Thebes, in Egypt. It was hoped—and the hope has been fulfilled—that the labors on this spot would furnish fuller information concerning a period of ancient Egypt still but imperfectly understood,—that on which the Isiac and Roman worship was united in one of those hybrid religions so common under the Roman Empire. M. Alexandre Gayet, who superintended the work, has succeeded in finding in the necropolis of Antinoë a large mass of objects which furnish much new information concerning the religion, art, and customs, of the lower and middle classes of Egypt from the third to the seventh centuries of our era. Although this collection is, I believe, eventually to find its way to a Lyons museum, it is now on view at the Guimet Museum here.

But the good that can be said of M. Émile Guimet does not end with his benefactions to these valuable collections which bear his name. He offers a shining example in these troublesome days of labor discords, of what a wise capitalist can do to unite in friendly activity employer and employee. In fact, to this amicable co-operation is due the Guimet Museum; for without the fortune gained as an active and successful business man, M. Guimet would never have had the leisure nor the funds necessary for the creation of his great collections.

On July 20, 1895, was celebrated at Neuville-sur-Saône, a little manufacturing town near Lyons, the centennial anniver-

sary of the birth of Guimet's father and his own nomination as officer of the Legion of Honor. Around the banquet table were gathered all the workmen of the Guimet Chemical Works. But the interest I find in this ceremony does not centre so much in the honors which the French Government then conferred on M. Émile Guimet, as in the things said of him by his own em-



ÉMILE GUIMET.

ployees. One of these, the spokesman of the Fleurien-sur-Saône works, remarked that "for three-quarters of a century, that is, since the foundation of this business, perfect concord has reigned in our midst. This fact is more eloquent than any words. An Egyptian proverb says that you must mistrust the Nile, for, the legend runs, once having drunk of its waters, you can drink nothing else and you forget your country. Our relations with you,"

continued this intelligent workman, turning towards M. Guimet, "have had this same captivating effect on us. As soon as one enters your employ, he never wishes to quit it. So in these degenerate times, when it is the custom to renounce God and master, I do not hesitate to pray the gods to accord our offspring a master like you."

But this marked affection of these workingmen and working women for the head of the business is not limited to M. Guimet,—it extends, on the contrary, to the whole family, to father and grandson also. Thus, another speaker said: "When your son shall begin under your guidance to take up the work of his father and grandfather, he will have simply to follow the dictates of his own kind heart and his ardent wish to be like you, the beloved head to whom young and old confide their troubles and joys sure that they will be heard and aided."

While, therefore, the name of Guimet will be handed down to posterity associated with a famous Paris museum, will be found entered in all the guide books in many languages for years to come and will be on the lips of scholars the world over for generations yet unborn, for quite other reasons this same name will be remembered and blessed in the humble cottages along the valley of the Rhone far into the coming century; and I feel sure that if M. Guimet were told that he must choose between these two classes of homage, he would not hesitate a moment in his choice.

THE GREEK IDEA OF SALVATION.

BY THE EDITOR.

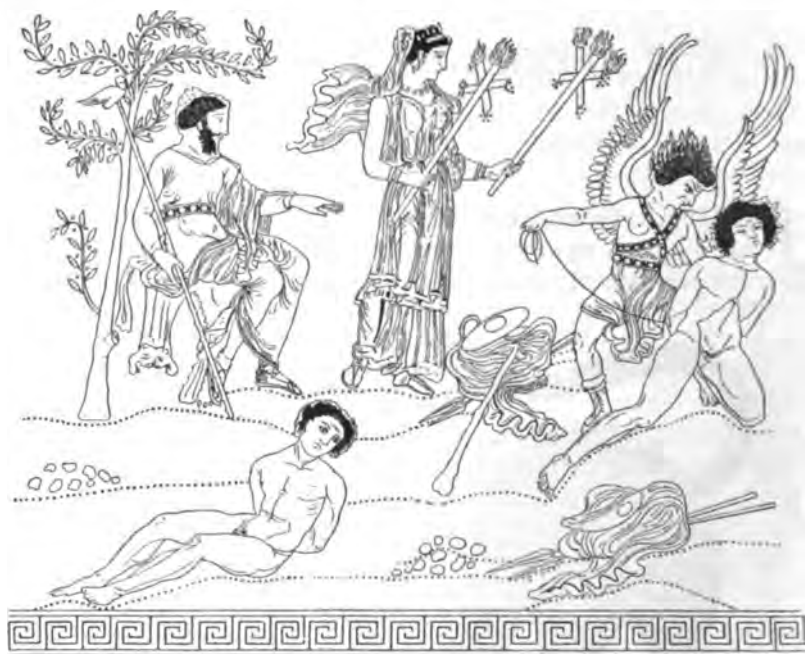
JUDAISM is commonly regarded as the mother-religion of Christianity, and rightly so; for Christ accepted the law of Moses and the prophets of Israel, and all Christians recognised the sacred



CHIMÆRA OF AREZZO. The monster slain by Bellerophon. (Now at Florence.)

literature of the Hebrew as an essential part of their canonical scriptures. But we must bear in mind that Christianity is, as it were, the sum total of the religious experiences of mankind, and we must therefore not be blind to the fact that other nations,

Egypt, Persia, Asia Minor, and Greece, contributed important ideas to the make-up of Christianity, and Greek thought is a more powerful factor than is generally acknowledged. Think only of the Neo-Platonic Logos philosophy, the conception of the eternal word that became flesh, formulated after Platonic models by Philo and Christianised by the author of the Fourth Gospel!



THESEUS AND PERITHOUS.

Venturing down to Hades for the purpose of bringing up Persephone, the daughter of Ceres, they are made prisoners and bound by an Erinyes. Theseus is at last rescued by Hercules. Pluto holds in his hand a scepter on the top of which sits the dismal owl as an *avis funebris*. Persephone carries two cross-torches.

(From an Etruscan Vase. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des class. Altertums*.)

It is true that in Greece Christianity developed in opposition to, and gained a foothold after a severe struggle with, national idolatry, but the weapons with which the conflict was carried on were taken mainly from the spiritual treasure-store of Greek traditions. The ideas of sin and hell, of salvation and immortality, of a saviour and a son of God, of atonement and forgiveness, were not new to the Greek mind. Hellas was thoroughly prepared for the acceptance of Christianity, for all the main notions of the new

religion were prevalent in Greece, and awaited only the genius of a prophet who would systematise them in the higher unity of an organised religious doctrine which excluded all discrepancies and dropped the grosser elements of pagan worship.

The Greek idea of salvation is mirrored in the legends of Hercules, Bellerophon, Theseus, Dionysus, and other myths, which



PERSEUS WITH THE HEAD OF THE DECAPITATED MEDUSA.

The soul of the latter is represented as a small figure leaving the body and still trying to retain the head.

(Terra cotta from Melos. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des class. Altertums*.)

had become dear to the Greek mind through the tales of poets and the works of artists.

The powers of evil which Hercules overcomes are represented as a lion, a dragon, a wild boar, harpy-like birds, and a bull. In addition he captures the swift hind of Arcadia, he cleanses the

stables of Augeas, tames the man-eating mares of Diomedes, conquers Hypolyte, the queen of the Amazons, brings the oxen of Geryon from the far West, and carries Cerberus to the upper world.



PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA.¹

Picture of an ancient Amphora in Naples. (From Baumeister, *D. d. cl. A.*, p. 1291.)

The poet Pisander (who lived about 650 B. C.) wrote an apotheosis of Hercules, called the *Heracleï*, which contributed much towards idealising the hero. Later Greek philosophers, such

¹ Trendelenburg has discovered a passage commenting on this or a similar picture in Achilles Tatius, and explains it as follows: Andromeda, adorned as the bride of death with girdle, crown, and veil, is tied to two poles. Above her Cupid stands engaged with women in the preparations of a wedding. Andromeda's old nurse hands her a twig. Behind and above the nurse are guards with Phrygian caps and arms. On the left, Cassiopeia, Andromeda's mother, is seated, who exhibits the vanity, of which the legend accuses her, in conversation with her servants. Underneath Perseus fights the sea-monster to whom the princess is to be sacrificed, which scene is witnessed by three Nereids, one riding on a sea-horse, one on a dolphin, and the third resembling the typical figure of Scylla.

men as Xenophon, and the sophist Prodicus,¹ regarded him as the realisation of divine perfection, and now it became customary to look upon the old legends as perversions of a deeper religious



SICILIAN COIN WITH MEDUSA-HEAD.

The use of the *Triquetra* (three legs) is frequent in the three-cornered island. The ears of wheat indicate the proverbial fertility of Sicily, the granary of Rome.



THE GORGONEION ON THE SHIELD OF PHIDIAS'S ATHENE.

The head of the Medusa is surrounded by scenes of a battle with Amazons. One of the fighters (the man with the bald head) is supposed to be a portrait of the artist Phidias.

truth. Epictetus, who speaks of Hercules as the saviour, as son of Zeus, says (iii. 24): "Do you believe all the fables of Homer?"

¹Xen., *Mems.*, ii. 1. Plato, *Symp.*, 177 B.



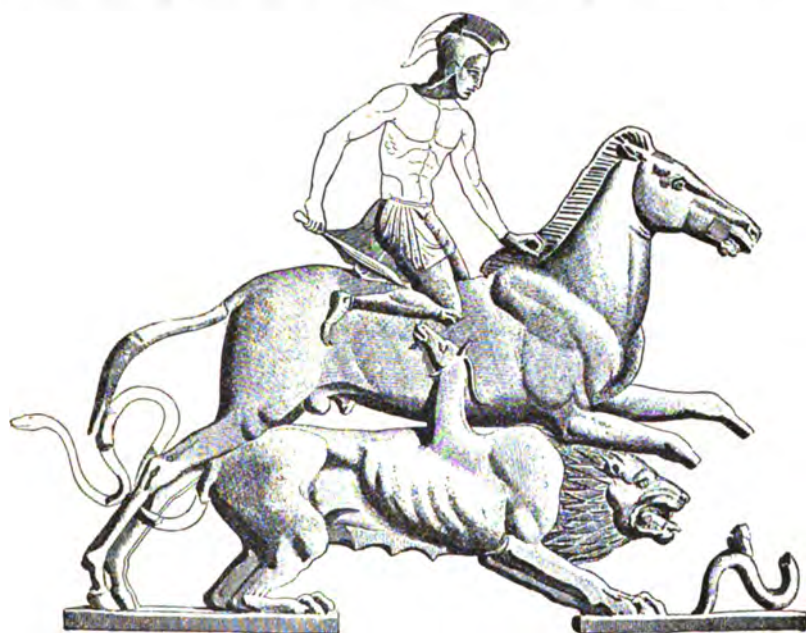
GORGONEION, ANCIENT FACE OF THE GORGON MEDUSA.



MEDUSA RONDANINI.
Beautiful yet ghastly. (Glyptothek, Munich.)

Hercules is called repeller of evil (*ἀλεξίκακος*), leader in the fray (*πρόμαχος*), the brightly victorious (*καλλίνικος*),¹ the celestial (*δλύμπιος*), destroyer of flies, vermin, and grasshoppers (*μνίαργος*, *ἰπόκτονος*, *κορροπίων*). He, the solar hero, is identified with Apollo, the sun-god, in the names prophet (*μάντις*), and leader of the Muses (*μουσαγέτης*).

The legends of Perseus are in many respects similar to the tales of Hercules. Perseus, too, the Greek prototype of the Christian St. George, is a divine saviour. Assisted by Athene, he kills



BELLEROPHON SLAYING THE CHIMERA.

(A terra cotta statue of Melos, now at the British Museum.)

the horrible Medusa, a symbol of deadly fright,² and liberates Andromeda, the bride of Death.

As a symbol, the Medusa-head frequently appears on shields and coins to terrify the enemy and avert hostile influences.

Bellerophon is another solar hero. He rides on Pegasus, a

¹ The Greek *καλός* is not limited to the definition of beautiful as we use the word.

² The Medusa is mentioned by Homer, *λ* 634, as a terrible monster of the Nether World; it was used as an amulet to avert evil, and became therefore a favorite device on shields. The original is colored, which adds to the frightful appearance of the picture found on the Acropolis at Athens.

mythological representation of the thunder-cloud,¹ and slays the Chimæra, a monster half lion, half goat, representing barbarism and savagery, or some similar evils.

Some of the tales of divine saviours may be ultimately founded upon local Greek traditions, but many features of these religious myths indicate that they were introduced early from the Orient whose religions began to influence the occidental nations at the very dawn of their civilisation. Thus Hercules is the Tyrian Baal Melkarth, probably identical with the Babylonian Bel,—the conqueror of Tiamat; and his twelve labors are the deeds of the sun-god in the twelve months of the year. Phoenix-like, he dies by self-combustion and rises in a transfigured shape from the flames

of the pyre. The Jews also appropriated the figure of this solar hero in the shape of Samson, whose strength is conditioned by his hair, as the power of the sun lies in his rays.



THE LION-KILLING HERO OF KHORSABAD.²

In spite of the strong admixture of foreign mythology, Hercules has become the national hero of Greece, and the Greek idea of salvation has found in him the typical expression, which has been most beautifully worked out by Æschylus in a grand tragedy which represents Prometheus

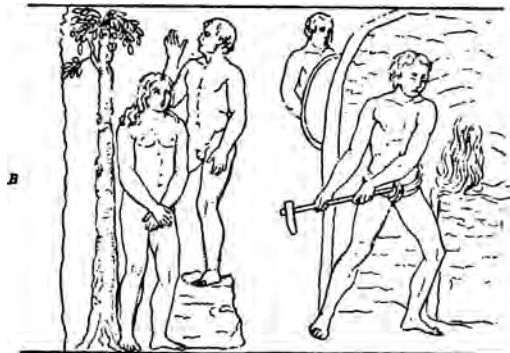
(the fore-thinker) as struggling and suffering mankind, tied to the pole of misery by Zeus as a punishment for the sin of having brought the bliss of light and fire down to the earth. But at last the divine saviour, Hercules, arrives, who kills the eagle that lacerates the liver of the bold hero, and sets him free.

Prometheus and Hercules are combined into one person in the Christian Saviour, Jesus Christ. The similarity of the story of Golgotha with the myth of Prometheus is not purely accidental. For observe that in some of the older pictures, as for instance in

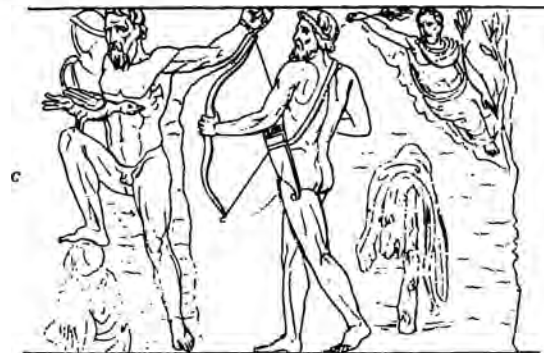
¹ The statue on page 681 belongs to an older period of Greek art, and the horse Pegasus is not as yet endowed with wings, which became very soon its never-missing attributes. The modern notion that Pegasus is the symbol of poetical enthusiasm only dates back to the fifteenth century of our era, and was foreign to the Greek.

² Figures of the lion-killing saviour are also found on Asiatic coins and on Assyrian cylinders.

THE MYTH OF PROMETHEUS ON A SARCOPHAGUS.



i. Deukalion and Pyrrha, naked and unacquainted with the use of fire.



iii. Prometheus tied to a rock and delivered by Hercules. In the background the mountain-god Caucasus.



ii. Prometheus forming man out of clay, and shaping his fate with the assistance of the gods.

the vase of Chiusi (see illustration below), Prometheus is not chained to a rock but tied to a pole, i. e., to a σταυρός, rood, or cross, and Greek authors frequently use expressions such as the verbs ἀνασκολοπιζέσθαι (Æschylus) and ἀνασταυρούσθαι (Lucian) which mean "to be crucified."¹

Observe also that Andromeda in the illustration on page 678 is not chained to a rock; she, too, is represented as suffering impalement. It appears, however, that artists yielded to a desire for symmetry when picturing the victim tied to two poles.

Perhaps under the impression of Æschylus's conception of the tragic fate of Prometheus, Plato sets up the ideal of the perfect man who would rather be than appear just, saying,

ἔροῦσι δὲ τὰδε, ὅτι οὕτω διακείμενος ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεδήσεται, ἐκκαυθήσεται τῷ φθαλμῷ, τελευτῶν πάντα κακὰ παθὼν ἀνασχιנדυλευθήσεται.

"They will tell you that the just man (who is thought unjust) will be scourged, racked, bound; will have his eyes burnt out; and, at last, after suffering every kind of evil, he will be crucified."



PROMETHEUS TIED BY ZEUS TO THE STAKE (OR CROSS) AND EXPOSED TO THE EAGLE; RESCUED BY HERCULES.

(A vase found at Chiusi, now in Berlin. Baumeister, *D. d. cl. A.*, p. 1410.)

The word ἀνασχιנדυλευθήσεται means "he will be crucified, hung up at the σταυρός (the cross or rood)," is an older synonym of the New Testament term σταυρόειν, commonly translated "to crucify."

Seneca speaks of Hercules as the ideal of the good man who lives exclusively for the welfare of mankind. Contrasting him with Alexander the Great, the conqueror of Asia, he says (*De Benef.*, I., 14):

"Hercules never gained victories for himself. He wandered through the circle of the earth, not as a conqueror, but as a protector. What, indeed, should the

¹ In the beautiful sarcophagus (see illustration on p. 683), which represents the Promethean myth, the first design is comparatively incomplete; for we should expect to see Prometheus represented as stealing the fire and offering it to Deukalion.

enemy of the wicked, the defensor of the good, the peace-bringer, conquer for himself either on land or sea ! ”

Epictetus praises Hercules frequently and declares that the evils which he combated served to elicit his virtues, and were intended to try him (I., 6). Zeus, who is identified with God, is called his father, and Hercules is said to be his son (III., 26). Hercules, when obliged to leave his children, knew them to be in the care of God. Epictetus says (III., 24) :

“He knew that no man is an orphan, but that there is a father always and constantly for all of them. He had not only heard the words that Zeus was the father of men, for he regarded him as *his* father and called him such ; and looking up to him he did what Zeus did. Therefore he could live happily everywhere.”

In Christianity the struggles of the Saviour receive a spiritual interpretation and are conceived as a victory over the temptations of the flesh and other worldly passions.



THE TEMPTATIONS OF CHRIST.

(Seventh century. Mosaic in the cathedral of Monreale, Sicily.)

The conception of evil as hell received a philosophical foundation in the dualism of Plato, who did not shrink from depicting its minutest details ; and his views of the future state of the soul, its rewards in heaven and hell, are in close agreement with the belief of the early Christians, even in most of their details, with the exception of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul.

Plato concludes his book on the Republic (X., 614-621) with the tale of Er, the son of Armenius, a man who had died and came back to life for the purpose of giving information to mankind concerning the other world which might serve as a warning as to what people have to expect in the life to come. Plato says that this Er, a Pamphylian by birth, was slain in battle, but when the dead

were taken up his body was found unaffected by decay, and, on the twelfth day, as he was lying on the funeral pile, he returned to life. Plato continues :

" He (Er, the son of Armenius) said that when his soul left the body he went on a journey with a great company, and that they came to a mysterious place at which there were two openings in the earth ; they were near together, and over against them were two other openings in the heaven above. In the intermediate space there were judges seated, who commanded the just, after they had given judgment on them and had bound their sentences in front of them, to ascend by the heavenly way on the right hand ; and in like manner the unjust were bidden by them to descend by the lower way on the left hand ; these also bore the symbols of their deeds, but fastened on their backs.

" Er said that for every wrong which they had done to any one they suffered tenfold."

Hell is described as follows :

" 'And this,' said Er, ' was one of the dreadful sights which we ourselves witnessed. We were at the mouth of the cavern, and, having completed all our experiences, were about to reascend, when of a sudden Ardiaeus (the tyrant) appeared and several others, most of whom were tyrants ; and there were also, besides the tyrants, private individuals who had been great criminals : they were, as they fancied, about to return into the upper world, but the mouth, instead of admitting them, gave a roar whenever any of these incurable sinners or some one who had not been sufficiently punished, tried to ascend ; and then wild men of fiery aspect, who were standing by and heard the sound, seized and carried them off ; and Ardiaeus and others they bound head and foot and hand, and threw them down and flayed them with scourges, and dragged them along the road at the side, carding them on thorns like wool, and declaring to passers-by what were their crimes, and that they were being taken away to be cast into hell.' And of all the many terrors which they had endured, he said that there was none like the terror which each of them felt at that moment, lest they should hear the voice ; and when there was silence, one by one they ascended with exceeding joy. These, said Er, were the penalties and retributions, yet there were blessings as great."

The idea of the rising and sinking of the wicked in hell is similar to the Buddhist view of Buddhagosha, who in his parables (translated by Capt. T. Rogers, R. E., pp. 128-129) tells us how the condemned go up and down like grains of rice in a boiling cauldron. The conceptions of the mouth of hell, of the fierce tormentors and the various punishments are probably older than Plato ; they reappear in the gnostic doctrines and were retained by Christianity down to the age of the Reformation.

The doctrine of a last judgment is taught by Plato, who says in his *Phædo* :

" If the departed ones arrive at the place whither the demon leads every one, they shall first be judged, both those who lead a good, holy, and just life, and those who did not."

