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VOLUME XV

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~~ANNEX A 1~~

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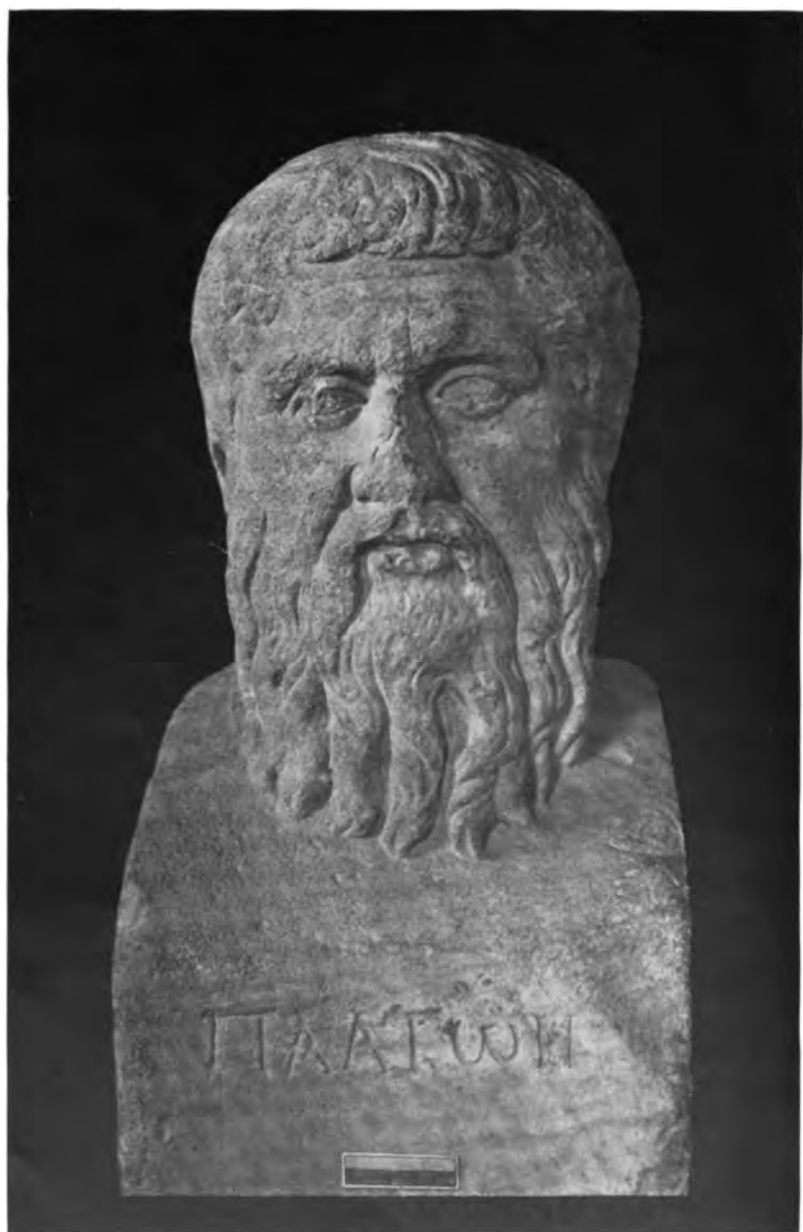
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PLATO

(429-347 B. C.)

From a photograph of a bust in the Berlin Museum, published by the
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Frontispiece to 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. XV. (NO. 1.)

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ON GREEK RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE FATHERHOOD OF ZEUS.

HOMER anticipates the preamble of the Lord's Prayer when he addresses Zeus as *Ὁ πάτερ ἡμέτερε*, O our father! (*Od.*, I. 45); and in many other places, prayers begin with the words, *Ζεῦ πάτερ*, "Father Zeus!" (See for instance *Od.*, v. 7; xxiv. 351, and *Il.*, iii. 319.)

This same poet, the father of Greek poetry, glorifies Zeus as "ever powerful" and "great." He says:

Ἄλλ' αὖτις Διὸς κρείσσω' νοὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

—Homer, *Il.*, XVII. 176.

"But ever prevaiileth the spirit of Zeus, the wielder of lightning."

And in another place:

Τοῦ γὰρ κρείτος ἐστί μέγιστον.

—Homer, *Il.*, IX. 25

"For his is the power, the greatest!"

The same sentiment is echoed in the writings of Anaxagoras, who says:

Ζεὺς κάρτιστος ἀπάντων.

—Anaxagoras

"Zeus is the mightiest of all."

Greek mythology is polytheistic, but the thinkers of Greece are monists or monotheists. Pythagoras (according to Diogenes Laertius, *De vita Pyth.*, 582) said that

"The principle of all things is Oneness."

Ἀρχὴν τῶν ἀπάντων μονάδα εἶναι.

Aristotle leaves no doubt as to his conception of the plurality of gods; he says:

"Being one, God has many names, for he is called according to all the states in which he manifests himself."

Εἰς ὃν πολὺὸν μὲς ἐστὶ κατονομαζόμενος τοῖς πάθεσι πᾶσιν, ἅπερ αὐτὸς νεοχμεῖ.—Aristot., *De mundo*, V.

In Orphic poetry Greek polytheism was broadened into the conception that all the gods were manifestations of Zeus. A poem ascribed to Orpheus teaches the unity of all the gods in the words:

Εἰς Ζεὺς εἰς Ἥλιος εἰς Διόνυσος.

"Zeus, Helios, Dionysos are all one and the same."



GREEK TOMBS. RELIEF OF THASOS.¹

Discovered in 1864 on the island of Thasos, now in the Louvre. (After Rayet, *Mon. de l'art ant. livr.*, I., pl. 4., 5.)

Two hexameters from the same source read as follows:

Εἰς ἐστ' αὐτογενὴς, ἐνὸς ἐκγονα πάντα τέτυκται,
οὐδέ τις ἐσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγαλοῦ βασιλῆος.

"One alone is unbegotten—one of whom we all are children.
And no other godhead, truly, is beside this mighty ruler."

¹ The relief of Thasos is dedicated to Apollo, the Nymphs, and the Charites; Apollo may be recognised at the left leading the four female figures, and Hermes as the fourth in the group at the right.

Zeus, though he is kind to his children, will not be an abettor of fraud. Says Homer :

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ψεύδεσσιν πατήρ Ζεὺς ἱσάντ' ἀρωγός.

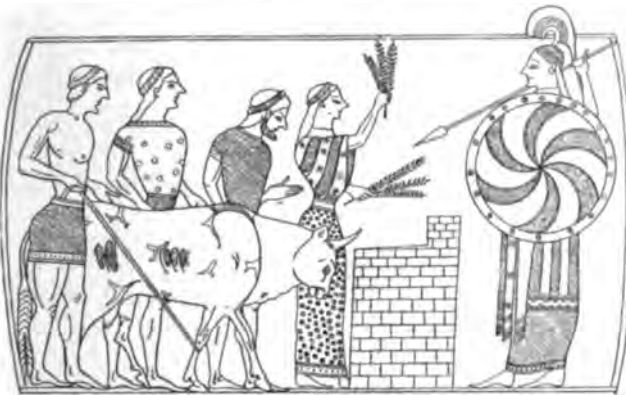
—Homer, *Il.*, IV. 235.

"Not in lies will father Zeus appear as a helper!"



ADONIS SARCOPHAGUS.¹

(Louvre. Bouillon Musée, II., 51, 3.—*B. D.*, 15.)



OFFERING A SACRIFICE TO PALLAS ATHENA.²

(From Jahn, *loc. cit.*, pl. II., 1.)

Epictetus says :

Ἐπὶ παντὸς πρόχειρα ἐκτίον ταῦτα·

Ἄγου δέ μ' ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σὺ γ' ἡ Περσέμενη,

ὅποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἴμι διατεταγμένος·

Ὡς ἐψομαι γ' ὀκνος.

—Epict., *Enchir.*, 52.

¹ There is some doubt about the meaning of the scenes here represented. At the left Adonis takes leave of Aphrodite; in the center he is killed by the wild boar; and at the right he returns to the upper world from the abode of the dead. We must remember that the legend was represented on sarcophagi for the purpose of comforting the survivors with the hope of a resurrection from the grave, which was suggested by the myth.

² Cf. Jahn, *loc. cit.*, 14, 47. The priestess apparently sprinkles the altar with holy water. The statue is fully armed and may stand for the palladium, the prototype of which was believed to have fallen from Heaven.

"In every condition we must have ready the following saying:
 'Lead me, O Zeus, and thou Providence,
 Whithersoever thou decreest I shall go,
 Resolutely will I follow.'"

Concerning sacrifices Euripides says that "God needs them not if he is truly God."

Δείται γάρ οὐ θεός, εἴπερ ἔστ' ὀρθῶς θεός.

The Christian expression "Deus optimus maximus" is only a new version of the Roman "Jupiter optimus maximus," and this again has been anticipated by Homer who tells us that Agamemnon, when solemnly making his peace with Achilles, first prays and offers sacrifice, saying:

"Hear us, first, O Zeus, of the gods thou the best and the highest."

Ἰστώ νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα, θεῶν ἱπτάτος καὶ ἁριστός.

—Homer, *Il.*, XIX. 258.



SACRIFICE OF A PIG TO DEMETER.

Initiation scene from the Eleusinian Mysteries. Found in Eleusis, now in Paris.
 (From Taylor's *Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries*.)

Æschylus says that none save Zeus is truly free.

Ἐλεύθερος γὰρ οὔτις ἔστι πλὴν Διός.

—Æschyl., *Prometh.*

Socrates is reported by Xenophon (*Mem.*, I. 3. 2) to have prayed simply for receiving "the good" because "the gods knew best what is good."

Εἰγετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς (ὁ Σωκράτης) ἀπλῶς τἀγαθὸν δίδοναι, ὥς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας ὅτινα τἀγαθὰ ἴστω.

In the same spirit Christ taught his disciples to pray to God "Thy will be done" and he said :

"Your father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask him."—Matt. vi. 8.

Plato advises his followers to pray to Zeus not for the fulfilment of their wishes but for the good, and quotes an unknown poet who says :

Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν ἰσθ' ἂ καὶ ἐχόμενοις καὶ ἀνέγκτοις
ἀμμι δίδου, τὰ δὲ δεινὰ καὶ ἐχόμενοις ἀπαλίσιν.

—Plato, II. *Alcib.* 9.¹

"Ruler Zeus, give us the good whether or not it be prayed for ; but the evil, even if we pray for it, ward off."

Statues of praying persons bear witness that there were people in Greece who prayed in spirit and in truth with child-like sincerity.

Zeus is omniscient, for he sees everything. Says Hesiod :

Πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμός καὶ πάντα γινώσκων.

—Hesiod, *Opif.* et c., 267.

"All sees the eye of Zeus and everything he knows."

As the poor were blessed by Christ, so it was a fundamental tenet of the Greek religion that strangers and beggars were under the special protection of Zeus. Says Homer :

Πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ὅπαντες
ξείνοι τε πτωχοὶ τε.

—Homer, *Od.*, IV. 207.

"For to Zeus's special care,
Belong the stranger as well as the needy."

Ζεὺς ἐπιτιμῆτωρ ἱκετῶν τε ξείνων τε.

—Homer, *Od.*, IX. 270.

"Zeus the Avenger of supplicants and strangers."

St. Paul speaks of the development of the spiritual body which is immortal, and in like manner Plato speaks of the soul as acquiring wings wherewith to lift itself up to the heavenly spheres of divine life and to escape the mortality of the body.

The same philosopher quotes Pindar as saying that "he who is conscious of not having done any wrong may cherish sweet hope, which will be a good sustainer in his old age."

Τῷ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ ἄδικον ξυνειδήσι ἡδέϊα ἐλπίς ἀεὶ πάρεστι καὶ ἀγαθὴ
γηροσύνης, ὥς καὶ Πίνδαρος λέγει.—Plato, *De rep.*, I. 330.

¹ See also Plato, *De legg.* III. 687d and VII. 802a et seq. The same idea is insisted upon in *De legg.* III. 589 and II. *Alc.*

COINCIDENCES.

There are three passages, one written in India, another in Palestine, and a third in Greece, all insisting on the omnipresence of the moral law and teaching that the effects of evil deeds are unavoidable; and this triple coincidence is enforced by a striking similarity in the mode of expression. The Hebrew Psalmist says (Psalm cxxxix, verses 7-10):



THE PRAYING YOUTH.¹

"Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me."

This sentence can be paralleled in Buddhist literature as well as in Plato. The *Dhammapada*, the famous collection of Buddhistic aphorisms, and one of the best authenticated and most ancient books of Buddhism, speaks of the inevitableness of law and says to the sinner:

"Not in the heaven, O man, not in the midst of the sea, not if thou bidest thyself in the clefts of the mountains, wilt thou find a place where thou canst escape the effect of thine own evil actions. (Verse 127.)

Plato, who can scarcely have been familiar either with the Hebrew psalms or with the Buddhist sacred books, expresses the same truth as follows:

Οὐ γὰρ ἀμειψθήσεται ποτὲ ἐπ' αὐτῆς (τῆς δίκης θεῶν)· οὐχ οὕτω σμικρὸς ὢν δύσκει κατὰ τὸ τῆς γῆς βάθος· οὐδ' ἐψηλὸς γενόμενος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναπτήσεται· κρίσεις δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν προήκουσαν τιμωρίαν εἰς ἐνθάδε μόνων εἴτε καὶ ἐν Αἴδου διαποριθεῖς· εἴτε καὶ τούτων εἰς ὑγριώτερον ἔτι διακομισθεῖς τόπον.—Plato, *De legg.*, X. 905.

¹ Bronze statue (Berlin). In praying the eyes were raised toward heaven and the hands lifted, palms upward, as Horace says, "*calo supinas si tuleris manus*" (*Carm.*, III., 23, 1). See *B. D.*, p. 591.

"Never wilt thou be forgotten by the justice of the gods; not when by making thyself insignificant thou descendest deeply down under the ground, nor when by making thyself high thou flyest up to heaven, wilt thou be able to escape the punishment which thou deservest, whether thou stayest here or art carried away to Hades, or art transferred to a place still more desolate."

Not only did Plato prepare the way for the doctrine of the Logos as the revelation of God, which in the shape that it received



HERMES PSYCHOPOMPOS PRESENTING A SOUL TO THE RULERS OF THE UNDER WORLD.

(From *Pict. Ant. Sep. Nasonum*, pl. I., 8.)

at the hands of Philo became later the basic idea of Christian philosophy; not only are there many other closer coincidences as to



DECKING THE ALTAR OF DEMETER.

(From *Admiranda*, pl. 17.)

the nature of the soul and immortality; but there are also passages which strikingly anticipate distinctly Christian ideas. There are passages in Plato's works which, if they had been written after Christ, would have been regarded as indisputable evidence that the philosopher had read the Gospels. Plato says, for instance:

Αἰτῶν γε καὶ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἐθέλονσιν ἀποτέμνεσθαι οἱ ἄνθρωποι.
ἐὰν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ τὰ ἐντῶν πονηρὰ εἶναι.—Plato, *Sympos.*, 205e.

"People will allow their own feet and hands to be cut off when they appear to become evil to themselves."

Which reminds us of Matt. v. 29-30:

"And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell."

Like Christ, the Greek sages also demand simplicity. Says Euripides, "Simple is the tale of truth"—*ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀλεθείας ἔφυν*, and the Gospel of Matthew uses the same expression in the sentence:

"The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be simple (*ἀπλός*),¹ thy whole body shall be full of light."



ÆNEAS SAVES HIS FATHER ANCHISES.²
(Gerhard, *Auswahl Vas.*, pl. 231, 1.)

It is probably more than a mere accident that pagan augurs used the very same words in their invocation, "kyrie eleeson—*κύριε ἐλέησον*," which is still sung Sunday after Sunday in almost all Christian churches.³

But the most striking coincidence, which now sounds like a

¹ The English version reads "single."

² Venus leads the way; Kreusa the wife of the hero follows. Iulus, his little son, runs by his side. Æneās is regarded as the ideal of filial piety.

³ See Epictetus. II. 7, 12.

prophecy, is Plato's description of the truly good man who would rather be than seem virtuous, and of whom the philosopher says:

Ἐροῖσι δὲ τὰδε, ὅτι οὕτω διακείμενος ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, στρε-
βύσεται, δεδήσεται, ἐκκαυθήσεται τῷ φθάλμῳ τελευτῶν πάντα κακὰ παθὼν
ἀνασχιδνύενθ' ἔσται.

"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."

THE ETHICS OF RETURNING GOOD FOR EVIL.

We are now prepared to consider the parallels between the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount and ethics of Grecian philosophy, and shall not be astonished at their marvellous agreement.

Plato propounds plainly and briefly the injunction, "not to return evil for evil," οὐδ' ἀδικούμενον ἀνταδικεῖν. (*Crito*, 127.)

The same injunction is more fully set forth in the 49th chapter of *Crito*, where we read:

"One must neither return evil, nor do any ill to any one among men, not even if one has to suffer from them."

Οὔτε ἀνταδικεῖν δεῖ, οὔτε κακῶς ποιεῖν οὐδέναι ἀνθρώπων, οὐδ' ἂν
οἷσις πάσῃ ἐπ' αὐτῶν.—Plato, *Crito*, 49.

A similar idea is expressed by Antoninus Pius, who said:

"Human beings have developed for each other.—For communion we are developed."

Οἱ ἄνθρωποι γεγόασιν ἕνεκεν ἀλλήλων.—Πρὸς κοινωκίαν γεγοναμέν.

—Antoninus, VIII. 24. 59 and V. 16.

Compassion, in the opinion of the Greeks, is the virtue that constitutes humaneness. Says Phocion (*Apud Stobæ. Serm.*, i. 3).

Οὔτε ἐξ ἱεροῦ λαμβανοῦτε ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀφαγετέον τὸν ἔλεον.

"As little as one may remove the altar from a temple, so little should compassion be torn out of human nature."

These sentiments are not isolated in Greek literature. Pittacus says:

Σιγῇ γὰρ τιμωρίας ἀμείνων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡμίρνοισι σέως, το δὲ θηριώδη.

—Pittacus, *Ap. Stobæ, anthol.*, XIX. 169.

"Forgiveness is better than vengeance, the former shows culture, the latter is brute-like."

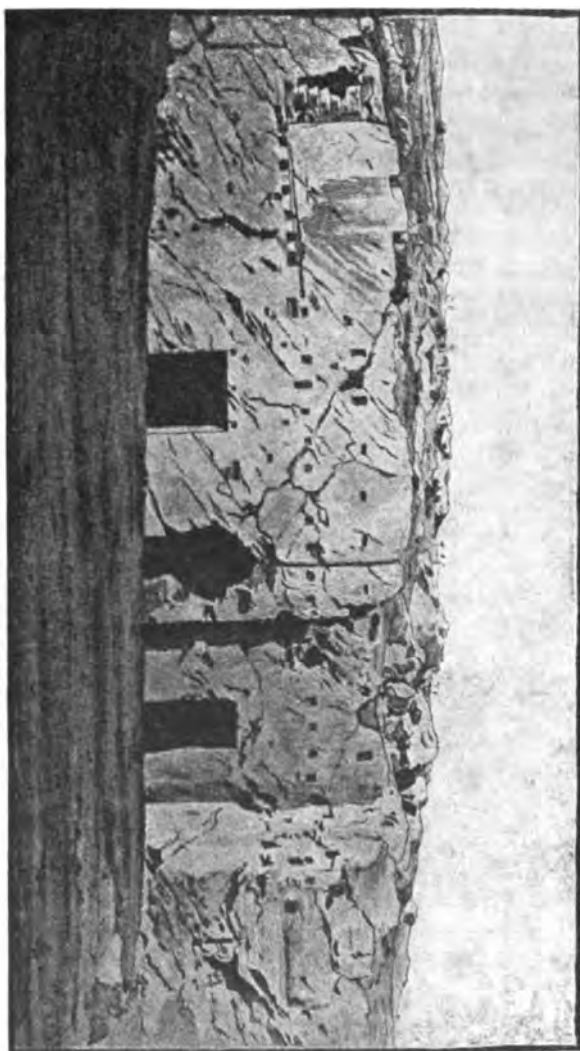
Diogenes Laertius says:

Τὸν φίλον δεῖ ἐνεργετεῖν, ὅπως ὃ μᾶλλον φίλος, τὸν δὲ ἐχθρὸν φίλον
ποιεῖν.—Diog. Laert., I. 6.

"It is necessary to do good to a friend, in order to make him more friendly, and to change the hater into a friend."

Plutarch tells of Diogenes, that when asked by some one how

The holes in the rock prove that buildings were formerly attached to these cave-like rooms. (B.D., p. 155.)



he should defend himself against an enemy, he answered: καλὸς κάγαθὸς γενόμενος, i. e., "By becoming perfectly good yourself."¹

Diodorus Siculus says that all attacks should be made with a

¹ He here uses the word καλὸς κάγαθός, so characteristic of the Greek mind.

view to future friendship. (*προσκρουστέον ὡς φίλας ἔσομένης.*—*Diod. Sic.*, II. 20.)

Pythagoras is reported to have said: "We should deal one with another so as never to convert friends into enemies but enemies into friends." (*Ap. Diog. Laert.*, VIII. 23.)

Thales of Miletus used to say :

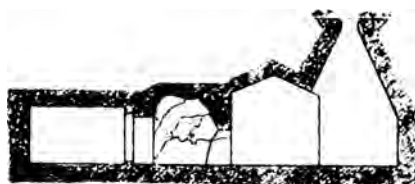
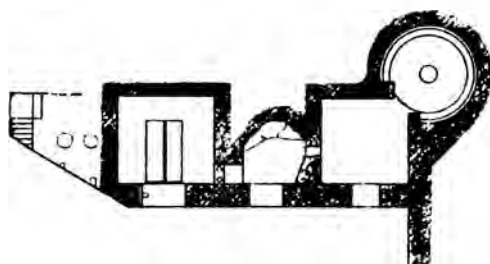
Ἀγαπα τὸν πλησίον μικρὰ ἐλαττοῦμενος

"Love thy neighbor and suffer the little offences (he may give you)."

Egoism is vigorously condemned, and we are told that "it is a shame to live and to die for oneself alone."

Αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ζῆν μόνους ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν.

—Plutarch, *Cleom.* 31.



GROUND PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE PRISON OF SOCRATES.¹

Aristippus, the hedonist, propounded the maxim "not to hate, but to change the mind (of one's enemy) by teaching him something better." (*μὴ μισήσειν, μᾶλλον δὲ μεταδιδάξειν.* *Ap. Diog. Laert.*, II. 8. 9.)

Philemon is the author of these lines :

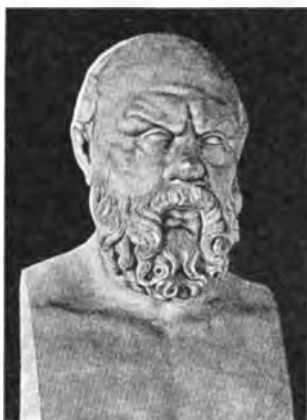
*Ἦδιον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μουσικώτερον
ἔστ' ἢ δύνασθαι λουδορούμενον φέρειν.*

Philemon, *Ap. Stobae., anthol.*

¹ It consists of three chambers (of which the middle one is not completed) with doors about two meters high. At the right farther corner of the third chamber is a cistern which must have existed when the prison was excavated; the wall being afterwards broken through, so as to gain a fourth room. (*B. D.*, p. 154.)

Sweeter is nothing nor nobler
Than bearing abuses with patience.

Greek ethics is frequently characterised as hedonistic; but the truth is that Epicurus and his school were much nobler and more high-minded than they are commonly represented. In fact, all the Greek moralists were stern anti-hedonists. It is probably no exaggeration to say that every Greek youth knew Hesiod's famous maxim by heart and believed that:



BUST OF SOCRATES.¹

Villa Albani. (*B. D.*, III.,
p. 1683.)

"Before Virtue the immortal gods have placed
Sweat. Long and steep to her is the road and
rough at the outset. But when one reaches the
height it becomes easy, however difficult it was
before."

The original sounds like music and
defies translation. It reads:

Τῆς ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρουθεν ἔθηκαν
αθάνατοι, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρθίος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτήν
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,
ῥῆϊδι δὴ ἔπειτα πίττει, χαλεπή περ εἶσα.

—Hesiod, *Opera et d.* 265.

We conclude this collection of quotations² with a saying of Socrates which is a parallel to the prayer of Jesus on the cross, for his executioners (*Luke* xxiii. 34). When condemned to drink the hemlock, Socrates said, "I do not bear the least ill will toward those who voted my death":

*Ἐγωγε (εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης) τοῖς καταψηφισαμένοις μου καὶ τοῖς κατη-
γόρους οὐ πᾶν χαλεπαίνω.—Plato, *Apolog.* 33.

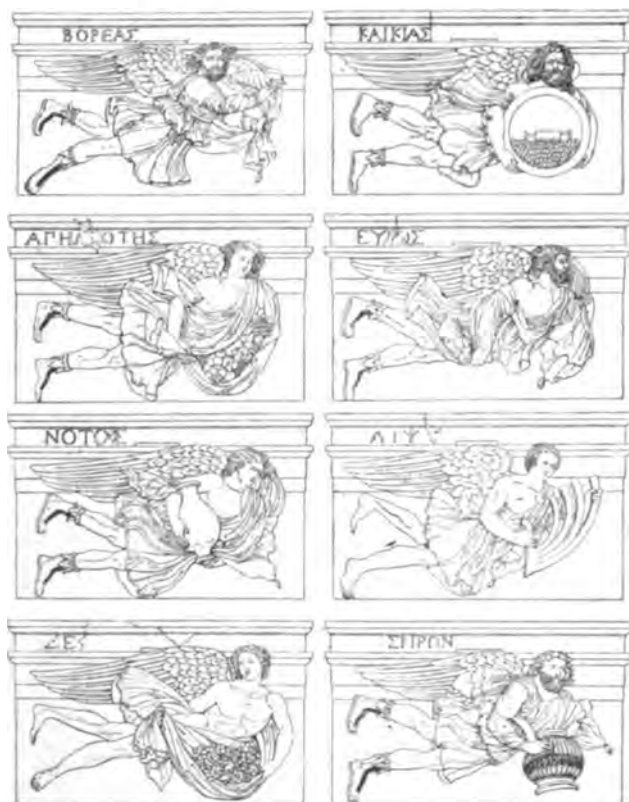
Louis Dyer,³ speaking as a Christian, expresses the opinion prevailing at present among archæologists concerning Greek paganism, in these words:

"Christianity as we know it, Christianity as we prize it, is not solely and exclusively a gift from Israel. It is time to open our eyes and see the facts new and

¹ This bust is regarded as the best and most artistic likeness of the great philosopher. For a description see P. Schuster, *Die Bildnisse der griech. Philosophen*, Leipzig, 1876.

² We have drawn here profusely from Prof. R. Schneider's excellent book *Christliche Klänge aus den Griechischen und Römischen Klassikern* which contains a great number of similar quotations. But even Schneider's work of 360 odd pages of quotations is by no means complete. For instance, it makes no reference to Plato's startling proposition, quoted above, that the perfectly just man should be crucified.

³ *Studies of the Gods in Greece at Certain Sanctuaries Recently Excavated*. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

THE EIGHT WIND DEMONS.¹(After Stuart and Revett. *B. D.*, III., 2116.)

Silene Kephalos Eos Pan Phosphoros Stars Helios
 SUNRISE² (Welcker, *Alle Denkm.*, III., pl. 9.)

¹ *Boreas*, the north wind, is strong, he holds a shell in his hand, using it as a trumpet. *Kaikias*, the northeast wind, brings snow in winter and thunder-showers in summer. He holds a vessel full of hail. *Apeliotes*, the east wind, brings fertilising rains and makes the fruit grow. *Eurus*, the southeast wind, carries a bag of clouds over his shoulder. *Notos*, the south wind, holds an urn containing rains. *Lips*, the southwest wind, favoring the sailors entering the harbor of Athens, holds the ornament of a ship's prow in his hands. *Zephyros*, the gentle west wind, brings flowers; and *Sirois*, the dry northwest wind, carries a large vessel, which (according to Stuart) may be a fire-pot.

² Eos is said to be in love with Kephalos, a beautiful youth who scorns her affection. She tries to take hold of him, but he threatens to throw a stone at her.

old that stare us in the face, growing more clear the more investigations and excavations on Greek soil proceed. To the religion of Greece and Rome, to the Eleusinian mysteries, to the worship of Æsculapius and Apollo, to the adoration



ERIS, THE GODDESS OF STRIFE, AND SPHINXES.
Picture on an antique skyphos.



ASKLEPIOS AND HYGIEIA.

(Diptychon of Florence. After Raphael Morghen's engraving. From Wieseler, *Alte Denkm.*, II., 792.—*B. D.*, I., p. 140.)¹

of Aphrodite, is due more of the fulness and comforting power of the Church to-day than many of her leaders have as yet been willing to allow."

¹ The worship of Asklepios, the god of medicine and the protector of physicians, was widely spread over the whole Roman empire and entered for a while into a competition even with Christianity. Asklepios is accompanied by a little boy, Telesphoros, the genius of convalescence. Hygieia is sometimes called the wife and sometimes the daughter of Asklepios.

Much that is commonly deemed specifically Christian has demonstrably been inherited from the pagans, part of which is pagan and ought to be abolished, and part of which ought to be retained because it is the truth—the truth which is the same everywhere and may be discovered in various ways.

The present age, with its new light of science and increasing power of civilisation, has broadened our minds and enables us to understand the Logos-conception of the Fourth Gospel, “the true



NIKE OF SAMOTHRACE BY PAIONIOS.¹

Paris. Restored by Zumbusch. (After Conze, *Sam.*, II., 25b.)

light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Mr. Dyer says of this broadening spirit now pervading Christianity:

"It is indeed a privilege newly and exclusively granted to the highest moods and broadest minds of to-day, this enlightened tolerance, this 'genial catholicity of appreciation,' which finds even in paganism a message from the only and the everlasting God. Now at last, thanks to the painstaking work which truly scientific men have done in archæology, we are receiving something of the legacy bequeathed us by those who lived and loved and prayed of old in Athens and in Rome. Now at last we may feel, with no petty wish to carp or cavil, the sacredness of ancient sanctuaries, and know them forever consecrated to 'the sessions of sweet silent

¹ The original is a colossal statue, a torso, a picture of which is published by Conze, pl. 64, cf. *B. D.*, p. 1021.

thought,' where we summon up not only 'remembrance of things past,' but also much of the sweet usage and workaday reality in things now present for our spiritual aid."

TRANSFIGURED POLYTHEISM.

Greek religion starts with a polytheistic mythology which is neither better nor worse than the mythologies of the other pagans, but develops to lofty heights and exhibits a nobility in its ethical



NIKE.

Bronze relief from Olympia.
(Roscher, *Lex.*, II., p. 1047.)



EIRENE WITH PLUTOS.¹
(Restored).

Statue of Kephisodotos, Munich
(Springer, *Handb.*, 172.)

ideals which parallels the greatest and best that other religions can offer to the world.

But in spite of the acknowledged supremacy of Zeus the polytheistic background was preserved even in the writings of the most advanced sages—and the reason is that polytheism has its justification, which through the zeal of its advocates was entirely lost sight

¹ Peace as the mother of prosperity is more a product of reflexion than a mythological idea and illustrates well the philosophical mode of conceiving the gods.

of during the period of the ascendancy of monotheism. While it is true that those powers (be they general principles, or laws of nature, or human ideals) which are personified in the gods constitute one great system of norms, we can readily see that their efficacy is by no means without implications or conflict. Even Christianity knows of the conflict between divine justice and divine love, building upon it the drama of the salvation of mankind through Christ. Beauty and wisdom are rarely combined in one



THE ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GREAT GODS.¹

FIRST SECTION.

Zeus and Hera. Poseidon and Demeter. Underneath, the three Graces.

person, and in human society the influences of both may clash, as they did when Aphrodite found herself opposed by Pallas Athene on the battle-field of Troy. In the same way the conditions represented by other gods, Warfare and Commerce, the Arts and Feasting, Wine and Health, and earnest application, as represented in Ares and Hermes, in Apollo, Dionysos, Silenos, Hygieia, Heracles,

¹ Ara Borghese in the Louvre. (After Wieseler, *Alte Denkmäler*, 43, 44, 45.) Probably an imitation of the altar of the twelve gods erected by Peisistratos in the market-place at Athens.

etc., are sometimes pitted against one another, and there may be virtue and goodness on both sides. Why then should not such a condition of things, a medley of contrasts in a higher unity, be represented by a whole family of gods, with one father above them?

That the Greeks were conscious of the fact that their gods represented abstractions of laws and conditions, that they were not real persons but mere personifications, is obvious to every student of Greek art. The gods became fixed types, but they never



THE ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GREAT GODS.

SECOND SECTION.

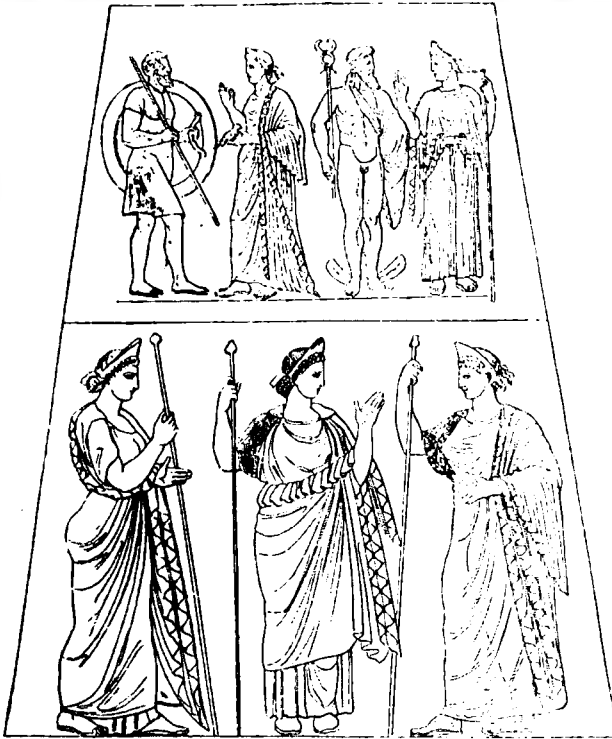
Apollo and Artemis. Hephaestus and Athena. Underneath, the three Seasons.

ceased to be the impersonal realities that prompted their conception, and above all mythology hovers the spirit of philosophy and a scientific interpretation of their legends and traditions.

At a very early date the gods were conceived as the harmonious diversity of the cosmic order,—a variety in unity and a unity in variety,—and this conception found popular expression in the

belief of "the Twelve Great Gods," in whose honor an altar was erected by Peisistratos in the market-place of Athens to denote the center of the city.

The world of the Greek gods passed away, according to the law of change. A terrible storm of iconoclasm swept them out of existence. Their temples were desecrated, their altars overturned, and their statues demolished. It was an historical necessity, as natural as is death in the life of individuals. The storm made room



THE ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GREAT GODS.

THIRD SECTION.

Ares and Aphrodite. Hermes and Hestia. Underneath, the three Fates.

for Christianity, but if the vision of Elijah is applicable anywhere, it is here. God was not in the storm.

SCHILLER'S EULOGY OF THE GODS OF GREECE.

Not Christianity alone, with its rigid monotheism, appeared as the enemy of the poetic beauty of Greek mythology, but also the

abstract conception of a one-sided science—an idea which Schiller most beautifully expresses in his poem on the gods of Greece.

While we can never return to the naïve age of the Hellenic world-conception, we can still revert to it for more than mere historical reasons. The literal belief in the gods of Greece is gone past restoring, but we can now appreciate the truth which lay hidden in their myths, and in many respects our ultra-scientific age, forgetful of the life that animates nature and verging into the pseudo-science of a mechanical materialism, is wrong in the face of the Greek view which conceived all things as ensouled with gods.¹

The Greeks faced the problems of life and science and art in a direct manner and formulated them with great simplicity, and this has become the characteristic type of all that is called classical.

We conclude with a quotation of some of Schiller's verses, following for the most part Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's translation:

" Hail to the gods who in an age gone by
Governed the world,—a world so lovely then!—
And guided still the steps of happy men
In the light leading-strings of careless joy!
Well flourished then your worship of delight!
How different was the day, how different, ah!
When thy sweet fanes with many a wreath were bright,
O Venus Amathusia!

" Round ruthless fact a veil of witching dreams
The beauty of poetic fancy wreathed;
Through all creation overflowed the streams
Of Life—and things now senseless, felt and breathed.
Man gifted Nature with divinity
To lift and link her to the breast of Love;
All things betrayed to the initiate eye
The track of living gods above!

" Where lifeless, fixed in empty space afar,
A flaming ball is to our senses given,
Phœbus Apollo, in his golden car,
In silent glory swept the fields of heaven!
Then lived the Dryads in yon forest trees;
Then o'er yon mountains did the Oread roam;
And from the urns of gentle Naiades
Welled waving up their silver foam.

¹ πάντα πλήρη θεῶν.—Heraclitus.

- " No specter-skeleton at the hour of death
 In Greece did ghastly on the dying frown.
 A Genius with a kiss took life's last breath,
 His torch in gentle silence turning down.
 The judgment-balance of the realms below,
 A judge, himself of mortal lineage, held ;
 The very Furies, then at Orpheus' woe,
 Were moved to mercy, music-spelled.
- " Even beyond in the Elysian grove
 The Shades renewed the pleasures life held dear,
 The faithful spouse rejoined remembered love,
 And rushed along the course the charioteer,
 The grand achievers of heroic deeds,
 In those days, choosing Virtue's path sublime,
 More anxious for the glory than the meeds,
 Up to the seats of gods could climb.
- " And gone forever with time's rolling sand
 Is this fair world, the bloom on Nature's face.
 Ah, only in the Minstrel's fable land
 Can we the footstep of the gods still trace !
 The meadows mourn for the old sacred life ;
 Vainly we search the earth of gods bereft ;
 And where the image with such warmth was rife,
 An empty shade alone is left !
- " Cold, from the bleak and dreary North, has gone
 Over the flowers the blast that killed their May ;
 And, to enrich the worship of the ONX,
 A Universe of Gods must pass away.
 Mourning, I search on yonder starry steeps,
 But thee no more, Selene, there I see !
 And through the woods I call, and o'er the deeps,
 No hallowed voice replies to me !
- " Deaf to the joys which Nature gives—
 Blind to the pomp of which she is possessed—
 Unconscious of the spiritual Power that lives
 Around, and rules her—by our bliss unblest—
 Dull to the Art that colors or creates,
 Like a dead time-piece, godless NATURE creeps
 Her plodding round, with pendulum and weights,
 And slavishly her motion keeps.
- " New life to-morrow to receive
 Nature is digging her own grave to-day ;
 And icy moons with weary sameness weave
 From their own light their fulness and decay.
 Home to the Poet's Land the Gods are flown,

A later age in them small use discerns,
For now the leading-strings of gods outgrown,
The world on its own axle turns.

"Alas! they went, and with the gods are gone
The hues they gazed on and the tones they heard;
Life's melody and beauty. Now the word,
The lifeless word, reigns tristful and alone.
Yet, rescued from Time's deluge, still they throng
Unseen the Pindus they were wont to cherish;
Ah, that which gains immortal life in Song,
In this our earthly life must perish!"

EFFECT OF THE MYSTERIES OF ELEUSIS UPON SUBSEQUENT RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.'

BY THE REV. CHARLES JAMES WOOD.

THERE remain some points which may be stated as scholia to the propositions of my papers in the October and November *Open Courts* for 1900. The first is the Eleusis of ancient Egypt, the second point is a modern attempt to revive Eleusis, and the third is the effect of the Mysteries of Eleusis upon the development of Christian thought.

In a work recently published Mr. Adams of New College, Oxford, maintains that the ancient and marvellous work of Egyptian centuries commonly known as the *Book of the Dead* should be called by its correct and inscribed title *The Book (or Scroll) of the Master of the Secret House*: that this secret house is none other than the great pyramid of Khufu at Ghizeh, which was used to initiate into the sublime mysteries of truth, viz., the spiritual being of God, the order of the universe, the Trinity, the manner of the existence of God, the Incarnation, (which was shown also at Denderah in the ancient temple of Hathor, the Virgin Mother of God,) the resurrection, the certainty of continued personal conscious existence after physical death and the retribution which is implied in perfect goodness of the divine world-order, God Himself. The pyramid and temple, each was taught the initiate to be an image of the house eternal in the heavens.

These Egyptian mysteries were intended also to prepare a man to conduct himself rightly upon his entrance into the other life. Taken in this sense, *The Scroll of the Master of the Secret House* could be laid beside the Bible with most interesting results. Remembering always that *The Scroll of the Master of the Secret*

1 Conclusion of the series "Certain Aspects of the Eleusinian Problem."

House is a liturgy or ritual of Mysteries of a primitive Church, in which the primordial customs and folkfaiths of the savage became systematised and his spirituality began to find definite expression.

The Zionitic Brotherhood of mystics who settled at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and built a Chapter-House for themselves in 1738, has left a description of the ordeal through which its neophytes were supposed to pass,—the initiation itself being also intended to promote a physical and spiritual regeneration, and presumably an introduction to immortality. Fastings, prayings, dietings, accompanied by study of esoteric problems, followed by the taking of a grain of "*materia prima*" or substantial immortality, and a few drops of the life-elixir, were supposed, in forty days, to reduce the initiate to the state of the primal innocence and deathlessness enjoyed by man before the Fall. The Chapter-House itself was built in three stories. The second floor was a circular chamber, with blind walls, lighted only by a lamp set on a pedestal in the middle of the room. Says J. F. Sachse in his account of the Ephrata cloister:

"Around this pedestal were arranged thirteen cots or pallets, like the radiating spokes of a wheel. This chamber was used by the secluded votaries as their sleeping-room, and was known as 'Ararat,' typifying that heavenly rest which is vouchsafed by the Almighty exclusively to his chosen few, visibly instanced when the Ark of Noah settled down on the mount of that name, there to rest forever. The third or upper story was the mystical chamber where the arcana of the rite were unfolded to the secluded. It was a plain room measuring exactly eighteen feet square, with a small oval window on each side, opening to the four cardinal points of the compass; access to the chamber was attained through a trap-door in the floor."

It is worth mentioning that the Mormon church of to-day is modelled so far as can be inferred upon the Eleusinian Mysteries. The temple is never seen to be entered by any one but the president or high officials, through the doors. The entrance is gained through an adjacent building standing some yards away. There the candidates enter, receive their baptismal robes and proceed through an underground tunnel to the lowest part of the temple where they are baptised. Their advance to higher degrees in these mysteries is supposed to be contingent.

We shall now turn our attention to some of the apparent effects of the Eleusinian Mysteries upon the form and evolution of Christian thought.

Some of the special or technical terms used in the Mysteries of Eleusis were: *μύσται*, initiates; *τέλετη*, the ceremony of perfecting; *τελείωι*, the perfect, the initiated; *μύησις*, initiation to secrecy;

ἰσχύεται, those who have seen, who look upon the ceremonies of the Mysteries; *πειράσμος*, the test in initiation; *δοκίμον* and *δόκιμος*, approval and approved, he who passed the trial in the initiation; and *σοφία*, the wisdom, or esoteric doctrine of the Mysteries. The casual occurrence of one or two of these terms in any writings would not be remarkable, but the cumulative and pointed use of them all cannot be regarded as without significance.

Turning, therefore, to the New Testament, we find such use as seems to be intended to allude to the Mysteries, and to be addressed to those who understood the allusions. For example, in the Epistle of St. James (i. 2-5) we read, "My brethren count it all joy when ye fall into divers tests (*πειράσμοι*), knowing this that the approving (*δοκίμων*) of your faith worketh endurance (*ὑπομένη*). But let endurance have its perfect work (i. e., last up to the rite of perfection, *τέλειη*, that is through all the degrees to the final), that ye may be perfect (*τελείοι*) and entire (*ὁλοκληροί*, so to say 33° Masons), lacking nothing (i. e., having passed through all the degrees and having learned all of the secret doctrine, *σοφία*, of the divine Mysteries). If any of you lack wisdom (*σοφία*), let him ask of God who *giveth to all men liberally* and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." Here the writer contrasts God's method with man's way in the Mysteries of communicating precious and holy truths. "Happy (*μακάριος*, another special word used of the initiated, as may be seen in passages already quoted) is the man who endureth the test (*πειράσμος*, since by psychologic law only through sorrow is spiritual vision gained), for when he is approved (*δόκιμος*, accepted as an initiate) he shall receive the crown of life," just as the initiated at Eleusis who endured the test were crowned and robed.

It would appear that St. Paul made many allusions to the Greek Mysteries. Some of these allusions can be sufficiently indicated by indicating the words peculiar in the sense he gives them to the rites at Eleusis.

At 1 Cor. xiii. 12 we read, "Now we see through glass darkly, etc., which rendered literally would be, "Now we look upon a scratched mirror." This may well be a reference to the mirror, a polished metal disk, easily scratched, used in the ceremonies of the Mysteries of the Thesmophoria. Into this mirror the candidates were bidden to look to see the "Hidden One." At this day the shrines of the Shinto cult of Japan contain a metal mirror upon the high altar; no image.

At verse 10 of this chapter St. Paul had written, "When that

which is perfect (*τέλειον*) shall come," and "Seeing face to face," which may allude to the *ἐπόπται*, spectators, who, having reached the *τέλειον* or degree of perfection, gazed face to face upon the most occult ceremonies at Eleusis.

In the following passage from the fourth and fifth chapters of the second letter to the Corinthians the probable allusions to the Greek Mysteries are indicated by italics.

"Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not; but have renounced the *hidden things* of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but by *manifestation of the truth* commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. But if our gospel *be hid*, it is hid to them that are lost: in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the *light of the glorious gospel of Christ*, who is the image of God, should shine unto them. For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus's sake. For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. But we have this *treasure in earthen vessels*, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.

"Knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you. For all things are for your sakes, that the abundant grace might through the thanksgiving of many redound to the glory of God. For which cause we faint not; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while *we look not at the things which are seen*, but at the things which are not seen: for the *things which are seen* are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal. For we know that if our *earthly house* of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a *building of God*, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be *clothed upon* with our house which is from heaven: if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For we that are in this *tabernacle* do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life."

There is another passage, in the first letter to the Corinthians, which deserves a passing notice. It begins with the fourth verse of the second chapter:

"And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: that your faith should not stand in the *wisdom* of men, but in the power of God. Howbeit *we speak wisdom* (*σοφία*) *among them that are perfect*; yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the *princes* (*ἀρχαί*), the title of the leaders of the mystic rites of *this world* that come to naught: but we speak the wisdom of God in a *mystery*, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory: which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. [This phrase is also in the spirit of the Mysteries.] But God hath

revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God."

Significant also, in this connexion, is the apostle's exclamation, 1 Cor. xv. 51: "Behold, I show you a *Mystery*." Also that other passage in the letter to the Ephesians (iii. 2-5):

"If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given me to youward: How that by *revelation* he *made known* unto me the *mystery*; (as I wrote afore in few words, whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my *knowledge in the mystery of Christ*) which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit."

St. Peter writing of the full revelation (*σφύλα*) of Christ in the transfiguration, uses with *σφύλα* that other term peculiar to the Mysteries, for he says, "We are eye-witnesses (*ὁράται*) of his majesty."

The curious reader may compare with these passages St. Mark iv. 11, 33, 34, and St. Matthew x. 27. The cumulative evidence of all this is forceful.

Now, the use of these terms and allusions produced a profound impression upon the mind of the early Church. This impression was the wider for several reasons. In the first place, the beginning of the Christian era was coeval with a climax of magic. Everywhere magic, thaumaturgy, and necromancy were tried. Satanism was more open than in Paris, London, or Berlin of to-day. The psychological conditions which had brought this about, it is aside from my present purpose to discuss. At that same time the emotional element of Neo-Platonism was carried over into the Church both directly and through Hellenistic rabbinism. Therefore it came about that Christianity, which had begun by being a teaching (*μύθησις*), ended shortly after the Eutychian controversy in becoming a mystery (*μυσταγωγία*) or mystagogy, a system of ceremonies regarded as magical in their effects as those, say, of the great pyramid and of the Hall of the Initiated at Eleusis had been regarded.

The Abyssinian Church, which was founded in the sixth century and by reason of its isolation has probably changed hardly at all, represents the mystagogic character of the Eastern Church of the sixth century. From that age the images, the sacraments, even the creed and prayers, became objective charms, amulets, and magical cults. The various grades of Church membership were

modeled after the system of Eleusis. The cosmic cross, the chalice of life, the liturgic dance, in short, the entire mystagogic conception of Christianity, was brought in upon the Church. Hence mysterious mutterings of the mass were heard, and curtains were drawn about the priest as he sacrificed upon the altar. Only the *ἐπόπται* were allowed to remain to hear the "blessed mutter of the mass" and see the lights dimly shining through the curtains. Even doctrine, as in the case of the elements of the Eucharist, comes in time to be a sacred object, to be assented to reverently, even though not understood. It is no longer *μάθησις*, it has become *δόγμα*, to be worn as the Jews wear their phylacteries, as the modern Syrian wears prayers illuminated upon parchment, like present-day scapulars, for mere amulets, or magic safeguards. Even beginning with the fourth century as *τέλεται*, mystic rites, sacraments were established. And the sacraments became systematised after a century into the mysteries of the Church.

The terminology of sacramental doctrine was borrowed from Eleusis. Dionysius the Areopagite, like the Master of the Secret House beforehand, taught that these mysteries of the Church were images and types of mysteries in heavenly places, and therefore *termini ad quos* of worship. No doubt the Gnostics had some hand in transferring this set of ideas and words from Memphis and Eleusis to Alexandria, to Athanasius and the Greek Church of Constantinople. In the end the Church was regarded in a mystagogic and even magical sense as steward of the Mysteries, i. e., mystic rites, mystic things, instinct with a material force of God, mystic and occult ideas in themselves saving by making the hearer *σώφης*, wise unto salvation, and Gnostic, *γνώστικός*, understanding the hidden things of God.

In brief, the influence of the Ancient Mysteries has led many to conceive of the Church as an organisation for the perpetuation of ceremonies, forms of words, and other sacred objects committed to the care of a unique class of *ιεροφάντες* and *μυσταγῶγοι*, themselves able to bind by the use of fixed formulas of words the presence and operation of the Infinite Life of the Universe. So much for the influence of Eleusis upon the writers of the New Testament and the early Church.

The later development of religious thought was forcibly influenced by the pseudo-Dionysios, whose writings carried over into Christian theology the mysteriosophy of the Alexandrian Neo-Platonists, and this mysteriosophy they probably derived in most part from Eleusis.

In conclusion, it is antecedently probable that the Greek drama, explicating as it did the spiritual and ethical aspects of the Mysteries at Eleusis, prepared the minds of men for the religion of Christ, for the divine tragedy of Calvary.

* * *

My *envoi* is an apology. In the *Midsummer Night's Dream* Hippolyta says :

"This is the silliest stuff I ever heard."

Theseus rejoins :

"The best in this kind are but shadows, and the worst are no worse if imagination mend them."

BRUSHWORK, AND INVENTIONAL DRAWING.

BY THOMAS J. MCCORMACK.

ONE of the soundest contributions that have been made to the theory and practice of elementary education, of late years, is contained in the system of inventional drawing introduced by Mr. Ebenezer Cooke, of London, England. It is the gradual outcome of thirty years of practical teaching; it has latterly received the sanction of the Educational Department of the English Government, having been adopted in their official "Illustrated Syllabus of the Course of Instruction in Drawing under the Department of Science and Art,"¹ prepared by Mr. Cooke himself; and it has also been adopted in part, under the name of "Brushwork," in some of the kindergarten schools of our own country,² as a recognised improvement upon the system of Froebel, with the spirit of which it stands in absolute logical agreement.

Mr. Cooke's ideas are notable for their conformity to the facts of artistic development, for their psychological insight, and for their inherent pedagogic power; and we believe we are doing a service to the cause of education by bringing them to wider notice among unprofessional and untechnical readers. Save for a few prefatory remarks and a supplementary discussion of the physical and mechanical conditions which lie at the basis of Mr. Cooke's main innovation, we shall do little more than offer an abstract of his ideas, allowing him in the main to use his own words. Those who desire more detailed information may consult the *Special Reports on Educational Subjects for 1896-97*³ and Mr. Cooke's pamphlet *Brushwork in the Kindergarten and Home*.⁴

¹ London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1896. Price, 4½ pence.

² For example, in the new Chicago Institute, conducted by Col. Parker.

³ Published by Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1897. Price, 3s. 4d.

⁴ *Sesame Club Papers*, Sesame League, London, Dover St., W. Price, 1s.

Art is but a form of human expression, the outward embodiment of human thought and sentiment, standing in this regard on the same lofty level with speech and music. It is the objective incarnation of a subjective meaning; it is *creation*, not mimicry; and, primarily, the outward forms which this creative activity assumes possess significance solely as symbolic indications of the *intellectual* and *æsthetic* messages they are designed to convey.

This is strikingly apparent to the student of Egyptian, early Greek, and Oriental art, where the artistic form, to our eyes, appears to lack utterly the elements of naturalness and truth, and which bears to our æsthetic apprehension the same relation of intelligibility as a sentence in some archaic Scottish dialect would to the linguistic apprehension of an American. And not only is the outward form of its intellectual message—its language—national and historical; it is also individual. "If living figures were posed and grouped like those in the pediment or frieze of the Pantheon and photographed, the beauty of line and generalisation of forms in each figure, or in the groups,—the thought, knowledge, and feeling of Pheidias would be wanting, even if his composition was imitated."

Art, in fine, is not photography, not imitation of nature pure and simple. It is picture-thought expressed in picture-writing,—a writing or language having its idiosyncrasies of form and expression, and requiring its own appropriate interpretation.

Art, in this sense, as the conveyance of thought, is to be distinguished from art as technique and as concerned with the perfection of form. Thus, outline, the primitive and natural method of expressing thought, common alike to the savage, the child, and the student, remains such even in the highest stages and is in this respect distinguished from painting, in which the expression of thought and feeling is subordinated to the representation of fact.

In this *creative, intellectual, and non-imitative* character of art, we have, now, obtained a pedagogic foothold for the guidance of instruction, and in this connexion Mr. Cooke remarks:

"Language is a means of expressing or conveying thought by signs. Outline does not represent form; there is no line round an object. The scribble of the little child stands for objects long before the child can make or even suggest resemblance to their form. Outline stands for the object or the mental picture; *it is a sign, not a representation*. The child's drawing tells us what it knows by line signs, it is not a representation of the object.

"Children's early drawings seem to confirm the conclusion that line is language, and show at the same time that it is unnatural for the little child to draw directly from nature as a student does; its drawing from nature is done another

way. To represent objects as they appear is very difficult; to express its knowledge by sign, is easy. The child's first drawing of a man is not a representation, but a statement of its knowledge in line signs. The child frequently puts two eyes in the profile, for it knows there are two, and it tells us what it knows, not what it sees; it expresses its knowledge by signs, not pictorially."

And again, giving examples:

"In reasoning or representing, general truth or knowledge controls the result.

"If a cherry is drawn from knowledge, it will frequently be represented by a circle, or by a form intended for it, for we recognise no other generalisation of rounded form but the circle. A cherry is round; the most perfect rounded line form is the circle; therefore the nearer the cherry is made to that general form, the more it will be like a cherry. With the real object in front, students often make this mistake. General truth controls the representation. It is easier to draw from knowledge than from sight; to use line language than represent things as they are.

"Take another illustration from color. A class of eleven girls are given a peony petal to paint; poppy or rose would have done equally well. Ten paint the petal one uniform red color, crimson lake. One girl, who looks at her petal, adds a little scarlet and purple in some places. But the class laugh at this. The petal is red; they know this, and paint it so; there is no need to look. If they should look, and see other colors, so strong is the conception they do not attempt to represent what they see. Knowledge controls every line, every color."

"Seeing is not so easy as is often supposed. To see and interpret rightly what is seen is one aim of education."

The representation which constitutes infant art, coming thus from a knowledge that is within, and being thoroughly individual and independent in its character, it would seem that this *spontaneous bent for expression and activity* should be so fostered as to form almost the sole source from which the subsequent development should flow:

"The child must see and think for itself; it must combine and invent, not merely copy what others have done. . . . We can no more think for a child than eat for it, no more acquire for it than grow for it. All round us the materials are provided, but the mental activity and the process by which material becomes knowledge is the mind's own. . . . Some teachers seem to consider they are doing the child a service, instead of an injury, by providing it with copies made with easy strokes and touches of the brush. They seem proud of efforts that babies in the kindergarten equal and sometimes surpass; and the worst of it is, they are quite unconscious of their mistake. The expression of its own thought, the exercise of its own mental activity, educates the child. It can put lines together as soon as it can draw. *Copies are cribs*; the real work of translation from objects into line has in them been done. Copies may be models of composition and have other values, but they exercise constructive imagination very little. Copies made with the class, by children; by teacher and children; as illustrations or examples; or in any way which brings class and teacher into communion and into action, which interests and stimulates to effort, are quite unlike the dead printed copies so commonly given, to the exclusion of all else. Copies may have value in many ways, but they should not come before the child's expression of his own ideas.

"The child must get his own knowledge of eyes from eyes and translate for himself; copies may help him, but not Michael Angelo's. Some early master whose mind and knowledge is in sympathy with his own, may help more. Archaic art, the early art of the race, is more in harmony with it. Our pre-Raphaelites insisted on important educational principles. Copies made on its own plane after its manner, entering into its thought, may help the child to express itself. The child tries to express its own thought before it imitates natural objects. Imitation of nature is a late stage. In its earlier stages thought is intimately connected with its drawing. Inventive drawing involves thought; drawing from imagination comes before drawing from objects. To go to nature is right, but it must be through the child's nature. Education is involved in the efforts to express our own ideas, not to copy others."

Having indicated principles, we may now proceed to mechanism. With our limitations of space we can do no more than sketch the general tendency and spirit of Mr. Cooke's *technique*. It is now familiar in its main principles and differs from the best recognised traditions chiefly in the emphasis it lays upon freedom and inventiveness. It is opposed to the representation of natural form by generalised geometric form,—an inheritance from the Schoolmen in their mistaken interpretation of the relations of Greek art and geometry, natural form in Greek education never having been subordinated to geometric form. In fact, it takes its origin precisely in the suggestions of Greek archaic art, in its recognition of the structure of the arm and the resultant form of lines, the free sweep it gives to brush and color. Mr. Cooke says:

"Elementary drawing books often begin with the two geometrical elements, straight line and arc, and immediately after them copies or examples are given, presumably combinations and exercises with these elements. Very often neither of the elements given appear, but instead of them there is another line with which all the exercises are made, but for this no element is offered. No beautiful freehand ornament can be made with these geometrical elements; the hand is constructed to move in other lines, for which no element is given; no drapery; few, if any, of the lines of movement; neither falling water nor fluttering flame; no rounded forms; not even circles as they are really seen, except in one position in which the eye rarely is, exactly opposite the centre; to these may be added the whole wide region of living form, their movements and gradual changes, and none of these, nor any portions of them, can be drawn with the recognised elements—straight line and arc. The yeast plant and other low forms of life may be circular at first, at rest, or when dead. The sun and moon look like circles; the eyes of animals, sections of eggs, and parts of plants may be circular, but as we usually see them they are not. Among living things the circle is rare, and when it occurs it is rarely in a position in which it can be represented by an arc, or any combination of arcs."

Our conception of form and its elements, therefore, requires revision. General, mathematical forms have been derived from natural objects; to nature consequently we must return.

In the inorganic world, the characteristic bounding forms are

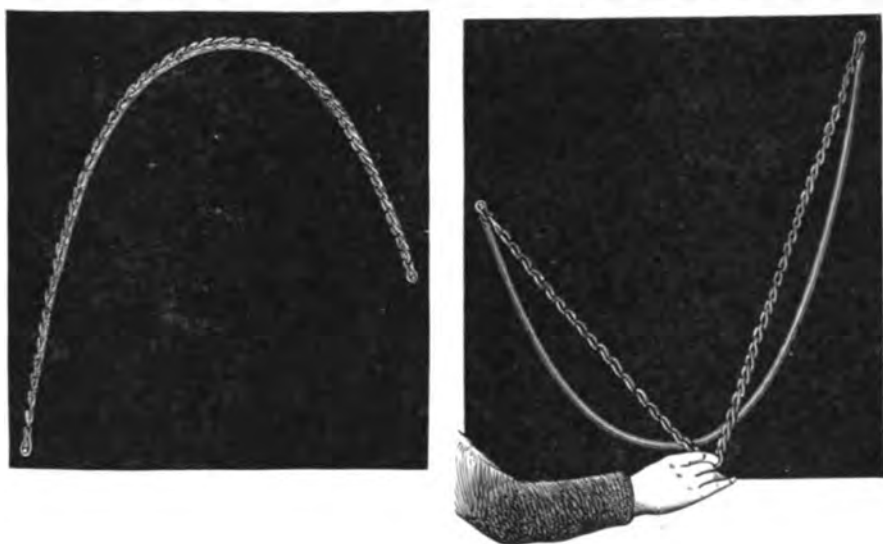
straight lines and plane surfaces ; in the organic world, the characteristic bounding forms are curved lines and rounded surfaces. A snow crystal and a lily have both six parts radiating from a center, with the same angle between them. The crystal is bounded by straight lines, the flower by curves. Form is less fixed in living things ; it is always changing with life, development, and movement. But in all their exuberant multiplicity a single fundamental form, according to Mr. Cooke, is apparent—the ovate form, the oval. It is seen in plants, birds' eggs, fishes, and shells.

"Bud, leaf, flower, seed, embryo, even root and stem, as in onion, turnip, and potato, are but variations of the same shape—the form of bulb and fruit resulting from the form of their constituent parts. The general outline of whole plants, trees, sometimes their branches and shoots, repeat this shape or elements of it. Fir trees in form follow their cones, while the cones repeat the seed. The seed follows the trees as child follows the race."

The ovate form is thus the ground form of plants ; and, though not so easily seen, of animals also. Conic sections and catenaries seem to be the prevailing curves in nature. This will be evident from certain physical considerations, which Mr. Cooke has not developed, but which afford a mechanical and mathematical support for his empirical observations. All living and plastic forms have been subject during their development to the effects of gravitation ; and whatever modifications of their plastic substances have taken place, have been induced by gravitation. John and Jacob Bernoulli, the famous Swiss mathematicians and physicists of the seventeenth century, while once walking in the environs of Basel, accidentally came upon the question of the form which a chain suspended at both ends would assume if left entirely free to the influences of gravitation. They both immediately reached the conclusion that the form would be that in which the center of gravity of the hanging mass would lie lowest, in accordance with the principle that heavy bodies tend to sink as far as they can. This curve was called the *catenary* or chain-curve from the object which was first historically employed for its illustration. Pictures of the form of this curve are given in the annexed cuts taken from Mach's *Mechanics*. The general appearance of the curve will vary greatly, according to the distance between the points of suspension ; but mathematically and mechanically every curve so produced will possess the same properties. Whatever hangs hangs by catenaries ; it is the curve which the cables of suspension bridges make ; it is the curve of the dorsal and ventral portions of animals ; it is the curve of draperies, the curve of human beauty, of hanging vines, and of all

animal and vegetable forms which have shaped themselves in natural conditions of pendency. Modified by the various stresses and strains imposed by interferent conditions, and antagonised occasionally by molecular and tensional forces of superior power, it has in its multiple variations naturally furnished the ground form for the development of all animate nature.

It is the generalised conic section, thus, that Mr. Cooke has adopted as the most natural fundamental line. The ellipse seems to be the form best suited to his purposes, and its quadrant is chosen as the elementary line having the same value as the straight



THE CATENARY, OR CURVE FORMED BY A HANGING CHAIN.

The center of gravity of the entire mass tends to seek its lowest possible point,—a physical fact by which the mathematical peculiarities of the curve are determined.

line and the arc of a circle, completing the alphabet of linear form and constituting the missing element of outline—the line of life, development, and of movement.

As to the non-coincidence of the mathematical properties of the curves considered, he seems to be unconcerned. The characteristic which he seeks in his new element is *gradation*. His sole request is that one end of his line should be nearly straight, and that the remainder should gradually curve more and more towards the other end. It performs various mathematical eccentricities: if set free, it continues to curve or coil until it becomes a spiral, the form of shells. Yet it is the curve of natural movement, the

curve which the child is compelled to make by the very structure of his arms,—the curve of Greek art. When produced by continuous rapid and repeated action freely from the shoulder, and with non-resisting materials, it is performed happily, freely and spontaneously. It is the expression of the child's own impressions, thought, or feeling; it is in perfect subjective and artistic harmony with the characteristic form of living things; it is thus the counterpart of nature.

The graduated curve, rapid free movement, the use of non-resisting materials, repetition, these are the foundation.

"We should draw out power by doing. The child shows how it can be done. It goes rapidly over and over, round and round. Repetition is just what is wanted, and this is delightful to the child, for it is natural to the structure and movement of the arms, and pleasant to its senses. The rapid movement is the innovation: it is opposed to all our established tradition. But we go to nature; this is her direction. We have no choice; we must follow, and we soon find it is right. All motion is subject to law. Skating and cycling are quicker than walking, but are not less direct. The rapid motion of the potter's wheel and the lathe assist materially to make the form produced. The child who makes lines at first with such intense concentration of energy at its finger tips and pencil point that the paper is cut through, is wasting power and reversing the method of nature; which seems to be rapid movement and non-resisting materials, or soft clay should be given and incised lines made in it with a hard point.