Similar passages are frequent and prove the importance which was attributed to this belief. We read in *Gorgias* (p. 526) :

"If Rhadamanthus (the judge of the dead) finds a bad man, he sends him to Tartarus with a mark indicating whether he appears to be curable or incurable ; whereupon that man will suffer what he deserves. But if he (the judge) beholds, as sometimes happens, another soul that lived a holy life and was in accord with truth, be it a commoner or somebody else, he rejoices and sends it to the isles of the blessed."

The belief in hell and the anxiety to escape its terrors produced conditions which are drastically described by Plato, who says, speaking of the desire of the wicked to ransom their souls from a deserved punishment :

"Mendicant prophets go to rich men's doors and persuade them that they have a power committed to them by the gods of making an atonement for a man's own or his ancestors' sins by sacrifices or charms, with rejoicings and feasts. . . . And they produce a host of books written by Musaeus and Orpheus, who were children of the Moon and the Muses—that is what they say—according to which they perform their ritual, and persuade not only individuals, but whole cities, that expiations and atonements for sin may be made by sacrifices and amusements which fill a vacant hour, and are equally at the service of the living and the dead ; the latter sort they call mysteries, and they redeem us from the pain of hell, but if we neglect them no one knows what awaits us."

The dualism that underlies Plato's views began to be taken more seriously by his disciples, the Neo-Platonists, and reached an extraordinary intensity in the beginning of the Christian era. The philosopher longed for death, and the common people feared the terrors of the next life.

The philosophical longing for death is satirically described in one of the epigrams of Callimachus, who says (No. XXIV) :

"Cleombrot,¹ he of Ambracia, took leave of the sun in the heavens :

Leapt from a wall in the hope Sooner to reach the Beyond ;

Not that he e'er had encountered an ill that made life to him hateful ;

Merely because he had read Plato's grand book on the soul."

The idea of immortality became more and more accepted by the masses of the people ; but there were many to whom it was no welcome news, for it served only to enhance the fears of man's fate after death. Acquaintance with other religions revealed new terrors everywhere. The Egyptians' dread of judgment in the nether world, the Jews' horror of Gehenna, the Hindus' longing for an escape from future sufferings, were now added to the Greek notions of Hades, and rendered them more terrible than before. The

¹Cleombrotus may have been the same disciple of Socrates who is mentioned in *Phaedo*, II., p. 59, c. This strange case of suicide is alluded to by St. Augustine in *de Civ. Dei*, I., 22.—The verses are translated in the original metre.

Christian conception of hell is more fearful and at the same time more drastic than any one of the older beliefs in future punishment.

Lucian tells the story of Peregrinus, surnamed Proteus, who after various adventures became a convert to Christianity. He would have been forgotten and his name would never have been mentioned in history but for the fact that in the presence of a great crowd at the Olympian festivals he burned himself to death on a big pile of wood.

All these strange facts were symptoms which illustrated the religious zeal of the people and characterised the unrest of the times. Further, Plutarch tells us in his *Morals* that the superstitions are chastised by "their own imagination of an anguish that will never cease." He says:

"Wide open stand the deep gates of the Hades that they fable, and there stretches a vista of rivers of fire and Stygian cliffs; and all is canopied with a darkness full of fantasm, of spectres threatening us with terrible faces and uttering pitiful cries."

Mr. F. C. Conybeare, in his *Monuments of Early Christianity*, says, concerning the belief in hell:

"We make a mistake if we think that this awful shadow was not cast across the human mind long before the birth of Christianity. On the contrary, it is a survival from the most primitive stage of our intellectual and moral development. The mysteries of the old Greek and Roman worlds were intended as modes of propitiation and atonement, by which to escape from these all-besetting terrors, and Jesus the Messiah was the last and best of the *ἀντίρροιοι θεοὶ*, of the redeeming gods. In the dread of death and in the belief in the eternal fire of hell, which pervaded men's mind, a few philosophers excepted, Christianity had a *point d'appui*, without availing itself of which it would not have made a single step towards the conquest of men's minds."

And why was Christ a better Saviour than the gods and heroes of Greece? Simply because he was human and realistic, not mythological and symbolical; he was a sufferer and a man,—the son of man, and not a slayer, not a conqueror, not a hero of the ferocious type, ruthless and bloodstained; he fulfilled the moral ideal which had been set up by Plato.

Alluding to Plato, Apollonius, a Christian martyr, declares:

"One of the Greek philosophers said: The just man shall be tortured, he shall be spat upon, and last of all he shall be crucified. Just as the Athenians passed an unjust sentence of death, and charged him falsely, because they yielded to the mob, so also our Saviour was at last sentenced to death by the lawless."

¹The Apology and Acts of Apollonius, 40-41. Translated by F. C. Conybeare in *Monuments of Early Christianity*, p. 47.

Thus the Greek ideal of salvation and of the perfect man paves the way for Christianity.

In the days of Augustus and his successors the people were taught to expect salvation, the dispensation of justice, protection, peace, and prosperity from the emperor; and just as we have to-day monarchies where the king regards himself as the Anointed One by the grace of God and a representative of God on earth, so the Roman emperor arrogated to himself divine honors, and even philosophers such as Seneca did not hesitate to acknowledge the claim. The practical significance of this view is that the government should be regarded with religious awe, and its officers, as such, are divine. The Christians who refused to worship before the emperor's images must have appeared to the Romans of those days as anarchists and rebels. But when Nero committed matricide and other most outrageous crimes, the belief in the emperor's divinity dwindled away, and the idea of the suffering God, the man who died on the cross because he would rather be than appear just, gained ground among the people.

We need not hesitate to look upon the Greek sages as forerunners of Christianity. Plato was as much a prophet of Christianity as Isaiah. To be sure, the Platonic conception of the crucified sufferer as the ideal of moral perfection was not a prophecy in the accepted term of the word, not a mystic revelation of the future: it was a prophecy in the true sense of the word. Prophet means preacher, and Plato's prophecy was a sermon which established the belief that the ideal of divine justice and perfection will prove himself genuine by suffering and finally by dying in contumely on the cross.

CUBA AS AN ALLIED REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES.¹

BY THE EDITOR.

ANY AMERICAN who has lived in the political atmosphere of this country during the last year, must know that the war with Spain was undertaken with the purest intentions; that whatever jingos and other advocates of war may have done, prior to the tragic fate of the Maine, they had comparatively little influence on the final decision. We may even say that the war was undertaken in spite of the declamations of yellow journalism.

The declaration of President McKinley that our intention was to free Cuba, however undiplomatic it may have been, truly expressed the sentiment of the nation. It was undiplomatic, for it bound the hands of our government, and it pledged the United States to a definite policy towards Cuba, after its liberation from the Spanish yoke. This lack of diplomacy on our part is in one respect an honor to us, for it shows the naïveté with which we acted. We have so little experience in dealing with other nations, in considering all possible complications of future emergencies, and guarding against intrigues, that we have remained children in diplomacy. The Spaniards are by far our superiors in diplomacy, and have thereby succeeded in securing for themselves the sympathies of Europe, with the exception of England, and in creating prejudices against us which have no foundation. President McKinley's declaration was undiplomatic, because, in the first place, there was no necessity to inform the world what we would do, and, secondly, he could not foresee all the changes that might, and did, actually occur within a few months, among which the possibility of Euro-

¹This article was suggested by Dr. E. F. Rodriguez's letter which appears in the present number of *The Open Court*.

pean interference in American politics loomed up threateningly. There are many Americans who deem the thought of a war with a European power, be it Germany, or France, or Italy, or Russia, a ridiculous absurdity.

But it seems now plain that had not the American navy proved extraordinarily efficient, we might have been implicated in a European war, and the powers might have interceded as they did in Crete after the Graeco-Turkish war. The possibility of European interference renders our relation to Cuba very complicated. While the citizens of the United States wish nothing more than friendly commercial relations with Cuba and its inhabitants, while they have not the slightest intention of interfering with their internal affairs, or of ruling their country, and while, at the same time, it would be extremely unwise to attempt any meddlesome interference with Cuba's home politics, we must recognise that the natural situation of Cuba, with its wonderful harbors, which are naturally fortified and easily defended, may become a threatening danger to the United States if any foreign power should seize them at a critical moment. Havana is a convenient base of naval operations, from which sudden and harassing sallies can be made upon the coast of the United States. The duty of watching them would employ an entire navy. It would thus tie up a number of our best and greatest ships in an eventual war and render them useless for aggressive operations. But that is not all. Some day the Nicaragua Canal, perhaps also the Panama Canal, will connect the two greatest oceans of the world, and then the commercial and strategic importance of Cuba will be of still more vital importance to the United States, because Cuban harbors afford a good basis to a squadron that attempt to blockade or attack either of these canals.

For these reasons it would be a crime against the United States to allow the harbors of Cuba to remain in weak or in unfriendly hands, which might enable hostile powers to entrench themselves there and gain a foothold for warlike operations against the United States.

It was the moral duty of the German government to keep the fortresses of Metz and Strassburg, not for the sentimental arguments frequently adduced in favor of annexation that these cities formerly belonged to Germany, but for the very obvious reason that these fortresses are the very doors of Germany, from which the French may invade Baden without being obliged first to seize any German stronghold. It cost the Germans a number of severe battles to conquer these positions, and their possession is indis-

pensable to German interests, for guarding the peace, and for the protection of the South German states. In the same way, we must consider the possibility of future wars, and of European interference. We must be on our guard lest any power might at a critical moment take by force possession of the Panama or Nicaragua canal. We must forestall international complications, and keep these most important strategic points, upon the possession of which the fate of our nation and its future development depends.

What, then, shall be done in order to keep the pledge given at the outbreak of the war, and to be faithful to the just interests of the American people? In our opinion, there is but one solution of the problem, which is: Let Cuba be an independent republic, with an independent government, and leave her citizens free in the arrangements of their home politics. But let the government of free Cuba be in inseparable alliance with the United States; let the United States be responsible for the defence of Cuba, and act as a direct protector in case of foreign complications with Cuba. If, for instance, a case should occur like the Luder case of Hayti, a foreign power should be obliged to press their demands through the United States, and not treat directly with Cuba. This relationship would prevent the possible invasion of American territory by European powers, and would thus be of mutual benefit to Cuba and the United States.

The freedom of Cuba with a full-fledged home government is perhaps an ideal that cannot be realised at once, and it is a matter of course that the United States should introduce the system of home government gradually by first administering the affairs of the country through officers appointed by our national government, in the same way, for instance, as the District of Columbia is governed directly by the United States government. The inhabitants of Cuba would, presumably, be quite satisfied with such an arrangement, for while in the United States the administration of cities where everything is left to election leaves much to be desired and shows corruption in its ugliest forms, every administration which has been executed directly by the United States government has proved very efficient and satisfactory. The city of Washington is perhaps the best-governed city in the United States, and there is no one at Washington who shows any anxiety to have the system changed.

While the home politics of Cuba should be left to the management of the Cubans, the natural harbor defences of the island should be declared federal strongholds, to be held by the allied

forces of the United States and Cuba under the command of the President of the United States.

What the final outcome of the fate of Cuba will be is still doubtful, but it seems that this is the sole solution of the problem. It leaves Cuba independent, and yet gives to the United States of America the possession of those strategic points which in the future history of the world will naturally and necessarily become of importance to our country; and the Cubans will find it in their own interests that these points are held by the strong hands of the United States, in preference even to their own, because the possibility of their being wrested from them by a sudden *coup* might be fatal to the interests of the government of free humanity in the western hemisphere.

MISCELLANEOUS.

CORNILL'S HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.¹

Let the reader imagine, if he can, that he is called upon in the year 4000 to construct, or reconstruct, a history of the United States down to the year 1900 under the following circumstances. All the Government archives as well as all publications from the Government archives, such as the Record of the Rebellion made by the War Office, are destroyed. All other contemporary records down to the present date, all writings and all publications within our country or written from the inside, save those which are presently mentioned, are destroyed. All references to our history in the archives or annals of other countries are destroyed save a scant one hundred pages all together, consisting of a few scattered entries, letters, and a short sketch or two written by a Frenchman and a Japanese. There exist Bancroft's History of the United States, Winsor's History of America, Hildreth's United States, McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Schouler's and Andrews's histories, Jefferson Davis's Lost Cause, Stedman's American Literature, Webster's Speeches and Beecher's Sermons. But these exist only in a limited number of short-hand manuscripts. Suppose now that the Lost Cause is revived and wins, and that after a hundred years these histories are rewritten and combined by historians in sympathy with that cause. Suppose that after another hundred years our country is subdued by Mexico and most of our scholars adopt the general ideas of civilisation prevalent in Mexico and some of them again revise the history of the United States down to the year 1900. Suppose that after a few hundred years more our country is conquered by the Japanese, our civilisation wiped out, our people dispersed, and our language ceases to exist save as preserved among a few furtive scholars of our race who keep alive in secret some traditions of our glory. Suppose that all copies of these histories which have been named, and therewith all sources for our early history save the scant one hundred pages in foreign records, are destroyed except the thus edited and combined and reduced versions preserved in shorthand manuscripts by these few furtive scholars five hundred years after the destruction of our Government. Suppose now another thousand years to be passed, that we are somewhere about the year 4000 A. D., and that the reader, the antiquarian scholar of a land and language now slumbering in the dreamless womb of the future, is required with such materials to construct a reliable history of the United States. Something like that, but much more difficult is the task of the liberal scholarship of to-day when it attempts to build up a reliable history of the People of Israel. Let the

¹ *History of the People of Israel. From the Beginning to the Destruction of Jerusalem. Ten Lectures.* By Prof. C. H. Cornill, of the University of Königsberg, Germany, Pages, 325+vi. Price, cloth, \$1.50. Translated by Prof. W. H. Carruth.

reader imagine, in addition to all this, that he and his people had come to believe these few thus strangely altered and preserved manuscripts to be divinely inspired and infallible, and he will be able to realise what the task of the sacred historian was less than a hundred years ago when criticism first began to attack this task. From that point of view is constructed what is commonly called Bible History.

Yet despite the fact that the author of the present work is an ordained minister of the Reformed Evangelical Church (which corresponds in Germany to the Presbyterian Church in America) the latter is by no means his point of view. Professor Cornill has pledged himself to maintain the faith of the Reformed Churches pure and undefiled, and would without doubt promptly resign his position if he were convinced that his scientific conceptions of Hebrew history no longer agreed with the religious faith of the Church. But he regards his religious faith as a living, vital matter, quite independent of his conclusions regarding the balance of authorities on the facts of Hebrew history. Professor Cornill is distinguished as a specialist in Biblical investigation, being the author of the Introduction to the Old Testament in the important German work, the *Encyclopedia of the Theological Sciences*, and the editor of *Jeremiah for the Polychrome Bible*.

By limiting himself to the History of the People of Israel Professor Cornill is rid at the start of all that portion of Bible history over which theologians and sectarian dreamers have contended and differed most. The History of the People of Israel is not responsible for the cosmogony nor for Adam, nor for Noah, neither for the Fall, nor the Flood, nor for the Tower of Babel. The History of the People of Israel begins with Abraham and the first migration from Mesopotamia to Canaan.

But it is evident that our author has not omitted these legends of the beginnings of things because he would hesitate to deal with them. Taking up the Hebrew accounts with the migration of Abraham, he treats the remaining material from the standpoint of human reason, and precisely as he would treat Greek history if he were dealing with Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus, as sources. The miraculous and supernatural is simply ignored, unless it seems to permit an allegorical interpretation which may throw a truthful light upon events. Allegorical legends are unhesitatingly treated as such without even an apology. Thus all the tales centering about Isaac, Jacob, and his twelve sons fade out of sight for the real historian, save as hints concerning the relationship of tribes and their movements. Thus also the plagues in Egypt, the pillar of fire, the brazen serpent, the burning bush, the feats of Sampson, the sun in the valley of Avalon and the taking of Jericho by appeal to trumpets, vanish into smoke and haze. Prophecy, also, so far as it claims to be a definite foreknowledge of events, is quietly passed over, in as much as the historian shows how all that passes for prophecy was written long after the prophesied events.

Thus the historian is left to deal with plausibilities: arranging passages, excluding duplicates, suppressing evident slanders, subtracting the additions of partisan tendency, comparing with the unquestioned accounts of other nations so far as they touched the Hebrew nation and have left record of that contact, and finally, after turning on every light that philological criticism and reason will furnish, accepting all that is humanly probable so far as it is not in evident contradiction with other equally valid accounts.

To the reader familiar only with the traditional conception of Bible history, the present work will seem defective in so far as it gives no reasons for its deviations from that traditional conception. But to do this would have been simply out of the

question in a work of moderate compass. Professor Cornill devotes sixfold the time given to this popular exposition of results to the course in which he expounds the methods of scientific criticism in arriving at an estimate of the real historical value of the various parts of the Old Testament, at the original authors and sources of the various books and their probable dates. Even the Introduction to the Old Testament, which gives a very condensed account of these conclusions and is an invaluable handbook for every student of the Bible, is a fair-sized volume. And so the reader will have to be content with the clear and confident presentation of the history of the Hebrew people in a form which omits nothing that is at the same time important and authentic. He may rest assured that he is following the lead of a reverent and really conservative scientific student, who has given up the traditional standpoint only where the consensus of the most thorough investigators compels it.

Some light is thrown upon Professor Cornill's methods and his conclusions by a glance at his distribution of his work. The ten chapters treat: (1) The sources, the country, race migrations including the Hebrew movement to Egypt and the exodus; (2) Israel down to the origin of the National Kingdom under Saul; (3) The reigns of Saul and David; (4) Solomon and the Division of the Kingdom; (5) To the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, 586; (6) From the return out of Babylonian Captivity to the Outbreak of the Maccabean Rebellion, 175; (7) The Maccabean Rebellion to the Establishment of the Hereditary Highpriesthood under Simon, 141; (8) From Simon to Herod the Great, 4 B. C.; (9) Herod the Great: Judea as a Roman Province, to 67 A. D.; (10) To and including the Destruction of Jerusalem, 70 A. D.

Such a work as the present will give to many readers their first clear idea of the history of the Israelites. Certainly very few who depend upon the study of the Bible direct ever get a clear idea of it. Here they will find the essentials of that history, disentangled from the confusion and duplication and contradictions of the Biblical books. But the account is not that of an iconoclast. On the contrary, it is the work of one who believes as firmly as any Hebrew prophet in the especial and divine mission of the Hebrew race.

Professor Cornill is master of a clear and attractive style. His sentences are short and pointed. His language is strong, sometimes familiar, adorned but not burdened with well-chosen figures. He has more than once the fervor of an advocate. Yet he retains the balance and the judicial tone of the historian. The descriptions and characterisations of Saul, David, and Solomon, are masterly in treatment as well as in style. And all this, the translator has successfully reproduced in fluent and vigorous English, without a trace of foreign idiom.

The German original has not yet appeared in book-form, and the work is obtainable only in this excellent English version.

thk.

NESCIENCE.

BY CHARLES ALVA LANE.

What time the Summer languished in the air
And Nature was at ebb tide of her toil,
I watched, in musing mood, where vapor-shades
Were moulded dreamily upon the meads
In melting-sheets. A white and idle hush
Was in the air, and ever and anon

My soul within me murmured as in dreams ;
 For life pressed in upon me heavily—
 With weight of cares pressed in, and dying hopes,
 And spirit-glooming doubts. Creation seemed
 An old and hapless effort God had made,
 And human life the groping wanderer
 That haunts the broken plan.

" O sad old sky ! "

In murmurs broke within,— " what lookest for ? "
 And, " Weary Earth, " I heard, " why toilest thou ? "
 Then, faint and far, as if the voice adown
 The soul's dim gulfs had passed, " O patient God !
 For what dost wait ? " But ancient Silence held
 Its knowledge in the Blue ; the Earth wrought on
 In tired, mechanic toilings, answering not,
 And down the Cimmerian deep the voice,
 In yearning tones, passed echoless, nor touched
 The Memnon hidden there whose silent lips
 Enclose the prisoned truth.

" So evermore, "—

In muffled murmurs from the marge arose,
 Where spirit thins and joins inanity,—
 " So evermore the calm old sky looks down
 Upon the world, and evermore the web
 Of Life in fold on fold is wrapt and rolled
 In deep'ning History around the Earth !
 Across Eternity Creation moves,
 In ceaseless toil for rest. Within the Deep,
 Silent and lone, the great Mysteriarch
 Is dwelling with His Truth. Back from the worlds
 The Past recedes, inlaid bewilderingly
 With thick mosaics of Phenomena,
 And inward evermore the Future moves.

" Dost thou essay, O worn and weary world !
 In testings with thy mutability,
 To find some magic mould wherein is rest ?
 Oh, surely rest doth sleep within thy hope,
 E'en such as rims thy rearward memory !
 But wherefore, Ancient Space, has thy inane
 Broke out in Being ?—in Being whose dizzy whirl,
 Ceaseless and infinite, a myriad throng
 Of consciousnesses haunt, in exile mood,
 Bewildered ? Creation, soon, back into God
 Shall turn the Purposes that use her life,
 And in undreamed eternities what mark
 Shall point where Time arose and broke the Past ?
 O Knowledge ! In thy secret cavern take
 A voice ! Feed, feed the yearnings that for aye

Grope 'wildered round thy biding-place! Disclose
 The years till furthest issues touch our thoughts!
 Bend back the Past, till Being's starry arch
 Reveal its joining-place with God, and roots
 Of all its purposes, and set the eye
 To read aright the anamorphosis
 Of tangled Now!"

The voice was hushed, yet ever
 At fitful seasons woke and probed the world
 With hungry questionings. But in the gaps
 Of listening silentness I only felt
 The pinion-beats of dove-like longings that
 Forevermore across the shrouded waste
 Wing wearily to find their Ararat.

A COMPOSER IN THE PULPIT.

In one of the discussions of the God problem (*Monist*, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 613) an anonymous poem was quoted to characterise the present tendency of recognising the immanence of God in a monistic sense. Christ expressed a monistic idea when saying "God is love," and an unknown poet of recent years, seeing God in all kinds of noble love, said:

"God is Love and God is Beauty,
 God is Music, Truth, and Light;
 God is Hope and God is Duty;
 God is Morning, Noon, and Night."

One of our readers, the Rev. Oliver H. P. Smith, who as a theologian appreciates more keenly than others both the depth and the importance of the God problem and also the need of a solution of it on the basis of strictly scientific principles, was so touched with the lines quoted, that in a moment of inspiration he set it to music and sent the composition as a contribution to *The Open Court*. We publish the music in the present number (p. 702).

We may incidentally add that another friend of ours and contributor to *The Open Court*, Prof. W. H. Carruth, is the author of a poem which is written in a similar strain. It appeared not long ago in the *New England Magazine* and has been quoted in other periodicals. It reads;

"A fire-mist and a planet,—
 A crystal and a cell,—
 A jelly-fish and a saurian,
 And caves where the cave-men dwell;
 Then a sense of law and beauty
 And a face turned from the clod,
 Some call it Evolution,
 And others call it God.

"A haze on the far horizon,—
 The infinite, tender sky,—
 The ripe, rich tint of the corn-fields,
 And the wild geese sailing high,—
 And all over upland and lowland
 The charm of the golden-rod,—
 Some of us call it Nature,
 And others call it God.

"Like tides on a crescent sea-beach
 When the moon is new and thin,
 Into our hearts high yearnings
 Come welling and surging in,—
 Come from the mystic ocean,
 Whose rim no foot has trod,—
 Some of us call it Longing,
 And others call it God.

"A picket frozen on duty,—
 A mother starved for her brood,—
 Socrates drinking the hemlock,
 And Jesus on the rood;
 And millions who, humble and nameless
 The strait, hard pathway trod,—
 Some call it Consecration,
 And others call it God."

The Rev. Oliver Hazard Perry Smith, born at Port Washington, Wisconsin, May 15, 1851, comes of good American ancestry. His father, Stephen Compton Smith, a skilful physician and surgeon who distinguished himself during the Mexican War, is a descendant of Lord Spencer Compton, Earl of Northampton, and a grand-nephew of Benjamin Franklin. His mother, whose maiden name was Evelina M. Wheeler, is a granddaughter of William Whipple, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. As a boy young Oliver showed much precocity, especially in literature and in music, and made early attempts at musical composition, following Schubert and Schumann as his masters. Having completed his education at the State University of Wisconsin he was ordained minister of the Gospel in the Methodist Episcopal Church at Dover, Minnesota. Although his name is not as widely known to the general public as it deserves to be, his friends know him as an eloquent preacher and a learned theologian, who is more than ordinarily given to philosophical speculation, and his brethren count him among the minds with a metaphysical turn. He is, as might be expected of a philosopher in the pulpit, unusually broad in his views, and some of his psychological and ontological articles show both depth and boldness.¹ His musical compositions, of which the flag song published in the July number of *The Open Court* is a characteristic instance, have partly been published in sheet music and partly in the form of a collection,—the latter in Germany by Ries and Erler, Musical Publishers to the Royal Court of Saxony.

We understand that Mr. Oliver H. P. Smith is now on a lecture tour visiting Methodist churches in Missouri, his present address being Kansas City, Mo., 622 Olive Street.

THE YEAR-BOOKS OF MODERN SCIENCE.

The enormous extent of the literature of modern science had rendered it imperatively necessary to abridge the labors of searchers after new materials, and accordingly, in nearly every department of inquiry, and in nearly all countries, annual reports and digests are issued of the work in these departments. Some of the best of these in the newer sciences are of French production, and we wish here to call the attention of our readers to three volumes which may be regarded as indispensable to students of philosophy, psychology, and biology. The first of these is the *Année Philosophique*, which is now in its eighth year, and is edited by F. Pilon and published by F. Alcan, of Paris. The *Année Philosophique* restricts itself almost entirely to reviews and synopses of French publications in philosophy, or of French translations of foreign works, and gives in addition original memoirs by three distinguished philosophical writers who have been wont to contribute to the publication for years past. We have in the present volume an essay on the "Idea of God," by M. Renouvier; another on the "Philosophy of M. Paul Janet," by L. Dauriac, and a third on "Bayle," by the editor, F. Pilon. The volume contains 312 pages, and costs 5 francs.

The *Année Psychologique*, which is edited by Dr. Alfred Binet, director of the Laboratory of Physiological Psychology in the Sorbonne, is now in its fourth year, and is published by Schleicher Frères, of Paris, for 15 francs. The *Année Psychologique* is a ponderous volume of 849 pages, and forms a complete and comprehensive digest of the entire psychological work for the year 1897. The scope of the work is international and the bibliography of articles and books on psychology

¹ An article of his on psychology will soon appear in *The Monist*.

and cognate subjects, published in the year 1897, runs to the enormous number of 2,465. The list of the first volume of the *Année Psychologique*, which was for the year 1894, showed only 1,217 numbers; the great difference of production in these two years being a clear indication of the increasing vigor with which psychological studies are prosecuted. M. Binet, who is an indefatigable laborer in this field, supplies to the present volume, either alone or in collaboration with others, 337 of the total of 390 pages which are devoted to pure investigation. These researches include psychological experiments with school children, and taken together are almost entirely of a psychological and anatomical character. They are all executed by graphical or statistical methods, and are a good representative specimen of this character of work. The remaining contributors are M. Vasside, who is collaborator with M. Binet in most of the latter's researches, and M. Bourdon and M. Leclère.

A similar monument of industry and of like usefulness is the *Année Biologique*, now published for the first time, under the editorship of Prof. Yves Delage, professor in the University of Paris. (Schleicher Frères, Paris. Pp. 732.) The idea of the editor, M. Delage, is slightly different from that of the other *Années*; it has been his effort not so much to catalogue, merely, the publications in the field of biology, but to give a digest and logical exposition of the progress of the science as revealed in its literature for each year, and of its progress not so much as regards the discovery of bare facts as regarding the *explanation* of facts; it has been his aim to sift out, so to speak, the valuable contributions from the chaff. The vast province of explanatory biology has been divided into twenty departments, and the work in each department made distinct from the rest. Some of the titles are as follows: Cell-products of fecundation; parthenogenesis, ontogenesis, teratogenesis, regeneration, heredity, variation, phylogeny, mental functions, general theories, etc. The number of collaborators has been large, and all requisite tables, indexes, and lists, have been supplied. The student of biology who does not wish to waste his time in the selection of literature, will find this work an extremely valuable auxiliary to his studies. Although published in 1897, the volume, owing to the labor which its compilation has involved, embraces the year 1895 only. As we go to press, we receive the second volume of the *Année* for the year 1896. It contains 808 pages, showing an increase of 76 pages over Volume I.

THE OPINION OF A CUBAN ON ANNEXATION.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

We feel a deep sentiment of gratitude towards your free and grand country because you came with strong hand to deliver our country from the secular despotism of Spain. In behalf of civilisation and true republican liberty you came: the best blood of your countrymen has been shed, and millions have been spent to such an end.

You have recognised in a solemn joint resolution the right of the Cubans to be independent: and it seemed that your principal object for intervention was to establish *de facto* what you considered *de jure*.

But, at the same time, you promised to the whole civilised world to establish here a stable government, capable of regarding international obligations and of respecting the great rights of liberty and justice of its citizens.

So that it seems that if the solemn world-promise is fulfilled by the independent and free government of Cuba, marching in the way of righteousness, attuning itself in the high spirit of your Government, which would be as a father, as a

friend, as a protector, as a good teacher; it seems, I say, that in that case there would be no object in interfering with the establishment of a true country Cinuba, because in process of time the solitary star would fain join the beautiful constellation of that nation, without any breach of justice or of fair play on your part.

Indeed, I love free America; but I love justice the more. Anyhow, the opinions and sentiments here among us are of great confidence in you, and of deep gratitude towards you. And we will live happy and contented with you, either as a protected independent country or as a state of your Union. In both conditions we will achieve the great aspiration of the human soul: to live free, because the American Union is a union founded on true liberty, not on exploitation and tyranny, because the American Union is the confederation of all the truly free men of America, in behalf of the highest ideal of mankind. E. F. RODRIGUEZ, M. D.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE BUDDHIST NATIVITY SUTTA.

An eminent New Testament scholar has asked me to give proof of the antiquity of this document, which I translated in *The Open Court* for August last. Pending a longer article, I will briefly say that the title of Sutta 61¹ of the Majjhima Nikāya is graven on the Bairāt Rock in India, among other canonical titles. This inscription, by the Emperor Asoka, dates from the third century before Christ. Other inscriptions of the same date speak of reciters of the Piṭakas, reciters of the Suttas, and reciters of the Five Nikāyas, whereof the Majjhima is one. Moreover, on Asoka's stūpa at Bharhut there is a picture of Gotama's mother's dream of his descent into her womb. This dream is not in the canonical text, but in the commentaries. Now if the commentary was used in the third century before Christ, *à fortiori* the text was.

In the preface to my translation, I said that "our present Sutta" was quoted in *Milinda*. This was a mistake, into which I was led by want of access to the Pāli of *Milinda*. I should have said "our present Nikāya," whereof the Nativity Sutta is an integral part.

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

SCHILLER'S WILHELM TELL. With an Introduction and Notes by W. H. Carruth, Professor of German in the University of Kansas. The Macmillan Company, New York.

With this volume the Macmillan Company begins a new series of college texts for German students. The growing importance of the study of the modern languages is evident in the increased pains and equipment applied to text-books. The school editions of the ancient classics are furnished with a wealth of illustrations and maps, but it is only a few years since the first modern language text-book ventured upon even so much as a portrait of the author. The present volume has a map and eight fine half-tone illustrations. The editor has supplied the text with a full account of the composition of Schiller's masterpiece and of the sources, together with a criticism of the Tell legend, some report of the opinions of the drama held by Schiller's contemporaries, and rather full notes. Such handsome texts must give an additional pleasure to the study of German literature.

The editor, Professor Carruth, is well known to the readers of *The Open Court* by his translation of Professor Cornill's *History of the People of Israel*, and he has applied to his present task the same artistic qualities that distinguished his rendering of the last-mentioned work.

¹Misprinted 71 in Rhys Davids's Manual, 1894.

GOD.

Moderato.

Music by OLIVER H. P. SMITH.

1. "God is Love," and God is Beau-ty; God is Mu - sic, Truth and Light;
2. God is Star, and Mount and Valley; God is Riv - er, Lake and Sea;

The first system of the musical score for 'GOD.' It features a vocal melody in the treble clef and piano accompaniment in the grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 4/4. The tempo is marked 'Moderato'. The piano part includes a dynamic marking of 'mp' (mezzo-piano).

God is Hope, and God is Du - ty; God is Morn-ing, Noon and Night;
God is Field and crowd - ed Al - ley; God, the Li - ly on the Lea.

The second system of the musical score. It continues the vocal melody and piano accompaniment from the first system. The piano part features a consistent harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines in both hands.

God is Joy and God is Sor-row; God is Pleas - ure, God is Pain;
God is Bod - y, God is Spir - it; God is Whole and God is Part;

The third system of the musical score. It concludes the piece with the final vocal line and piano accompaniment. The piano part has a more active, rhythmic accompaniment in the right hand, while the left hand provides a steady harmonic base.

GOD.

rit.

God is Yes - ter - day and Mor - row; God is Loss and God is Gain.
 God is Word and All Who Hear It, God is Mind and Soul and Heart.

rit.

This system contains the first two lines of the hymn. It features a vocal melody in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staves. The tempo is marked 'rit.' (ritardando).

a tempo.

God is Pa - tience, Trust and Tri - al;
 God is all things that He send - eth

a tempo.

This system contains the third and fourth lines of the hymn. The tempo is marked 'a tempo.' (allegretto).

God is Wait - ing, God is Zest;
 To the crea - tures of His love;

This system contains the fifth and sixth lines of the hymn. It continues with the vocal melody and piano accompaniment.

GOD.

God is Prom - ise and De - ni - al;
Sun and storm He wise - ly blend - eth,

The first system of the musical score for 'GOD.' It features a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a piano accompaniment in grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The piano part consists of a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand.

poco rit.
Pu - ri - ty. and Peace and Rest.
Earth be - low and sky a - bove.

The second system of the musical score. It continues the vocal and piano parts from the first system. The tempo marking *poco rit.* (poco ritardando) is placed above the vocal line. The piano accompaniment remains consistent with the first system.

a tempo. *poco rit.* *pp*

The third system of the musical score. It concludes the piece. The tempo marking *a tempo.* (return to tempo) is placed below the piano part, and *poco rit.* is placed above the piano part. The piano part ends with a final chord marked *pp* (pianissimo).



LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN

(1770—1827)

AFTER THE ORIGINAL OF STIELER, IN THE POSSESSION OF ROSALIE,
COUNTESS VON SAUERMA, *nee* SPOHR. COURTESY
OF DR. ROBERT GOLDBECK

FRONTISPIECE TO THE DECEMBER, '98, OPEN COURT

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XII. (NO. 12.)

DECEMBER, 1898.

NO. 511

FONTENELLE.

(1657-1757.)

BY PROFESSOR L. LÉVY-BRUHL.

BETWEEN Bayle and Fontenelle there is the difference of day and night, and this difference is already noticeable in their fortunes and modes of life. Attentive only to his work, and heedless of everything else, Bayle in Rotterdam endured with fortitude both poverty and the insulting attacks of his enemies. Fontenelle, a provincial wit craving for literary success in Paris, fairly "elbowed his way" into the world, and rose to a dominant position in the academies. Bayle knew almost everything that could be learned from ancient books, and on this vast subject he exerted his indefatigable and subtle powers of dialectic. Fontenelle looked with disdain upon erudition, which he deemed rubbish; but on the other hand, he was a mathematician. He had a taste for the exact sciences; he had reflected upon them, and had a clear presentiment of what they were very soon to become. So that the work of the one completes in some sort the work of the other.

Fontenelle is a Cartesian, but an independent one, who does not regard himself bound to adhere to all the doctrines of Descartes. Thus we shall see that he rejects the doctrine of the automatism of animals, and also that he deems the Cartesian system of metaphysics untenable. But he follows Descartes implicitly in his conception of method and science, which above all require clearness, as well as in the part which he assigns to mathematics. "What is true is simple and clear; and when the way to the truth is intricate and confused, we may say the way leads to the truth, but that it is nevertheless not the true way." The right method requires that we begin with principles and see the consequences spring immediately from them. Fontenelle therefore looks upon

mathematics as "the universal instrument." This instrument cannot be made too far-reaching or too serviceable. Mechanics, optics, acoustics, in short all sciences which discover particular relations between sensible quantities, are advanced farther and more surely according as the art of discovering relations in general grows more perfect.

This is exactly the spirit of the Cartesian method, and therefore it is not surprising that Fontenelle should also have allied himself to that representation of the universe upheld by the disciples of Descartes. We do not demean the universe, he says, when we maintain that it is on a large scale what a watch is in miniature. On the contrary, it is beautiful to contemplate that the order of nature, marvellous as it is, rests on such simple principles. Everything in it takes place according to the laws of mechanics and geometry; and as to matters in physics which cannot be brought to such a degree of clearness,—for instance the fermentation of liquids, the diseases of animals, etc.,—it is not that geometry does not predominate in them, but that it then becomes obscure and almost impenetrable on account of the too great complexity of the figures.

All his life Fontenelle adhered to that corpuscular philosophy, which admits clear ideas of *figures* and *motions* only. If we reject this philosophy, we shall fall into thoughts which may be ever so specious, noble, or brilliant, but which will not fail to be wanting in clearness. This was an evident allusion to the system of Newton. The Newtonian system is essentially based upon "attraction," which is "a very obscure and questionable principle"; whereas the Cartesian system is based on purely mechanical principles, which are acknowledged by everybody. While giving full credit to the mathematical genius of Newton, Fontenelle maintains against him, to the last, the Cartesian hypothesis of vortices.

And indeed he had been indebted to this hypothesis for his great success in his youth. His *Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes* had made the meaning of this hypothesis accessible to men and even women of fashion: it was a work of elegant popularisation, in which Fontenelle's faults had been no less useful to him than his excellences.

On the other hand, Fontenelle takes no notice of Descartes's metaphysics, which he is poorly acquainted with and will not give himself the pains to understand. Not that he prefers metaphysics of a different stripe: it is metaphysics itself which seems to him little worthy of notice. He already speaks of it as many sci-

entific men did afterwards: with indifference mingled with politeness and scorn; as if metaphysicians were a species of ingenious and inoffensive artists, who took delight in constructing more or less plausible systems, but could not claim to be earnest seekers of truth. Fontenelle compares metaphysicians to historians, which with him is equivalent to placing them as far as possible from the mathematician or physicist, that is, the real man of science. "Tacitus and Descartes," he says, "I take to be two great inventors of systems of very different kinds, both equally bold, of equally lofty and fruitful genius, and equally liable in their separate domains to error." Soon after this, we find Voltaire calling the philosophy of Descartes a "romance," and reproaching him with his excess of imagination. Besides, Fontenelle himself says, as Voltaire does afterwards, that Descartes proved, by his own example, the uselessness of metaphysical researches. "Should the systems of Descartes and of Leibniz both sink under hostile objections, it would be necessary for philosophers—and a very painful necessity for them—to cease worrying about the union of the soul with the body. Descartes and Leibniz both would be a justification in their seeking the secret no longer."

But there remains one metaphysical problem in which Fontenelle does not cease to take an interest; it is that of the existence of God, which he reconsiders on several occasions. And here again he is less a follower of Descartes than a precursor of Voltaire. He rejects metaphysical proofs as too subtle. He proposes a different mode of demonstration, which he thinks is new, and which is taken from the origin of animal species; in general, we may say, he endeavors to prove the existence of God by the consideration of nature. "True physics," he says, "will rise so high as to become a sort of theology." Is this a bit of diplomatic speech merely, a display of false colors to shield his wares, or one of those popular opinions "which must be treated tenderly and with regard"? It is difficult to decide. Nothing proves Fontenelle to have been insincere on this point. As he accepts literally the comparison of the universe to a watch, it is but natural that the comparison of God to a supreme watch-maker should satisfy him. "This great work," he says, "which grows in wonderfulness as it becomes better known, gives us an exceedingly lofty idea of Him who *wrought* it." A perfectly clear representation of the world here leads Fontenelle to a representation likewise perfectly clear but rather puerile and superficial, of the relation between God and the world. It is, so to speak, the ransom of clearness, in a subject

which does not admit of it. But the successors of Fontenelle, in the eighteenth century, take no notice of this drawback, and most of them prefer Fontenelle's conception of Divinity to the incomparably deeper and finer one which they might have found in Descartes or Spinoza.

As in his successors, there is noticeable in Fontenelle also a secret spite against priests, and a tendency to explain positive religions by folly, ignorance, error, a childish taste for the marvellous, and man's natural imbecility, exploited by his wily fellows. "Wholesome philosophy," by spreading light, baffles these clever folks, and dispels superstition. Fontenelle, indeed, does not openly attack the Christian religion. In his *Histoire des Oracles* he assails only the pagan priests. In this work he summarises a ponderous Latin book, written by a Dutchman, who seeks to prove that oracles were never inspired by demons, and that they disappeared, as they had arisen, solely as the result of natural causes.

But what motives had Fontenelle or his readers to feel interested in the disappearance of oracles that had now been silent for more than fifteen centuries? Instead of "oracles" read "miracles," and the work of Fontenelle will at once have meaning, while at the same time becoming singularly aggressive. We understand what he means, when he explains that a belief in "oracles" must be attributed to the taste of men for the supernatural, and to the cravings of their imagination, not yet regulated by reason; or when he says that supernatural phenomena cease to be produced as soon as there are witnesses of a somewhat critical turn of mind. "When oracles began to appear in the world, philosophy, fortunately for them, had not yet appeared." Fontenelle dwells at length upon the impostures and artifices of priests. Everything centred about them, and had any one dared to breathe a word against them he would have been cried down as an atheist and a blasphemer. "The priests in the temples repudiated kinship with the mountebanks in the streets because they were themselves mountebanks of a nobler and more serious stripe,—which makes a great difference in that trade." Notice, I pray, the tone of scorn and hatred in these words; it will often resound again in the eighteenth century. It is true, once more, that here Fontenelle speaks only of pagan priests. But seeing that he observes, in the same work, that in feigning to maintain a thing one insinuates the contrary as cunningly as one can "because of the regard one must needs have for popular opinion," it is hardly possible to misapprehend his intentions.