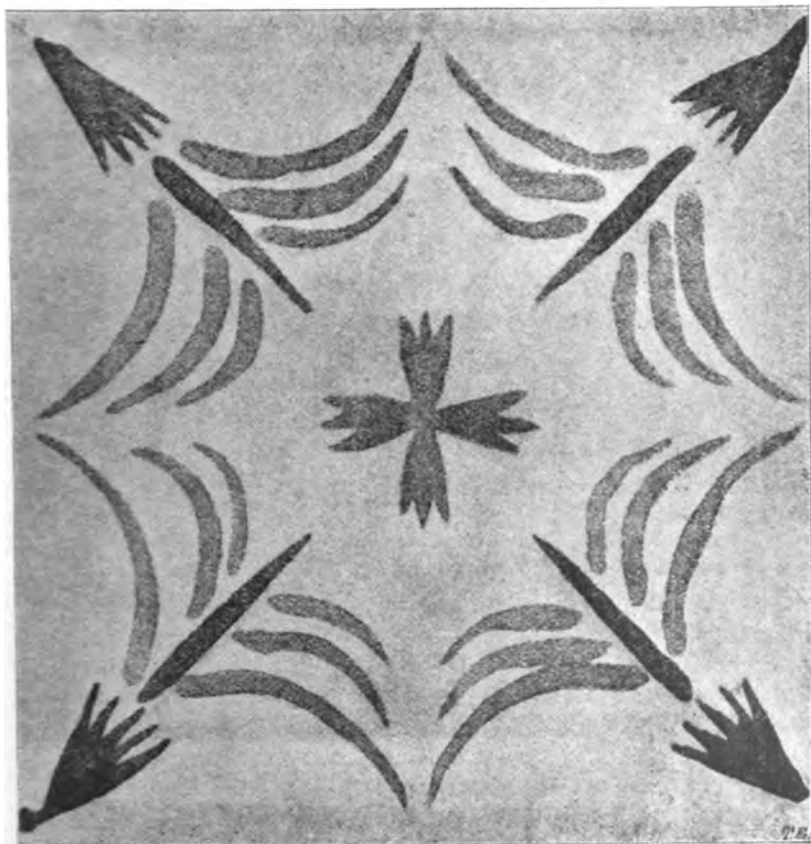
"Freehand often means cramped fingers and indirect drawing—fifty little touches to a line five inches long, rubbed out, perhaps twenty times, in parts and patched up. The whole arm is used by the child when scribbling, and its structure shows it is well adapted for this free action and for graduated curvature. Rapid action over a smooth surface is more easily directed and controlled than a slow movement, deeply incised in the substance of the paper. There is less resistance and more help from bodily structure and the mechanical movement.

"Non-resisting materials the child selects, and the pavement artist knows their value. The misty window-pane, the sea-shore sand, the wet finger-tip, the leading of water over a smooth surface are some of the child's suggestions. Chalk and blackboard, brush and color, charcoal or colored chalk on paper we can adopt. Brush and water on the blackboard are the readiest materials for us; whatever can be most easily used should be used; drawing in the air with the finger tip is not to be despised."

We have here the first intimation of the character of brush-drawing, proper. "The history of drawing with a brush, as distinguished from painting, is not yet written. Engraving, etching, and pen-drawing—all products of a firm point—have their literature; but the work of the soft, flexible brush-point, with its many and varied powers, is hardly known outside the region of technical art." It is the chief instrument in some kinds of lithography, and it was recommended and practised in a measure by Ruskin and Rosetti. But the analysis of the full powers of the brush in edu-

cational drawing remained for Mr. Cooke, and it was effected first in connexion with the study of Greek art, and secondly in connexion with his actual work of teaching.

"There are two kinds of brush lines in Greek art—namely, broad bands all round the vases, and freehand patterns. The bands seem to have been made mechanically. They may have been made by holding or fixing the brush steadily in one place while the vase revolved, as a chisel is worked at a lathe, and as the hand



ELEMENTARY BRUSHWORK.

"Alma" School, Bermondsey, London, S. E. Age, 8 years.

itself moulded the vase on the potter's wheel. The bands vary in width, but between them are free lines arranged in a simple manner, often in a kind of geometric pattern. It is in making these free lines that the power most characteristic of the brush asserts itself. It persistently presents to the artist, as the child presents to its teacher, the most important characteristics of its inner self, until at last the artist recognises its right to speak and the truth of its message, and accepts the teach-



ELEMENTARY BRUSHWORK.

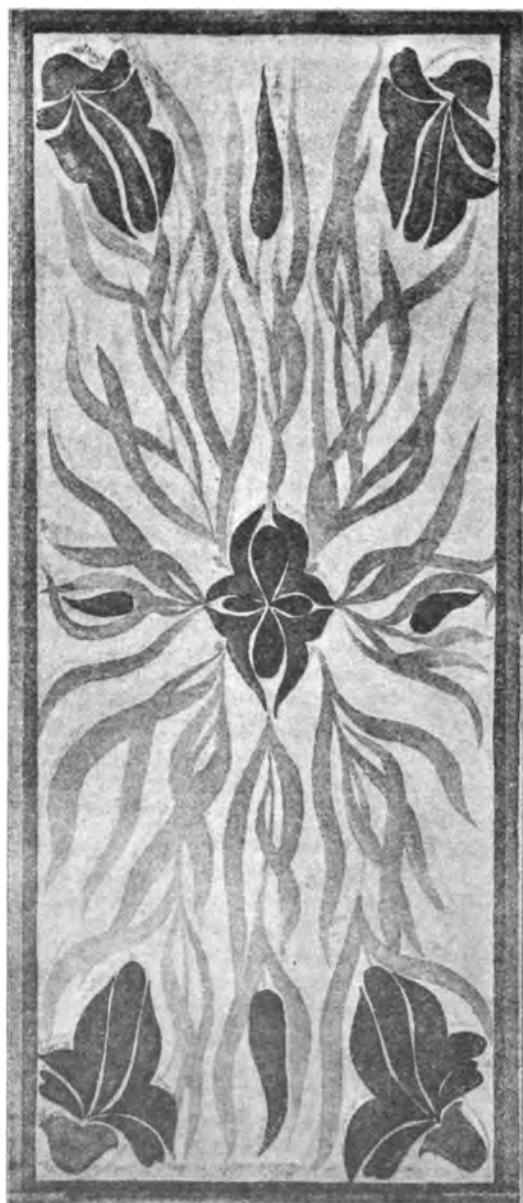
"Alma" School, Bermondsey, London, S. E. Age, 9 years.

ing of his instrument. The shape most natural to the brush is ovate, the form of the brush itself, and also the outward expression of the force employed. When hand, brush, and material work harmoniously together, various ovate forms are produced with ease at one stroke, by the free play of the brush. Some of these are very suggestive of living forms; alone or arranged in the most simple ways, imagination sees in them likeness to flowers, leaves, shells, fishes, and birds. Inventive imitation stimulates observation; fish and bird are looked at again and the forms are improved. The eye of the fish, which at first was placed in the mouth, or at the furthest end, is put in its right place; its "lots of fins" become definitely numbered, of better form, and in their right places. This may have led to the direct study of nature; but at first these forms are not copied from nature. The strokes of the brush most easily made in free play for decoration suggest the forms of objects, and a few touches are added playfully from memory to accent the discovery. By frequent repetition and directed observation these are made more complete. From the simpler animals the higher forms develop; from fish to bird, from bird to mammal, and so up to man. This interesting course can be followed on the vases from ragged and unequal lines, to most skilful decoration, from simple ovate strokes to the majestic dignity of Athenæ and the supreme beauty of Aphrodite."

Line, with the brush, was not an easy beginning even for the Greek artist, and it is not easy for the child, although there are, as Mr. Cooke indicates, easy ways of making lines. Line and mass seem to be the most natural beginning with the brush, but there is another—the "blob." This is the characteristic innovation of Mr. Cooke's work, known to the educational world now for many years, even in manifold perversions, but still interesting and deserving of wider dissemination. We will listen to its origin and function in his own words:

"While I was considering the problem, 'How to begin coloring with little children,' and watching them for guidance, a child helped me. If he did not suggest the way—I rather think he did—he fixed it, and although this new way has been now much abused, it is a useful beginning. The Greeks did not use it much, if they found it. The Japanese have found and used it, but neither to Greek nor Japanese am I indebted, but to a little boy.

"It came in this way. As the function of drawing is to express ideas, as expression of ideas is educative, and as children like to make pictures, I asked Jack L—— to make drawings of the story of the Sleeping Beauty. He had come to that fateful birthday, when the Beauty, believing all danger past, wandered to the uninhabited upper room in the ancient castle, and found the old witch there spinning. It pleased him in making a picture of this scene to fill the room with real and unreal strange creatures. Dusty cobwebs indicated the neglect of ages. Big spiders spun webs in windows, rafters and corners; imps gambolled on the floor; but over and above all, rats were most abundant. There was a reason for this. They had gathered into themselves a new and absorbing interest beyond and above the picture itself, and had overflowed its bounds and filled its margin. For he had made a discovery, apparently as the picture neared its end. It was that a rat could be made by one touch of the side of the brush—by that "blob" with which we are now so familiar—adding only a few short strokes from memory for ears, tail, and



APPLICATION OF DESIGN TO PANEL OF PARTITION
Specimen Brushwork of the "Alma" School, Bermondsey, London.

legs. Delighted with his discovery he covered the floor in the picture, and then the whole margin of the paper all round, with rats. This impressed the 'blob' on me, but even then it might have passed unnoticed had not these two questions been working in my mind: 'What are the general forms in living objects'; and 'How can we help little children to begin to color?' To this last question here was an answer; here were all the conditions required; the ovate form and an animal at once, made with one easy stroke, and that so delightful to a boy that he repeated it scores of times just to please himself with its free play. Although Jack L—— has been dead several years, he did not live altogether in vain."

A few words as to the mechanical production of the "blob":

"A brush is ovate in shape, leaf-like; fill it with color not too thin and watery, let its whole length drop on the paper, press it down a little, then take it up, without moving it sideways, and it paints at one touch a portrait of itself—an ovate blot or blob. Any child who can hold a brush can make it. . . . To make it the brush should be held nearly parallel to the paper, not like a pen at an angle of 45°. One way of doing this is to put the long handle inside the hand, and drop the brush on the paper. One end of the blob thus made is dark, the other light; the color is graduated like the form. To get the full value of this gradation, to get the darkest points together in the centre of a flower or whorl, the hand must be turned at the wrist freely, and for this some preliminary gymnastic exercises will be useful."

Next, as to the suggestiveness and inherent potentialities of the "blob":

"The ovate forms, separately or combined, will suggest to the child natural objects, such as leaves or fish. Two ovates or blobs will by the addition of a stroke or two represent a plantlet; three, a clover leaf, or flying bird; four, a wall-flower; five, a starfish, or flowers, regular or irregular, as roses or violets. If the ovate forms are arranged along a line instead of radiating like a wheel or floral leaves, buds and fruits will be suggested. Many other things—animals of many kinds, from worms to man, can be easily made by adding limbs and other appendages. The Greeks seem to have seen very soon in the ovate stroke the likeness to the cuttle fish.

"Children constantly find similarities in ovate forms and in chance combinations they make. This characteristic of the child long survives, and it indicates an easy way of beginning and helping design; we can begin with something outside, or from something done, as well as from thought, perhaps better. The child's natural method supports this. At the age of four a child names what it has drawn after the drawing is made. Even artists like Leonardo da Vinci, have advised that a plate should be held over a flame, to get suggestions for pictorial effects, from the chance scribbles and tints of its smoke. This way of beginning with the outer, sanctioned by the child's nature and highest authority, may be used, at least as the child uses it, to get initial suggestions. It can be abandoned if not needed, but when we see how some earnest people 'cudgel their brains' trying hard to invent, and nothing comes, a beginning of this kind may be a relief and a comfort. The little child begins by doing, and thinks afterwards. This shows how production promotes thought; suggestions arise from the doings of the hand as well as from the activity of the head, from outer as well as from inner; only begin, and the next step will be easier. Put down two blobs, they may suggest combinations, when thought fails."

And finally a remark on the rôle of accident in creative invention and on the power of the accomplished fact:

"A child will often, by happy accident, make something like a bird or beast, and this can be made again. 'I can't' has lost its power; what the child has done, it can do. If chance combinations are repeated they will come under the control of will and cease to be accidental. The happy accident will also induce the child to look again, of its own free will, at the actual thing to see how like it is, and so more knowledge will be gained and the form improved. Anything that will induce the child to go to Nature itself—instead of having Nature brought to it by another—to use its eyes and senses constantly out of doors and about it, is good. Its drawing may be useless, but to see is better than to draw. All study will be benefited by cultured and constant observation. The little child observes habitually, and the habit should never be allowed to die."

Little has been said in our quotations regarding details of technique. This is a matter for which the reader is referred to the sources above mentioned. But we may mention in conclusion, and *à propos* of this point, the work of the "Alma" School of London, one of the newer well-designed and well-equipped schools of the London School Board, in which the new *Alternative Syllabus of Drawing* which embodies Mr. Cooke's ideas has found successful adoption, and from the records of which the specimen illustrations accompanying the present article have been taken. The "Alma" School is attended by the children of workingmen, of ages ranging from seven and one half to thirteen and one half years; there are two lessons in drawing a week, the main object of which is the teaching of design. The introduction of the system in this school has been very encouraging from an intentional point of view. "It has evoked in the boys," says the Headmaster, "such an intense interest as I had never seen displayed before. The study has been from the beginning taken up with the utmost enthusiasm. The boys were charmed to be able to use chalk, but they have been fascinated with the brush, and the deftness with which they manipulate it is marvellous; there is almost an entire absence of color in the wrong place; a spotted or smudged drawing is scarcely ever seen; they take an immense pleasure and rapidly acquire skill and taste, in mixing and harmonising colors." It has called forth a great deal of voluntary homework, and has appealed to the dullest as well as to the brightest. "Nor has the effect of this work been confined to the drawing; the consciousness of power which a boy obtains in producing a good design overflows into all his other work. Some timid, hesitating lads have been simply transformed intellectually under its influence. Such a boy no longer does merely what he is told; he works because he enjoys it, because he feels that by work he can achieve something." It has supplied, in fine, "an artistic and scientific basis for true technical training, and produced at the same time the spirit which alone will make that training effectual."

GOSPEL PARALLELS FROM PÂLI TEXTS.

Translated from the Originals by ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

(Fifth Series.)¹

APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

Matthew xvi. 17-19. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

MIDDLING COLLECTION, DIALOGUE CXI.

MONKS, it is only of Sâriputto that one can truly say: He is a lawful son of the Blessed One, born of his mouth, born of his religion, spiritually created, a spiritual kinsman, not a carnal one. Sâriputto, O monks, keeps up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathâgato.

NUMERICAL COLLECTION I. 13.

Monks, I do not perceive another single individual who keeps up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathâgato, excepting Sâriputto.

Sâriputto, O monks, keeps up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathâgato.

NUMERICAL COLLECTION V. 132.

Monks, the eldest son of a king who is a world-ruler (*Cakkavatti*) is endowed with five attributes, and keeps up the empire (lit., keeps the wheel rolling) set going by his father by righteousness alone: that is the wheel which cannot be turned back by any human being, by any hostile hand.

What are the five attributes?

In this world, monks, the eldest son of a king who is a world-

¹ Counting *The Penitent Thief* (October) as the Fourth Series.

ruler is worldly-wise, and spiritually wise, temperate, wise in the times, and wise in the assemblies.

Monks, the eldest son of a king who is a world-ruler is endowed with these five attributes, and keeps up the empire set going by his father by righteousness alone: that is the wheel that cannot be turned back by any human being, by any hostile hand.

Exactly thus, monks, does Sâriputto, with five qualities (*dhammas*) endowed, keep up the incomparable empire of religion, set going once for all by the Tathâgato: that is the wheel that cannot be turned back by philosopher or brahmin, angel or Tempter, archangel, or any one in the world.

What are the five qualities?

In this case, monks, Sâriputto is worldly-wise, spiritually wise, temperate, wise in the times and wise in the assemblies.

With these five qualities endowed, monks, does Sâriputto keep up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathâgato: that is the wheel that cannot be turned back by philosopher or brahmin, angel or Tempter, archangel, or any one in the world.

SUTTA NIPÂTO 557.

The wheel set rolling by me—
Religion's incomparable wheel—
Sâriputto keeps rolling,
[He] the fellow of the Tathâgato.

SAVING POWER OF BELIEF.

Mark ix. 23. Jesus said unto him, If thou canst! All things are possible to him that believeth.

Cf. John iii. 18, and the New Testament throughout.

NUMERICAL COLLECTION I. 17.

Monks, I do not perceive another single quality whereby beings, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in states of suffering, woe, destruction and hell, to be compared, O monks, to false belief.

Beings, possessed of false belief, O monks, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in states of suffering, woe, destruction and hell.

Monks, I do not perceive another single quality whereby beings, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in the world of weal and paradise, to be compared, O monks, with Right Belief.¹

¹ The first step in the Noble Eightfold Path of Gotamo's famous Sermon in the Deer Park near Benâres. The doctrine of the saving power of Belief is thus fundamental in Buddhism.

Beings, possessed of Right Belief, O monks, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in the world of paradise.

THE LOGIA.

JESUS SAITH is the formula in the Egyptian Logia-fragment found in 1897, and of frequent occurrence in the Gospels. The ancient Christian Logia-Book, or primitive Gospel of Matthew mentioned by Papias (Eusebius, H. E. iii. 39) is lost; but the Buddhists are more fortunate in having their Logia-Book extant. It is called the *Itivuttaka*, that is, the *Thus-Said*. Its antiquity is attested not only by the internal evidence of terseness and simplicity, but by the external evidence that the name itself is one of the ancient Nine Divisions of the Scriptures which antedate the present arrangement of the Pâli Canon. The formulæ of the *Itivuttaka* are the following:

1. *This was said by the Blessed One, said by the Holy One, and heard by me.*
2. *This is the meaning of what the Blessed One said, and here it is rendered thus [in verse].*
3. *Exactly this is the meaning spoken by the Blessed One, and thus it was heard by me.*

These three formulæ accompany each of the first 79 paragraphs (*suttas*) of the *Itivuttaka*; No. 80 has the first two formulæ only; Nos. 81-88 have none of them; Nos. 89 and 90 have all; Nos. 91-98 have none; Nos. 99 and 100 have all; Nos. 101-111 have none; the closing *sutta*, No. 112, has all three. Five of the *suttas* that want the formulæ (Nos. 101, 105, 108, 110, 111) are found in the Numerical Collection, as well as two where they have been supplied (Nos. 90 and 112). It is therefore probable that the original *Itivuttaka* has been added to, and this is borne out by the fact that the *suttas* increase in length towards the end. Moreover, the *suttas* borrowed from the Numerical Collection all occur *after* No. 80, where the formulæ cease to be regular.¹

The earlier part of the *Itivuttaka* appears to be of great antiquity. Its themes are found all through the Canon in a more developed form, but they are here expressed with a terse simplicity and with the solemn deposition in each case that Buddha spoke them.

See also *Itivuttaka*, 32, 33. The word *Belief* is literally *Sight* and can also be rendered *View* or *Speculation*.

¹ If it be said that the *Anguttara* borrowed certain *suttas* because they were numerical, the fact confronts us that Nos. 108 and 110 to 112 are not numerical; while Nos. 1-6, which are not borrowed at all, one would expect to find in the *Eka-Nipâto*.

THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY W. THORNTON PARKER, M. D.

THIS contribution which I offer concerning Indian religious character is more in the nature of homage for a people who have by their manly sincerity won my affection ; otherwise, there is very little which is new. The works of Parkman, Catlin, Inman, not to mention the rich archives of our great Smithsonian Institution to which so many well-known authorities have contributed, would make my few words seem infinitesimal had I other excuse for presenting them. I have known the Indians since when in my boyhood days I rode the saddle with the gallant "long knives" of the dear old 3rd U. S. Cavalry. I have met many tribes since then, but dearer to me than any other are my *Christian* friends of the Ojibways—warriors, orators, farmers, fathers, mothers, but all the "children of the same Father" !

Their religious character is one of their most conspicuous traits, and we are bound to acknowledge and respect them for it. A people devout, and with a strong and genuine belief in the "Great Spirit," in the "Mighty Creator," in the "loving attentive Father"—a people devoted to their country, to their nation, to their homes (humble though they be), to their families, and whose love for their children is beautiful beyond description,—such a people demonstrate beyond a doubt that their *religion* is practical, genuine, and worthy of recognition. These people are an inspiration to the palefaces who have met them !

When I asked my brave old friend Emmengahbowk, the beloved Indian priest of the Episcopal Mission at White Earth, Minnesota, what actuated him in risking his life to save the pale-face women and children from capture and death, he replied : "They have been kind to me, and I could not bear to have them

harmed, and it was my duty as a Christian." Can a man do more than risk or give his life for his friends?

The great good friend of the Indian, whom they call Straight-tongue, in his interesting book, *The Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*, refers to his faithful priest Emmengabbowk:

"The wily chief Hole-in-the-Day had planned for a massacre at the same time on the northern border. But Emmengabbowk had sent a faithful messenger to Mille Sacs, to urge the Indians to be true to the whites and to send men to protect the fort. More than a hundred Mille Sacs warriors went at once to the fort,



MEE-SHEE-KEE-GEE-SHIG (DARK-LOWERING-DAY-CLOUDS-TOUCHING-ALL-AROUND).

Ojibway war chief. From a photograph in the author's possession.

but meantime Emmengabbowk himself walked all night down Gull River, dragging a canoe containing his wife and children, that he might give warning to the fort. Two of his children died from the exposure. Messages were also sent to the white settlers, and before Hole-in-the-Day could begin war the massacre was averted.¹

"I have never known an Atheist among the North American Indians. They believe unquestionably in a future life. They believe that everything in nature—the laughing water-fall, the rock, the sky, the forest—contains a divinity, and all mysteries are accounted for by these spirits, which they call manidos. When they first saw a telegraph they said: 'A spirit carries a message on the wires.'

¹ *Lec. cit.*, p. 110.

"The Ojibways are not idolaters, they never bow down nor worship any created thing. They have preserved a tradition of one Supreme God whom they call 'Kitche-manido'—the 'Uncreated,' or the kind, cherishing Spirit. They believe that the Grand Medicine was given them by an intermediate deity, the 'Grand Medicine-God.'"¹

When an Indian is thought to be at the point of death, his friends and relatives make careful preparation and nothing is omitted to ensure an honorable funeral ceremony. The dying Indian's hair is combed and oiled and braided, and he is dressed in his best clothing; if possible a new suit is provided—new blankets, leggings, and moccasins. His face is painted red (vermillion). It may be an hour, a day, or many days, before death takes place, but he is made ready for the final event with scrupulous care and attention in every detail.

"Indians are at all times prayerful and careful in their religious observances, but they are never more scrupulous about these matters than when starting on the war-path."² Those whom they have left behind pray for them at camp. The parents unwrap their sacred bundles and sing their sacred songs. Before eating, the warrior prays for the success of his undertaking. He must seek his success from Deity; without divine aid his task is hopeless, he can accomplish nothing. Each man is instructed before he sleeps to offer up his petition for strength and help and victory. The leader must offer his sacrifice for the command as well as for himself. Oftentimes the Indians continue all night in prayer, and burn incense of sweet pine and sweet grass to purify themselves. Often he offers sacrifices of food, tobacco, ornaments, some of his own hair, a scalp lock, or even a portion of his own flesh. He makes use of scourging and of incisions into his flesh, often causing sharp hæmorrhage, and even fiery coals are placed upon his naked skin to strengthen his powers of endurance and of self-control.

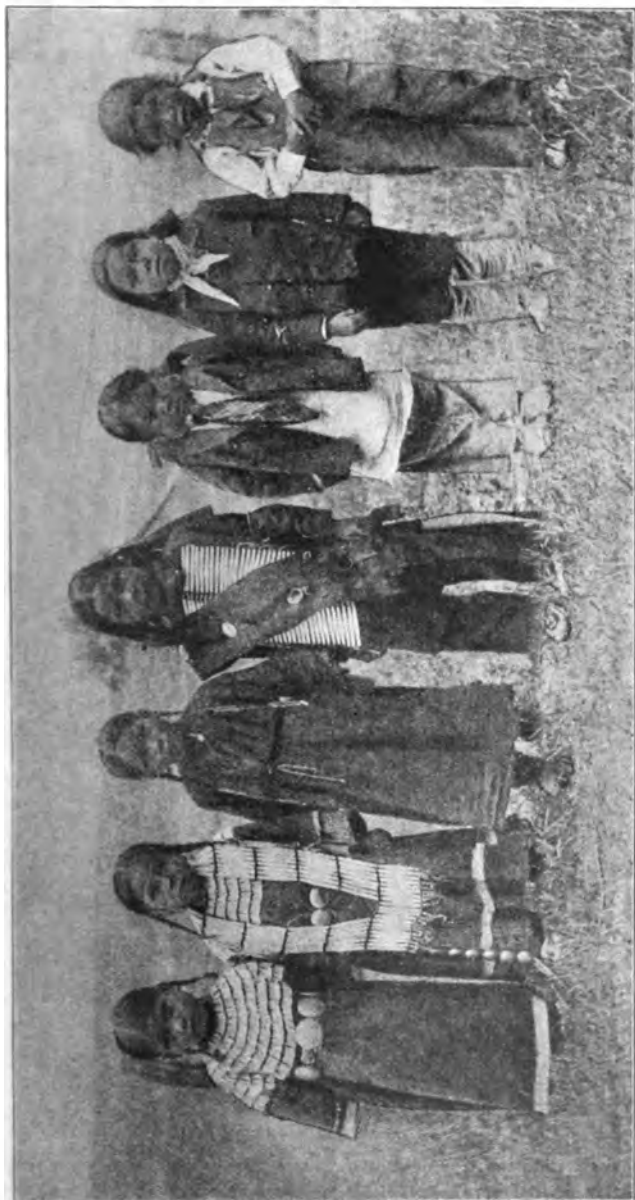
The Indians believe that when the spirit reaches its final destination, the great country, the happy hunting-ground, the final life-everlasting is forever and peacefully completed.

He forgets not his dead, this North American Indian, but often, not only once a year as on our All Souls' Day, but more frequently, they hold their rude commemorative ceremonies, and contribute from their slender means the best feast they can produce. Nor does his charity extend to the dead alone; he is peculiarly tender in his love for children, for the infirm, for the demented,

¹ Bishop Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*.

² Grinnell.

the wounded and the dying. If compassion is the test of true religion, the Indian deserves respect. Tales of his barbarity are in



WASOSO BOYS AND GIRLS.

Indian mothers are as fond of their children, and as happy in them, as white mothers are in theirs. The picture shows Indian children dressed in the best that wild life affords. (From *The Indian Missions*, by Bishop Hare.)

the excitement of war; but how tame our Indians appear when compared with the cruel Chinese!

The Grand Medicine Man at the funeral ceremonies says in his address to the departed spirit, as he kindly spreads over the corpse the blanket:

"Do not look back, but look to your journey towards the setting sun. Let



THE REV. J. J. "EMMENGABOWK" (THE-MAN-WHO-STANDS-BEFORE-HIS-PEOPLE).

From Bishop Whipple's book, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*.

nothing disturb or distract you or cause you to look away from your journey's path—Go—Go, in peace!"

Then another medicine man repeats this; then all in unison sing these words:

"I walk on peacefully for my long journey of life,
Soon, soon to reach the end of my journey.
Soon to reach my friends who have gone before me."

When this chant is ended, the Grand Medicine Man calls in a loud voice :

"Nuh—gab—kuk—nuw
Nuh—gab—kuk—nuw."

"An Indian burial is most touching. If of a child, the mother places the playthings of the little one in the birch-bark coffin, and strews flowers in the grave. She then makes an image of the baby, ornamenting the head with feathers, and



ST. COLUMBUS INDIAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

White Earth Reservation, Minnesota. This church cost \$12,000. The money was raised mostly by the efforts of Emmengahbowk and Minageeshig, who travelled in the Eastern States for that purpose.

carries it with her for one year. If of a chief or warrior, the body is arrayed as if for the chase or war-path with bows and arrows and medicine-bag by his side. The favorite dog is killed, that it may accompany him on his journey. The orator of the band then addresses the silent figure, telling of his deeds of bravery, of how he pursued his enemies and brought back their scalps, of his wise words of counsel and acts of kindness, and how having left this world for the Happy Hunting-grounds, he will find the trail a narrow one, and will be tempted by evil spirits to

turn aside, but that he must be deaf, for if he stops to listen he will miss the trail and be lost."¹

Lt. Totten of the United States army believed our North American Indians to be the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel.² Certainly their traditions point to the region of Behring's Strait as the place from whence they came and whither they are wending. But whether their customs and their beliefs are merely human nature, showing out in redskin as well as in paleface, there is a start-



BISHOP HARE ORDAINING TWO INDIANS.

The ordination took place at the Convocation of 1898. The two candidates are kneeling in the center.

ling similarity in Indian laws of hygiene, of cleanliness, and customs of the men and women, to say nothing of their reverence for the Great and Sacred Name, which suggest Israelitish origin. And the "Chosen Race" need not be ashamed of them! The attitude of worship, the bowed head, the instantly extended palms when the

¹ Bishop Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*.

² There is no ethnological, historical, or psychological ground that we know of, for this fantastic hypothesis, the mention of which is to be interpreted here merely as affording Dr. Parker occasion to introduce his references to the natural coincidences of religious myths, customs, etc.—*Editor*.

sacred Deity is referred to, are surely remarkable. What other Aborigines are so devout and sincere, so brave in suffering, so



AN INDIAN BEAR DANCE.

This picture represents one of the peaceful dances. It gives a good idea of wild Indian life in its milder and unwarlike phases, showing the raw material with which the Missions had to begin.

fearless in battle, so loving to children, so faithful in friendship, so unselfish, and so true?

The Indian's heaven we know as his happy hunting-grounds,

—a country of wide green and cool, clear streams, where the buffalo and other game are always plenty and fat, where the lodges (tepees) are ever new and white, the ponies always swift, the war parties successful, and the people happy.

Sometimes the Indian, "When the slanting rays of the Western sun tinge the autumnal haze with red, beholds dimly far away the white lodges of such a happy camp and sees thro' the mist and dust ghostly warriors returning from the hunt, leading horses as in olden times, with dripping meat and with shaggy skins."¹

This happy land is usually located *above* the sky, but with many tribes it is to the west beyond the *Gilche gummee*, the Big Sea Water. But wherever the home of the "Almighty Creator," the "Great Spirit," may be, his Indian children love best to call him by the endearing title of "Father." Although called by this name which the Saviour taught His followers to utter, whether of the white, the yellow, the black, or the red peoples, the Indian regards this "Father" as omnipotent, beneficent, the Supreme Ruler. Everything is within His Holy Keeping, just as *we* have been taught that no sparrow falls to the ground without *our* Heavenly Father's consent.²

Resting upon His fatherhood, nothing is undertaken without praying for His assistance. When the pipe is lighted, a few whiffs are blown upwards as incense. Some of the food is sacrificed to Him. Burnt offerings are still continued in His honor, a part of the first deer, the first buffalo, and we might almost expect to find their rule in the words of the Bible,—Whatever we do, do all to the glory of God. The words may be absent, but the practice is there.

"Father above" is the counterpart of "Our Father who art in Heaven," for do they not say, "Father who is in *all* places," "The Heavens are Thy house; we, Thy children, live within (or beneath)"?

"Father of the dead, You see us."

If the Indians have other gods, they use them merely by praying to them, "intercede for us," "pray for us" to *the* God, the "Heavenly Father."

Atius Tirana is Father Spirit. The Indian blows the first four smokes to Atius, then four to the earth, then four to each of the cardinal points.

The young warrior is advised: "My son, when thou smokest

¹ Grinnell.

² St. Matthew 2. 29.

in thy pipe, always blow four smokes to the east,—to the night." The Indian regards the east as the place of night, *it comes from the east!*

The Indian is taught that he must offer sacrifices and burnt offerings to the Almighty—humbling himself and imploring His aid—if he would attain success in the world or in the life "*everlasting*." The Indian states his belief in his prayer: "My Father who dwelleth in Heaven and in all places, it is through *You* that I am living"; and it is the equivalent of our "In Him we live and have our being."

Longfellow, in *Hiawatha*, has beautifully told the story of Indian worship and belief. Pathetic beyond description is the tender, loving care bestowed upon the dead,—the solemn service, the sweet hymns, the birch-covered coffin, the hemlock-lined grave, the gentle depositing of the earth, and last, but not least, the little sheltering house above with its small window and the cross of hope rising from its eastern gable.

How beautiful in Longfellow's *Hiawatha* is the picture of the Indian's Heavenly Father, the Almighty Creator. One picture in His majesty touching the mountains, and the other,

"Gitche Manitou, the Mighty,
The creator of the nations,
Looked upon them with compassion,
With paternal love and pity."

And then the poet tells in his matchless verse such a story of Indian belief in the Almighty Creator that one feels as if the Indians should send missionaries to the palefaces!

Surely, a people with no "cuss" words, and who never mention the name of Deity except in reverence, and with bowed heads and palms extended outward, are justly entitled to respect. It is indeed inspiring to see these people we call savages going with their humble petitions to their Heavenly Father, pleading for help in their distress when all earthly help has failed.

"Gitche Manitou, the Mighty,
Cried he with his face uplifted
In that bitter hour of anguish,
Give your children food, O Father,
Give us food, or we must perish."

This prayer from the *Famine* is one of Longfellow's greatest pictures in his unrivalled collection. The poem of *Hiawatha* is best appreciated by those who know the Indian. The "parting"

is a picture with which to close our quotation. "Westward, Westward," is the word ever on their lips so mournful and so prophetic.

"Thus departed Hiawatha,
Hiawatha the Beloved,
In the glory of the sunset,
In the purple mists of evening,
To the regions of the home-wind
Of the north-west wind Kee-way-din.
To the islands of the Blessed,
To the kingdom of Ponemah,
To the land of the Hereafter."

MISCELLANEOUS.

A HISTORY OF THE ART OF PHYSICAL EXPERIMENTATION.

It is a fascinating picture for the student of civilisation that Dr. E. Gerland and Dr. F. Trau Müller have unrolled in their recent *History of Physical Experimentation*.¹ We have many books that treat of the development of physical theory, but none that give a complete history of the origin and growth of the wonderful and ingenious mechanical devices by means of which our mastery of the forces of nature has been advanced to the astonishing pitch witnessed by the closing days of the nineteenth century.

It is little considered what the history of civilisation owes to the invention of the simplest machines and tools, which may be regarded as the extensions and materialisations of man's intellect, which have entirely offset the initial advantages that brute creation possessed over him in the struggle for existence, and which have multiplied his power and opportunities to a degree nothing short of super-human. The invention of the wheel alone bears upon it the burden of as great cultural achievements as the political history of many empires; its presence is so familiar to us and its function so imbedded in the fabric of our material welfare, that the very idea of its having had an origin or of a period of civilisation that could have possibly existed without its puissant aid, appears to have altogether escaped the notice of the ordinary observer. Yet the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments plainly show that some of its simplest and crudest uses are far from having been prehistoric. Its introduction, the development and application of its varied powers, were very slow processes; and, moreover, that development was, as in most other cases, continuous, and little broken by accident; its history, from a short time after its possible chance beginning to its present stage of extreme mechanical refinement, has been a succession of interrelated and rational conquests, conditioned by the knowledge, art, technical advantages, and intellectual dispositions of the ages. The accidents in its development have never occurred save to the inventive minds who were looking for them.

This intellectual and cultural continuity in the evolution of human implements, workshops, and laboratories is finely brought out in some of the examples whose history we can follow in Dr. Gerland and Dr. Trau Müller's work, and notably so in the case of the development of the steam-engine, the origin of which popular romance delights to accord to the chance contemplation of a boiling tea-kettle. It is not a derogation, but rather a noble compliment, to Watt's genius to recognise

¹ *Geschichte der physikalischen Experimentierkunst*, Leipzig: W. Engelmann. 1899. Pages, 442. 425 cuts. Price, bound, 17 marks.

that his great invention was the rational and crowning flower of the scientific and technical growth of an entire century, and that he had in his work a line of illustrious predecessors, Huygens, Somerset, Savery, Pappin, and Newcomen, one of whom at least was as clear as man could be of the desired goal. No finer picture, in fact, of the state of experimental art and mechanical ideals a century after Galileo can be found than that of the efforts of Denis Pappin (1647-1714) to construct a steam-engine to replace human labor. He invented both a low-pressure and a high-pressure steam-engine; his procedure was as logical and as cautious as could be desired; his work was guided, not by theoretical fancies, but by the requirements of the facts, as experimentally ascertained. He was fully conscious of the scope of his invention; it was designed to pump water from mines, to throw projectiles, and to propel ships and vehicles. Legend even had it that he actually built a steam-boat, urged by oars, and sailed on it in 1707 from Cassel to Münden, intending afterwards to proceed to England,—a project in which he was foiled by the Westphalian mariners, who destroyed his vessel from jealousy. Be that as it may, one cannot withhold one's admiration either for Pappin's ideas or for his practical execution of them. But the *technique* of his time failed him, and, as our authors remark, the construction of his machine was so unutterably clumsy that it can now provoke from us only a generous smile.

The foregoing is but one of the many developments in the work under consideration which will interest the unprofessional reader. The history of the experimental and mechanic arts in Egypt and Assyria, in Greece and Rome, though meager, is not without its surprises. Archimedes, Hero, Philo, Ctesbius, and Ptolemy do much to relieve the absolute barrenness of the later periods. The inquirers of antiquity and the Middle Ages mostly constructed their apparatus themselves; although Hero and Philo report that they had special mechanics of great skill. The manufacture of astronomical instruments was entrusted chiefly to goldsmiths and other workers in metal. The artistic Roman steelyards are distinctively their work. This did not change for centuries, and the trade of instrument-making proper was not constituted as an independent craft until the invention of mechanical clocks: the first professional instrument-makers came from the ranks of the clock-makers.

The Byzantine period has nothing to show; the Arabs are more interesting; there are some glimmerings in the Middle Ages (Roger Bacon); there is light in the sixteenth century with Leonardo da Vinci, Maurolycus, Della Porta, Gilbert, Copernicus, Stevinus, and Tycho Brahe (some of whose astronomical instruments were reproduced from the present work in *The Open Court* for July, 1900); but the full radiance of the experimental procedure in physics burst forth with Galileo (1564-1642), who first systematically applied the Socratic method of induction in science and rightly conjoined it with deduction, as controlled by experiment. Galileo's procedure required the constant check of conclusions by facts; and the development of experimental technics sprang from this requirement as fast as the advance of the mechanic and industrial arts in each succeeding age permitted. The leaps which it has taken in the present century are known, as to their magnitude at least, by all.

But, as was above noted, the ideas of the inquirers often ran in advance of the possibility of execution. One of the most celebrated books describing physical experiments of the seventeenth century is that of Otto Guericke, the inventor of the air-pump. The two cuts here reproduced from his *Experimenta nova (ut vocantur) Magdeburgica* (1672) show the simple apparatus with which he originally

sought to obtain a vacuum. The first is that of a common barrel filled with water which was drawn out by means of a fire-engine pump and which the air followed through the crevices as rapidly as the exhaustion was performed; the second is that of two semi-spherical copper vessels, which burst owing to their defective curvature.



GUERICKE'S FIRST CRUDE AND UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN A VACUUM.

(Facsimile reproduction from the *Experimenta Magdeburgica*.
Amsterdam, 1672.)

Guericke's book has supplied our authors with a great number of very interesting illustrations. This, indeed, is a feature in which their work is very rich. The cuts, which number 425, are drawn from rare sources and in themselves form a

veritable panorama of the development under consideration. The works of Huygens, Descartes, Hooke, Newton, Faraday, and many others, far more rare, have also been exploited by the authors and publisher in lavish and commendable manner; and it is our only regret that we cannot give more space to the notice of the important phases of human thought which they represent. Certainly, to many readers this book will prove an inspiring one. T. J. McCORMACK.

ASPIRATION.

A SONNET.

'Tis the afterglow of sunset! and a mist
 Of molten gold, at the bidding of the breeze,
 Is blown athwart the sky beyond yon trees,
 Wind-woven with waves of fire-fringed amethyst
 No limits bar the soul! Where'er it list,
 Borne on the untrammelled wings of Joy, it flees
 Through throbbing paths of light: yet naught it sees,
 Nor dreams of aught, save but to be star-kissed.
 On! on! it hastens; all its heart athirst
 With love unspeakable, to touch with love
 That lovely light which glimmers now in grey:
 On! on! until in Hesper's arms, where erst
 It yearned to lie, it sinks; as all above
 Night's palsy stills the last faint pulse of Day.

F. J. P.

AN AMERICAN ANTHOLOGY.

The task of compiling an anthology of American verse¹ could not have been entrusted to a more sympathetic critic than Mr. Edmund Clarence Stedman, the author of the admirable *Victorian Anthology*, and himself a poet of no mean merit. He has performed his work with true American breadth and in a democratic spirit that few would have had the courage to exhibit, but which has shown the development of our national versification in all its varied phases, in its highest as well as its lowest sources, demonstrating it to be a genuine utterance of the national heart, "of import in the past and to the future,"—a powerful stimulant to the nation's growth. By his wide inclusiveness of selection he has put it beyond a doubt that "if our native anthology yields to a foreign one in wealth of choice production," it is still "from an equally vital point of view the more significant of the two." Throughout the years resulting in the Civil War, literature was with us really a force; and a generous foreign critic, Mr. William Archer, has in Mr. Stedman's judgment truly said: "The whole world will one day come to hold Vicksburg and Gettysburg names of larger historic import than Waterloo or Sedan." "If this be so," Mr. Stedman continues, "the significance of a literature

¹ *An American Anthology*, 1787-1899. Selections Illustrating the Editor's Critical Review of American Poetry in the Nineteenth Century. Edited by Edmund Clarence Stedman. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1900. Pages, lxvii, 878. Price, large crown 8vo, \$3.00; full gilt, \$3.50; half calf, \$5.00.

"of all kinds that led up to the 'sudden making' of those 'splendid names' is not to be gainsaid. Mr. Howells aptly has pointed out that war does not often add to great art or poetry, but the white heat of lyric utterance has preceded many a campaign, and never more effectively than in the years before our fight for what Mr. Archer calls 'the preservation of the national idea.' Therefore an American does not seem to me a laudable reader who does not estimate the present collection in the full light of all that his country has been, is, and is to be."

Yet the influence of the great names of American literature, Longfellow, Bryant, Emerson, Lowell, and Whittier, has not been wholly restricted to our own nationality. "Emerson presented such a union of spiritual and civic insight with dithyrambic genius as may not be seen again. His thought is now congenial throughout vast reaches, among new peoples scarcely conscious of its derivation. The transcendentalists, as a whole, for all their lapses into didacticism, made and left an impress. Longfellow and his pupils, for their part, excited for our people the old-world sense of beauty and romance, until they sought for a beauty of their own and developed a new literary manner,—touched by that of the motherland, yet with a difference; the counterpart of that 'national likeness' so elusive, yet so instantly recognised when chanced upon abroad. In Bryant, often pronounced cold and granitic by readers bred to the copious-worded verse of modern times, is found the large imagination that befits a progenitor. It was stirred, as that of no future American can be, by his observation of primeval nature. He saw her virgin mountains, rivers, forests, prairies, broadly; and his vocabulary, scant and doric as it was, proved sufficient—in fact the best—for nature's elemental bard. His master may have been Wordsworth, but the difference between the two is that of the prairie and the moor, Ontario and Windermere, the Hudson and the Wye. From *Thanatopsis* in his youth to *The Flood of Years* in his hoary age, Bryant was conscious of the overstress of Nature unmodified by human occupation and training."

And as for Poe: "He gave a saving grace of melody and illusion to French classicism, to English didactics,—to the romance of Europe from Italy to Scandinavia. It is now pretty clear, notwithstanding the popularity of Longfellow in his day, that Emerson, Poe, and Whitman were those of our poets from whom the old world had most to learn; such is the worth, let the young writer note, of seeking inspiration from within, instead of copying the exquisite achievements of masters to whom we all resort for edification,—that is, for our own delight, which is not the chief end of the artist's throes. Our three most individual minstrels are now the most alive, resembling one another only in having each possessed the genius that originates. Years from now, it will be matter of fact that their influences were as lasting as those of any poets of this century."

With the poetry of these men we are all familiar, and however much we may be indebted to Mr. Stedman for his careful selection of their choicest lyric productions, it is not in this that the greatest worth of the present volume lies for the ordinary reader. This is contained in the vast mass of occasional verse that has emanated from lesser pens, but is of no less enjoyable quality, and that the majority of us would doubtless have missed had it not been here made accessible to us in a single volume. Holmes and Bayard Taylor (not to mention our earlier poets like Drake and Halleck); "the stately elegance of Parsons"; Stoddard, Read, and Story; that "sheaf of popular war-songs, Northern and Southern"; the poets of the Middle West, Field and Riley; Emma Lazarus and Sidney Lanier; the negro melodies and folksongs; and an innumerable host of recent and more fugitive

efforts typifying every phase of our national life, endeavors, and humor,—all here find their representation, which we should elsewhere long seek in vain.

The volume is a vast one (covering nearly nine hundred pages). Mr. Stedman would gladly have made it more eclectic,—a genuine *Treasury of American Song*, such as Palgrave gave of English lyrics, if that were possible with our one century of chaotic and youthful endeavor. But he has had a different purpose in view, namely, that of supplying "a breviary of our national poetical legacies from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries," from which the critic or historian may derive whatever conclusions he wishes. And in this he has admirably succeeded, making it a volume which every American should be proud, and will be profited, to possess.

The biographical notices, the indices of names, titles, and first lines, and the slight pictorial adornment, are also to be commended in the work.

T. J. McCORMACK.

A NEW EXPERIMENTAL GEOGRAPHY.

Something novel in the way of American geography-making has been attempted by Professor Tarr of Cornell University and Professor McMurry of Columbia University, in their *Home Geography*.¹ The book resembles, as to its exterior form, the geographical school-books of Europe, which are divided into text and atlases separately, rather than the large, flat, and unwieldy text-books in use in American schools. But it is its internal features that most attract attention, and the most prominent of these is the emphasis which is laid upon the necessity of gaining by actual experience in the home environment the basis for geographical study. Even in the acquisition of basal notions not suggested by home environment, the inductive and experimental method is followed and indications given for much interesting practical work in simple physiography. "The average pupil who has pursued geography for a year, has little notion of the great importance of soil, of what a mountain or a river really is, of the value of good trade routes, and why a vessel cannot find harbor wherever it will cast anchor along the coast. Yet such ideas are the proper basis for the study of geography in the higher grades. The fact that they are so often wanting is proof that our geography still lacks foundation."

The first 110 pages of the book have accordingly been devoted by the authors to supplying this foundation "by treating first such common things as soil, hills, valleys, industries, climate, and government, which are part of every child's environment, and secondly other features, as mountains, rivers, lakes, and the ocean, which, although absent from many localities, are still necessary as a preparation for later study." This part of their work has been done very practically and skillfully. The photographic illustrations, which show the origin and formation of the soil, the contour, setting, function, etc., of rivers, hills, mountains, and valleys, the methods, mechanism, and conditions of industry, commerce, and government,

¹ *Tarr & McMurry's Geographies. First Book: Home Geography and the Earth as a Whole*, By Ralph S. Tarr, B. S., F. G. S. A., Professor of Dynamic Geology and Physical Geography at Cornell University, and F. M. McMurry, Ph.D., Professor of Theory and Practice of Teaching at Teachers College, Columbia University. With many colored maps and numerous illustrations, chiefly photographs of actual scenes. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1900. Pages, xiii, 279.

have all been well selected. The paragraphs on the meaning of maps also are good.

The second part of the work treats in brief manner of the earth as a whole, by like fruitful methods. The illustrations in this part are in the main physiographic, biological, and ethnological. They form a very essential part of the book, and carry with them as much instruction as the text itself. The maps, while small, are clear and well conceived; they are not overloaded by useless details, and while all persons will not be inclined to concede to them the superlative merit which the authors claim, they are certainly for practical purposes an improvement on the traditional cartographical products. In the statistics given in the appendix, there is a discrepancy between the figures representing the area of North America in square miles and those representing the total area of its component states. The area of North America is given as only six and one half million square miles, while the total area of the United States, Mexico, Canada, and Central America by actual addition foots up to more than eight million square miles. T. J. McC.

BOOK NOTICES.

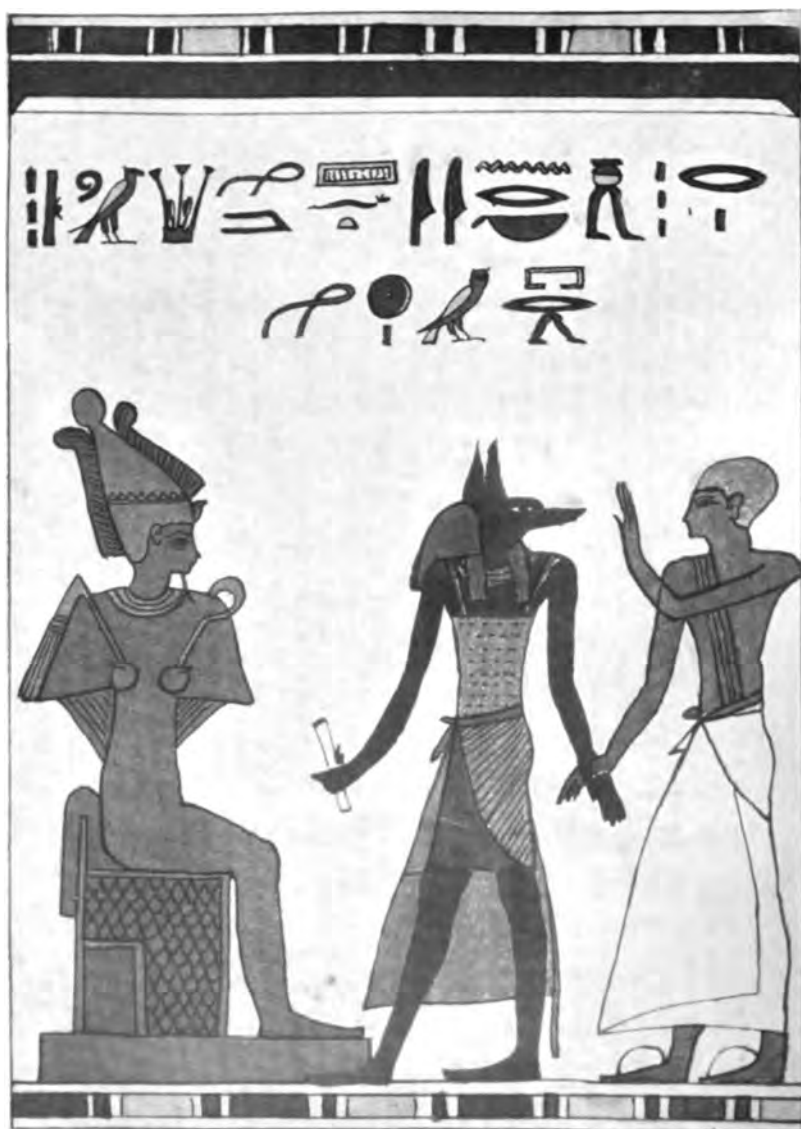
ERNST HAECKEL, EIN LEBENSBILD. By *Wilhelm Bölsche*. Dresden and Leipsic: Verlag von Carl Reissner. 1900. Pages, 259.

Wilhelm Bölsche's excellent biography of Ernst Haeckel is one of the volumes of a series of biographical portraits called *Men of the Period*. Krupp, Nansen, Nietzsche, Liszt, Windthorst, Forstner, and Stephan form the other numbers of the series. Each volume is provided with a good portrait. Haeckel's career is exceedingly interesting from a human as well as from a scientific point of view; it has been spent in the very thick of the great intellectual contests of the period, and is representative and characteristic in every way. And as to Mr. Bölsche's portrayal of his achievements, it may be said to be in every respect satisfactory, and quite worthy of its subject.

It seems rather odd that a mathematical text-book written by a native of India should possess such merits "as to entitle it when introduced into England with suitable modifications and additions to a unique position among English school-books"; yet such is the case, say Mr. William Briggs and Mr. G. H. Bryan, editors of the University Tutorial Series, which has for its purpose tuition by correspondence and preparation for the examinations of the University of London. These gentlemen, who are the authors or editors of several practical scientific and mathematical school-books, have taken the *Algebra* of an Indian professor, Radhakrishnan, which has been characterised as "a Chrystal for beginners," and by the addition of chapters on logarithms, interest, graphical representation, continued fractions, etc., have adapted the same to instruction in English and American schools. The work, which consists of two volumes, is particularly fitted for the purpose of independent study. The text is ample, the explanations and examples are full, the typography is clear. In Part II., *The Advanced Course*, which we now have before us, modern ideas of algebraic form have been sufficiently interwoven with the prevailing method of presentation to make the work superior to the ordinary run of algebraical text-books. The essential elements of Chrystal's work have been reproduced in the chapters treating of zero and infinity,

maxima and minima, imaginary and complex quantities, the notion of functions, graphs, etc., permutations and combinations. While Professor Chrystal has himself recently written an *Introduction to Algebra*, it will be admitted, we think, by all who have ever used the book that his presentation, despite its practical aims, is in the majority of the chapters too abstract for the ordinary young student,—a fact which, added to the annoying compactness of the typographical setting of the work, renders it in places even more difficult of comprehension than his larger treatise. The independent student, therefore, is likely to gain much more from such digests of Chrystal's work as the present than he would even from Chrystal's *Introduction* itself. (*The Tutorial Algebra*. Part II., Advanced Course. By William Briggs, M.A., F.C.S., F.R.A.S. and G. H. Bryan, Sc.D., F.R.S. New York: Hinds and Noble, 4 Cooper Institute. London: W. B. Clive, 13 Booksellers Row, Strand, W. C. 1898. Pages, viii, 596. Price, 6s. 6d.)

The attention of the readers of *The Open Court* should be called to the elementary scientific and educational publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. These publications embrace several series, bearing such titles as "The Romance of Science," "Manuals of Elementary Science," "Natural History Rambles," "Ancient History from the Monuments," "The People's Library," etc., etc. "The Romance of Science" and "Ancient History" series particularly claim our attention. The former contains some excellent little books by men quite eminent in their way, as *The Birth and Growth of Worlds*, by Prof. A. H. Green; *Soap-Bubbles, and the Forces which Mould Them*, by C. V. Boys; *Spinning Tops*, by Prof. J. Perry; *Diseases of Plants*, by Prof. Marshall Ward; *The Story of a Tinder-Box*, by Charles Meymott Tidy; *Time and Tide*, by Sir Robert S. Ball. We have recently received two practical educational books from these series; viz., (1) *Simple Experiments for Science Teaching*, by J. A. Bower, and (2) *How to Make Common Things*, by the same author. The first book is a detailed descriptive manual of physical and chemical experiments which can easily be performed without expensive scientific apparatus, by means at every person's disposal. The second is a composite of modern ideas of manual training, with the older theory and practice of carpentry-work for boys. It gives directions for making many useful and ornamental objects, such as shelves, desks, stands, brackets, picture frames, models of sailing vessels, etc., for wood-carving, metal-working, copying of medals and casts, and the construction of useful electrical appliances. "The Ancient History" series contains volumes on Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, and Persia, by such authorities as the late George Smith, the Rev. A. H. Sayce, Dr. S. Birch, and Mr. W. S. W. Vaux. For details readers are referred to the catalogues, which will be supplied on request by the publishers. (New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.)



ANUBIS USHERING THE DEAD INTO THE PRESENCE OF OSIRIS.

(After a colored facsimile of a picture in the *Book of the Dead*, by Pleyte.)

The early Christians of Egypt identified Anubis with Christ on account of his relation to the preservation and resurrection of the dead. See page 66.

Frontispiece to 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.

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NO. 537

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ANUBIS, SETH, AND CHRIST.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "SPOTTCRUCIFIX."

BY THE EDITOR.

THE famous wall-scribbling with the donkey-headed deity attached to a cross which was discovered in one of the servants'



ANUBIS WEIGHING THE HEART IN THE HALL OF JUDGMENT.
From the Papyrus of Ani. (After Budge's colored facsimile.)¹

rooms of the imperial household in Rome was discussed in *The Open Court* for November 1899. We recapitulated the current

¹ Anubis adjusts the tongue of the balance, the construction of which is quite noteworthy. A feather, the emblem of truth and symbol of the goddess Maat, serves him for a weight. Ani's soul.

opinions concerning it, among which two are most prominent, viz., first, the view of most Christian archæologists that it is the work of a pagan slave done in ridicule of a Christian fellow slave, hence the name *Spottercrucifix* by which it is commonly known, and secondly the view of Mr. King who believes it to be the expression of Gnostic piety, not drawn to ridicule any one's religion, but to express the author's own sentiments. He claims that the head is not the head of a donkey, but of a jackal, and that it represents the jackal-headed Anubis, attached to a cross.

ANUBIS.

We grant that Anubis was a Deity that played a most important part not only in the religion of ancient Egypt but also in the imagination of the early Christians of Egypt who identified him with Christ, on account of his relation to the preservation and



THE MUMMY AT THE TOMB PROTECTED BY ANUBIS.¹

resurrection of the dead. His picture frequently appears in the papyri (called *The Book of the Dead*) that accompanied the mummies into the tomb, or as the Egyptians called their last abode, *pa t'etta*, i. e., the everlasting house.

Anubis is frequently represented as standing by the bier, sometimes with one hand on the mummy. He presides over the process of embalming and then ushers the dead into the presence of Osiris. He weighs the heart of the deceased in the Judgment Hall; and thus his assistance is, next to that of Osiris and of Horus, indispensable for obtaining the boon of resurrection of the body.

in the shape of a human-headed hawk, watches the procedure. Underneath the left arm of the balance stands the genius of Ani's Destiny, above whose head appears a figure called *meskhen*, and described as a cubit with a human head. It is some representative of man's embryonic existence and the conditions of his birth. Further to the left are the two goddesses Renenet and Meskhenet who preside over the birth chamber and the nursery.

¹ Wiedemann, *Rel. of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 237.



MUMMY OF ARTEMIDORUS.¹

¹ Fourth century, A. D. (From Budge, *The Mummy*, Plate facing p. 186.)

² Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 228.

³ Naville, *Todtenb.*, I., p. 174.



ANUBIS.
Torso in the Berlin Museum.²



ANUBIS AT THE BIER.³

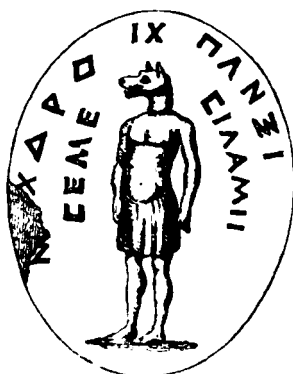
The belief in Anubis as the Saviour from death everlasting, among the early Christians, is established by a Coptic plaque described by Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum, which on the obverse represents Anubis, jackal-headed, by the side of a woman's bier, while the reverse bears in Coptic the inscription "May she hasten to arise."¹

How long the belief in the efficacy of Egyptian symbols was preserved appears from their prevalence on mummies even as late as the fourth century of the Christian era. The mummy of Artemidorus (No. 21810 of the British Museum) shows on its surface Anubis at the bier placing his right hand on the mummy and holding



ANUBIS.

From Egyptian Monuments.

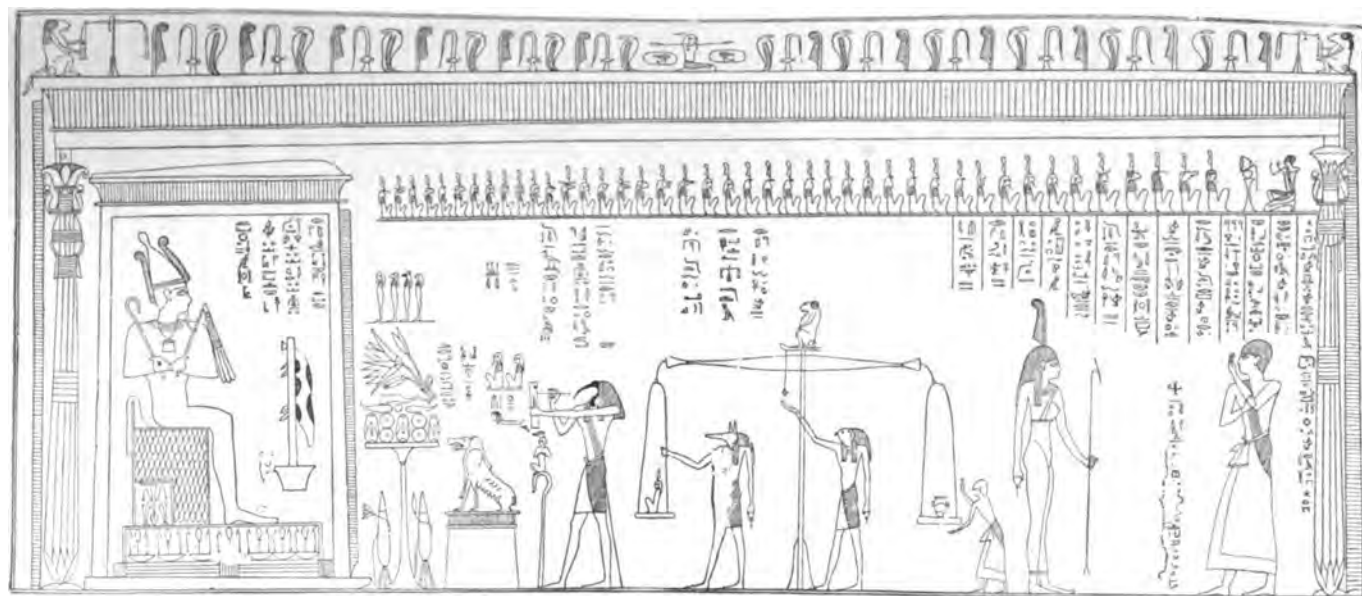


THE JACKAL-HEADED ANUBIS.

Gnostic Gem. (From Walsh.)

up with his left hand the heart. The reinsertion of the heart by Anubis, after it has been found to have the right weight when weighed in the balance of Truth, is an important condition for the restoration of life. Isis, the wife of Osiris, and Nephthys, the wife of Seth, stand on either side. Further down we see the hawk-headed Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, the avenger of his father's death, and the Ibis-headed Toth, the scribe of the gods, who assists in the act of weighing the heart in the Judgment Hall. Underneath,

¹ The plaque is preserved in the British Museum, registered as No. 22874. See Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 279-280. We regret that a picture of the plaque has not been furnished.



OSIRIS.

AMENIT,
the beast
of Amenti.

THOTH,
the scribe
of the gods.

ANUBIS,
the director
of the weight

HOR.

MĀ,
the goddess
of Truth.

THE DECEASED.

THE WEIGHING OF THE HEART IN THE HALL OF TRUTH. (After Lepsius's reproduction of the Turin papyrus.)

the soul in the shape of a hawk-headed bird visits the mummy, which awakens from the slumber of death and is seen to sit upright.

The belief in Anubis as the saviour from death everlasting became so common in the Roman empire that coins were struck which show on their obverse Serapis, and on their reverse Anubis holding in one hand a sistrum, in the other the staff of Hermes, used by this "leader of souls" for guiding the shades of the dead down to Hades.

There are several gods who were identified by the early Christians with Christ. Anubis is one of them. Others are Osiris the god who suffered death, Hor the Child, the Greek Harpocrates, and T'oth, the scribe of the gods, the incarnation of the word. The syncretism of the age at the beginning of the Christian era was such that for all we know the conception of any one of these deities might have been, and in a certain way all of them actually were, at times fused with the Christian idea of a saviour. Mr. King's



ROMAN COIN WITH SERAPIS AND ANUBIS. (Walsh, No. 28.)

ingenious hypothesis is thus in itself quite probable; and yet he is mistaken, for the wall-scribbling refers not to the jackal-headed Anubis, but to the ass-headed Seth—a deity whose relations to ancient Semitic religions and to the faith of the early Christians is of a different nature.

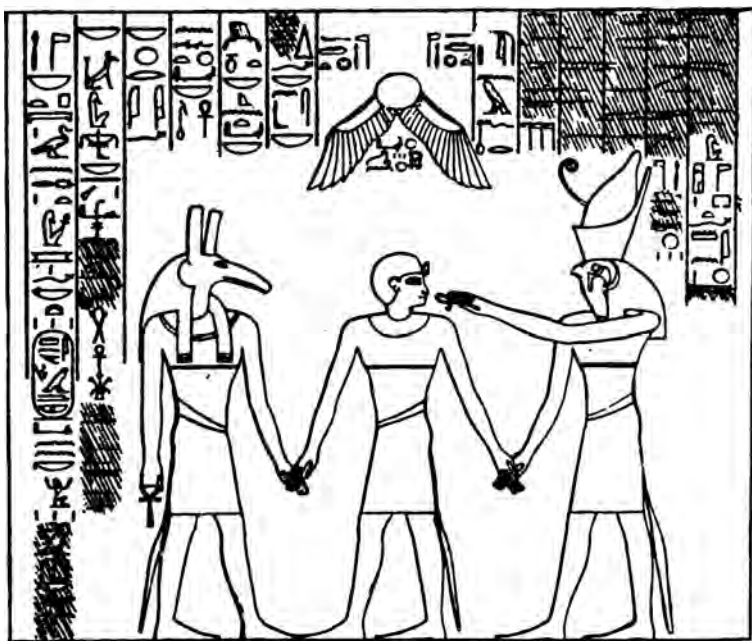
In Gnostic pictures Anubis is so similar to Seth that it seems difficult to distinguish between the two gods, but in the present case the evidence is of another nature and too strong to be set aside lightly.