Fontenelle has not by any means a historical turn of mind. But, in contradistinction to the pure Cartesians, far from neglecting history outright, he occupied himself with it; and, in his reflexions on this subject, two contrary tendencies counterbalance each other, both of which we shall find again in the course of the century. At one time he considers man as being always and everywhere identical in his essence, and when this abstract idea of humanity is uppermost, historical events are to him but of secondary interest, and serve only to confirm what he infers from his general conception. Again, being induced by physics and the nascent researches of physiology to take into account the great complexity of the facts of reality and thus put on his guard against systems, he evinces some curiosity concerning primeval and savage humanity. He foresees the possibility of comparative ethnography, of scientific anthropology, and finally of extending to social matters the method of the natural sciences. These two tendencies do not express themselves clearly enough in his mind to be antagonistic; they rather co-exist. They mingle together as best they can, and express themselves by indications as yet uncertain, but bound to develop in the future.

The first of these tendencies shows itself in a very curious way in Fontenelle's idea of constructing history *a priori*. "A man of great skill," he says, "simply by considering human nature, might guess all past and future history, without ever having heard of a single event. Such a man would say: 'human nature is composed of ignorance, credulity, and vanity, . . . here and there a little kindness, etc.' He would call up before his mind the details of a multitude of facts which either have actually happened, or are quite similar to facts that have happened. This method of learning history would assuredly not be a bad one: one would be at the fountain-head of things, and would thence behold, in a diverting way, the consequences which had been foreseen."

That such a construction is impracticable, Fontenelle is very well aware; yet he mentions it more than half seriously, and rather as an ideal than as a jest. He seems to take no account of the various conditions in which the development of the different nations really took place; the surface of the globe is simply conceived, in an abstract way, as so much space inhabited by a homogeneous population called mankind. Wherefore this paradox? Because only in this way can history be brought closer in form to science such as conceived by Descartes, and become what afterwards came to be called sociology. All real sciences imply foresight of

the future, based on the analysis of present reality. And if sociology ever becomes a science, it will enable us in some measure to foresee the future, and so to prepare for it. Fontenelle had a distinct glimpse of that sociology, and he was aware that it depended on a knowledge of the laws which govern the progress of the human mind. He holds that we ought to study the variations by which tastes, customs, and opinions, succeed one another in the minds of men, and above all the law which governs the variations; for in most cases it is not by mere chance that one taste succeeds another; there is generally a necessary, though hidden, link. "One would then conceive a history of the human mind as a succession of thoughts which spring up among the nations one after another, or rather, one from another, the concatenation of which, being duly observed, might give rise to some sort of prophecy."

This was in the days of Fontenelle quite a new idea, and it was destined to be a fruitful one. It gave Fontenelle a wonderfully precise insight into mythology, the depth of which was brought to light by Mr. Andrew Lang in his recent book *Myths, Cults, and Religions*. Fontenelle observed the childish and savage character of Greek myths, and found that they did not differ in this from those which are to be met with in the infancy of all other nations. He concluded that they were a spontaneous production of ignorant and savage imaginations, and that there was no need, in order to explain them, to have recourse to anything else than a simple description of human nature. "We can hardly realise nowadays the state of ignorance and barbarism of the first ages. Let us picture to ourselves the Kaffirs, the Laplanders, the Iroquois, and let us even observe that these people, being already ancient, must have attained to a certain degree of knowledge and cultivation which was wanting in men of the first ages." Consequently, it is preposterous, when we are shocked by the revolting immorality of these fables, to seek for a moral interpretation of them, or, when struck by their childish absurdity, to suppose therein any primitive symbolical construction of certain natural phenomena. We must not transfer to the authors of these fables our own habits of thought; on the contrary, we must go back, if we can, to the intellectual state which gave rise to them, and which humanity everywhere went through as a necessary state of its evolution. Thus can we explain "the wonderful similitude between the fables of the Greeks and those of the Americans." Men of all countries have pictured to themselves the Unknown under the shape of what was known to them. As man becomes civilised, his gods become less brutal and

shocking. "It is not science," Fontenelle concludes, "to fill our heads full of the extravagant beliefs of the Phenicians and Greeks, but it is science to know what led the Phenicians and Greeks to these extravagant beliefs." True; but to establish comparative mythology we must have an exact knowledge of the different series of myths. Too often did the French philosophers of the eighteenth century see what was to be done, and failed to do it, because they hastily tried to interpret before they were in full possession of what was to be interpreted.

Fontenelle was thus quite prepared, by his habitual turn of thought, to intervene in the famous quarrel between the ancients and the moderns, which broke out at the end of the seventeenth century. The comparative merits of Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, Corneille, Racine, Molière, etc., were then generally discussed from a purely literary point of view. Fontenelle deals with the question as a philosopher and sociologist. He inquires whether there has been any progress since ancient times, and how progress is to be understood. He compares, as Pascal did, the succession of men of all times to one man living forever and learning continually. Such a man has been a child, when he was busied only with the more pressing needs of life; and a youth, when his imagination principally was exercised. He has now attained to manhood, when he has more reasoning power. But the comparison here comes to an end, for this symbolical man shall have no old age. Progress shall be unlimited.

Fontenelle makes use of two principles to solve the question of the ancients and moderns, at least as regards the sciences.

In the first place, he lays down the doctrine of *the natural equality of minds*. We have seen that, according to Fontenelle, humanity always remains similar to itself in its essence. Centuries, therefore, cause no natural differences between men. The climate of Greece or Italy and that of France are too similar to cause any obvious differences between the Greek and Latins and the French. And should they give rise to differences, these would be easily cancelled and would not be more to their advantage than to ours. We are then perfectly equal, be we ancients or moderns, Greek or French. But may not nature favor certain centuries by producing in them a greater number of superior men? This is unlikely. There might be at most some imperceptible inequality; but the general order of nature looks quite constant. The oaks and poplar trees in our fields are like to those which stood there in the olden times. It is not otherwise with mankind.

The difference, therefore, proceeds only from the *necessary succession of discoveries*. The ancients could not do more in their time. They did what our best minds would have done in their place, and, were they in ours, it is probable that they would have



BERNARD BOVIER DE FONTENELLE.

1657-1737.

the same views as we have; for there is a necessary order which regulates our progress. Every notion is developed only after a certain range of preceding notions has been developed, and when its turn has come. Fortunately, this law has long been ignored. Men have conceived unreasonable hopes, which encouraged them

to work. Chemistry would not have existed but for alchemy; and should we possess the discoveries made by alchemists if they had not fancied they would succeed in making gold? "Men must have an imaginary goal to inspire them. But now the sciences are in a fair way to succeed, and when we behold the progress they have made during the last century, in spite of prejudices, obstacles, and the small number of scientific men, we might almost be tempted to let our hopes for the future rise too high. We shall see new sciences springing out of nothingness, while ours are still in the cradle." On the subject of the future of science the cold mind of Fontenelle is kindled almost to enthusiasm. He unguardedly says in the *Éloge* of a mathematician, that "with good logic and good medicine men would need nothing more."

Therefore August Comte, who adopted several of these ideas into his system, was not wrong in looking upon Fontenelle as a precursor of modern times. No doubt his mind, though most lucid, was lacking in extent and power. He could produce nothing beyond pamphlets and fragments. But his views are sometimes strangely strong, bold, and deep. It is not to be denied that Fontenelle was among the first who had a distinct notion of scientific progress, and of the intellectual development of mankind being subject to fixed laws.

WEST-INDIAN GORILLAS.

BY FELIX L. OSWALD.

SLAVES, like the hounds of Actæon, have often torn their own masters, and the reaction against extremes of despotism is apt to evolve monsters more savagely destructive than any beast of the wilderness.

The vandals of the Peasants' war and the Furies of the French Revolution wrought more havoc than the ten-fold number of tigers could have perpetrated under the stimulus of ravenous hunger; but in Cuba that werewolf-producing tendency of long-continued oppression has been aggravated by a perhaps unparalleled concurrence of circumstances.

The grip of the strangler relaxed before his victim had been choked into helpless submission, and nowhere else on earth has nature so favored the protraction of guerrilla warfare. Seven-tenths, or nearly thirty thousand square miles, of the great mountain island, are still covered with jungle-forests, as indestructible as superstition, and the thinly-wooded highlands abound with caves and ravines where superior topographical knowledge can baffle the resources of civilised warfare as easily as the military genius of Marshal Soult was baffled by the fox-trail instinct of Pancho Zapirote.

"Revolutions," said Edmond About, "seem to prosper only under the sign of the Dog-star, and governments that can hold their own to the day of the first sleet-storm, are generally safe." But in the Spanish West-Indies the fighting-season, par excellence, coincides with that of our wapiti stags. The skies clear in November, and bright, breezy weather, just cool enough to make outdoor exercise pleasant, continues till the middle of April, in dry years often to the beginning of May. Then comes the season of afternoon showers, but the alternation of rain-storms and brooding heat kills

ten foreigners to one native, and the hides of habitués seem to become insect proof to the degree that mosquito bites at last cease to fester.

And in Cuba harbor-blockades fail to affect the commissariat of a bushwhacker camp. There are some two hundred varieties of wild-growing fruits and nuts in the woods, and the lack of game has been remedied by the introduction of two highly prolific species of quadrupeds. Rabbits swarm in the mountain-glens, and in the jungles of the coast-plain runaway pigs have multiplied like our Washington office-seekers, till their grunts can be heard hailing the first shower of every thunder-storm.

Moreover, no more ominous mixture of revolutionary races could have been compounded in the borderland of Islam and militant Christianity. The Spanish guerrilla penchant has been developed in the course of a six hundred years' warfare against the power of the Moorish invaders, and both the negroes and true aborigines (the West-Indian Lucayans) have wrongs to avenge that can palliate the most horrible atrocities with a plea of retributive justice.

For nearly twenty years the Spaniards themselves have set an example of barbarous warfare, and some of the ogres engendered by the process of an inevitable reaction may be truly said to represent the lowest depth of moral degeneration to which any species of the human race has thus far been reduced.

"Alcoholised gorillas," a Havana press-reporter calls the hordes of mongrel bushwhackers that have come to enjoy their predatory mode of existence for its own sake, and thousands of whom seem, indeed, to combine the vices of civilisation with the bestial instincts of a savage ancestry.

In the latter respect their habits might afford data for an interesting biological study. If it is true that "runaway men and beasts tend to revert to the primitive type of their species," the propensities of the Cuban mostroopers would appear to indicate that our semi-animal forefathers must have been gregarious, nomadic, unclean and polygamous creatures, home-making only to the degree of weather-shed building, and as improvident as the tree-climbing apes that roam from forest to forest, declining to trouble themselves with the anticipated cares of the morrow or precautions against a possible season of scarcity. They must have been fiercely impatient of restraint, and insubmissive to prestige except that of superior physical strength.

But to those characteristics of the savage the Cuban gorillas

add superstition, intemperance, and destructiveness. They laugh at priests but have failed to emancipate themselves from the dread of evil omens.

"Everything goes wrong to-day," said the leader of a discomfited horde in the Sierra de Cobre, "I knew that this morning when that cursed black bush-pheasant crossed our road, just as we turned the first bend. *"Sempre llevan novedades,"* "they always bring trouble," he added for the information of his American travelling companions, "there is nothing worse in the morning except a limping dog. If you see one of them you might as well turn back and hide in a thicket till the next morning sun peeps over the sierras." Nearly all the native bushwhackers carry amulets and tell marvellous stories of hairbreadth escapes effected by the influence of miraculous images. Colonel Holgar of the Santa Clara brigade had even a body-guard of amulet immunes, proprietors of time-tested, extra-efficient luck-charms, that would avert anything from a hornet to a howitzer-shell.

Ghosts of departed comrades can be consulted at certain hours of the night, but must be addressed in deprecatory terms, even if they should have been hung in the interest of regimental welfare, for an insult to a departed spirit will result in midnight screams and other sleep-disturbing noises.

A day inaugurated by a golden twilight—"*Un este dorado,*" guarantees the success of any expedition. The day following the new moon is also highly auspicious, but it seems that the Cubanos do not trouble themselves about subdivisions of a calendar-month. "Raiding? A plundering foray this morning? Isn't this Sunday, gentlemen?" asked Mr. Thomas Esterman at the officer's mess of Camp Barrancas. One of the "officers" stopped munching mule-meat long enough to look round with an expression of surprise. "Sunday? Don't know," he grunted, "who the demonio can bother himself with such nonsense in a situation like ours?"—though a few days after he did worry considerably about the hooting of an *oriya*, or dwarf-owl, in the rocks overhanging the camping-ground.

And though indifferent to spiritual consolations, those champions of independence seem to be rather partial to spiritous comforts. They brew intoxicants from all sorts of wild-growing berries and will risk their lives to intercept a cargo of *aguardiente*, or Spanish plum brandy. And if the raid succeeds, they will haul their prize to some out-of-the-way mountain-cave where they can hope to be left alone in their glory and get "drunk to the limit," i. e.,

keep under the influence of their favorite tippie while the supply lasts. Neither business nor politics are allowed to interfere with such foretastes of paradise, for the Utopia of the future, the consummation of El Gorilla's daydreams of better times to come, will consist in the advent of an era when every son of freedom will be allotted a sufficient share of war-spoils to devote his remaining days, to *monte y mezcal*—dice and distilled liquors,—hardly an improvement on the *panes et circenses* ideal of the Roman idler.

Among the survivors of the Reconcentrado camps and exile colonies there are Cuban patriots worthy of that name, self-sacrificing pioneers in the struggle for independence, liberals who would undoubtedly sacrifice their last *peseta* and last drop of blood to free their island of sorrow from the after-effects of misgovernment.

But it is likewise certain that the semi-organised bushwhackers who roam the Sierras under the command of such leaders as Bandera and Pedro Parras are not the worst of the pronunciamiento-mongers. Besides the recognised subdivision of the Republican army, with all its attachés and volunteers, there are freelance hordes of dusky desperadoes, the Gorillas proper, who issue proclamations only in the form of blackmail messages and seem to suspect the political proclivities of every property-holder. They brag louder than their Caucasian fellow-citizens and daub their flags with big crosses; but filthier, greedier and more brutal barbarians never marched under the banners of Genseric and Ali Pasha. They fuddle with *cicuta*, or swamp-hemlock, when other poisons are unattainable, and by way of variety seek excitement in murder and devastation. At their approach, the poor ranchers of the hill-country flee to the shelter of the tangle-forests to save their lives and their daughters' honor, but at the risk of their little remains of property being destroyed to the last banana-sprout. In the rage of their disappointment the vicious baboons will exhaust the opportunities for mischief, and probably pile up the furniture of the poor cabin to cremate a dog that has tried to defend the property of his absent master.

Countless swarms of those bestialised bushwhackers still infest the eastern half of the island, and will not fail to continue their "retributive raids" under the new era of the American protectorate. Even now proclamations against the despotism of the foreign usurpers mingle with the demands for vendetta privileges, and the gorillas of the Santiago highlands will not long content themselves with the laments which a correspondent of *El Pays* parodies in his "Woes of the Patriots."

"Mourn ye the day when those barbarians landed on our shores," wails the West-Indian Jeremiah. "The day before yesterday one of their bullies actually kicked a son of freedom whom he had caught in the act of removing the personal estate of a Spanish miscreant."

"Gangs of ruffians," he informs his sympathisers, "patrol the public highways and prevent us from reaping the just fruits of victory. A troop of peninsular catiffs who had deserved annihilation and whom our friends tried to relieve of their spoils, were assisted by these pestilential foreigners, and enabled to hang three of our heroic brethren. Two of them, indeed, were cut down in time to prevent the worst, but their organs of respiration are so impaired that they cannot even redress their wrongs by oratorical efforts, and may be obliged to adopt some menial trade—possibly under the supervision of those alien usurpers. Oh, Reconstruction! what crimes are being committed in thy name!"

"Last week the stronghold of an enemy of mankind, a Spanish Real Estate Pasha, was set afire, and lovers of liberty would have hailed the fiery beacon as a promise of better times, but the henchmen of our hyperborean oppressors rushed in to extinguish the flames. They were armed with sticks, and after seizing our emissary—but details are too painful to mention. Four of his aggressors then laid hold of him, and Freedom shrieked when he fell out of a second-story window."

"Time, the all-healer, seems to have no remedy for our woes. Appeals only tend to rivet the chains of our subjugation. Less than a month ago our tyrants enacted a by-law threatening with arrest and fines all armed individuals found on the public streets after 10 p. m. Patron spirits of liberty, have we sunk so low? Was it for this we collected 1,500,000 pesetas to bribe the politicians of that ruthless nation? How shall we vindicate our sacred liberties?"

The Knights of the Foray will answer that question in a manner of their own. Signal-fires will herald the movements of every American convoy, of every stage-coach and mail-train. The defiles of the highlands will bristle with ambuscades. American colonists will have to entrench the approaches of their ranchos and transport their produce under military escort. Isolated settlers will be murdered without option of blackmail. Predatory cutthroats will infest every highway from Santiago to Trinidad, and at the approach of a patrol will vanish more inconceivably than the Circassian insurgents who defied the power of the Russian Empire for twenty-eight

years. Cuba Libre will become a rendezvous for desperadoes from all parts of Spanish America.

The bushwhacker chieftains will make common cause against the enemies of freedom, and their list of grievances will be steadily enlarged. They will appeal to nativist prejudices against the obnoxious intruders. Shall the Sons of the Cid submit to a squad of red-haired Hyperboreans, the hereditary enemies of their race? In the ardor of his patriotism El Gorilla will become pious, like the Neapolitan brigands in King Murat's time, and denounce the heretical foreigners in the name of a dozen aboriginal saints. On the smaller islands of the Spanish West-Indies similar causes will lead to similar effects, but under the auspices of topographical facilities anarchy will probably be strangled within a year.

"It may have puzzled you," said Dr. Leon Artega of the Porto Rico Liberals, "how we contrived to keep the peace for so many years, though we were not better treated than our Cuban neighbors, nor specially fond of European garrisons; but the simple solution can be found in the circumstance that the natural resources of Cuba offer unrivalled facilities for baffling invaders that could overpower Porto Rico in a week."

American colonists and American enterprise will make Porto Rico the true Pearl of the Antilles, while Cuba, like Sicily and San Domingo, will probably have to be classed with the lost Edens of our Planet.

FALLACIES OF PERCEPTION.

BY MAJOR J. W. POWELL.

THERE are many misperceptions; so common are they as to be scarcely noticed. If a person will observe his own thoughts from moment to moment, he will be surprised at the number of fallacious perceptions which he makes, some of which are immediately corrected, others are corrected after lapse of time, and prob-

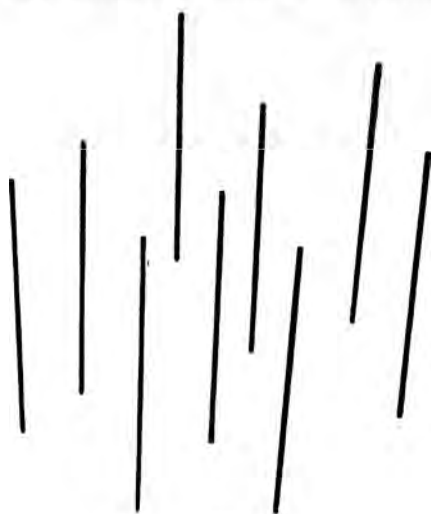


Fig. 1.

ably many others that are never corrected, because of their insignificance in the practical affairs of life. These errors of judgment are especially common in audition and vision, the two senses most highly vicarious. A sound may be obscure by reason of its faintness, or by reason of diverted attention. Sight may be obscure by reason of the twilight, or it may be obscure because attention is elsewhere directed. All such impressions may be veridical or may be

fallacious. If I am intently listening for a sound I may interpret a sight for a sound; if I am intently looking for an object, I may interpret a sound for a sight. If I am intently listening for a particular sound and hear another, I may interpret it for the one I was expecting; if I am intently gazing in expectation of seeing one object, and another falls upon the field of vision, I may see in

it the one for which I was intently gazing. These are all misperceptions.

I draw nine black lines on white paper, as shown in Fig. 1, and you see them as lines on paper. Now close one eye, and lift the page horizontally nearly to the height of the eye, and these lines will appear as pins. By a little manipulation you can see them now as pins and now as lines. You know they are not pins, yet you see them as pins; that is, you have formed a habit of interpreting sense impressions like those made by the lines when they are in certain attitudes as marks or symbols of standing objects set as pins, stakes, men, or trees, and so thoroughly established is this habit that such an attitude of lines may be interpreted as standing objects when they are not, and you will affirm that they are lines at one time and standing objects at another. This is one of the standard illustrations of misperception. Now will be understood the statement when it is affirmed that only color is manifested by the object to the eye, and that when such a judgment is formed it may or may not be valid, but that the color is interpreted as a symbol of the object in a judgment of perception.

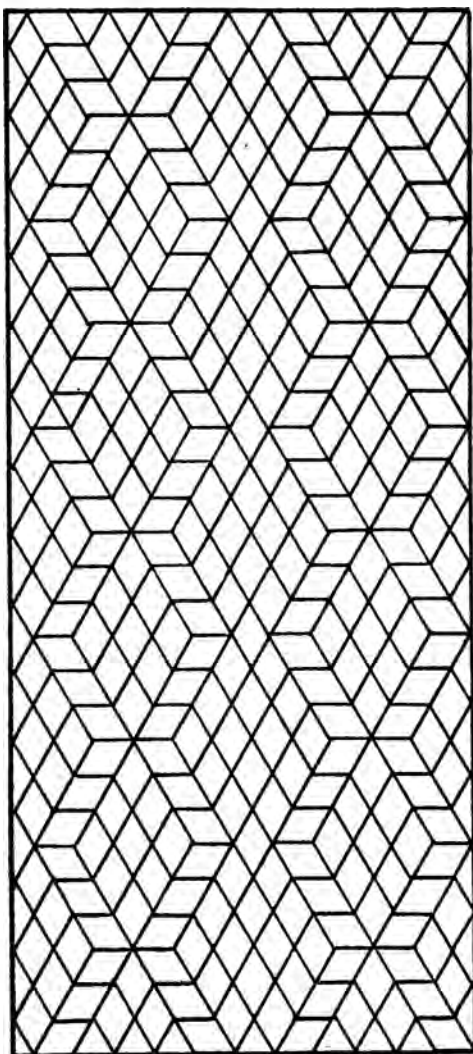


Fig. 1.

Before me as I write there is a steam register, which is covered with a tablet composed of bars with interspaces, the bars being arranged in patterns; a drawing of a portion of this tablet is illustrated in the accompanying diagram No. 2.

Looking upon it in the ordinary position in which a book is read it appears as a pattern of bars; turn the top of the book to the left in such a manner as to see the bars obliquely, and it appears as a collection of crates or boxes inclined one upon another; turn it again so that the direction of sight is changed ninety degrees from the first position, and you can see it as a series of steps like a stairway, every tread having a series of re-entrant angles. Again, we see that in vision nothing but color is given to consciousness, and that form comes by interpretation or inference. Deftness in inference is acquired by practice; that is, it is the result of experience. We come to interpret lines in this manner as meaning form by the experience of every moment of waking life, and inherit the skill from a long line of ancestors, so that our powers of perceiving formed in this manner are both inherited and habitual, or, as I prefer to say, both instinctive and habitual, and that which is both inherited and habitual is intuitive.

Light and shade are interpreted as deftly as lines, and we can see forms without other colors, so that a portrait which you know is only light and shade, is a symbol of the form and expression of a human face. But there are other colors both in nature and in art, and we instinctively and habitually interpret all colors as forms; but sometimes we see colors without seeing forms. The illusions of inference by the interpretation of lines in vision have been the subject of much investigation in psycho-physics, which is one branch of scientific psychology. But adequate experiments have not yet been made in light and shade, and in other colors when not represented by lines. The doctrine dates back to the days of Berkeley, who set forth the nature of perception in vision in such manner that it has become a classic, though he afterward devoted his energies to the propagation of fallacies in metaphysics and tar-water.

From time to time during the last thirty years, I have studied the nature of perception in myself and in others. Especially have I studied it as a mental phenomenon in the untutored Indians of North America. On every hand these facts have appeared: first, that every perception as a judgment involves an interpretation; second, that perceptions may be true or erroneous, as inferences

are valid or invalid ; and third, that visual perception itself is acquired by experience.

Among the Indians, I have found that at first lines are not easily interpreted, so that pictures in lines do not seem to represent forms ; but the power of interpreting forms by lines is rapidly gained. I have found also that the power of interpreting light and shade is great in the savage for natural objects, but must be cultivated for unknown objects of art. And, again, I have found that the power of interpreting the miscellaneous colors of pictures is well developed when they represent things with which they are already familiar, but that it is necessary to familiarise them with things to develop the power of interpreting unknown forms.

Again, in topographic maps, relief is represented usually by light and shade in hachures, but in the best maps relief is represented by lines which follow the contour at equal intervals of altitude. Such maps cannot be read by the inexperienced man, but he can develop the power so that a contour map will seem to be a picture of mountains and valleys and of hills and dales. Experience has taught me that this power is more easily gained and greatly assisted by representing relief in one color and drainage in another, as in blue ; for when the knowledge that water is blue is represented in the map as blue, it will carry the streams down and aid in the perception of the relief.

From the illustrations which have been given it will perhaps be made clear that perception is the interpretation of a symbol, and that the power of interpretation comes by experience. We are constantly perceiving with all our senses, but sounds and sights are the most abundant, coming in hosts with every minute of wakefulness, and a habit of interpretation is formed which is conjoined with an inherited aptness. External forms do not come to the eye or the ear as consciousness, but only to the mind as inferences. Habitual judgments of the mind which are illusions because unverified, may occur again and again in millions of cases, and the repetition but confirms the illusion, and such intuitive illusions can hardly be dispelled even by overwhelming knowledge, but the truth and the error will appear side by side and be entertained as verities, and the mind will search for some metaphysical explanation of them. As a last resort of logic, it will assume the existence of a mystery, and be confirmed in the doctrine that the universe is contradictory.

Our forefathers called the sky a firmament. It was believed to be a solid which presented a surface toward us, and this mis-

conception is universal among barbaric and savage people. By the Indian the sky is supposed to be ice, or some other crystalline solid, and it does appear to be a surface, in spite of our knowing that it is not. This arises from the fact that we always discover color on surfaces, and when surfaces are removed usually colors are changed. We have thus as individuals and as a race in all generations habitually considered color to be a symbol of surface. That which is habit in the interpretation of a sense impression contradicts that which we have learned by various operations of reasoning from other sense data. Thus habitual illusions often contradict certitudes, as they may be discovered by the higher forms of reason, and we often entertain certitudes, and fallacies as if co-existent, and the world seems contradictory. These judgments have a curious effect on the mind, for the contradictory judgments may both be held in a vague way to be certitudes and still in a vague way to be fallacies, until finally this is explained by a theory, that both are unknown and unknowable noumena which are manifested by deceptive phenomena. So habits of judgment are formed which are difficult to eradicate.

To unverified perception the rainbow as a form with a surface has been established because of the habit of interpreting color as a mark of surface; this fallacy is common, perhaps universal. The clouds often seem to be painted upon the sky, or to be moving along the sky, but the trained meteorologist in time learns to distinguish clouds as forms, and discovers fleeting figures in them, and he still further discovers the relative position of clouds by recognising the near from the far, and yet, to the untrained observer, there still lingers an element of fallacy.

It was long believed that the earth has ends, corners, foundation, and a flat upper surface. When it was discovered that the earth is a spheroid, the illusion of up and down as components of direction at right angles to a flat plane was dispelled, and a concept substituted of down toward the centre and up from the centre. While a few grasped the idea, the many still held to the old, and now after more than two thousand years, there are people who have not mastered the concept.

One man sees the disc of the moon when it is riding high as having the size of the top of a teacup, another as large as a cart-wheel. But the moon will seem to be larger than a barn if it is seen behind a distant barn, or it may seem to be as large as a great mountain when it rises behind such mountain, and yet every intelligent man knows the moon to be 2,162 miles in diameter. As the

moon rides the heavens, it seems to be this side of the surface of the sky, although we know that there is no such surface. Such habitual judgments of space and form seem to contradict our knowledge. When knowledge contradicts primitive and habitual judgments, there is a pseudo-belief in both, and the universe seems contradictory.

The sun appears to us as a mile or two away, but we know that it is ninety-three millions of miles away. The sun seems very much nearer to us when it rides high in the heavens than when it comes up behind a near hill, or when it rises behind a distant mountain with intervening plains. What we know and what appears seem to contradict each other; and antinomies are invented to explain these contradictions.

By a natural process of fallacious judgment, the idea of space as void is developed as an existent thing or body. This is the ghost of space—the creation of an entity out of nothing. I may remove the furniture from the room, it is still filled with air; I may remove the air from the room, it is still filled with ether. We may suppose it possible to remove the ether, then nothing—void—remains, but man has no means by which to accomplish the feat, and we call the air and the ether space. The space of which we speak is occupied; it is the space inclosed by the walls, occupied by air and ether. We may measure its dimensions by measuring the walls, but we cannot measure the void. We can by no possibility consider non-space or void as a term with meaning; we can consider only the walls as the real terms. If we reason about it mathematically and call it x , the meaning of the x in the equation is finally resolved by expressing it in terms of body as they are represented by surface. This non-space has no number; it is not one or many in one—it is nothing. It is not extension as figure or structure—it is nothing. Void space should be called voidable space, as voidable by one set of extensions when filled by another. The fallacy concerning space is born of careless naming. No harm is done by this popular misperception of space until we use it in reasoning as a term of reality; then the attributes of space may be anything because they are nothing. Such space is the occult noumenon, the reified void. This is the space of Kant, and usually the space of metaphysic. It is the reification of "pure" property, void of all extension which can have no relations; that which is without relation is non-existent.

When I consider the distance from here to San Francisco, I may think of the plateaus, mountains, hills, and valleys which have

to be surmounted and crossed in traversing the distance, or I may think of the days required to make the journey. Yet I imply or posit the plateaus, mountains, hills, and valleys, so when I consider the distance to the sun I posit the spatial particles which intervene, though I may cancel their consideration, but if I affirm that space as nothing intervenes I affirm a fallacy. By calling it a five days' journey I do not annihilate the topography.

In the earlier stages of culture, when there was no knowledge of air and ether, this was the judgment of mankind, but I must not go on repeating this judgment when I know the truth. If the primeval judgments are held to be veridical, and scientific judgments also to be veridical, then the world is contradictory. Metaphysicians formulate these erroneous judgments and scientific judgments as antinomies.

Misperceptions have been discussed sufficiently for present purposes as exhibiting the characteristics of illusions. I go on to discuss spectres which are derived from hallucinations in order to set forth the characteristics of delusions.

Fallacies of sensation in the metabolic sense seem rarely to produce fallacies of perception. If they do arise they are vague. It is rarely, indeed, when they are produced that the deceived mind refers them to distinct objects as forms, but in extreme cases deceptive forms appear, especially in the case of odors, as when the subject refers such odors to the bodies of the dead, as the woman who referred the pestilential odors which she believed she sensed to the corpses buried under the Salpêtrière.

Usually the fallacies of touch produce illusions which the deceived subject attributes to some form of object which touches the skin; commonly these objects are insects.

In my study of the literature of hallucinations, I find but few hallucinations of the sense of pressure; yet there are a few, as when people dream or insanely imagine that they are enclosed by walls which are ever becoming narrower and thus compressing them.

To the person who has all of the senses, most of the hallucinations occur in audition and vision, because of the function which spoken and written language performs in the ideation of these senses. Hallucinatory sounds often produce phantasmal words spoken by spectral persons.

The spectral person may be the self, or it may be another or a congress of others. When the voices of others are falsely perceived as persons, these others are spectres.

Spectres may be classified by senses deceived, and subclassified by the agencies through which they are produced. The class of spectres derived from hallucinations of vision we will treat as thus subclassified, for the purpose of illustrating the doctrine.

When the nervous system is relaxed in slumber so that sense impressions carried by the fibrous nerves are directed by the ganglionic nerves at random to different portions of the cortex of the brain, sense impressions are produced upon that organ which result in dreams, and the imagination of the sleeper revels in wonderland. As these are of nightly occurrence, and all men dream, the ghosts of dreamland that fill the sleeping life are remembered in many a reverie of the waking life.

In the culture reached at the stage of tribal society, images reflected by the water or other shining objects are supposed to be ghosts. Echoes are also referred to ghosts. Thus there is an explanation given to the common phenomena of reflected sights and sounds by attributing them to the ghosts which appear in dreams.

Hallucinations of ecstasy always seem to produce phantasms or spectres of vision. Hence the spectres seen by the great men of the world who have had a weight of affairs to contemplate—too great for their mental faculties; hence the spectres seen by divines and poets. Such ghosts can be summoned readily by those phenomena which we have classified under the general designation of crystal vision, for the mind seems able by an effort of will to abstract attention from sense impressions in a fixed gaze upon a bright object, and then to be deluded with false judgments about such bright objects, seeing in the bright object itself many strange forms which are recalled from memory and projected into many incongruous relations of space. The phantastic images of the Braid's crystal are thus ghosts summoned from the vasty deep of hallucination.

The hallucinations of hypnotism make men see things which do not exist, and prohibit men from seeing things upon which their eyes are turned, when the patient is under the influence of the words or of the suggestions of a dominant operator.

Chloroform, ether, peyote, and many other drugs, bring us hallucinations under conscious experimentation. But there are many intoxicants. In tribal society intoxicants are used for the purpose of producing hallucinations; in modern society alcohol is used as a beverage to produce gustatory pleasure; but in whatever way intoxicants are used hallucinations are produced. The hallu-

cinations of obscure vision, reinforced by the hallucinations of hypnotism, are still reinforced by the hallucinations of intoxication, until ghosts are the common property of mankind, and only through scientific training is the mind able to banish them. But these ghosts, while they affect the lives of many sane people, do not take entire possession of them.

When, however, the mind is diseased, the hallucinations of sane life take possession of the person. The poor soul possessed by hallucination becomes a prey to melancholia, hysteria, and dementia. But the mind of the superstitious man, who is ever recalling the phantasms born of hallucination, is exploiting upon the brink of the sea of hallucination into which he may plunge by insanity. While ghosts may be smelled, touched, or heard, yet they are more commonly seen, for vision is the most idealistic sense.

In the realm of ghosts there are five provinces—the land of dreams, the land of ecstasy, the land of suggestion, the land of intoxication, and the land of insanity. In tribal society ghosts of animals prevail, while in civilised society ghosts of men prevail. If you were talking to a savage about some unusual occurrence, he would tell you how he had been warned by a bear, that a hummingbird had appeared, that a rattlesnake had crossed his way, that an eagle had come to him in his dreams. Homer's ghosts all appear as deities in the guise of human beings.

For twenty centuries metaphysics has been in search of the noumenon—the thing-in-itself. For a long time it spoke with disrespect of scientific research, but in modern times it patronises science as a very useful adjunct to metaphysic by showing how spectres, as phenomena, symbolise noumena. The assumptions of metaphysic as it patronises science would be the richest jest of civilisation, had they not their equal in the ridicule they make in considering realities as base-born, belonging only to the lower world where men live, while metaphysic is supposed to dwell in a region of sublime thought.

We have defined ghosts as fallacies of hallucination conceived as forms. Those who believe in ghosts define them in some other way. Milton may be considered one of the best authorities on ghosts :

. . . for spirits when they please
Can either sex assume, or both ; so soft
And uncompounded is their essence pure ;
Not tied or manacled with joint or limb,
Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
Like cumbrous flesh ; but in what shape they choose,

Dilated or condens'd, bright or obscure,
Can execute their airy purposes,
And works of love or enmity fulfil.

Shakespeare does not believe in ghosts, but he knows how they are seemingly produced by hypnotism.

Ham.—Why, look you now, how unworthy a thing you make of me. You would play upon me ; you would seem to know my stops ; you would pluck out the heart of my mystery ; you would sound me from my lowest note to the top of my compass : and there is much music, excellent voice, in this little organ, yet cannot you make it speak. 'Sblood ! do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe ? Call me what instrument you will, though you can fret me, you cannot play upon me.

Enter Polonius.

God bless you, sir !

Pol. My lord, the queen would speak with you, and presently.

Ham. Do you see yonder cloud, that's almost in shape of a camel ?

Pol. By the mass, an' 'tis like a camel indeed.

Ham. Methinks, it is like a weasel.

Pol. It is backed like a weasel.

Ham. Or, like a whale ?

Pol. Very like a whale.

Ham. Then, will I come to my mother by and by. They fool me to the top of my bent. I will come by and by.

THE CLERICAL REACTION IN EUROPE.¹

BY PROFESSOR G. FIAMINGO.

OF a clerical reaction proper in Europe there can be no question whatever. What is really taking place is rather a clerical agitation. A clerical reaction would signify a popular movement of thought, something which does not exist. It would mean such a movement interpreted by leading spirits who, as the product of such a movement, sum up in themselves, and express artistically the new ideas which in the popular mind are more or less latent and unconscious. When in the early part of this century the Latin people, exhausted by continual political revolutions, felt the need of some sort of quietude, even though it be like that of the Middle Ages, they welcomed the action of the Vatican which sanctioned the Holy Alliance, which alliance, however, proved to be holy only in name. And yet this action of the Church was followed by a period of artistic and literary activity unsurpassed, a period in which Chateaubriand, Lamennais, De Maistre, and others, provoked admiration which still finds expression. Nothing similar to this intellectual and artistic movement, however, accompanies that which is now designated as the modern clerical reaction. Ettore Ciccotti justly says, "Read the *Sagesse* of Verlaine, the most noteworthy of the converted poets, and everything new and beautiful there will be found to be but the echo of former times. Even his return to the faith is expressed in verses poor in imagery, coloring, and sentiment. Where are to-day the poets, the apostles of this new vision of the Divine, of this renewed sense of faith?"

To create a new intellectual, idealistic and religious movement something more than one man is needed. Can it be that an article by M. Brunetière in criticism of positive ethics has de-

¹ Translated from the MS. of Professor Fiamingo by I. W. Howerth, Ph.D., the University of Chicago.

stroyed the results of the scientific activity of the last quarter of a century, and at the same time succeeded in strengthening the ethical movement of Catholic Christianity? The discussion provoked by a few articles published in a well-known review, and by this writer so favorably known as an author, proves just the opposite of what the Catholics believe, or think they believe. They prove precisely the lack of any new Catholic movement whatever; for if such a movement had really existed the articles of M. Brunetière would have appeared as a part of the movement without provoking so much surprise, criticism, and discussion.

There is, then, no new idealistic spirit in the modern Catholic movement. No new intellectual energy is reviving modern Catholicism, or aiding its development. Modern Catholic activity is limited to the old means of propaganda, but it tends rather to organisation than to propagandism. Perhaps it would be more precise to say that it tends towards the regimentation of the Catholic forces so as to put them in correspondence with the modern social environment.

Although it has been a century since the Catholic Church was deposed from all its mediæval privileges, it has remained as if stunned, and, failing to comprehend the new social environment, has proceeded timidly and uncertainly and without regaining even in the slightest degree what it had lost. The life of the Catholic Church during the present century consists almost entirely in a series of vain attempts to reacquire political power in the various Catholic countries by such devices, for instance, as the secular alliance which it has always formed with autocratic governments of Catholic countries from the time of Constantine. Since that time it has manifested a constant desire to ally itself with the heads of governments, to become the official religion, and by means of such alliance to avail itself of the power of government to impose itself upon the people by suppressing or forcibly converting all those who are sceptical or who object to its teachings.

Having once gained the support of governments and emperors, the Roman Church has always neglected the people, and manifested the most Cæsarean conduct—a crying and absolute negation of the Gospel. When there were no great nationalities, when all the countries were divided into little states and the great monarchies were merely nominal, such as that of Charles V., who, although he could boast that the sun never sank on his dominions, did not have money enough to pay his Spanish troops, and who for three months was without a page and could not obtain a loan of 415

florins from the Fuggers without mortgaging Tyrol; when Venice compelled the respect of the King of France; in such times the Pope with his temporal power and his Italian allies, some of which had always represented political powers of the first order, was feared, and his friendship and allegiance were much sought after by other potentates. Even the Byzantine emperors, when they were exposed to the attack of the Turks, and at the same time pressed by Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, and threatened by the dethroned emperor, Baldwin the II., called on the West for aid, and explained to the Pope the dangers that would befall Christianity if it should lose the protection of the Bosphorus. More than once the ambassadors of Michael Paleologus had said the same thing at Rome. And the Pope turned a willing ear to them, and promised to excite the zeal of the Latin people in protecting the interests of Byzantium, but at the same time he invoked the ambassadors to forget the Photius and the Cerulaire and return to the doctrines of Athanasius and Chrysostom, who had professed the Catholic faith and recognised the Pope as head of the Church. Even Gregory the X., in 1274, believing that the favorable moment had come, convoked at Lyons a general council chiefly for the purpose of discussing the questions pending with Byzantium. In June of the same year a religious peace between the Orient and Occident was solemnly concluded. The Greeks recognised the primacy of the Pope and took the oath of fidelity.¹

Notwithstanding the transient and unstable character of this peace, which lasted no longer than the reign of the Emperor Michael, it is of exceptional importance as showing how in the past century the Papacy imposed itself upon the Courts, and through them upon the people, less by the beneficence of the religion which it represented and professed than by its military and political power. The alliance which the Papacy celebrated with the powers was more a contract of solidarity established between two theocracies than an agreement between a political and a religious power.

The French Revolution deposed the clergy and consequently religious authority, and these principles of the French Revolution are embodied in the famous code of Napoleon I., which still exists in France, and they have been carried to other countries and have been expressed in the formula "A free church in a free state," precisely because the political and military power of the Pope, now

¹ P. Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*. Paris, 1896. Vol. L., p. 3.

that the great monarchies are formed, has become *nil*, or almost so, and therefore the enmity of the Papacy has, so far as the great modern states are concerned, an importance much less than what it had in former times. The French Revolution restricted the Papacy to a considerable extent. It took away the social dominion which the clergy, together with the aristocracy exercised, as well as the more or less royal semblance of its representatives. Considering what the French Revolution took away from the Papacy, and what Italy has taken away, the few square kilometres which now constitute its temporal power represent a very small thing in comparison with the social sway which it formerly exercised and of which the French Revolution deprived it. But if the French Revolution dethroned the Papacy from its social dominion, and if Napoleon was able to satisfy his whim of proclaiming himself Emperor of Rome, thus suppressing the temporal sovereignty of Pius the VII., it was because the Papacy had no longer that political and military power which it formerly enjoyed and which seemed to assure it a supremacy in Europe, where especially it played the part of a powerful monarchy.