Professor Richard Wünsch, a German archæologist, through a systematic investigation of lead tablets containing Sethian curses, has succeeded in solving the problem of the *Spotcrucifix*. He has published his investigations in a booklet entitled *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Teubner, Leipzig), and we take pleasure here in calling attention to the results of his lucubrations, for they actually solve the problem of the scrawled crucifix of the Palatium.

SETH.

Before we enter into the details of the case set forth by Professor Wünsch, a brief explanation of the nature of the ancient god Seth—who is also called Set, Sut, and Sutech—will be in place.

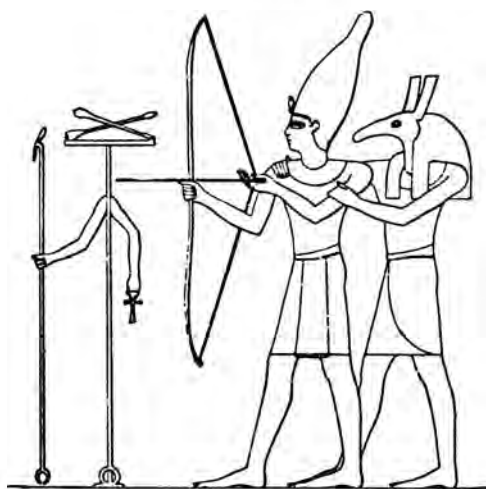
Seth is in many respects a more important god than Anubis, but his character changed during the various periods of Egyptian history. His worship as one of the great gods can be traced back to as early a date as the fifth dynasty, and he remained until the



HOREMHEB PROTECTED BY SETH AND HOR ¹
(King Horemheb lived in the fourteenth century B. C.)

nineteenth dynasty so popular that kings of that period frequently call themselves "beloved of Seth." He represented the Sun in the South and apparently symbolised its destructive powers. He was the god of war, of victory, of conquest. But the time came when the Hyksos, foreign invaders of Semitic origin, took possession of Lower Egypt; and these formidable foes worshipped a god who was identified with Seth and symbolised by the same emblems.

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III., 122, a. (Speos of Gebel Addeb, Nubia); cf. Wiedemann, *R. A. E.*, p. 222.



SETH TEACHING THE KING THE ART OF WAR. (After Erman.)



TWO WAYS OF SPELL-
ING SETH IN HIERO-
GLYPHS.



SPHINX OF TANIS.
(Louvre, No. 23, Paris.)



A STATUE OF SETH, PRESERVED
IN THE LEYDEN MUSEUM.¹

¹ The figure is very small, and as here reproduced is about one-half its real size. After Pleyte, *loc. cit.*, Plate III., 1.

Seth appears on the monuments as the instructor of kings in the art of warfare, and also, in the company with Hor, as a protector of the dead in their peregrinations in the life beyond.

In Tanis and other cities of Lower Egypt Seth was called "the Beloved of Râ," "the Son of Nût" (the goddess of the sky;) and "the Mighty One in the Sunbark." Far from being identified with the serpent Apep, he was believed to be her enemy and slayer.

Since the Osiris myth is supposed to be too well known in Egypt to need any recapitulation and is only alluded to in the Monuments, we possess only a second-hand account of it in Plutarch's book on Isis and Osiris,¹ and, so far as can be judged from the evidence within reach at the present time, there is no way of telling whether or not the myth was different in its ancient form.



ONE OF THE FOUR SPHINXES OF TANIS.²

It is not impossible that the part played in it by Seth, was originally not as it was told in the days of Plutarch, having changed since the invasion and expulsion of the Hyksos.

It is noteworthy that one of the Sphinxes in Lower Egypt, bears the features of a decidedly Semitic, not an Egyptian face. The Semites must have greatly influenced Egyptian civilisation during the Hyksos period in artistic taste as well as in religious ceremonial; but on the other hand, Egyptian thought left a permanent impression upon Semitic views of life and we can no longer doubt that it constituted also one of the most important factors in the formation of Judaism, the noblest efflorescence of the Semitic race.

¹ Chaps. xii-xx.

² It is noteworthy that the face of this Sphinx, representing the God of the Hyksos, shows decidedly Asiatic, not Egyptian, features. The name "Seth" which occurred in the inscription has here, as in many other places, been effaced. Cf. Pleyte, pp. 39 ff.

In Egypt the worship of Seth gradually became unpopular, which change is perhaps due to the fact that he was the god of the hated foreigners, and perhaps also to the rôle he plays in Egyptian mythology as the murderer of Osiris, the good god who dwelt on earth as a man among men, a teacher of morality and as the inventor of civilisation. We know that in the period between the twenty-second and the twenty-fifth dynasty Seth-worship was abandoned; his statues were destroyed and his effigies on the monuments erased. He became the personification of evil and was regarded as the fiend of mankind.

Although Seth was in a certain sense deprived of his divinity, he remained an important god, for he continued to be credited with the power to work mischief. In this capacity he was on the one hand feared and probably propitiated, while on the other hand he was invoked by conjurers for the purpose of doing harm to enemies and rivals.



SETH.
(After Brugsch.)

Seth is commonly represented as having a peculiar, longsnouted animal-head with erect square-cornered ears. It is by some regarded as the head of an oryx, by others as that of an ass. In either case it would have to be considered as a deteriorated representation which has become typical. The ass is sacred to Seth, but though the god is said to be ass-headed, it is only in the later days of Gnostic syncretism that he is plainly pictured as such.

Considering the fact that Seth was the chief deity of the Hyksos, the tradition which accuses the Semites and especially the Jews of having worshipped an ass-headed deity acquires the aspect of having had some basis in historical fact.

Tacitus (*Hist. v. 4*) tells the story of Moses discovering water by following the tracks of asses in the desert, which, he says, caused the Jews to worship that animal. The genealogy of Mary (quoted by Epiphanius) contains the story of Zacharias, the high-priest, beholding in the sanctuary of the temple, the deity of the Jews with an ass's head. He was struck dumb, and when he recovered his speech he told the people and was killed as a blasphemer.¹ Hence-

¹ The death of Zacharias plays an important part in the imagination of the Jews and is frequently referred to in rabbinical as well as patristic literature. (See Hofmann, *Leben Jesu*, pp. 138-139.) Zacharias, the son of Barachias, mentioned by Jesus (Matthew xxiii. 35 and Luke xi. 51) is sometimes identified with Zacharias, the son of Jojada, whose martyr death is narrated in 2 Chron. xxiv. 20-21. But Jesus apparently alludes to an event of recent date speaking of the

forth, it is stated, the Jewish priests wore bells on their garments to warn their deity of their approach and offer him time to hide.

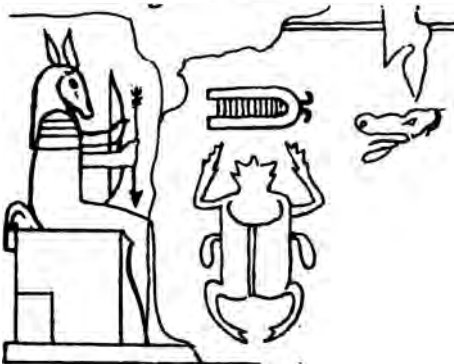
That Seth or Typhon (as the Greek called the ass-headed god of Egypt) had some relation to the religion of the inhabitants of



SETH WITH TWO LANCES.
A demotic papyrus of late date.
(Leyden, No. 385.)¹



PICTURE ON AN AMULET, PRESU-
MABLY REPRESENTING SETH AND ANUBIS.
(Leyden Museum.)



SETH AS PICTURED ON VIGNETTES OF A GNOTIC FUNERARY PAPYRUS. (Leyden.)

latest case of martyrdom and seems to assume that the fact is still remembered by his contemporaries. Concerning the cause of the martyrdom of Zacharias, there are different versions, the wildest among which is the above alluded to fantastic tale, quoted from the *Divina Marías* by Ephiphanius. According to other traditions Zacharias was slain at the behest of Herod (Epiph., *De vita prophetarum*; cf. Petrus Alexandrinus, can. 13, *ap. Lab.*, tom. I., Conc. p. 967). Jerome states as an apocryphal legend that Zacharias was killed by the Jews, viz., the people (Hier. *ad Matth.* 23, 35) and Gregory of Nyssa claims that the cause of it had been the wrath of the Jews at Zacharias because he had admitted Mary, the mother of Jesus, to the place of virgins in the temple. (Greg. Nyssen, *In hom. de nativ. domini*; cf. Orig. *Hom. 26 in Matth.*; Cyrill. Alex., *ap. Anthropomorphitas*; Basil. *Hom. 25*; Theophylact. Euthymius, *Ad I. Matth.*)

The Rabbis made frequent mention of the death of Zacharias, the son of Jojada. The literature on the subject being collected by Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matth. xxiii. 35 and Luke xi. 51*, and Eisenmenger, *Entd. Judenth.*, I, p. 469.

According to one tradition (Tract. *Gittin*) we are told that when Jerusalem was conquered by the Romans the petrified blood of Zacharias, slain between the temple and the altar, began to boil until all the priests, judges, and nobles of the people had been killed, and there is a strong probability that at the time when Jesus lived the legend was current concerning the same affair that the blood of the martyr could not be wiped away and would remain until the crime be expiated.

¹ See also François Salvolini, *Campagne de Ramses le Grand*, pl. I., 32, discussed, pp. 21-22

Palestine is corroborated by Plutarch, who says that Typhon after his struggle with Hor fled on a donkey northward where seven days after his flight he founded Jerusalem and Judea. Plutarch adds: "This history obviously refers to the affairs of the Israelites." Mr. W. Pleyte of Leyden makes the following comment to this passage:

"In this legend we discover the combination of three things: (1) the expulsion of the Hyksos with the flight of Typhon (Seth); (2) the deliverance of the Israelites with the flight of Typhon; and (3) the conquest of Canaan by the Hyksos or the Israelites with the foundation of Jerusalem and Judea."

It is quite probable that the Israelites, when leaving Egypt, carried with them many customs and institutions from the land of the Nile. We know that, in spite of the opposition of the prophets, they were addicted to the cult of Baal, who is frequently identified with Seth and was worshipped like the latter with human sacrifices.

A donkey (as Plutarch tells us) was sacrificed in Coptos by being thrown down from a precipice, and the inhabitants of Busiris and Lycopolis abstained from the use of trumpets because their sound resembled the braying of the ass.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ASS.

Concerning the significance of the ass, Mr. Pleyte adds:

"The legend of this animal which Tacitus has handed down to us is probably of Samaritan origin. This people rendered homage to the god Tartak,¹ which, according to the Talmud,² was represented with the head of an ass, and was a divinity in some way related to Adra-Melech, or Mars-Melech. The Israelites worshipped him in common with the Samaritans, as is intelligible, and we find still more ancient traces of his cult in the Pentateuch. As to the redemption of the first-born, we find a remarkable exception in favor of animals to the effect that the firstling of an ass, like the firstling of man, may be redeemed by another animal; but if the firstling be not redeemed, his neck is to be broken.³ This was probably done as at Coptos, where, as we know, it was the custom to hurl an ass from the top of a precipitous rock. This commandment was given twice.⁴

"The respect shown for the ass was widespread in the Orient. Either the fecundity or the salaciousness of this animal was at the foundation of this cult. The Medes and Persians sacrificed him

¹ 2 Kings xvii. 31.

² Talmud, Sanhedrin, fol. 63.

³ Exodus xxxiv. 20.

⁴ Exodus xiii. 13.

to Mars.¹ Apollo² could boast of hecatombs of asses sacrificed in the country of the Hyperboreans.

"By reason of his reddish color, the ass received from the Hebrews the name of Chamor, and as such the offering which was made of him became connected with that of the red heifer. In Greece we find him in the Dionysian Mysteries, and among the Romans in the worship of Vesta, where a garroted ass is represented upon an offering of bread and where a phallus was carried in the procession.

"These pagan cults passed later into the Church, where we meet with the festivals of the asses which flourished in the Middle Ages in France, Spain, and Germany. A caparisoned ass mounted by a young girl was conducted with great ceremony before the altar, and during the mass chants were sung which terminated with an imitation of the braying of an ass. Instead of giving the benediction, the priest brayed three times, which the congregation repeated by way of Amen. A great number of saints are represented as mounting asses, and they are also found in the pilgrimages.³

"The ass even took higher rank than other animals and was more highly favored in proceedings at law. According to the Sardinian Code for the year 1395, crimes committed by oxen and heifers were punished with death. But to the ass great clemency was shown. Condemned for the first time, he lost an ear; for the second time, he lost his other ear; and the third time he was caught in a criminal act, he was confiscated to the prince.⁴

"Festivals of asses were connected with the festival of the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem. It became part of the policy of the Church to preserve pagan festivals by investing them with a Christian significance; yet it is remarkable that this festival was celebrated in the month of December and that further a young girl [with a baby in her arms] was mounted on an ass. Both were derived from the same nature-worship. It is difficult to determine what relation these festivals bore to the feasts of the tabernacles among the Hebrews. The Dionysian Mysteries greatly resembled the latter festivals, which exhibit distinctively pronounced characteristics of a religion of nature."⁵

Dionysos, the god who makes his entry on a donkey is called

¹ Strabo, XV., 2.

² Pindar, *Pyth.*, X., 31.

³ Nork, *Biblische Mythologie*, II., p. 398.

⁴ C. W. Opzoomer, *De dieren voor den rechter* (Animals Before the Judge).

⁵ See W. Pleyte, *La Religion des Pré-Israélites*, pp. 151-152.

Sabazios, a name which can very well be a Græcisation of the Semitic word Sabaoth.

The ceremony of the ass's festival mentioned by Pleyte is described in Floegel-Ebeling's *Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen*, page 205. When the burlesque mass was finished the whole congregation sang a hymn, half Latin and half French, in honor of the ass. This hymn is still preserved in a manuscript at the National Library at Paris together with its melody, and reads as follows :

" Orientis partibus
Adventavit Asinus ;
Pulcher et fortissimus,
Sarcinis aptissimus,
Hez, Sire Asnes, car chantez,
Belle bouche rechignez,
Vous aurez du foin assez,
Et de l'avoine à plantez.

" Lentus erat pedibus,
Nisi foret baculus,
Et eum in clunibus
Pungeret aculeus.
Hez, Sire Asnes etc.

" Hic in collibus Sichem
Jam nutritus sub Ruben,
Transiit per Jordanem,
Saliit in Bethlehem,
Hez, Sire Asnes etc.

" Ecce magnis auribus
Subjugalis filius
Asinus egregius,

Asinorum dominus.
Hez, Sire Asnes etc.

" Saltu vincit hinnulos,
Damas et capreolos,
Super Dromedarios
Velox Madianeos.
Hez etc.

" Aurum de Arabia,
Thus et myrrham de Saba
Tulit in ecclesia
Virtus asinaria.
Hez etc.

" Dum trahit vehicula
Multa cum sarcinula,
Illius mandibula.
Dura terit papula
Hez etc.

" Cum aristius hordeum
Comedit et carduum ;
Triticum a palea
Segregat in area.
Hez etc.

" Amen discas Asine,
Jam satur de gramine.
Amen, Amen itera,
Aspernare vetera.
Hez va Hez va ! Hez va Hez !
Biaux Sire Asnes car allez ;
Belle bouche car chantez."

The ass was trained to kneel when the *Amen* was sung.

M. Pleyte, in concluding his remarks regarding the worship of the ass, says :

" It is very difficult to determine whether the Israelites rendered homage to their god under this form, but it is well known that Josephus repudiates the accusation that they ever rendered

homage in their sanctuary to the head of a golden ass. He writes to the following effect:¹ 'The accusation of Posidonius and Apollonius that the Jews had placed and actually worshipped in their sanctuary the head of an ass, which was cast out of the temple, is an infamous lie, as is also the assertion of Apion that when Antiochus despoiled the sanctuary, he saw that the ass's head was made of gold.' M. Movers believes that this head, if it existed, came originally from the temple of Typhon. If this opinion have any foundation, and if we may assume that this head was preserved in the temple, it is very probable that the Israelites rendered homage to Seth in this form."

The protest of Josephus proves the fact, otherwise well established, that the Jews of his age had completely adopted the pure monotheism of the prophets as enforced by the priestly reformers of the second temple. They no longer knew anything of the former polytheism of Israel. If we had to rely on the testimony of educated Jews of the time of Christ, men like Philo, we should have to repudiate many facts now well established by Assyriological researches, excavations, and a careful study of the text of the Bible. Josephus would also have denied the originally pagan significance of the pillars Jachin and Boas (found also in Phœnician temples) of the molten sea (found also in Babylonian temples where it represents Tiamat, the mythical figure of the aboriginal watery chaos, called 𐤔𐤓𐤕 in Hebrew, which is the same word as Tiamat), of the seven-armed candlestick (representing the seven planets), of the brazen serpent, etc. He would most probably deny that men like David and other national heroes danced pagan dances, or tolerated such idols as the Teraphim. Thus his protest, while proving nothing as to the positive facts in the case, only serves to record the statement made by some Greek authors that a golden ass's head was taken from the sanctuary of Jerusalem by Antiochus.

In Minutius Felix's Christian apology entitled Octavius the same belief of the pagans that the Christians worshipped a donkey-headed [*ὄνουκεφαλῆς*] God is referred to; a fact which is also corroborated by Tertullian, who says:

"Like many others you are under the delusion that an ass's head is our God. . . . But lately a new edition of our God has been made public in Rome. It originated with a certain vile man, who was wont to hire himself out to cheat the wild beasts and who exhibited a picture with this inscription: 'The God of the Christians of the lair of an ass, [*ὄνουκοίτης* or *ὄνουκέφαλης*].' He had the ears of an ass, was hoofed in one foot, carried a book and wore a toga."

¹ Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, II., 7, 9. The quotation is abbreviated by Mr. Pleyte.

The belief that the Jewish God was ass-headed was transferred to the Christians; but Tertullian returns the compliment of the pagan accusation by saying "many a son of a donkey [ὄνοκοίτης] is among you."

If Sebaoth, the god of the Jews, was said to bear the countenance of an ass, we may see in it not a mere pagan calumny of the Jewish religion, but a last remnant of the symbolism under which the ancient Semitic invaders of Egypt worshipped their God, identifying him with Seth. We know that later on the Yahveh-worshipping Jews discarded all worship of images or likenesses, but such paganism must have survived among other Semitic tribes and may have given rise to the legend that their god Sabaoth (like Seth, the chief Deity of the Semitic invaders of Egypt) was ass-headed.

Apparently the worship of the ass-headed Seth survived especially among certain Egyptianised Semites, and when they became familiar with the Jewish Scriptures they confused their god Seth with Seth the patriarch; and the latter being regarded by the Christians as a prototype of Christ, their notions of Seth, the ancient Egyptian god of most extraordinary magical power, was confused with Christ the ruler of the Kingdom to come. This combination of ideas, though obviously incongruous to us and at first sight strange, affords, as will be seen in the following pages, the best explanation of the significance of the curious wall-scribbling in one of the slaves' rooms of the imperial household on Mount Palatine at Rome.

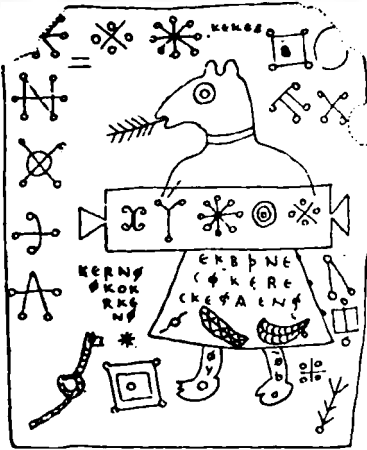
THE LEAD TABLETS OF THE VIA APPIA.

Almost fifty years ago a number of lead tablets were discovered in a catacomb on the Via Appia, one of which contained a curse of a certain Praeseticus, son of Asella. Their existence was referred to in 1880, but track was afterwards lost of them. In 1896 Prof. Richard Wünsch set out in search of these noteworthy records, and at last succeeded in finding the entire collection in the Kircherian Museum at Rome.

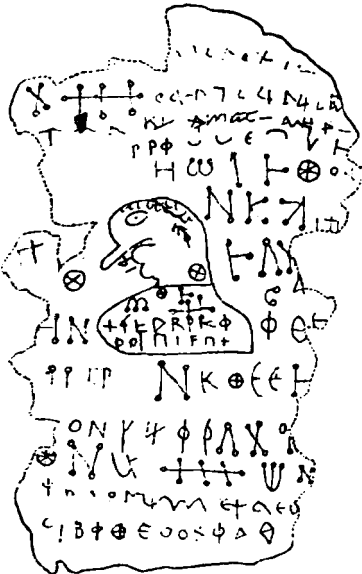
He now describes them and publishes transcriptions and figures of them,¹ which contain quite a number of donkey-headed deities and are covered with symbols of Egyptian origin, such as mummies, serpents, dotted equilateral crosses, Y-crosses, stars, etc., and remind one, in certain ways, of the pictures in the *Book of the Dead*, in which enemies of all kinds, beasts and demons, are represented as being bound, or subdued, and slain.

¹ Leipzig: Teubner.

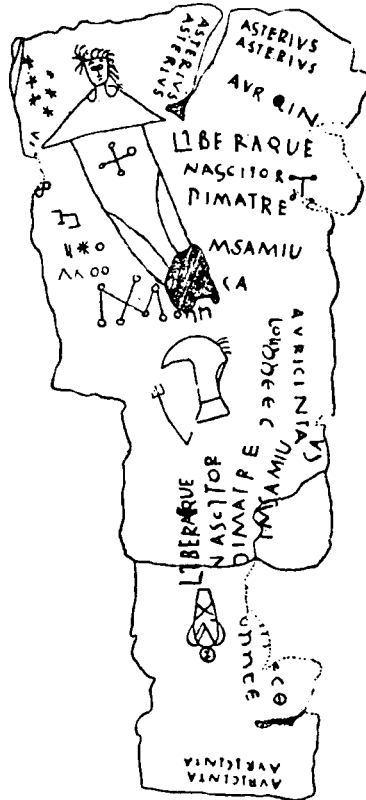
The tablets contain curses and are written on lead because lead is the metal of the infernal powers. They were deposited in tombs, as being the proper place from which they would reach their destination, the gods of death. The practice of writing curses on



LEAD TABLET NO. 6.



LEAD TABLET NO. 7.



LEAD TABLET NO. 2.

lead tablets is known to have obtained in Attica as early as the fifth century B. C. The superstition is based upon the fact that lead mines are unhealthy, which led to the assumption of the un-

wholesome nature of the metal itself. Curses written on lead were believed to be unfailing, and in order to make them stick, a nail was driven through the leaden plate. (See *op. cit.*, p. 72.)

The Egyptian god Seth (whom the Christian Gnostics later confounded with Adam's son Seth) was believed to be the god that could do great harm; thus he was highly respected, and his name was used more than that of any other deity for exorcisms of all kinds. He was above all the god of those who depended much on good fortune and had reason to be afraid of ill-luck. So it is but natural that the charioteers in the circus-races, which in the beginning of the Christian era played a prominent part in public life, were his ardent worshippers.

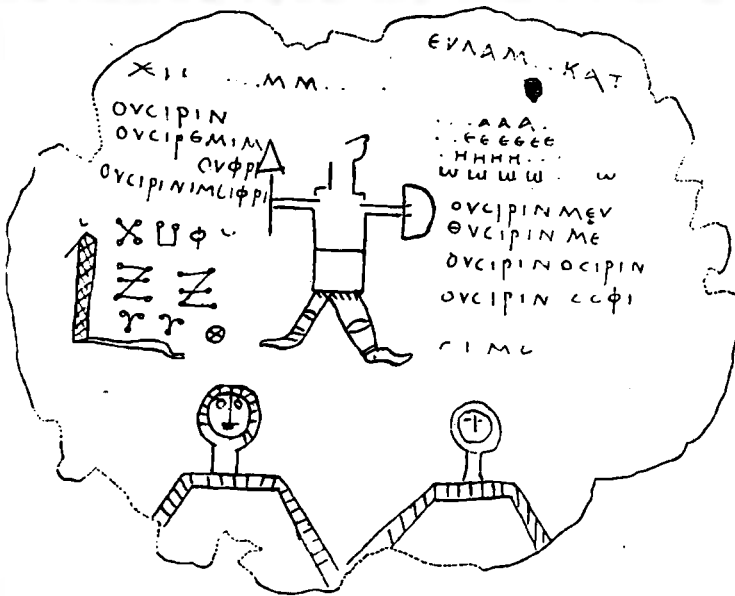
The charioteers, like actors and other public performers, recruited themselves from the ranks of the lowly; they were mostly sons of slaves or libertines, but if victorious in the races had a chance of enjoying great popularity. Hence they lived (as grooms do to-day) in the quarters of the servants of the wealthy, and also of the Cæsars; but if successful in their career, they were honored with medals and similar distinctions. The names that appear on the lead tablets point conclusively to charioteers as their authors. The curses were written to conjure up all the powers of the deep for the purpose of destroying and ruining some rival in the races.

Professor Wünsch describes (pp. 88-89) the character of Seth worship as follows:

"The Egyptian god Seth is known to us chiefly from the rôle that he plays in the legend as the opponent of Osiris: he is the evil principle, the enemy of good, a strong and mysterious power, who was not worshipped with joyful adoration indeed, but whose wrath men tried to avert as far as might be by religious submission. He especially pursues the soul of the dead on their great journey to the other world; and inasmuch as there are frequently those among these souls who have done evil in life and therefore deserve his wrath as a just punishment, Seth appears in this function as in a certain sense in the service of the good gods, as executor of the judgments of Osiris, the judge of the dead. To make the power of Seth favorable, in order thus to be able to make the journey to the abode of death without risk, was of course to the interest of the human soul, and magic offered it the formula: 'I am Sutech' (=Seth), at which it was claimed that the threatening monsters dutifully retreated.

"The authority of Seth among the Egyptian gods was not always and everywhere the same. Lower Egypt was his especial

home; the population there had been mixed from earliest times with Canaanitish elements, whose chief worship was addressed to the sun-god Baal. For the Egyptians this Baal, being a foreigner, had naturally something hostile and malicious, and accordingly suggested a resemblance to their Seth; gradually the two gods became confused, and thus, Bar, or Baru,¹ was adopted into the Egyptian religion as a complete synonym of Seth. The identification of Baal and Seth probably occurred in very early times; now when the Hyksos, who had previously worshipped Baal, came to Egypt, they recognised in Seth-Sutech their own god and accordingly encouraged his worship. The expulsion of the Hyksos probably shook



LEAD TABLET NO. 12.

the authority of this worship somewhat, but could not do away with the already established identification of Seth with the god of the Canaanites. Indeed the ranks of the subjects of this god were even widened, so that he appears later not only as lord of Canaan, but of all foreign parts without limit. He is regarded as the strong and warlike god, who has the power to place foreign peoples in peaceful or hostile, subordinate or victorious, relation to Egypt, and he is worshipped in order that he may keep far from the borders of the Nile the tribes subject to him. But Seth did not always do this;

¹ Bar is the Egyptian form for Baal.

Egypt gradually succumbed to the attacks of neighboring peoples, and the rage of the vanquished was aimed at the god who had not regarded their adoration. He gradually disappears from the ranks of the gods and continues his existence only as a somewhat shadowy, yet powerful and baleful, demon.

"This was the view of Typhon-Seth at the time when Gnosticism entered upon the inheritance of the Egyptian religion. The lower form of the cult took possession of him straightway, for his figure seemed made to become the chief god of baneful magic. And thus it comes that his rôle is much more important in the wizards' papyri than that of Osiris."

SETH IN MAGIC.

Professor Wünsch continues:

"Typhon is represented in the Leyden papyrus as the supreme lord of the gods, whom he is said to force into subjection to the wizard, his servant; while the latter refers to various events in the struggle by which Typhon won the supremacy. As ruler of the gods this demon grows into a fearful and mysterious power, whose worship is performed by the pronunciation of a name consisting of a hundred letters" (p. 91).

"We have also to consider the 'sacred characters,' the last that appear in the series of supernatural features. The explanation of them is to be found in the appended phrase, 'which are written on this tablet;' these are the magic signs by means of which the gods are compelled to do the will of the writer. In this view the characters engraved on the tablet themselves possess magic power, to control which the magician must employ an especial appeal. Such characters—'certain signs which they call characters' (Aug. *De doctr. Christ.* II, 30) are found in great numbers upon our tablets, but the interpretation of them is next to impossible. It is clear that the characters found under the left arm and about the head of Typhon-Seth apply to him. If from these we subtract the purely ornamental points, they resemble the letters XZAY and a wheel (⊙ with an X within it). If we assume that these characters have some reference to the god in connexion with whose name they occur most frequently, we should have the following conclusions of equivalence:

X=Osiris.

Z=Osiris-Apis,

while the remaining characters would needs go unexplained. Y appears sometimes along with the name of the sun, Phri, and in

this connexion has occasionally a rather peculiar form: the two upper points are bent about so that the figure looks like the familiar astronomical sign of the ram. But I believe that the interpreta-



LEAD TABLET NO 20 (OBSERVE).

tion must begin with the fact that this Y is generally found to the right above the head of Seth, and seems to refer to him. Now Y is the familiar Pythagorean letter, the symbol of the ways to the

underworld, and we have just seen that Pythagorean views of the underworld were transferred to Typhon-Seth. I believe, therefore, that we are warranted in assuming that this Y has some reference to the belief of our Gnostic sect regarding the underworld and to the position of the chief divinity within the same. I would like to ascribe a similar function to that sign of the wheel, which generally appears very close to the Y; it reminds us of the symbol of Nemesis, the 'unresting, trackless wheel,' of whose outward resemblance to the 'wheel of Necessity' we have spoken elsewhere. The eight-rayed star with the circles at the end of each ray is a very frequently occurring symbol in the literature of magic: it appears upon Gnostic gems (for instance, Matter, *Hist. crit. du gnost.* pl. IIa, 10v), in the Gnostic writings in Coptic, in the wizards' papyri and has even been preserved in the magic recipes of the late Middle Ages. Its occurrence together with Y in No. 6 gives rise to the conjecture that this character also was the symbol of a god; one would be most naturally disposed to see in its form the image of the sun-beams" (pp. 98-99).

"Among the drawings not yet considered a separate and important group consists of those on which a serpent appears. The interpretation of these drawings is somewhat complicated, since the serpent represents sometimes the good and sometimes the evil principle in the Gnostic systems, within which it plays an important rôle. Thus Mr. Matter thought to recognise in the serpent of tablet 6 a symbol of the good spirit, of the Agathodaimon, who is often represented as a serpent, while in the *Pistis Sophia*, the evil one takes on the form of a serpent in order to torment the poor bride of heaven. Now we find upon the tablets the following representations: a single serpent, Nos. 6 and 34, a mummy enwrapped by a serpent, tablet 17, 34, a charioteer enwrapped by a serpent, tablet 23,¹ a mummy with two serpents, tablet 16,¹ an ass's head with six—or, if one has been lost on the piece broken out, seven—serpents on tablet 49."

"That the mummy on tablets 16 and 17 is not that of a man is evident from the star beneath it, since we have demonstrated this to be the 'character' of a god. But we cannot for a moment doubt what god we have before us: it is Osiris, to whom the representation as a mummy is appropriate, or more particularly, Osiris-Apis, of whom the serpent is an attribute, and who is even sometimes himself represented in serpent form; for him, Sol-Serapis, the 'character' is fitting, and we can now confidently regard it as that

¹ Not reproduced by Professor Wünsch.

of the sun-god. This very same representation of a mummy enwrapped by a serpent is given by King, plate F 3; this as well as the drawing of our tablets suggest immediately the way in which it was customary to represent the 'Aeons,' as men with lion-heads and enwrapped by serpents. Now Serapis is given the title 'Aeon' upon a gold tablet published by P. Secchi, bearing the inscription:

'Lord Serapis, creeping Aeon,
Give.....victory under the rock.'

"It was found in the Vigna Codini in Rome, not at all far away from our lead tablets, and in the mouth of a skull. It was probably



LEAD TABLET No. 29.

intended to serve the same purpose as the similar tablets of Thurioi: to be an amulet for the deceased, which should protect him from the dangers of the underworld and assure him a favorable reception at the hands of the rulers there. The meaning of the second verse is not quite clear; but there is no doubt that the lines were addressed to Serapis as lord of the underworld, and that he is characterised as 'creeping Aeon.' The epithet 'creeping' is plainly derived from the verb *ἔρπω*, which denotes the action of the serpent and is found along with the more commonly used forms *ἑρπετόν* and *ἑρπηστῆς*. Now 'Aeon' expresses evident Gnostic con-

ceptions; therefore the people who were buried in the Vigna Codini had views similar to those cherished by the imprecators of the grave in the Vigna Marini. This 'Lord Serapis creeping Aeon' expresses in words precisely the same thing as our drawing" (pp. 100-101).

The close relation between the God of the Semitic Hyksos and Typhon-Seth is an established fact, and it appears now that not only the names of Baal, but also of Sabbaoth and even of Yahveh were frequently identified with this powerful war god of Lower Egypt. In the first centuries of the Christian era Christian influence made itself felt, and Typhon-Seth was confounded with Seth the son of Adam, who was revered as a prototype and prior incarnation of Jesus Christ. Thus the result was that some Seth-worshippers could be regarded as Christians and accordingly were treated, not pagans, but as heretics by the church-fathers.

THE SETHIANS.

The Sethians belong to the Ophites, or serpent-worshipping Gnostics, and are treated as such by Epiphanius and in the *Philosophoumena*, two reports which are so very different that they do not seem to treat the same subject; but the differences are due to a difference in the capacities and attitude of the authors, one of whom preferred to register their superstitions and the other their philosophico-theological speculations.

The genealogy of the Sethians which, as recorded in the Old Testament, coincides in several names with the genealogy of Cainites (cf. Gen. iv. and v.), proves to be a fragment of an ancient tradition in which Seth, "the son of man," is represented as the common ancestor of mankind as it existed in the days of the early narrator.¹ The parallelism of the two genealogies is one of the strongest evidences that the Old Testament traditions have been compiled from several analogous sources and the genealogy of the Sethians indicates that there existed a race which bore that name. Now it was quite customary for the name of a nation and the national god of the nation to be the same; e. g., Amon signified the children of Amon as well as the tutelary Deity of this tribe, and thus it is not impossible that Seth was a god as well as a race; and there is some plausibility (though not more than that!) that there was a Deity called Seth which was worshipped by some of the Semitic tribes of Syria. How and whether at all this Semitic Seth

¹ See Dillmann, *Genesis*, Engl. edition, i., p. 207.

pent-worshippers. Their doctrine is strongly mingled with Jewish elements; the deluge appears in Epiphanius, and in the *Philosophoumena* as well, where also Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are mentioned. And indeed the Sethians do not seem to have taken a polemic attitude toward these elements; the Decalogue is treated (Phil. V, 20) as though it were respected by them, and Epiphanius (p. 286 C) enumerates among the writings of the sect an Apocalypse of Abraham and apocryphal books of Moses.

"But this is not the end of the resemblances between the two representations. According to Epiphanius the doctrine of the Sethians is that the angels—the evil principle—created the world and the first human pair; in opposition to them the mother—the good principle—sent Seth to the earth: 'Him they extol, and unto him they ascribe all excellence whatsoever, the evidences of virtue and righteousness, and whatever implies these things.' But a pure human race is not established; men mix with angels, and then as punishment comes the deluge which is to destroy the wicked race and save only the good. But even this plan of the mother is frustrated by the angels who smuggle Ham into the ark, who then propagates the seeds of evil. For a final salvation the mother then sends Christ, from the race of Seth, and Seth himself: 'But from Seth by the seed and the succession of generations came Jesus Christ himself, not begotten, but appearing in the world by a marvel, who is the very Seth of old, even Christ, come again to the race of men, having been sent by the mother from above.'

"In the *Philosophoumena* of the Sethians this assumes an entirely different character. We have here no moral dualism, represented by the mother and the angels, with an ethical interpretation of the Old Testament accordingly, but we have from the very beginning a cosmogony in which is involved a trinity of principles: the hostile elements light and darkness, and as a mediator, the pure spirit (*πνεῦμα ἀκέραιον*). The darkness is 'the terrible water,' not by any means unintelligent, but rational throughout, it wishes to retain the essence of the spirit and the beam of the light, which have come in from above, while light and spirit strive to deprive the darkness of these forces. From this conflict of principles arises the universe, first of all heaven and earth with their 'endless multitude of various creatures' compounded of light and spirit, and from the water a serpent-shaped wind, 'firstborn and cause of all generation.' Now heaven and earth have the form of a great matrix: 'since then light and spirit have been detained in the unpurified, lawless and harmful womb, as is said, the serpent, entering in

... begets man:’ but in order to release the ‘perfect mind’ dwelling within him, the ‘perfect spirit of light from above’ also assumes the serpent form, deceives the womb and solves its mysteries, and for this reason the Saviour also was obliged to enter into the womb of a virgin.”

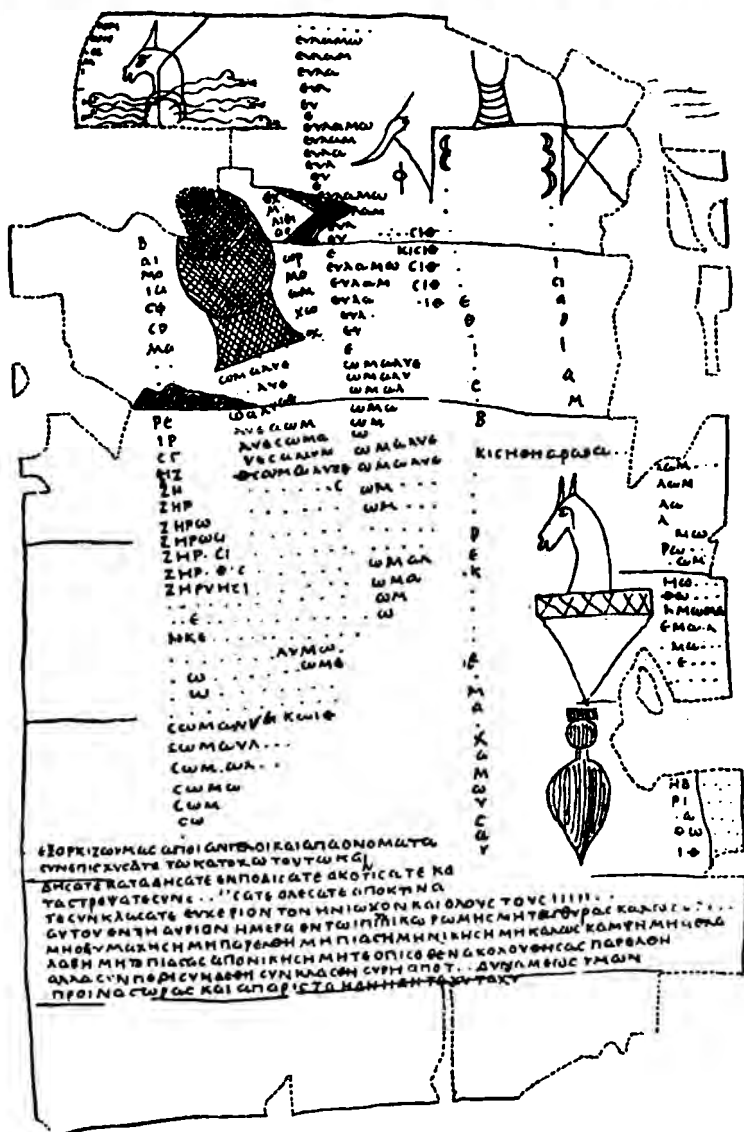
SETH-CHRIST.

A consideration of the close relation between the donkey-headed Seth and the Semitic Sabaoth (who was at an early date identified with Yahveh) throws a new light on the well-known tradition that the Jews worshipped their God under the symbol of an ass-headed man. Wünsch says (pp. 108–109):

“That the god in human form and an ass’s head, seen by Zacharias in the temple, was the Typhon-Seth of our tablets probably needs now no argument. We have already shown how this god was combined in the Nile delta with the Baal of the Canaanites, and it is well known that Baal had many worshippers and priests among the Israelites. These may have adopted the ass headed representation of the god under this Egyptian influence, and thus may have originated the reproach of onolatry made by antiquity against the Israelites (thus Tacitus, *hist.* V. 3), and as we now see, with more warrant than has hitherto been supposed.

“Harnack speaks of this report as springing from the wildest Judæophobia. In this connexion it is worthy of note that the books of these so-called Gnostics all bear the names of Israelitish spirits or men (Jaldabaoth, Noria, Adam, Seth), and likewise the archons of the skies: Jao, Saclan, Seth, David, Eloï-Adonai, Jaldabaoth-Elilaios, Sabaoth; of the last of these the remark is appended (p. 91 C): ‘Some declare Sabaoth to have the form of an ass, others that of a swine.’ For a Gnostic sect there is nothing surprising in the fact that these lords of the spheres were regarded as hostile powers, nor even that this contrast was sometimes very strongly emphasised; Epiphanius refers to this, p. 93 D: ‘They blaspheme not only Abraham, Moses, and Elias and the whole band of the prophets, but even the god who chose themselves.’ Evidently the blasphemy against the god of the Jews consists in the account of his having an ass’s head, and this account may have been meant seriously by the sect, in which case it simply worships the god in this form—or not, and in the latter case it is intended to ridicule some other sect which is friendly to the Jews, and which has given some ground for this ridicule. In view of the treatment of the Jewish rulers of the planets as hostile spirits the former as-

sumption is improbable, and therefore the probability is for the latter. Now we have already seen that the Sethians were friends



LEAD TABLET No. 49.

of the Jews, and the conjecture is plausible that the blasphemy of the Gnostics was aimed at this sect, and accordingly that the ass-

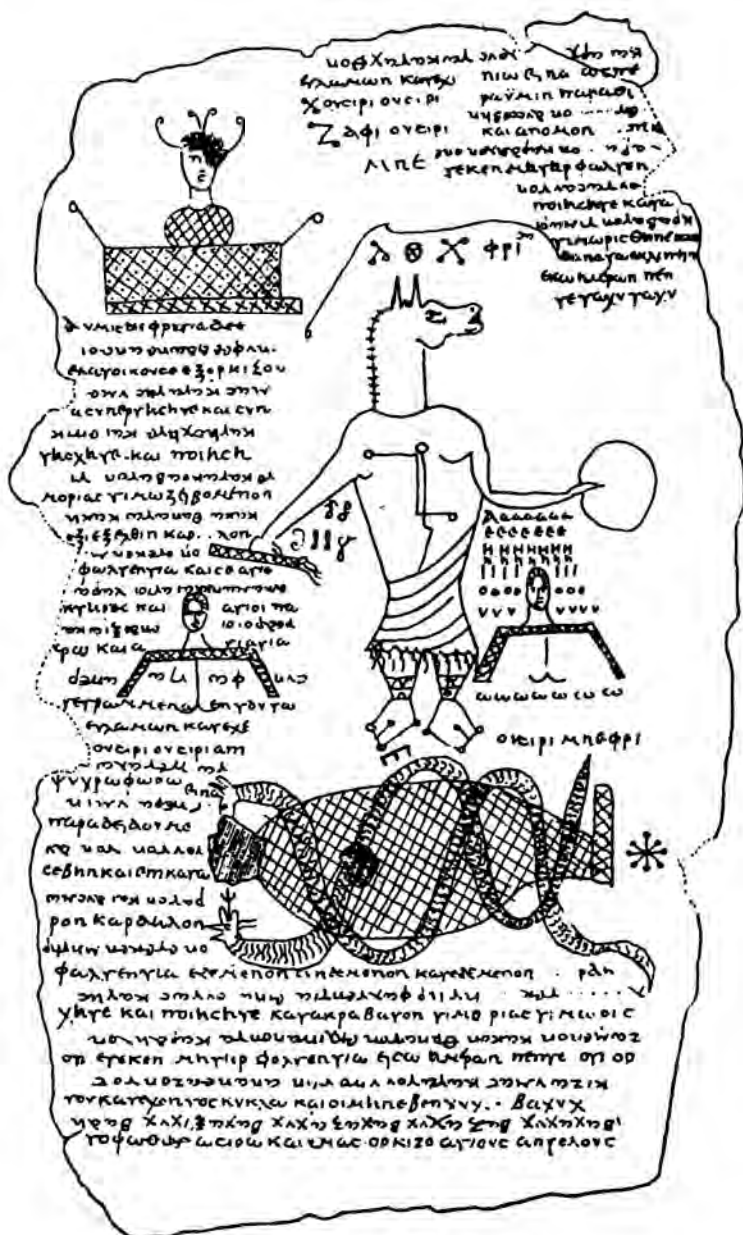
headed Typhon-Seth was still known in their worship and as a hypostasis of the Jewish god" (pp. 110-111).

"But if our tablets do in fact present Sethian doctrine, we have for a Gnostic sect two gods of the same name Seth, the Egyptian god Typhon-Seth, who is essentially like the Jewish Sabaoth, and Seth, the son of Adam, who is the Jewish Christ, and the question arises, what the relation is of these two divine beings to each other. And I believe, in view of the widespread tendency of that age to assimilation, that the two beings thus related by name could not possibly have remained separate any length of time; a personal union was inevitable, and thus Typhon-Seth, the ass-headed, and Christ-Seth, the crucified, became one and the same being.

"When the first elements of the Sethian Gnostics were crystallising and Egyptian and Jewish features were uniting, the faithful found for the god of the Nile land a kinship with an Israelitish hero in the person of Seth, the son of Adam. Now this Seth was, after Adam, the real founder of the human race, since Abel was slain in youth and the seed of Cain had disappeared: and thus may have originated the legend that Typhon-Seth was the ancestor of mankind, and directly of the Jewish people, a legend which is transmitted to us in Hellenistic garb by Plutarch (*de Is. et Os. c. 31, p. 363 D*): 'Some say that Typhon, after the quarrel over the ass, fled for seven days, and that, being rescued, he begot sons Jerusolymus and Judaeus, thus evidently involving Jewish matters in the myth.' And later, when Christianity began its march through the world and even this Gnosticism was forced to take sides with reference to it, it was the phrase 'the son of man,' used of himself by Christ, that determined the conception of him formed by these Gnostics: Adam (אָדָם) means 'man,' and the son who was called to found a new and pure humanity, is Seth. Thus Christ, the son of man, and Seth, the son of man, are united, and in case the latter had still preserved one idea of his Egyptian character a god was sure to result to whom belonged equally the symbols of the ass-head and the cross.

"Now this was actually the case, and a fortunate chance has preserved for us an eloquent evidence of this commingling of ideas; an evidence that proves definitively that the preceding reflexions are not mere conjectures, but that the course of thought which we have suggested actually was once pursued. I refer to the famous *Spotcrucifix* from the Palatine.

"In the year 1856 there was found in the so-called Pädagogium on the southwest slope of the Palatine the famous 'graffitto' now



LEAD TABLET NO. 17

in the Museo Kircheriano. 'We see,' says Reisch, 'fastened to a cross a man dressed in the "colobium" (the short tunic of slaves and manumitted slaves) and thigh-bands and having an ass's head; at the left stands a man similarly dressed and shaven, lifting his



SETH-CHRIST OR THE DONKEY-HEADED GOD ON THE CROSS.

Commonly called the *Spotterucifix*. Graffito of the third century on Mount Palatine.

left arm to the man on the cross in sign of adoration. Before it is the inscription: "Alexamenos adores god." From the form of the characters I am sure that the inscription is from the third century. The drawing has very generally been regarded as a satire on the

Christian religion, aimed by a Pagan page at his Christian comrade Alexamenos; the single protest against this interpretation, made by Haupt, has received no support, since it was known that the Pagans often ridiculed the Jews and the Christians as onolaters. But we should be very cautious in making such an assumption, inasmuch as an actual onolatry on the part of the Christians is quite possible from what we have just shown, and the crucifix might quite as well be an expression of this fact as of unjustified ridicule.¹

"Along with the *Spotcrucifix* there should be considered also another 'graffitto' likewise from the Palatine and applying to the same man: 'Alexamenos the faithful.' No one has thought of declaring that this too was satire. If it may be assumed that 'faithful' (*fidelis*) was at that time the characteristic word for the Christian believer, we should have in this 'graffitto' a serious confession of faith; but otherwise it is merely a eulogy of one imperial page on his comrade, after the manner of 'The pretty boy.' But if one were ever warranted in declaring of two such short inscrip-

ALEXAMENOC
FIDELIS

GRAFFITTO FROM THE PALATINE (reduced).

Presumably written by the author of the donkey-headed god on the cross.

tions that they are by one and the same hand, it is in the case of these: 'Alexamenos adores god,' and 'Alexamenos the faithful.' In the proper name the two inscriptions are alike in the forms of all the letters with the single exception of the ξ, and there the difference is but trifling. And if this 'Alexander the faithful' is in fact a sort of confession of faith, then it was written by the very hand of the youth, and then the crucifix is also the work of his hands and must be taken in earnest; but if the first is the eulogy of a friend, then a drawing by the same person cannot be regarded as the ridicule of an enemy.² And that such is not the case, but

¹ The literature on the subject is enumerated in F. X. Kraus' *Realencyclopädie*, II, p. 774; of more recent publications there should be mentioned Reisch, in Helbig's *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, II, p. 394; Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, p. 173; V. Schultze, *Archäologie der christlichen Kunst*, p. 332. Professor Wünsch adds that as to the origin of the crucifix he agrees in general with Joseph Haupt, *Das Spotcrucifix im kaiserlichen Palaste zu Rom*, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Central-Kommission*, Vienna, 1868, pp. 150-168.

² The graffitto to which Professor Wünsch refers is published by Carlo Ludovico Visconti in a pamphlet entitled *Di un nuovo Graffito Palatino, relativo al Cristiano Alessameno* (Rome, 1870, reprinted from the *Giornale Arcadico*, Vol. LXII., new series, and we here reproduce the writing on account of its importance with reference to the wrongly so-called *Spotcrucifix*.

that the figure is rather a symbol from the speculative sphere of Sethian Gnosticism, is proven most strikingly by an extraneous fact: To the right, beside the ass-head of the crucified one, is a Y which has thus far gone uninterpreted; it is the same Y which appears on our anathema-tablets to the right of the ass-head of Typhon-Seth, and refers, as we have explained before, to his control of the ways to the underworld. This Y is of course a secret symbol of the faith, known and understood only by the initiated; but a mocker would never have taken the pains to introduce such an isolated sign which could add nothing to the keenness of his ridicule.

"Accordingly we see that the identification of Christ and Typhon was once actually realised, and at that time gave no more offence than, for instance, the identification of the dog-headed Anubis and the Saviour, which is often found. It was probably the divulgence of the teachings of this sect which involved the Christians in the reproach of onolatry, and, as we see, not wholly without ground; for a part at least of those who at that time called themselves after Christ the reproach was justified. If, however, the significance of that crucifix as an evidence of pagan ridicule and of genuinely Christian religious joy is now destroyed, nevertheless it retains its importance as one of the oldest representations of the crucified Christ, and gains new value as a monument of the views of a Gnostic sect of that age."

There is no need of adding any comment to Professor Wünsch's exposition on the subject, except that his arguments appear to be conclusive and leave no further doubt about the significance of the ass-headed deity on the cross.

The Sethians and other sects that appeared as rival religions of Christianity adopted many Christian ideas and sentiments and dropped their typically sectarian traditions more and more until at last they were merged in the great stream of that form of Christianity which survived, and thus the worship of Seth-Christ disappeared entirely. Christianity in its turn assimilated a great number of pre-Christian ideas and the result was the Christianity of the Roman Church which became the state religion under Constantine the Great.

ETHICAL CULTURE VERSUS ETHICAL CULT.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

IN the *Standard Dictionary*—the latest and best—occur the following definitions :

"CULTURE. (3) The training, development, or strengthening of the powers, mental or physical, or the condition thus produced ; improvement or refinement of mind, morals, or tastes ; enlightenment or civilisation."

"CULT. (1) Worship or religious devotion, as contrasted with creed ; especially, the forms of a religion ; a system of rites and observances ; a cultus."

Etymologically "Culture" and "Cult" are related, both being from the Latin verb *colere* which means both to cultivate and to worship ; but in sense and substance they are fundamentally different, and the things respectively are historically opposed to each other. "Cult" implies a religious devotion to forms or rites apart from any creed or belief they symbolise ; "Culture" means a development and strengthening of the mental or moral powers and their improvement, which involves a growth in thought and knowledge inconsistent with devotion to forms and rites. One implies fixity, the other change.

Let us now turn to the word "Ethical." Both "moral," from the Latin *mos*, custom, and "ethical," from the Greek *ethos*, custom, had the same sense originally, and alike signified the social regulations and conventional conduct held obligatory on each member of the community. But "mos" (plural "mores") more definitely than "ethos" connoted religious as well as social observances, customs, manners, while "ethos" more connoted character ; and gradually *ethic* or *ethics* has been adopted as the word suited to the philosophical or scientific investigation of moral systems, and of individual conduct.

This has been a comparatively modern development. It has followed on the perception that morality is by no means the fixed system of rules which it was long supposed to be, and that a high

morality required certain individual deviations from the *mos*, the custom or fashion prescribed by society or by the community. Best men have often found themselves impelled by their moral sense to confront usage, to oppose custom, to obey some conviction of duty which appeared to them higher than that of others around them. To justify this apparent eccentricity such have had to search into underlying principles of existing moral usages, point out those that appear to them untrue or unscientific, and set beside them the principles they believe true and higher.

This situation, philosophically considered, is anomalous. The rules, manners, customs,—the morals,—of a community, were they genuinely developed out of its actual needs and its common sense, would not be liable to any radical challenge by science or by justice. Moral growth would be normally represented only in improving means and methods of application of universally approved principles. The scandal—for it amounts to such—that there should be different and even antagonistic standards of morality in one and the same community must be sought for in the adulterations of traditional morality.

In the new Dictionary already cited, the *Standard*, the following is the first definition of the word "Moral":

"Of or pertaining to the practises, conduct, and spirit of men toward God, themselves, and their fellow men, with reference to right and wrong and to obligation to duty; pertaining to rightness and oughtness in conduct; ethical."

It will be observed that in this quite correct definition of the word "moral" the supposed obligation to God comes first, personal and neighborly conduct being subordinate. But is duty to God consistent with duty to one's neighbor, one's fellow men, one's self? That obviously depends on the question whether the God is a moral being in the strictly human and social sense of moral. Suppose the God is one requiring the blood of human victims on his altar. In the community believing in such a God any attempt to rescue the victims would be supremely immoral, but in the view of "civilised" communities, so called, the rescuers would be the supremely moral people and those fulfilling their duties to God immoral. But the moral system of every nation calling itself civilised was formed amid similar beliefs to those which under "heathen" names and forms we pronounce savage, and every such system, however modernised and refined, is fatally adulterated by survivals of traditional duties to some God. For every such duty, so far as it differs from duty to man, is a human sacrifice, whether bloody or not, and is immoral morality.

I have said *fatally*,—weighing the word. People may imagine the morals grown around Mumbo Jumbo eliminated in the services paid to their own deity, but the most refined conception of a God now known in Christendom cannot be introduced into the sphere of ethics without bringing with it a virus more fatal to human morality than any idolatry reeking with blood on its altars. Human sacrifices in the literal sense have now nearly ceased in every part of the world, and it is doubtful whether within any year of the nineteenth century as many were sacrificed as were last year murdered by American lynchers. But when the so-called “heathen” sacrificed men to his God it was not from worship but from fear; it was not because he believed his God good, but because he believed him bad, and that unless a few were offered to appease his bloodthirstiness the whole tribe would suffer his vengeance. He did not—this “heathen”—hold up the invisible monster as a model for imitation; he did not suggest that the bloodthirsty God was a loving Father demanding slaughter for the victims’ benefit; the tribal ethic was thus not corrupted at the root. The evil was cured because it resulted from natural ignorance. Natural ignorance is easily outgrown, but not so educated ignorance. The once terrible Mumbo Jumbo has vanished from Africa as a supernatural phantasm, as the mediæval devil has vanished from Protestant Christendom; but whereas the African demon has left no theoretic Mumbo-Jumboism to succeed him, Protestant religion has long been educating the foremost nations to attribute to God all the evils formerly attributed to the devil. Whatever happens,—not only Galveston cyclones but Chinese Boxer cyclones, Maine explosions and consequent slaughter, Transvaal invasions, all despotisms and mobs and lynchings,—they all occur under God. All were foreseen by his omniscience, therefore had to occur, and through them is worked out a divine purpose hid in the depths of the universe.

There were Roman sceptics who having listened to Paul’s theistic doctrine—“He will have mercy on whom He will, and whom He will He hardeneth”—asked the apostle, “Why doth He still find fault? For who withstandeth His will?” Paul could only reply, “Nay, but who art thou, O man, that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it ‘Why hast thou made me thus?’ Or hath not the potter a right over the clay?”

No further report of the discussion is given by Paul, but there is reason to believe that one of the sceptics answered, “Nay, but who art thou, O Paul, but clay like ourselves affirming that we

are all shaped by an invisible potter, and venturing to expound the potter's purpose? If one pot may affirm, may not another pot reply?"

"But I am an inspired pot," said Paul.

"I too," said a second sceptic, "feel inspired enough to declare that I am not a pot; but even if I were a pot, and so badly fashioned that I couldn't stand straight, I would have a right if I could talk to ask the potter why he made me so. Therefore I do not believe, Paul, in your notion of a divine Potter."

"I *do* believe," said the fourth Roman, a centurion. "And I am much indebted to you, great apostle, for your lucid exposition. There is a neighbor of mine who has a farm with a gold mine in it, also a pretty wife; I have long wanted both, but have had some hesitations. But now that I know that I cannot possibly do anything but what the divine potter fashioned me for, I go to have that farmer slain and to appropriate his farm and his wife. Good day, dear Brother Paul!"

"See," said the second sceptic, when the centurion had gone, "see, Paul, what your pot-theism amounts to: it is a mere version of that old pan-theism which some ancient Greek theologians devised, but which Roman common sense discarded because it rendered moral responsibility impossible."

"Well," cried Paul, "all I can say is that you have either to accept my God or none at all. If God is omniscient he must fore-know everything that will occur, and if he is omnipotent nothing can occur unless He supplies the power. Are you vile Atheists?"

"Even if we were, we would be, according to your doctrine, pots fashioned for Atheism, as you for Theism, by the same Potter. I for one refuse your Pot Theism. If there were such a deity, creative, omniscient, omnipotent, I could not respect him, much less love him, for he would be the ordainer or the permitter of all the evils, agonies, villainies of the world,—a supremely immoral God."

"You will burn in hell-fire forever," cried Paul, "for daring to measure the morality of God by the morality of man."

"Ah, Paul, that is enough. I had rather go to Hell forever than worship a God who would send there even a worm. But whence came this moral sentiment of mine?"

Paul did not reply.

Centuries have overlaid the bald fatalism of Paul's theism with metaphysical moss and rhetorical flowers, but no euphemism can escape its inexorable logic. For God's "Will" may be substituted

"divine laws," and the future Hell may be turned to a metaphor, but the actual hell—the innumerable hells on earth—remain, and no modern Theism, however refined, (as by Newman, Parker, Martineau,) can theoretically relieve a creative and sovereign deity from responsibility for all evil, all crime.

It will be said that theory and practice are very different, and to a certain extent this is true: evolutionary laws render it necessary that in social life individuals must be held responsible for their conduct. But there are large general interests where evolutionary laws work in a reverse direction. In political life dishonesty is often the best policy, and the moral sense is brought to its aid by the convenient doctrine that the hand of God shapes the destinies of States. If Jehovah commissioned "a lying spirit" to get "in the mouth of all his prophets," in order to deceive a king to his destruction, as related in the Ethical Manual of Christendom (1 Kings xxii) what conscience need be troubled about a manipulation of ballots in order to fulfil the destiny of the white race to rule over the black? "For," says Paul, "if the truth of God has more abounded through my lie unto His glory, why yet am I also judged as a sinner?"

I recently attended a lecture on the Washington family by Mr. Ellsworth, in New York, and was much struck by his interpretation of General Washington's motto: *Exitus acta probat*. Mr. Ellsworth translated it: "The end justifies the means." The sense really is—"The action is tested by its result." Even as a prudential maxim the motto is not always true, but to translate it into a flagrantly immoral maxim, without any protest, though it may seem a mere straw, appeared to me a straw showing the direction of the popular breath. To do evil that good may come is humanly immoral in the view of Ethical Science, but in religion it is the fundamental morality of God. All the evils and villainies of the world are apologised for on the ground that the moral method of God is to do evil that good may come.

If God can so act righteously, why not man also? The reply of Theism is, that for Omniscience the beneficial result is certain, but ignorant man cannot be assured of the result of his action. Apart from the consideration that omnipotence could not have been under any necessity of adopting evil means, Ethical Science cannot admit that any certainty of good results could justify a deed morally wrong, such as Abraham's intended murder of Isaac. Social necessity prevents the imitation of sacred examples of atrocity by individuals, but when it comes to the will of the popular ma-

majority in democratic countries such majority is not more amenable to moral principles than Jupiter or Jehovah. No pope in history was ever accorded a divine authority more supreme above moral considerations than that now accorded by democracy to the popular majority.

In an article on "The Future of the Anglo-Saxon Race," in the *North American Review* for December, 1900, Lord Charles Beresford says: "'The voice of the people is the voice of God,' says an old Latin proverb, and in the main that is true." The proverb is altogether English, though it has been Latinised. Hearing the proverb, John Wesley said, "No, it cannot be the voice of God, for it was *vox populi* that cried out 'Crucify him! Crucify him.'" But an American democrat answered that the crucifixion being necessary for human salvation, the cry of the people "Crucify him" was in exact accord with the will and purpose of God. And this is precisely the ethical corollary of *vox populi vox dei*. If the people vote that fifty cents shall be a dollar, or that a foreign nation shall be crushed, the sanction of God goes with the vote, and considerations of morality and justice are swallowed up in the divine decree. As a matter of fact, however, there is no such thing as the *vox populi*; what we really get is the voice of some Croker, or Hanna, or Chamberlain. The Boss is spokesman of the Collectivist God, and the deluded people are politically valueless as ciphers, except as they are added by order to one partisan figure or the other.

Although, as already said, divine authority is not admitted to the same extent in the internal affairs of a community, yet there are several vitally important social interests in which progress is obstructed by an ethical cult. For example the Episcopalian Church finds it necessary to regulate marriage and divorce by words ascribed to a religious teacher in ancient Judea. It seems vain to argue with the textual moralists that if the divorced are not permitted to re-marry they will form illicit relations, that both virtue and happiness will be sacrificed: what is mere human morality in the presence of God? And when we pass from the Episcopalian to the less educated churches we find that each has an ethical cult in which moral fictions,—such as Sabbath-keeping, abstinence from balls and theatres, prayer,—are the supreme things. The rigid irrational sects enhance the charms of immorality.

There is in America a notable effort to recover the lost authority of theology under the mask of morality. It is shown in the demand that "immorality" shall be punished legally as crime.

But what is immorality? It is the other man's morality, that doesn't accord with mine. If my morality has in my eyes a divine sanction, if it is a cult, it is but natural that I should try to crush the other man's morality by force. In that way personal liberty is sacrificed to the Sabbath, and if those agitators for "God in the Constitution" should succeed, atheism will be punished as immorality.

Every now and then there occurs in New York a "crusade against vice," and it always becomes a question whether the vices or the methods taken against them are the more immoral. The houses lyingly called "disorderly" are generally so orderly that they can only be detected by men sneaking about, and pretending to be patrons of such places: espionage, treachery, falsehood, intimidation, are freely employed, and then the citizens are shocked when it turns out that a police trained in such methods can equally deceive their "virtuous" employers when that is more advantageous. Emerson met at Concord station a friend who asked him where he was going; and he replied, "I am going to Boston to get an angel to do housework." New York will need a police force of angels to carry out the statutes against vices which do no calculable damage to any non-consenting party, nor disturb public order, and can only be proved by mere verbal police testimony. Wherever there are law-made crimes there must be blackmail. This is the gangrene of New York, and it will continue so long as the citizens suppose that their moral system is divine, infallible, and continue to substitute violence and its immoral methods for moral culture and removal of the physical conditions out of which the tares grow.

So far as I can learn there is not a school in New York in which children are taught good manners. Of the deference due to age, of the respect due from boys to girls, from men to women, of the thoughtfulness for others and the self-respect that make the gentleman and the lady, the millions of children are taught nothing. Yet this is the foundation of all morality, and it is only as manners that morals can be taught children at all.

The movement for Ethical Culture has for its foremost task the removal of the Ethical Cult. Morality must be founded solely in human conditions and needs. Milton says:

"God doth not need
Either man's work, or his own gifts."

No traditional system of morality, however sanctified, must be allowed to impede the development of new ethical ideas. Science

admits no sacramental obligations. Ethical science is the most backward of all inquiries because of the intimidation of thinkers by the semi-theological ethics of monastic ages. The old theological polemics are ended. The dogmas have been weighed and found wanting by thinkers; their defence is professional; they continue automatically among those who dare not or cannot weigh them. There seems nothing left for the twentieth century but a great ethical reformation. The worship of an immoral deity, the circulation of an immoral Bible, the sacrifice of human freedom and happiness to ancient notions,—these must all be severely challenged. Possibly this entire humanisation of ethics may be attended by some outbreaks of moral anarchy, but even that is better than moral slavery. When philosophic and scientific minds are perfectly free there is little doubt that a purely human ethic will be developed able to bear great fruits. For the whole aim of ethics is human happiness. Those now described as immoral are really seeking happiness in the only way left open to them by personal and social conditions. Diffuse happiness and you diffuse virtue.