As a matter of fact it is not true that in the beginning the hierarchical constitution of the Catholic Church was an imitation of that of Imperial Rome. As the Church developed it was necessarily influenced by the character of the people. If little by little there grew up a hierarchical constitution of which there is no trace in the teachings of Christ and the apostles, it was principally due to the conditions of its environment. When the masses of the people were subject to a single man the task of winning individual souls was made easier for the Church by its possessing the conscience of the prince who dominated his people politically and spiritually. As is well known, many strange hypotheses are advanced concerning the early development of the Episcopacy, and yet there is no agreement as to whether it developed at the end of the first century or not until the third. The latter is the opinion held by Hatch. Some maintain that at first bishops were identical with presbyters and gradually developed from them, while others hold an entirely different opinion. We are thus left in a field perfectly free for induction. Now if there is one induction more valid than another, and in complete correspondence with the historical conditions of the social environment, it is this, that the Episcopacy was developed, and determined the hierarchical constitution of what Ignatius first called Catholic Christianity, precisely because in that social environment the masses had no importance,

and exercised no influence, and all was synthesised and absorbed in a few personalities who decided the destinies of the world. Christianity, in order to make itself felt in that social environment, and in order to infuse and synthesise its force and moral power in a few persons, had to organise and constitute itself hierarchically. The Episcopacy, and especially the bishop of Rome, assumed, therefore, an enormous supremacy, and absorbed the whole life of Catholic Christianity. It was, then, to the Bishop of Rome that the destiny of Catholic Christianity was intrusted, and he it was who protected it by securing, either by diplomacy or force, the friendship of the potentates of the world.

Now the French Revolution and all the social evolution of our century, in diminishing more and more, and in certain cases annulling, the social influence of former potentates, has ended by creating a social environment in which the episcopal and hierarchical organisation of Rome, formerly in perfect correspondence with the times, is now absolutely unadapted to it, and it seeks in vain to exercise an influence for which it lacks the energy and the necessary authority. Deep and cultured minds like Lamennais, who from a partisan of the Bourbons became a liberal monarchist, and finally in 1830 was converted to republicanism, and besides Lamennais other more earnest Catholics as well as the few heads of the Church of Rome, favor and sympathise with the most different forms of government in order to secure their friendship, under the illusion that they may be able to arbitrate between the Church and the State as they did between the mediæval theocratic communities, and thereby regain its former political influence. The clericals cannot conceal their programme. This is the way it is presented in the *Voce della Verità* notoriously inspired by the most intellectual partisans of the Vatican: "Christianity is not merely a religious institution. It is impressed upon all men and upon universal society, which unfolds itself in a *milieu* of external relations combined with spiritual and material acts; which imposes responsibility for voluntary thought in all matters private and public—in promises, in contracts, in conventions, in relations either voluntary or necessary of whatever kind or nature. Christianity, in fine, has created an environment outside of which society can do nothing. The Pope, therefore, is necessarily a political authority from the very fact that he is a religious authority; since outside of the laws of the Gospel there is nothing which can lead to the welfare of individuals or of classes. The intervention of the Pope, then, even in questions called civil and political, must be admitted tacitly at

least, because there is no question either religious or political in which may be ignored the precepts of the Gospel, of which the head of the Church is the guardian and promulgator."

It is hardly worth while to point out that in the Church of Rome the teachings of the Gospel receive an interpretation and explanation entirely subjective, and that the Catholics invoked the Gospel about as Leo XII. renounced his authority in political questions. Here is how Leo expressed himself in a recent encyclical entitled *Immortale Dei*: "Everything which in human affairs is in any respect sacred, everything that touches the salvation of souls and the worship of God, whether directly or indirectly, belongs to the Church. Everything else, that is to say, everything embraced by political and civil law, should remain subject to secular authority." On this point Leo XII., in his encyclical of 1890 upon the duties of Christian citizens, is still more explicit. "The Church," he says, "faithful guardian of our rights and not less respectful of the rights of others, does not pretend that to it belongs the matter of regulating the form of government, or of deciding what civil institutions a Christian people ought to prefer. It does not condemn any form of government provided that under it religion and morals are safe."

At the very time that Leo was expressing himself in this way he counselled the French Catholics, first ambiguously and finally explicitly, to adhere to the Republic. And the intellectual classes of the Vatican who drew up the programme of the Church of Rome on the lines above suggested, and declared it inspired of the Gospel, applauded the passiveness of Leo XII. in respect to the infamies committed in the Orient to the damage of Christianity, at which no human heart could be less than profoundly indignant. This is the very negation of the Gospel and of the pretended non-intervention of the Pope in things which transcend the field of religion and ethics. In all that action there is not a trace of the Christian ethics which Ernest Renan rightly declared the highest creation that ever proceeded from the human conscience, the most beautiful code of the perfect life which any moralist has ever drawn up. In the action of the Vatican such as that to which we have just referred we are able to see that there is in the present Vatican policy a very close connexion with that which was pursued in the time of Julius II., or of Leo X., and this in spite of the fact that times and the social environment have been profoundly changed. The greatest uncertainty therefore still rules in the action of the Vatican.

The Vatican has always wished to attach itself to emperors and kings, and even presidents of republics, in order to continue its authority over the people, but it perceives that such alliances are becoming more and more difficult and less permanent. The Vatican is conscious of the fact that it lacks sufficient authority to impose itself upon rulers. Little by little it is coming to see that it is necessary for it to win the good will of the people and then to utilise the power thus derived to impose itself upon governments. The Vatican at the present moment is oscillating between its old Cæsarean policy which offered the co-operation of the Vatican with the rulers in order to dominate the people, and on the other hand to act in a manner directly opposed to this in order to win the friendship of the Catholic population and impose itself upon the governments, a thing which the latter are unwilling amicably to concede.

By Catholic reaction, then, is meant this evolution which the Vatican policy is undergoing, a policy which tends more and more to curry favor with the people in order to avail itself of them in political action exclusively in favor of the Church. At the same time, however, the Vatican is not unmindful of its old policy, and never ceases the attempt to insinuate itself in the good graces of governments. Thus in France, at the time that Leo XII. was encouraging the Catholics to embrace the republican system, when Abbot Gayraud stood as a republican candidate and was therefore supported by the Vatican against another Catholic but royalist candidate, and when Abbot Lemire abandoned himself to subtle distinctions between the religious and the clerical spirit in order thus to place himself under the patronage of the liberalism of Montalembert, that by this republican action the Vatican might win the favor of the republican government,—at this very time, I say, Comte de Mun, inspired by the Secretary of State for the Vatican, organised the French laboring classes into his famous "*Cercles*," at the head of which were Catholic Vicars, and the republicans "*du bon temps*," as Deputy Hemon called them, rallied all their forces, and from Deschanel to Girault-Richard united under the old watch word, "*Le clericalisme, voilà l'ennemi!*"

It is in France that the spirit and tendencies of Voltaire are manifested. Alas, it is in France, this favorite daughter of the Church, as Leo XII. was pleased to call her, or at least in a large part of the French population, that the irreligious and sceptical tendencies, prepared and fomented by the revolution of '89, are now widely diffused and deeply rooted. And this is the real cause

for the new policy of the Vatican, by which it attempts to gain at once the friendship of the government and the favor and good will of the people; a policy in which it succeeds indifferently, for the French Government maintains towards the Vatican an attitude of dignified reserve, and yields it few favors, while the influence which the Vatican succeeds in acquiring among the people is very limited, so that the influence of the Catholic party in the French Parliament is very slight, and the French Government may easily ignore it.

The meager results which the new Vatican policy has brought about in France are due also to the factions among the French Catholics, to the strife between those who have accepted the new constitutional order and those who still hope for the re-establishment of the former monarchical régime.

Turning now to Austria-Hungary, we find that the clerical reaction has brought about much greater results than in France. In Austria-Hungary the leaders of the Catholic movement successfully make use of the antagonism between the Christians and the Jews, and thus give to every Catholic movement a purely anti-Semitic imprint. The Imperial Government which at first resisted the election of Lueger, that vulgar reactionary and leader of the anti-Semitic movement in Vienna, to the mayoralty, is now almost forced by the ever-increasing tide of this pretended Catholic movement to sanction his election. But more significant than the election of Lueger as Mayor of Vienna was the election of Dr. Kathrein as the President of the Austrian Chamber of Deputies. Dr. Kathrein is a pure clerical, born in Trent, a German Tyrolese by nationality, and has given his whole life to the service of the mother Church. He fought against the Italians in Trent, and although born on Italian soil, was one of the most violent protestors against the occupation of Rome. In the course of time his Papal ardor cooled somewhat, and to-day he modestly calls himself a conservative, but remains, however, the leader of the clericals "*comme il faut*" (an expression used in Vienna to designate those clericals who do not participate in the intemperate action of the anti-Semites).

This explains why it was that one of the first prominent people of Vienna to congratulate the new President was the papal ambassador, Monseigneur Taliani, at whose table (which has the reputation of being one of the best in the city) Dr. Kathrein often seats himself under the oil painting of Leo the Thirteenth. Badina depends especially upon the support of the German clericals, who

number thirty-five, and are possibly the most formidable party in the Parliament. And there are no less than thirty-three Christian Socialists, or, as the Vatican prefers to call them, Catholic Democrats. There is, then, a powerful force in the Austrian Parliament which the Vatican may depend upon.

The Vatican knows how to make the best of its possessions. Its power is seen in the slightest incident. The oldest deputy in the new Parliament is Zurkan, a bishop of Bukovina. By rights he was entitled to the presidency of the new Parliament until it was regularly constituted, but for fear of making a bad impression upon the Austrian clergy the Emperor was received by a Greek orthodox bishop, and Zurkan was persuaded to stand aside.

But a thing altogether odious and disgusting, was the uncompromising attitude of the Austrian clericals. An attitude all the more conspicuous in the Catholic democracy or the Christian Socialists. The balloting in the first and second districts of Vienna which took place on the 22d of March was favorable to the Liberals. The Catholic candidate, Chaplain Dittrich, having a minority, left the committee accompanied by a crowd of adherents who directed themselves toward the house of the successful Liberal candidate, the Aulic councillor, Kareis. The police attempted to disperse the crowd, but it took another street, committing on every side acts of vandalism. The windows of the houses, shops, and cafés, were broken with stones, clubs, and umbrellas. A few shops were pillaged, and some were saved only by hastily closing them. Any Jews who happened to be recognised were insulted and threatened. A crowd of anti-Semites having injured a Jewish boy who was passing, another Jew attempted his defence, but the crowd turned upon him. He took refuge in a shop into which he was followed by the crowd, one of whom wounded him in the side with a knife. The disturbance continued all the evening, great crowds of people collected in Tabor Strasse and other streets. In the second district the Hebrew merchants who attempted to close their shops were stoned and clubbed. Here also the windows of the houses and shops were broken. Many Hebrews, and even Christians, who attempted to oppose these excesses were threatened and insulted and compelled to flee. The crowd, throwing stones and singing the Imperial hymn, made its way to Brigittenau plundering the shops along the way.

In Vienna the police succeeded partially in quelling this disturbance, but in the smaller towns the crowd had complete sway. At Chodorow, a little town of Gallicia, some hundred Catholic rail-

way laborers demolished the synagogues, went through the houses and shops, gave a Jew a terrible beating and killed two and wounded twenty more, and compelled a thousand to leave the city. Compared to this, the Russian persecutions of the Jews pale into insignificance.

In Italy the clericals are organised into a Catholic association having a special political character. Pius IX. forbid the Catholics from taking a part in the political life of Italy, either as candidates or electors. Leo XIII. has also maintained this passive attitude as a protest against the political order as at present constituted, and which has deprived the Pope of his temporal power. And yet the Italian Catholics are encouraged by the Vatican Secretary of State to take an active part in the democratic life of their respective communes. Now, with the wise organisations which the heads of the clerical movement know so well how to bring about, the clericals not only exercise a powerful influence in the communal council of Rome, in which city one would expect to find a special concentration of the clerical powers, but they have also gained the administrative power in many of the other principal cities of Italy, even in Turin, where the fetishism for the ruling house is still very great, and where more than elsewhere there was an enthusiasm for Italian unity which resulted in the acknowledgment of Piedmont and of its capital, Turin. It is said that the news of the victory of the clericals in Turin made a very painful impression upon the royalty of Italy.

In Italy, in Austria, in France, etc., the clergy, while continuing to hold before the mass of believers the ideal of the future life, take care to make the best of the present life.

In Belgium the clericals have organised in the principal centres the so-called "*Hotels Ouvriers*," as at the Docherie, at Seraing, conducted by chaplains of labor. These chaplains are priests whose duty it is to keep in close touch with the laborers and to watch ever their spiritual and corporal welfare. In order to attend their needs these priests establish in the principal industrial centres houses where laborers distant from their families may find good board and lodging. Moreover, the chaplain visits the laborers in sickness and furnishes them all needed assistance. Thanks to their tact and their extraordinary delicacy, these priests have gained the confidence of the laborers and are considered as friends and benefactors. These "*Hotels des Ouvriers*" are established by the clergy preferably in industrial centres where socialism flour-

ishes. This sort of Catholic action against socialism is very effective. The Belgium Socialists are not a little affected by it.

In Austria, in Italy, in France, etc., the Clericals organise among the laborers mutual benefit associations and savings banks wherever they are most needed. These and many other institutions of a provident nature, all with a character purely confessional, constitute an attraction for the laboring classes, and unites and organises them around the Clerical agitators. And to-day when the middle classes of Europe, who are comparatively uneducated and not in a condition to understand the conditions of their social environment, and are growing more and more sceptical in regard to existing political institutions, which political corruption has weakened more and more, these middle classes, which constitute the majority of the active part of the European population, confronted by the progress of Socialism, which threatens its most vital interests, even its very existence, see no other escape than to return to the Church, that is, to fall in with the Clerical reaction; forgetting the terrible oppression which they suffered under the *ancien régime*, forgetting that the revolution of '89 and the destruction of that odious anti-labor system was its own work. This middle class seems to remember of that old order only the peaceful times and the stability of its social organisation. Because the Church was then in power, they attribute to it and the religious sentiment the quietism and social stability of the time. And since they wish only to enjoy in peace the relative comfort which France has secured for them, they see the Italy of other days in the re-establishment of the Catholic power and in the environment of what they call the religious sentiment. They therefore not only show themselves devoted and obsequious to the Church of Rome, but they also co-operate with it in its attempt to regain its power. The action of the Catholics, in fact, is to-day understood even by the Vatican as a barrier against invading Socialism. At Milan at the recent elections when the choice was between the Socialists and the Monarchists, and the result very uncertain, the Clericals, disregarding the orders of the Pope, voted for the monarchist candidate. This shows that the Clericalism of the middle class is not inspired by hatred toward monarchy, but by their fear of Socialism. At Vienna the bitterest rivalry is not between the Clericals and the Liberals, but between the Clericals and the Socialists, and the Clericals are always declaring that the great social struggle now accentuated, and more and more defining itself, is between the Clericals and the Socialists.

Those who are favored by the present social order cry out against the dangers of Clericalism. There is nothing strange about that, for the Clerical movement has nothing Utopian about it, and nothing of the absurd abstractions of the socialistic movement, and is therefore all the more threatening. While a well-balanced and average mind cannot believe in the triumph of Socialism itself, it must at the same time be convinced that Clericalism is not a phantasm, nor a giant of the type that Don Quixote imagined in order to give himself the illusion of a fight. The Clerical movement should be understood as one of the various reactions now manifesting themselves against the evils of modern European society. The Clericals say "Liberalism has failed and gone to pieces," and in affirming this of Liberals they are perfectly right. As a matter of fact democracy was instituted in the last century under the weight of the enormous social products of the old régime, a social system parasitical and odious in the extreme. All the victims of this régime, instigated by the increase of evils which oppressed them, and by the identity of those which they lamented and by the similarity of their conditions in this régime of social spoliation joined themselves together. Persons with very different ideas and aspirations thus found themselves in a single class, a class without very definite limits, and without a well determined programme, but in agreement as to the necessity of ridding themselves of the clergy and nobility who exhausted their substance and paralysed their activity. If there was one idea in common among these people who constituted what is called democracy, that idea was a spirit of intolerance toward the aristocracy and the clergy, coupled with the desire for political and economical liberty. Democracy was synonymous with Liberalism.

Now the prominent fact in the social evolution of Europe during this century, a fact which constitutes its principal characteristic, is the continuous ascendancy which Democracy has attained in all countries. The democratisation of all the instincts of all social life is the most salient feature of social evolution in Europe during our century. Only Turkey and a part of Prussia have not participated in this general democratic movement. Little by little in all European countries democracy has attained political power. In England it gained its first great triumph. This triumph was in the extension of political suffrage sanctioned by the electoral reform of 1832. After acquiring the power it succeeded in 1846 in securing the adoption of its liberal programme, a programme of economic liberty. For twenty-five years at least the English Dem-

ocratic party has preserved intact those principles of liberty for which it was formed and for which it has gloriously struggled. The effect of this has been the development of an economic power and the formation of that moral character of the English people which has not even a distant rival in the people of any other country of Europe. In other European countries Democracy having acquired political power, the simple fact of having acquired that power is called political liberty. The large social class which calls itself the democracy, was formed and organised only as a manifestation of protest against that régime which despoiled it. Democracy ought, then, to aspire to a conquest of political power only as a means of sanctioning the abolition of that régime of social spoliation. The true scope of Democracy is precisely the abolition of that régime restrictive of all individual liberty and sanctioned by the exercise of social spoliation, and it ought to establish a just and most generous system of liberty. But having gained the power, Democracy in all the continental countries of Europe forgets its scope and limits itself to establishing an appearance of political and economic liberty. Even this appearance of liberty has been swept away by the reaction brought about by the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 and the other lesser causes of the decade preceding. This war fomented the spirit of nationality and patriotism, and therefore encouraged among European people a spiteful and ruinous spirit of exclusivism. Meanwhile the political power of the principal nations of Europe has been monopolised by autocrats and imperialists of the extremist type, grasping and aggressive beyond expression, as for instance, Thiers of France and Bismarck of Germany. Thiers was at one time President of the French Republic and its Prime Minister. He occupied himself with the minutest details of the administration of war. The army of Paris could not make a movement without his orders. All dispatches passed under his eyes. Thiers wished to know every minute the exact condition of France, as well as that of Europe. Jules Simon, a member of the Government under Thiers, has the following to say concerning him: "While Jules Favre was Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thiers made him live near him in order that he might hear all the news as soon as possible. Thiers, every day, has conferences with the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Finance, etc. He has the Governor of the Bank of France, the principal financiers, etc., coming to him continually." It is well known that Bismarck used to go so far as to take charge directly

of the subsidies of the political journals, which he dispensed with great profusion.

These are the men who interfere with and paralyse the programme of European Democracy. Moved by their imperialistic and autocratic tendencies these men, such as Bismarck, Thiers, etc., find themselves at one in their effort to increase the function of the state, and they extend this action of the state into all branches of social activity and interfere with laws, regulations, and with most forms of protection, etc. It is to the work of M. Thiers or Bismarck, who were soon aped by lesser politicians of Europe, that the modern state has become the goddess which decides everything for its citizens, an ideal such as Carl Marx proposed. The modern state dispenses to the various social classes, or groups of economic interests, various forms of protection which, however, result in damage to all other citizens. But in order to obtain this governmental protection it is necessary that the various groups of interests, or the social classes, avail themselves of the government. Deputy Waldeck-Rousseau, mentioned for the presidency of the French Republic, recently at a reunion of industrials and merchants, made a speech in which he advised them to mingle actively in the politics of France, to organise a party, to send representatives to Parliament, in a word, to protect themselves rather than to implore the protection of others. Not that the industrials and merchants are entirely absent from the Parliament, but they are very far from having the numerical strength which they possess in the parliaments of other countries. The French agriculturists have known how to obtain in the Parliament an agrarian or protectionist majority. "It is now the turn of the merchant and industrialist," says Waldeck-Rousseau. "We shall then no longer see the administration and republican press presenting a diminution of the tax on real estate as a reform measure, while they forget to tell the landholder to give with his left hand something of what he has taken with his right."

In the modern social organisation, the "State," is the principal organ of social protection. It is the "State" which dispenses favors and the various forms of protection to these social classes and groups of interests which know how to ask for them and to obtain them. The modern State has become much more powerful and much more autocratic than was that of the *ancien régime*. It is quite natural that the Clericals should organise and co-ordinate their forces for the conquest of political power, just as do other groups of interests and other social classes; and as do in a more

explicit way the Marxian Socialists who make the conquest of political power their sole expedient for realising their social programme.

All this the Clericals now perfectly understand, after a long period during which they hardly knew how to get their bearings in the new social environment created by the evolution of this century.

In the treaty between France and Sweden, at Westphalia, the princes, through the influence of the aphorism "One Country, One Religion," acquired the horrible right of imposing upon all their subjects their own religion. To-day, however, the Clericals understand that neither treaty nor princes are any longer necessary to win the conquest of political power. The so-called Liberals cry out against Clerical danger, but the Clerical danger arose only when the principles of Liberalism were perverted, and when the State made itself a monster of activity which interfered with and controlled every action, individual and social, and practised tyranny which could not have been exercised by Cromwell or Louis XI.

The Clerical reaction, like the socialistic, is a necessary result of the perversion of the idea of the function of the modern State. The modern State which should have a safeguard of justice and individual liberty dissipates itself in a multiplicity of functions, in which, however, it shows the greatest aptitude, in fact its action is manifested in continuous offences against justice and individual liberty. So to-day the various governments of European States are subservient to group interests and social classes which make use of it to the damage of all the rest of society, just as the Clericals wish to do for their own advantage. Consequently the Clericals are at work, and there exists, and it is accentuating itself more and more in the various European countries, that movement which is called the Clerical reaction. By Clerical reaction must be understood the endeavor of the Clericals to obtain political power. To the so-called Liberalists, frightened by the advance of the Clerical tide, one may rightly say: "*C'est toi qui l'a voulu, Georges Dandin.*"

Without a perversion of the conception of the State and its function a Clerical reaction following the downfall of the *ancien régime* would never have been possible. A true obstacle, the only one possible to the rising tide of Clericalism, is a well understood liberalism which gives to each individual his liberty, and which relieves him from slavery to the State.

The Clerical reaction in Europe is a necessary consequence of the system of State Socialism which has arisen in the last twenty-five years. It can be defeated only by destroying this monster, the "State," and by substituting for it a public power with functions definitely circumscribed, such as orthodox liberalism wishes to do. As long as the modern State is as omnipotent as the *ancien régime*, and like it wishes to impose a religion upon its citizens, so long will it be an object of Clerical scheming, and we shall have a true and proper Clerical reaction, that is, Clericals in power and the arbiters of the destinies of nations. This is the true Clerical danger of Europe.

PICTORIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY BY NATIVE ARTISTS OF ANCIENT MEXICO.

BY THE EDITOR.

PROFESSOR Frederick Starr's attention was attracted by a passage in A. F. Bandelier's book on Mexico, to the existence of some curious paintings preserved near Cholula, Mexico. They were made by artists of the Cuauhtlantzinco Indians in the sixteenth century, soon after the arrival of Cortez, and are accompanied with explanations in their native language. The report declares that the Indians owning them guarded their historical treasures with great jealousy, and never allowed a white man to see them. If this remark is true, Professor Starr was more successful than his predecessors; for he was kindly received and no one forbade him to photograph the pictures, which consisted of a series of forty-four sheets of about 16×12 inches each, pasted on two frames of stretched cotton, some ten feet long and one yard high, illustrating the history of the tribe during the time of the conquest.

It was a happy inspiration which sent Professor Starr on his mission to this old Aztec village, and the humor and good-naturedness for which he is noted among all his acquaintances was probably an indispensable condition of his success and served the purpose of making public pictorial documents of great importance which otherwise would have been utterly lost; for soon after his visit a fire occurred in the town hall, and many of these invaluable pictures on one of the frames were destroyed by the flames. It is only to be regretted that owing to a misinformation in Bandelier's *Mexico*, Professor Starr expected to find only two pictures, each 16×12 inches, and was therefore unprepared to photograph all of them on separate plates, having taken only a dozen plates 5×7 with him. He did what he could under the circumstances, and

photographed the entire series in as large a size as the plates at his disposal allowed. He describes his expedition to Cholula, and gives detailed information concerning the pictures in a bulletin recently published by the department of anthropology of the University of Chicago, and we here present our readers with fifteen of the most interesting pictures, which tell their own story.

The Pueblo of San Juan de Cuauhtlantzinco is situated between Puebla and Cholula in the State of Puebla. It lies within sight of the tramway connecting these two cities, near the station of Los Arcos, on the Interoceanic Railway. The town is purely Indian, and contains about 1,500 inhabitants. The Aztec is still



I. HOW THE INHABITANTS OF MEXICO WERE CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY
BY PRINCE SARMIENTO.

the daily language of the people. The whole district hereabouts was, when Cortez arrived, occupied by tribes of Nahuatl speech.

The custom of pictorially recording great events of their history was a habit practised by many Mexican tribes, as may be learned from similar productions, some of which have been published by Alfred Chavero in natural colors and in full size in his *Antigüedades Mexicanas*, under the name of *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. This practice is referred to by Bernal Diaz, who says that the ablest painters of Mexico were sent to draw representations from life, of the countenance of Cortez, his captains and soldiers, the greyhounds, guns, and other equipment of the Spanish army.

The pictures of the Cuauhtlantzinco Indians were made at the

command of their chief, Prince Sarmiento, and are the official documents of the little state at the time of the conquest of Mexico by



2. HOW THE INHABITANTS OF MEXICO WERE CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY BY PRINCE SARMIENTO.



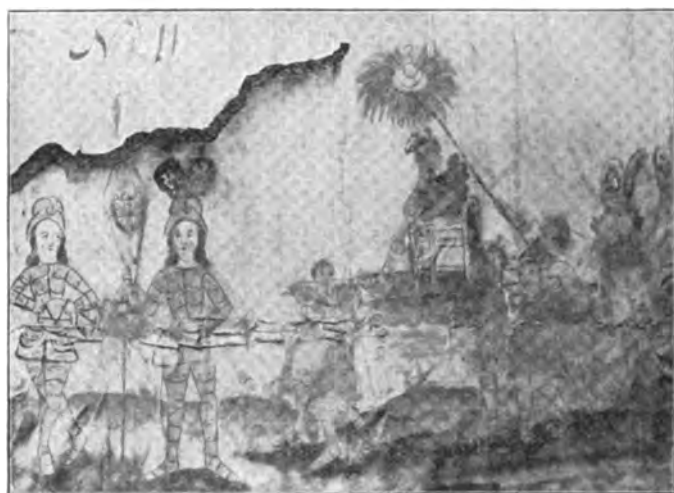
3. PRINCE SARMIENTO PREACHES CHRISTIANITY TO THE CHIEF OF THE GREEN SNAKES.

Cortez. The Prince met the Spaniards, and at once embraced Christianity; he became a confederate of the Spaniards, to whose

cause he always remained faithful. He at once began to convert his fellow-countrymen, the methods of conversion being represented in the first and second pictures of our series.



4. PRINCE TEOPAXOTZIN BEFORE CORTEZ.



5. CACAMATZIN, LORD OF TEZCUCO, VISITING CORTEZ.

The Prince Sarmiento betook himself to a powerful monarch and tried to convert him, saying, "I am Prince Sarmiento; aban-

don idolatry, believe in God, otherwise I will destroy you, I will break you in pieces, oh, Tlamacoxpili, who art carried by a green snake; thou dost not instil fear in me. See the misfortunes and



6. THE BAPTISM OF CACAMATZIN, LORD OF TEZCUCO.



7. WORSHIPPING COPISTLIN, THE OLD GOD OF THE CUAUHTLANZINCOS.

disasters which thy vassals suffer on thy account." The scene is dramatically represented in our third picture.

Teopaxotzin, an Aztec prince who refused to believe in Chris-

tianity, was taken prisoner and brought before Cortez. (Picture 4.)

We read in Bernal Diaz that a Mexican embassy arrived,



8. INSTRUCTING THE PEOPLE IN CHRISTIANITY.



9. WORSHIPPING THE CROSS.

headed by Cacamatxin, Lord of Tezcuco, nephew of the Great Montezuma, and it is not impossible that this scene is represented in the next picture of our series, picture 5.

Citlalpopocatzin was baptised in the presence of Cortez, as represented in picture 6.

Before Christianity is officially introduced, in the gathering



10. INTRODUCTION OF MADONNA WORSHIP.



11. CARRYING GIFTS.

represented in picture 8, the painter devotes his art once more to the representation of the ancestral religion in picture 7, which, according to the inscription, represents the place where the god Co-

pistlin had been worshipped by the ancestors of the Cuauhtlantzinco Indians. Women dance on the sacred spot to the solemn strains of music made by men at a short distance.



12. THE SPANIARDS FEASTED.



13. COMMENDING HIS POSTERITY TO THE CARE OF CORTEZ.

Cortez made a cross with his own hand, by attaching his sword to a tree, for the purpose of being worshipped by Prince Tepostecatzen and his subjects, as shown in picture 9.

The introduction of the Madonna worship, represented in picture 10, apparently made a deep impression on the Cuauhtlanzincos.



14. PORTRAIT OF AN AZTEC CHIEF.



15. PORTRAIT OF AN AZTEC CHIEF.

The next two pictures (11 and 12) have no inscriptions. We see in picture 11 a number of natives carrying gifts, eggs, a deer, fruit, and some drink, and in 12 a feast, apparently given in honor

of Cortez and the main priest of the Spaniards. The natives standing near a table are five prominent chiefs, all except one mentioned by name in the inscription of the picture, and among them we find Sarmiento.

Picture 13 represents the chief Tepostecatzin placing his infant child in the arms of Cortez for protection ; it is apparently a symbolical act in which an appeal is made by the native confederates of the Spanish to respect the rights of later generations.

Anthropologists and lovers of Indian lore will find these pictures interesting for many reasons, not only as pictorial reports of history, but also on account of the faithful representations of the instruments used, of the weapons employed in battle, of the ornaments worn, of the modes of worship, and all the other details of Aztec dress and habits.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE INDIAN QUESTION.

With the news of another Indian war with the Chippewas of Minnesota, a tribe generally considered peaceable and susceptible to the influence of civilisation, as the writer knows from his own experience with them, came the other report of the intention of the Delawares of the Indian Territory, a peaceful, loyal and tractable tribe, to put an end to their never-ceasing troubles with the United States Government by emigrating in a body to Mexico. Such events demonstrate that our treatment of the Indians must be defective somewhere. Experience shows that Indians in charge of a good Indian agent are always peaceable and easily led forward in the path leading to progress and civilisation. But agents of this quality are the exception rather than the rule in the Indian service. In order to do good work with the Indians, a man must know their character and how to treat them. But while Indian agencies are being awarded as prizes for political campaign services, the appointees can but rarely be credited with possessing the qualifications necessary for the position.

Let us hear what an Indian said on the late war scare. Neesaundah Wence, chief of the Pillager Indians on Bear Island, who were on the war path for a few days but happily yielded in sight of the display of power made by the United States army, said to a reporter: "We Indians are being robbed of our property, the 'dead and down' timber on our reservation, by mixed bloods and squaw men (a term used for white men who are married to Indian women). We were granted permission to cut 'dead and down' timber. But when we went to pick the places where we wished to cut, we were told we could not cut there, because the land had already been taken by mixed bloods or squaw men from other reservations. We wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington asking for relief, but received no answer. We wrote again with the same result. Then we went to Washington ourselves, and were promised that the mixed bloods and squaw men should not be allowed to cut our timber and rob us of it. But the promise was not kept, the mixed bloods continuing to cut our timber, and we do not know how to help ourselves."

The last words, "we do not know how to help ourselves," show the inwardness of the whole business. The Indians do not understand our principles of justice or our laws, and there are few agents who are able or willing to explain them to the poor ignorant Red men and to administer the laws so as to really benefit them. They only know that the timber grown in the forests on their reservation is their property and ought not to be taken away from them.

The legal fiction is that the United States Government holds the land on the reservation and the forests on it, but that it holds them for the benefit of those Indians who live on the reservation. That is the reason why permission to cut timber must be issued. In order to prevent quarrelling during the logging season, the rule is made that every Indian who intends to do logging, must file a claim upon the piece of land on which he will do it. This is done by the rule first come first served. The mixed bloods and squaw men being in constant intercommunication with the white people of the agency, know of the permit to come from Washington at first hand and are prepared to enter their claims as soon as the business opens. The full bloods in their teepees in the brush hear of the opportunity later and hold council before they come to a decision. Then, when they go to file claims, all the best pieces of forest are already assigned to the mixed bloods and squaw men, and the ignorant full blood believes he has been cheated.

These matters can certainly be managed differently. The timber lands being considered the common property of the tribe, an agreement can be made by which the profits from the logging business should be divided equitably among all the members of the tribe instead of being given over to an unrestricted competition in which the more cunning and more unscrupulous mixed bloods succeed in appropriating to a few what is really the property of all. The writer has had opportunity to visit reservations on which agents who had the interests of the Indians at heart, had introduced a system by which such an equitable division of the profits from the "dead and down" timber was actually made.

During the logging season of 1897-98 nearly 19,500,000 feet of timber were cut and sold by the mixed bloods and squaw men of the Leech lake district, and only 850,000 feet by the full bloods. Thus the full bloods, who are in the majority, received only one twenty-fourth part of all the logs sold, twenty-three twenty-fourths going to the minority of mixed bloods and squaw men. Is it not quite natural that the Pillagers felt deeply aggrieved and turned rebellious?

Chief Wence is reported to have said that the timber land belonging to the whole tribe had been made over to a few individuals by employees of the Indian office. This conviction will naturally lead the Indians to believe that the officials, who are paid out of appropriations for the Indians—and that is what they call "their" money—have betrayed their trust and wilfully cheated them?

The chief further said the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had "promised" them that their timber should be protected, and that the promise was not kept. At this the Indians must feel doubly aggrieved, and, believing that the man highest in authority over them has been false to them, they must see their last chance of redress taken away from them. That is why they said they did not know how to help themselves, and took to their guns to right themselves or to perish in the attempt.

You must know the character of the Indian in order not only to be just to him but also to make him believe that you mean to do him justice. When an Indian asks a favor of you, and you *fail* to refuse by a clear denial; if you merely say you will do what you can for him; or, you will do what he asks if possible; or, you will consider, and that he can rely on your word to do what is right—he will every time take your word for a promise that you will grant his request. And if you are not able to do it, he will say you have broken your word to him and have deceived him. The Commissioner may have held out such a faint hope to the Indians, or he may have answered in merely courteous phrases without directly refusing, which was enough to make the Indians conclude that the

Commissioner had been false to them and had betrayed them to the mixed-bloods. Their faith in the "Pale" faces was thoroughly undermined. What wonder that they took to their guns as a more effective argument!

There is no way of avoiding the incessant recurrence of these disturbances of the peace, but that of taking the Indian service entirely out of the hands of our political parties and to regulate appointments by a specially devised merit system. He who would serve the Indian, must be endowed with a good deal of the sentiment of self-sacrifice of the Christian missionary. The civil service rules, although they may at some future time or other be reformed so as to be administered without fear or favor, are not at present prepared to secure such service.

That some change is needed, the Rev. Joseph H. Chandler, of St. Paul, missionary to the Pillagers, confirmed, saying what the Bear Island Indians needed was "moral education, something besides the iron band of the law was necessary to bring them within the pale of civilisation." But correct moral education is the very thing which the Indian schools of our Government fail to impart. Geronimo, the old Apache chief, was reported to have said the other day: "When the Government takes our children away and educates them, it should give them something to do, not turn them loose to run wild upon the agency, where there is nothing for him to do but to put on a blanket and be like an Indian again." And he added that, until the time should come when the Government would give them something to do, "educating the Indians is throwing money away. What can an educated Indian do out in the sage brush and cactus?"

So far as his light goes, Geronimo is right. His words were verified by what the writer had opportunity to see among the Apaches themselves. Young men and women whom he had known to be among the best pupils in renowned Government schools for Indians, were, when he saw them again upon the Apache reservation, as immorally careless, improvident, lazy, dirty, and half-clad, as any of the tribe: their so-called education had availed them nothing at all. And yet the Apaches are among the best gifted, easiest trainable and most hopeful of Indians.

Geronimo did, however, overlook the fact that our Government could not, if it would, furnish positions with pay for all the Indians who pass through the Government schools and are called, and very generally diplomatised as, "educated." The Government being unable to provide for their Indian alumni in that way, ought to educate them in a manner to enable them to make a living in competition with the white people around them. But that is again what the Government schools *fail* to do.

Although the Indian child is naturally of a kind with white children, he is lacking in that training which the white child has received partly by inheritance from his ancestors and partly through continued contact with his family and the society he lives in. This social training imparts to every white child the consciousness that he has to take care of himself by his own strength and labor; it trains in him the habit, or the love, of labor, and gives to him a feeling of independence from other people.

These traits of character are but poorly developed in the American Indian. Few there are of them who are either able or willing to support themselves by their own labor. In fact, the feeling of individuality is very weak in most of them; they feel themselves as members of their tribes, but not as individual human beings. So they will labor if urged by authority, but not from a spontaneous prompting to make a living. If they are hungry and have nothing to eat, they will go to their

neighbors or friends and expect to be fed by them as a right which they can naturally claim.

What good can it do to make laws prohibiting the sale of whisky to the Indian so long as many of the officials whose business it is to administer the whisky law, have themselves an uncontrollable penchant for ardent spirits? The writer remembers having met with superior officers in the Indian service who actually perished through liquor. The Indians see these things: they see that their white superiors, the representatives of the "Great Father" at Washington, who are appointed to watch over, and have care of, the Indians, indulge themselves in drink,—how can the ignorant savage, who is without moral stamina in this direction, be expected to submit to a law which robs him of his "personal liberty,"—(as the drinkers call their personal habit)—while the laws of the "Palefaces" allow them to enjoy this "personal liberty" to an extent so unlimited that they are able to lower themselves to the very level of the—besotted Indian himself?¹

This tendency to depend on others for support has been sustained and strengthened by the policy of the United States Government to feed and clothe the Indians. The pupils of Government schools consider that the buildings and all their contents are their property, and that the school employees are paid by the Government to serve the Indian children. This makes them naturally careless of their clothes, also of books, furniture, and everything about them. Under these circumstances it is hardly possible to instil into an Indian the virtue of economy. And as they consider everything they receive as their property, and every help tendered by an employee as a service which they are entitled to claim from a paid servant, they are not able to evolve a feeling of gratitude.

The Indians having been fed and clothed by the Government so long, it would seem difficult to devise a plan how to make them self-supporting. We must train them to make a living by the labor of their hands, to "eat their bread in the sweat of their brow," in the true sense of the word.

This cannot be done except by an education accustoming the Indian from early youth to a kind of work which he will in time learn to love. It is true the Indian schools devote one-half of each day to so-called industrial work. But the industrial department of the schools cares for the success of its industries only, the pupils working at the industries are very little profited by their labor, because first, the industries carried on are not wisely selected, and, secondly, a majority of those who have to teach the apprentices do not understand how to teach them. Under these circumstances the United States Indian Schools fail to impart to the Indian the ability to take care of himself in the struggle of civilised life; and as this ability is the practical foundation, upon which the school has to conduct an "education of the conscience of the Indian," as the Rev. Mr. Chandler expresses it, the United States Indian schools, as they are at present, cannot but fail to impart a moral education, which alone can make a good citizen.

¹ The following statement was made in the *Times Herald* of Nov. 1st: "General C. H. Howard spoke before the Congressional ministers yesterday morning. General Howard was Indian in spectator under President Garfield. He attempted to justify the Leech Lake Indians for their recent outbreak, saying that the government had broken faith with them and that drunken United States deputy marshals were in the habit of distributing whisky among the Indians and arresting them for drunkenness and taking them eighty to one hundred miles from the scene of their arrest for trial, as the fees derived from the arrest and conviction of an Indian were about \$60. General Howard said that individual lumber dealers were in the habit of starting fires on the property of the Indians, and as a result they purchased the charred timber, which is really as valuable as the uncharred, under the treaty of the United States with the Indians at a \$3.25 reduction."

Where such a foundation of a moral conscience is not imparted, Geronimo will be correct in saying that "educating the Indian is throwing money away."

And the amount of the money in question is well worth being considered by every tax-payer of this country. Uncle Sam is appropriating year after year something like eight millions a year for the Indian branch of the Department of the Interior, about one-third of which is allotted to the school service. There being some schools in the service which are honestly trying, and the superintendents of which are able, to do good work, not all of the money spent can be said to be thrown away, and it is not possible to say how much of the yearly appropriation can truly be called "money thrown away." But this much is certain, that incomparably better and grander achievements for and with "Poor Lo" would be forthcoming if a practical merit system could be made to supplant the present spoils system, and if we could have educators of the Indians who would perform their duties not only with a love of the Red Man and the intention of preserving him, but also with a conscious knowledge of the aim of all education and civilisation which is to render every man self-supporting, self-reliant, and truly independent.

A. H. HEINEMANN.

AUGUSTUS DE MORGAN.

1806-1871.

Augustus De Morgan, the son of a colonel in the English army, and a descendant of James Dodson, author of the *Anti-Logarithmic Canon*, was born at Madura, in the presidency of Madras, in 1806. De Morgan's early life fell in a critical period of English science. The glory of the Eighteenth Century was pre-eminently Continental and predominantly French. Whereas on the Continent mathematics had been advanced by the Bernoullis, Euler, Clairault, D'Alembert, Lagrange, and Laplace to an unparalleled pitch of perfection, in England mathematicians were still debating the expediency of adopting the notation of Leibnitz and still wrestling with the problem of the validity of the isolated negative sign in algebra. Of the state of science just before that period, Sir John Herschel said: "The end of the 'eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century were remarkable for the 'small amount of scientific movement going on in this country, especially in its 'more exact departments. . . . Mathematics were at the last gasp, and Astronomy 'nearly so,—I mean in those members of its frame which depend upon precise 'measurement and systematic calculation. The chilling torpor of routine had begun to spread itself over all those branches of Science which wanted the ex- 'citement of experimental research." . . . The thread of connexion with the past had been broken, and awaited a master-hand for its re-knotting. The saving genius was found in De Morgan. Not that he lacked the aid of talented collaborators in the most prominent of his contemporaries, Sir John Herschel, Peacock, Babbage, Sir W. Rowan Hamilton. But in power of exposition, the incessant prosecution of his aim, philosophical grasp, profound historical erudition, and a memory of the richest associations and the greatest retentiveness, he remained the expositor and educator *par excellence* of them all. His works surpass to-day, in their stimulating and seductive qualities, anything of the kind written in English. From his *Elements of Arithmetic* to his abstrusest contributions to Logic, they all bear the stamp of creative life and unfailingly enlist the reader to a full share of that rarest of pleasures,—creative enjoyment. Had not De Morgan's lot been cast in an era which in his country at least was essentially one of fundamental reform,

he would have been, undoubtedly, more than he was,—“one of the greatest mathematicians of the nineteenth century.” As it was, a great part of his vast talents were devoted to the elucidation of the foundations of reasoning, to the analysis of the forms of thought and of the symbolism in which thought is expressed,—in a word, to the philosophy of science, or rather, particularly, to the philosophy of



COPYRIGHT 1898. THE OPEN COURT PUB. CO.