Meanwhile let not the ethical philosopher despise the immoral nor confuse them with the criminal. The Crusaders would like to make every city into a prayer-meeting, relieved only by salvationist amusements. Because they are "virtuous" there are to be no more cakes and ale. But the so-called "immoral" are there, finding and conferring happiness in their own way, just as genuine products of the world as the pious, and hitherto it is they rather than the handful of ethical cultivators who have saved the world from a deluge of superstition and moral despotism. That English Bishop who said he would rather have a free England than a sober England hit the nail on the head. The definition of Liberty in the French Declaration of Rights is impregnable: "Liberty consists in the power to do whatever is not contrary to the rights of others; thus, the natural rights of each man have no limits other than those which secure to other members of society enjoyment of the same rights." If any one injures another he is not immoral but criminal; and the statute that encroaches on the personal liberty of any one who wrongs no other is a criminal statute. It is a supreme task of ethical culture to maintain and defend moral freedom. To overthrow this principle because of even the worst vices is like burning down one's house to get rid of rats. Ethical Cult, like the theological Cult which preceded it, may propose such sacrifices of the large to the little; but Ethical Culture realises that social evils can be got rid of only as farms are rid of skunks and foxes. Agriculture, unrestrained by any superstition, clears away weeds and wild creatures, and Ethical Culture, when equally unrestrained, will replace with innocent pleasures the vices that nestle in untilled social swamps.

THE NEED OF A CIVIL SERVICE ACADEMY.

BY THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

GREAT and powerful, with an overflowing treasury and boundless resources, the United States of America can afford to do whatever justice may demand, or wise policy approve. The following conditions now invite especial attention.

The enormous growth and development of our country have produced numerous important conditions which were practically unknown, even a generation ago. Then but few of our people visited foreign lands; and the idea largely prevailed that our foreign service was of little practical use, and the expense of maintaining it was grudgingly borne. But now tens of thousands of American citizens travel or sojourn in other countries, and form commercial or other relations with their inhabitants.

But our foreign service has notoriously not kept pace with the growth of the country in population, wealth, and power. Our treaties with other nations give us the right to maintain in almost every other part of the world, representatives of our government, for the protection of our citizens, and the promotion of our commercial interests. But it is well known that such representatives have in many cases been of too low official rank to command proper respect and attention; or have lacked the qualifications indispensable to good service; or have had so poor a support that their mode of living has been a personal humiliation, and a grave reproach to our rich and powerful nation.

While in all other departments of the public service we pretend to have some regard for the necessary qualifications therefor, we have in too many cases grossly neglected such qualifications in preparing for the conduct of our foreign affairs. We have neither a standard of attainments, nor a place of training for that branch of the government service.

In theory our sovereignty extends to every spot over which our flag has authority to wave, and our constitution and laws are applicable to cases arising within the jurisdiction which our government is authorised to exercise. We scarcely appreciate the fact that even a consul is in a certain sense a "public minister," and that our consuls and ministers are sometimes invested with great judicial powers, as in China, Siam, Madagascar, Turkey, Persia, Tripoli, Tunis, Morocco, and some other countries.¹ That those powers have sometimes been seriously abused is known, but how often or to what extent, the government has no adequate means even to ascertain, much less to give relief from or inflict punishment for such abuses.

The enormous increase of our products, and the ever-enlarging demand for foreign markets, now urgently require that means be devised for extending our commercial relations with other parts of the world. But we cannot sow in the morning and reap the harvest in the evening of the same day. We must give time for growth and development. Under existing circumstances it may be affirmed without hesitation, that the United States has now a greater interest than any other nation in the world in maintaining the best and most perfect system of foreign service that our statesmen can devise. Such a system would bring the amplest pecuniary returns for whatever it might cost, in the profits of enlarged commerce, and in the wealth and advantages to be derived from it.

A consideration of these conditions suggests the following measures of reform, to which attention is earnestly invited.

1. The establishment of a Civil Service Academy, to be to our civil service, and especially to our foreign affairs, what the military and naval schools are to our army and navy. In this school should be taught the modern languages, constitutional law and history, international law, commercial law and usage, the practical business of diplomacy, foreign jurisprudence, the protection of citizens, and the interpretation and application of the particular provisions of our treaties with the several foreign powers.

To that school should be admitted, from time to time, two students from each congressional district, selected as the military and naval pupils are now.

The prescribed course of instruction would at once become the standard for the foreign service, and all candidates would be expected to conform to that standard. Our preparatory system would then seem to be complete. But, strangely enough, it now

¹ U. S. Revised Statutes, *Foreign Relations*.

lacks that department which appears to be most important to the perpetuity of our free institutions, a national school in which at all times a fairly representative body of the young men of the country may pursue, with every advantage that unlimited resources could command, the highest branches of the science of government, and the practical art of its administration. Such a school would furnish a supply of qualified men for the foreign service. They would naturally enter the public service in clerical positions, while young, and would undoubtedly continue in it to a larger extent than the graduates of West Point and Annapolis have done.

2. All American Legations and Consulates should be kept so well supplied with maps, books, papers, and samples of the mineral and the agricultural productions of our country, that at any place in a foreign land over which our flag is authorised to float, a citizen of that land may find any information concerning our own, that he may properly desire. The expense would be trifling in comparison with the benefits that would result.

3. The present system of rewards for foreign service should be radically reformed. The highest qualifications for efficient service should be required, and the compensation of every foreign public servant should be such as would enable him to live in a manner suited to the locality and to the honor and dignity of the United States, and to save a reasonable amount for his time and labor. The expense of such an investment would, beyond question, prove one of the most profitable investments the country could make. It has lost through the false economy of a beggarly support of various departments of the public service, a thousand-fold more money than would have been required for the most adequate outfit, current expense, and compensation. We should have cause to boast the most complete and best sustained civil service in the world. It is confidently believed that the American people are now fairly well prepared to make this great advance.

4. Our judicial system should be extended to the protection of our citizens in foreign lands. It is a gross violation of the spirit of our constitution to permit a political officer to exercise judicial powers. We should have district and circuit judges who should be required to visit, from time to time, every consulate and legation where judicial powers may be exercised, and there hold courts for the trial of all cases properly brought before them. And such judges should also be required to hear and act upon all complaints that might be made touching the consular service. The time may come when the administration of our laws in foreign lands will re-

quire for its general supervision an officer who might be called the Chancellor of Foreign Jurisprudence, and who should have the rank of a justice of the Supreme Court, and might, indeed, be a member of that high tribunal.

The benefits of the reflex influence of such a foreign service on our home administration can hardly be estimated. The effect of such a service in exalting our country among the nations of the earth would certainly be gratifying to every patriotic heart.

5. The present consular reports are of very little practical value, for the following reasons: They are made at too great intervals of time; their publication is too long delayed, and is in a form not adapted to the public needs. Our consuls throughout the world should be required to report at once, by mail in ordinary cases, and by cable in extraordinary emergencies, any material change at their respective points in the demand for, or the supply or price of, any article of commerce which our own country needs to import, or which it produces for export to foreign markets. And the substance of such reports should be furnished, under the direction of the Secretary of State, and telegraphed over the country, as the weather reports now are. That information would be of such great practical value to American manufacturers, merchants, carriers and consumers, that it ought not to be left to private enterprise, and should not be monopolised by private interests. It ought to be published under the name of the consul and involve no liability on the part of the government.

THE HEBREW CONCEPTION OF ANIMALS.

BY E. MARTINENGO CESARESCO.

WHAT was the view taken of animals by the Jewish people, apart from the fundamental ideas implied by a Peace in Nature?

It was the habit of Hebrew writers to leave a good deal to the imagination: in general, they only cared to throw as much light on hidden subjects as was needful to regulate conduct. They gave precepts rather than speculations. There remain obscure points in their conception of animals, but we know how they did *not* conceive them: they did not look upon them as "things"; they did not feel towards them as towards automata.

After the Deluge, there was established "the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth." Evidently you cannot make a covenant with "things."

That the Jews supposed the intelligence of animals to be not extremely different from the intelligence of man, is to be deduced from the story of Balaam, for it is said that God opened the mouth—not the mind—of the ass. The same story illustrates the ancient belief that animals see apparitions which are concealed from the eyes of man. The great interest to us, however, of this Scriptural narrative is its significance as a lesson in humanity. When the Lord opened the mouth of the ass, what did the ass say? She asks her master why he has smitten her three times. Balaam answers with a frankness which, at least, does him credit, because he was enraged with the ass for turning aside and not minding him, and he adds (still enraged, and, strange to say, nowise surprised at the animal's power of speech) that he only wishes he had a sword in his hand as he would then kill her outright. How like this is to the voice of modern brutality! The ass, continuing the conversa-

tion, rejoins in words which it would be a shame to disfigure by putting them into the idiom of the twentieth century: "Am I not thine ass upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day? Was I ever wont to do so unto thee?" Balaam, who has the merit, as I have noticed, of being candid, replies, "No, you never were." Then, for the first time, the prophet sees the angel standing in the path with a drawn sword in his hand,—an awe-inspiring vision. And what are the angel's first words to the terrified prophet who lies prostrate on his face? They are a reproof for his inhumanity. "Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass these three times?" Then the angel tells how the poor beast which he has used thus has saved her master from certain death, for had she not turned from him he would have slain Balaam and saved her alive. "And Balaam said unto the angel of the Lord, 'I have sinned.'"

Balaam was not a Jew; but the nationality of the personages in the Bible and the origin or authorship of its several parts are not questions which affect the present inquiry. The point of importance is, that the Jews believed the Scriptures to contain divine truth.

With regard to animals having the gift of language, it appears from a remark made by Josephus that the Jews thought that all animals spoke before the Fall. In Christian folklore there is a superstition that animals can speak during Christmas night: an obvious reference to their return to an unfallen state.

The righteous man, says Solomon, regardeth the life of his beast; a proverb which is often misquoted, "merciful" being substituted for "righteous," by which the maxim loses half its force. The Hebrew Scriptures contain two definite injunctions of humanity to animals. One is the command not to plough with the ox and the ass yoked together,—in Palestine I have seen even the ass and the camel yoked together, but it is a cruel practice as their unequal steps cause inconvenience to both yoke-fellows and especially to the weakest. The other is the prohibition to muzzle the ox which treads out the corn: a simple humanitarian rule which it is truly surprising how any one, even after an early education in casuistry, could have interpreted as a metaphor. There are three other commands of great interest, because they show how important it was thought to preserve even the mind of man from growing callous. One is the order not to kill a cow or she-goat or ewe and her young both on the same day. The second is the analogous order not to seethe the kid in its mother's milk. The third refers

to birds-nesting: if by chance you find a bird's nest on a tree or on the ground and the mother bird is sitting on the eggs or on the fledglings, you are on no account to capture her when you take the eggs or the young birds (one would like birds-nesting to have been forbidden altogether, but I fear that the human boy in Syria had too much of the old Adam in him for any such law to have proved effectual). Let the mother go, says the writer in the Book of Deuteronomy, and if you must take something, take only the young ones. This command concludes in a very solemn way, for it ends with the promise (for what may seem a little act of unimportant sentiment) of blessing to man for honoring his own father and mother—that it will be well with him and that his days will be long in the land.

In the law relative to the observance of the Seventh Day, not only is no point insisted on more strongly than the repose of the animals of labor, but in one of the oldest versions of the fourth commandment the repose of animals is spoken of as if it were the chief object of the Sabbath: "Six days shalt thou do thy work and on the seventh day thou shalt rest *that* thine ox and thine ass may rest." (Exodus xxiii.)

Moreover, it is expressly stated of the Sabbath of the Lord the seventh year when no work was to be done, that all which the land produces of itself is to be left to the enjoyment of the beasts that are in the land.

The wisdom of animals is continually praised. "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways and be wise: which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer and gathereth her food in the harvest." So said the Wisest of the Jews. I am tempted to quote here a passage from the writings of Giordano Bruno: "With what understanding the ant gnaws her grain of wheat lest it should sprout in her underground habitation! The fool says this is instinct, but we say it is a species of understanding." If Solomon did not make the same reflexion, it was only because that wonderful word "instinct" had not yet been invented.

We have seen that the Jews supposed animals to be given to men for use not for abuse, and the whole of Scripture tends to the conclusion that the Creator—who had called good all the creatures of his hand—regarded none as unworthy of his providence. This view is plainly endorsed by the saying of Christ that not a sparrow falls to the ground without the will of the Father, and by the say-

ing of Mahomet: "There is no beast that walks upon the earth but its provision is from God."

But there is something more. Every one knows that the Jews were allowed to kill and eat animals. The Jewish religion makes studiously few demands on human nature. "The ways of the Lord were pleasant ways." Since men craved for meat, or, in Biblical language, since they lusted after flesh, they were at liberty to eat those animals which, in an Eastern climate, could be eaten without danger to health. But on one condition: the body they might devour—what was the body? It was earth. The soul they might not touch. The mysterious thing called life must be rendered up to the Giver of it—to God. The man who did not do this when he killed a lamb, was a murderer. "The blood shall be imputed to him, he hath shed blood, and that man shall be cut off from among his people."

The inclination must be resisted to dispose of this mysterious ordinance as a mere sanitary measure. It was a sanitary measure but it was much besides. The Jews believed that every animal had a soul, a spirit, which was beyond human jurisdiction; with which they had no right to tamper. When we ask, however, what this soul, this spirit was, we find ourselves groping in the dark. Was it material, as the soul was thought to be by the Egyptians and by the earliest doctors of the Christian Church? Was it an immaterial, impersonal divine essence? Was its identity permanent or temporary? We can give no decisive answer, but we may assume with considerable certainty that life, spirit, whatever it was, appeared to the Jews to possess one nature whether in men or in animals.

When a Jew denied the immortality of the soul, he denied it both for man and for beast. "I saw in my heart," wrote the author of Ecclesiastes, "concerning the estate of men that God might manifest them and that they might see that they are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts, even one thing befalleth them; as the one dieth so the other dieth; yea they have all one breath: so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast."

The mist which surrounds the Hebrew idea of the soul may proceed from the fact that they did not know themselves what they meant by it, or from the fact that they once knew what they meant by it so well as to render elucidation superfluous. If the teraphim represented the Lares or family dead, then the archaic Jewish idea of the soul was simple and definite. It is possible that in all

later times, two diametrically opposed opinions existed contemporaneously, as was the case with the Pharisees and Sadducees. The Jewish people did not feel the pressing need to dogmatise about the soul that other peoples have felt; they had one living soul which was immortal, and its name was Israel.

Still, through all ages, from the earliest times till now, the Jews have continued to hold sacred "the blood which is the life."

In India, where similar ordinances are enforced, there are hints of a suspicion which, probably, was not absent from the minds of Hebrew legislators: the haunting suspicion of a possible mixing-up of personality. Here we tread on the skirts of magic: a subject which belongs to starless nights.

We come back into the light of day when we glance at the relations, which, according to Jewish tradition, existed between animals and their Creator. We see a beautiful interchange of gratitude on the one side and watchful care on the other. As the ass of Balaam recognised the Angel, so do all animals—except man—at all times thus recognise their God. "But ask, now, the beasts and they shall teach thee, and the fowls of the air and they shall tell thee . . . who knoweth not of all these that the hand of the Lord hath wrought this? In whose hand is the soul of every living thing and the breath of all mankind."

I will only add to these words of Job, a few verses taken here and there from the Psalms which form a true anthem of our fellow-creatures of the earth and air:

"Beasts and all cattle, creeping things and flying fowl, let them praise the name of the Lord.

"He giveth to the beast his food and to the young ravens which cry.

"He sendeth the springs into the valleys which run among the hills;

"They give drink to every beast of the field, the wild asses quench their thirst.

"By them shall the fowls of heaven have their habitation which sing among the branches.

"The trees of the Lord are full of sap, the cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted,

"Where the birds make their nests; as for the stork, the fir-trees are her house.

"The great hills are a refuge for the wild goats and the rocks for the conies.

"Thou makest darkness and it is night wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth;

"The young lions roar after their prey and seek their meat from God;

"The sun ariseth, they gather themselves together and lay them down in their dens.

"Yea, the sparrow hath found an house and the swallow a nest for herself where she may lay her young.

"Even thine altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King and my God."

F. MAX MÜLLER AND THE RELIGIOUS PARLIAMENT.

BY LADY BLENNERHASSETT.¹

IN the year 1893, an event took place which made a deep impression on Prof. F. Max Müller's mind. It was the Religious Parliament in Chicago.

Max Müller had always preserved his good humor, and when he saw, at the end of the year 1894, the answers to the questions which the Vienna *Fremdenblatt* had proposed to its German readers, he enjoyed the fun immensely.

People were requested to state what event had given them the greatest satisfaction during the twelve months preceding, and what desire they would most like to see realised in the near future. The greater part of the answers, sometimes signed by famous names, had reference to the domain of politics. Among other things desired was the limitation of the consumption of alcohol; another, a definite measurement of the skulls in the museums, where the slips indicating the measurements had been frequently changed; a third, from a poet, showed anxiety for the success of his drama.

Prof. Max Müller had received a report of the Chicago Religious Congress only at the end of the year 1894 (*Transactions of the World's Parliament of Religions*, 2 vols., 800 pages each, 1895), and he mentioned the Religious Parliament to the editors of the Vienna paper as the event which seemed to him the most important one; and they deemed it indispensable to remind their readers in a footnote of the event, and to explain to them what really had taken place in Chicago.

Prof. F. Max Müller had been invited to take part, but he was under the impression that it would result merely in a great show,

¹ Extract from an essay published in the current number of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, January, 1901.

and thus abstained from making the journey. He afterwards regretted it. For the first time in the history of the world the adherents of the three Aryan religions (the Vedic, the Avestic, and the Buddhistic), the adherents of the three Semitic religions (the Jewish, the Christian, and the Mohammedan), and the adherents of the two Chinese religions, the followers of Confucius and Lao-Tze, had met at Chicago.

Max Müller thought that one could not compare this assemblage with the meeting of the Buddhist Congress at Pataliputra, or with the Council at Nicæa, or with Emperor Akbar's religious congress at Delhi, at the time when the Council of Trent met in Europe. At Pataliputra there were exclusively Buddhists, so at Nicæa there were exclusively Christians. At Delhi, Akbar's desire was realised only in a limited degree, viz., that he might make himself acquainted with the main religions of the world: he failed to obtain a knowledge of the sacred books of the Veda and an insight into the significance of Buddhism. Whenever he, the Mohammedan emperor, wanted to have a discussion with Christian missionaries or with Brahmins, they had to be hauled up in the dead of night by a rope, to the balcony of his palace; and his conviction that it was possible to show that all the religions in the world had one and the same foundation remained a pious dream.

How different were the conditions in Chicago! There Buddhists and Shintoists from Japan, the disciples of Confucius and Fo and Lao-Tze from China, Parsees from Bombay, Brahmins from Calcutta and Benares, Buddhist reformers from Ceylon, other Buddhists from Siam, rabbis, emissaries of Islam, Christians of all denominations, bishops and a Roman cardinal met for the first time on one platform. Prof. F. Max Müller's "silent witnesses," viz., the fifty volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*, prepared by the ablest and most learned scholars of all countries, and published after encountering an enormous number of difficulties, had become accessible to the world. They made it possible to understand "that God had not left himself without a witness in distant China as well as in Palestine, in India as well as in Persia and Arabia. In this series of volumes lay the result of long struggles, of deep research, of a great zeal, the product of the labors of men in whom the spirit of truth, the spirit of God, had been stirring."

Prof. F. Max Müller did not undervalue the shortcomings nor the difficulties and conflicts which made themselves felt at Chicago; but he had always remained an optimist; and when he read that this peaceful assemblage of delegates of all religions had joined in

the Lord's Prayer kneeling,¹ once recited by a Jewish rabbi and on another occasion by a Buddhist monk, and that on another day they had received a blessing from a Roman Catholic archbishop, he thought of the apostle's sermon at Athens, where it is said: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us: For in him we live, and move, and have our being."

¹ The word *kneeling* is probably a mistake. To the knowledge of the translator, who was present during the sessions of the Parliament, the meeting always rose respectfully whenever the Lord's Prayer was spoken, but there was no kneeling at the meetings of the Parliament.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA AS SEEN BY A CHINAMAN.

To the Editor of the Open Court :

Since you published extracts from my last letter¹, the crisis alluded to has set in,—a crisis which is as yet unnamed and unnamable. Carlyle, speaking of the French Revolution, said : " When the right name itself is here, the thing is known henceforth. The thing is then ours, and can be dealt with." The upheaval in China is in magnitude comparable to the French Revolution, but the right name has not yet been found, and the situation can be understood only when we know the factors of the Chinese political revolution.

Previous to the advent of foreigners the two most important factors which determined the national destiny of China were on the one hand the governing classes and on the other hand the governed masses, or rather the proletariat. The governing classes are the Imperial dynasty, the official oligarchy and the literati. The masses consist of the commercial and agricultural communities and the *sansculottes*. Between these two groups there had never been established any well-recognised system of inter-communication. The function of the former was merely to command, that of the latter to obey. Disobedience on the part of the latter was treated as rebellion. The former owed their authority merely to the possession of superior military force. When the administration had become corrupt, however, the military force degenerated, and the proletariat was then enabled to shake off its domination. Rebellion itself then became a legal means of reinstating authority and either a new dynasty was called into existence or a purer administration inaugurated. Sometimes the new dynasty was founded by a capable semi-foreigner and new blood was thus instilled into the body politic and assimilated by the whole race. In any case an entire evolution would have been effected and a new start commenced only to ultimately end in the same natural causes.

It is thus that the Chinese nation has been accustomed to advance by cyclic political upheavals, but preserving always whatever elements of a durable nature exist in the national characteristics. All else were burnt up, destroyed as mere shams, formulas, or stuffed clothing. Progress of such a kind may indeed be considered as mere national cataclysm but nevertheless it has helped to clear the political atmosphere, to wipe clean the administrative slate, and to enable the meritorious to come to the front. The Chinese temperament is unlike the Gallic in that the main element is not of a merely destructive nature but includes also a construc-

¹ See *The Open Court* for June, 1900, page 365.

tive tendency along well-known and well-tested bases. In other respects their evolutions were parallel as regards cause and effect—but on a vaster scale—with that great national upheaval at the end of the last century known in history as the "French Revolution."

With the inauguration of European intercourse a new factor was added to the political situation. Its ultimate force and scope are, however, still undetermined. At one time it could have allied itself with the proletariat by mere commercial intercourse or it could have supplanted the dominant factor and become itself the governor by military means. But circumstances compelled it to adopt an indeterminate course, thereby constituting it as a third irreconcilable factor in the present political problem. We have here therefore a perpetual triangular contest between the governing classes of China, the proletariat, and the foreign powers. The treaties of peace and commerce were entered into only between the first and the third parties, while the second party was entirely ignored. The interests of the governors and the proletariat of China, however, had never been identical, and there had never been a common ground of understanding upon which concerted action could have been undertaken. When the Imperial authorities therefore stipulated away the vested rights and privileges of the proletariat communities by treaties to foreign powers, they in fact surrendered what had never been duly recognised as their own property. Indeed, such stipulations could only be effectually carried out if the superior military force of the Imperial government or its prestige were in due evidence. Otherwise they must remain inoperative. But when this military force itself had been previously injured or destroyed by the foreign powers, the proletariat could never have been expected to yield implicit obedience to undertakings to which they had never been party. At first the officials, by some means or other, succeeded in punishing those *sansculottes* who had dared to assault foreign travellers or in indemnifying the latter's governments for these outrages. But when foreign governments increased their pressure upon the governing bodies and continued to cripple the latter's military resources they thereby but increased the audacity of the proletariat and encouraged it to despise its own governors. The results have therefore been but to emphasise and complicate the triangular struggle now going on.

The continual increase of foreign aggression has at length produced a most decisive effect. At last the two original and opposing factors in Chinese politics have discovered a common cause upon which reconciliation and combination could be predicated and rendered mutually effective. Upon the basis of combined opposition to foreign aggressions they have at last solved one of the most pressing and all-important problems in their national domestic history. The Imperial government has at last condescended to ally itself with the *sansculottes*, and in the movement of the "Boxer Volunteer Train-Bands" we see but the prelude to a future national career as yet but dimly discernible. War, famine, pestilence, and social and political disintegrations are now forcing and driving the lethargic and self-sufficient Chinaman to develop the lasting qualities of the race, and we are witnessing but the opening act of the world's greatest drama, "the Struggle between the White and the Yellow Perils." The dynasty is without doubt doomed, but what the Chinese are at present anxiously waiting for is the advent of a Napoleon capable of organising and leading them towards their destiny. For the present they are assiduously serving their apprenticeship in the arts of war in the best school, that of practical experience.

As regards the foreign powers it is instructive to note the helpless and indeci-

sive situation in which they are now placed. The attitude of the United States and the policy of Admiral Remey are the only laudable and sensible courses so far evident. The others had proceeded with a light heart in their land-grabbing policies in the past, but to-day they are face to face with a world-problem at the possible magnitude of which they are aghast. The threats of the German Champion of Christendom and the paralysis of the British Jingo alike show how utterly unprepared the West is for such an unprecedented contingency. The Chinese nation had in the course of its past history experienced unimaginable humiliations and castigations, and yet to-day it has dared unshrinkingly to look at the united armies of the great powers of Europe, America, and Asia not askance but face to face. It had already been a great power centuries before Germany became a national force, and there is not the slightest doubt that it will continue to be a world power when the Germanic nations have disappeared.

Lord Salisbury's senseless threat of dissolving the Chinese Empire is on a par with his suicidal war in South Africa, and the present subservient inactivity of the British forces in North China will undoubtedly rebound against British prestige throughout the length and breadth of Asia. A Chinese official friend enquired of myself in regard to Lord Salisbury's threat whether the British Prime Minister could arrange with the Almighty to guarantee the dynasty, let alone the Empire, for the next ten years. Even if to save the dynasty and the present régime the Chinese government should concede all that is now demanded of it by the powers in the way of reparation and so forth, who is there to guarantee their specific performance? You may hang Prince Tuan and his confederates, but the effect to the nation would merely be the removal of certain incapable fools for worthier people. The government may stipulate the payment of millions as indemnity, but it remains to be seen whether the nation will pay it. And as regards guarantees for future non-repetition of outrages, whose bond would be acceptable? The Imperial government's? Even at present the Viceroy is using their own discretion as to whether to obey or ignore Imperial edicts. The Reformers have already repudiated the authority of the Empress Dowager and her advisers, but would profess loyalty to the Emperor Kwang Hsu. I am of opinion, however, that they will soon be in the position of the French Girondins, the advocates of legality, who will ultimately be swept off their feet by the flood of Chinese *sansculottism*. In such an emergency it is not difficult to anticipate what would be the fate of mere treaties or conventions. The great powers would probably reply, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." But then what becomes of their far-seeing statesmanship, their united diplomacy, their armed interference, and their vaunting vindictive threats?

TAN TEK SOON.

SINGAPORE, October, 1900.

ON THE TEACHING OF ELEMENTARY MATHEMATICS.

The recent work on the teaching of elementary mathematics,¹ by Dr. David Eugene Smith, Principal of the State Normal School at Brockport, New York, and author of several text-books and historical treatises on mathematical subjects, is one that is eminently fitted to the needs of teachers and students and that fills a decided gap in American pedagogic literature. A vast field of reading and sugges-

¹ *The Teaching of Elementary Mathematics*. By David Eugene Smith, Principal of the State Normal School at Brockport, New York. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1900. Pages, xv, 312. Price, \$1.00.

tion is here opened to the teacher, and the person who will follow its simple and intelligible guidance cannot help profiting greatly by it. The book is marked with evidences of wide philosophical and educational reading; the psychology of the subject of which it treats and the rich and helpful literature in which that subject abounds pedagogically, have heretofore been as good as closed to the average elementary instructor; and if the purpose the book is destined to fulfil be only that of opening a wider and more cheerful vista to individual teachers, the author has every reason to congratulate himself. No two persons could have written such a work at all alike; myriad divergent influences shape the opinions of even competent individuals on this subject; and the captious and toplofty criticisms which efforts of this character invariably evoke in certain quarters are as groundless as they are ill-humored. The purpose of Dr. Smith's book may be best given in his own words:

"Several years ago the author set about to find something of what the world had done in the way of making and of teaching mathematics, and to know the really valuable literature of the subject. He found, however, no manual to guide his reading, and so the accumulation of a library upon the teaching of the subject was a slow and often discouraging work. This little handbook is intended to help those who care to take a shorter, clearer route, and to know something of these great questions of teaching.—Whence came this subject? Why am I teaching it? How has it been taught? What should I read to prepare for my work?"

The subject is envisaged, thus, in its evolutionary, as well as its logical, aspect. The three topics of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry are severally considered as to their history, their place in education, their typical forms, etc. The traditional methods of presentation are critically examined, and new and more powerful points of view set forth. In this respect the book will be a revelation to many elementary teachers, and the advice which it carries, if heeded, will do much to revolutionise our elementary instruction. It is true that a great deal that is offered here is already accessible to the students of our best Normal Schools and Teachers' Colleges, but it is essential that it be put in permanent form and also brought within the reach of the rank and file of our teachers, who are in sorest need of it. As to the rich bibliography and general references collected in this book, they have an independent value, which renders the possession of the work desirable on this score alone. Perhaps Dr. Smith will add to his second edition some references to the simpler mechanical aids to calculation, the slide-rule, arithmetical machines, etc.; for the analysis of these mechanisms is fraught with educational enlightenment and possesses an intrinsic attraction for students. Nevertheless, as our author remarks, it is impossible to compress an encyclopædia into three hundred pages, and we should doubtless be thankful for what we have, without tendering supererogatory advice.

T. J. McC.

A PSYCHO-PHYSICAL LABORATORY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

A movement for securing government support for the maintenance of an experimental psychological laboratory has taken promising shape in a Senate amendment to the Sundry Civil Bill, asking "for the establishment in the Department of the Interior of the Psycho-Physical Laboratory; for a salary of the Director of the Laboratory, four thousand five hundred dollars; and for expenses incidental to the collection of sociological, anthropological, abnormal and pathological data,

"including the study of the criminal, pauper, and defective classes, and for the preparation of special reports on results of work and for all necessary printing, sixteen thousand five hundred dollars."

The laboratory is ostensibly not to be put into competition with other psychophysical laboratories in our country, although this is precisely what should be done and something to which no true scientist would object, seeing that competition is the very life of science. Its purpose will be solely to gather sociological, pathological or abnormal data, as found especially in children, and in criminal, pauper and defective classes, and in hospitals. Besides these data it is desired to gather more special data with laboratory instruments of precision and to make such experiments or measurements as are generally considered of value by psycho-physicists and anthropologists.

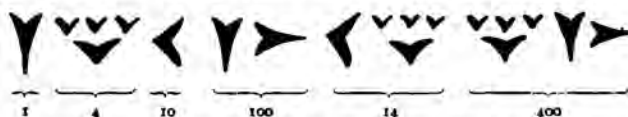
The laboratory, thus, will be in the nature of a great statistical reservoir from which individual scientists may draw their facts and working material. The enterprise is a commendable one, and, if established, will, we hope, be committed to competent hands and not draw upon itself the criticisms which have been aimed at other government ventures in the patronage of science.

A HISTORY OF ELEMENTARY MATHEMATICS.

The charm which the elucidations of history impart to scientific instruction has long been appreciated, but our consciousness of it has been immeasurably enhanced by the *renaissance* which has taken place in recent years in the study of the history of science. While mathematics was perhaps the first of the sciences to receive attention in this regard, it was one of the latest to incorporate the enlightenment which emanated from this source into its formal instruction. "Dry-as-dust" is an epithet which almost connotes fascination as compared with the descriptive adjective one is tempted to apply to the majority of the standard text-books of mathematics formerly in vogue. It was the great original treatises only, like Lagrange's *Theory of Functions*, that were interesting reading in a historic and philosophic regard. The text-books proper seemed to possess a monopoly of making themselves forbidding in aspect and content; and while much has been done to remedy this state of affairs by the addition of historical notes and appendices, it is after all to be admitted that the historical and developmental treatment of mathematics must from the nature of the case be largely relegated to the personal initiative of the teacher. The knowledge in question must in most cases be sought outside the text-books; and it is here that the brief histories of mathematics perform their function.

From the purely human side the most interesting of these in English is Ball's *Short Account of the History of Mathematics*. But neither this work nor the more recent book by Cajori (both are relatively expensive volumes) treats of the great body of mathematical truth as a thing of purely logical and evolutionary growth; their exposition is given rather in connexion with the individual *persons* who have contributed to the development of mathematics, and regarding whom many interesting anecdotes and stories are told. In *Fink's Brief History of Mathematics*, on the other hand, a volume which has been translated from the German by Prof. Wooster Woodruff Beman and Dr. David Eugene Smith, and published during the year just past by The Open Court Publishing Company, a systematic attempt has been made to write a compendium of mathematical history from a purely scientific and evolutionary point of view, eschewing utterly the

romance of the subject and relegating biography and such subsidiary matter to the appendices.¹ In this way the author successively considers the "growth of arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, carrying the historic development, as should be done, somewhat beyond the limits of the ordinary course." He has thus made the attempt to differentiate the histories of the separate branches of mathematical science, replying to the objection that in this way our general survey of the culture history of a certain epoch will suffer, with the remark that "in a his-



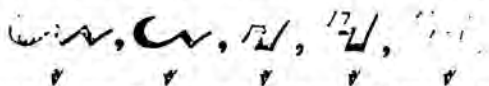
BABYLONIAN WEDGE-SHAPED NUMERALS.

tory of elementary mathematics, especially one confined within such modest bounds, an exhaustive description of whole periods with all their correlations of past and future cannot well be presented."

Sanskrit	८	८	४	४
Apices	८	८	४	४
Eastern Arab	٨	٨	٤	٤
Western Arab	٨	٨	٤	٤
Eleventh Century ...	٨	٨	٤	٤
Thirteenth Century..	٨	٨	٤	٤
Sixteenth Century...	٨	٨	٤	٤

CUT ILLUSTRATING DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN NUMERALS.

The discussion of each subject is preceded by a general survey which gives the prevailing trend of development and strikes the dominant key-notes. The opening section of the book is devoted to number-systems and number-symbols, in



SYMBOLS FOR THE EXTRATION OF ROOTS. (Sixteenth century.)

They represent respectively the third, fourth, second, third, and fourth roots of the numbers they precede. The first two were used by Rudolf (early sixteenth century), the other three by Stifel (1544).

which the development of the Hindu notation is especially emphasised, and the interesting character of which may be inferred from the first two cuts accompanying the present notice. In the second section, the development of arithmetic among

¹ *A Brief History of Mathematics*. An Authorised Translation of Dr. Karl Fink's *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik*. By Wooster Woodruff Beman, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Michigan, and David Eugene Smith, Principal of the State Normal School at Brockport, N. Y. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 1900. Pages, xii, 333. Price, cloth, \$1.50 net (5s. 6d. net).

the Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Arabs, and Hindus, and in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, is considered. The history of algebra is traced from the Egyptians and the Greeks to the Arabs. The first period culminates in the complete solution of the quadratic equation of one unknown quantity and in the trial method, chiefly by means of geometry, of solving equations of the third and fourth degrees. The second period of the development of algebra begins with Gerbert and ends with Kepler. The achievements of this period are the purely algebraical solution of equations of the third and fourth degrees by means of radicals, and the introduction of symbols and abbreviated expressions for the development of formulæ. From the section treating of this period the last cut accompanying our notice is taken. The third period begins with Leibnitz and Newton and extends through Euler, Lagrange and Gauss to the present time. It includes the discovery and development of the methods of the higher analysis, as well as that of a variety of new purely formal sciences. Fink's treatment of these two periods is valuable for the large amount of special information which it gives regarding the development of arithmetical and algebraical thought in Germany.

The history of geometry is divided into four periods, the first including the Egyptians and Babylonians; the second, the golden age of Greek geometry; the third, the relatively meager achievements of the Romans, Hindus, Chinese, and Arabs; the fourth, the period from Gerbert to Descartes; and the fifth, the time from Descartes to the present. The section devoted to trigonometry is comparatively brief.

The translators, who have performed their difficult task in a very commendable manner, have not made any considerable alterations in the original work, but they have corrected a considerable number of errors, provided additional references, and greatly improved the biographical notes. The work altogether is a compact, practical, and business-like handbook,—qualities which, conjoined with its inexpensiveness, will doubtless assure it a wide reception.

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BOOK REVIEWS.

SOCIAL JUSTICE, A CRITICAL ESSAY. By *Westel Woodbury Willoughby, Ph. D.*
New York: The Macmillan Company. 1900. Pages, ix, 385. Price, \$3.00.

So many books are written nowadays about what others have thought about this, that, or the other, that we take up "a critical essay" with a certain amount of suspicion that it contains a more or less interesting display of intellectual juggling whereby we are shown how far astray preceding thinkers have been, but are left without any definite idea as to where the writer himself stands. The object of a critical work is too often the mere display of critical power. The work before us, however, affords a pleasant surprise. Critical analysis here is subordinate and subservient to constructive thought. The author has ideas of his own systematically arranged. His style is luminous. There is not a dry chapter in the book.

The first part of the book is devoted to an analysis of the idea of justice as an abstract conception, and to a consideration of the various canons of distributive justice, to discover which of them contain elements of truth and rationality. The theory of equality, the labor theory, the effort theory, and the needs theory are all criticised at length. The conclusions reached are that "justice consists in granting, so far as possible, to each individual the opportunity for a realisation of his

highest ethical self" (p. 24), and that no absolutely valid rule of distributive justice can be formulated.

The second part of the book discusses the relation of the individual to the social group, and attempts to harmonise the principles of liberty and law, of freedom and coercion. There are three chapters in this division: The Right of Coercion, The Ethics of the Competitive Process, and Primitive Justice.

It is obvious that in the treatment of questions of social justice some ethical standpoint must be assumed. Professor Willoughby has taken that of T. H. Green and the later writers of his school. It does not seem to us that he has consistently kept it throughout the book. We are unable to distinguish, for instance, his opportunism from the utilitarianism of John Stuart Mill. As a matter of fact, we do not believe he is right in formally discarding the utilitarian theory. "Utilitarians," he tells us, "have made strenuous attempts to bridge the chasm between altruism and egoism, but without success." But what if altruism is only a higher form of egoism, as seems to us the case? Then there is no such chasm. If we are not mistaken, Professor Willoughby unconsciously admits this when, in attempting to explain the subordination of the individual to society as a whole, he says, "this subordination is, in essence, not the subordination of his will to a higher social will, but the identification by the individual of the social will with his own will, so that, in obeying the social or political will, the individual obeys his own will purified from selfishness" (p. 251). By a will purified from selfishness he can only mean a will free from the lower forms of selfishness. He admits (p. 257) that "there does occur what may properly be termed a struggle between our higher and lower natures."

The acceptance of the realisation of self as the supreme end of conduct does not greatly hamper the writer, for the reason that when it becomes inconvenient he lays it aside. Men are to be treated, not as things, but as ends in themselves. This is the Kantian doctrine, and it is apparently accepted by our author. But when he comes to discuss the theory of punishment, it turns out that nothing is meant but that the good of the individual is to be given equal consideration with the good of others in determining the general welfare. This is true, but it does not seem consistent.

There are no startling conclusions in this book. Socialistic theories of economic distribution are discarded. Dangerous and revolutionary schemes are deprived of ethical support. "In each instance where an act is required," we are told, "one must examine it as to all its possible results, proximate and ultimate, objective and subjective, and then ask himself whether the given line of conduct is more calculated than any other possible line of conduct to advance the world toward the realisation of the highest ethical perfection." Of course, but what is the content of that social ethical ideal, and what economic theory of distribution tends most to promote it? May it not be that one of the theories discarded would be most effective now, although ideally it is imperfect? Just as the blood feud is acknowledged to have played an important part in the development of punitive justice, although intolerable in modern civilisation?

We are by no means convinced by the author's reasoning in regard to the beneficence and permanence of competition in industry. We must hold our conclusion in abeyance. That it has resulted in progress, there can be no doubt. Without it the blind forces of nature would have accomplished nothing. But that does not prove that it must be permanent, and that it is the most beneficent method of industrial progress. In the biological world progress is secured by competition,

but competition is not the desideratum. Although employed as a necessary means of eliminating the unfit, it prevents the highest development of the fit, as is shown by the results of artificial selection. Now in human society the one thing essential to progress is action, and the question becomes, Will competition always be necessary to secure it? Perhaps there will always be forms of friendly rivalry and emulation. The author himself, although he believes that the absolutely competitive state is the ideal one, makes haste to say that competition will be "maintained only upon the very highest planes. The régime must be one in which . . . the *criteria* of fitness for success or survival will be the possession of absolutely the highest moral qualities" (p. 305). It is difficult to think of a being so endowed as competitive.

The caution displayed in the conclusion of this essay in regard to competition is characteristic. For instance, we find a justification of political restraint when it is "consciously intended to be for the ultimate best of the person controlled or of mankind at large." (We should say the act is justified, not by the intention of the agent, but by its actual beneficence.) The following conditions, however, must be present: the object aimed at must be desirable, the means employed must be calculated to obtain it, and at not too great an expense (p. 264). So intolerance is justified, but not until all available means are employed to determine the rightfulness of our opinion, and all the effects of coercion, immediate and remote, have been considered. Such a doctrine of intolerance will undoubtedly, as the author maintains, secure a greater degree of tolerance than now obtains in society. Again, Professor Willoughby maintains that, "just as there is a duty on the part of a parent or guardian to educate, even with collateral use of compulsion if necessary, the undeveloped faculties of the child, so it lies within the legitimate province of an enlightened nation to compel—if compulsion be the only and the best means available—the less civilised races to enter into that better social and political life, the advantages of which their own ignorance either prevents them from seeing, or securing if seen." This on its face is a warrant for "benevolent assimilation." But not so when the conditions are attached. These are as follows: The motive must be an absolutely disinterested one; the superior nation must be absolutely sure not simply of its benevolent purpose, or that its own civilisation is intrinsically better than that it wishes to supplant, but "that it will be better as related to the peculiar needs and characteristics of the people in question;" and finally that it "be made manifest that the desired results can better be obtained by compulsion than by any other mode" (p. 266). This is much like Portia's warrant to Shylock. "Take thou thy pound of flesh; but, in the cutting it, if thou dost shed one drop of Christian blood, thy lands and goods" are confiscate. "Shed thou no blood; nor cut thou less nor more but just a pound of flesh." Under such conditions Shylock thought it would be better not to undertake it. And such is the real conclusion in regard to the assumption by a modern nation of the task of civilising an alien people. Hedged by the same conditions, few would find fault with the principle of slavery.

I. W. HOWERTH.

The latest number of the *Temple Primers* is an admirable little manual of international law by F. E. Smith, M. A., B. C. L., of Liverpool. The little volume takes up less than two hundred pages, and is hence eminently adapted to the wants of students, politicians, and men of business who cannot spare time to read the large standard treatises and encyclopædias on this important subject. The frontispiece to the book is a portrait of Lord Stowell (1745-1836), from whose famous

judicial opinions in the High Court of Admiralty numerous extracts have been made in the work. (London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co. 1900. Pages, 181. Price, 40 cents.)

Ethics of the Great French Rationalists is the title of a neat brochure by Charles T. Gorham, published under the auspices of the Rationalist Press Association, by Watts & Co., London (Pages, 101; Price, 1s.). The compilation consists of short selections from the ethical utterances of Montaigne, Charron, Rousseau, Condorcet, Voltaire, Comte, Michelet, and Renan, preceded by brief but good biographical notices of these authors. The selection is not intended to be exhaustive; as the author says: "A few French writers are treated merely as representatives of the modern tendency in ethics and religion to arrive at truth rather by the ennobling process of individual effort than by an indolent or servile acceptance of authority." Repudiating the imputation that rationalism affords an insecure support for morals, he has compiled this booklet in the hope that it will help "to show that morality is independent of authority, to indicate that it is not a gift, but a development."

The third part of *Nature's Miracles, or Familiar Talks on Science*, by Elisha Gray, Ph. D., LL. D., whose recent death leaves a wide gap in applied science, treats of electricity and magnetism. The author, who is the inventor of the telautograph, by means of which a man's own handwriting may be transmitted to a distance through a wire and reproduced in facsimile at the receiving end, has lived through the period during which the science of electricity has had most of its growth, and it is to be expected that his historical as well as his theoretical and practical treatment of the subject will be of the most interesting character. The little book is made up of twenty-nine brief chapters in which, in addition to the usual exposition of the subject, such topics as multiple transmission, the Way duplex system, submarine telegraphy, the telautograph, wireless telegraphy, the Niagara Falls power, and electrical products, are treated. The volume is intended for popular reading, and technical terms have been avoided as much as possible, though when used clearly explained. (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. Pages, 248. Price, cloth, 60 cents.)

A unique attempt has been recently made to gather into a single volume a consensus of the general opinions of the world's great thinkers and doers upon the leading topics of religious belief. It bears the title *Faiths of Famous Men*, and has been compiled and edited by John Kenyon Kilbourn, D. D. Dr. Kilbourn has arranged his collection of expressions concerning religion under the nine headings of God, Creation, The Bible, Christ, Immortality, The Millennium, The Intermediate State, The Resurrection, and Heaven, and has thus enabled more than five hundred men and women to speak for themselves in a great number of extracts, for their religious beliefs. The Orient, as well as the Occident, is here represented, and the deliverances of the world's greatest men upon the Christian religion are recorded, from St. Augustine and Irenæus, through Wickliff, Luther, Calvin, and Bishop Butler, down to Robert Ingersoll and the last three presidents of the United States. The book gives evidence of great industry in its compilation, and bespeaks a wide range of reading. (*Faiths of Famous Men*, by John Kenyon Kilbourn, D. D. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co. 1900. Pages, iv, 379. Price, \$2.00.)

The publication is announced of a monthly record of anthropological science entitled *Man*, to be issued under the direction of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Its contents will include contributions to Physical Anthropology, Ethnography, and Psychology; the Study of Language, and the earlier stages of Civilisation, Industry, and Art; the History of Social Institutions and of Moral and Religious Ideas,—these various branches of study to be treated more fully in proportion as they are less adequately provided for in existing periodicals. Each number will consist of sixteen imperial octavo pages with occasional illustrations and a full-page plate. Subscriptions, which are ten shillings (10s.) per annum to the general public, may be entered at the offices of the Anthropological Institute, 3, Hanover Square, London, W.

An enlightened consideration of one serious aspect of the Oriental question will be found in Mr. Henry Crossfield's *England and Islam*, a pamphlet of some fifty odd pages just published by Watts & Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet St., London. Mr. Crossfield is concerned to know whether, in view of certain recent grave events, "the mind of England, as it has hitherto been mainly exercised, is "quite equal to the stress of the colossal responsibilities and duties that a convergence of causes has thrust upon her. Is this haphazard method of a 'race "that lives to make mistakes and dies to retrieve them," aptly remarked of the disastrous Indian Mutiny, a fateful flaw in the intelligence of a people priding "themselves on their practical genius and theoretical indifference? . . . Is it destined, unless properly rectified, to prove the means by which their powerful ascendancy may be ultimately overthrown?" He does not think so. He believes in what Emerson has called the "retrieving power" of the English race, which is chiefly incarnate in the rationalist minority of the nation, whose judgment must be allowed freer sway. We cannot enter into the details of his treatment of the Islamic problem in India, but shall merely quote his sentiments regarding the benefit to be derived from closer relations with the East: "If from the West can be "learned valuable lessons of the control and adaptation of the resources of nature "to the needs and imperious will of man, to the East may we look for an exemplar "of ineffable dignity and calm courage in the stress of circumstance, for an insistence on a regard for the infinite equally with the finite, which may yield needed "poise to our own fevered activity." There seems, thus, to be a moral as well as a material side to our intercourse with the Orient.



HUGO GROTIUS.

Dutch Jurist, Scholar, and Statesman.

(1583-1645.)

Painting by Abraham van de Temple in the museum Van der Hoop, at Amsterdam. After a copy by C. C. Burleigh made in 1882 for the Honorable Andrew D. White and now in the library of the Cornell University Law-School.

Frontispiece to 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. XV. (NO. 3.)

MARCH, 1901.

NO. 538

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THE PROVINCE OF GOVERNMENT.

BY THE HON. C. C. BONNEY.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

THE true province, office, and scope of civil government is a great and interesting theme. It touches all the relations that society deems sacred, and all the interests for which the warfare of life is waged.

In their government the people become united and powerful. In their government the many become united into one august and potent body, exercising authority, administering the laws, controlling the conduct of public affairs, preserving internal peace, defending the country against foreign foes, and performing such works as the general welfare demands.

In their government the people unite for the promotion of the common good, for the attainment of what they mutually desire, and for the preservation of what they hold in reverence. In their government the people find the largest prosperity of all in the highest well-being of each, and realise the philosophy of the great orator of the early Christian Church,—that all are members of one body, and if one member suffer, all the others suffer with it, and if one member be honored, all the others rejoice in its success. Poverty, sickness, misfortune, and crime; prosperity, health, success, virtue, and peace,—are all matters of common concern in the social state, and hence not to be ignored in the administration of the government.

But what are the limits of this all-protecting power? What are its relations to the individual, to the family, to the church, to the business calling, and to the people in communities or at large?

Before proceeding to consider these inquiries, the field of investigation must be narrowed and defined. A discussion of the province of government in general would be too diffusive to lead, within the limits of the present purpose, to any definite, practical conclusion. The conditions and relations of government are not the same in monarchical and in republican systems. Hence, to avoid confusion, we must confine our inquiries to the system under which we live, and which has for us a practical as well as a philosophical interest. What, then, is the true province of our own government, or governments?—for we seem to be living under several. Are they indeed separate, or are they only departments of one harmonious system of control? Municipal government, state government, and national government, confront us. What are their relations to each other, and to the people, and what is the true scope and duty of each?

The liberty of the individual and the authority of the Government are the two great counterbalancing forces of the American system. As the centrifugal force of the planets forever tends to draw them away from the sun, to roam unrestrained in their own paths through space, so the freedom of the individual continually impels him to resist the restraints of Government and the obligations of duty, and to seek in lawless ways the advancement of selfish interests and the attainment of personal ends. As the centripetal force of the solar system, if unchecked, would draw the planetary worlds into the consuming embrace of the sun, so the Government, if wholly unrestrained, would usurp all individual rights, and exercise a despotic authority over person and property, over "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And as the perfect balance of those opposing forces in the solar system secures its stability and perpetuity, so the just restraint of personal liberty by Government, and of Government by individual rights, results in the proper equilibrium and harmony of the opposing powers, and secures all the blessings of what is known as free government.

The relation of municipalities to the States, and of the States to the nation, has sometimes been described by declaring them, in poetic phrase,

"Distinct like the billows, yet one like the sea ;"

but I think a truer and nobler analogy may be found in moon, and planet, and sun, following forever their appointed paths among the stars.

Doubtless the same illustration has occurred to others. The heavens, says the sacred anthem, declare the glory of God, and the

firmament showeth his handiwork ; and so also do they indicate, in the movements of the heavenly bodies, the order and harmony that should be found in a wise system of civil government.

II. THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The unity of God is the fundamental doctrine of religion, and the unity of the government is equally indispensable to a successful and enduring control of human affairs. A government divided against itself cannot endure. The people are the acknowledged source of all civil authority. They have created all departments of government, municipal, state, and national.

The people are one ; their governments also are one. Until it is seen that the governments of municipalities, states, and the country are harmonious parts of one system, and not independent and rival systems, their relations to each other and the public cannot be understood. They are all created by the same power, the power of the people. They differ in the uses they are intended to perform. Municipal and state governments are limited to the localities in which they are established, and they exist as well by the permission and the protection of the people of the whole country as by the active consent and effort of the inhabitants of the locality.

The National Government stands for all the people of all the States, and in theory exercises the will of all in their collective interests. It has the supreme authority of judgment and of execution. It is the final judge of the extent of its own powers, and the entire military force of the people is placed at its disposal for the enforcement of its decisions. If it oppress the people of any State or section, their sole remedy is through an appeal to the justice of the people of the whole country, who have the power, by the machinery of popular elections, to change the agents by whom the government is administered, and thereby to give redress to the oppressed.

The rights of States, and of municipalities, and of persons, depend, not merely on any reserved power of forcible resistance, but mainly on the public conscience of the whole country. The people of a State cannot even maintain a local prosperity, except in harmony with the views and interests of the people of the whole country. Sectionalism is the deadly Upas tree of the republican system, whose effluvium poisons the air of popular liberty, and converts the fair and fruitful garden of the common good into a dismal desert of selfishness and hostility. The rights and interests of the people

of every other State should be as dear to an American citizen as those of his own immediate locality. True citizenship is national. No State has the power to protect its inhabitants beyond its own borders, and every citizen of the United States ought to feel that wherever he may go in any lawful pursuit, the resistless power of his country will maintain his rights, and punish every aggressor. If any foreign power fail to protect an American citizen, the National Government interferes, and compels redress. And if any State fail to protect a citizen of another State in all his rights and lawful interests, it is the duty, and should be the pleasure, of the people of the whole country, through their common Government, to come to his relief. The idea that the parts of the country are independent of the whole is utterly pernicious, and should be rooted out of the public mind. The right of free local self-government in cities, counties, and States is of inestimable value, but this right depends for its perpetuity, as has been already said, not so much on physical force, as upon the desire of the people of the whole country to maintain such self-government, and upon their love of justice and fidelity to the law. A city, a State, or a section arrayed in hostility to the general welfare is a hateful sight; but never since human government began did the shining heavens look down on a more gracious scene than the grand family of the United States dwelling together in unity.

The idea of State citizenship was paramount in the confederation of 1778, in which each State retained "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which was not expressly delegated to the United States in congress assembled."¹ And the same idea largely prevailed under the constitution of 1787, although that instrument expressly declares that "the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, do ordain and establish the constitution."² But the question of national citizenship was finally settled, and the right fully and firmly established by the Fourteenth Amendment, the adoption of which was proclaimed July 28, 1868. It declared, among other things, that "all persons born or naturalised in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside," and that "no State shall make or

¹*Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union*, Article 1.

²*Con. U. S. Preamble*.

enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." It also declared that "the Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation," all the provisions of the amendment. The provision for national citizenship is in perfect accord with the spirit and purpose of the constitution as originally adopted; and rather establishes on a firm foundation the original import of the national charter than adds a new doctrine to its provisions.

By the side of this grand citizenship of the whole country, the citizenship of State or municipality appears, and is small and unimportant. The world knows little and cares less about the geographical or political divisions of the country, but it knows and respects the Government and the people of the United States. The true province of the National Government is to maintain this national citizenship, with all its accompanying rights and interests.

To accomplish the objects and purposes for which the constitution was ordained, the General Government has power, among other things, to raise revenues for the common defence and general welfare; to regulate commerce; to make war; to raise and support armies and navies; and to make all necessary and proper laws to carry into effect the powers vested in the Government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof. It is also made the duty of the General Government to guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and to protect the States against invasion, and on the proper application, against domestic violence. "To guarantee" is defined to be to make sure, to warrant, to secure the performance of a duty. The word "form," as used in this connexion, is defined as the equivalent of constitution, organisation, system. It means substance, as well as arrangement. The national power and duty to guarantee to every State a republican form of government are of tremendous import, for the nation must necessarily judge what is republican within the meaning of the constitution, and have authority to carry its decision into effect; and notwithstanding the judicial dogma that words should be construed in the sense they were understood to bear when employed, the living spirit of the constitution develops new meanings as the generations advance, and new emergencies of government arise. In constitutions, as well as in sacred Scripture, "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

The States are restrained in many particulars. Among them, they are deprived of the power to form alliances; to coin money to levy duties on commerce; to emit bills of credit; to deny full faith and credit to the public acts, records, and proceedings of each other; to deny to the citizens of any other State the privileges and immunities enjoyed by its own; and the constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties made in pursuance thereof, are declared to be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State are declared bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding; and all legislative, executive, and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, must be bound by oath or affirmation to support the constitution of the General Government. And yet, *mirabile dictu!* there are people who seem to question whether the Republic is a nation. The ghost of the ancient Confederacy, like the disturbed spirit of Hamlet's sire, revisits from time to time the glimpses of the moon. Here and there some political Belzoni exhibits the Confederate relic of the former century, recalling the song-celebrated mummy, who, we are told, walked about

"When the Memnomium was in all its glory."

But neither wandering ghost nor embalmed bones have any longer the power to inspire a popular movement. The War of Secession was an attempt to restore the dead Confederacy to life, and to establish it in at least the southern part of the Union, in the place of that living power which now rules the Republic, and has demonstrated its supremacy alike over domestic discord and foreign foe.

The true province of this living power is to maintain the national authority in all matters which affect the people of the whole country; to perform all such works and make all such regulations as the general welfare of all the people requires; and to protect the people of the several States in all the rights, privileges, and interests which are reserved or guaranteed to them by or under the constitution of the Union.

In many particulars the nation has failed to perform its duty toward the people of the several States. For example, it has failed to provide adequate remedies for violations of the obligations imposed on the several States; it has failed to provide an adequate and efficient public service; frequently it has wasted the public revenues in appropriations for schemes of no public importance, while works of the highest national interest—like a ship-canal con-

necting the Great Lakes with the rivers which pour their waters into the Gulf of Mexico—have been neglected. It seems to realise that soldiers and sailors need a special training for the proper discharge of their duties, and yet to suppose that the holders of high civil office can become statesmen by inspiration. In many other respects the General Government has failed to fulfil the grand purposes for which it was created. It should now advance. Every department demands reform. In every quarter a higher and better service is required.

III. STATE GOVERNMENT.

While contemplating national power and glory, the States and their governments seem of comparatively small importance; but when viewed in their proper relations to the General Government, to the people, and to each other, they become invested with a wonderful dignity and interest. We turn from the lofty mountains, grand and glorious, to find a sweeter delight in the fields and gardens of the fertile plain. In the fruitful fields of the well-ordered State flourish all the virtues of civilised life. Every star in the radiant heavens looks down on a human home. The valleys ring with the shouts of school-children. The hills echo the music of church bells. The winds waft the perfumes of the fields into villages and cities, and carry back to the quiet farms the eloquent voices of workshop and mill. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, industry, learning, and religion, literature, science, and art, these are the powers that build the cultured State, and organise its inhabitants into an enlightened society for mutual assistance, protection, and advancement.

What is the province of government in relation to such a society? In general it is the right and the duty of the State government to protect the inhabitants in all their rights of person, property, and association, and to cause such public improvements to be made as the common good requires. The sacred things of society are person, family, religion, and property. To invade any one of these, in the humblest inhabitant, is to assail the State. Hence, the State prohibits and punishes such invasions as crimes against the peace and dignity of the whole people, and in their name tries the offender, and inflicts the penalty. It is manifest that government cannot endure without a fixed standard of right and wrong. To hold that justice or injustice are mere matters of public opinion, subject to change with the variations of popular caprice, would be to enthrone moral chaos, and to put "the abomination of deso-

lation in the most holy place" of civil government. So obvious has it been that those who make, interpret, and execute the laws should be guided by some acknowledged rules of moral right and wrong, existing independently of themselves, that the recognition of religion as indispensable to the well-being of the people, and as the guide of the State in matters of a moral nature, has been well-nigh universal. The frenzy of the Reign of Terror sought to dethrone religion, and set up human reason in its place; but the effort failed in the most ghastly catastrophe which modern history records.

The attempts recently made to "secularise the government," as the movement is termed, arise from a total misconception of the nature of the case, and of the relations of a separate Church and State. The free State protects the free Church; and the free Church preserves the free State. Neither can exist without the aid of the other. It is therefore as much the province of the Government to protect the religion of the people as it is to protect their homes and schools and possessions. It is not within the scope of this essay to show in detail how the free State and the free Church uphold and support each other. Whoever is interested in the subject may satisfy himself, if he will, by a reference to the early history of the country, and to the acts and words of the illustrious statesmen, jurists, and patriots who took a chief part in establishing the American system of free government, that the principles of the Christian religion were regarded as furnishing an unchanging and unchangeable standard of right and wrong for the guidance of lawmaker, judge, and executive.

The objects and purposes of State government, under the American system, are set forth in a somewhat specific way in the bill of rights common to the State constitutions. That for Illinois may serve as an example of them all. It declares that freedom and independence are natural attributes; that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are inalienable rights; and that to secure these rights and the protection of property, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. It forbids that any person be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; that is to say, without fair notice, an open trial, and a reasonable opportunity of defence.

It guarantees forever the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship; it forbids that any person be denied any civil or political right, privilege, or capacity on account of his

religious opinions; but provides that the liberty of conscience thus secured shall not be construed to dispense with oaths or affirmations, or excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State. The religion thus upheld and protected is the spirit of the religion of Christianity, but no person can be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship against his consent, nor can any preference be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship. This provision relates to the religions established in this country, and would extend to other foreign systems of faith solely on the conditions that they are subversive of morality and foster the spirit of truthfulness and brotherly love. Even pagans are protected from all persecution on account of their views on the subject of religion. Thus the protection of the Church is harmonised with the guarantee of personal liberty. The individual must not assail religion; and those who administer the affairs of the Church must promulgate its teachings by persuasion, and not by force.

The bill of rights then secures freedom of speech and liberty of the press, with personal responsibility for the abuse of that liberty, and a provision that in all trials for libel, both civil and criminal, the truth, when published with good motives, and for justifiable ends, shall be a sufficient defence. Trial by jury is perpetuated; protection of persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures is declared; and any arrest of person, or seizure of property, without probable cause set forth on oath and in writing, is forbidden. Protection against unjust criminal accusations, unfair trials, and unreasonable penalties, is given in ample and emphatic terms, which reminds us of the barbaric cruelties which other people have suffered for the want of such restrictions. Imprisonment for debt is prohibited. If private property be taken or damaged for public use, just compensation must be made. Acts innocent when done, cannot be made offences by subsequent legislation. Lawful contracts cannot be impaired by laws passed afterward. The military must be strictly subordinate to the civil power. Elections should be free and equal.

The people have a right to assemble in a peaceable manner, to consult for the common good, to make known their opinions to their representatives, and to apply for redress of grievances. These guarantees of free government conclude with the declarations that every person ought to find a certain remedy in the laws for all injuries and wrongs which he may receive in his person, property, or reputation: that he ought to obtain, by law, right and justice

freely and without being obliged to purchase them, completely and without denial, promptly and without delay; and that a frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of civil government is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty. Other provisions of the constitution command the enactment of liberal homestead and exemption laws, that the home and the family may be protected against the calamities of business misfortune; and the establishment of a thorough and efficient system of free schools, whereby all the children of the State may receive a good common-school education, thus recognising and declaring that the intelligence of the people is the safeguard of the republic. Such is the true province, and such are the limitations of State government under the American system. And surely it will be admitted that if the high ideals of the bill of rights could be realised in actual government, the dream of a free people, unrestrained except by self-imposed laws, yet strong as an empire in their unity for common ends, would be fulfilled,—a dream that lights up the dark expanse of the ages, like the soft glory of the galaxy, when we hear

“The trailing garments of the Night
Sweep through her marble halls,
And see her sable skirts, all fringed with light
From the celestial walls!”

Such a government would be indeed a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; a government of equal rights and privileges, of liberty, industry, intelligence, religion, and charity. For whatever the catalogue of the fundamental principles of free government omits to express, that may be deemed essential to a well-ordered state, is so plainly implied that there need be no difficulty in its application in the practical administration of public affairs. In the preparation of laws, the legislator finds a solution of most of the difficulties that beset him, in a careful consideration of conflicting claims and interests, and a decision in favor of what the general welfare seems to require. The State is not a school of speculative philosophy. It gives great latitude to inventive genius of all kinds, but it deals with interests of such infinite value and such solemn import that it must act decisively and from fixed principles, and must exact obedience from all, irrespective of the private opinions of dissenters. They may dissent at pleasure, and express their dissent in any orderly way, and persuade the governing authority to change its course if they can; but until a change is wrought, it is the province of the Government to require a uniform submission to its authority.

As liberty and equality are the inalienable rights of all, and the Government exists for the sake of those and kindred rights, it follows that, as regards individual conduct, the best government is that which governs least; that is to say, which gives the best protection to person, property, and society, and in the highest degree promotes individual freedom, enterprise, and success. But such a government must, at the same time, if it would discharge its full duty, promptly perform all those public works that devolve upon it, including such improvements as the common good or general welfare demands, and the burden of which ought not to fall on individuals. It is not the province of the Government to build houses, shops, or churches: but it is the province and the duty of the Government to protect them and their occupants against all assaults; and it is also the province and duty of the Government to make highways, to bridge streams, to construct harbors, and the like, that the people may come and go, and trade and worship, with prosperity and in peace.

IV. THE MUNICIPALITY.

But if such be the province of State government, what is left for the municipality to perform? The municipality is the agent of the State in the service of the people. Its office is to assist in the execution of the laws enacted for the government of all the people, and to provide such additional safeguards and facilities as the local conditions may require.

In the county, township, village, and city, the relations of the people become more complicated and intimate, and demand a corresponding degree of governmental care. In these relations the forces of social life develop their most powerful activities; the competitions of business demand extraordinary efforts; and the strife for place and power excites the most determined exertions. Hence, special regulations are required, greater facilities called for, and a more thorough and efficient supervision rendered necessary. The police power of the State is exercised, and the public revenues collected and applied mainly through municipal instrumentalities. It is mainly by virtue of what is called the police power of the State that the people are protected in the actual enjoyment of their constitutional rights.