Yours very truly
Richardson

his science. It is in this field, equally important at this day with the other, that his work bore its richest fruit, and contributed as much, perhaps, to the furtherment of pure mathematics as if the whole of his energies had been devoted directly to that task. It is not generally known what a wealth of suggestion his works and numerous scattered articles in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, the *English Cyclopædia*, the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, and the transactions of the various societies con-

tain in the way of a sound theory of science (for that branch of philosophy has not until recently been cultivated to any great extent by his countrymen); nor the plenitude of practical pedagogical lore with which his writings abound (he recommended, for instance, the method of numeration which has recently been introduced into German schools, and the plan of partially obviating the difficulties of English spelling by teaching *complete* words). Of the modern Algebra of Logic, and of the Logic of Relatives, which Mr. C. S. Peirce, of New York, and Prof. E. Schröder, of Carlsruhe, have in our time so powerfully promoted, he was, with Boole, the joint founder. We append an account of its significance, at least in one of its phases as developed by Boole, in his own words.

The great objection to the Aristotelian logic is, that the usual forms of language are made to dictate restrictions to thought :

"Dr. Boole's system of logic shows that the symbols of algebra, used only to represent numbers, magnitudes, and their relations, are competent to express all the transformations and deductions which take place in inference, be the subject what it may. What he has added may be likened to a new dictionary, by consultation of which sentences written in the old grammar and syntax of a system take each a new and true meaning. No one is ignorant that the common assertion, 'Nothing is both new and true,' is a perfect equivalent of 'Everything is either old, or false, or both.' Dr. Boole showed that a schoolboy who works a certain transformation, such as occurs in many a simple equation, has the form, though applied to very different matter, of this logical passage from one of two equivalents to the other. . . . Dr. Boole's generalisation . . . cannot be separated from Mathematics, since it not only demands algebra, but such taste for thought about the notation of algebra as is rarely acquired without much and deep practice. When the ideas thrown out by Mr. Boole shall have born their full fruit, algebra, though only founded on ideas of number in the first instance, will appear like a sectional model of the whole form of thought. Its forms, considered apart from their matter, will be seen to contain all the forms of thought in general. The antimathematical logician says that it makes thought a branch of algebra, instead of algebra a branch of thought. It *makes* nothing; it *finds*: and it finds the laws of thought symbolised in the forms of algebra."

We may add to the above a specimen of De Morgan's criticism of science,—being strictures upon the Baconian method of induction,—a piece of philosophy which many modern theorists on the method of science might do well to take to heart :

"Modern discoveries have not been made by large collections of facts, with subsequent discussion, separation, and resulting deduction of a truth thus rendered perceptible. A few facts have suggested an *hypothesis*, which means a *supposition*, proper to explain them. The necessary results of this supposition are worked out, and then, and not till then, other facts are examined to see if these ulterior results are found in nature. The trial of the hypothesis is the *special object*; prior to which, hypothesis must have been started, not by rule, but by that sagacity of which no description can be given, precisely because the very owners of it do not act under laws perceptible to themselves. The inventor of hypothesis, if pressed to explain his method, must answer as did Zerah Colburn when asked for his mode of instantaneous calculation. When the poor boy had been bothered for some time in this manner, he cried out in a huff : 'God put it into my head, and I can't put it into yours.' Wrong hypotheses, rightly worked from, have produced more useful results than unguided observation. But this is not the Baconian plan. Charles

the Second, when informed of the state of navigation, founded a Baconian observatory at Greenwich, to observe, observe, observe away at the moon, until her motions were known sufficiently well to render her useful in guiding the seaman. And no doubt, Flamsteed's observations, twenty or thirty of them at least, were of signal use. But how? A somewhat fanciful thinker, one Kepler, had hit upon the approximate orbits of the planets by trying one hypothesis after another: he found the *ellipse*, which the Platonists, well despised of Bacon, and who would have despised him as heartily if they had known him, had investigated and put ready to hand nearly two thousand years before. The sun in the focus, the motions of the planet more and more rapid as they approach the sun, led Kepler—and Bacon would have reproved him for his rashness—to imagine that a force residing in the sun might move the planets, a force inversely as the distance. Bouillaud, upon a fanciful analogy, rejected the inverse distance, and, rejecting the force altogether, declared that if such a thing there were, it would be as the inverse *square* of the distance. Newton, ready prepared with the mathematics of the subject, tried the fall of the moon towards the earth, away from her tangent, and found that, as compared with the fall of a stone, the law of the inverse square did hold for the moon. He deduced the ellipse; he proceeded to deduce the effect of the disturbance of the sun upon the moon, upon the assumed theory of *universal* gravitation. He found result after result of his theory in conformity with observed fact: and, by aid of Flamsteed's observations, which amended what mathematicians call his *constants*, he constructed his lunar theory. Had it not been for Newton, the whole dynasty of Greenwich astronomers, from Flamsteed of happy memory, to Airy whom Heaven preserve, might have worked away at nightly observation and daily reduction, without any remarkable result: looking forward, as to a millennium, to the time when any man of moderate intelligence was to see the whole explanation. What are large collections of facts for? To make theories *from*, says Bacon: to try ready-made theories *by*, says the history of discovery: it's all the same, says the idolator: nonsense, say we!"

* * *

De Morgan was educated at Cambridge, and in 1827 took the degree of *fourth* wrangler. The event was not an unfortunate one for the English educational world, for it sowed the unconscious seeds of a life-long hatred of competitive examinations, which, conjoined to the victim's unequalled wit and rare cogency of argument, became a powerful factor in educational reform. Owing to his inveterate religious scruples, De Morgan did not proceed to the degree of M. A., nor did he seek a fellowship. He became a free lance in the world of thought,—not a swashbuckler of the Captain Dalgetty type (to physical chastisement he had, he said, "a cuticle as thin as his neighbors'"), but an indiscriminate hard-hitter at error in whatever form he saw it; as ready to take as to give, and always "dry moulded," as the Irishman said, "for want of a bating." Yet his pugnacity was

¹Quoted from *A Budget of Paradoxes* (1872, Longmans). To the sad-browed, scientific hypochondriac, in need of a laugh "till his face be like a wet cloak ill laid up," we can heartily recommend this book, unrivalled in serious literature for its wit. The remaining quotations in this notice are from the Memoir of A. De Morgan by his wife Sophia (Longmans, 1882), and from the *English Cyclopædia*. For a list of De Morgan's works see the appendix to the *Memoir*, and (for a part) also No. 35 of the small Portrait Series, issued gratuitously by the Open Court Publishing Company as advertisements. (No. 35 is a portrait of De Morgan, and an advertisement of a reprint edition of his work *The Studies and Difficulties of Mathematics*, just published.) We are indebted to Principal David Eugene Smith, of the State Normal School at Brockport, N. Y., for the portrait of De Morgan in the present *Open Court*.

the pugnacity of unalloyed fun, and not of wilful wickedness. Having learnt the direful consequences of his first pillorying of Sir William Hamilton, and the latter's state of health, he delicately refrained from a reply to the "slashing" account of him in Hamilton's *Discussions*. Note his inspiring *sang froid* over the matter. "I cannot," he says, "expect the account in the *Discussions* to amuse an unconcerned reader as much as it amused myself; but for a cut and-thrust, might-and-main, tooth-and-nail, hammer-and-tongs, assault, I can particularly recommend it. I never knew until I read it, how much I should enjoy a thundering onslaught on myself, done with racy insolence by a master-hand to whom my good genius had whispered, *Ita feri ut se sentiat emori*. . . . Some of my 'paradoxers' have done their best: but theirs is mere two-penny—'small swipes,' as Peter Peebles said. Brandy for Heroes! etc., etc."

The salient note of De Morgan's character was his *unmitigated* independence, —a trait which, mingled with his uncommon sensitiveness, bordered almost on morbidness. He stood almost alone in scientific life, content to rest on his own merits, quick to repudiate in himself and others the slightest imputation of desire for scientific distinctions, or rank, or money, alert to resign from anything and everything on any occasion, and constitutionally averse to conventional titles, degrees, and labellings of any kind,—"conventional misnomers," as he termed them. The Royal Society came in repeatedly for its share of good-natured and healthful criticism. The following is an instance:

"Sir John Hill (1751) contrived a communication to the Royal Society from Portsmouth, to the effect that a sailor had broken his leg in a fall from the mast-head; that bandages and a plentiful application of tarwater had made him, in three days, able to use his leg as well as ever. While this communication was under grave discussion—it must be remembered that many then thought tarwater had extraordinary remedial properties!—the joker contrived that a second letter should be delivered, which stated that the writer had forgotten, in his previous communication, to mention that the leg was a wooden leg!"

A propos of the consequent charge that Sir John Hill had tried to become a Fellow of the Royal Society and failed, De Morgan remarks: "As I have myself run foul of the Society on some little points, I conceive it possible that I may fall under a like suspicion. Whether I could have been a Fellow, I cannot know; as the gentleman said who was asked if he could play the violin, 'I never tried.' I have always had a high opinion of the Society upon its whole history. A person used to historical inquiry learns to look at wholes; the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the College of Physicians, etc., are taken in all their duration." . . . "Nothing worse will ever happen to me than the smile which individuals bestow on a man who does not *groove*. Wisdom, like religion, belongs to majorities who can wonder that it should be so thought, when it is so clearly pictured in the New Testament from one end to the other?"

De Morgan's religious views are an anomaly. Theological "paradoxers" were his delight, and he rapped their pates unmercifully, whenever reason and the "religion of science" required it. Bred with appalling doctrinal strictness, which made Sunday the wretchedest day of the week, he was mentally and spiritually unable

¹ Even Bishop Berkeley was involved in the famous dispute on the medicinal virtues of tarwater, and it is a curious coincidence that a reference is indirectly made to this fact in Major Powell's article in the present *Open Court*. Trivial as the controversy may have seemed it has found its partial justification, and perhaps its explanation, in the modern discovery of the antiseptic properties of carbolic acid.—*T. J. McC.*

in after life "to listen for any time to speaking or preaching. The old troubles of the three services on Sunday, and the 'dreary sermons' came back to him." He twice resigned his professorship at University College, London, with which the activity of his life was identified,—the last time, not for the suppression of unorthodox, but for that of *orthodox* opinion. He was as jealous of orthodox freedom of expression as of unorthodox, as malicious in the castigation of false atheistic as false theistic logic. If he did not openly avow the religious convictions of his heart, it was for reasons which find their psychological explanation in the fundamental trait of his character. In his last will and testament he says: "I commend my future with hope and confidence to Almighty God; to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom I believe in my heart to be the Son of God, but whom I have not confessed with my lips, because in my time such confession *has always been the way up in the world.*" A pretty commentary on social opinion! The battle had been fought, silently and almost unconsciously, during a life-time, and the issue openly declared only on death. In the end, the spirit of the England of the seventeenth century loomed through that of the eighteenth. De Morgan, antiquarian and historian of thought, was not the same prober and analyser of his own ancestral heart. *Naturam expellat furca, tamen usque recurret.*

T. J. McCORMACK.

THE BEETHOVEN PORTRAIT.

The editors of *The Open Court* regard themselves fortunate in being able to present to their readers the portrait of Beethoven which constitutes the frontispiece to the present number. The Stieler portrait is the only one for which Beethoven actually sat. The original is in the possession of the Countess of Sauerma, the daughter of Spohr. We owe the opportunity of reproducing this picture to the courtesy of Professor Robert Goldbeck, of Chicago, to whom the Countess of Sauerma presented a private copy, and whom she styles in the dedication as "*den grossen Componisten und lieben Freund aus der Jugendzeit.*" Photographs of the original may be obtained from Dr. E. Marten & Co., Berlin.

GUSTAV FREYTAG'S LUTHER.

The Rev. C. Armand Miller, a representative Lutheran, writes concerning Gustav Freytag's book on Martin Luther:

"I thank you for the book, which I have examined with care, and which pleases me very much as a whole. At the same time I must criticise it in one particular, namely, that the author's lack of careful theological knowledge has rendered it impossible for him to understand or appreciate all that was involved in Luther's attitude toward the Scripture and toward the Zwinglians, as at Marburg, and toward the sacramental controversy. The consequence is that his opinions expressed, e. g. on page 85, where he quotes Eck, and in the closing paragraph on that page, also on page 86, the reference to the "miserable quarrel," p. 90, statements on page 118, and other places, are far from doing justice to Luther, and equally far from sound judgments. Such defects, while not impairing the value of the book to a scholar fitted to form his own judgment and qualified with a more thorough knowledge of all that is involved, make it impossible to recommend the work to our young people, not qualified naturally to sift the author's conclusions. Further than this, I could not advise you to put the book here at our convention

because a very admirable life of Luther has just been issued by our Rev. Dr. Jacobs, in Putnam's "Heroes of the Reformation" series, and those among us who would wish to purchase a biography of the great reformer would, in every case, be likely to prefer Dr. Jacob's book to Freytag's.

"I have been perfectly frank in stating my views, and, at the same time, beg to reiterate my thanks to you for sending me the book and the pleasure I have had in examining it. The generally sympathetic view of the Reformer and his work which it contains, and its scholarly and interesting presentations, on every side except the theological, render it a really valuable work."

BOOK-REVIEWS AND NOTES.

KIDDUSH, OR SABBATH SENTIMENT IN THE HOME. By *Henry Berkowitz*, D. D., Rabbi of Congregation Rodeph Shalom, Philadelphia, Pa. With Special Illustrations by K. M. Cohen.

The more our age rises above the narrowness of the traditions and the dogmatic spirit of the past, the better can we appreciate the beauty and sacredness of old institutions, customs, rituals, and even the old dogmas themselves; and not only do we learn to love the traditions of our own religion, but we can also, without animosity, comprehend the significance of other religions. An instance of this is given in Dr. Henry Berkowitz's *Kiddush* (קִידּוּשׁ i. e., consecration), a booklet devoted to an explanation of the Jewish Sabbath, and setting forth its religious significance in the Jewish family life. The old orthodox Jew, when he returned home from the synagogue Friday evening, found the members of his family eagerly awaiting him, the table decked, and the house in festive appearance; he greeted his wife and children with a blessing, and then read to them that gem of Hebrew literature *Esheth Hayil*, the virtuous woman (Proverbs, xxxi. 10-31), who "openeth her mouth with wisdom and in whose tongue is the law of kindness." What an idealising and ennobling influence such an institution must have upon the people who keep it!

We recommend the dainty little book of the well-known Philadelphia rabbi, not only to our Jewish, but also to our Christian, readers. It is illustrated with historical designs, such as the scroll and the candlestick, also with purely ornamental pictures. It further contains the Sabbath prayers with the music, and a few short poems and stories, selected from the Talmud and other Jewish traditions.

P. C.

PRINCIPLES OF PRACTICE AND ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE SODO SECT AND THE METHOD OF PRACTISING ZAZEN. (Pages 23.)

THE SUTRA OF BUDDHA'S LAST INSTRUCTION. (Pages 19.)

These booklets are translated into English from the Japanese, and will be welcome to every one who is interested in Buddhist scriptures. Buddha's last instruction is not identical with the *Paranibbana Sutta*, but is a later elaboration of the same subject, similar in many respects, but less concise, and not as powerful as the more original and more authoritative treatment of the same subject in Pāli.

The principles of practice of the Sodo sect, founded by the two Buddhist saints So and Do, are set forth in the first pamphlet, containing an orthodox view of the doctrines of Buddhism in general and the *Jhana* practice, called in Japanese *Zazen*, that is, contemplation or ecstasy, supposed to be the only way to great,

calm joy. While the Western mind is not very likely to be pleased with the practice of Zazen, we find quite a number of interesting remarks among the doctrines of general Buddhism. In Chapter I. "Nirvāna" is contrasted with "life and death," and when we learn that life and death are Nirvāna itself, Nirvāna becomes no longer desirable. This is a mystical way of saying that Nirvāna is obtainable in this life, and that the calmness of a religious disposition will be sufficient to set us free from the pains of life and death. The second chapter dwells on the advantages of confession. "We are delivered and made pure from our sins by the virtue of our confession." The third chapter dwells on the reverence of the three treasures: the Buddha; the law; and the priesthood. The unity of all Buddhas is insisted upon. "Buddhas ever presiding over the great enlightenment are equal¹ to one another, and all living beings that ever make use of it, too, are equal to the Buddhas. Then the land, grass, trees, fences, stones, of the worlds in the ten directions, perform the deeds of Buddhas. . . . This is the desire for Bodhi." The fourth chapter dwells on the necessity of benefiting others. Even if we have accumulated merits sufficient to attain to Buddhahood we must give them away to all living beings for the purpose of bringing them up to Buddhahood." Referring to a Buddhist tale, the details of which, however, are not mentioned, it is said that "Even a little girl of seven is the teacher of the four classes of men, and she is the mother of all living beings. Whether one be male or female there is no difference. The desire for benefiting others is based upon sameness." "Sympathy means sameness, self is just the same with others." A more literal translation would be: "Feeling oneself the same is not to differ from others, it is not to differ from oneself, nor to differ from others." The passage continues: "Sympathy makes us forget the distinction between ourselves and others. The sea refuses no water, so that all waters contribute to form the great sea. This is a sort of sympathy." The last chapter is on thankfulness. And in contrast to the pessimistic view of despising the body we read here: "We ought to love and esteem this life and the body since our practice brings forth that of a Buddhas, and it keeps alive the great path of all the Buddhas."

The English of both pamphlets is sufficiently good to be intelligible to English readers. It contains some misprints, which, however, are easily discovered, and will be readily corrected. Should these pamphlets be issued in a second edition we would advise the publisher first to state the name of the translator (Mr. Nukariya) as well as of the publishers in English transcription, not alone in Chinese characters (as is done in the present case), for there are only very few people in the Western hemisphere who read Chinese. Any one interested in literature of this kind had best apply to the *Hansei Zassi*, Tokyo, Japan, who are very active in the Buddhistic propaganda.

P. C.

Mr. Horace Fletcher, in a work entitled *That Last Waif, or Social Quarantine*, has advanced some very practical suggestions for the ethical reconstruction of society. His text was suggested to him by an experience with a criminal waif in the streets of Chicago on a night just after the breaking out of the war with Spain; and as the prodigious extent of the social misery and slavery at our very doors dawned upon him, there came the reflexion that the same strength of purpose and thoroughness of aim which led to the freeing of Cuba, would, at one-twentieth of

¹ The translator probably intended to say "the same with," not "equal to." The original may mean either.

the cost, "free our fair land of the last vestige of the neglect which now breeds ceaseless crime." "What we are willing to do for the *reconcentrados* of Cuba, let us do for our own defenceless ones!" Mr. Fletcher demands organised protection for each member of society as long as he may be helpless or weak *without reference to an age limit*. The solution is by the day-nursery and kindergarten methods of child-care and character-building, by which "it has been proved" that at least 98 per cent. of the formerly considered hopelessly submerged stratum of society can be saved. As a plea for the "apprentice citizen," and for the principle that character-building and habit-forming institutions should be supported a fundamental bases of government, Mr. Fletcher's book is of value, and we wish a wide circulation. The proceeds of the sale are to form the nucleus of a fund for the realisation of the author's purpose. (Kindergarten Literature Co. Woman's Temple, Chicago. Pp. 279. Price, \$1.50.)

That the United States enter with the New Year upon a new career with new outlooks and enlarged duties of international relations, is strongly mirrored in the calendars and New Year Cards of the Taber Prang Art Co. of Boston, Mass. Both the Christian Endeavor and the Peace calendars exhibit the coats of arms of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, India, and Japan. Russia, however, for some reason or no reason, is left out. Rudyard Kipling, to judge from his poem on the Bear as a peace advocate, may know more about it. No pun seems intended in "The Dewy April Violets," for Dewey's portrait is missing. There is a good deal of humor in "The End of the Century Girls" and "The New Woman" calendars, remotely reminding one of the Gibson girls. The Knickerbocker calendar shows the landscapes of the Hudson, and Columbia's Flowers, the various species of the Columbines, both flavored with patriotic sentiments. For lovers of birds the tasty Audubon calendar has been prepared which will be very welcome as an ornament of nurseries and kindergartens.

Count Leo Tolstoy, whose seventieth birthday has recently been celebrated, writes to a correspondent in this country urging the raising of funds to aid in the emigration of the oppressed Doukhobortai. These people—thrifty, industrious farmers, some ten thousand in number—form a Protestant sect whose tenets resemble those of the Quakers. Their only offence is their refusal, from conscientious scruples, to serve in the Russian army. For this reason they have been repeatedly exiled from one part of the empire to another, and so persecuted and maltreated by the government officials that their position in their own country has become intolerable. With much difficulty they have now obtained permission to emigrate to foreign lands, and there is urgent need of funds to enable them to take advantage of this privilege. Contributions in any amount may be sent to Isaac N. Seligman, Esq., Mills Building, New York, from whom full explanatory circulars can also be obtained.