"It is," says a high authority, "a settled principle, growing out of the nature of well-ordered society, that every holder of property, however absolute and unqualified may be his title, holds it under the implied liability that his use of it shall not be injurious

to the equal rights of others to the enjoyment of their property, nor injurious to the community. All property is held subject to those general regulations which are necessary to the common good and general welfare."¹ It is pre-eminently the province of the State government to make such regulations. It is settled by abundant authority that they may extend to the public health and safety; the restriction or prohibition of offensive or dangerous occupations; the suppression of disorderly proceedings; and the promotion of intelligence, virtue, and good morals. Laws for such purposes are upheld as a valid exercise of the police power. The actual enforcement of such laws is devolved on municipal agencies. The essential nature of municipal government is administrative. Its office is not to make the laws, but to take the active part in carrying them into effect. In obedience to the mandate of the State, its hand levies and collects the taxes, erects public buildings, constructs roads, builds bridges, arrests offenders, executes the processes of the courts, dispenses public charities, abates nuisances, and protects person and property from assault and injury. It is the office of municipal government to carry the guarantees of the bill of rights into actual effect and make them living verities to the people.

Municipal government is the hand by which the State executes its will. This hand, which does the bidding of the people as made known by the voice of the State, should be the hand of a master builder in the construction of public improvements; the hand of the soldier in defending the community and maintaining public order; the hand of fidelity in administering the public revenues; the hand of justice in executing the law; the hand of a woman in the sacred work of charity; and the hand of an angel in the protection of the people, especially the young and defenceless, against organised vice and crime. This is what should be; but too often we behold, in place of that divine symbol of intelligent power, the palsied and leprous fingers of corrupt greed, working in favor of the dangerous classes of society, and treating their interests as paramount to those of the classes to whose industry and virtue all the progress of the community is due. But the palsy and the leprosy of the hand of civil authority may be healed, if the people will. The miracle only waits their call, and will descend and display its restorative power whenever the earnest prayer of the popular heart ascends to its willing ear.

Municipal government touches the divine institution of the

¹ *S. S. & C. L.*, 438.

family on every side. The power of the nation and the authority of the State seem afar, but the municipality is ever by our sides and at our doors. It surrounds the home; and this fact is the guide to the nature of its office. It is so to protect the home and its inmates that they may all enjoy "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that each may attain, in any lawful calling, the highest position for which he is qualified. What all the people need in substantially equal proportions, they may secure in either of two ways. They may cause it to be provided by a common agent, at the common expense, or they may allow private enterprise to supply the need, and be repaid by a tribute to be collected. The erection of a school-house from funds raised by taxation, is an example of the first class; and horse-railway service by a private corporation is a specimen of the second. Public charities rest on two grounds,—the protection of the community from the evils and crimes which pauperism always brings in its train; and the manifest duty of every society to afford a sufficient protection to every law-abiding member. Protection equalises the conditions of society. The strong need less than the weak; the rich need less than the poor. Public compulsions also rest on a double ground,—the protection of the people against violence and fraud; and their right to compel those to be industrious, though against their will, who, being able to take care of themselves, would nevertheless become a burden to the community.

The protection of education and religion has likewise a two-fold support. The people regard the first as of inestimable value, and the second as sacred, and both as indispensable to a well-ordered community; and in addition to those considerations, the school-house and the church are the citadels, without which intelligence and virtue could not wage victorious warfare against ignorance and vice.

The treatment of so vast a subject in so brief a space must necessarily be fragmentary and suggestive. The magnificent landscape may be outlined in an hour; but its infinite details would require weeks or months for their portrayal.

So let us pause, and recur to our view of government as one grand personification of the power, the intelligence, and the virtue of the people. Its purpose is, not to make the individual dependent on needless aid, but to render him more and more self-reliant and independent. The excellence of the whole depends upon the excellence of its parts: make the individual citizen great and free, and the nation will be strong and glorious. The restraints of a

just government are not felt by him who desires to act justly, for the mandate of the law is in harmony with his will. He who regards the person, family, home, property, business, and church of his neighbor, as sacred from every assault, will have no terror of the law that provides penalties for injuries to them. To him the face of civil government is majestic and benign, and its voice welcome and encouraging, for it is his protector and his friend. It protects the country against foreign invaders and domestic violence. It administers the laws, settles controversies, and executes judgment. It opens harbors for storm-driven ships, highways for the toiling people, and asylums for the friendless, aged, and infirm. It builds institutions of learning for the ignorant, who are willing to learn; prisons for the control of those who will not govern themselves. It protects even the dumb beasts from wanton cruelty. It substitutes a reign of law for a dominion of force. Or if it fail fully to accomplish all or any of these grand results, it is ever in the effort to attain them.

The patriotic subject of such a government beholds it, not as the unanswering sphinx of Egyptian plain, not as the enslaving tyrant of war-worn empire, but as the vicegerent of God, descending like Moses from the holy mountain, with the tablets of the law in his hand, and the divine glory illumining his face.

THE SACRED FIRE AMONG THE SLAVIC RACES OF THE BALKAN.¹

AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY.

BY PROF. VL. TITELBACH.

THE domestic hearth-fire is sacred among all Slavic peoples, without distinction of stage of culture. It may never be started by blowing with the mouth. A bride, on entering her new home, is led thrice around the hearth by the groomsman; she must stir the fire with the poker, and utter the following words: "As many as

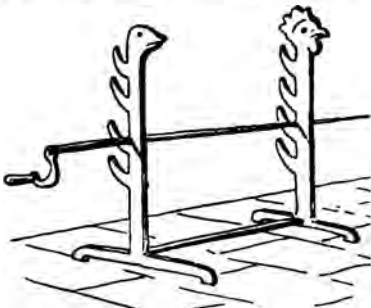


Fig. 1.

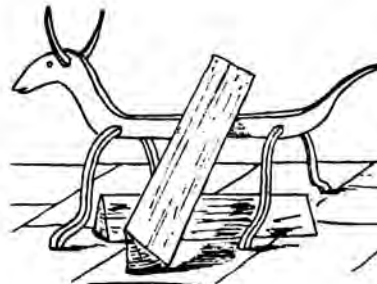


Fig. 2.

ANDIRONS OF BALKAN PEASANTS.

the sparks that fly, so many may the cattle be and so many the male offspring that shall bless our new home."

The form of the andiron in the peasants' houses has from time immemorial been either that pictured in Fig. 1, where one side is shaped to represent a snake and the other the head of a cock; or that pictured in Fig. 2, where some domestic animal is represented.

The fire on the hearth is never permitted to go out. It is the

¹ Translated from *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. Bd. XIII. Leyden: Brill. 1900.

eternal sacred fire of the peasant's home. Its extinction betokens misfortune, or is a sign that some member of the family will die.

The servants employed on the farm gather about the fire and pass away the long autumn and winter evenings in lively conversation. On Christmas eve, the sacred billet, *Badujak*, is lighted, and is sprinkled by the father of the house with wine, olive oil, and honey. On St. Ivan's Day, the Ivan's fire is lighted, and maintained through the whole night. The young people of the village gather together and dance the *kolo*, accompanying their dance with songs. But the "living fire" is prized most highly of all, because, as the Slavic tradition goes in the Balkan peninsula and the Carpathians, it possesses special curative powers.



Fig. 3. METHOD OF GENERATING THE SACRED FIRE IN WESTERN MACEDONIA.

The living fire is generated as follows:

In some places (as in the mountains of Old Serbia) it is customary to select two children, a boy and a girl, between eleven and fourteen years of age, who are entrusted with kindling the fire. They are conducted into a perfectly dark chamber, where they are obliged to remove all their clothing, and not to utter a single word. Two dry cylindrical pieces of linden wood are given to them, which they alternately rub briskly together until the pieces are ignited. A piece of tinder is fired by the sparks thus produced, and dedicated to sacred uses. This manner of obtaining the sacred fire is the oldest, but has now passed almost altogether out of use.

Another method prevails among the Servians of western Macedonia. Two slabs of oak wood are driven solidly into the earth, and in their upper extremities two round holes are bored in which a cylindrical piece of linden wood is so inserted that it can be rapidly rotated (see Fig. 3). A stout cord is drawn tight around the two upright slabs to prevent their springing asunder. A primitive violin bow is then constructed, the string of which is wound once around the piece of linden wood. By moving the bow to and fro the cylindrical piece of wood is brought into rapid rotation and through the heat of friction thus generated a piece of tinder inserted in the holes of the uprights is ignited.



Fig. 4. METHOD OF PRODUCING THE SACRED FIRE IN THE KOSMAJ HIGHLANDS.

In the autumn of 1899, while in the Kosmaj Highlands, I saw the sacred fire produced in a different manner (see Fig. 4): Two peasants drove two semi-cylindrical pieces of wood into the ground and drew a rope taut about them. The piece of light linden wood was so inserted that it could be readily rotated by means of a simple rope wrapped once around it,—a device which was even more efficacious than that of the primitive violin bow, and led quickly to the desired end.

In Bulgaria, I once saw the living fire, *živā vatra*, kindled by shepherds. They selected the stump of a tree for this purpose

(see Fig. 5), and nailing to the flat top of the stump a prismatic piece of linden wood, they drew back and forth across it a second piece, by the friction of which the fire was kindled.

The purpose for which the sacred flame or living fire is used in the peasants' homes remains to be explained:

While on a scientific journey in the interior of the great forest districts of Servia, several years ago, I accidentally had an opportunity of witnessing a ceremony which illustrated the uses of the sacred fire.

It was in the autumn. In the village of Setonje, at the foot of the Homolje Mountains, there raged a general epidemic among



Fig. 5. SHEPHERDS MAKING THE SACRED FIRE IN BULGARIA.

the children which the prejudiced peasantry concealed from the authorities for fear that the physician of the province would visit the place. Two old women, who were obliged by tradition to have the names *Stana* (from *stati*, to stand, not to spread) repaired to a spot outside the village. One of them carried a copper kettle filled with water, the other an old house-lock and key. The first one then said: "Whither goest thou?" Whereupon the one with the lock in her hand answered: "I have come to lock out misfortune from the village." With these words she turned the lock, and cast it, together with the key, into the kettle of water. She then walked



Fig. 6. SERBIAN CEREMONY FOR CHECKING AN EPIDEMIC.

thrice around the village, repeating each time the same ceremony as she passed the "woman of the kettle."



Fig. 7. WORKSHOP OF A PROFESSIONAL SERVIAN FIRE-MAKER.

In the meantime, all the inhabitants of the village gathered together, arrayed in festive attire, having extinguished before leav-

ing home the fires burning on their hearths. Two sturdy peasants then constructed on a hillock, to the right of an oak-tree, a tunnel sufficiently high to enable a person to crawl through comfortably on all fours. Lengthwise in the tunnel a wide board was laid and at its exit a second board was placed crosswise, the two together forming a T. In the meantime, an old woman and an old man had kindled on both sides of the tunnel the "living fire," in the manner represented in Fig. 6. When everything was ready, the woman with the kettle took her place to the right of the fire at the entrance to the tunnel, and the woman with the lock was stationed at the other end. To the left of the exit a peasant woman with a large pot of milk stood. To every one who crept through the tunnel she gave a sup of milk from a wooden spoon. At the other end of the tunnel stood a pot containing melted hog's fat, into the surface of which each person gazed as he crept through. Then, on the back of each person that crept through a third peasant woman drew a cross with a piece of charcoal. After all had crept through, each person present placed several of the glowing coals in a jar and hurried home to kindle the fires of their hearths. They then cast some of the charred wood into a vessel containing water and drank of it, in order to render themselves proof against the epidemic.

I learned afterwards that there existed a professional maker of fire for sacred purposes, and accompanied by a peasant I visited his workshop. He was a manufacturer of wooden-ware, and generated the sacred fire upon a primitive turning-lathe which he had constructed, selling small portions of it for twenty para (4 cents). Fig. 7 shows his workshop with the apparatus accurately represented. The mechanism is set going by means of two systems of levers, as appears from the drawing.

THE VALUE OF ETHICAL CULT.

COMMENT ON MONCURE D. CONWAY'S ARTICLE "ETHICAL CULTURE VERSUS ETHICAL CULT."

BY J. CLEVELAND HALL.

MR. Moncure D. Conway has emancipated himself from many things. The knowledge that his emancipation has never had the assistance of any "underground railway,"—but has, on the contrary, been at times an openly hard-fought battle,—makes the product of his freedom always interesting.

His article on "Ethical Culture *versus* Ethical Cult," in the February *Open Court*, is, as usual, not lacking in this element. It is interesting,—from the *Standard Dictionary* definitions on through the "pottery" of Paul to the conclusion that Ethical Culture must destroy Ethical Cult in order to establish its era.

But some primal thoughts are ignored in the rapid scintillating passes of the intellectual rapier, which are proper to interpose openly as a shield, or to even wear as a secret armor against such an antagonist.

In the first place, that all men are born free and equal, although acceptable to Mr. Conway, is not an axiom. If it were so, certainly, the inspiration of a whirling dervish, or of a cataleptic trance medium, or of a savage medicine-man intoxicated on a decoction of roots and herbs, would be equal to the inspiration of Mr. Conway himself. But it is not true. There is no equality in intellect, intelligence, or inspiration. That Herr Most may be inspired, and inspired by God, aye, by a good God, may be maintained; but from even Mr. Conway's position regarding ethics, his inspiration is not a proper thing to be at large, and spread its infection in a community.

In the second place, when a rose is mentioned, there does not rise to the mind's vision a wild, untamed, pink collection of five

flat petals surrounding a brown cluster of awkward looking stamens; but a large, full-blown, richly colored, heavily perfumed product of "culture."

How futile and inapt would be an attack on the claimed supremacy of the rose in the flower kingdom, based entirely on the evident inferiority of an ill-selected specimen of the wild rose.

There was,—unquestionably,—a time in the history of Christianity when the Bible was a flat, immovable, arid waste; a place for heated conflicts and controversies; an arena, where in the hot glare of passion men played battledore and shuttlecock with Biblical texts,—“fought to win the prize, and sailed through bloody seas.” In such times,—and to-day in backwoods counties where such times still persist,—a militant Church meant a militant God; the Old Testament was the equal of the New Testament in authority over human conduct and human thought; and Jehovah ordering His people to massacre the Amorites was accepted as being as much a revelation of what God was, as was the Father whose affection is recorded in the Gospels. The “But I say unto you,”—of the Christ,—receives no attention in such times, and among people where “culture” is wanting.

It is not indicative of a breadth of knowledge of the modern Christian pulpit to assume that from it men speak to-day who accept the Bible as a dead-level book, and who do not know the difference between the Garden of Eden and the Garden of Gethsemane.

Perhaps, where neither “culture” nor the “cult” have penetrated, a so-called,—still called,—Christianity exists, such as Mr. Conway has for his “windmill” antagonist, such as men of his rugged honesty of purpose—from Marcus Aurelius to Robert Ingersoll—have always denounced as “obstinate,” uncultured, and a libel against Divinity. But had the writer of “Ethical Culture *versus* Ethical Cult” a regular sitting, or even an occasional seat, in the pew of any one of the representative churches in any American city, he would not have opened himself to the charge of being ignorant that Christianity has entered another phase,—even as has every other department of human endeavor to uplift humanity. No more certain is it that human thought has burst the bonds of Greek Philosophy, human Science left far behind Alchemy and Astrology, and human Art outstripped the crude drawings in Egyptian tombs or Roman catacombs, than that Christianity has left scholasticism forever, has spurned a “Praise God Barebones” nomenclature, and has emerged from that protracted spell in its chrysalis

of darkness, when it deserved its Antonines, its Mohammeds, its Voltaires, its Ingersolls, and its Conways.

In the third place: Mr. Conway can have no greater love for human freedom than He who said "Neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more." But, until "marrying and giving in marriage" is transferred from this naughty world, "for the hardness of your hearts," Moses, and all other law givers among men will hedge men about with statutes; not because the Bible says so, but because men have found it to be better so. The lion ought to lie down with the lamb,—at his side, not inside; but so long as he prefers having the lamb inside, so long are fences, and barns, and armed shepherds necessary. This is true whether the lions and the lambs are animals or men.

With Mr. Conway's main conclusion, that ethical culture, meaning by that the virtues of human life put into practise, is more important than ethical cult, meaning by that ecclesiasticism, I find no fault. Although, of course, not having attained the freedom which he possesses, I still think that ethical cult still has, and will continue for a long time to have, its *raison d'être* in the "constitution of man."

NO PROTECTORATE BUT AN ALLIANCE.

BY THE EDITOR.

NAMES are not as indifferent as they would seem. Romeo's argument, "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet!" does not agree with facts. Names have associations in the minds of the people, and there are words, like "liberty," which, bare of meaning though they may be in some cases, possess nevertheless an electrifying power. The significance of names must also be considered in dealing with the populations of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, which have recently fallen into our possession by right of conquest.

It is true that the control of these islands is a matter of great importance to the United States, and to leave the possession of their main harbor defences to chance would be a criminal neglect of proper foresight. Should Cuba, Porto Rico, and Luzon forthwith become independent states, their main harbors might be suddenly seized by some powerful nation either on a flimsy pretext, or even for actual cause, while to recover them would cost thousands of lives, hundreds of millions of dollars and might become in the progress of time an imperative duty. Should the harbors of Cienfuegos and Havana fall into the hands of a European power, there would be practically an end to the American control of any Isthmian canal; and in case we should be involved in a naval war of any kind, we should deeply regret having surrendered Cavite and the harbor defences of Manila.

Thus the desirability of holding these points cannot be denied. But here the question comes in, Shall we for the sake of holding them reduce the entire islands to submission and establish a state of sovereignty over the populations? Here lies the difficulty of the situation. We can easily grant the inhabitants perfect liberty with unrestricted home rule, and it is the avowed purpose of our government to do so. But in doing so we ought to be careful to

avoid names that are or may become odious to the people. It will be necessary to protect these islands against foreign aggression, not so much for their sake as for our own, lest they become a prey to some powerful rival. But the word protectorate suggests the idea of vassalage and other feudal institutions. How much easier would it be to keep a foothold in these islands by gaining their good-will and preserving their friendship? Let our connexion with them, which is as desirable to them as it is to us, be in the form of a friendly alliance, and barring difference of size and power let it be stated in terms of equality. We should accordingly replace the words "protectorate," "sovereignty," etc., by the term "alliance" and call these islands officially "allied republics." We should thus gain the sympathy of the populations, and in critical times the sympathy of the inhabitants may be worth more than the guns of our soldiers.

Let us grant to the populations of our new possessions home rule and liberty on the condition that our alliance be indissoluble and let the management of the harbor defences be removed as much as possible from political influence, both in the United States and in the Islands. Let the territory be regarded as neutral ground, belonging to the allied nations, the control of which can be strictly regulated according to the interests and safety of both parties, and for the sake of serving the ends of their alliance; but let the arrangements be made in terms of an alliance.

All the complications that arise from the difficulty of the islands being subject to the United States and yet not part of them are thus avoided. It would be impossible for us to transform the inhabitants at once into citizens of the United States just as it would be unfair to make Christians of the Mohammedans in the Sulu Islands. But our responsibility for their institutions ceases when we treat them as allies, not as subjects, and recognise their right of regulating their home affairs according to their own notions—which of course does not exclude the advisability of exercising a moral influence and of persuading them to introduce reform and to change those customs of theirs which are evidently marks of an inferior civilisation.

The character of the relation between the United States and the allied republics could be such that citizens of our country might acquire, by change of residence, the right of citizenship in the Islands, and *vice versa* the inhabitants of the Islands might become, as soon as they lived in the United States, citizens of the

United States, and neither the former nor the latter should for that reason lose the citizenship of their original homes.

All these details may fairly be left to a consideration of the practical demands made by the contracting parties. Manila, being a conglomerate of diverse nationalities, should be divided into a number of independent states of which the United States government might be one, owing the territory of Cavite and other points of strategical importance. These states might enjoy perfect home rule and be as sovereign as are the states of our own Union, but should be united into a confederacy for the sake of harmonising their particular interests, of regulating their interstate relations and of attending to the administration of the whole. By not claiming the right of sovereignty and by avoiding all terms that savor of subjection and vassalage, we shall truly become more powerful in the Islands, for we shall gain their good-will, and instead of holding in possession so many million slaves we shall receive that many friends. *Quot servi tot hostes; quot socii, tot amici.*

THE OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.

AS THEY APPEAR IN THE LIGHT OF SCIENTIFIC ENQUIRY.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE BIBLE has ever been, is still, and will remain forever, the most important book for the study of religion. It has been the religious primer of the Mediterranean nations, offering them the basic ideas of their education; and now it has become to the scholar and historian a veritable gold mine for the proper comprehension of the origin and growth of religious thought. That the Bible has been and is still misunderstood, as well as misapplied, that it is misinterpreted and taken for what it never pretended to be; and further that it served ends and purposes which at the time when the Scriptures were written had no existence at all, is certainly not the fault of the Bible, and cannot detract from its intrinsic value. We must study the Bible in order to understand it; we must read it both appreciatively and thinkingly. An unthinking perusal of these ancient and venerable documents is as wrong and injurious as an irreverential scoffing at them. The former is stupid, the latter is unfair. In reading the Bible, we must not make our reason captive to blind faith by at once assuming a prayerful attitude; the unctious tone in which many pious people recite the text is not contained in the Bible; it is an addition of their own, and it adulterates the meaning. It provokes ridicule and must to a great extent be held responsible for the spread of iconoclasm and Pyrrhonism. On the other hand, the satires of Colonel Ingersoll overshoot the mark. They are just only as applied to the blind faith with which the Bible is received by a certain superstitious class of believers, by a class which may aptly be called Christian pagans. The attacks of the infidel upon the Bible lose their meaning if applied to the Bible itself as a collection of religious documents. Such mockery was perhaps valuable for certain circles, as a strong

stimulant, or a call to awake; it came as a rude shock to rouse people from their dogmatic slumber and to set them thinking; but in itself mere ridicule offers nothing that can be of any lasting benefit.

The Bible is to the uninitiated a book with seven seals; but these seals are being opened now, and the men who are opening them are not the scoffers, not the revilers of Christianity, but the theologians, the students of the Bible, professors of Hebrew and Greek, of Old and New Testament theology,—a band of scholars of high degree, who devote their lives to the investigation of the Scriptures, not for the purpose of disparaging religion, but for sheer love of studying it and comprehending its growth. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that Biblical criticism is not the product of scepticism, but the result of patient and painstaking inquiry. It is a work done by professional men, by the theologians themselves, not by outsiders; and in reading the Bible we shall do well to inform ourselves what has been done in this important field, and what our theologians in the present state of scientific knowledge think about its significance and origin.

* * *

Though of all the religious books of the world the Old Testament is the only one that stands for a rigid monotheism, it would be a mistake to think that the children of Israel were the only nation that took hold of this important thought. Historians and philologists are familiar with the fact that monotheism was evolved in Greece at an early date, and that philosophers like Plato and Aristotle have the same right to be called monotheists as any of the prophets of Israel.¹ Since we have become better acquainted with Egyptian and Babylonian civilisation, we know that the idea of monotheism was not absent in either country. Sir Henry Rawlinson speaks of a party of monotheists in ancient Assyria, and King Amenhotep of Egypt attempted to introduce monotheism into the cult of Egypt. He built his capital at Tel-el-Amarna, where we still find an extensive library, containing also translations of religious books from Babylon. Judging from his portrait, he was not a strong man. He died young, and only two of his successors were able to continue his reform. The fanaticism with which he carried out his plans showed more zeal than wisdom,

¹ Xenophanes of Colophon may be regarded as the prophet of monotheism in Greece. He attacked polytheism with much vigor and satire. There is one God only, and he is not anthropomorphic like the gods of Homer and Hesiod. For he is "all eye, all ear, all thought."

ὄλος ὄρε, ὄλος δὲ νοεῖ, ὄλος δὲ τ' ἀκούει.

and the result was that a new dynasty succeeded which made it a point to wipe out all vestiges of Amenhotep's innovations. The reactions was so severe that henceforth no other king dared to set his face against the established polytheistic ritual.

But while the ritual of both Mesopotamia and Egypt was polytheistic, while every city had its local shrines and tutelary gods and goddesses, we know to a certainty that the more advanced thinkers of both nations were in their hearts monotheists. Either they looked upon the many gods worshipped in the various temples as so many different names for one and the same deity, or they believed that above them all there was an unnamable supreme power, the Abraxas, or Adorable One, the true God, the source of all life and the author of all goodness. In this way, the gods of the people were conceived as messengers or angels of the sole and supreme God, in somewhat the same way as Christian Catholics look upon the saints.

Monotheism develops naturally, and it is peculiar that when firmly established by priests as a dogma to be believed by the people and popularised for the purpose, it evinces a certain intolerance. Philosophical monotheism does not endanger the shrines of pagan deities. The Platos of Egypt and Babylon left to the people their gods as well as their shrines; but in Judæa the monotheistic conception entered the heads of the priesthood, and they succeeded in making it popular among large masses of the people. This condition created a fierce intolerance which took offence at any other form of worship. Probably in this same way the monotheistic king of Egypt aroused the wrath of the Egyptian clergy, who saw themselves attacked by him in their most vital interests. Amenhotep did not proclaim that all the gods represented one and the same deity, the sole and true god of the world, but he pursued the opposite course: he widened his own God-conception, which was the sun-god, into the one and all. The same was done in Judæa. The ancient Israelites were as pagan as their neighbors. They worshipped the same kind of gods; they adored the stars, or the Zebaoth; they bowed their knees to the Baalim; they celebrated the death and resurrection of Naaman, who was none other than the Assyrian Tammuz and the Phœnician Adonis; they erected Ashuras in their temples; and Yahveh, the god of the covenant, the tutelary god of the Jews, was one god only among many other gods. In the progress of their religious development, however, the Israelites began to conceive of their gods as one god, and thus the plural forms Elohim and Zebaoth began to acquire the mean-

ing of singulars, which is to say, the word "gods" was used in the sense of "godhead"; and it became an established rule in Hebrew grammar that Elohim and Zebaoth, in spite of their plural form, should take the verb in the singular. The next step was the identification of Yahveh with all Jewish gods, the Elohim as well as the Zebaoth, and finally they worshipped this national deity as the sole God, Creator of Heaven and Earth.

The development of monotheism in Israel is by no means an anomaly or exception. It developed about simultaneously with, if not later than, the monotheism of other countries. But the peculiarity of Israelitic monotheism consists in this, that it took hold of the priestly class, which crushed out with the most zealous intolerance all other forms of worship, widening the conception of the national god of Judæa into the omnipotent lord of the whole world.

The vigor of Jewish monotheism finds a parallel only in the religious reform of Zarathustra, who, while more philosophical and less nationalistic, is as bold and as zealous as the Hebrew prophets. In Israel monotheism became a tribal instinct which dominated the minds of a number of zealots from whose ranks the prophets recruited themselves, and these prophets upbraided the people for their polytheism, insisting on the oneness of God, on his love of justice and hatred of paganism. The prophets, though rising from a minority fraction of the nation, stamped the religious character of the nation.

The prophets rose as the enemies of the priests and did not tire of denouncing the established rituals and festivals as immoral and ungodly. They were a party of opposition, the infidels and iconoclasts of their age; but the truth of their words appealed to the people, and when they gained access to the hearts of a number of influential priests, the result was a new faith,—a monotheistic religion.

It is well known that the people of Israel were split up at an early date into two little states: the Northern kingdom, or the Ten Tribes, which remained Israel proper; and the Southern kingdom, or Judæa, which had the good fortune to survive by several centuries her older and more powerful sister. Both kingdoms had common national traditions. They separated at a time when writing had been introduced, and the folklore of the country was no longer dependent upon oral transmission alone. Thus it happened that the original sources of Hebrew literature existed in two parallel versions which differed in many respects, but still bore a close resemblance to each other. These two parallel literary movements

show a like spirit of religious conception. Both reveal a monotheistic tendency; but they differ in their national coloring and in certain details which even now can be detected after they have been merged into that great unity called the Bible, and harmonised under priestly influence by the hand of a final redactor.

In the southern part of Palestine God was called Yahveh, in the midland and in the north on the right bank of the Jordan El, Eloah, or Elohim, and on the left bank where the tribe Ephraim dwelt, Zebaoth. Thus the name Elohim renders it probable that we have to deal with a tradition of the ten tribes while the name Yahveh indicates a Judaic origin.

It is probable that the final redactor had no longer the original documents of the Judaic, the Ephraimitic and other Israelitic authors at his command. The documents which he used must have been revised copies which already bore the stamp of pan-Israelitic harmonisation.

Besides these two streams of Hebrew traditions, coming from the two kingdoms, there is a third source of later origin which, in contrast to the popular style of the older writings, betrays a learned authorship. It presupposes an established priesthood with a definite ritual, and a rigorous monotheistic dogma, all institutions and laws being supposed to be given directly by God to Moses.

Most of the institutions portrayed in the priestly writings are a product of the period beginning 621 B. C. In 586 B. C. Israel ceased to play a political part in the world. While the Jewish aristocracy lived in Babylonian captivity, their national tradition became endeared to them, they learned to appreciate their religion and religious institutions, and when they returned to their country, foreigners conducted the affairs of the government, and allowed the people to attend to their religion as they saw fit. At this latter period of the history of Israel, that is to say after the Babylonian exile, when under the benevolent rule of Persia the Jews enjoyed a relative period of rest, the monotheistic belief became firmly established among the people themselves. The age was favorable for collecting and collating the religious literature of the past. The leading men of the nation were not implicated in politics, and thus they had leisure to concentrate themselves upon the problems of their religious life.

The date of the establishment of priestly influence can be fixed with precision, because we happen to have definite information as to the method by which it attained the ascendancy. We read in

the second Book of Kings, xxii. and xxiii., of a religious reform which endowed the nation with a new spirit, introducing the spirit of the prophets into the priesthood of Jerusalem. The old popular religion which was still adhered to by the majority of the people had prevailed against the iconoclasm of the prophets. It reasserted its power under King Manasseh, and the monotheistic movement might have been stifled in Judæa as it was in Egypt, had it not found its way to the hearts of the priesthood of Jerusalem. Manasseh's son and successor, Ammon, was assassinated in a palace revolution, whereupon the conspirators were slain and the younger son, a boy of eight years, was placed on the throne. Under the weak government of a child the religious institutions of the country were left to adjust themselves, and the people worshipped Yahveh as well as Baal, Moloch, and the sun and the planets. In 621 B. C., when King Josiah was eighteen years of age, Hilkiab, the high-priest of Jerusalem, delivered a book of laws to the king, which, as he said, he found in the temple. The king was deeply impressed and wanted a confirmation of the book through a direct revelation of God. So he sent for a woman of advanced age who had acquired fame as a prophetess, and when she confirmed the genuineness of the book the king summoned all the people to the temple, and made a covenant with God to keep the law.

Josiah's reform is too important an event to judge it by a brief recapitulation of the Biblical account, and we advise the reader to peruse the story again in the words of the priestly historian, which are translated in our authorised version of the Bible as follows :

"Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned thirty and one years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Jedidah, the daughter of Adaiah of Boscath. And he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and walked in all the way of David his father, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left.

"And it came to pass in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, that the king sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah, the son of Meshullam, the scribe, to the house of the Lord, saying : Go up to Hilkiab the high priest, that he may sum the silver which is brought into the house of the Lord, which the keepers of the door have gathered of the people : And let them deliver it into the hand of the doers of the work, that have the oversight of the house of the Lord : and let them give it to the doers of the work which is in the house of the Lord, to repair the breaches of the house, unto carpenters, and builders, and masons, and to buy timber and hewn stone to repair the house. Howbeit there was no reckoning made with them of the money that was delivered into their hand, because they dealt faithfully.

"And Hilkiab the high priest said unto Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord. And Hilkiab gave the book to Shaphan, and he read it. And Shaphan the scribe came to the king, and brought the king word again, and said, Thy servants have gathered the money that was found in the

house, and have delivered it into the hand of them that do the work, that have the oversight of the house of the Lord. And Shaphan the scribe showed the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book. And Shaphan read it before the king.

"And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the book of the law, that he rent his clothes. And the king commanded Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, and Achbor the son of Michaiah, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asaiah a servant of the king's, saying, Go ye, enquire of the Lord for me, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book that is found: for great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all that which is written concerning us.

"So Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam, and Achbor, and Shaphan, and Asaiah, went unto Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the son of Tikvah, the son of Harhas, keeper of the wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem in the college;) and they communed with her. And she said unto them, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Tell the man that sent you to me, Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read: Because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the works of their hands; therefore my wrath shall be kindled against this place, and shall not be quenched. But to the king of Judah which sent you to enquire of the Lord, thus shall ye say to him, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, As touching the words which thou hast heard; Because thine heart was tender, and thou hast humbled thyself before the Lord, when thou heardest what I spake against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, that they should become a desolation and a curse, and hast rent thy clothes, and wept before me; I have also heard thee, saith the Lord. Behold therefore, I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered into thy grave in peace; and thine eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place. And they brought the king word again.

"And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the elders of Judah and of Jerusalem.

"And the king went up into the house of the Lord, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of the Lord.

"And the king stood by a pillar, and made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments and his testimonies and his statutes with all their heart and all their soul, to perform the words of this covenant that were written in this book. And all the people stood to the covenant.

"And the king commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove,¹ and for all the host of heaven: and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto Beth-el. And he put down the idolatrous priests, whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah, and in the places round about Jerusalem; them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the

¹It is a common practise in sacrificial meals for the bread or other kind of food that may happen to be used on that occasion, to be in the form in which it was made in ancient times.

host of heaven. And he brought out the grove¹ from the house of the Lord, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and burned it at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people. And he brake down the houses of the sodomites, that were by the house of the Lord, where the women wove hangings for the grove. And he brought all the priests out of the cities of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense, from Geba to Beer-sheba, and brake down the high places of the gates that were in the entering in of the gate of Joshua the governor of the city, which were on a man's left hand at the gate of the city.

"Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of the Lord in Jerusalem, but they did eat of the unleavened bread among their brethren. And he defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech. And he took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun, at the entering in of the house of the Lord, by the chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain, which was in the suburbs, and burned the chariots of the sun with fire. And the altars that were on the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the kings of Judah had made, and the altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the house of the Lord, did the king beat down, and brake them down from thence, and cast the dust of them into the brook Kidron. And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the mount of corruption, which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth the abomination of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh the abomination of the Moabites,² and for Milcom the abomination of the children of Ammon, did the king defile. And he brake in pieces the images, and cut down the groves, and filled their places with the bones of men.

"Moreover the altar that was at Beth-el, and the high place which Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, had made, both that altar and the high place he brake down, and burned the high place, and stamped it small to powder, and burned the grove. . . .

"All the houses also of the high places that were in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made to provoke the Lord to anger, Josiah took away, and did to them according to all the acts that he had done in Beth-el. And he slew all the priests of the high places that were there upon the altars, and burned men's bones upon them, and returned to Jerusalem.

"And the king commanded all the people, saying, Keep the passover unto the Lord your God, as it is written in the book of this covenant.

"Surely there was not holden such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah; but in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, wherein this passover was holden to the Lord in Jerusalem.

"Moreover the workers with familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the images, and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might perform the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of the Lord. And like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all

¹ "Grove" is a wrong translation of the word "Asherah," which was a high wooden pole, representing the creative power of the deity. It was deemed in those ages so essential a symbol that it was not missing in the temple of Yahveh.

² Chemosh, the god of the Moabites, is mentioned on the Moabite stone.

his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him.

"Notwithstanding the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him withal. And the Lord said, I will remove Judah also out of my sight, as I have removed Israel, and will cast off this city Jerusalem which I have chosen, and the house of which I said, My name shall be there.

"Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

"In his days Pharaoh-nechoh king of Egypt went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates: and king Josiah went against him; and he slew him at Megiddo when he had seen him. And his servants carried him in a chariot dead from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem, and buried him in his own sepulchre. And the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and anointed him, and made him king in his father's stead.

"Jehoahaz was twenty and three years old when he began to reign; and he reigned three months in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Hamutal, the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his fathers had done. And Pharaoh-nechoh put him in bands at Riblah in the land of Hamath, that he might not reign in Jerusalem; and put the land to a tribute of an hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold.

"And Pharaoh-nechoh made Eliakim the son of Josiah king in the room of Josiah his father, and turned his name to Jehoiakim, and took Jehoahaz away: and he came to Egypt and died there.

"And Jehoiakim gave the silver and the gold to Pharaoh; but he taxed the land to give the money according to the commandment of Pharaoh: he exacted the silver and the gold of the people of the land, of every one according to his taxation, to give it unto Pharaoh-nechoh.

"Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he began to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Zebudah, the daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his fathers had done."

How much is written between the lines, and how many facts appear in a new light when we begin to consider the situation and weigh the evidence of the genuineness of the book of the law discovered in the temple by Hilkiah! It is possible that "the doers of the work in the house of the Lord" were honest, that "they dealt faithfully," as our historian says, but it is characteristic of the king that "no reckoning was made with them of the money that was delivered into their hands." He was too young and too much under the influence of the priests.

The young king Josiah was obviously sincere, but we must qualify the unbounded praise with which the priestly historians reward his obedience, by saying that he was weak and short-sighted, qualities which made him a dupe of priestly fraud and an easy tool in the hands of Hilkiah. We can imagine that the power of the

nation was frittered away in useless quarrels between the priesthood of the capital and the priesthood of the provinces, for it is not probable that the priests of the country should without any struggle have given up their traditional rights with all perquisites and emoluments, thus allowing themselves to be reduced to beggary.

The priests of the capital had everything their own way. The punishment with which they visited their brethren in the country who dared to offer resistance was bloody and relentless. The king slew the priests of the high places and had the old historical fanes at Bethel and in other towns desecrated. Undoubtedly he destroyed many immoral and superstitious practices; he did away with wizards and those that had familiar spirits, but he himself consulted an old woman for an oracle from Yahveh. Nor did he succeed in convincing the people of the truth of the religion of the priesthood of the temple, for we read (in xxiii. 9) that, "Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of the Lord in Jerusalem, but they did eat of the unleavened bread among their brethren."

The question is now: Do we still possess the book which Hilkiyah sent to the king, and what is the nature of the book? The question has been answered by De Wet, one of the most famous theologians and the father of Old Testament criticism. The result of his investigations have become the key to our comprehension of the religious history of Israel. He showed that the mooted book is Deuteronomy, and that this book cannot have originated before the prophetic movement but is a product of the prophetic monotheism, modified by the priesthood of Jerusalem.

We can no longer cross-examine the priest Hilkiyah as to how he found the book; but we may assume to a certainty that if he himself was not its author, the book originated in his time and was written by a man of his immediate surroundings. The aim of the book is to establish as ancient Mosaic institutions the monotheism of the prophetic conception of God and to abolish the traditional method of worshipping on the high places, which implies the abrogation of the privileges of the priests in the country and a centralisation of the national worship in the temple of Jerusalem. The priesthood of Jerusalem placed itself thus in a hostile attitude toward the priesthood of the country, and we have good reason to believe that the reform of Josiah was never fully executed. All open resistance was broken in the year 621, and a Yahvist monotheism was established at Jerusalem. All further details are want-

ing. Certain it is that the military forces of the country must have been seriously weakened by the civil war of the religious parties. The king's council was influenced by a narrow fanaticism which led to the speedy ruin of Judæa. It is probably not an accident that we have no knowledge about the government of King Josiah, except the judgment of the Yahvist devotees that he was a good king, second to no one except David.

The Kingdom of Judæa had only a short respite. The Assyrian empire broke to pieces under the onslaught of the Medes and Chaldæans, and the latter founded a new Babylonian empire in Mesopotamia. The king of Egypt seized the opportunity to invade Asia. Josiah met him in battle and, notwithstanding the prophecy of Huldah the prophetess, he was defeated and slain. The priestly chronicler ascribes the King's death to the wrath of Yahveh, provoked by the paganism of his predecessors. He says:

"Notwithstanding the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him withal."

Such is the judgment of the Yahvist historian, but we can very well imagine what the opinion must have been of the adherents of other religious parties.

For a while Judæa remained a vassal state of Egypt, but when Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldæan crown-prince, defeated the Egyptian army at Carchemish on the Euphrates, King Jehoiakim of Judæa was obliged to swear allegiance to Babylon. In those days Jeremiah counselled submission, but Jehoiakim put his trust in fanatic advisers and rebelled. He was vanquished and deported to Babylon together with "all the men of might." In his place Nebuchadnezzar made Zedekiah king of Judæa, but when the latter rebelled also, the anger of Nebuchadnezzar knew no bounds. Defeated, Zedekiah was tried by a court martial. His sons were executed in his presence; his eyes were put out and he himself was led away a captive to Babylon.

Such was the fate of the Jews. It is heartrending to read the story of their implicit trust in Yahveh which made them scorn all compromise and worldly prudence. The Persian restoration of Judæa gave them only a shadow of national independence, and the Maccabee movement was a mere temporary revival. Judæa was doomed, not because the Gentiles would have it so, but because the priestly pretensions of the Jews and their unswerving faith in a final rehabilitation, rendered the continuance of their national independence an impossibility; and their trust in their God was

such that the Romans could settle the Jewish question not other wise than by a complete destruction of the temple and an annihilation of the commonwealth of Judæa together with the last shadow of its independence.

Thus the time of Judæa's political independence from Josiah's reform in 621 B. C. was only 35 years, and this period was too troublesome for rendering the assumption probable that the institutions of the law had ever been practically tried in the country. They seem to have existed only as an ideal of the Jerusemitic priests.

The Jews that were exiled by Nebuchadnezzar must have formed quite a colony. They consisted of the royal family "and all the men of might, even seven thousand, and craftsmen and smiths a thousand, all that were strong and apt for war, even them the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon."

These eight thousand or more Jews represent the quintessence of the nation. They were all there was of the best classes, the aristocracy of both blood and intellect as well as strength; and their religious conviction was exclusively guided by the priests of Jerusalem who accompanied them into captivity. Now these priests shared the views of the book of laws which was discovered in the temple and they believed that the institutions and beliefs delineated therein, had been established by Moses himself. This error led to the reconstruction of the story of their national development by which the ideas of the deity which they cherished themselves were imputed to the patriarchs, as well as to their great law-giver.

The exiled Jews carried with them also some profane literature, among them the legends of ancient Israel as described by the northern school of the Elohist, and another collection of similar traditions told by the Yahvists, the former already prepared for further use by the influence of the prophetic spirit. In addition a new collection of national traditions was worked out by the priests from old and most valuable materials, and it is this book of priestly redactorship which became the framework of the Old Testament. All absolutely polytheistic recollections were omitted or changed, and the ancient traditions were modified to suit the religious ideal of the monotheistic priests. These priests aspired for scientific exactness, but it was the precision of the scholar, the philologist, not that of the scientist. It was *Stubengelehrsamkeit*, not natural philosophy. Dates are definitely determined and numbers are stated with a painstaking conscientiousness. They are sometimes contradictory and woefully improbable, but the assurance

with which they are given makes up for the defect. When we consider the slow growth of a true historiography among other nations, for instance, the Greeks, we need not wonder that our priestly authors, in spite of the dryness of their narrative, were devoid of all historical sense.

One instance may suffice.

The flight of the Israelites from Egypt, and their passage through the desert, appeared to the priests like the migration of a large nation, and thus they introduced numbers to suit their own imagination. Even to-day so many people could not exist in the desert; and a modern tourist agency would find it impossible to take care of such an army of wayfarers with their women and children, without making special preparations and utilising modern means of transportation for the purpose.

The priestly institutions were worked out into further details, resulting in the establishment of the Levitical law which was adopted in the times of Ezra, 440 B. B.

Finally, some later redactor, or school of redactors, united all Jewish literature into that collection of books which in their bulk constitutes our present Bible, and we owe it to the peculiar circumstances of the history of the Jewish nation, which had become a martyr to its religious convictions, that this collection of books bears a decidedly religious character.

It is probable that the priestly writings were composed during the thirty-five years which lie between Josiah's reform and the destruction of Jerusalem. Some of them may have been composed during the Babylonian exile or even later. The compilation of the canon from its three main sources (i. e., the Yahvist traditions, the Elohist traditions, and the priestly writings) can scarcely have taken place before Ezra's time. The date is indifferent and whatever it may be, it would not change the nature of the facts themselves.

But how do we know that such was the history of the literature of the Old Testament?

Happily, the last redaction of the Bible was done in a very conservative spirit, and the hand of the last editor who endeavored to harmonise the different sources left their main characteristic features untouched. It is more a combination than a fusion; and as a rule we have of almost all ancient traditions two versions of the same story. These versions can be differentiated partly by the name of God which is used, partly by the tendency of the narrator; for, in one set of stories as we have seen, God is called Yahveh,

and this version is now called by Hebrew scholars the source of the Yahvist (abbreviated by German scholars *J*), while in the other, God is called Elohim, which accordingly is called the source of the Elohist (abbreviated *E*). Judaic editors of Elohist traditions added the name Yahveh to Elohim, calling God "Yahveh Elohim," which is translated in the authorised English Bible by "The Lord God."

In spite of many similarities, the Judaic and the Israelitic versions are quite different. The Elohist tales preserve the traditions of Israel proper, that is to say of the midland, northern, and eastern tribes; and their authors derived their material from older documents, part of which were in written form, while the bulk may have been preserved orally in the way in which such narratives are always transmitted in a preliterate period. Professor Dillmann¹ characterises these documents as "the books of Israel's legendary history." The authors of these traditions show a special fondness for pointing out the origin of the ancient sanctuaries of the midland and eastern parts of Palestine, and also those of the far southwest, leaving out Judæa proper. They dwell with special emphasis on the glory of the tribe of Joseph, that is the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. A prior leadership of the tribe of Reuben is still recognised. Bethel is the sanctuary of the nation, where the tithes are to be paid. The city of Shechem is expressly pointed out as the possession of Joseph. Joseph receives a special blessing from Jacob. An account of the flood, however, was not contained in it. The mode of worship is the older form of the Israelites, who worshipped in the high places. It condemns, however, the teraphim or house-idols and other idolatrous things. It speaks of revelations of angels, has a regard for dreams and visions; and calls Abraham a prophet. It dwells on the idea of divine providence and God's method of unveiling his dispensations beforehand. It must have been a product of the time before the destruction of the northern kingdom, which took place in the seventh century; accordingly it seems to be older, and belongs most probably to the age when the prophetic order flourished in the northern kingdom, that is the ninth century. The original form of these documents has been tampered with and much has been omitted by later redactors, but enough of its characteristic features have been left to render them plainly recognisable.

The Judaic or Yahvist sources have been utilised by the final

¹ Dillmann's *Genesis, Critically and Exegetically Expounded*, has been excellently translated by Professor Stevenson of Edinburgh, and is published by T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh.

redactor only as supplementary documents, to fill out gaps which were not sufficiently covered by the Elohist and the Priestly Code. It contained old Jewish traditions; thus, for instance, it calls Hebron the residence of Abraham and Jacob; it makes Judah prominent in the history of Joseph; in many details it exhibits an obvious parallelism with the Elohist story of the lives of the patriarchs, and may have served as the main source for the Priestly Code. If this was so, it was certainly thoroughly remoulded and properly adjusted to the tendency of the writer. That it borrowed frequently from the legends of the Elohist is plainly perceivable in its accounts of Jacob and Joseph, legends which must have developed in Israel and not in Judah.

The third source, that of the Priestly Code, being the latest and hence the most sympathetic in doctrinary respects to the post-exilic generations of the Jewish people, has become the main and most important document for the redactorship of the Bible. It is systematic and rendered precise; it divides the history of God's revelation into three exact periods: The first period is from the creation to Abraham in which God is called simply *Elohim*, i. e., God. With Abraham a new epoch begins in which God chooses the Israelites as his elected people, and he characterises himself as *E. Shaddai*, the Mighty One. The third period begins with Moses, to whom God reveals himself as *Yahveh*, which is, as it were, his proper name, and thus forms the most intimate connotation of his being.

The style of the Priestly Code is dry; the author lays down laws, ordinances, and institutions; he explains the origin of customs, which is mostly historical, and tries to justify prevailing institutions as remembrances of events of Israel's past. It loves genealogies, and fixes the chronology. It is austere in its manner and anxiously avoids all anthropomorphism. Jerusalem is regarded as the central sanctuary of the nation and the sole place where the temple of God can stand. While thus it evinces its late origin, the sources which have been utilised date back to the most ancient times of the kings of Israel. It forms, as it were, the frame into which the other sources, first the Elohist and then the Yahvist, have been inserted.

There is now being published¹ an edition of the Bible embodying the results of the literary investigation of the old Testament scriptures, in which colors are utilised to show at a glance the different sources from which the Bible has been compiled. These

¹ Dodd, Mead & Co., publishers, New York.

colors form the background on which the text is printed, and from this method the new Bible edition has been called "The Polychrome Bible." It is edited by a German-American scholar, Paul Haupt of the Johns Hopkins University, and the different Biblical books are assigned to the best Hebrew scholars selected from the theological faculties in both hemispheres. The publication of the original text is complete; but of the translation only six volumes have appeared, viz., the Psalms, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Judges, Joshua, and Leviticus. Although the work may have its shortcomings, it is as yet the best that theological scholarship has produced and may be regarded as a fair summary of the present state of our knowledge as to the origin and significance of the Scriptures.

* * *

A few typical instances of the mode of composition that prevails in the Old Testament may be given. A sample of the nature of the Priestly Code is the creation story in the first chapter of Genesis. It utilises ancient materials which ultimately go back to Babylonian cosmology. That grand and vivid picture of the fight between Bel-Merodach and Tiamat and their helpers on both sides has been sobered down into a simple enumeration of God's work within the scope of a week. If we had not the positive evidence of the similarity of names, such as *Tohu*, *Bohu*, *Tehom*, and other unmistakable details, we should not recognise the Hebrew account as historically connected with the Babylonian epic.

By the side of the creation story of the Priestly Code, there is a second story of the origin of the world which is the story of the Yahvist school, being told in the second chapter of Genesis, verses 4 to 25. Consider the difference between the two. The author of the account in the Priestly Code attempts to offer a scientifically exact development in which an aboriginal chaos is more and more reduced to order. Plants and animals appear in progressive perfection, last of all man, at the command of the creative word of God. The priestly author's view of the origin of things finds expression in the verb *ברא*, "to create," while the more primitive Yahvist account speaks of *עשה* (*conficere, fabricare*) and *יצר* (*ingere*), which means, the former, "to fabricate," the latter "to mould," or "to give shape to," as a potter makes pots. The priestly writer is a theologian who looks at his subject through the spectacles of metaphysics, who is scientific and iconoclastic for his day, but dry and colorless; the author of the second account is a poet, anthropomorphic, naïve, almost child-like, but truly poetical and realistic, and depicting scenes of psychological interest.

The Yahvist account in Genesis ii. is the product of another climate. In the first story the world evolves from a general inundation, in the same way as the dry land with its vegetation appears in the spring when the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris recede. The second report in Genesis ii. presupposes the existence of a desert country, such as the highlands of Canaan. The plants are described as "herbs of the field," and they are supposed not to have existed as yet, because "the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground. There, trees do not grow naturally, but must be planted. Therefore, while in the first account God makes the earth bring forth all kinds of plants and trees, in the second account God must plant trees himself. In the Priestly account, God makes man after his likeness, after the likeness of the Elohim; and he makes man and woman at the same time. The Yahvist account describes how God formed man of the dust of the ground, and then breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. He made man alone, and afterwards woman as a helpmate for him, and obviously the creation of the woman is told to account for the missing ribs over the pit of the stomach, offering an explanation which undisguisedly belongs to a very primitive age. In the first account, the animals are created before man; in the second account, the animals are created after man, as an abortive attempt to give him a companion.

The most characteristic instance in which the two accounts, that of the Priestly Code and that of the Yahvist, have been woven into one is the story of the Deluge. The compilation still shows the seams of the patches, and we are here allowed to watch the compiler in his work. The final redactor, who is distinguished by a pedantic conservatism, preserves as much as he can of the material on hand. Undoubtedly he had before him the written manuscripts of both accounts. He utilised the report of the Priestly Code, which was nearest to his own conception, and inserted pieces from the Yahvist account wherever it was possible. The Yahvist account is not preserved as completely as that of the Priestly Code. Where the Yahvist and the Priestly versions run parallel, he either preserved both versions side by side, or if they were too similar, he omitted the version of the Yahvist. His conservative spirit is evinced in that he does not shrink from frequent repetitions. The introduction to the story of the Deluge, relating the perversion of the world, is told by the Yahvist in Genesis vi. 5-8, and by the Priestly writer in the succeeding verses, 9 to 12. God's command to build the ark is only preserved in the

words of the Priestly version, verses 13 to 16. The command concerning the living beings to be taken into the ark and the beginning of the flood, is related in chapter vi. 17-22 in the Priestly version, and chapter vii. 1-5 in the Yahvist version. Thus, the redactor has preserved the Priestly report in its completeness, and given it the central position.

The redactor did not take the trouble to remove contradictions which originated through the preservation of both accounts. According to the Priestly version, God orders Noah to take one pair of each species of animals into the ark; but according to the Yahvist he is requested to take seven pairs of the clean and two of the unclean animals. According to the Yahvist, the Deluge originates through a conflux of the waters above the firmament with the waters underneath the earth,—an unmistakable recollection of Babylonian mythology; while the Priestly account makes the cause of the Deluge more prosaic and more plausible by attributing it to a heavy shower of forty days' duration. According to the Yahvist, Noah has to find out for himself whether or not the floods have disappeared, as related in chapter viii. 6-12. The Priestly version is simpler, for here God merely gives the command, and Noah obeys, as related in chapter viii., verses 16 and following. The Priestly report gives a precise chronology not only of the year, but even of the month and the day, in which the Deluge begins and ceases (chapter vii. 5, 11, 13, 24; viii. 3, 4, 5, 13, 14). It gives definite figures in its description of the ark (chapter vi. 15), and of the height which the waters attain (chapter vii. 20). The Yahvist cites no definite figures, but allows his imagination freer play and gives in each instance the impression of greater immensity (chapter vii. 4, 10, 12; viii. 6, 10, 12). The Priestly report is written in the spirit of a sober scholar who traces the event as a dry account of history, in the style of a chronicler. The Yahvist, on the contrary, is imbued with a poetical spirit; he gives more details of a personal nature, rendering the description more vivid.

The story concludes, as does its Babylonian prototype, with a definite promise that the catastrophe will not be repeated; and thus it ends with a covenant between God and mankind. And here we have an ancient nature myth preserved, according to which the surest sign that the storm-god has relented consists in his doffing his armor and putting away his bow. The bow becomes visible as it leans against the sky, and it is nothing else than the rainbow, which after a thunder-storm appears in the clouds, proving the reappearance of sunshine and the appeasement of the angry god.

The differentiation of the Biblical text into its sources, the singling out of the comments and insertions of the redactors, first of the redactor of the Yahvist and Elohist sources, then of the Priestly writings, and lastly of the final redactor who compiled these three different sources into one book, is a masterpiece of modern scholarship. At first sight, it seems almost incredible that the task could be accomplished, but in going over the evidence there is no gainsaying the arguments, and in many chapters of the Bible we can analyse the text in such a way as to trace back each single word to its respective origin, with a certainty which every one who takes the trouble to verify the investigations must admit.

* * *

The Bible, and especially the Old Testament, with which we have been dealing exclusively in this present article, has been and is still sometimes considered the word of God, in the sense that it was literally dictated by the Holy Ghost. We need not say that this view has never been the official belief of the church, and that it is untenable. It is the expression of a childlike mind, which takes such a phrase as "the word of God" literally. Since the Council of Nice, the Church has considered the collection of books called the Bible as "canonical," that is to say, as standard works, which may be taken as a "norm." That is the meaning of the term "canon." And we may say that, taking the word canon in the sense of "standard," we may still accept the Scriptures as canonical; they are books of sterling worth and documents of primary importance. They are as classical in their way as our great poets Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Homer, are in poetry, as Plato and Kant are in philosophy, and Beethoven in music.

But what is the main importance of the Biblical books for mankind? If they are not the word of God, if they have not the authority of being a direct revelation of the Deity, and yet are classical, what is their significance?

The Scriptures are documents bequeathed to us from ancient ages, describing the religious development of that nation which by destiny, accident, or historical necessity, however we may express it, has become the classical religious nation of the world. The Bible is an indirect revelation of God. God is not the responsible editor of the Scriptures, but the Scriptures reflect man's gradual comprehension of God. A scientific scrutiny of the Biblical books reveals to us the struggles of the patriarchs, prophets, and priests after a higher and nobler conception of God.

It would be absurd to claim that the God-conception of the

Bible is throughout one and the same, that it is everywhere identical and on the same level. If it were, there would have been no need of a painful and slow development which led man upwards from crude fetishism and idolatry through the barbarism of human immolations and animal sacrifices to the conception of a moral world-order, of a God who is justice, mercy, and love incarnate.

A scientific conception of the Bible has nothing to conceal, nothing to fear, and will not disparage these old venerable documents. There is no need of denying the truth that in the beginning the ancient Israelites were as superstitious and heathenish as the surrounding nations. They shared with their pagan neighbors many superstitions and idolatrous practices; but while the latter remained under the influence of mythology and paganism, the Jews worked their way out to salvation by a higher and nobler conception of God. That their monotheism was not as yet a finality, but only a seed-corn for further religious development, does not minimise the result of their aspirations, but on the contrary proves its vitality. Judaism produced Christianity, and Christianity is a religion which, even at the present time, is changing, developing, and progressing. Its history is not as yet finished, and its highest ideals are still to be realised.

Christianity represents, as it has been styled by its own apostles, a new covenant made between God and mankind on the basis of a broader and more cosmopolitan world-conception. While Jewish monotheism is still nationalistic, Christianity, the daughter of Judaism, makes claims to universality and catholicity. God is no longer the God of one nation, but the God of all mankind.

Christianity in its turn is as little a finality as is Judaism. It is passing at present through the fire of the furnace of science. The scholars' research of the Scriptures and the related documents have, in combination with a better scientific insight into the nature of things, modified and will still further modify the significance of the new covenant. The main factor of the changes in Christianity at the present time is the slow-working leaven of science. But science does not come as an enemy to religion, it comes as a purifier. Science is not a hostile aggressor, but an educator; and we may be sure that whatever changes science may work in our religious conceptions it will be for the better. The result will be a nobler, a higher, and a truer interpretation of the religious instincts of the human heart.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE GIFFORD LECTURES.¹

THE MASTER OF BALLIOL ON THE EVOLUTION OF THEOLOGY.

Dr. Edward Caird, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, delivered the first of his opening series of Gifford Lectures in Glasgow University, on January 10, within the Humanity Class-Room. The Very Rev. Principal Story and the Professors in the Arts Faculty accompanied Dr. Caird to the platform, and the class-room was crowded to excess by students and the general public.

Dr. Caird, who was received with applause, began by saying that a great part of the scientific and philosophical work of last century had been the application of the idea of evolution to the organic world and to the various departments of human life. And as religion was the most comprehensive of all these interests, it was inevitable that the attempt should be made to throw light on it by means of this idea. In a set of lectures delivered in another university he dealt with certain aspects of the researches into the history of man's religious life which had been prompted and guided by this conception. There is one aspect of this development, he continued, which is worthy of attention on which he could only touch incidentally in these lectures. This is the growing importance of reflective thought; in other words, the conscious reaction of mind upon the results of its own unconscious or obscurely conscious movements in the sphere of religion. Early religion does not trouble itself about its own justification; it does not even seek to make itself intelligible. It manifests itself rather in a ritual than a creed. Nevertheless, man is from the first self-conscious, and he is continually on the way to become more clearly self-conscious of himself and of all the elements and phases of his being. The time must at last come when he turns back in thought upon himself to measure and criticise, to select and reject, to reconsider and remould by reflexion, the immediate products of his own religious life. And, even if we allow that reflexion cannot originate entirely new moral and religious movements, it is inevitable that it should become continually more powerful to disturb and to modify religious faith, and that, in consequence, man's hold of beliefs which he cannot justify to himself should become more and more relaxed. Nay, it is inevitable that the results of reflective criticism should enter more and more deeply into the very substance of religion itself, so that it becomes scarcely possible for those who hold it to avoid theorising it.

Thus, to take an obvious instance, the later religion of the Jews was no longer that simple religious sentiment which bound the race of Israel together by binding

¹ From the *Glasgow Herald*, by John Sandison.

them all to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It had become enriched with wider thoughts by the chequered experiences of the national history, by the captivity and exile, which, as it were, tore it away from its natural root and forced it to seek a new spiritual principle of life; by the manifold relations of sympathy and antagonism into which the Jews were brought with other peoples. Thus it was that the most narrowly national of all races gradually became the organ of a spirit of prophecy, which looked forward to the universal reign of a God of all men, whose worshippers should be distinguished, not by race, but only by the energy and purity of their moral life. For it may fairly be said that, if the prophets still put forward a claim for the supremacy of Israel, it was rather as leaders of humanity in the path of spiritual progress—that in them all the families of the earth were to be blessed—than as a specially privileged and exclusive nationality. A religion that thus rose into the atmosphere of universality, freeing the spirits of its worshippers from the bonds of time and place, was no product of mere feeling or unconscious reason. It was so far lifted above all that was local and particular that it could encounter the speculative thought of Greece almost upon equal terms. It had become itself something like a philosophy, and could therefore in Alexandria and elsewhere make terms with any other philosophy, and blend and coalesce with it into a new product. And what is true of the religion of Judaism is still more true of Christianity. Springing out of a Judaism already deeply tinged with Greek ideas, developing itself under the constant pressure of Greek influences, Christianity was first what we may call a reflective religion,—a religion which gathered into itself many of the results of both Eastern and Western thought. Already in the New Testament it is not only a religion, but it contains, especially in the writings of St. Paul, the germs of a theology. Hence, strictly speaking, it has never been a religion of simple faith, or, if it ever relapses into such a faith, it immediately begins to lose its spiritual character, and to assimilate itself to religions that are lower in the scale. . . . It is impossible to sever action and feeling from thought, nor can thought exist without striving to systematise and justify itself as science, and a living religion must show its power in making its votaries as fearless in encountering the trials and perplexities of the intellectual as those of the moral life.

Here, however, we meet with one of the greatest difficulties, a difficulty which more than any other embarrassed the development of religion during the last two centuries; for philosophy and reflective thought has often been regarded, and not seldom has regarded itself, not as the ally and interpreter, but as the enemy of the faith in which religion begins, not as evolving and elucidating, but as setting aside and altogether destroying, the beliefs which are the immediate expression of the religious life. And sometimes it has undertaken to provide a more or less efficient substitute for them. This was the claim put forward in behalf of the so-called natural religion by many representatives of the eighteenth century, and it has been supposed to be put forward by the adherents of some later systems of thought. On the other hand, there have been, and there are, those who hold that the teaching of reason and philosophy upon religious subjects is mainly negative. Such a view of reason as the rival or enemy of faith is naturally met on the other side by the proclamation of faith as the enemy of religion. . . .

Whatever side we take of such a controversy, the result seems to be that there is a deep and apparently incurable schism in the spiritual life of man,—a schism between man's immediate experience and the reflexion in which he is involved whenever he attempts to understand himself. Now, it seems to me that we can to some extent sympathise with the motives of both sides in this controversy. On the

one hand, a faith which is not seeking intelligence is a faith which is stunted and perverted, for, as we have seen, the very nature of religion, and especially of the Christian religion, involves and stimulates reflexion upon the great issues of life. Hence the attempt to defend Christianity by questioning the right of the intelligence to criticise it is suicidal. The bulwark which it sets up for the defence of religion is also a barrier in the way of its natural development, and a religion which does not develop must soon die. The faith that does not seek but shuns and repels knowledge is already, and must become more and more, irrational.

The exclusion of science from the sphere of religion—meaning, as it does, the exclusion of religion from the sphere of science—necessarily leads to its withdrawal from other spheres of human life, until, instead of being the key to all other interests, it becomes a concern by itself, and, we might almost say, a private concern of the individual. On the other hand, it seems difficult to admit the claim of science at all without making it absolute, so as to leave no place for faith, and that whether religion be conceived as irrational or as rational. For while, in the former case, religion is set aside and Agnosticism takes its place, in the latter case it seems as if faith must equally disappear, because reason provides a complete substitute for it,—a *religio philosophi* which is based on a definite philosophical conception of the nature of God, and a definite proof of His existence. Thus, if it be admitted that a scientific interpretation of religion is possible, it might seem that this interpretation must take the place of religion itself; that if faith can be explained by reason, reason must altogether be set aside, and become its substitute. Moreover, it is impossible that religion can be rationalised without being greatly modified and transformed; and if such change be valid, how can we regard the first form of religion as more than a temporary scaffolding which has to be removed when the building is completed. On the other hand, it is impossible to admit the right of intelligence to examine and criticise up to a certain point and no further. . . .

There cannot be a doubt that this is a real difficulty which has produced, and is now more than ever producing, a division in our life, and ranging men in opposite ranks, not on the ground of individual or class prejudice, but on the ground of what are really the highest interests of man's intellectual, moral life. . . . Much remains to be done ere such difficulties as have been raised can be solved. But I think there is already in our hands in the idea of evolution a kind of Eirenicon or means of bringing the opposing sides nearer to an understanding with each other. In particular, that idea enables us to throw new light upon the relations of the unconscious or unreflective to the conscious or reflective life as stages or factors in the development of man, and thus, as it were, to break off the horns of the dilemma. For, in the first place, the very idea that there are two factors or stages of one life involves that they are not governed by two absolutely antagonistic principles, but that there is an essential link of connexion between them. Their difference and opposition, however far it may reach, must ultimately be conceived as secondary, and capable ultimately of being explained from their unity. Their conflict, in short, must be taken as analogous to the conflict of different members or forms of vital activity in one organism, a competition which in the healthy organism is always subordinated to co-operation, or, at least, only ceases to be co-operation at a lower stage that it may become co-operation at a higher. It is thus that in organic evolution greater differentiation of function proves itself to be the means to deeper integration and more concentrated unity, and in this unity nothing that was valuable in the lower stage of life is ultimately sacrificed, however much the form may be changed.

If we may apply this idea to the case before us, we can, as I have indicated, admit no fatal opposition between the unconscious and unreflective movement of man's mind and that which is conscious and reflective. We must maintain that, though reason may accidentally be opposed to faith, its ultimate and healthy action must preserve for us or restore to us all that is valuable in faith. Or, at least, if it necessarily comes into collision with faith in certain lower stages of development, yet as it advances this antagonism must disappear, or be reduced within ever narrower limits, till in the highest it altogether vanishes. We are too often disposed to say, *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*, and to forget that justice sustains the universe and cannot be the cause of its ruin. And so we are too apt to think the division of faith and reason to be incurable, and to suppose that we must choose the one and reject the other, forgetting that a faith that really springs out of our rational or spiritual nature or commends itself to it cannot be fundamentally irrational or incapable of being in its essence rationally explained and defended, and that a reason which is unable to find an intelligible meaning in some of the deepest experiences of human souls must be one-sided and imperfectly developed.

Hence, while we cannot deny the relative opposition of the two forms of spiritual life, and are indeed obliged to recognise it as one of the most potent factors in development, on the other hand we cannot admit that it is an absolute opposition. Nor is it even possible to be satisfied with a conception of progress that has often been advocated in the last century, by no one more forcibly than Thomas Carlyle, the conception of an alternation of two different eras of human history—an era of intuition, faith, and unconsciousness, in which the minds of men are at one with themselves and work joyfully and successfully in the service of some idea which inspires them, but which they never seek to question or analyse, and an era of reflexion in which the native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er with a pale cast of thought, in which faith grows weak, and the symbols which formerly satisfied their souls and united them with each other are dissected and torn to pieces by scepticism. Apparently Carlyle has little consolation for those who are born in such an unhappy age of transition, except to bid them wait for a new inspiration, a new imaginative synthesis, to set up another symbol in place of that which has disappeared. Least of all has he any trust in the reflective intelligence, in the work of thought, as capable of bringing about such a synthesis or substantially contributing towards it.

But a deeper consideration of the process in question may show, as I have already indicated, that the two great movements which constitute it, the movement of unconscious construction, faith, and intuition, and the movement of reflective analysis and critical reconstruction, are not essentially opposed, but rather the necessary complements of each other in the development of man's spiritual life; and that, as it is essential to faith that it should develop into reason, so the criticism of reason, as it is a criticism of its own unconscious products, cannot be ultimately destructive or merely negative in its effect. Its searching fires may, indeed, burn up much of the wood, hay, stubble—the perishable adjuncts that attach themselves to the edifice of human faith—but it cannot touch the stones of the building, still less the eternal foundation on which it is built. I will not conceal my conviction that its dissolving power must be fatal to many things which men have thought, and still think, to be bound up with their religious life, but I do not believe that it will destroy anything that is really necessary to it. Christianity is not like some earlier religions essentially connected with imaginative symbols, which must lose their hold upon man's life and mind so soon as he is able to distinguish

poetry from prose. It had its origin, as we have seen, in an age of reflexion, and the first movement of its life was to break away from the local and national influences of the region in which it was born. It lived and moved from the beginning in an atmosphere of universality, and in spite of the reactionary influences to which in its further history it was exposed, and which gradually affected its life and doctrine, it never quite lost its essentially universal character. Hence when its official representatives have turned it into a system of superstition and obstruction, its own influences have often inspired the reformers and revolutionists, who attacked and overthrew that system. It has thus, we might say, brought "not peace but a sword" into the life of men, because it would not let them rest in any partial or inadequate solution of their difficulties, or in anything short of the ideal of humanity which is set before them.

Such a universal religion, built upon the idea of the unity of man with God, and therefore on the conviction that the universe in which man lives is in its ultimate meaning and reality a spiritual world, cannot be justly regarded as a transitory phase of human development, or as a creation of feeling and imagination which science and philosophy are bound ultimately to displace. Whatever may become of the special doctrines in which it has found its first reflective expression, it contains a kernel which is essentially rational, and which cannot but gain greater and greater importance the more man's spiritual life is developed. It has in it a seed of ideal truth which is one with man's mind—the *anima naturaliter Christiana* of which Tertullian speaks—and which, therefore, must grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength. And philosophy, in spite, or rather because, of its critical reaction upon all the products of Christian thought and life, must in the long run supply one of the most important of all the agencies by which that seed is brought to maturity. It must show itself neither as the enemy nor as the substitute for religion, but rather the essential form of its consciousness both of itself and of its relations to all the other interests of man.

When I say this, however, I am conscious that I am anticipating a conclusion which cannot be proved by any such general considerations as those that have been set forth in this lecture. The place of philosophy in relation to religion can hardly be appreciated by any other method than that of tracing out the main lines of their connexion in the past and up to the present day, showing how theology has evolved itself out of religion, and how it has reacted upon it, how it has attacked and criticised it, and how finally it has sought ideally to reconstruct it. In this sense the history of the evolution of theology and theological thought has a very practical interest for us.

This subject, however, covers an immense field, and I can only attempt to deal with a small part of it in such a course of lectures as the present. I propose to say something about the movement of theological thought in the Greek philosophers. This part of the subject may seem at first to have less immediate interest for us, as it is prior for the most part to the rise of Christianity, and therefore seems to be remote from those theological interests which are kindred with our own. This, however, is not more than an appearance. On the contrary, these speculations have great importance for us for two reasons.

In the first place, because of their influence upon Christian theology, for it was from Greece that the early fathers of the Christian Church borrowed the forms and processes of thought, the general conceptions of nature and of human life, of, in short, the general points of view or mental presuppositions which they brought to the interpretation of the facts of Christianity. A very large portion of what we

call Christian theology is really Greek philosophy in a new application. One of the most important problems, therefore, is to inquire how far Christianity was developed, and how far it was transformed or modified by the medium into which it was brought.

And, in the second place, Greek philosophy was itself one of the greatest efforts of the human mind to reason freely on the highest subjects; in fact, we might say that it was the first effort made by men armed with all the weapons of speculative thought, and freed from all those outward and inward hindrances that prevent philosophical thought from being thorough and faithful to itself. And though we may have much greater knowledge of the world than the Greeks, and in some directions better methods of thinking, yet I do not think we can ever afford to neglect what has been done by Plato and Aristotle, by the Stoics, and by the Neo-Platonists. To study Greek philosophy is still a first essential for him who would trace the evolution of theology.

THE HUGO GROTIUS CELEBRATION AT DELFT, JULY 4, 1899.

The appearance of the report of the Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899 by its Secretary Mr. Frederick W. Holls,¹ Member of the Conference from the United States of America, recalls vividly to mind a notable festive ceremony which took place during the meeting of the Conference and which lent a graceful historic sanction and significance to its proceedings. This was the festival in honor of the great Dutch jurist, scholar, poet, and statesman Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), given on the day of our greatest and most sacred national holiday, the Fourth of July, in the historic church at Delft, as a tribute from the American people to the Dutch, in recognition of the many elements of our national greatness which we have derived from them and of the many reasons for which we owe them gratitude.

The Dutch are closely connected with America by historical traditions. It was Hollanders that first settled on the banks of the Hudson (1609) and that founded the city of New Amsterdam (1614), now New York, and it was they who formed the backbone of our Revolutionary resistance in the Hudson river region. From Delft-Haven sailed the *Mayflower* bearing the Pilgrim Fathers who brought to America the principles of toleration which had grown up in them during their stay in the Netherlands and of which Grotius was an apostle. From Leyden through Delft-Haven and Plymouth Rock, and again through New Amsterdam, came the free public school. The Province of Friesland gave to our independence its first formal recognition, and it was a Dutch captain that first saluted the stars and stripes. Moreover, the United States of America took their name from the United States of the Netherlands. Said the Honorable Seth Low, the American Commissioner upon whom devolved the task of thanking the city of Delft for the hospitality accorded to the assembled guests: "We have learned from you not only that 'In Union there is Strength,'—that is an old lesson,—but also, in large measure, how to make 'One out of many.' From you we have learned, what we, at least, value,

¹ *The Peace Conference at The Hague, and Its Bearings on International Law and Policy.* By Frederick W. Holls, D. C. L., a Member of the Conference from the United States of America. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1900. (Pages, 572. Price, \$3.00.) The addresses referred to in the present sketch are also to be found in a memorial pamphlet entitled: *Proceedings at the Laying of a Wreath on the Tomb of Hugo Grotius in the Nieuwe Kerk, in the City of Delft, July 4th, 1899, by the Commission of the United States of America to the International Peace Conference of The Hague.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1899.



THE MIEVEVELD PORTRAIT.
 (From the 1720 edition of the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*.)

to separate Church and State; and from you we gather inspiration at all times in our devotion to learning, to religious liberty, and to individual and national freedom."

THE FESTIVAL.

The merit of having inaugurated this distinctively American festival in honor of the great Dutch Jurist, which the preceding considerations show to have been peculiarly appropriate, was due to the Honorable Andrew D. White, Chairman of the Commission of the United States, our present Ambassador to Germany, ex-president of Cornell University, and a historical scholar and publicist of wide erudition and culture. His commemorative address was delivered in the apse of the Grote Kerk of Delft in front of the tomb of Grotius and near that of William the Silent, before all the members of the Peace Conference, and all the members of the Dutch Government and the Diplomatic Corps accredited to The Hague, the Deans of the Law Faculties of the Universities of Leyden, Utrecht, Amsterdam, Gröningen, the Burgomaster and city authorities of Delft, and other distinguished visitors. The services were varied and elegant in character, embracing classical musical selections, magnificently rendered, and several minor addresses; M. Jonkeer van Karnebeek, the Netherlands delegate, presided; M. De Beaufort, the Dutch minister of foreign affairs thanked the Government of the United States for honoring his countryman; M. Asser, president of the Institute of International Law spoke of the contributions made by American statesmen to the development of the principles of international arbitration; and the Honorable Seth Low briefly and appropriately thanked all the persons whose kindness had made the occasion possible. At the conclusion of his formal address, Ambassador White deposited on the tomb of Grotius an exquisitely designed and permanent silver wreath bearing the inscription: "To the Memory of Hugo Grotius in Reverence and Gratitude from the United States of America on the Occasion of the International Peace Conference of The Hague, July 4, 1899." M. De Beaufort, the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, then said:

"For the purpose of acknowledging the great merits of Grotius, a wreath has been placed, by order of the American Government, on his tomb. I sincerely hope that this fine and precious work of art will remain forever on the place where it is now fixed. May the numerous visitors to this church look on it with a sentiment of gratitude and admiration. May it act as a stimulus for future generations in their exertions in behalf of still further reforms in the practice of international law, and, last not least, may this wreath be an everlasting emblem of the friendly relations between America and Holland, and a guarantee of the unbroken continuance of that historical friendship of which America gives us on this memorable day such a splendid and highly valued testimony."

LIFE AND WORK OF GROTIUS.

Hugo Grotius was one of the most famed men of the seventeenth century, and like his illustrious countryman Erasmus was noted for the diversity of his accomplishments and his comprehensive literary power. He is one of the greatest prodigies in the annals of precocious genius, was a pupil of the celebrated Scaliger, and at an early age rose to the highest rank in his profession of the law, in historical writing, and as a statesman. Becoming involved in the warfare of the theological factions in Holland (the Arminians and Gomarists) he was imprisoned by Prince Maurice in 1619 at the fortress of Lovestein, from which he escaped later through the ingenuity of his wife, in a chest supposed to contain books and old linen. He

proceeded then to France, where he wrote and published (1625) his immortal work *De jure belli ac pacis*, which is the foundation of his fame.

Grotius's work, says Mr. Pattison in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "though not by any means the first attempt in modern times to ascertain the principles of jurisprudence, went far more fundamentally into the discussion than anyone had done before him. The title of the work was so far misleading that the *jus belli* was a very small part of his comprehensive scheme. In his treatment of this narrower question he had the works of Albericus Gentilis (1588) and Ayala (1597) before him, and has acknowledged his obligations to them. But it is in the larger questions to which he opened the way that the merit of Grotius consists. His was the first attempt to obtain a principle of right, and a basis for society and government, outside the church or the Bible. The distinction between religion on the one hand and law and morality on the other is not indeed clearly conceived by Grotius, but he wrestles with it in such a way as to make it easy for those who followed him to seize it. The law of nature is unalterable; God Himself cannot alter it any more than He can alter a mathematical axiom. This law has its source in the nature of man as a social being; it would be valid even were there no God, or if God did not interfere in the government of the world. These positions, though Grotius's religious temper did not allow him to rely unreservedly upon them, yet, even in the partial application they find in his book, entitle him to the honor of being held the founder of the modern science of the law of nature and nations."

And to quote a famous authority in political science, Bluntschli: "The elegance of his diction, the pearls from classical antiquity with which he adorned his pages, the temper of humanity which pervaded his argument, his effort to mitigate the horrors of the Thirty Years' War in the midst of which he wrote, and the warmth of his general sympathy for a moral as opposed to a material order, enlisted men's hearts on the side of his reasoning, while the deficiencies of his doctrine were not as yet detected."

AMBASSADOR WHITE'S EULOGY OF GROTIUS.

Ambassador White spoke at length and authoritatively of Grotius's life and work from the standpoint of an American; and we give below the principal passages of his address. After referring to the predecessors of Grotius and to the unorganised state of prior opinion in public law, he said:

"Grotius's great mind brooded over that earlier chaos of opinion, and from his heart and brain, more than from those of any other, came a revelation to the modern world of new and better paths toward mercy and peace. But his agency was more than that. His coming was like the rising of the sun out of the primeval abyss: his work was both creative and illuminative. We may reverently insist that, in the domain of International Law, Grotius said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light.

"The light he thus gave has blessed the earth for these three centuries past, and it will go on through many centuries to come, illuminating them ever more and more.

"I need hardly remind you that it was mainly unheeded at first. Catholics and Protestants alike failed to recognise it,—'The light shone in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not.' By Calvinists in Holland and France, and by Lutherans in Germany, his great work was disregarded if not opposed; and at Rome it was placed on the Index of books forbidden to be read by Christians.

"The book, as you know, was published amid the horrors of the Thirty Years'

War; the great Gustavus is said to have carried it with him always, and he evidently at all times bore its principles in his heart. But he alone among all the great commanders of his time stood for mercy. All the cogent arguments of Gro-



Alfred D. White

United States Ambassador to Germany, Ex-President of Cornell University and Chairman of the American Commission to the Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899.

tius could not prevent the fearful destruction of Magdeburg, or diminish, so far as we can now see, any of the atrocities of that fearful period.

"Grotius himself may well have been discouraged; he may well have repeated

the words attributed to the great Swedish Chancellor, whose Ambassador he afterward became, 'Go forth, my son, and see with how little wisdom the world is governed.' He may well have despaired as he reflected that throughout his whole life he had never known his native land save in perpetual, heartrending war; nay, he may well have been excused for thinking that all his work for humanity had been in vain, when there came to his deathbed no sign of any ending of the terrible war of thirty years. . . .

"Yet we see that the great light streaming from his heart and mind continued to shine; that it developed and fructified human thought; that it warmed into life new and glorious growths of right reason as to international relations; and we recognise the fact that, from his day to ours, the progress of reason in theory, and of mercy in practice, has been constant, on both sides of the Atlantic."

Referring to the deficiencies of Grotius's ideas from the present point of view Mr. White continues:

"It has also been urged that the system which Grotius gave to the world has been utterly left behind as the world has gone on; that the great writers on International Law in the present day do not accept it; that Grotius developed everything out of an idea of natural law which was merely the creation of his own mind and based everything on an origin of jural rights and duties which never had any real being; that he deduced his principles from a divinely planted instinct which many thinkers are now persuaded never existed, acting in a way contrary to everything revealed by modern discoveries in the realm of history.

"It is at the same time insisted against Grotius that he did not give sufficient recognition to the main basis of the work of modern international jurists; to positive law, slowly built on the principles and practice of various nations in accordance with their definite agreements and adjustments.

"In these charges there is certainly truth; but I trust that you will allow one from a distant country to venture an opinion that, so far from being to the discredit of Grotius, this fact is to his eternal honor.

"For there was not and there could not be at that period anything like a body of positive International Law adequate to the new time. The spirit which most thoroughly permeated the whole world, whether in war or peace, when Grotius wrote, was the spirit of Machiavelli—unmoral; immoral. It had been dominant for more than a hundred years. To measure the service rendered by the theory of Grotius, we have only to compare Machiavelli's *Prince* with Grotius's *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*. Grant that Grotius's basis of International Law was, in the main, a theory of natural law which is no longer held; grant that he made no sufficient recognition of positive law; we must nevertheless acknowledge that this system, at the time he presented it, was the only one which could ennoble men's theories or reform their practice.

"From his own conception of the attitude of the Divine Mind toward all the falsities of his time grew a theory of international morals which supplanted the principles of Machiavelli: from his conception of the attitude of the Divine Mind toward all the cruelties which he had himself known in the Seventy Years' War of the Netherlands, and toward all those of which tidings were constantly coming from the German Thirty Years' War, came inspiration to promote a better practice in war.

"To one, then, looking at Grotius from afar, as doubtless to many among yourselves, the theory which Grotius adopted seems the only one which, in his time, could bring any results for good to mankind."



VIGNETTE TO GROTIUS'S GREAT WORK *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625).
(Reproduced from the edition of 1720.)

Ambassador White then proceeds to more technical points:

"It has . . . been urged against Grotius that his interpretation of the words *jus gentium* was a mistake, and that other mistakes have flowed from this. Grant it; yet we, at a distance, believe that we see in it one of the happiest mistakes ever made; a mistake comparable in its fortunate results to that made by Columbus when he interpreted a statement in our sacred books regarding the extent of the sea as compared with the land, to indicate that the western continent could not be far from Spain,—a mistake which probably more than anything else encouraged him to sail for the New World.

"It is also not unfrequently urged by eminent European writers that Grotius dwelt too little on what International Law really was, and too much on what, in his opinion, it ought to be. This is but another form of an argument against him already stated. But is it certain after all that Grotius was so far wrong in this as some excellent jurists have thought him? May it not be that, in the not distant future, International Law, while mainly basing its doctrines upon what nations have slowly developed in practice, may also draw inspiration, more and more, from 'That Power in the Universe not ourselves, which makes for Righteousness.

"An American, recalling that greatest of all arbitrations yet known, the Geneva Arbitration of 1872, naturally attributes force to the reasoning of Grotius. The heavy damages which the United States asked at that time and which Great Britain honorably paid were justified mainly, if not wholly, not on the practice of nations then existing, but upon what it was claimed *ought to be* the practice; not upon positive law, but upon natural justice; and that decision forms one of the happiest landmarks in modern times; it ended all quarrel between the two nations concerned, and bound them together more firmly than ever."

* * *

Finally Ambassador White casts his glance into the deep abyss of the past, and his historical clairvoyance enables him to see the consummation of Grotius's ideals in the great Peace Conference he was at the time attending. His imagination conjures up the spectacle of the shade of William the Silent looking down with approval upon Holland's great son, and he says:

"May not that great and glorious spirit have also looked lovingly upon Grotius as a boy, lingering on this spot where we now stand, and recognised him as one whose work was to go on adding in every age new glory to the nation which the mighty Prince of the House of Orange had, by the blessing of God, founded and saved; may not, indeed, that great mind have foreseen, in that divine light, another glory not then known to mortal ken? Who shall say that in the effluence of divine knowledge he may not have beheld Grotius, in his full manhood, penning the pregnant words of the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, and that he may not have foreseen—as largely resulting from it—what we behold to-day, as an honor to the August Monarch who convoked it, to the Netherlands who have given it splendid hospitality, and to all modern states here represented: the first Conference of the entire world ever held; and that Conference assembled to increase the securities for peace and to diminish the horrors of war.

"For, my Honored Colleagues of the Peace Conference, the germ of this work in which we are all so earnestly engaged lies in a single sentence of Grotius's great book. Others indeed had proposed plans for the peaceful settlement of differences between nations, and the world remembers them with honor: to all of them, from Henry IV. and Kant and St. Pierre and Penn and Bentham, down to the humblest writer in favor of peace, we may well feel grateful; but the germ of arbitration

was planted in modern thought when Grotius, urging arbitration and mediation as preventing war, wrote these solemn words in the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*: '*Maxime autem christiani reges et civitates tenentur hanc inire viam ad arma vitanda.*'

"My Honored Colleagues and friends, more than once I have come as a pilgrim to this sacred shrine. In my young manhood, more than thirty years ago, and at various times since, I have sat here and reflected upon what these mighty men here entombed have done for the world, and what, though dead, they yet speak to mankind. I seem to hear them still.

"From this tomb of William the Silent comes, in this hour, a voice bidding the Peace Conference be brave, and true, and trustful in That Power in the Universe which works for Righteousness.

"From this tomb of Grotius I seem to hear a voice which says to us as the delegates of the Nations: 'Go on with your mighty work: avoid, as you would avoid the germs of pestilence, those exhalations of international hatred which take shape in monstrous fallacies and morbid fictions regarding alleged antagonistic interests. Guard well the treasures of civilisation with which each of you is intrusted; but bear in mind that you hold a mandate from humanity. Go on with your work. Pseudo-philosophers will prophesy malignantly against you: pessimists will laugh you to scorn: cynics will sneer at you: zealots will abuse you for what you have *not* done: sublimely unpractical thinkers will revile you for what you *have* done: ephemeral critics will ridicule you as dupes: enthusiasts, blind to the difficulties in your path and to everything outside their little circumscribed fields, will denounce you as traitors to humanity. Heed them not: go on with your work. Heed not the clamor of zealots, or cynics, or pessimists, or pseudo-philosophers, or enthusiasts, or fault-finders. Go on with the work of strengthening peace and humanising war: give greater scope and strength to provisions which will make war less cruel: perfect those laws of war which diminish the unmerited sufferings of populations: and, above all, give to the world at least a beginning of an effective, practicable scheme of arbitration.'

"These are the words which an American seems to hear issuing from this shrine to-day; and I seem also to hear from it a prophecy. I seem to hear Grotius saying to us: 'Fear neither opposition nor detraction. As my own book, which grew out of the horrors of the Wars of Seventy and the Thirty Years' War, contained the germ from which your great Conference has grown, so your work, which is demanded by a world bent almost to breaking under the weight of ever-increasing armaments, shall be a germ from which future Conferences shall evolve plans ever fuller, better, and nobler.' And I also seem to hear a message from him to the jurists of the great universities who honor us with their presence to-day, including especially that renowned University of Leyden which gave to Grotius his first knowledge of the law; and that eminent University of Königsberg which gave him his most philosophical disciple: to all of these I seem to hear him say: 'Go on in your labor to search out the facts and to develop the principles which shall enable future Conferences to build more and more broadly, more and more loftily for peace.'"

T. J. McCormack.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

AMERICAN HISTORY TOLD BY CONTEMPORARIES. By *Albert Bushnell Hart*, Professor of History in Harvard University. Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1901. Pages xx, 668. Price, \$2.00.

The third volume of Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart's admirable undertaking of an *American History Told by Contemporaries* has just been issued, and embraces that most interesting period between 1783 and 1845 which has been correctly denominated our national expansion. The idea is that American history may be read in the works of its makers, and to this end characteristic extracts from the best-qualified contemporaries are woven together so as to make a consistent and truthful whole. The material of the present volume is distributed into nine parts: the first is a practical introduction for teachers, pupils, students, and libraries, and treats of the purposes and value of a study of historical sources; the second part treats of the social, economic, political, and frontier conditions of the United States in 1783; the third part is devoted to a study of the Confederation (territorial questions, trade, and commerce); the fourth deals with the framing of the Federal Constitution and the establishment of the federal government; the fifth treats, under the title of federal supremacy, of parties and party leaders, foreign relations, and the controversies of the Federalists; part six is devoted to the Jeffersonian period (Jefferson democracy, territorial expansion, neutral trade, and the War of 1812); the seventh is consecrated to the development of our national conscience as it took form in the growth of the great West and the delineation of our foreign policy; part eight is concerned with the period of our social and political readjustment, inclusive of the Jacksonian period; part nine is taken up with slavery and abolition.

It has been the aim of the compiler to illustrate social and political conditions even at the expense of omitting what is sometimes considered as important and indispensable incidents. "To my mind," he says, "the foundations of true historical knowledge of our past are the actual conditions of common life: of country, town, and city; of farmer, artisan, merchant, and slaveholder; of church, school, and convention." He has consequently selected his extracts more from diaries, travels, autobiographies, letters and speeches, than from constitutional documents, first because they are more real and more human, and secondly because good collections of them do not abound.

The episode to which the greatest space is devoted is the building of the Federal Constitution. "In this, as in other disputed questions," says the author, "I have tried to give a fair representation to the various schools of thought; if some people were wrong-headed and illogical and unpatriotic, it is part of history to know what their arguments were and how they were refuted." So again, "In approaching the terrible contest over slavery the same method is adopted: the assailant, the champion, and the observer speaks, each for his own side." Beginning with the year 1783, "The West assumed a life and character of its own; and it has been my aim to bring out that abounding frontier life, that constructive political instinct, that force and energy, which are so notable in the development of the West and so important in our national history."

There is certainly no existing work in which students of colleges and secondary

schools may hope to find so much material for collateral reading and topical research as in the present volume; and the compiler and his assistants are to be congratulated upon the excellent results which they have obtained.

LE PRÉHISTORIQUE, ORIGINE ET ANTIQUITÉ DE L'HOMME. Par *Gabriel et Adrian de Mortillet*. 3^e édition entièrement refondue et mise au courant des dernières découvertes. Un volume in-8° de 709 pages, avec 121 figures dans le texte. Paris: Schleicher Frères, 15 rue des Saints-Pères. Price, 8 francs.

The present work of M. G. Mortillet is widely known in Europe as a complete and convenient manual on the origin of the human species and the first phases of its physical and moral development; and the third edition of it which now appears has been considerably augmented and brought so thoroughly up to date by the son of the author as to constitute almost a new book. The first part contains a clear and precise exposition of our present knowledge concerning the precursors of man, and the traces of his industry as discovered in the tertiary strata. Several pages are devoted to a question which is now occupying some attention, with regard to the existence, the anatomical and mental constitution of the pithecanthropos, supposed to be the intermediary link between the great anthropoid monkeys and man. The second part gives a detailed study of the first human races, their industrial development, and of their animal and vegetable environment. It furnishes an excellent portraiture of the social life of the quaternary period. The illustrations of the book, while not elegant according to the American standard, are both numerous and instructive.

We have two additional volumes of the Citizens' Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology to announce. The first is by Brooks Adams, the author of the *Law of Civilisation and Decay*, and bears the title *America's Economic Supremacy*. Its name alone is a sufficient claim to attention at the present juncture. It is Mr. Adams's theory that "most of the greatest catastrophes in history have occurred because of the instinctive effort of humanity to adjust itself to changes in the conditions of life, wrought by the movement from point to point of the international center of empire and wealth." From present indications he sees that "the seat of wealth and power is migrating westward, and may even now have entered America." If this be so, we are confronted with a mighty revolution which will move on as inexorably as any other force of nature; but it is the author's belief that if we are destined "to fulfil the functions which have been fulfilled by the dominant nations of the past, the corresponding administrative machinery will be duly evolved, as well as the men fitted to put that machinery in action." (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1900. Pages, viii, 222. Price, \$1.25.)

The second volume in the same series, by Dr. Charles J. Bullock, Assistant Professor of Economics in Williams College, consists of three lengthy essays on *The Monetary History of the United States*. The first treats of the three centuries of cheap money in the United States, from wampum and barter currency to the gold and silver agitation of recent years. It reviews the entire monetary history of the United States, and endeavors to show that "all the varied currency experiments with which our people have been vexed for nearly three centuries have been, first and fundamentally, efforts to secure a cheap medium of exchange." The second and third essays treat of the paper currency of North Carolina and New Hampshire,—states which "up to the very close of the Colonial period remained sparsely settled farming communities in which manufactures and commerce were

of slight importance," and which consequently offered a favorable field in which to test the author's theory. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1900. Pages x, 292. Price, \$1.25.)

The Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1898 has appeared. It contains, apart from the secretary's reports, but one monograph: that by the late Prof. E. D. Cope, of Philadelphia, on the *Crocodylians, Lizards, and Snakes of North America*. It takes up considerably more than one thousand pages.

The report of the United States Commissioner of Education for the year 1898-1899, Vol. I., contains a vast amount of material which will be useful to educators. The main subjects treated are as follows: Education in Great Britain and Ireland, Australasia, Belgium, Central Europe, Sweden, and Japan; the development of the common school in the Western States, from 1830 to 1865; the study of art and literature in schools; the organisation and methods of training in the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis; American text-books on arithmetic; public education in Italy; educational training for railway service; university extension in Great Britain; Confederate text-books, 1861-1865; educational periodicals in the United States; educational directory; economic geography; Swedish gymnastics; and the future of the colored race. (Washington, Government Printing Office.)

MOSLEM AND CATHOLIC CONCEPTIONS OF ANIMALS.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

May I be permitted to add in connexion with the remark made at page 113 of my article "The Hebrew Conception of Animals" in the February *Open Court* the following note?

Muslim hunters and butchers have the custom called the *Hallal*, of pronouncing a formula of excuse (Bi 'sm 'illah!) before slaying any animal. Mr. W. Skeat in *Malay Magic* mentions that if a Malay takes a tiger in a pitfall, the Pawang or medicine-man has to explain to the quarry that it was not he that laid the snare but the Prophet Mohammed. The following text from the *Koran* clearly implies the future life of animals: "There is no kind of beast on earth nor fowl which flieth with its wings, but the same is a people like unto you; we have not omitted anything in the book of our decrees; then unto their Lord shall they return."

The other day I was glad to see that Dr. Corrigan, Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, had approved of a catechism in which humanity to animals was taught. I believe this is the first time a Roman Catholic prelate has inculcated any such teaching, though many visionaries and saints like St. Francis made friends with animals. Here in Italy I never heard of a priest who taught humanity to animals except that (I think) the Archbishop of Palermo said he did not wish to have bull-fights.

I wish Dr. Corrigan would get the Pope to "pronounce" on the subject. It would be good for beasts and very good for men, for as some German statistician showed, homicides are in proportion to humanity to animals.

EVELYN MARTINENGO CESARESCO.

SALÒ, LAGO DI GARDA.



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THE CROWN OF THORNS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE GARDENER OF GALILEE

ALMOST two thousand years ago, there lived by the lakeside in Galilee, near Capernaum, a gardener who raised fine grapes, figs, peaches, and other good fruits, and flowers. The gardener's name was Ben-Midrash. He was an industrious, hard-working man, and his whole heart was in his work. He could read and write, and was as thoroughly versed in the scriptures as any scribe. Moreover, he had a loving wife and child, and his servants were greatly attached to him. His garden was well kept, and passers-by looked with pleasure over the neatly trimmed thorn hedge into the little paradise beyond with its blossoming trees and blooming flowers.

At the eastern end of the garden, on the very brink of the lake, there lay a dilapidated little cottage owned by Zebedee the fisher, a venerable old man who belonged to the sect of the Nazirim.

Ben-Midrash and Zebedee were good friends in spite of their differences in age, estate, and religious opinion. The cultured gardener respected the honesty of the poor fisherman without approving of his sectarian associations, and Zebedee and his wife were grateful for every token of sympathy which their kind neighbors showed them.

It happened about that time that a prophet arose in Galilee, who preached the gospel of the poor. He was called Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus went about the country, healing the sick and comforting those that were in want. He cast out evil spirits from people who were believed to be obsessed; and he admonished

his hearers saying: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." And his fame as a preacher and healer spread throughout all Syria.

Zebedee and his wife Salome had two sons, both considerably the juniors of Ben-Midrash, who were named James and John.

One evening the gardener was watering the trees and the vines in his vineyard, when Zebedee entered and said: "Be glad in the



"Be glad in the Lord and rejoice with me!"

Lord and rejoice with me, for my old days shall see the glory of my sons. I was sitting yesterday with my boys in the boat mending my nets, when Jesus of Nazareth passed by. He stayed his steps and watched us for a time, and when we looked up and greeted him with the holy word *Shalomlecha*, Peace be with thee, he addressed himself to James and John, saying unto them: 'Follow

me and I will make you fishers of men.' And my sons immediately left the boat and me and followed him."

Said Ben-Midrash to Zebedee: "What sayest thou? Thou rejoicest in the behavior of thy boys who, following the voice of an unknown prophet, have abandoned their parents in their old age? Were not Jesus of Nazareth a Nazir like thyself, thou wouldst never have suffered thy sons to forsake their trade, which afforded them a fair, albeit modest, living, for the sake of sharing the uncertain fate of a wandering preacher. And mind," he added, "Jesus of Nazareth is an innovator and a false prophet. The scribe of our synagogue has warned me not to listen to the speech of this man."

Said Zebedee: "What objection canst thou have to the Nazir sect? The Nazirim of yore, men like Samson and Samuel, who suffered no razor to touch their heads, were devotees of God, and we, the Nazirim of to-day, endeavor to imitate them in holiness and brotherly love. John the Baptist was not less a preacher than the prophets who spoke to our fathers; and since he died a martyr's death, Jesus of Nazareth has risen. Never as yet didst thou hear the great Nazir speak to the people! If thou hadst ever heard him speak, thou wouldst not say that which thou sayest. Thou wouldst know that he is the Messiah; and, mark, the time will come when he will rule over Israel, and my sons shall share the glory of his kingdom."

Replied Ben-Midrash: "Thou art a fool to rejoice in the misfortune that hath befallen thee. Jesus of Nazareth confoundeth the souls of men. He hath confounded also the souls of James and John, thy sons."

From that day Zebedee and Ben-Midrash ceased to be friends.

* * *

And it happened that Jesus came again into that region of the country on the shore of Lake Galilee, and multitudes from Capernaum and the neighboring villages went out to hear his voice and to listen to the speech of his mouth. And Ben-Midrash, though his heart was full of misgivings, went also, saying unto himself: "This man is a deceiver." But when Jesus opened his mouth and pronounced his blessings upon the poor, upon those that mourn, upon the meek, upon those that hunger and thirst after righteousness, upon the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers and upon those that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, he grew cheerful and forgot all his misgivings.

The multitude sat as if entranced. The voice of this wonder-

ful Nazir prophet was so full of music and so sympathetic that a strange joy came over Ben-Midrash and he felt as if he had shaken all his burdens from off his soul. He now understood the power that had drawn James and John to this extraordinary man.



*"Ye shall know them
by their fruits."*

Jesus spoke about the fulfilment of the law, he spoke about the perfection of God and about the kingdom of God; and all his words appealed to the gardener's heart. Jesus warned the people against false prophets and said: "Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles? A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit."

When Ben-Midrash heard Jesus speak of fruit, he thought of his thorn hedge and his fruit trees at home and said to himself: "This man speaketh of things of which he knoweth nothing." The old bitterness filled his soul, and he listened no longer to the words of Jesus but went away full of indignation.

When Ben-Midrash entered his home, he paused at the gate and contemplated pensively the strong hedge of thorns which sheltered his garden. Having for a while pondered on the vitality of the hedge, he cut from it with a sharp knife several stalks, and grafted twigs of a sweet vine on the stems of the severed thorn. He watered the hedge daily and diligently cared for it.

Some time passed, and the grafted thorn began to blossom and to bear fruit. And lo! the blossoms were blossoms of the vine, and the fruits promised to become good sweet grapes.

One morning in the autumn Ben-Midrash stood at the gate before his garden looking at the grapes which he expected to gather from his thorn, and he said unto himself: "Now I know in truth that Jesus of Nazareth is no prophet of God, but a deceiver." And as he lifted his eyes, he saw Jesus pass in the street. And he stopped Jesus and said to him: "Art thou not Jesus of Nazareth and didst thou not speak to us from the mount?"

Jesus answered: "Thou sayest so. I am Jesus of Nazareth, and I spoke to thee from the mount."

Said Ben-Midrash: "Didst thou not say that men cannot gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles? Lo! I have raised grapes that grow upon thorns. What sayest thou now? Art thou truly a prophet, and hast thou truly been sent by God?"



... went away full of indignation.

Jesus glanced at the grapes that had grown on the thorn, and then he looked Ben-Midrash straight in the eye, and the look went deep into the gardener's heart.

"Ben-Midrash," he said, "thou hast done well to graft the vine upon the thorn of thy vineyard. Thou askest me whether I am a true prophet. Observe what I am doing. I do the same unto

men which thou hast done unto the thorn. David cried to the Lord: 'Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.' As nobler plants can be grafted on the thorn, so can the divine spirit be grafted into the heart. My work is to engraft purity and righteousness into the souls of men. Thy thorn hath ceased to be a thorn; it hath become a vine. The thorn of thy hedge is hardy, and I see in thy eyes that it is as hardy as thyself. Thou art a man of strength, and thy hands are the hands of a worker, but the fruits which thou bringest forth are not grapes.



*"Art thou not
Jesus of Nazareth?"*

Briars and brambles of bitterness are the harvest of thy heart. Why dost thou not do the same unto thy heart as thou hast done unto the thorn? Plant the word of truth in thy soul and it will bring forth the sweet grapes of divine grace, of righteousness and of love."

Ben-Midrash bowed down before Jesus and said: "What is my soul but a thorn? Prune thou its prickly branches and graft thy soul into mine."

Jesus laid his hand upon his head and said: "Be it so! The

souls of men are like trees. A good tree beareth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. The wickedness of a man may be great. Nevertheless, there is salvation for his soul. The thorns that are grafted with the sweet vine will bring forth no thorns, but grapes."

From that day Ben-Midrash and Zebedee were friends again.



*Jesus laid his
hand upon his
head.*

THE CENTURION.

Zebedee had not heard from his sons for a long time, but he was always of good cheer. His wife Salome had gone to Jerusalem on a visit to friends who also belonged to the congregation of the Nazirim, and he was now wont to pass his evenings in the garden of Ben-Midrash. They talked of religion and the old fisherman smiled at the lack of faith and the apprehensions of his neighbor who used to descant on the extravagant expectations of the Nazirim and the hopelessness of founding a messianic kingdom on earth.

One evening the two sat on a bench under the shade of an olive tree talking of the troublesome times and of God's promises to the children of Israel.

Said Ben-Midrash:

"The Romans have the power, and there is no doubt that they will use it to crush any national uprising of the Jews. But even granting that the Jews succeeded in maintaining their independence, the ideal of a universal brotherhood such as is entertained by the Nazirim who hold all things in common, could not be gen-



The two sat on a bench in the shade of an olive tree.

erally applied to society. Only consider the fate of the few rich men that have joined the congregation. The wealthy Ephraim of Capernaum, after selling all his estates and surrendering his riches to the elders, is now as impecunious as any of his brethren."

"Bear in mind," replied Zebedee, "that he has stored up

treasures in heaven. When the day of judgment comes he will shine in glory like an angel."

While they were still discussing these questions, so momentous in those days to the Jews and especially to zealous sectarians, a detachment of Roman soldiers arrived leading in their midst a chained prisoner.



The centurion entered the garden.

The centurion entered the garden and peremptorily demanded food for himself and men. The stern glance of his blue eyes told plainly that he would brook no refusal and the threatening attitude of his towering frame was sufficient to frighten even an obstinate man into submission. So the gardener rose quickly and instructed his wife and servants to comply with the request of the Roman captain.

Ben-Midrash and Zebedee helped the women to prepare a meal for the men, and only after several hours' work when the wants of the foreign soldiers had been satisfied, did the host and his friend think of themselves and sit down to a frugal supper. After supper they took the cup, gave thanks, drank of it, and prayed for the kingdom to come.

As the night deepened, Ben-Midrash lit a light and sat down

in company with his friend. They were exchanging their observations of the day when the Roman captain entered and joined them at the table. He was a heathen, and his presence was an annoyance to the two Israelites. But how could they refuse him? Had he not power to deal with them as he pleased? Thus, more in fear and trembling than with a feeling of hospitality they entertained the gigantic Gentile and offered him a cup of wine, saying, "Drink, Roman, and may you prosper!"

The warrior accepted the cup with soldierly grace and proved an affable companion. He spoke Aramaic, the language of the country, fairly well and said: "Do not call me Roman. Though in the service of Cæsar, both my soldiers and myself are children of the Northern country. We left our home to see the world. Call me Longinus, for that is my name as the Romans translated it from the speech of my folk at home."

"What!" exclaimed Ben-Midrash, "you are not a Roman and yet serve Cæsar?"

"Why shouldn't we serve Cæsar, if he pays us well?" replied the centurion. "What do we care for Rome? Rome is but the footstool of Cæsar, and if he pays us for it we'll upset even Rome itself to please him."

The two Jews were astonished at the blunt words of their guest, and being delighted with the thought that he was not a Roman, they ventured to speak more at length of the Jews' hostility to Rome and their hopes of a messianic kingdom. Longinus showed much interest in, as well as knowledge of, Jewish institutions. But he shook his head not without some contempt. "Pshaw!" said he, "the cause of all the trouble in Judea is the religion of the people. The Jews are obstinate because they are superstitious. They believe in the coming of a messiah, and what is the result? There are many messiahs rising in their midst and every one of them makes matters worse. Our prisoner is one of them."

"Your prisoner a messiah!" exclaimed Ben-Midrash and Zebedee in one breath. "Who is he?"

"His name is Zoathan," replied Longinus, "and he pretends to be a Jew of noble extraction, born in Northern Syria. His descent however seems to me doubtful and I believe he is of mixed blood, probably Jewish-Greek. The youth fell desperately in love with a wealthy Jewish girl who was betrothed to a Gentile magistrate. He assassinated the groom, abducted the bride and carried her into the mountains, where he called the people to arms against the Roman authorities. Many Jews believed in the bold desperado

and he became the terror of the region around Lebanon. As it was anticipated that he would descend upon Palestine and carry with him the spirit of rebellion, I was despatched from Cæsarea by Pontius Pilate to capture him and his band and deliver them over to the hands of justice. The governor is at present in Jerusalem keeping a vigilant eye on conspiracies and I will join him there. Our prisoner had connexions with some influential men of the Jewish priesthood and he may be needed there for their incrimination.

"Well," enquired Ben-Midrash, "and how did you take him?"

The centurion continued: "For quite a while Zoathan eluded my vigilance and all my attempts to catch him were vain. Indeed he had almost escaped into Samaria whence he could have reached Judea without trouble, a plan which I was bound to prevent. At last I found out that he was a fanatic believer in his mission as a messiah of his nation and that he punished very severely every one of his own countrymen who dared to oppose his preposterous pretensions. Some he had hanged, others tortured, and from all who fell into his clutches he extorted heavy sums as contributions to his cause. Thus he made enemies among his own supporters. When I set a price on his head, he was delivered into my power by men of his own nationality."

It was late in the night when the three men retired; and they all dreamt of the Jewish messiah in chains, but each one of them thought of the poor wretch with different sentiments.

THE REBEL MESSIAH.

Early the next morning Ben-Midrash distributed breakfast among the soldiers, who were ready to continue their march to Jerusalem. When he handed bread to Zoathan, the gardener asked compassionately: "Do you actually believe that you are a messiah?"

The unfortunate youth stared at the questioner: "Truly I am a messiah," he said, "but God has rejected me. The day will come, however, when another messiah shall rise. And he will smite the nations and rule them with a rod of iron. Glory, glory Hallelujah! He will tread the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of God Almighty. His vesture will be dipped in blood, and he will be called the word of God."

"I wish your words were true, for the insolence of our oppressors is unbearable," whispered the gardener, "but I have no longer any faith in these ancient prophecies."

Zoathan replied zealously: "At last a messiah must come to restore the kingdom of David."

"Who knows," retorted the gardener, "what the messiah will be like? He may be as indifferent to our sufferings as is the prophet of the Nazirim who is a good preacher but no messiah."

Remembering that Zoathan was not a Galilean and had probably never heard of the carpenter's son of Nazareth, Ben-Midrash



He handed bread to Zoathan.

added: "Did you ever hear of Jesus the Nazir? He preaches goodwill and loving-kindness, and not the sword, but what he says goeth to the heart!"

Zoathan lifted up his chained hands in astonishment, as if a ray of light had fallen into his bewildered soul. "Good-will and loving-kindness!" he repeated, musing on the words. "My sweet

bride suggested that very thought to me. Good-will and loving-kindness—that might be our salvation! With her I enjoyed a brief span of happiness; but she is dead now.”

Here the voice of the youth faltered. “I mean to say,” he added hesitatingly, “when in dire danger of being recaptured by the Romans, she died by my hand. I want to forget the scene, but I cannot. Still it could not be helped. But then”—and the prisoner’s eyes shone with a demoniacal fire exhibiting a fierce fanaticism—“but then I waded through blood and I swore to prepare the supper of the great God to the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, consisting of the flesh of Gentile kings and captains and mighty men. I was chief of a small band of men, like myself bold and desperate. They performed miracles of heroism and I forced the people to support our cause. My men believed in me and many of the peasantry worshipped me as the messiah. My ambition grew with my success and I dreamt of bringing into subjection the whole of Syria. Some of my own people hated me because I made them stand up manfully for their country and their religion; and I fell a victim to foul treason! So I failed.” His eye began to wander; then as if in a dream, he continued: “Power is brittle and the fortunes of war changeful. But good-will and loving-kindness cannot fail. O, that I could see Jesus the Nazir before I die!”

“You may meet him some day,” interposed Ben-Midrash.

“There is no chance left for me but to die,” was Zoathan’s sad answer. “I knew the risk I ran when I took sword in hand and allowed my adherents to call me ‘messiah.’ The very word thrills the heart of a Jew and therefore the mere title is deserving of capital punishment in the eyes of our oppressors.

The kind-hearted gardener tried to inspire his captive countryman with hope, but the spirit of the bold rebel was broken and he would not be comforted. “I shall die on the cross. That is the end of every messiah, until the right one come, the mighty hero of God. But I am done. Death will be salvation to my tortured soul; I only want to see the prophet who preaches good-will and loving-kindness!”

Ben-Midrash withdrew, for he heard the firm step of Longinus and was afraid of being suspected of sympathising with the chained messiah.

The command to make ready for the march was now given and the soldiers arranged themselves in line. Longinus threw a farewell glance at the house and garden of Ben-Midrash, and his eye

fell upon the thorn hedge on which he beheld young vine leaves and tendrils sprouting with the new life of spring, for it was near Eastertide.

"What strange plant is that?" asked the centurion, addressing the gardener; and the latter told him how the sweet vine had been grafted on the thorn. Longinus, having caught the sense of the gardener's explanation, gave only divided attention to the long



'What strange plant is that?'

story. He stooped down and, without asking permission of the owner, cut off a long stem which showed on one and the same branch dense clusters of thorns and leaves of sweet vine. "That is an interesting plant," he said, "I will show it as a curiosity to Pontius Pilate, the governor."

These words Longinus spoke to himself but he spoke loud enough for Ben-Midrash to hear them. Apparently the soldier deemed it beneath his dignity to excuse his demeanor and yet felt

that he owed some explanation to the gardener for cutting off the twig. Tossing the branch to an attendant on the waggon, the centurion said: "Take care of this, but mind the thorns." Then he mounted his horse and nodded a farewell to his host, who bowed deeply, suppressing with difficulty a sigh of indignation at the supercilious behavior of the hated invader.

THE HIGHWAYMAN.

Longinus and his troop reached Jerusalem in a few days. His prisoner Zoathan was cross-examined and tried by a court martial; but he was too obstinate to give any information, and his judges deemed the evidence that could be extracted from him worthless. They therefore sentenced him to die on the cross the next morning and had him delivered over to the jailer.

When Zoathan was pushed into the cell of the jail he found there a vulgar looking man full of spite and viciousness. It was Kamma, a highwayman, who, like Zoathan, was doomed to crucifixion on the following morning.

Kamma looked with displeasure at the refined features of his fellow-prisoner. "Who are you?" he asked in a rough manner.

Zoathan cast his eyes down and said in an undertone: "An unfortunate outcast."

"Ha!" laughed Kamma. "So am I! Kamma is an unfortunate outcast, a poor wretch who has lost his stake in the game of life. Kamma is unfortunate but not worse than others, certainly not worse than Cæsar; and Cæsar is great, Cæsar is a god, Cæsar is worshipped, for Cæsar owns the world. There is only a difference of degree between Cæsar and Kamma, that is all. Cæsar stole an empire; Kamma stole coin. Now and then Kamma got a few gold pieces, sometimes a few silver pieces, just as goddess Fortune favored him. Cæsar marched his armies through Italy and Greece and Egypt, Kamma tramped the highroads in the vicinity of Jerusalem. Big thieves are admired, they are worshipped with divine honors, they are glorified, and their praise is sung by poets; but small thieves are cursed, caught and killed. That is Kamma's lot. There is no difference between Cæsar and Kamma—save in degree of power and, as a result, in success. Cæsar is crowned, Kamma crucified. All men are alike, they are impelled by hunger and thirst and other appetites. And everyone satisfies his wants as he pleases or as he deems best. That is the right, the inborn right, of every creature. Some succeed, others fail; some have the

enjoyments of life, others are deprived of their privileges. I belong to the disinherited class. I felt my strength and took freely what I desired. But I overrated my powers. My enemies were too numerous. They hunted me down like a wild animal and here I



He found no comfort in the wild speech of his fellow-prisoner.

am like a caged vulture, doomed to end my life on the gallows."

Zoathan did not answer him, and Kamma frowned. "Are you too proud to talk to me, my friend and fellow-martyr?" said he. "Oh! you are perchance a nobleman or of priestly degree! Do not take offence at me, for I am no mean vagabond. When I lived in the mountains a free man, a robber, and a member of the brotherhood of liberty I was one of the boldest among our band. When we pledged our troth to the brotherhood we mixed our blood with wine and drank all out of the same cup and we became all united in one family, and we had fine fellows in our ranks—outlawed captains and sons of kings. I dare say that there is royal blood coursing through my veins. Truly when my brethren hear of my

death, they will take a most bloody revenge on my hangmen."

Zoathan longed for a word of sympathy, but he found no comfort in the wild speech of his fellow-prisoner.

THE CROWN OF THORNS.

Pontius Pilate praised the captains who had caught Zoathan and Kamma for the successful consummation of their mission and invited them to supper. Longinus took the thornstalk bearing the vine leaves with him to the dining room and presented it to the governor who looked at the curious plant and smiled at the strange whim of the Galilee gardener. Therewith his interest was exhausted, and after supper the servants threw the thorn which they found lying neglected on the table, into the courtyard of the *praetorium*.

In these days there had been a tumult in Jerusalem. The prophet of Nazareth had come to the capital of Judæa and was hailed by the Nazirim as messiah. The people were excited without knowing why, and the chief of the Roman guards who did police duty, declared that he would, in case of a serious riot, hold the Jewish elders responsible. The priests protested their loyalty to Cæsar and, being already incensed against the Galilean innovator, promised to deliver the leader of the riot into the hands of the Romans. And this was done on the night when Longinus had supped at the governor's house.

Jesus the Nazir was apprehended in a garden on the Mount of Olives; and the priests, after long deliberations in a council which in spite of the late hour had been hastily summoned to the house of the High-Priest, decided to sacrifice the sectarian prophet as a victim to the hated foreigner. The crowd arrived at the *praetorium* in the early morning to deliver the prisoner into the hands of the Roman authorities.

Pontius Pilate suspected this unwonted show of loyalty. Finding that no actual crime had been committed and that it was merely a case of alleged messianic pretensions, which were not contradicted by the prisoner, he tried to evade the responsibility of judgment and told his men to scourge the prisoner and to dress him up as a mimic king. When the soldiers were searching for an appropriate diadem, they found the thornstalk in the courtyard. They took it and platted it into a wreath, which they placed upon the messiah's head as a mock crown. However, this treatment of the accused changed nothing in the situation, and as the governor, judging from the presentation of the case, as given by the priests, discovered that the prisoner had much influence with one of the Jewish sects, he gave orders to have him executed as a messiah.

Thus the prophet of Galilee was crucified between Zoathan and Kamma, and the inscription attached to his cross read "Jesus, the Nazir, King of the Jews." The Jewish priests protested against the formulation of the judgment but Pilate did not change it. When those who passed by saw the reputed healer of the Nazirim sect hanging helpless on the cross, they mocked him and said: "He saved others, let him save himself, if he be the messiah, the chosen of God."

And Kamma, hearing these words, repeated the mockery, saying, "If thou be the messiah, save thyself and us!"

Zoathan answering, rebuked him: "Dost thou not fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly: for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said unto Jesus, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom."

And Jesus said; "Verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise."

THE VISITOR.

After a few months' sojourn at Jerusalem Salome returned home to Galilee and reported to her aged husband all the wondrous things that had happened. Jesus had been mocked as a king of the Jews and had worn a crown of thorns. And one of the Roman soldiers had reported that he had seen on the same stalk of thorns branches with dry sweet vine leaves. But no one minded it. The excitement was too great. Jesus was crucified and buried. Then the congregation was full of fear and scattered like a herd of sheep frightened by a wolf that had broken into the fold. But they returned to the city and found the tomb empty. Now the disciples became more and more convinced that their beloved master was resurrected. It was Jesus who gave them strength to bear the tribulations of the world. Jesus appeared to the women as a gardener. Jesus joined the wanderers on the road under the guise of a stranger, being recognised only afterwards by his way of breaking bread and giving thanks; and the dying martyr saw Jesus in the clouds seated on the right hand of God. The spirit of God had come over the congregation, filling the brethren with zeal and faith, and all this served to make the sect increase in numbers. Though they were more and more impoverished, they felt that they possessed the grace of God and at the second advent of the messiah which was near at hand, they would share the glory and power of

his kingdom while all the rest of mankind would be consigned to perdition.

Whatever may have been wrong in this faith old Zebedee and Salome were happy in it. Their two sons James and John were pillars of the Nazir congregation at Jerusalem. They would be like unto princes in the kingdom of heaven, for they belonged to the twelve apostles that should judge the twelve tribes of Israel.

The old fisherman and his wife never doubted that they themselves should both see the day when the Lord would appear in the clouds of heaven. Their faith was an inexhaustible source of comfort to them until one evening they laid themselves to rest and never awoke from their slumber. They were found dead in the morning with a smile of transcendent glory on their faces.

* * *

Years passed, and the hair of Ben-Midrash whitened with age. His son grew up and helped his father in the garden and they took special care to preserve the hedge. Though one of the stems of the thorn had been cut off by Longinus, several other shoots continued to blossom every year and from them Ben-Midrash reaped annually a fair harvest of the best of grapes.

One day when the sun was almost in the zenith, a man with the dust of the highroad on his feet opened the gate, and coming straight up to the house, asked for Ben-Midrash. The gardener replied: "I am Ben-Midrash! What is your desire?"

The stranger looked searchingly with his restless but radiant eyes into the face of the expectant Ben-Midrash and said: "I bring you greetings from James and John, the sons of Zebedee, your neighbor, and I am Saul of Tarsus, the same whom the Gentiles name Paul. I am an apostle of Jesus of Nazareth who was crucified and is resurrected, having become the saviour through whom mankind will be redeemed from the bondage of death."

Ben-Midrash said, "Though I know you not, I salute you as a compatriot and a friend of my friends. I am not a Nazir, but I love Jesus of Nazareth. I do not share the belief of Zebedee nor would I commend the institutions of the Nazir congregation; but we still remember our neighbors in sentiments of sincere sympathy, and for the sake of Zebedee and his sons you are welcome."

Paul entered the house and in the company of the gardener's family partook of the midday repast. Then they spoke of the messianic hopes of Israel and the way in which they might be fulfilled.

When Ben-Midrash freely criticised the institutions of the

Nazirim, Paul said: "Neither do I approve of their views, and I am at a loss to know what shall finally become of them. They are reduced to a pitiable state of indigence. I am collecting money for them among the Gentile congregations that believe in Jesus and can in this way do something to alleviate their lot."

"Well," replied Ben-Midrash, "if you do not share the belief of the Nazirim, how can you call yourself an apostle of Jesus?"

"Verily, I believe in Jesus!" exclaimed Paul. "Jesus is the Christ, he is the promised messiah through whom those who believe in him will be saved. The apostles in Jerusalem too believe in him, and that is the reason why I visited them and offered them the right hand of fellowship, for I preach the Gospel among the Gentiles. Jesus has been crucified and is resurrected, he has been humbled in shame and suffering and is now glorified. He has become the firstfruits of those that slept in the grave. In Adam we all died, in Christ we shall live. Death is like sowing a seed. Unless the seed is buried in the ground, it cannot sprout. From the dirt of the soil the beauty of a new life grows. It is sown in dishonor; it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power. It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. And so it is written, 'The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam a quickening spirit,' and the last Adam was Jesus of Nazareth."

THE NEW COVENANT.

On the one hand, Ben-Midrash was pleased with his visitor, because he did not share (at least not without restrictions and reservations) the peculiar notions of the Nazirim—their belief in poverty, their fear of demoniacal possession, their mode of healing diseases by faith, and especially their communism—which rendered them obnoxious to the priests and scribes, and made them appear as heretics in the eyes of orthodox Jews; but on the other hand, he felt offended by the foreign manners of the apostle who had unconsciously adopted many Gentile habits and whose speech was not free from Græcisms.

Paul said: "Jesus, though the son of well-to-do parents, joined the Nazirim sect and became poor for our sake. He humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God has highly exalted him and given him a name above every name. Every tongue must confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord."

Ben-Midrash after a pause asked his guest : "You are a Jew, but you converse with Gentiles and you extend to them the grace of God?"

"Truly I do," replied Paul. "I am sent to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. Before God there is no difference between Gentile and Jew. The Jew has the law of Moses, but the law of Moses is an educator only for Christ. It is no finality; and the Nazirims take many things that are unessential for essentials. To give up all one's possessions is good religious discipline, but it is not an indispensable condition for entering the kingdom. The essential thing is charity and brotherly love. If you knew the Gentile world as I do, you would comprehend that the prejudices of the Jews are not just. The Gentiles are as pious as are our own people; but they lack the proper spirit and the right interpretation. They have religious institutions the same as we. They have altars and sacrifice, they baptise, they spread the table for a Eucharist, they pray. But Satan has power over them. Our communion is a communion with Jesus, the messiah. We drink the cup of Christ, they the cup of pagan deities; we are partakers of the Lord's table; they sit down at the table of devils."

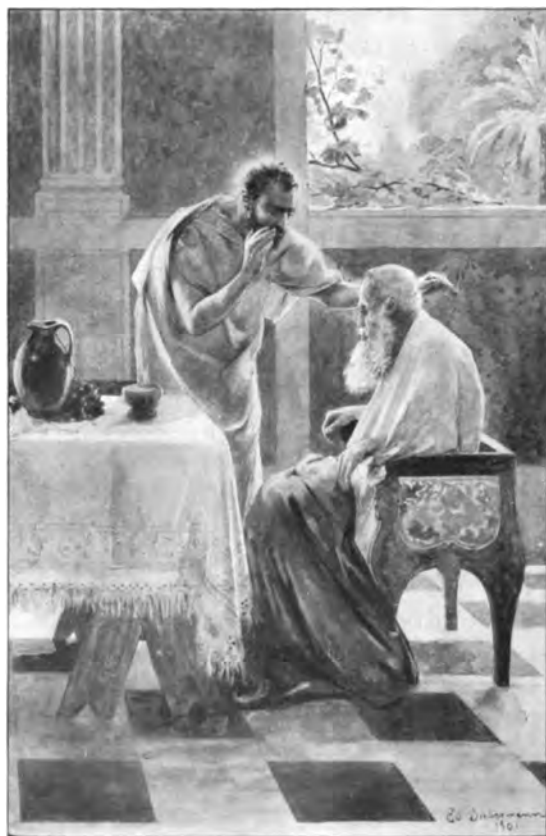
Ben-Midrash could not quite comprehend his guest and said : "Your ways are those of a Gentile, and so is your speech; and it seems as if you no longer believe in the establishment of a messianic kingdom?"

"Indeed, I do," replied Paul, "but the messianic Kingdom is not for the Jews alone. God is the God of all nations! The Gentiles hunger and thirst for a saviour from death, a Christ of purity and righteousness, a redeemer from sin. But they grope in the dark and are given to a belief in fables. They set their hope in Hermes Trismegistos and in Heracles the son of Zeus, and in Orpheus the prophet who visited the land of shades, and in Mithras, and in I know not whom besides. They are not conversant with the plans of God; they have no revelation as have the Jews."

Ben-Midrash could not understand how a messiah could be expected by the Gentiles. So he asked Paul how he conceived of a kingdom of heaven that would be purely spiritual and should bring salvation at once to the Jews and the Gentiles.

Paul hesitated a moment before he answered and then spoke in a subdued voice as if he were divulging a secret of intense importance : "Let me reveal to you a mystery. We shall not all sleep in the grave, but we shall all be transfigured. Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, neither does corruption inherit

incorruption. When the Lord shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God, the dead in Christ shall rise, but we that survive and remain until the end shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. Then the corruptible will put on incorruption and the mortal immortality. And we shall be caught up together with the risen



"Let me reveal to you a mystery!"

dead in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord."

Ben-Midrash interrupted: "And when shall that day come?"

Paul answered: "Whether you will see the day of the Lord, I do not know; but I expect to see it, for it is near at hand."

Ben Midrash shook his head. He was too realistic to accept

unqualifiedly the speculations of his guest. Nevertheless, he was deeply affected by his assurance and profound conviction and said: "You speak well, but where is the guarantee that your doctrines are true? Do you not, too, like the Nazirim, take things unessential for essentials?"

"It is possible," said the apostle, "that I am mistaken in details, but I am not in the main. Judge for yourself. The one thing that is essential for salvation is charity. The old covenant is a covenant of the law; the new covenant is a covenant of brotherhood. The old covenant is the covenant of wrath and of bondage; the new covenant is a covenant of liberty and love. By loving-kindness we develop that spirituality that makes us fit to enter the kingdom of heaven. Now, there was a time when I persecuted the Nazirim. Then my heart was full of hatred and bitterness. But now I am filled with the spirit of charity. My old self is crucified with Christ on the cross; it died. A new spirit has come over me, the spirit of Christ; and my soul has peace and is filled with bliss and heavenly joy. Consider then: If Christ liveth in me, he must be resurrected; and, judging from the Scriptures, he must have been resurrected on the third day. If Christ is resurrected as the firstfruits of the dead, those who believe in him, too, will be resurrected. He must put all enemies under his foot and the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. Death being conquered we shall rise with him and through him. Then we shall exclaim: 'O death, where is thy sting, O grave, where is thy victory?'"

Paul's eyes were beaming and Ben-Midrash, taken captive by the zeal and winning personality of the apostle, went out with his guest to the hedge and said: "I have had the same experience as you in my own soul. My heart was like this thorn, but I grafted on it the sweet vine of the spirit of Jesus and my entire being was changed."

Having listened to the story of the gardener's thornbush, Paul said: "Truly, this transformation is wonderful, but it is not less wonderful than the transfiguration of our souls through Jesus."

Ben-Midrash sat down with his family and servants to supper, and Paul was given the place of honor; then the host, after Nazir fashion, took the bread, broke it and gave thanks, and tendered it to the company. And after the supper, he took the cup and filled it with wine. It was wine pressed from the grape that had grown on the thornbush from which Christ's crown of thorns had been cut. The Apostle handed the cup round, requesting all seated at the table to drink of it in communion, and he said: "Let us partake

of this cup for a communion with the resurrected Saviour. May the spirit of his good-will and loving-kindness be implanted in our souls as the sweet vine has been grafted upon the thorn."

There was a holy stillness in the room and the company round the table were filled with the spirit of him in whose remembrance they were assembled. Though Jesus of Nazareth had been crucified twenty years before, he was now there in the midst of them. As they conversed on such topics as righteousness, and purity, and the resurrection, he shaped their thoughts and swayed their sentiments, and they felt his presence in their hearts.



They felt his presence in their hearts.

EPILOGUE.

The events which form the background to the foregoing story have become most potent factors in history. The hope of St. Paul, that he should see the Lord come in the clouds of heaven has not been fulfilled, and many doctrines which he deemed essential have since then been abandoned as unessential. But Christianity spread and took a firm hold on mankind. It became universal in its aspirations, incorporating at the same time thoughts, institutions, and festivals from other religions,—from Greek philosophy, from Egyptian hermeneutics, from the Syrian Gnosis, from Mithras worship,

from Buddhist ethics, and even from prehistoric traditions. In its spread westward and northward, it underwent changes in different countries and at various epochs, now promoting progress, now serving as a break on the wheel of time. It passed through ages of darkness and superstition, of fanaticism and dogmatic literalism, working its way out again sporadically and by degrees to clearness and moral purity, and vindicating its claim to truth, if not always in the letter yet certainly in the spirit, by proving to the world the power of loving-kindness and charity, and justifying the hope of a life beyond the grave in some form or other.

INTERNATIONAL CITIZENSHIP.

BY THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

THE Constitution of the American Republic provides that:
“*The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.*” (Art. 12. Sec. 2.)

The privileges and immunities embraced in this provision are such as belong to general citizenship, and include the right of travel and the conduct of trade and commerce, with protection in the enjoyment of “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” in any lawful employment, subject to such regulations and restraints as the State may deem it proper to impose upon its own citizens for the general welfare, under what is termed the police power. The provision does not include the right to vote and hold office, or otherwise participate in the government of the State, but only to enjoy, equally with its own citizens, the established liberties of movement, residence, occupation, acquisition, and disposition; with just protection in person, property, and privileges. In effect, this provision makes the citizens of each State, citizens of the United States, for all the important purposes of human life, as by other provisions of the national constitution the citizens of the several States are made citizens of the Republic for all the purposes of the national government. Without entering into distinctions not material to the present purpose, such may be said to be the object and effect of the nineteen words of the American Constitution of government that made the inhabitants of all the States practically one people. Before the Union, the American States were foreign to each other, and the citizens of each, aliens in all the rest, without rights, privileges or immunities, save such as might be accorded by international comity.

By the early Roman law, it is said that an alien “had no right that the citizen was bound to respect.” But this harsh rule was

afterward modified by a protection given by a citizen as patron, to an alien as his client, and by treaties under which foreigners were accorded certain rights and privileges; and soon a body of private international law, called the *Jus Gentium*, began to take its place beside the civil law, and to afford a basis of what is termed natural justice, for the determination of controversies between citizens and aliens. This universal jurisprudence of mankind has advanced from age to age, until it now commands the approval of the enlightened world, and affords a rational basis of intercourse between the peoples of different countries. In return for the protection given to an alien, he owes a ready and complete obedience to all the laws for the preservation of the peace and good order of society, and must conduct himself in conformity to the general law and public policy of the country whose privileges he enjoys. The general rule is that an alien may acquire and hold personal property, and have the aid of the judicial tribunals for its recovery and protection, but that he cannot acquire and hold an indefeasible title to land, without an enabling act, authorising him to do so.

An alien, lawfully sojourning or domiciled in a foreign country, is entitled to the aid of his own government for his protection against any invasion of his just rights and privileges, by or under the sanction of the foreign government.

But while many of the rights and privileges of citizens in foreign lands have finally come to be well understood and established, many others are still obscure on the subject of controversy, as diplomatic discussion abundantly shows.¹ At the same time there has been an enormous increase of travel and commerce throughout the world, accompanied by an ever-growing demand for better facilities and more adequate security to visiting or trading strangers. More swiftly than any of us can well realise, the whole world is becoming in fact one great country, needing new laws for the proper protection of its vast and varied people.

Let us then inquire whether the time has not fully come for an extension of the principle of the guaranty of equal privileges and immunities to the citizens of all the states of the American Union, to the citizens of all the enlightened countries of the world, so far as travel, residence and commerce are concerned; and for a distinct statement of those privileges and immunities in a Code of International Intercourse to be prepared by representatives of the participating countries, and adopted by treaty by the respective governments? Such a code is necessary both for the information

¹ *Dainese v. Hale*, 91 U. S. R. 13; 2 Whart. Int. Law Dig., Sec. 171 et seq.

of those concerned, and to avoid disputes among the nations in regard to the rights and privileges accorded.

There are two distinct aspects of the case for which provision should be made. We have thus far had in view only the first, namely, the admission of aliens to certain rights and privileges of citizens. Let us now turn to the second, which is the recognition and protection of certain rights and privileges which the alien enjoys in his own country under its laws and public policy, and which he desires to take with him, wherever he may journey throughout the world. It is obvious that no nation will protect an alien in the enjoyment of any privilege that would disturb the peace and good order of its own society. But there is no good reason why any government should not accord to the citizen or subject of any foreign power with which it is at peace, the privilege of living according to the customs and laws of his own country, so far as he can do so without any such disturbance; and of dealing with his own countrymen according to the laws that govern them at home. Indeed, one of the charms of international intercourse is the preservation by visitors from other countries of their national characteristics, and the harmonising of different systems of culture and progress, in the relations established between natives and sojourning foreigners. But all such visitors should be distinctly informed, by a clear and explicit code of rules, of the privileges accorded and those denied to them.

A citizen who desires to be assured of the protection of his own government in a foreign land to which he may lawfully go, should take with him a passport from his own government certifying his good character, and providing convenient means of identification, and directions for inquiry or report in relation to him, if occasion should arise.

In case of any controversy between an alien and the government under which he is sojourning, or between him and a citizen, or between him and a fellow alien, or between him and an alien of another country, the International Code should distinctly specify the tribunal by which, and the mode in which the dispute shall be tried and determined; and as all such provisions would be reciprocal, there would be the strongest incentive to provide the most expeditious, inexpensive and efficient means practicable, for the enforcement of rights and the redress of wrongs.

Such a Code of International Intercourse would practically establish a general citizenship of the world, whose rights and privileges could be acquired and enjoyed by any worthy citizen of any

enlightened country. Many beneficent results would follow. Many annoying obstructions to free intercourse would be swept away. Travel and commerce would largely increase. A sense of safety and security would prevail in many cases where now the perils of travel, sojourn or trade outweigh all the pleasure or profit they might yield.

In no other way than by such an International Code, is it practicable to provide reasonable and satisfactory safe-guards against hostile movements made under the guise of innocent travel or lawful trade. Requiring each government to guarantee the good conduct of its own citizens, travelling or trading under its passport, in a foreign country, would naturally make that government careful not to issue such a guaranty to any unworthy or suspicious character. The right of a government to demand protection of its citizens or subjects in a foreign land, and to enforce that demand if need be, even by war, necessarily involves the responsibility of that government for the good behavior of such citizen or subject, and the right of the government of the foreign country to enforce that responsibility. If citizens of any country would travel, sojourn or trade in any other, under the protection of their own home government, that government should be as ready to punish them for any misconduct or offense, as to secure the proper redress for any injury that may be inflicted upon them by any official or private person of the foreign country. Unfortunately this plain rule of reason and justice has not always been observed.

Cases are not wanting in which it has been charged that foreign citizens or subjects have suffered outrageous treatment at the hands of resident representatives of other powers, and were utterly unable to obtain any remedy for their wrongs, because the local tribunals had no jurisdiction, and the government that sent the representative had not provided any proper way of learning the facts, much less any adequate mode of administering justice and enforcing the law. Surely it is not too much to ask that matters of so much importance to private interests and the public welfare in all enlightened countries should now receive better practical attention than has hitherto been given them; and that the leaders of government in all such countries unite to secure the speedy appointment of an International Commission to frame a code of International Intercourse.

Naturally such a work would involve, before its completion, a reconstruction of the present highly inefficient and unsatisfactory

systems of foreign service, and would lead the way to great improvements in all departments of international relations.

If the old statesmanship of diplomacy and war cannot see the importance and feasibility of the proposed advance, it will, nevertheless, not be long delayed, for the new statesmanship of law and justice will, at no distant day, become dominant in the world, and among the blessings it will bring, will be found that which for want of a better term may be called International Citizenship, with well-defined rights, privileges, duties and liabilities, alike of the persons and the governments concerned, with clearly specified tribunals and modes of proceeding for the speedy and adequate determination of whatever questions may arise in the course of travel, sojourn, commerce, or official relations.

The final triumph of international comity may be delayed, but it cannot be prevented. The time will come when the travelling or sojourning citizens of all friendly powers properly accredited by their respective governments will be entitled, in the countries where they may journey or temporarily reside, to all the privileges and immunities of citizens thereof, except those of a political nature, and such others, if any, as may for any special reason be expressly withheld by public law or proclamation. The old rule will be reversed, and the privileges of the alien will be limited, not by what is granted, but by what is withheld.

The *Jus Gentium* of the Roman law, founded on what have been termed the principles of natural justice, involved, however deeply concealed, the ultimate recognition of the right of all men, irrespective of citizenship, to be protected in rational intercourse with their fellow-men. The great work of Hugo Grotius on the Laws of War and Peace, in 1625, marked the beginning of a new era of International Law, founded, as was declared by Great Britain in 1753, upon justice, equity, reason and convenience. The new movement has steadily advanced, and now has a strength and activity hitherto unknown. It cannot fail to go forward with ever-increasing power and majesty, till, in the impressive language of Prof. August von Bulmerincq, of the University of Heidelberg, "a universal law will take its course around the world and attain universal supremacy; not the Roman law, but a law based upon the principles and modes of thought of modern civilisation,—a cosmopolitan law." Under that cosmopolitan law, universal and supreme by compact of all enlightened powers, law-abiding man will have the well-defined right to go where pleasure or interest may lead him, throughout the world, assured that he will be adequately protected by all nations, as occasion may require, in the full enjoyment of all the just privileges and immunities of an International Citizenship.

THE SECOND ADVENT AND THE JUDGMENT DAY.

BY R. BRUCE BOSWELL, M. A.

IN the Hebrew Scriptures there are few indications of belief in a judgment after death, and those only in the latest books. Yahweh is a judge, even as he is king, over all the earth, and especially over his people Israel; but his sentences are executed in this life, and some strange or sudden death is in itself the severest punishment of sin, without any prospect of further retribution beyond the grave. It is as a permanent and supreme ruler that the psalmist anticipates his coming "to judge the earth" (Ps. xcvi. 13), not to hold a grand assize in which all the long arrears of suspended justice are to be finally settled. Any signal manifestation of divine power, punishing the guilty and delivering the oppressed, is regarded as such a coming, and we must not import later eschatological theories into such a simple statement as that of Psalm i. 5: "The wicked shall not stand in the judgment." In the apocryphal addition to the Book of Esther (x. 11), the escape of the Jews and the confusion of their enemies are described as a "day of judgment before God among all the nations." The belief that the Last Judgment will take place in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, east of Jerusalem, was founded upon a passage of this description in the Prophet Joel (iii. 2, 12-14), where Yahweh makes this announcement: "Let the nations bestir themselves and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat: for there will I sit to judge all the nations round about." The name is significant (*Yahweh judgeth*), and, perhaps, became associated with the great cemetery of Jerusalem in consequence of this prediction, where the word may have been intended to have no other than a figurative meaning.

The doctrine of retributive justice, in its individual rather than in its national aspect, is more than once¹ insisted upon in the

¹ See Eccl. iii. 17; xi. 9; xii. 14.

Book of Ecclesiastes (written, probably, about 200 B. C.), but even here the Egyptian view of judgment in the spirit world, following close upon death, seems to be present to the Preacher's mind rather than a general summons of quick and dead before the divine tribunal on one great Day of Doom. Weighing the heart or actions of a man, in order to ascertain their moral worth, was an idea familiar not only to the ancient Egyptians, but to many other peoples as well.¹ It presents itself in India, Persia, Thibet, and Japan, as deciding the destiny of the departed soul. The scales of Osiris, of Rashnu, or of Yama are poetically attributed to the God of the Hebrews, as in Prov. xvi. 2 ("The weigher of spirits is Yahweh"), or Dan. v. 27 ("Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting").² The scales of divine justice, upheld by the archangel Michael, were almost as favorite a subject for representation on the walls of mediæval churches as was the *psychostasia*, conducted by Thoth, in the old Egyptian *Book of the Dead*. Christ takes the place of Osiris upon the throne as supreme Judge, with the twelve Apostles seated beside him, instead of the forty-two assessors of Osiris. The hideous form of "the Destroyer," Ammit, is represented by the open jaws of the diabolic Leviathan, like some monster of the deep, ready to devour the wretches condemned to everlasting punishment. In some cases the scene is evidently intended for the judgment of the disembodied soul at death, rather than after resurrection at the end of the world, and so resembles the Egyptian Hall of Truth and Justice still more closely.

The earliest foreshadowing of a universal Judgment passed upon all mankind on one great Day is found (so far as the canonical Scriptures are concerned) in the Book of Daniel, which was probably written as late as 168-164 B. C. But, if modern criticism is correct, that celebrated passage (Dan. vii. 9-14; cf. Rev. xx. 11-15) was not the first literary expression of the nascent belief. The oldest part of the Book of Enoch (chaps. i.-xxxvi.) is thought by its best English editor, the Rev. R. H. Charles, to be earlier than "Daniel," and there we read, in close association, of a general but not quite universal Resurrection and a great Judgment.

¹ The scene in the "Frogs" of Aristophanes (l. 1365 sq.), where Bacchus tests the relative poetical merits of Æschylus and Euripides by means of a balance is the closest approximation in Greek literature to this idea. Æschylus himself had written a drama entitled "Psychostasia," or the weighing of souls, in which the lives of Achilles and Memnon were weighed against each other, following the precedent set by Homer (Iliad xxii. 210 sq.).

² Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 3; Job xxxi. 6; Ps. lxxii. 9. So in the Book of Enoch xli. 2 we read: "I saw how the actions of men are weighed upon the balance." Cf. lxi. 8. In the Talmud, man's salvation is said to depend "on a literal preponderance of his good deeds over his bad ones" (R. H. Charles *in loco*.)

There is nothing, however, in either to show that the judgment is regarded as final, or that all of every nation are supposed to be present; and in Daniel the Resurrection of the dead is not mentioned as preceding the judgment, but in quite a different connexion (chap. xii. 2). The only penalties awarded (Dan. vii. 11-12) are given against sovereign powers under the guise of monstrous beasts, and the whole scene is manifestly meant to be a figurative one, illustrating by visible phenomena the national judgments of divine Providence. The "one like unto a son of man" (Dan. vii. 13), who "came with the clouds of heaven," is "brought near before the Ancient of days," not to pronounce sentence upon angels and men, as in later Messianic apocalypses, but to receive "dominion and glory and a kingdom" which should never be destroyed. If he is to execute judgment, it is as a monarch, to whom pertains the administration of justice as one of his royal prerogatives (cf. Matt. xix. 28).

In the Apocrypha (see R. V., 1895) we find the most striking and detailed picture of the last judgment, which is to continue "a week of years," in 2 Esdras (otherwise known as 4 Ezra) vii. 31-43). A Messianic period of four hundred years, the death of all mankind, including the Christ, and a general Resurrection precede it, when the earth shall restore those that are asleep in her . . . the secret places shall deliver those souls that were committed unto them. And the Most High shall be revealed upon the seat of judgment." In the context which has been lately discovered, we read: "The pit of torment shall appear, and over against it shall be the place of rest; and the furnace of hell [*Gehenna*] shall be showed, and over against it the paradise of delight. And then shall the Most High say to the nations that are raised from the dead, See ye and understand whom ye have denied," etc. On one side is "delight and rest," on the other "fire and torments." This final judgment is, however, to some extent anticipated by a state of reward or punishment that follows immediately after the separation of soul and body.¹ The doubtful date of this composition deprives it, however, of any claim to form a link in the chain of early tradition, for it is probable that even the oldest part belongs to the latter part of the first century of our era and embodies as a whole a late phase of Jewish thought, combined with Christian elements.

But if the "authorised" Apocrypha contains no material for our present purpose,² an apocryphal work, which for long was

¹ See 2 Esdras vii. (75) sq. and cf. 2 Esdras xiv. 35, and Hebrews ix. 27.

² Distinct allusions to the Resurrection of the righteous (of Jewish blood) are made in 2 Macc.

strangely neglected, the so-called Book of Enoch, bridges over in a remarkable manner the gap that divides the eschatology of the Old from that of the New Testament. The extant Ethiopic translation (admirably edited in English by the Rev. R. H. Charles) is evidently composed of several distinct parts, written at various times, as it would seem, between 175-64 B. C. The first section (chaps. i.-xxxvi.) is believed by Mr. Charles to contain the earliest mention of a Resurrection of the wicked (with certain exceptions),¹ as well as of the righteous, and of Gehenna (the Valley of Hinnom) as the place of ultimate punishment (chaps. xxvi.-xxvii). The Last Judgment is represented as taking place in the same neighborhood that witnessed the giving of the Law (Enoch i. 4-9.² Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2 and Psalm lxviii. 17). Fallen angels, demons (the semi-human offspring of the former) and men are alike sentenced according to their deserts. The Messianic Kingdom, which follows, of righteousness and peace on earth, is an everlasting one, though the lives of individuals are limited, as in Isa. lxx-lxvi. The writer of chaps. lxxxiii-xc (c. 166 to 161 B. C.) is more spiritual in his view of the Messianic Kingdom, whose subjects, though still on earth, enjoy eternal blessedness. The throne of judgment is set up for "the Lord of the sheep" in "the pleasant land" (cf. Dan. xi. 16, etc., "the glorious land"), and the "blinded sheep," i. e., the apostate Jews, are cast into an abyss "opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire," the site of which is further described as in the Valley to the south of Jerusalem (chap. xc. 26), i. e., the Vale of Hinnom. The Judgment seems to precede a Resurrection of righteous Israelites only. In a later section (chaps. xci-civ), written perhaps in 134 to 95 B. C., the Resurrection and Judgment follow instead of preceding the golden age on earth, as in 2 Esdras and the Apocalypse of Baruch, and inaugurate a life of eternal happiness in a new heaven for the righteous, and the everlasting pains of Sheol for the wicked. The Resurrection seems to be confined to pious Israelites, and to be, not of the body, but of the spirit only, as in the so-called Psalms of Solomon (c. 40 B. C) and the Book of Jubilees. The latest section of all (with the exception of certain disjointed fragments), chaps. xxxvii-lxx,

vii. 9, 14; xii. 43; Wisdom iii. 7, 8; cf. 2 Esdras ii. 23 (part of the work of a Christian Jew, it may be, in the third century A. D.).

¹ Of the four divisions in Sheol (Hades) shown to Enoch, two for the righteous and two for the wicked, the fourth was reserved for those sinners who had been already punished on earth. "Their souls will not be slain on the day of judgment, nor will they be raised from thence," i. e., from Sheol for severer condemnation (Enoch xlii. 13).

² "He will tread on Mount Sinai and appear with His hosts, and in the strength of His might appear from heaven," etc.

the date of which Mr. Charles fixes at either 94 or 64 B. C., exalts the personal importance of the Messiah, both as Judge and King. The Resurrection is one both of body and spirit, and includes all Israel, the Judgment which succeeds ushers in the Messianic Kingdom on a renewed earth. The following quotations remind one of parallel passages in the New Testament. "The books of the living were opened before him" (xlvi. 3; cf. Rev. xx. 12, 15); "the sum of judgment was committed unto him, the Son of Man" (lxix. 27; cf. John v. 22); "who rules over all" (lxii. 6; cf. Matt. xxviii. 18, etc.); "when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory" (lxii. 5; cf. Matt. xxv. 31); "on that day I will cause mine Elect One to dwell among them, and I will transform the heaven, and make it an eternal blessing and light. And I will transform the earth, and make it a blessing, and cause mine elect ones to dwell upon it: but the sinners and evil doers will not set foot thereon" (xlv. 4, 5; cf. 2 Pet. iii. 13); "he will choose the righteous and holy from among them; for the day of their redemption has drawn nigh" (li. 2; cf. Luke xxi. 28). Other *pseudepigrapha*, like the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the so-called Sibylline Books, revelled in that glorious future for Israel and the world at large, which was developed into the Chiliasm (or Millenarianism) of the early Christian Church.

The order of events in New Testament eschatology presents the same uncertainty as in the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature which formed the framework for the new picture, in which Jesus of Nazareth appeared as the mystic Son of Man. The advent of the lowly and suffering Messiah, which contrasted so strangely in the prophetic visions with a reign of triumphal majesty, was an accomplished fact, an historical memory; and a second coming "with power and great glory" was looked for as nigh at hand, before the first generation of Christians should have altogether passed away (Matt. xxiv. 30-34, etc.), an appearance (*παρουσία*) which was to herald a Resurrection of the Saints and to establish his Kingdom upon earth.¹ A subsequent period of peace and prosperity was expected by some to last for a thousand years (Rev. xx. 2 et seq.; cf. Slavonic Enoch xxxii and xxxiii), to be followed, in its turn, by a season of sore trial and contention, ending in the destruction of all hostile forces, a general Resurrection of the dead, the Last Judgment, and a new heaven and earth. St.

¹ Acts i. 6-7 compared with Luke i. 68-74 and such prophetic intimations as Isa. i. 26; Amos ix. 11; Dan. vii. 27. The First Resurrection (Rev. xx. 4-6) is either of martyrs only, or of "the just" generally (Luke xiv. 14).

Paul, however, knows nothing of a millennium which is to intervene between Christ's second advent and the final victory over all the enemies of God. The Resurrection of which he speaks is of the righteous only at his appearing; no mention is made of one great general assize, and the Lord, after executing vengeance on his foes, returns to heaven with all his faithful followers in their risen or glorified bodies (1 Cor. xv; 1 Thess. iv. 15-17; 2 Thess. i. 7-10). The "vengeance" and "flaming fire" of the last passage becomes a universal conflagration in 2 Peter iii. 7-13, such as was predicted also by heathen poets and philosophers, but only by way of preparation for a better world reserved for the righteous. The Judgment Seat of God or of Christ (Rom. xiv. 10; 2 Cor. v. 10) is mentioned by Paul more than once, but whether regarded as a tribunal in the spirit world (cf. Heb. ix. 27),¹ or in connexion with Christ's second coming, is left undetermined. In the Acts of the Apostles (xvii. 31) St. Paul is represented as preaching to the Athenians of "a man" as ordained to judge the world on an appointed day, just as Peter had foretold of "Jesus of Nazareth" to Cornelius and his friends (Acts x. 38-42); and, if the Second Epistle to Timothy is from the former's hand, we have his own testimony to the same doctrine of judgment by Christ Jesus to be passed upon the living and the dead (2 Tim. iv. 1). His allusion to saints as destined to "judge the world" and even "angels" (1 Cor. vi. 2-3) reminds us of the words attributed to Jesus,² promising his apostles that they should "sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel," i. e., as permanent rulers; and, again, of the "angels which kept not their own principality but left their proper habitation" (Jude 6; cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4), as hinted at in Gen. vi. 2, and set forth with many curious particulars in the Book of Enoch.³ We may observe also how such prophetic passages as Zech. xiv. 5 ("Yahweh, my God, shall come, and all the holy ones with thee")⁴, and Enoch i. 9 ("And, lo, he comes with ten thousands of his holy ones to execute judgment," etc.), quoted in Jude's Epistle (verse 14), receive new meaning when transferred to the grand pomp of Christ's Second Advent. The "holy ones" are no longer angels only, but departed saints as well, who escort their Lord in triumphant procession from heaven to earth (1 Thess.

¹ "After death cometh judgment." In Heb. vi. 2, however, "resurrection of the dead" occurs immediately before "eternal judgment."

² Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 28. Cf. Dan. vii. 22; Wisdom iii. 8; Eccl. iv. 15.

³ Cf. Isa. xxiv. 21-22, and Professor Cheyne's note thereon in the Polychrome Bible.

⁴ Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2; Ps. lxxviii. 17; Dan. vii. 10.

iii. 13; iv. 14), for which purpose they have to rise from their graves (or from Hades) to meet him in the air (1 Thess. iv. 17).

In the picture of Doomsday in Matt. xxv. 31 sq. the heathen only are gathered before the throne of the Son of Man, in accordance with the language of Old Testament prophecy,¹ separated into two classes and sentenced to eternal weal or woe according to their treatment of those whom he styles "the least of these my brethren." This judgment of "the nations" is by some commentators (e. g., Dean Alford) distinguished from a previous one in which the saints themselves are included, before the Millennium. There are thus two future Comings of Christ, and, if the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans (A. D. 70) be regarded as a genuine *Parousia*, no less than three will have to be admitted! Such are the expedients to which harmonisers are driven by their methods of interpretation.

Paul's doctrine of justification by faith does not enter into the representations of final destiny, even when drawn by the Apostle himself. It is strictly judgment by works according to which sentence is pronounced,² and this is the teaching of the "Athanasian" Creed, one of the main standards of orthodox faith.

"The last trump" of 1 Cor. xv. 52³ refers to the instrument for convoking assemblies, so familiar to Jewish ears (as well as to Greeks and Romans⁴), and already hallowed by august association with the presence of Deity (Exod. xix. 16; Zech. ix. 14). It inaugurates the new era of redemption, even as the trumpets at the Feast of that name ushered in the New Year, and is, perhaps, also intended as a signal of judgment (cf. Rev. viii. *et passim*), or a call to arms (Zeph. i. 16; Jerem. iv. 19) against the enemies of Christ (2 Thess. ii. 8). The conjunction of *κλέσσμα*, "shout of command," with *σάλπιγξ*, "trumpet," in 1 Thess. iv. 16, supports the latter view. "The last trump" implies other preliminary blasts, like our "last bell" of church or school; though the phrase is peculiarly appropriate as indicating the end of all things.

The expectation of the return of Jesus Christ to the earth from which he vanished at his ascension into heaven is one which finds many a parallel in popular tradition. Hope creates its own illusions, and feels convinced that the great warrior who has so often defeated his country's foes will return once more at the hour of her

¹ See Ps. cx. 6; Isa. ii. 4; Joel iii. 12.

² See Rom. ii. 5-6; 2 Cor. v. 10.

³ Cf. "the trump of God," 1 Thess. iv. 16, and "a great sound of a trumpet," Matt. xxiv. 31.

⁴ See Soph. Electra, 711; Juvenal, vi, 250.

greatest need, that the great teacher who has left the world all the poorer for his loss will yet rejoice the hearts of his faithful followers by coming, when things are at their worst, to rescue and reward his own and to punish their persecutors. Fear, too, may anticipate the reappearance of a departed tyrant; and, for the Christians of the end of the first century, the dreaded Nero fell under the dagger that ended his life, only to be reserved for a future manifestation as the mysterious Antichrist of prophetic revelation. Generation after generation passed away without seeing the fulfilment of the popular expectations of a speedy return of the Master (see Matt. xxiv. 34; Mark xiii. 30; Luke xxi. 32; Rev. xxii. 7, 10, 12, 20). But each succeeding generation took up the hope as a legacy from its predecessor, though with diminishing confidence of prompt realisation (see 2 Pet. iii. 8-9).

The principal point of variance between the earlier and later Fathers of the Church, with regard to eschatological beliefs, is found in Chiliasm (or Millennarianism), the temporary reign of Christ in person within the earthly Jerusalem. It was the last relic of that exaggerated Jewish patriotism which permeated the Christianity of the first two centuries, in spite of St. Paul's repeated assertion that Israel had forfeited all peculiar privileges. The Book of the Revelation is the only canonical writing which, filling in the picture of Daniel's reign of the saints (Dan. vii. 18, 22, 27), explicitly teaches a definite millennium and a double resurrection (Rev. xx); and, perhaps, on that very account, its canonicity was doubted by many of the later Fathers.¹ Even the "new Jerusalem" (Rev. xxi) is, as it were, a glorified edition of the old one, which is to descend from heaven at the time appointed. Barnabas alludes to a millennium of righteousness which is to succeed the advent and judgment of Christ, and deems it typified by the institution of the Sabbath (Barn. xv). Chiliasm, and that of a pronounced type, was advocated by Papias (according to Eusebius), Justin Martyr, and Irenæus; Tertullian and Cyprian spiritualised its cruder features, while Clement of Alexandria and Origen rejected the whole scheme as carnal and incongruous, a view which gradually obtained almost universal acceptance.² Millennarianism was revived by the Anabaptists, in the first half of the sixteenth century, and was a prominent tenet of the more fanatical section of the English Puritans ("Fifth Monarchy Men") in Cromwell's

¹ Dionysius of Alexandria (ob. 265 A. D.) was the first to dispute its authenticity.

² Lactantius (fourth century) is the latest Christian Father, of any mark, who maintains a literal millennium.

day. Learned theologians of modern times have often tried to revive belief in a millennial and personal reign of Christ on earth with more or less success. But all such attempts assume an extravagant aspect when reduced to the details of plain prose and exposed to the dry light of a critical age. The *Parousia* itself is but an expression of the yearning hopes of a persecuted people, the craving for which has long died out,¹ though left as an article of a stereotyped creed, which it is held pious to repeat but impossible to realise.

Christianity, as a dogmatic system dealing with matters beyond human ken, is but a shadow of the truth at best, and its creeds are "symbols" in another sense than that in which the term was first applied to them. The Coming of the Christ-King is ever in progress. The sign of the Son of Man is to be seen in "milder manners and diviner laws," rather than in monstrous portents displaying themselves in the sky above our heads.² If the valley of Jehoshaphat as the gathering-place of all nations, the glen of Hinnom opening to admit the damned into its fiery gulf, the new Jerusalem that comes down out of heaven and remains on earth,—if these are explained as figurative, what are we to say of the material descent through the sky of the Son of Man, the trumpet blast and the war cry of the leader of the heavenly host, the restitution to the light of the vanished bodies of all human beings from the most remote antiquity and over every quarter of the globe, the palpable white throne of Christ, and the audible sentence upon each one of the countless millions of mankind? Is it not all a phantasmagoria of the clouds indeed, when treated apart from the yearning aspirations and the limited knowledge that combined to create the fantastic picture. "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God,"—the world of spiritual ideas can only be faintly represented under concrete forms and in carnal language. The soul, the heart, the conscience of man are the sphere of divine manifestation, of divine judgment, of divine sovereignty. "The Kingdom of God is within you." The Resurrection of the dead is no dramatic rending of the tombs and restoration of flesh and bones

¹ When the dreaded year 1000 A. D., which was expected to see the end of the world, passed away without a sign, a spirit of unbelief took the place of extreme credulity; and then it was that those terrible pictures of the Day of Doom, which are so often found on the walls of mediæval churches, began to be painted as a means of stimulating expiring faith! The *Dies ira* eclipsed the "Day of Redemption," the Deliverer was forgotten in the inexorable Judge.

² This celestial portent (Matt. xxiv. 30), preceded by simultaneous eclipses of sun and moon and the falling of the stars from heaven, was interpreted by early Christian writers as the apparition of a gigantic cross in the sky, or a column of flame dropping fiery destruction on the wicked.

that have mingled with the dust, but the assumption of a higher life by passing through the gate of death,—*mors janua vitæ*. The Judgment Day is no fixed point of time, but the constant action of that natural and eternal law, akin to the *Karma* of Buddhism, which St. Paul has expressed in these pregnant words: "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."

"Still, in perpetual judgment,
I hold assize within,
With sure reward of holiness
And dread rebuke of sin.

"The stern behest of duty,
The doom-book open thrown,
The heaven ye seek, the hell ye fear,
Are with yourselves alone."

—J. G. Whittier, *The Vision of Echard*.

THE MAGIC MIRRORS OF JAPAN.

BY JOS. M. WADE.

SOMETIME ago I read in the *Weekly Times* of Tokyo, Japan, about an old steel mirror that, when held to a strong light, was said to reflect the image of Buddha. This was attributed by the editor to superstition, if I am not mistaken. This past week, an old steel Japanese mirror has come into my possession, which, when held to a strong light, distinctly reflects the image of a child Buddha, full length with arms extended upward over the head. There is no mistaking this, for I am neither sentimental nor superstitious. This I think has been produced by some old-time Japanese artist. I think that steel has been inlaid into steel after the manner of damascene work, then the whole face of the mirror polished, the grain of the damascene work being different from the body of the steel mirror, reflects the figure as inlaid, while the mirror shows only a clear polished steel surface. The object of this is quite clear to me. When such a mirror was shown to the people, it would be to them a mystery, and could be palmed off as a "miracle," and would draw them closer to Buddhism. Of course there is no such thing as a "miracle." To him who has attained Buddhahood all things are clear. What ignorant people do not understand, designing men palm off as a miracle, and draw people closer to their form of "belief."

Since writing the above I have consulted Mr. S. Nomura, from whom I got the mirror. Mr. Nomura is president of Benten & Co., of Kyoto, and informs me that he secured six mirrors in exchange for embroideries from the priest or priests of one of the temples in Kyoto. They were very old and very dirty. The priests in charge knew nothing of these mirrors, except that they were old mirrors brought to the temple before their time. Mr. Nomura supposed them to be old common steel mirrors, and gave them to one of his

servants to polish with white powder and silk cloth. As he polished each one he laid it on the floor face up. When the sun struck the mirror, the man noticed in the reflexion on the ceiling the form of a child Buddha, and that was how the discovery was made. I have all the six mirrors in my possession, and have tested each one, and found that each reflects a child Buddha, but not always the same, and some of the mirrors cast a different reflexion from others. These mirrors are round, have loops to hang them up, and on the back are Buddhist characters.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY.

COMMENTS ON THE STORY "THE CROWN OF THORNS."

The Crown of Thorns is a story of the time of Christ. It is fiction of the character of legend, utilising materials preserved in both the canonical scriptures and the Apocryphal traditions, but giving preference to the former. The hopes and beliefs of the main personalities, however, can throughout be verified by documentary evidence. The religious *milieu* is strictly historical.

The names of the two thieves who were crucified with Christ, Zoathan and Kamma, are taken from a note in the *Codex Colbertinus*. They are also mentioned in the *Gesta Pilati*, where they are called Dysmas and Gestas.

There are several points which deserve special notice :

The age in which Christianity originated was a period of syncretism ; that is to say, various religious views were welded together, and produced by their fusion a number of creeds more or less superstitious, more or less purified. Religious congregations were founded, such as the disciples, the baptisers or Sabians, the Ebionites, that is, "the poor," the Nazarenes (also called Nazarites), the Essenes, all of which existed in Palestine at and before the time of Christ. It is difficult to determine how far these sects were different names for the same thing, and how far they were parallel formations. Perhaps they were no more different than are Christian science and faith cure to-day ; or Theosophy and Spiritualism. May be they were absolutely the same thing called by different names as are "The Quakers" and "The Friends." This much is sure, they were similar and must be regarded as characteristic symptoms of the age. Analogous sects, like the Setites, or Sethites, the Therapeutæ, and other Gnostic congregations, further the Mithraists, the believers in Hermes Trismegistos, and their ilk, existed outside of Palestine, in Syria, Babylonia, and Egypt. The Mandæans, a Sabian sect, strongly influenced by Persian ideas, exist to-day in southern Babylonia, preserving to a great extent their Gnostic belief and traditions.¹

That Jesus was a Nazarene (or, as the Hebrew term is, *Nazir*), we have canonical testimony. The Nazarenes, called in Greek *Ναζαρηνοὶ* or *Ναζαρεῖται*, are known through a statement in the Acts to have been a communistic sect, for they held all things in common. They continued to exist in the Christian era as a society of little significance in Cœle-Syria, whither they had fled from Jerusalem (according to Epiphanius, Pan. xxix. 7) shortly before the Romans began the siege in 70 A. D. They kept the Mosaic law and believed in Jesus as the messiah, using an Aramaic

¹The name is derived from the word *manda*, knowledge, an equivalent of the term *gnosis*.

version of the Gospel according to Matthew, which was called the Gospel of the Hebrews.¹

The similarity in sound between Nazir or Nazarene, and Nazareth (also called Nazara)² has been the source of much confusion, even among the early Christians. Nazareth must have been a very unimportant place, for it is not mentioned at all in Hebrew literature; and we do not even know the Hebrew spelling of the word. This has given rise to the idea entertained by some hypercritical minds that a village of that name did not yet exist in Christ's time. In all probability, it is the place now called en-Nâsira, a little village in Galilee. If the word en-Nâsira means "a place of watch," which seems probable, the exact Hebrew would be Netsereth (from נָצַר "to guard"), which comes very near the Hellenised form Nazareth preserved in the Greek gospels. The change of the *e* to the *a* indicates Phœnician influence, and the exact Phœnician form would be "Natsareth." The Phœnician character of the name seems to indicate that the population (as is frequently the case in Galilee) must have been of a mixed character, if not predominantly Phœnician.

The name Nazir (i. e., Nazarene, in Hebrew נָזִיר) has nothing to do with the village of Nazareth. Etymologically the word means a devotee, or a person who has made a vow; at least, this is the traditional explanation of the word which is derived from the root נָצַר, which in its Niphel and Hiphel forms means "to keep aloof from," or "to consecrate oneself."

The Hebrew pronunciation of Nazir and Nazareth must have been quite different. The *z* in Nazir is soft like the English *z*, the *z* in Nazareth is sharp, being *ts*, like the German *z*.

The old Nazirim, such as Samuel and Samson, did not allow a razor to touch their heads; they did not drink strong drinks; they lived in tents, not in houses, and preserved as much as possible the customs of the old desert life. Their abstinence from wine was not so much an act of temperance as an abstaining from all things made by human hands; for by avoiding civilised ways of living and clinging to nature they imagined they were nearer to God.

Like customs are ascribed by Diodorus to the Nabatæans; and the Rechabites are mentioned in Isaiah, chapter xxxv., as adhering to similar practices, which we have every reason to believe were the original institutions of the nomadic Jews before they settled in Judæa and adopted the Canaanite civilisation and city life.

The original Nazirim of the time of the Judges died out with the progress of civilisation, but a recollection of them was preserved in the traditions of the people, and so it happened that when in the times of the Babylonian exile the religious zeal of the Jews was reawakened, the Nazir institution was introduced as a regular part of the religious faith of the people, for which definite prescripts were made. It appears that men of this type, who aspired to be devotees of God, were later organised into congregations, and that they were especially zealous about the coming of the kingdom of heaven. Christ arose from their midst. He seems to have shared to some extent, though in a somewhat modified form, their views of the blissfulness of poverty and believed that for the sake of perfection the rich should surrender their wealth and "give it to the poor," which probably means "the Ebionites," i. e., the sect called "the Poor." In other words, on joining the congregation of "the Poor," a novice gave up all his property to the authorised officers of the sect.

The probability is that Jesus actually surrendered his property on entering the

¹ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XVII., p. 302, *z. v.*, "Nazarenes."

² The Greek forms are Ναζαρέθ, Ναζαρέτ, and Ναζαρά.

Nazarene congregation. St. Paul says in 2 Cor. viii. 9 that "Jesus Christ though he was rich, yet for our sake became poor," and the context involves the inference that Jesus surrendered a goodly store of worldly possessions, and not merely spiritual gifts; and we may assume that St. Paul still knew some Nazarene contemporaries of Jesus who remembered the day when their martyred master joined the congregation of the Poor, and became poor for the sake of becoming a preacher of the kingdom of heaven.

While the tradition according to which Jesus was a Nazarene is unequivocal and canonical, we know for certain that he was not a slavish observer of the Nazarene ordinances, nor did he limit his field of activity to the narrow circle of their congregations. He ate and drank with sinners (which may simply mean the unconverted multitudes who had not joined the sectarian community) and was not afraid to have intercourse even with the much-hated publicans; Jesus was not a total abstainer from intoxicating drinks, which caused his enemies to call him "a glutton and wine bibber"; and he gave such offence to the Sabians that John the Baptist, who had recognised his leadership, began to lose faith in his messianic mission. Thus we are justified in saying that though Jesus belonged to the Nazarene sect he was not a narrow sectarian and cannot be regarded as having committed himself to their peculiar sectarian doctrines.

The early Greek Christians, not being familiar with the details of Jewish customs, were unable to distinguish between Nazarethan and Nazarene, and thus it is possible that Christ is sometimes called Nazarene where the original meaning might have been "the man of Nazareth." This is especially the case of the title which was attached by Pilate to the cross of Christ, where he is called according to one version simply "Jesus, King of the Jews," and according to another, "Jesus, the Nazarene, King of the Jews." The probability is that the traditional form Nazarene, that is "the Nazir," is correct; for Jesus was crucified on account of being regarded, not by all the Jews, certainly not by the priests and Pharisees, but only by the Nazirim, as the messiah, the Anointed One, i. e., the King, and therefore Pilate would have been apt to characterise him as a Nazir, while he would not have called special attention to the fact that Jesus, according to his birth-place, did not belong to the province of his jurisdiction.

The conception of a saviour was by no means an exclusively Jewish idea. It is a religious notion which prevailed at the time of Christ among all the nations of the Roman empire. The Greeks worshipped Apollo, Hermes, Orpheus, Heracles, Æsculapius, etc., the Persians Mithras, the Egyptians Anubis, Osiris, Harpocrates, T'oth, as saviours from death and perdition; and Apollonius of Tyana, a historical personality of the first century of the Christian era, became the centre of a group of miracle tales which, in spite of the coarseness of his historians, are similar to the gospel story of Jesus of Nazareth.

The term "Saviour" (Greek *σωτήρ*) is a Gentile expression and has no true equivalent in Hebrew. The words *goel* (גֹּאֵל) and *messiah* (מָשִׁיחַ) come nearest to it; but the former means "avenger" and the latter "the anointed one," which signifies a king that has become sacrosanct. In later times, after the Babylonian exile, the latter expression acquired the peculiar sense in which the word messiah is still understood. But in the time of Christ the notion of a messiah had by no means a definite connotation. Enoch conceives the messiah as having existed before the sun and the stars were created (chapters 48 and 62); Ezra speaks of him as a man coming out of the midst of the sea¹ (like Oannes of the Babylonians, the

¹ Ezra xiii. 5, 25, 51.

divine mediator between god Ea and mankind); and the Revelation of St. John (chapter xii.) represents him as a mythological hero who is born in heaven of a woman persecuted by a dragon, but rescued from the fury of the monster, and who on coming of age will appear on a white horse and rule the world with an iron rod.¹

Whenever a people is downtrodden, they begin to hope for a saviour. We have instances of this fact in the United States among the Indian tribes; and the same is true of many nations who were subjected by the Romans to the sway of their empire. Though the idea of a messiah was by no means definite and uniform among the Jews, he was, as a rule, regarded by the common people as a political liberator from the yoke of the Gentiles. Nor was it absolutely necessary that there should be only one messiah; every one who would rescue the nation from shame and perdition might receive this honorable name. For instance, Cyrus, the king of the Persians, is positively called the Messiah, "the Anointed One of the Lord," in canonical literature (viz., in Isaiah, chapter xlv. 1). That the messiah might be of a spiritual character, a saviour from sin and moral evil, was not foreign to the more refined thinkers of the age of Jesus and this view was finally accepted by the rabbis. In the Zend-Avesta the saviour, the Soshuant, is regarded as "righteousness incarnate," as "the son of a virgin," and the judge of mankind on the day of resurrection; and these views may have been common in Judæa among the sectarians, for we know that at least the Essenes entertained many Persian ideas.

The most successful military messiah who rose in the Christian era among the Jews was Simeon Bar-Cochba,² who maintained himself for some time against Hadrian in the years 131-135 A. D., and instituted a government, coins of which are still extant. Bar-Cochba represents the messiah conception which in our story is characterised in Zoathan.

The method of the Roman authorities in dealing with messiahs was very simple indeed, for as a rule the mere assumption of the title was sufficient to condemn a man to crucifixion, which was the usual Roman style of execution.

Jesus was executed by the Romans, not by the Jews. The Jews had no jurisdiction in questions of life and death; and, if he had been executed according to Jewish law, he would have been stoned, not crucified.

Among the religious practices which still prevailed among many races at this period, there is one which reminds us of prehistoric religious cannibalism: it was the drinking of blood for the purpose of partaking of the qualities of the animal or person that was sacrificed. This religious ceremony being very ancient, can be traced among the nations of all continents,—in the interior of Africa, as well as in Asia and America. The communion cup, which contained the blood of a number of persons and was drunk in common by all of them, served as a symbol of the most consecrated ties of brotherhood, constituting, as it was believed, actual consanguinity.³

Further, there existed the peculiar rite of a communion repast which was practised by the worshippers of Mithras. We are told by Justin Martyr, that this Persian sacrament was the same ceremony as the Lord's Supper of the Christians,—a

¹ The significance of the Christ conception of this interesting chapter, which knows nothing of Jesus, nothing of his birth at Bethlehem, nothing of his life nor of his death on the cross, and conceives him as a superhuman personality of carnage, indicating the prevalence of pagan and specifically Babylonian traditions among the Jews, was recognised for the first time by Professor H. Gunkel in his interesting book *Schöpfung und Chaos*.

² A native of Coziba, hence his name Bar-Coziba, which he changed with an allusion to Num. xiv. 17 to Bar-Cochba, i. e., son of a star.

³ See *The Blood Covenant*, by H. Clay Trumbull, D. D. London, G. Redway, 1887.

fact which the pious church father attributes to the machinations of evil spirits, instituted for the purpose of confounding the faithful. And Tertullian, referring to the same fact, ascribes it to Satan, saying that it is the policy of Satan to imitate the sacraments of God.

Eucharists or love-feasts, though different from communion feasts, served a similar purpose. They were celebrated among the Greeks, the old Romans, and the Jews; but the sectarians, especially the Nazarenes and the so-called disciples, seem to have had a peculiar way of breaking bread and of giving thanks.¹

Paul, no doubt, was familiar with both the Jewish and Gentile practices, and he regulated the communion in the Gentile church, giving it his own peculiar interpretation. Being born in the diaspora, he was imbued with the spirit of Gentile civilisation, and it was natural that he should have transformed the idea of a messiah and made it acceptable to the Gentiles. He dropped the properly Nazir features of the Christian congregations, and it was he who translated the word *messiah* by *Christos*.²

All these historical conditions are woven into the story *The Crown of Thorns*, and indicate the way in which Christianity developed from Judaism through the messianic hopes of the Nazarenes as interpreted by the Apostle Paul of Tarsus. How different the Christianity of Paul was from the Christianity of St. Peter, the personal disciple of Jesus, is obvious in the canonical documents of the New Testament and is sufficiently known.

Paul, in the story, being a Gentile to the Gentiles and a Jew to the Jews, is careful not to give offence to the Jews; and thus his way of celebrating the Lord's Supper is not carried so far as to interpret the wine as the blood of Jesus and the bread as his body,—a self-restraint quite in keeping with the character of the apostle; but otherwise he propounds to his host without reserve his interpretation of the new faith.

St. Paul's view that the coming of the Lord was near at hand was a common notion in his day, and was entertained even by Jesus who in his eschatological prophecies solemnly declared:

"Verily I say unto you that this generation shall not pass till all these things be done."—Mark xiii. 30; Matth. xxv. 34, and Luke xxii. 32.

And again:

"For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works.

"Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom."—Matth. 27-28.

This idea formed one of the main doctrines of the early Church and was for a long time inculcated with great seriousness.

Longinus is, according to an old tradition, the name of the centurion under the cross, and it is said that he as well as the Roman troops to which he belonged, who were garrisoned in Palestine at the time of Christ, were natives of Germany.

That Salome, the wife of Zebedee, was visiting in Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion is based upon canonical evidence, for the fact is mentioned in the New Testament.

¹ Articles on the origin of Christianity, giving further details of the historical origin of the Lord's Supper and of other institutions of the Christian religion, have appeared periodically in *The Open Court* and *The Monist*.

² The word *χριστός* is by no means a proper translation of "Messiah." It does not mean "the Anointed One," but "he who should be and is about to be anointed."

Ben-Midrash, the main character of the story, represents the educated Jew of the time of Christ, who, in spite of his objections to the Nazir sectarianism, is represented as being in sympathy with the new doctrines,—an assumption which is not improbable, for we know from the Talmud that there were orthodox Jews who were by no means hostile to members of the Nazir congregation.¹

While Ben-Midrash, by reason of his personal relations with Zebedee, Jesus, and Paul, acquired a comprehension of the significance of the new religion the germs of which were developed in his country and partly in his immediate surroundings, we cannot wonder that the large mass of the Jews held aloof. Paul's Christianity made too many concessions to Gentile modes of thoughts and it left their dearest hopes, viz., of a restitution of their national independence, unfulfilled.

While primitive Christianity contained ideas which had to be abandoned by the Church, we cannot be blind to the fact that from the beginning there was in it a moral earnestness, a longing for purity of heart, a love of righteousness and the



EDUARD BIEDERMANN, THE ARTIST.

spirit of charity and good-will, which overshadowed all other doctrines and institutions so as to be the keynote of the whole movement. These features of the new faith, together with its firm conviction of the doctrine of Christ's resurrection² and the belief in immortality, constituted then and at all times, as they do still, the backbone of Christianity.

* * *

The illustrations of our story were made by Eduard Biedermann. Mr. Biedermann was born in Gotha, Germany, and educated in Munich and Weimar. He has travelled extensively on the Continent and in Northern Africa. Engaged in artistic work for some time in Freiburg, Germany, and in Louisville, Ky., he has lately established himself in Chicago. There is no need of praising his talents, for

¹ See Dr. Hirsch Grätz, *Gnosticismus und Judenthum*, p. 24.

² As to Christ's resurrection and the present conception of it in Christian theology see the article of the Rev. Wm. Weber in the current number of *The Monist*, Vol. XI., No. 3, pp. 361-404.

the pictures speak for themselves. The composition as well as the technique reach a height which shows an unusual degree of artistic mastership.

The portrait of St. Paul, the Apostle, is drawn with a leaning toward the traditional view, but also with regard to the description of his personality preserved in the Acts of Thekla, according to which Paul had lively dark eyes, and was at times so enthusiastic that he seemed like an angel. His nose was long and somewhat bent; his eyebrows met, and the hair on the top of his head was scanty. That this document, leaving out the accretions of later ages, is genuine and must be assumed to contain first-hand information, has on the strength of incidental data been proved by F. C. Conybeare of Oxford in the preface to his *Monuments of Early Christianity*.¹

In our frontispiece, Mr. Biedermann represents Christ not altogether as a passive sufferer, as a lamb that suffers itself to be slaughtered in dumb submission to fate. While following the traditional artistic conception of Christ and utilising especially the picture of Sodoma at Sienna, our artist has succeeded in showing the thorn-crowned man of sorrow not in a collapse of physical and mental agony, but as a man who in his sufferings exhibits both strength and depth of comprehension.

P. C.

BUDDHA RELICS.²

Important archæological discoveries in regard to the birthplace of Buddha, have been made by Mr. William Clanton Peppe, Birdpore estate, Gorakhur, N. W. P., India, and it will be of interest to give some account of the work he has achieved. The story of the birth of Buddha is, of course, well known, and it will be sufficient here to recall the main facts. Buddha was born in the fifth century B. C., and was the son of Mahamaya, a daughter of the Raja of Koli, and one of the principal wives of Suddhodana, who, in the words of one authority, "ruled over a tribe who were called the Sakyas, and who, from their well-watered rice fields, could see the giant Himalayas looming up against the clear blue of the Indian sky." Suddhodana's capital was Kapilavastu, a few days' journey north of Benares, and the Raja had as wives two of the daughters of Koli, of whom Mahayama was the elder. Both were childless, and there was great rejoicing when, in about the forty-fifth year of her age, Mahamaya promised her husband a son. In due time she started with the intention of being confined at her parents' home, but the party halting on the way under the shade of some lofty satin trees, in a pleasant garden called Lumbini, on the banks of the river Rohini, the modern Kohana, her son, the future Buddha, was unexpectedly born. The Birdpore estate is situated in the Buddha country, and it was on a "stupa" on his estate that Mr. Peppe made an important discovery of Buddha relics, the stupa being situated at Piprahwa, close to the frontier, and about eleven miles nearly due south of the eastern end of the ancient city of Kapilavastu, the position of which has now been fixed with certainty, as well as that of the Lumbini garden, which is marked by a pillar erected by the Emperor Aoska in the third century B. C. to commemorate his visit to the holy spot in the third year of his reign.

"Since the discovery of the pillar at the Lumbini Garden commemorating

¹The passage is quoted in the article "The Cross of Golgotha" in *The Open Court*, 1899, Vol. XIII., No. 8. p. 476.

²Communicated by John Sandison. From the *Aberdeen Gazette*.

the birth-place of Buddha Gautama," writes Mr. Peppe, "considerable curiosity has been aroused regarding the different mounds, or 'kots' as they are locally called, to be found dotted over the country, ranging from Kapilavastu to the north-west, the Lumbini Garden to the north-east, and the British frontier to the south. One such mound, more prominent than the rest owing to its size and general marked appearance, is situated in the Birdpore estate, Basti district of the North-West Provinces of India, at the 19.75 mile on the Nipal Uska road, and about one half mile south of Pillar No. 44 on the Nipal and British frontier. Last year I excavated a passage through the cone of this mound, ten feet broad and eight feet deep, and found it was built up of bricks 16 inches by 10½ by 3, 15 inches by 10 by 3 laid in concentric circles, in clay, layer over layer, and thus establishing that this mound was a Buddhist stupa. In October Mr. Vincent Smith inspected it, and pronounced it to be a very ancient stupa, and told me that if anything was to be found it would be found in the centre and at the ground line. Subsequent events have proved how correct was his surmise.

"In the beginning of January the excavation was continued, and a well 10 feet square was dug down the centre of the stupa. At ten feet from the crown a small broken soap-stone urn, similar to those found lower down, was found full of clay, and embedded in this clay were some beads, crystals, gold ornaments, cut stones, etc. From 10 feet a circular pipe, one foot in diameter, filled with clay and encased in brick work, descended to two feet, it then narrowed to four inches in diameter. The bricks surrounding this pipe were sometimes roughly cut and sometimes moulded into the required shapes. After digging through eighteen feet of solid brick work set in clay, a huge slab of stone was unearthed lying due magnetic north and south, and 31.50 inches to the east of the centre of the clay pipe mentioned above. On further excavation this slab was found to be the cover of a huge sandstone chest measuring 4 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 8¼ inches by 2 feet 2¼ inches. The lid was cracked in four pieces, evidently by the pressure of the brickwork above it, but yet the chest was perfectly closed. Fortunately the deep groove in the lid fitting so perfectly on the flange of the chest prevented the lid from falling in when it was first broken and also when we were removing it. On removing the lid the following articles were found: One soap-stone urn, 7½ inches high and 4½ inches diameter. A similar soap-stone urn, 6 inches high and 4 inches diameter. One soap-stone lota shaped vessel, 5½ inches high and 5½ inches diameter, with a well-fitting lid, which was lying apart from the 'lota.' One small soap-stone round box, 3¼ inches in diameter and 1½ inches high. One crystal bowl, 3¼ inches in diameter and 3½ inches high, with a hollow fish, full of gold leaf ornaments for a handle. The lower portion of the bowl was lying at the south end of the chest or casket, and the cover was lying in the centre of the casket with its handle downwards, and it contained some gold and stone ornaments. The urns are beautifully turned, and the chisel marks seem quite fresh, as if it had been made a few days ago. The crystal bowl is most highly polished, and has all the appearance of a glass bowl of the present day.

"It so happened that we delayed opening this casket three days after we had unearthed it, and our curiosity was raised to its utmost. Our surprise can be imagined when, on removing the lid, we found an empty chest save for these few miniature vases, standing up as they had been placed probably two thousand years ago. The stone casket is of a very superior hard sandstone, and was cut out of one solid piece of rock. It is in a perfect state of preservation, with its sides very smoothly cut; in fact, it is all but polished. I do not think the stone came from

the hills north of this district. The weight of the lid is 408 lbs., and I calculate the weight of the whole chest to be 1537 lbs. The brickwork continued for two feet below the bottom of the chest. The round clay pipe at the level of the bottom of the chest took the form of a rectangle, 17 inches by 5 for one layer, and the edge of this rectangle was 21.50 inches from the side of the chest. After this it resumed the circular shape of 4 inches diameter, and ended with the brickwork at two feet below the bottom of the chest. I was most careful in searching this pipe all the way down, but nothing whatever was found in it. The level of the ground inside the stupa is the same as the level of the ground at the outward circumference of the stupa.

"The relic urns contained pieces of bone, which are quite recognisable, and might have been picked up a few days ago. The urns contained also ornaments in gold, gold beads; impression of a woman on gold leaf two inches long, upper portion naked, lower portion clothed; another figure in gold leaf naked; a large circular piece of rather thicker gold leaf, scrolled on the outside, 2 inches diameter, and may represent the top of a miniature umbrella; the impression of an elephant on gold leaf, several pieces impressed with a lion, with trident over his back and the Buddhist cross in front; several pieces with the impression of the Buddhist cross; one piece of solid gold $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $\frac{1}{4}$ by $\frac{1}{8}$; quantities of stars or flowers, both in silver and gold, with six and eight petals. The silver is tarnished, but the gold is beautifully bright, and was so when the chest was opened. Pearls of sizes, many welded together in sets of two, three, and four. Also quantities of flowers or stars, leaves serrated and veined, Buddhist tridents, pyramids, pierced and drilled beads of sizes and other shapes cut in white and red cornelian, amethyst, topaz, garnets, coral, inlaid stones, and shells. There is one bird cut in red cornelian and one bird in metal.

"I have compared these ornaments with those illustrated in *Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XV., South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, and I find almost every form in my collection, besides a great variety of others. The only inscription of any kind is scratched on the cover of one of the smaller urns. The letters are in the Pāli character and about $\frac{7}{16}$ th of an inch long."

INTERNATIONAL PSYCHOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

The recent appearance of the first number of the modest little journal of the International Psychological Institute at Paris recalls to mind the organisation of an undertaking which, if its development is carried out along the same critical lines which its program and the names of its founders would naturally lead us to expect, will contribute greatly to the advancement and practical application of mental science. The proposal to establish an international center for all persons interested in psychology in the form of an institute devoted to the furthering of experimental research in the several branches of this science, has from its initial stages received the support of the most eminent representatives of mental science in nearly every country,—a fact which is evidence of the usefulness of the project and in addition confirms its necessity as meeting a requirement of our time.

The program of the organisation, which was submitted by Dr. Pierre Janet to the fourth International Congress of Psychology, held in Paris last August, accordingly received the hearty support and approval of all its members. After speaking of the great benefits which humanity owes to the discoveries made in the physical

sciences, Dr. Janet in his address before the Congress recommending the project said: "The sciences which deal with man, with the laws of human thought, the relation of mind to body, have made but small progress as compared with the rapid advancement and utilisation of the physical sciences. Yet assuredly the mental sciences could render even greater services to humanity than the physical sciences. They might adequately explain existing laws, and perhaps enable us to improve the basis of our social relations. They could not fail to have a weighty influence on criminal jurisprudence, and would show the way to a true prophylaxis against crime. Educational science would henceforth become a branch of psychological research, to which we should turn for the necessary information for enabling us to reform our methods of education and moral training."

And again we read from another "utterance in the Journal" that "it has been found, for instance, that some evil tendencies in children may be inhibited by suggestion, while good qualities that are latent may be stimulated. Some people are so negative in temperament as to become obsessed by fixed ideas, registered in their sub-consciousness, and leading to apparently unaccountable actions; and the consideration arises whether some criminals may not belong to this type. Wonderful therapeutic effects have been obtained through treatment by suggestion. Such illustrations may show what an important bearing these studies have on the human well-being. It is hoped that all who have some insight into the momentous nature of psychological studies as regards their influence on the many social problems may afford their co-operation in this undertaking. By co-ordinating the support of such sympathisers, now scattered here and there over many countries, the force of their influence on the social problems involved will become manifoldly increased, and may enable them to compel recognition from our legislators."

It will be seen by these remarks that special emphasis is laid upon certain rather dubious sides of psychological research; but there is every reason to believe that the liberality of the projectors in this regard will not result in the systematic encouragement of scientific aberrances and vagaries. At any rate, this fear seems to be for the present sufficiently forestalled by the character of the members of the Council of Organisation and the Executive Committee, which includes several names of the standing of Ribot, Janet, Richet, etc. The following is a statement of the official aims which the Institute will pursue:

1. To collect in a library and museum all books, works, publications, apparatus, etc., relating to psychical science.
2. To place at the disposal of researchers, either as gifts or as loans, according to circumstances, such books and instruments necessary for their studies as the Institute may be able to acquire.
3. To supply assistance to any laboratory or to any investigators, working singly or unitedly, who can show they require that assistance for a publication or for a research of recognised interest. This function, which has been fulfilled so usefully by the Société pour l'Avancement des Sciences in relation to the physical sciences, must also be discharged by the new Institute in relation to mental science.
4. To encourage study and research with regard to such phenomena as may be considered of sufficient importance.
5. To organise lectures and courses of instruction upon the different branches of physical science.
6. To organise, as far as means will allow, permanent laboratories and a clinic,

where such researches as may be considered desirable will be pursued by certain of the members.

7. To publish the *Annales de l'Institut Psychologique International de Paris*, which will comprise a summary of the work in which members of the Institute have taken part, and which may be of a character to contribute to the progress of the science.

The foregoing sketch is but an outline of the plan and is subject to modification. The site of the Institute will be in Paris, the office of the secretary being in the Hotel des Sociétés Savantes, 28 rue Serpente. All psychological and psychical societies are requested to enter into relation with the Institute, and readers are requested to forward to the secretary, M. Youriévitsh, the names of all people who take an interest in these subjects. The International Society which will support the Institute will consist of three classes of members: (1) Founders, (2) Donors, and (3) Ordinary Members; the founders consisting of members who subscribe 10,000 francs or more, the donors consisting of members who subscribe 1,000 francs or more or pay an annual subscription of 100 francs or more, and the ordinary members consisting of those who pay an annual subscription of 20 francs.

Dr. Morton Prince, of the City Hospital, Boston, has undertaken to organise the American branch.

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A NEW PHILOSOPHICAL WORK BY KURD LASSWITZ.¹

Dr. Lasswitz is known as a philosophical and scientific writer of both ingenuity and talent, and his newest contribution to a popular theory of the world and conduct will doubtless render his name as familiar to the general reading public of Germany as it has been made in science by his well-known history of atomism. The book is made up of some twenty-six short chapters. The first three chapters are historical in character and bear the titles: "The Discovery of Law," "From the Soul of the World to the Ether of the World," and "The Soul of the World and Natural Law." In the latter, the author's theory is roughly delineated, and the twenty chapters following develop the same. These chapters treat of such subjects as nature's glassy essence, objectivity and subjectivity, consciousness and nature, energy, physical and psychical parallelism, the law of the threshold, the sentiment of freedom, personality, the idea of freedom, laws and ideas, the notion of adaptiveness, the boundaries of feeling, religion and ethics, religion and nature, the end of the world, the possibility of error, etc. Three other articles on the more volatile subjects of dreams and mysticism are added.

By "realities" (*Wirklichkeiten*) Dr. Lasswitz understands conditions that are *effective*, the German word for realities being synonymous with effectiveness. These conditions are such as determine things to be as they are, that determine the power of the thinking, willing, and feeling human intellect to be what it is, while wishing itself to be otherwise and imagining other states of things. The various domains of realities make, support, order—and even confound—our life. It is these domains that we must seek and sunder, keeping them separate as to the value of their realities, discovering our self again in their unity and collectivity, understanding our life by reference to the idea of the life of humanity at large, and by a knowledge of that civilisation which is rendered intelligible only by its being conceived as an aim in itself.

¹ *Wirklichkeiten. Beiträge zum Weltverständnis.* Von Kurd Lasswitz. Berlin: Verlag von Emil Felber. 1900. Pages, 440. Price, 5 marks.

This union in the idea of humanity by separation of the effective real laws of the world was, according to Dr. Lasswitz, accomplished by the German thinkers of the end of the eighteenth century. But there is no living person at the end of the nineteenth century whose creative genius is able to give to critical thought the stamp and faculty of directive moving power. This cannot be done by aphorisms or ingenious intellectual pleasantries; neither can it be effected by fettering the souls of men by authority. The freedom of the human intellect can be attained and fostered only by the systematic advancement of reason, and it is our own thought in which we must learn to have unbounded confidence. And so each of us must struggle to acquire so far as he can the inheritances which have been handed down from our fathers, and must rediscover and repossess it amid the boundless accumulations of materials which the passing century has amassed.

The main philosophical problem for Dr. Lasswitz is the relation of Nature to the individual mind. How do I get at the Nature which I experience? Am I myself that Nature? How does it happen then that I cognise it as something different from myself?

The solution is in part found in the familiar psychological law of the threshold of excitation and the doctrine of physical and psychical parallelism. "The least limit which must be reached in order to produce a modification of the organic system accompanied by consciousness, is called the threshold of excitation. The threshold varies in magnitude for different sense-organs and for different excitations, as for sound, light, heat, pressure, etc., and it even varies with individuals and with their moods and conditions. If we compare two different stimuli, each of which alone is perceptible, for example, a pressure of thirty and of thirty-five grammes exerted on the palm of the hand, we shall not notice that the two stimuli are different. The difference between the two must reach a certain magnitude (in our example, some ten grammes), before we are aware that we are dealing with two different excitations. The least limit in this case is called the threshold of change of excitation. It is generally proportional to the magnitude of the stimuli, so that, for example, in order to perceive any increase in a pressure of three hundred grammes, the pressure must be augmented to four hundred grammes. These two experimental facts, the existence of the threshold of excitation and of the threshold of change of excitation, are together called the law of the threshold."

These conclusions then follow: "The individual mind is a system which, by the law of the threshold, is cut off as a finite unity from the infinite workings of the world. The extremely small rise in temperature, for example, which the moon produces, is physically determinable, yet no man is ever directly aware of it. Doubtless it has its effects upon our body as much as upon any other; but it is not present as sensation. It thus happens that we are finite minds which, as compared with a universal consciousness, have experience of fragments of the world only. In this manner our perception is restricted, more unsafe, and erring. In this manner the content which we term our ego, is undetermined. In this manner nature becomes an infinite problem for us, whose broad conformability to law we can never approach more than approximately. In this manner our subjective knowledge of nature is distinguished from objective conformability to law, which we presuppose in nature. But on this very fact, which shuts us off as finite minds from the universe, hinges our existence as conscious beings. The law of the threshold protects us against the constant and endless inundations of stimuli that flood the universe. In the structure of the organism they are gathered together into a law-determined system which by its very restrictedness is able to be preserved as a dis-

crete unit, such as has been developed by the interaction of cosmic stimuli. In virtue of all these we are an ego, and recognise ourselves as such in contrast to nature.

"Here, too, the difference between nature and individual mind as a mere difference of contents is emphasised. In nature we have a content in which each part is determined by all the relations which it bears to all the other parts. The moon is determined by all its relations to the earth and to all the heavenly bodies and by its relations to its own parts (that is, in its chemical and physical composition), and by its relations to all nervous systems wherever and however existing; and so forth. Thus the moon is exhaustively and necessarily determined, and that is objective nature. On the other hand, we have in our ego a content which is determined solely by a limited number of relations, namely, by such possibilities of interchange of energy as pass the threshold of this particular nervous system of mine; and thus this ego is not exhaustively determined, and thus it remains subjective experience, appurtenant to me especially, and subject to untold contingencies."

The bearing of this conclusion on the problem of personal freedom is evident, but it is further enforced by considerations drawn from the doctrine of physical and psychical parallelism, or, as we might express it, of the one-to-one correspondence between physiological function and psychical function. The author says: "The term 'parallelism' is not supposed to imply that the analogy prevailing between physical and psychical phenomena is a thoroughgoing one. The fact is, that where unity is presented in the psychical (as in subjective sensation and feeling), in the physical the process is extremely complicated; and where indeterminateness is met with in the psychical, in the physical determinateness prevails. We cannot, accordingly, refute the theory of parallelism, by showing that no analogy prevails between the two aspects. The unconscious or non-psychical denotes nothing but separation from my individual consciousness, and not separation from the determinations of the content of a universal consciousness. Here forms of determination abide which rank above the phenomenal world, empirically known to us in individual minds; physical and psychical events in time and space may be conceived as the co-ordinated means by which the free self-determination of persons is developed under the guidance of reason. In this way the critical view meets the requirements of scientific cognition by exhibiting nature both in physical and psychical respects as a necessary system determined by law, while it also preserves intact the freedom of persons."

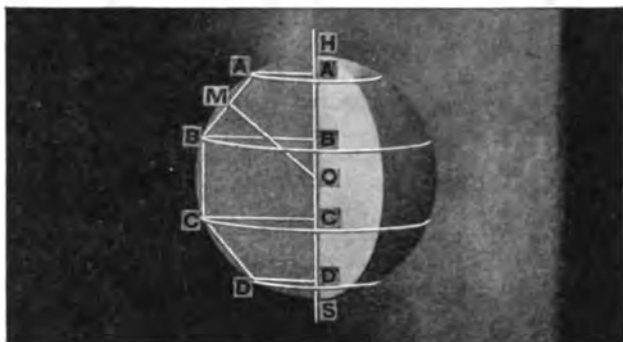
Space will not permit us to enter into details as to Dr. Lasswitz's religious and ethical views. Their trend and their scientific *pièces justificatives* may be gathered from the foregoing specimens of his procedure. They involve a practical personal philosophy which presents many points of interest and in many of its aspects is very ingeniously worked out. μ.

NOTICEABLE MATHEMATICAL TEXT-BOOKS.

The *Elements of Geometry*¹ of Professors Phillips and Fisher, of Yale University, which forms one of the recent volumes of the Phillips-Loomis Mathemat-

¹*Elements of Geometry.* By Andrew W. Phillips, Ph. D. and Irving Fisher, Ph. D., Professors in Yale University. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: American Book Company. 1896. Pages, viii, 540. Price, \$1.75.

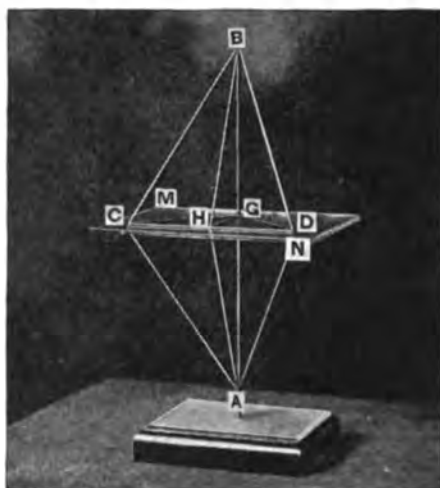
ical Series, combines many advantages both of content and external form that will recommend it to students. The work is based on the old geometry of the late Professor Elias Loomis, and has faithfully preserved the ideals and the traditions of



PHOTOGRAPH OF A MODEL FROM PHILLIPS AND FISHER'S *Geometry*.

Illustrating the theorem that the area of a zone is equal to the product of its altitude by the circumference of a great circle.

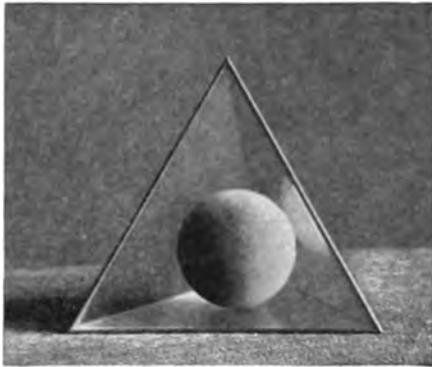
that excellent teacher, whose simple and natural text-books were for their time and conditions nothing less than admirable. Yet the book is after all essentially new



PHOTOGRAPH OF GEOMETRIC MODEL.
(From Phillips and Fisher.)

as to arrangement and method of presentation, and while we still have the old geometry much has been done by historical notes and the introduction of practical construction-work to enliven the mode of exposition. In the treatment of the prop-

sitions of solid geometry photographs are presented of actual models of figures, and this feature alone renders the work unique; the aid to be derived from these visual helps is in no wise to be underrated, and the proof of many a theorem which is absolutely bereft of objective reality to the average imagination is here flooded with light. These models of which we have reproduced three specimens subserve a definite physiological function in the teaching of geometry, for it is on this base



SPHERE IN TETRAHEDRON.
(From Phillips and Fisher's *Geometry*.)

that the world of conceptual form has been constructed. In an appendix to the book the authors have added an "Introduction to Modern Geometry," treating of such subjects as inversion, the radical axis and coaxal circles, projection, the nine points circle, duality, etc., and which will be useful in affording the student some conception of the new methods.

* * *

It is a pleasure to notice so sound and promising a work as Beman and Smith's new *Elements of Algebra*¹ for high schools, normal schools, and academies. Within the brief compass of four hundred and twenty-one pages these authors have applied some of the more important devices of modern algebra to the purposes of elementary instruction with what bids fair to be success. The remainder theorem, the notion of functions, the graphic representation of complex numbers, the graphic solution of equations, synthetic division, symmetry and homogeneity in factoring, elementary determinants, etc., of which one usually sees little or nothing, are here brought within the reach of the young student, to the great augmentation of his power. On the principle that the new should be introduced where needed, the methods referred to are for the most part placed in the body of the work; for example, the consideration of complex quantities before quadratics and the remainder theorem before factoring. This latter subject has received most satisfactory treatment in the book; being of central importance, it is applied practically at every step to the solution of equations, and is used again and again in various ways "until it has come to be a familiar and indispensable tool." Altogether, the exposi-

¹ *Elements of Algebra*. By Wooster Woodruff Beman, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Michigan, and David Eugene Smith, Principal of the State Normal School at Brockport, New York. Boston: Ginn & Company. 1900. Pages, 430. Price, \$1.12.

tion is as practical as it is rigorous. The use of books of this type will do much to lift our high-school instruction to more rational planes, and it is to be hoped that

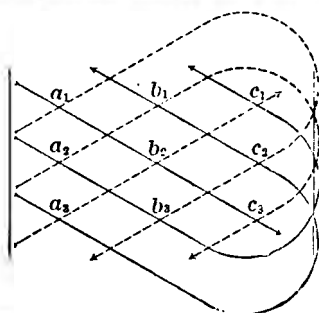
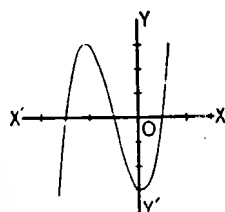


DIAGRAM FOR EXPANDING A THIRD-
ORDER DETERMINANT.



GRAPHIC SOLUTION OF AN EQUATION
OF THE THIRD DEGREE.

(From Beman and Smith's *Elements of Algebra*.)

the necessary jolt to official and pedagogic inertia may be given to admit of their widespread introduction.

* * *

We have finally to acknowledge the receipt of several new volumes of the series of German text-books edited by Professor Schubert,¹ of Hamburg, who is well known to our older readers as a contributor to *The Open Court* and *The Monist*. These works, published by G. J. Göschen, of Leipzig, are with few exceptions quite unique in type, and vary so considerably from the books commonly in use in America that our teachers will profit by possessing them. It is the purpose of the series to cover the entire field of pure and applied mathematics, including the more abstract physical sciences like astronomy, mechanics, thermodynamics, and optics; and while many of the works are of an advanced character, in the main their modes of presentation are as simple as the subjects admit. The following is a list of the titles that have already appeared; *Elementare Arithmetik und Algebra* (Arithmetic and Algebra), by Prof. Hermann Schubert, Hamburg. (Price, Mk. 2.80); *Elementare Planimetrie* (Plane Geometry, including the fundamental notions of modern geometry), by Prof. W. Pfieger, Münster. (Price, Mk. 4.80); *Ebene und sphärische Trigonometrie* (Plane and Spherical Geometry), by Dr. F. Bohnert, Hamburg. (Price, Mk. 2); *Algebra* (determinants and theory of numbers), by Dr. Otto Pund, Altona (Mk. 4.40); *Ebene Geometrie der Lage* (Plane Geometry of Position), by Prof. Rudolf Böger of Hamburg (Mk. 5); *Analytische Geometrie der Ebene* (Plane Analytic Geometry), two volumes, by Prof. Max Simon, Strassburg (Price, Mk. 10); *Elemente der darstellenden Geometrie* (Descriptive Geometry), by Dr. John Schroeder, Hamburg (Mk. 5); *Differentialgleichungen* (Differential Equations), by Professor Schlesinger, Klausenburg (Mk. 8.00); *Praxis der Gleichungen* (Solution of Numerical Equations), by Prof. C. Runge, Hanover (Mk. 5.20); *Wahrscheinlichkeits- und Ausgleichungsrechnung* (Calculus of Probabilities, etc.), by Dr. Norbert Herz, Vienna (Mk. 8); *Analytische Geometrie der Flächen zweiten Grades* (Analytic Geometry of Surfaces of the Second Order), by Prof. Max Simon, Strassburg (Mk. 4.40). μ.

¹ *Sammlung Schubert*. Forty volumes already announced. Prospectus on application. Address, G. J. Göschen, Verlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.

SISTER SANGHAMITTA.

Sister Sanghamitta has arrived in Chicago, where she will stay a few months. She is on a visit to the United States, partly to see her family, partly to rouse the interest of the people of this country in her work, and partly to gather new strength for the continuation of her labors in the far East.

One would think that a lady of title, born in the pale of the Roman Church, who renounces her home to go as a missionary and teacher in the garb of a Buddhist nun to a distant country beyond the sea, must be an eccentric character, perhaps restless or even of an irritable disposition. But such is not the case.

No one who meets her can fail to be impressed with her dignified demeanor, which betokens the calm self-possession of a mind that knows its aims and has acquired perfect pacification and composure.

Sister Sanghamitta, formerly known in the circles of Honolulu as the wife of His Excellency Señor A. de Souza Canavarro, renounced, it is true, her home, but what she gave up was society life, not her duties as wife and mother. Her children, three sons and a daughter, are scattered. Her only daughter entered a religious order of the Episcopalian Church. One of her sons is a mining engineer in California; another is in the employ of the Southern Pacific Railway; the third one, the only child of her second husband, the count, was educated by her until he could go to college. He is now a student in the Punhaho College, Honolulu. Señor Canavarro is in the diplomatic service of Portugal. For the last ten years or more, husband and wife have lived apart, the separation being partly forced upon them by the count's prolonged absences on his official duties; but the two have continued to remain in amicable relations, and even now, since Señora Canavarro has renounced the world and her title, they are the best of friends and have not ceased to keep up a correspondence.

When her youngest son entered college, the mother's life was reduced to the social formalities of her position, and feeling the emptiness of society life, she desired to make herself useful to the world and to sink her personality in some helpful work for the good of mankind. She had done charitable work at home, but that did not satisfy her; she wanted to cut herself loose from the limitations of her social position and start an entirely new life. She therefore decided to go to the far East, the cradle of religious and philosophical thought.

When asked why she became a Buddhist nun, Sister Sanghamitta answered: "Because I am a Buddhist; but when I became a Buddhist I did not renounce Christianity. I am a Christian and will remain a Christian; but my Christianity widened, and my faith has expanded. I have not lost Christ by understanding Buddha. The spirit is the same in Buddhism and in Christianity."

Sister Sanghamitta renounced her home, but she did it because peculiar circumstances of her life, which it is not for us to judge, gave her the freedom to do so. She is far from encouraging wives to leave their husbands or mothers to neglect their children. On the contrary, she says that she has repeatedly upon certain occasions when women have showed an inclination to leave their homes, insisted that it was their duty to stay with their husbands, and as for doing service in the far East, she declares: "I have grown into the work, or rather the work has grown into me; but when I see the conditions in the United States, for instance the neglected negro in the South and his lack of education, I would say to the women of America: 'Do not go to India; stay at home; you have duties here which claim

your first attention.' But while Americans should not neglect their duties at home, they might sympathise with my work abroad and be interested in the conditions such as I found them as well as in the way in which I hope to relieve part of the suffering caused by neglect and ignorance."

Sister Sanghamitta has assumed a name which is sacred to the Buddhists of Ceylon. Sanghamitta was the daughter of Asoka, the Buddhist emperor of the third century B. C., famous mainly on account of the rock inscriptions which he ordered to be chiseled in various parts of India. He sent Buddhist missionaries to the Diadochian kingdoms, among them to that of Ptolemy of Egypt and to Antioch of Syria, and convened the first Religious Parliament in the valley of the Ganges. When the Singhalese, having been converted to Buddhism, requested Asoka to send religious teachers to their island, his son Mihinda and his daughter Sanghamitta, both having embraced a religious life, established themselves in Ceylon. Here Sanghamitta distinguished herself as a *thera* (i. e., a teacher), founding schools and orphanages and forming a centre from which missionaries went forth to Burma and Siam.

Señora Canavarro adopted the name of this Buddhist saint because she proposed to do the same kind of work in the same spirit. During her stay in Ceylon she was the Mother Superior of the Sanghamitta Convent at Colombo, which included an orphanage as well as a day school, a report of which with pictures of the site of the convent and of the Mother Superior in the midst of her scholars appeared some time ago in *The Open Court*, 1899, No. III., pp. 513. Her children call her *Nona ama*, or in English "Lady Mother," a name which has universally been adopted by the people of her new home.

Sister Sanghamitta will return to the East *via* England, where, in our opinion, she ought to be able to arouse much sympathy for her work, for England is directly and politically, while we are only indirectly and on general humanitarian principles, interested in the elevation of the women of the British dependencies.

Sister Sanghamitta will presumably not go back to Ceylon but will locate in Calcutta, because there, she says, she is more needed, and there the misery of the native women is greatest.

Our best wishes accompany her, for we are convinced that she can accomplish a work for which very few persons are adapted. Perhaps there is no one else who could do the same things that she does; and undoubtedly in her own quiet way and with her practical methods she will sow seeds of blessing in India, the fruits of which will be plenty and grow ever more plentiful in the time to come. P. C.

PÈRE HYACINTHE IN THE ORIENT.

Father Hyacinthe has started with his wife, Madame Loyson, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Their original plan had been, as he proclaimed in a conference given at Paris at the time of the Exposition, to hold meetings of brotherly union on the spot sacred to three religions,—that of the Jews, the Christians, and the Mussulmans,—to emphasise the common points of the three faiths, and, while not slurring their differences, to offer them an opportunity of meeting and exchanging opinions on religious topics. Father Hyacinthe has done much in behalf of the Mussulmans, and has called attention to their religious sincerity, their wonderful faith in God, and their deep religious earnestness. He is highly esteemed by the Sultan, and it was almost a foregone conclusion that on the strength of his personal relations with the Sublime Porte permission would be given by the Turk-

ish government to hold the conferences as proposed, at Jerusalem. But the project is as yet premature, and since Paris could not have a religious parliament, but only congresses on the history of religion, we need not be surprised that the government of the Sultan should have regarded Father Hyacinthe's plan as unfeasible. Father Hyacinthe and his wife were received at Court. Madame Loyson visited the Harem, and both she and her husband were treated with unusual hospitality and esteem.

It would seem, however, as if some definite influence had been thwarting their plans. Although the Mussulmans have full confidence that Father Hyacinthe would hold these meetings in the spirit of the Religious Parliament, and would not take advantage of the occasion to stir up dissent and ill-will, still confidence in the Christians generally has not as yet reached that plane where the Sublime Porte will allow such a step to be taken. In February, Father Hyacinthe and his wife were in Athens, where Père Hyacinthe spoke in the hall of Parnassus on "St. Paul on the Areopagus," on which occasion the Greek court, including Her Majesty the Queen, members of the University, ministers of state, and the aristocracy of Athens were present, while hundreds of people were turned away.

Father Hyacinthe and his wife were received in the Orient with open arms by the dignitaries of the Greek Church, in both Constantinople and Athens. They write full of sympathy for the Oriental Christians, and glory in the spirit of the Eastern Church on the classical soil of Greece, "where the gods are dead, but the Christ is risen."

The pilgrims propose to celebrate the Paschal Feast in Jerusalem, and our best wishes accompany them. No doubt they will be received with the same cordiality by the Mussulmans, Jews, and Christians of the Holy City, as was shown them at Constantinople and Athens.

THE TREATMENT OF ANIMALS IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

To the Editor of The Open Court.

Permit me to call your attention to a misstatement published in your March number under the headline "Moslem and Catholic Conceptions of Animals." The author, Mr. Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco, speaking about Dr. Corrigan's approbation of a catechism, in which humanity to animals is taught, makes this surprising remark: "I believe this is the first time a Roman Catholic prelate has inculcated any such teaching, etc."

I say it is surprising to me, as it discriminates the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Would you please consult *Erklärung des mittleren Deharbeschen Katechismus zunächst für die mittlere und höhere Klasse der Elementarschulen*, by Dr. Jacob Schmitt, of the Priesterseminar of St. Peter, Freiburg in Breisgau, and *sub pede paginae* 301, etc., Vol. II., you will find as thorough an exposition of the relations of a Catholic to dumb animals as any sensible man, Mr. Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco included, will approve of. The work mentioned is both approved and recommended by the Archbishop of Freiburg. The copy bears the date of the year 1889, and being in its seventh edition is reasonably supposed to have been approved, too, by some one in its first edition. Referring to the first volume, I see that its first edition bears the approbation of Bishop Lottar Kuebel, dated Freiburg, July 6, 1870.

Is it, then, not an imposition upon the intelligent readers of your publication

to be confronted with such nonsensical elucubrations, coming as they do, from the pen of a man who presumes to pass on for a scholar? Do you not see the harm and the gross injustice thus done to us?

Let those gentlemen, who through some reason or another, find fault with the teachings of the Catholic Church, apply themselves to a thorough study of the works both theological and philosophical of her eminent champions, instead of relying upon hearsay or second-hand references, and I am certain that much misunderstanding on either side will thereby be done away with. Please publish this and oblige

EUGENE, Oregon.

L. PRZYBYLSKI,
Catholic Priest.

[The author of the note to which the Reverend Father Przybylski refers is neither a man nor a scholar, but the wife of a prominent Italian nobleman, Count Martinengo Cesaresco. She has lived all her married life in Italy, and has observed, not without pain, that the members of the Roman Catholic Church of her home are, as it seems to her, less considerate of the rights of dumb animals than Protestants. We have not the slightest doubt, however, that the ethics toward animals officially taught by the Catholic Church are the same as in Protestant Churches. But the Countess is most certainly right in her claim that if Roman Catholic authorities would emphasise more strongly the kind treatment of animals, it would have a great influence upon the population of the Roman Catholic countries.—*Ed.*]

"THE CRITICAL, REFLECTIVE PERIOD."

To the Editor of *The Open Court*:

In that very interesting work called *L'avenir de la science* which Renan wrote when he was a young man, and which the Vicomte de Vogüé pronounced "*le grand livre de l'Écrivain*," he declared that "the theory of the *primitive state of the human intellect*, so indispensable to the knowledge of the human intellect itself, is our *great discovery*, and has introduced thoroughly new data into philosophical science."

Guyau, a young Frenchman who died before reaching his thirty-fourth birthday, but not before writing a very remarkable book, *The Non-Religion of the Future*, only confirmed his great predecessor's doctrine by saying with great emphasis: "Do we really need *voluntarily* to go back to the *state of mind of primitive peoples*?"

Dr. Caird, the present Master of Balliol College, Oxford, in the first of his opening series of Gifford Lectures in Glasgow University, began by saying that "a great part of the scientific and philosophical work of the last century had been the application of the idea of evolution to the organic world and to the various departments of human life." "There is one aspect of this development," he continued, "which is worthy of attention. . . This is the growing importance of reflective thought; in other words, the conscious reaction of mind upon the results of its own unconscious or obscurely conscious movements in the sphere of religion. Early religion does not trouble itself about its own justification; it does not even seek to make itself intelligible."

The point that I am aiming at, and which these quotations clearly indicate, is, that the thought of all religions, and surely Christianity among the rest, is primitive, simple, spontaneous, naive. Renan again says: "Only *semi-critical* intel-

lects resign themselves to admitting miracle in antiquity. Tales that would raise a smile if they were related as contemporary, pass muster in virtue of the enchantment lent by distance. It seems to be tacitly admitted that *primitive humanity* lived under natural laws *different from our own*."

The two periods of the human understanding, that of the surroundings and *milieu* of early Christianity, and the dawn of the twentieth century of our era, differ *longo intervallo*. This is the *most reflective critical* epoch that the world has yet known. Emerson as long ago as 1841 said: "Would we be blind? Do we fear lest we should outsee nature and God, and drink truth dry? Everything *tilts* and *rocks*. Even the *scholar* is searched. Is he living in his memory?"

What the world is athirst for is a new and adequate definition of *Religion* and of the *Supernatural*.

Since the publication of *The Origin of Species* in 1859, and the vast erudition lavished upon the critical exegesis of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, the old primitive naïve statements do not satisfy us. The old supernaturalism of miraculous births, resurrections, and ascensions does not harmonise with the rest of our knowledge,—it is all so *incongruous*, so obsolete, so outworn,—in short, belongs to an entirely different and primitive period.

As the great French critic again declares: "In fact, the defect of the critical system of the supernaturalists is to judge all the periods of the human understanding by the same tests."

To whom then should we naturally turn for more light? To the scholars among the clergy. I was much struck recently with the concluding appeal of Bishop Potter in his address to the students of the University of Pennsylvania: "And never more than now therefore does the land wait for scholars,—scholars who shall be thinkers and seers, too, eager to find the truth, willing to own and follow it when it is discovered, and then with fearless note to tell it out to all mankind."

But have the clergy a real passion for truth? Do they come under Emerson's saying, "that he who reads all books can read any book"? The gentle Amiel said of them: "It is all a *parti-pris*, the *unknown* is taken as *known*, and all the rest proved from it." If you have a *supernatural revelation* of the most momentous truths, where is the opportunity for critical and historical research? You surely cannot bandy questions over the word of God!

Bacon said that "the unforced opinions of young men were the best materials for prophecy." Now I should like to put such a book as Mr. John M. Robertson's *Christianity and Mythology* into the hands of a young theological student. Mr. Robertson's thesis is to prove that "the legend of Christianity can be demonstrably shown to be a patchwork of pagan myths and rituals." This is the great and momentous question of the opening century: "Is Christianity a patchwork of pagan myths and rituals?" *Qu'en dit l'Abbé?*

NEW YORK.

ATHERTON BLIGHT.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE CURIOUS CASE OF GEN. DELANEY SMYTHE. By Lt.-Col. W. H. Gardner, U. S. A., retired. The Abbey Press, publisher, 114 Fifth ave., New York.

Of the many works of fiction recently issued *The Curious Case of General Delaney Smythe* is quite unique. It is a medico-legal detective story. The plot

and interest of the story turn upon the mysterious disappearance of the hero, and the trial and conviction of his servant and friend for his murder. The blood of a pointer causes the incrimination of an innocent man, and it is only by the unexpected revelation of clairvoyance that the situation is cleared and the plot carried to a fortunate issue.

The interest of the story is kept up to the last page. The court scenes are graphically portrayed and the illustrations also are good.

The author, Lt.-Col. Gardner, who has spent thirty-seven years of his life as a surgeon in the army, will be remembered by the readers of *The Open Court*, to which he has been a contributor. Another article entitled "An Evening with the Spiritualists" may soon be expected from his pen.

Devil Tales, by Mrs. Virginia Frazer Boyle,¹ is a collection of Negro stories, which are interesting as a psychological picture of the Negro of the past, and, to a great extent, still of the present. It is time now to reduce these strange fancies of folklore of the American Africans to writing, for they will soon be lost forever. With the progress of civilisation, the Negro forgets his traditions, his devil-fear and the stories of his experiences with ghost and goblin; and the Mammies of to-day grow prosaic as they become ashamed of their old superstitions.

The source of Miss Boyle's *Devil Tales* must have been an old Mammy of the classical type of ancient slave days, a type which exists still, though as an exception only and is now fast dying out. It is evident from their literary finish that our authoress has improved the tales of her old nurse, but in doing so, she has remained faithful to her task and has succeeded in preserving the characteristic traits of Negro psychology. The sentiments and notions portrayed in the *Devil Tales* are genuine, and as such they possess a value quite apart from their literary merits.

The Augustana College, of Rock Island, Ills., has issued an interesting illustrated pamphlet describing *An Old Indian Village*, by Prof. Johan August Udden, who, while engaged as an instructor in Lindsborg, Kas., in 1881, had his attention called to some mounds south of the Smoky Hill River, where various antiquities had been picked up by the settlers. He visited the locality, saw that it gave promise of interesting finds of aboriginal relics, and for seven years afterwards directed the collection of the archæologic remains that were discovered. Professor Udden believes that the mounds and the relics in question are of more than passing interest, and he has therefore briefly and popularly described them in the present pamphlet, using in nearly all cases good photographic reproductions. The relics consist of articles and instruments made from bone and shell, primitive pottery, flint scrapers, knives, arrow-points, spear-heads, awls, drills, leaf-flints, tomahawks, hand hammers, grind-stones, arrow-smootheners, catlinite pipes, etc. The most interesting relic, however, is a piece of chain mail of undoubted European origin, which is of interest as showing an early presence in the interior of some European explorers and which is conjectured to be an old relic from the expedition of Coronado, in 1542.

¹ New York and London: Harper & Brothers. 1900. Pages, xii, 211.



THE HOLY SAINT JOSAPHAT OF INDIA.

OR THE CHRISTIAN CANONISATION OF BUDDHA.

From a photograph of the image in the church of San Giosafat in Palermo.

Frontispiece to 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. XV. (NO. 5.)

MAY, 1901.

NO. 540

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SCIENTIFIC FAITH.

BY THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

TOLERANCE, not bigotry, is the fruit of Scientific Faith. Religious Science naturally culminates in a scientific expression of faith. The word faith as here used is intended to signify a settled conviction of the truth of certain ideas. The duration of this conviction is not material. It may be of long standing or of recent formation, but it is essential that it be controlling.

One of the first steps toward a rational arrangement of scientific ideas is a clear perception of the distinction between absolute and perfect truth and the view which may be obtained of it from a study of its manifestations in the subject involved. The mind should be taught to recognise the fact that the perfect truth exists independently of its ideas and remains the same whether those ideas be correct or erroneous. The mind is thus put in an attitude of diligent search to discover and embrace the truth, and is forewarned that errors will only harm themselves and not the truth.

The mind is so constituted that the pursuit and utilisation of knowledge is as natural to it as the acquisition and consumption of food. The spirit of inquiry into the existence and relations of all the objects which the mind finds in the world it inhabits is also as natural as the hunger and thirst for material sustenance.

The first great discovery which the mind makes in its search for accurate knowledge is the distinction between apparent and real truth. It soon begins to learn that "appearances are often deceiving," and that there are many things which "are not what they seem."

The mind is thus led to inquire into the verity of appearances before accepting them, and so begins the upbuilding of a scientific

system. The doubts it feels and the tests it applies are thus not in opposition to the truth but from a desire to ascertain the facts and be governed by them.

The mind soon makes another great and important discovery. It learns from experience and otherwise that its ideas of any object depend upon the correctness of its knowledge of that object, and thus if its knowledge be defective or erroneous its ideas will be unreliable and misleading. Thus a loyalty to the truth compels the mind to be constantly on the alert to discover and correct the errors into which it may fall.

By such discovery and correction and the pursuit of the new ideas to which the process leads, the progress of the world is wrought.

Thus in the language of the poet :

" We build the ladder by which we rise,
From the lowly earth to the vaulted skies,
And mount to its summit round by round."

While this process is going on in the mind, liberty of opinion and freedom of conscience become more and more sacred to the soul as the means by which it may seek and secure the richest blessings provided for it by the Creator.

In early life the mind is inclined to leap at once to conclusions, but as years advance it becomes more cautious and delays its judgment for investigation and reflexion.

The common stages to a conclusion are hearing, toleration investigation, and when these have been passed a mental reservation that the conclusion will be changed if the discovery of new facts should at any time require.

The reflecting mind realises more and more how very small is the domain of its absolute knowledge.

It discovers on examination that nearly all the ideas it holds owe something to information derived from others, in whose competency and fidelity it has confidence. The safeguard of this process is the Golden Rule. The mind accords to others merely the respect and credence which it asks for itself. Thus justice and sound judgment exercise a controlling influence in the upbuilding of the character.

It is a startling fact that the mind is so constituted that it can believe anything however absurd, or disbelieve anything however true. Of the truth of this statement any one may satisfy himself by observation and experiment, as well as by reference to the world's history from the earliest times. Unguided belief is like a

horse without a bridle, very likely to run away. It is therefore a matter of necessity that in the formation of beliefs, the mind be guided by common sense and sound judgment.

The basis of belief in any case is the entire body of ideas which the mind holds in relation to the subject involved. It accepts with credence what harmonises with those ideas and seems worthy of belief, and rejects whatever is inconsistent therewith.

As soon as the mind realises that its own ideas on any point depend upon the correctness of its knowledge relating to that point, and must be changed in case any error be discovered in the information on which it is rested, it ceases to be arrogant and dogmatic and holds itself ready to hear with kindness and patience an expression of a different view.

In the earlier stages of development the mind is likely to give an undue weight to creed formulas and doctrinal statements; but as wisdom comes with experience and reflexion the mind discovers that the meaning which it finds in credal forms is necessarily more or less affected by its own ideas and environment, and that this must necessarily be the case with every other adherent. Thus the mind perceives that there is a domain of personal liberty for every soul and that the most it can expect from others is a cordial sympathy and general agreement.

Thus he who holds a scientific faith on any subject, keeps himself in readiness to correct any error into which he may have fallen; and as willing to hear from others their ideas and convictions as he is ready to communicate his own so far as they are willing to receive them. This is the way to promote peace on earth and good will among men. Thus a Scientific Faith wears ever the white bloom of charity and tolerance without one thorn to mar its heavenly beauty.

The real significance of formal creeds is largely misunderstood. Almost any Declaration of Faith, for example the Apostles Creed, represents whole volumes of ideas in innumerable combinations, and as it is said that no two leaves in a forest are precisely alike, so it may be affirmed that among thousands of communicants no two can be found to whom the words of the creed have exactly the same meaning. For as was said to the Parliament of Religions, "each must see God with the eyes of his own soul," and the views of each believer will necessarily take on to some extent the hue of his own environment.

He looks through that environment as through a colored glass upon every object to which he directs his vision.

The most that can be expected from those who profess a common creed is a general agreement on the principal points involved. Always there must remain to every soul a little world in which it communes directly with the Creator, feeling that He at least understands its faith, its aspirations and its prayers.

Half the sectarian prejudices that have embittered the world have arisen from misinterpretations of Declarations of Faith by hostile critics. But he who has no love for a creed cannot discover its innermost meaning. Only the patient devotee can do that.

The command to "Judge Not" applies with peculiar force to the things of Religion. The apostles of every faith may freely declare the good tidings they have to offer that they have no commission to become assailants of other forms of faith.

The orderly process to a Scientific Faith is not difficult to understand and follow. The supreme condition of progress is loyalty to the truth; a love of the truth and a determination to obey it.

It is also steadfastly to be borne in mind that "spiritual things must be spiritually discerned."

Each faculty of the soul should diligently seek the things which it is created to enjoy and make useful. The musical faculty should seek the "harmony of sweet sounds;" the mathematical faculty, the mysterious charm of numbers; the religious faculty, the transcendent ideas that bind the soul to the Creator. The soul that thus lives and strives will develop in harmonious proportions, and will find itself sustained and soothed by the innumerable consolations of a Scientific Faith.

THE LEGENDS OF GENESIS.¹

BY H. GUNKEL.

I.

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND SCOPE OF THE LEGENDS.

ARE the narratives of Genesis history or legend? For the modern historian this is no longer an open question; nevertheless it is important to get a clear notion of the bases of this modern position.

The writing of history is not an innate endowment of the human mind; it arose in the course of human history and at a definite stage of development. Uncivilised races do not write history; they are incapable of reproducing their experiences objectively, and have no interest in leaving to posterity an authentic account of the events of their time. Experiences fade before they are fairly cold, and fact and fancy mingle; only in poetical form, in song and saga, are unlettered tribes able to report historical occurrences. Only at a certain stage of civilisation has objectivity so grown and the interest in transmitting national experiences to posterity so increased that the writing of history becomes possible. Such history has for its subjects great public events, the deeds of popular leaders and kings, and especially wars. Accordingly some sort of political organisation is an antecedent presumption to the writing of history.

Only in a later, in the main a much later, time is the art of writing history, learned through the practice of writing national histories, applied to other spheres of human life, whence we have memoirs and the histories of families. But considerable sections of the people have never risen to the appreciation of history proper,

¹The present treatise is the Introduction to the same author's *Commentary on Genesis* (Vandenboeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen), in which the positions here taken are expounded and supported in greater detail.—Translated from the German by Prof. W. H. Carruth, of the University of Kansas.

and have remained in the saga stage, or in what in modern times is analogous to saga.

Thus we find among the civilised peoples of antiquity two distinct kinds of historical records side by side: history proper and popular tradition, the latter treating in naïve poetical fashion partly the same subjects as the former, and partly the events of older, prehistoric times. And it is not to be forgotten that historical memories may be preserved even in such traditions, although clothed in poetic garb.

Even so did history originate in Israel. In the period from which the Book of Genesis is transmitted to us the art of history had been long established and highly developed according to ancient standards, having here as everywhere the deeds of kings and especially wars for themes; a monument of this history is found in the narratives of the Second Book of Samuel.

But in a people with such a highly developed poetical faculty as Israel there must have been a place for saga too. The senseless confusion of "legend" with "lying" has caused good people to hesitate to concede that there are legends in the Old Testament. But legends are not lies; on the contrary, they are a particular form of poetry. Why should not the lofty spirit of Old Testament religion, which employed so many varieties of poetry, indulge in this form also? For religion everywhere, the Israelite religion included, has especially cherished poetry and poetic narrative, since poetic narrative is much better qualified than prose to be the medium of religious thought. Genesis is a more intensely religious book than the Book of Kings.

There is no denying that there are legends in the Old Testament; consider for instance the stories of Samson and of Jonah. Accordingly it is not a matter of belief or skepticism, but merely a matter of better knowledge, to examine whether the narratives of Genesis are history or legend. The objection is raised that Jesus and the Apostles clearly considered these accounts to be fact and not poetry. Suppose they did; the men of the New Testament are not presumed to have been exceptional men in such matters, but shared the point of view of their time. Hence we are not warranted in looking to the New Testament for a solution of questions in the literary history of the Old Testament.

CRITERIA FOR LEGEND AND HISTORY.

Now, since legend and history are very different in both origin and nature, there are many criteria by which they may be distin-

guished. One of the chief points of difference is that legend is originally oral tradition, while history is usually found in written form; this is inherent in the nature of the two species: legend being the tradition of those who are not in the habit of writing, while history, which is a sort of scientific activity, presupposes practice in writing. At the same time the writing down of an historical tradition serves to fix it, whereas oral tradition cannot remain uncorrupted for any length of time and is therefore inadequate to be the vehicle of history. Now it is evident that Genesis contains the final sublimation into writing of a body of oral traditions. The tales of the Patriarchs do not have the air of having been written down by the Patriarchs themselves; on the contrary many passages reveal clearly the great interval of time that lies between the period of the Patriarchs and the narrators. We read frequently the expression "even to this day," as in Genesis xix. 38; the kings of Edom are enumerated down to the time of David, xxxvi. 31 ff.; the sentence "in those days the Canaanites dwelt in the land" must have been written at a time when this race had long since passed away.

But the whole style of the narrative, as is to be shown hereafter, can be understood only on the supposition of its having been oral tradition; this condition can be realised especially in the many variants, to be treated in the following pages. But if the contents of Genesis is tradition, it is, as the preceding considerations show, legend also.

DIFFERENT SPHERES OF INTEREST.

Another distinguishing feature of legend and history is their different spheres of interest. History treats great public occurrences, while legend deals with things that interest the common people, with personal and private matters, and is fond of presenting even political affairs and personages so that they will attract popular attention. History would be expected to tell how and for what reasons David succeeded in delivering Israel from the Philistines; legend prefers to tell how the boy David once slew a Philistine giant. How does the material of Genesis stand in the light of this distinction? With the exception of a single chapter (Chapter xiv), it contains no accounts of great political events, but treats rather the history of a family. We hear a quantity of details, which certainly have for the greater part no value for political history, whether they are credited or not: that Abraham was pious and magnanimous, and that he once put away his concubine to please

his wife; that Jacob deceived his brother; that Rachel and Leah were jealous,—“unimportant anecdotes of country life, stories of springs, of watering-troughs, and such as are told in the bed-chamber,” attractive enough to read, yet everything but historical occurrences. Such minor incidents aroused no public interest when they took place; the historian does not report them, but popular tradition and legend delight in such details.

EYE-WITNESS AND REPORTER.

In the case of every event that purports to be a credible historical memorandum, it must be possible to explain the connexion between the eye-witness of the event reported and the one who reports it. This is quite different in the case of legend which depends for its material partly upon tradition and partly upon imagination. We need only apply this test to the first narratives of Genesis in order to recognise their character straightway. No man was present at the creation of the universe; no human tradition extends back to the period of the origin of our race, of the first peoples and the primitive languages. In former times, before the deciphering of hieroglyphs and cuneiform writing, it was possible for Israelitic tradition to be regarded as so old that it did not seem absurd to look to it for such reminiscences of prehistoric ages; but now when creation has widened so mightily in our view, when we see that the People of Israel is one of the youngest in the group to which it belongs, there is an end of all such conjectures. Between the origin of the primitive races of southwestern Asia and the appearance of the People of Israel upon the stage of life had rolled unnumbered millenniums; hence there is no room for serious discussion over historical traditions said to be possessed by Israel regarding those primitive times.

The accounts of the patriarchs also give rise to the most serious doubts. According to the tradition the period of the patriarchs is followed by the four hundred years during which Israel lived in Egypt. Nothing is reported from this period; historical recollection seems to have been utterly blotted out. And yet we have an abundance of unimportant details regarding the period of the patriarchs. How is it conceivable that a people should preserve a great quantity of the very minutest details from the history of its primitive ancestors and at the same time forget its own national history for a long period following? It is not possible for oral tradition to preserve an authentic record of such details so vividly and for so long a time. And then, consider these narratives in de-

tail. The question how the reporter could know of the things which he relates cannot be raised in most cases without exciting laughter. How does the reporter of the Deluge pretend to know the depth of the water? Are we to suppose that Noah took soundings? How is anyone supposed to know what God said or thought alone or in the councils of Heaven? (Cp. Genesis i. 2, 18, vi. 3-6 ff., xi. 6 ff.)

THE CRITERION OF INCREDIBILITY.

The clearest criterion of legend is that it frequently reports things which are quite incredible. This poetry has another sort of probability from that which obtains in prosaic life, and ancient Israel considered many things to be possible which to us seem impossible. Thus many things are reported in Genesis which go directly against our better knowledge: we know that there are too many species of animals for all to have been assembled in any ark; that Ararat is not the highest mountain on earth; that the "firmament of heaven," of which Genesis i. 6 ff. speaks, is not a reality, but an optical illusion; that the stars cannot have come into existence after plants, as Genesis ii. 10-14 reports; that the rivers of the earth do not come chiefly from four principal streams, as Genesis ii. thinks, that the Tigris and the Euphrates have not a common source, that the Dead Sea had been in existence long before human beings came to live in Palestine, instead of originating in historical times, and so on.

Of the many etymologies in Genesis the majority are to be rejected according to the investigations of modern philology. The theory on which the legends of the patriarchs are based, that the nations of the earth originated from the expansion of a single family, in each case from a single ancestor, is quite infantile.¹ Any other conclusion is impossible from the point of view of our modern historical science, which is not a figment of imagination but is based upon the observation of facts. And however cautious the modern historian may be in declaring anything impossible, he may declare with all confidence that animals—serpents and she-asses, for instance—do not speak and never have spoken, that there is no tree whose fruit confers immortality or knowledge, that angels and men do not have carnal connexion, and that a world-conquering army cannot be defeated—as Genesis xiv. declares—with three hundred and eighteen men.

¹ Compare my *Commentary to Genesis*, pp. 78 ff.

WANING ANTHROPOMORPHISM.

The narratives of Genesis being mostly of a religious nature are constantly speaking of God. Now the manner in which narratives speak of God is one of the surest means of determining whether they are historical or poetic. Here too the historian cannot avoid having a universal point of view. We believe that God works in the universe in the silent and secret background of all things; sometimes his influence seems almost tangible, as in the case of exceptionally great and impressive events and personalities; we divine his control in the marvellous interdependence of things; but nowhere does he appear as an operative factor beside others, but always as the last and ultimate cause of everything. Very different is the point of view of many of the narratives in Genesis. We find God walking about in the Garden of Eden; with his own hands he fashions man and closes the door of the ark; he even breathes his own breath into man's nostrils and makes unsuccessful experiments with animals; he scents the sacrifice of Noah; he appears to Abraham and Lot in the guise of a wayfarer, or as an angel calls directly out of Heaven. Once, indeed, God appears to Abraham in his proper form, having the appearance of a burning torch and of a smoking baking-pot (the Revised Version in English has here "furnace"). The speeches of God in Genesis are remarkable for the fact that his words are not heard in the obscure moments of intensest human excitement, in the state of ecstasy, as was the case with the prophets when they heard the voice of God, but that God speaks in all respects as does one man to another. We are able to comprehend this as the naïve conception of the men of old, but we cannot regard belief in the literal truth of such accounts as an essential of religious conviction.

And these arguments are immensely strengthened when we compare the narratives which on inner evidence we regard as poetry with the specimens which we know of strict Israelitish history. For these violations of probability and even of possibility are not found throughout the Old Testament, but only in certain definite portions possessing a uniform tone, whereas they are not to be found in other portions which for other reasons we regard as more strictly historical. Consider especially the central portion of the Second Book of Samuel, the history of the rebellion of Absalom, the most exquisite piece of early historical writing in Israel. The world that is there portrayed is the world that we know. In this world iron does not float and serpents do not speak; no god

or angel appears like a person among other persons, but everything happens as we are used to seeing things happen. In a word, the distinction between legend and history is not injected into the Old Testament, but is to be found by any attentive reader already present in the Old Testament.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that many of the legends of the Old Testament are not only similar to those of other nations, but are actually related to them by origin and nature. Now we cannot regard the story of the Deluge in Genesis as history and that of the Babylonians as legend; in fact, the account of the Deluge in Genesis is a younger version of the Babylonian legend. Neither can we reject all other cosmogonies as fiction and defend that of Genesis as history; on the contrary the account of Genesis i., greatly as it differs in its religious spirit from other cosmogonies, is by its literary method closely related to them.

LEGEND IS POETRY

But the important point is and will remain the poetic tone of the narratives. History, which claims to inform us of what has actually happened, is in its very nature prose, while legend is by nature poetry, its aim being to please, to elevate, to inspire and to move. He who wishes to do justice to such narratives must have some æsthetic faculty, to catch in the telling of a story what it is and what it purports to be. And in doing so he is not expressing a hostile or even skeptical judgment, but simply studying lovingly the nature of his material. Whoever possesses heart and feeling must perceive, for instance in the case of the sacrifice of Isaac, that the important matter is not to establish certain historical facts, but to impart to the hearer the heartrending grief of the father who is commanded to sacrifice his child with his own hand, and then his boundless gratitude and joy when God's mercy releases him from this grievous trial. And every one who perceives the peculiar poetic charm of these old legends must feel irritated by the barbarian—for there are pious barbarians—who thinks he is putting the true value upon these narratives only when he treats them as prose and history.

The conclusion, then, that one of these narratives is legend is by no means intended to detract from the value of the narrative; it only means that the one who pronounces it has perceived somewhat of the poetic beauty of the narrative and thinks that he has thus arrived at an understanding of the story. Only ignorance can regard such a conclusion as irreverent, for it is the judgment of rev-

erence and love. These poetic narratives are the most beautiful possession which a people brings down through the course of its history, and the legends of Israel, especially those of Genesis, are perhaps the most beautiful and most profound ever known on earth.

A child, indeed, unable to distinguish between reality and poetry, loses something when it is told that its dearest stories are "not true." But the modern theologian should be farther developed. The evangelical churches and their chosen representatives would do well not to dispute the fact that Genesis contains legends—as has been done too frequently—but to recognise that the knowledge of this fact is the indispensable condition to an historical understanding of Genesis. This knowledge is already too widely diffused among those trained in historical study to be suppressed. It will surely spread among the masses of our people, for the process is irresistible. Shall not we Evangelicals take care that it be presented to them in the right spirit?

THE VARIETIES OF LEGENDS IN GENESIS.

In the great mass of our materials two groups are distinctly recognisable:

1. The legends of the origin of the world and of the progenitors of the human race, the stories down to the tower of Babel, their locality being remote and their sphere of interest the whole world;

2. The legends of the patriarchs of Israel: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the latter's sons, the locality and the sphere of interest being Canaan and adjacent lands.

Even in their character the two groups are most plainly distinguished: the narratives of the first group speak of God in a way different from that of the legends of the patriarchs. In the latter the divinity appears always enveloped in mystery, unrecognised or speaking out of Heaven, or perhaps only in a dream; in the earlier legends, on the contrary, God walks intimately among men and no one marvels at it: in the legend of Paradise men dwell in God's house; it is assumed that he is in the habit of visiting them every evening; he even closes the ark for Noah, and appears to him in person, attracted by his sacrifice. Furthermore, in the legends of the patriarchs the real actors are always men; if the divinity appears, it is regarded as an exception. But in the primitive legends

the divinity is the leading actor (as in the creation), or at least among those chiefly concerned (as in the story of Paradise, of the union of men and of angels, of the Deluge and the Tower of Babel). This distinction is, to be sure, only relative, for some of the legends of the Patriarchs (notably those connected with Hebron and Peniel) represent the divinity as appearing in the same way; on the other hand, the story of Cain and Abel and that of the cursing of Canaan, in which human beings are the chief actors, are among the primitive legends. However, the distinction applies on the whole to the two groups. This prominence of the action of the divinity in the primitive legends indicates that these have a more decidedly "mythical" character: that they are faded myths.

FADED MYTHS.

"Myths"—let no one shrink from the word—are stories of the gods, in contradistinction to the legends in which the actors are men. Stories of the gods are in all nations the oldest narratives; the legend as a literary variety has its origin in myths. Accordingly, when we find that these primitive legends are akin to myths, we must infer that they have come down to us in comparatively ancient form. They come from a period of Israel's history when the childlike belief of the people had not yet fully arrived at the conception of a divinity whose operations are shrouded in a mystery. On the other hand, these original myths have reached us in comparatively faded colors. This we can perceive in the narratives themselves, where we are able in some points to reconstruct an older form of the story than the one transmitted to us: notably Genesis vi. 1-4 is nothing but a torso.

We are led to similar conclusions when we compare the primitive legends with the allusions to the myths which we find in the poets and prophets of the Old Testament and the later apocalyptic writers;¹ as, for instance, the myths of Jahveh's combat with Rahab or Leviathan, of the fall of Helal, and so on. The same result very clearly follows a comparison of the primitive legends of Genesis with the myths of the Orient, especially of the biblical story of the creation and the Deluge with the Babylonian versions of the same subjects. The colossal outlines, the peculiarly brilliant colors which characterise these myths in the original form are lost in a measure in the biblical legends of the beginnings of things. The equivalence of the divine beings and the objects or realms of nature, the combat of the gods among one another, the birth of the

¹ Compare the material gathered in my work *Creation and Chaos*, 1895.

gods, are some of the features which have disappeared in the version of Genesis.

MONOTHEISM HOSTILE TO MYTHS.

In all this we can see the essential character of the religion of Israel. The characteristic trait of the religion of Jahweh is unfavorable to myths. For this religion from its very beginning tends toward monotheism. But for a story of the gods at least two gods are essential. Therefore the Israel which we observe in the Old Testament could not tolerate genuine and unmodified myths, at least not in prose. The poet was excused for occasional allusions to myths. Hence in poetry we find preserved traces of a point of view older than that of the tradition of Genesis, frankly familiar with myths. But the primitive legends preserved to us are all dominated by this unspoken aversion to mythology. The monotheism of Israel tolerates only such myths as represent God as acting alone, as in the story of the creation, and even then there is no real "story," where action and counter-action give rise to a new situation or action. Or at the most, the story deals with action between God and men, where, however, men are too weak in the true Israelitish conception to be worthy rivals of God, to produce in their clash with God a real epic action; as soon as God intervenes all is decided. If in such a case a "story" is to be told, men must perform their part first. This is the method of the legends of Paradise and of the Tower of Babel. With the story of the Deluge it is different, God taking part from the beginning; but as a result of this the continued interest of the hearer is not maintained. Furthermore it should be noted that the legends preserved to us with mythical elements are much less numerous than the legends of the patriarchs in which this element is absent. This fact also may fairly be regarded as a result of the Israelitish aversion to mythology.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MYTHS.

It is not proposed to present here a theory of the origin and primitive significance of myths. Only a few observations may be permitted. A certain series of myths may be interpreted on the assumption that some natural phenomenon that is wont to occur frequently or regularly in the actual world has furnished the colors for the painting of one similar but gigantic phenomenon in primitive times. Thus the creation of the world is painted as Spring on

a grand scale, and the overflows of the rivers of Mesopotamia gave rise to the story of the Deluge.

Many myths attempt to answer questions being intended to give instruction. This is the case with the primitive legends of Genesis: the story of creation raises the question, Whence come heaven and earth? and at the same time, Why is the Sabbath sacred? The story of Paradise treats the question, Whence are man's reason and his mortality? and along with this, Whence are man's body and mind? Whence his language? Whence the love of the sexes? Whence does it come that woman brings forth with so much pain, that man must till the stubborn field, that the serpent goes upon its belly, and so on? The legend of Babel asks the question, Whence is the variety of nations in language and location? The answers to these questions constitute the real content of the respective legends. In the case of the legend of the Deluge this is different, but there is an ætiological, or explanatory, feature at the close: Why is there never such a flood again? And what is the meaning of the rainbow?

All these questions interest not Israel alone, but the whole world. We know that ancient Israel in general was not inclined to philosophic speculation, but that it always took most interest in immediate and Israelitish affairs. But here is a place in which the ancient race is able to treat universal human problems, the profoundest questions of mankind. This they have done in unique fashion in the stories of the creation and of Eden: these are the beginnings of theology and of philosophy. It is no wonder that especial emphasis has been laid upon these features, and that every generation, since Genesis has been known, has read into it its own deepest thoughts.

THE LEGENDS OF THE PATRIARCHS.

The primitive legends are followed in Genesis by the legends of the patriarchs. The distinctive feature of these legends is that they tell of the progenitors of races, especially of Israel. At the foundation of these legends lies the theory that all races, Israel included, have come in each case from the family of a single ancestor, which gradually expanded. This theory is not supported by observed facts, for no human eye observes the origin of races; on the contrary, it is the remnant of a primitive poetic conception of tribal life.

In earliest times the individual man counts for little; there is much more interest in the destinies of the race: the tribe, the na-

tion, are regarded as real entities much more than at the present day. Thus it comes that the destinies of the race are regarded as being the destinies of a person: the race sighs, triumphs, is dejected, rebels, dies, comes to life again, etc. Thus too the relations of races are regarded as the relations of individuals: two races, it is said, are brothers, i. e., are closely related and equal; if one of them is regarded as richer, stronger, or nobler, it is said to be the firstborn brother, or it comes of a better mother, while the other is younger, or comes of a concubine. Israel being divided into twelve tribes, we are told that the tribal ancestor of Israel had twelve sons. Some of these tribes having a closer union with one another, they are said to come from one mother. The relation of mother and son exists between Hagar and Ishmael; the more distant relation of uncle and nephew between Abraham and Lot.

Originally these persons were the tribes themselves. This method of expression is still entirely current later in the pathetic poetry of the prophets: Edom builds his nest on high, Moab dies to the sound of trumpets, Asshur falls upon Israel like a lion upon his prey, Jerusalem and Samaria are two unchaste sisters, Edom has treated his brother Israel with enmity, etc. Such personifications must have been very familiar to the earliest ages. But as the world became more prosaic and these expressions were no longer understood in the simple narrative, the question was asked, who these persons, Jacob, Juda, Simeon, really were, and the answer given that they were the patriarchs and the later races and tribes their sons; an answer which seems to be a matter of course, since it was customary to refer to the individual Israelites and Ammonites as "Sons of Israel" and "Sons of Ammon."

We are not putting a new meaning into the legends which treat of such race-individuals, when we regard their heroes, Ishmael, Jacob, Esau, and others, as tribes and try to interpret the stories about them as tribal events; we are simply getting at their meaning as it was understood in primitive times in Israel.

On the other hand, we must go about this attempt with caution, for we must reckon with the possibility that some of these figures do not originally represent tribes, but only came to be regarded as patriarchs in a later time, and further, after the figures of the patriarchs had once become established as the heroes of epic legends, that legends of other sorts and wanting the basis of tribal history became attached to these. We may certainly regard as personifications of tribes those figures whose names are known to us in other connexions as names of tribes; such are notably, Ish-

mael, Ammon, Moab, the twelve tribes and their divisions. Sometimes it is perfectly evident from the narratives themselves that we have to do with tribes, as in the case of Cain and Abel, Jacob and Esau, Ham and Japhet. Accordingly, many of the narratives treating such ancestors are originally the experiences of races or tribes.

Once in ancient times, so we may assume, there were conflicts over wells between the citizens of Gerar and the neighboring Bedouins, ending in a compromise at Beersheba. The legend depicts these affairs as a war and a treaty between Abimelech, king of Gerar, and the patriarchs called in the legend Abraham or Isaac. (21, 22 ff., 26).

Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, is seduced by Shechem, and in punishment Shechem is treacherously assaulted by Dinah's brothers; Jacob, however, abjures the brothers and curses them. The history at the bottom of this is probably as follows: Dinah, an Israelitish family, is overpowered by the Canaanitish city of Shechem and then treacherously avenged by Simeon and Levi, the most closely related tribes, but the other tribes of Israel renounce them and allow the two tribes to be destroyed.

The legend of Tamar, also, depicts in part early relations in the tribe of Judah: Judah allied itself with Canaanites, in the legend Hirah of Adullam and Judah's wife, Bathshua; a number of Judæan-Canaanitish tribes (Er and Onan) perished early; finally two new tribes arose (Perez and Zerah). In the Esau-Jacob legend also there are quite evidently historical reminiscences: Esau and Jacob are brother tribes, Esau a tribe of hunters, Jacob a tribe of shepherds; Esau is the elder, but by sale or fraud he loses his birth-right, that is, the older and better known tribe of Esau was compelled to give way to the later and originally weaker tribe of Jacob and has now the poorer land.

A similar rivalry is assumed by the legend between the Judæan tribes of Perez and Zerah and between Ephraim and Manasseh. Reuben, the first-born among the Israelitish tribes, loses his birth-right on account of sin: the tribe of Reuben, which was the leading tribe in the earliest times, afterwards forfeited this position. Cain, the husbandman, slew his brother Abel, the herdsman, but was compelled to leave the land which they had before occupied in common. Shem, Japhet and Canaan are originally brothers; but Japhet has now a much more extensive territory than the others, and Canaan is the servant of both.

We hear of many migrations. From the north Abraham migrates to Canaan, after him Rebecca, to marry Isaac, and finally

comes Jacob; the initial point of the migration is given as Ur-Kasdim and Haran the city of Nahor (xxiv. 10). In the legend of Joseph there is described a migration of Israelitish tribes to Egypt; the account of the trip of Abraham to Egypt has a similar basis.

Now it is in the nature of legend that we do not catch sight of these old occurrences clearly by its means, but only as through a mist. Legend has woven a poetic veil about the historical memories and hidden their outlines. In most cases the time of the event is not to be derived from the legend itself; often even the place is not to be distinguished, and sometimes not even the personality of the actor. Who can tell what race it was that came to Canaan from Aram-Naharajim? Where the real home of Jacob and Esau was, of Cain and Abel, of Shem and Japhet, the legend has forgotten. What tribes parted at Bethel, in case there is any historical basis to the legend of the separation of Lot and Abraham? And so, although the things of the past are hidden rather than revealed in these legends, he would be a barbarian who would despise them on this account, for often they are more valuable than would be prosaic reports of actual occurrences. For instance, if we had good historical data regarding Ishmael we should not value them highly, for this "wild ass" rendered little service to mankind; but as it is, touched by the hand of poetry, he is immortal.

In these legends the clearest matter is the character of races: here is Esau, the huntsman of the steppes, living with little reflexion from hand to mouth, forgetful, magnanimous, brave, and hairy as a goat; and there is Jacob the herdsman, a smooth man, more cunning and accustomed to look into the future. His uncle Laban is the type of the Aramæan, avaricious and deceitful, but to outward appearances an excellent and upright man, never at loss for an excuse. A more noble figure is Abraham, hospitable, peaceful, a model of piety.

Moreover it is clear to us in many cases in what spirit the incidents are regarded: we perceive most easily how the legend despises the unchastity of Canaan, how it mocks at Esau and Laban, how it rejoices that Lot, with all his avarice, obtained after all the worse land, etc.

ANTIQUITY OF THE LEGENDS.

These legends have not hitherto received full justice, even when it has been recognised that they are legends. Even the most superficial reader can distinguish for himself the chief original sources in Genesis from which the present redaction was con-

structed, now commonly called the writings of the Elohist, of the Yahvist, and of the Priestly Code. Since the sources of the Elohist and the Jahvist were written down in the ninth or eighth century B. C. some commentators have been disposed to think that the legends themselves originated in the main in the age of the Israelitish kingdom and furnished therefore no revelations of primitive history. But in reality these legends are much older. The tribal and race names which they preserve are almost all forgotten in other records: we know nothing of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, of Abel and Cain, of Esau and Jacob, nothing of Hagar and scarcely anything of Ishmael, from the historical records of Israel. Hence we must conclude that these races all belong to prehistoric times. This is particularly evident in the case of Jacob and Esau, who were, to be sure, identified later with Israel and Edom. But this very lapping of names, as well as many features of the legend which are not applicable to Israel and Edom, as, for instance, the treaties between the city of Gerar and the sons of Abraham (or Isaac) concerning the possession of certain wells, especially that of Beersheba, show us that the old narrative originally had in mind entirely different races; in the legend Jacob is not disposed to war; in history Israel conquered Edom in war; in the legend Esau is stupid, in history he is famous for his wisdom.

Another proof of the age of these tribal legends may be found in the history of the legend in Israel. The legends in the Book of Judges have ceased to speak of tribes as persons (excepting Judges i.), but they tell of heroes, of individual leaders of the tribes. The latest story that preserves the old style and to which an historical date can be assigned is the legend of the capture of Shechem, the Dinah-legend of Genesis. Sometime in the earlier portion of the period of Judges, then, this naïve style of narrative disappeared so far as we can ascertain; from that time on such narratives are merely transmitted, but no longer constructed new.

CLASSIFICATION OF LEGENDS.

We call these legends "historical" when they reflect historical occurrences, "ethnographic" when they contain chiefly descriptions of race and tribal relations. Thus we characterise the legend of the treaty of Beersheba and the various legends of migrations as "historical," but those of Jacob and Esau as "ethnographic."

ÆTIOLOGICAL LEGENDS.

Alongside these narratives of Genesis are also "ætiological" legends, that is, those that are written for a purpose, or to explain something. There is no end of the questions which interest a primitive people. The instinct for asking questions is innate in man: he wants to know of the origin of things. The child looks into the world with wide eyes and asks, *Why?* The answer which the child gives itself and with which it is for the time satisfied, is perhaps very childish, and hence incorrect, and yet, if it is a bright child the answer is interesting and touching even for the grown man. In the same way a primitive people asks similar questions and answers them as best it can. These questions are usually the same that we ourselves are asking and trying to answer in our scientific researches. Hence what we find in these legends are the beginnings of human science, only humble beginnings of course, and yet venerable to us because they are beginnings, and at the same time peculiarly attractive and touching, for in these answers ancient Israel has uttered its most intimate feelings, clothing them in a bright garb of poetry. Some of these questions are the following:

ETHNOLOGICAL LEGENDS.

There is a desire to know the reasons for the relations of tribes. Why is Canaan the servant of his brethren? Why has Japhet such an extended territory? Why do the children of Lot dwell in the inhospitable East? How does it come that Reuben has lost his birthright? Why must Cain wander about a restless fugitive? Why is sevenfold vengeance proclaimed against the slayer of Cain? Why is Gilead the border between Israel and the Aramæans? Why does Beersheba belong to us and not to the people of Gerar? Why is Shechem in possession of Joseph? Why have we a right to the holy places at Shechem and Machpela? Why has Ishmael become a Bedouin people with just this territory and this God? How does it come that the Egyptian peasants have to bear the heavy tax of the fifth, while the fields of the priests are exempt? And with especial frequency the question was asked, How does Israel come to have this glorious land of Canaan?

The legends tell in many variations how it came about that the patriarchs received this particular land: God gave it to Abraham because of his obedience; when on the occasion of the sep-

aration at Bethel Lot chose the East, the West fell to Abraham; Jacob obtained the blessing of the better country from Isaac by a deception; God promised it to Jacob at Bethel, and so on.

Such ethnological legends, which tell a fictitious story in order to explain tribal relations, are of course very difficult to distinguish from historical legends which contain the remnant of a tradition of some actual event. Very commonly ethnological and ethnographic features are combined in the same legend: the relations underlying the story are historical, but the way in which they are explained is poetic.

The usual nature of the answer given to these questions by our legends is that the present relations are due to some transaction of the patriarchs: the tribal ancestor bought the holy place, and accordingly it belongs to us, his heirs; the ancestors of Israel and Aram established Gilead as their mutual boundary; Cain's ancestor was condemned to perpetual wandering by the word of God, and so on. A favorite way is to find the explanation in a miraculous utterance of God or some of the patriarchs, and the legend has to tell how this miraculous utterance came to be made in olden times. And this sort of explanation was regarded as completely satisfactory, so that there came to be later a distinct literary variety of "charm" or "blessing."¹

Childish as these explanations now seem to us, and impossible as it was for the men of old to find out the true reasons of such things, yet we must not overlook the profundity of many of these poetic legends: they are all based on the assumption that the tribal and national relations of that day were not chance, but that they were all the results of events of the primitive world, that they were in a way "predestined." In these legends we have the first rudiments of a philosophy of history.

ETYMOLOGICAL LEGENDS.

Along with the above we find etymological legends or features of legends, as it were, beginnings of the science of language. Ancient Israel spent much thought upon the origin and the real meaning of the names of races, mountains, wells, sanctuaries, and cities. To them names were not so unimportant as to us, for they were convinced that names were somehow closely related to the things. It was quite impossible in many cases for the ancient people to give the correct explanation, for names were with Israel as with other nations among the most ancient possessions of the people, coming

¹Cp. Genesis xlix.

down from extinct races or from faraway stages of the national language. Many of our current names such as Rhine, Moselle, Neckar, Harz, Berlin, London, Thames, Seine, etc. are equally unintelligible to those not trained in philology. It is probable that the very fact of the oddity and unintelligibility of these names attracted the attention of the ancient race. Early Israel as a matter of course explains such names without any scientific spirit and wholly on the basis of the language as it stood. It identifies the old name with a modern one which sounds more or less like it, and proceeds to tell a little story explaining why this particular word was uttered under these circumstances and was adopted as the name. We too have our popular etymologies. How many there are who believe that the noble river which runs down between New Hampshire and Vermont and across Massachusetts and Connecticut is so named because it "connects" the first two and "cuts" the latter two states! Manhattan Island was named from the exclamation of a savage who was struck by the size of a Dutch hat worn by an early burgher, "Man hat on!" Many are the stories told to explain why a famous London highway is called "Rotten Row" (*Route en roi*).

The Lombards, we are told by another legend, were originally called Winili. But on an occasion the women of the tribe put on beards as a disguise, and Wodan looking out of his window in the morning exclaimed, "What are those 'long beards' (Lango-barden)?" Grimm, *German Legends*, No. 390.

The famous Thuringian castle, the Wartburg, is said to have derived its name from the fact that the landgrave, having strayed thither during a hunt, exclaimed, "*Wart, Berg, du sollst mir eine Burg werden*" (Wait, mountain, thou shalt become my fortress).

Similar legends are numerous in Genesis and in later works. The city of Babel is named from the fact that God there confused human tongues (*balal*), xi. 9; Jacob is interpreted as "heelholder" because at birth he held his brother, whom he robbed of the birth-right, by the heel (xxv. 26); Zoar means "trifle," because Lot said appealingly, "It is only a trifle" (xix. 20, 22); Beersheba is "the well of seven," because Abraham there gave Abimelech seven lambs (xxi. 28 ff.); Isaac (*Yishak*) is said to have his name from the fact that his mother laughed (*sahak*) when his birth was foretold to her (xviii. 12), and so forth.

In order to realise the utter naïveté of most of these interpretations, consider that the Hebrew legend calmly explains the Babylonian name Babel from the Hebrew vocabulary, and that the wri-

ters are often satisfied with merely approximate similarities of sounds: for instance Cain (more exactly *Kayin*) from *kaniti*, "I have murdered" (iv. 1), Reuben from *rah beonyi*, "he hath regarded my misery" (xxix. 32), etc. Every student of Hebrew knows that these are not satisfactory etymologies. Investigators have not always fully perceived the naïve character of this theory of etymology, but have allowed themselves to be misled into patching up some very unsatisfactory etymologies with modern appliances. In one case many theologians even are wont to declare one of these explanations, a very ingenious one indeed (*Jahveh* = "I am that I am," Ex. iii. 14) as an established etymology. But etymologies are not acquired by revelation. The etymological legends are especially valuable to us because they are especially clear illustrations of the ætiological variety of legend.

CEREMONIAL LEGENDS.

More important than these etymological legends are those whose purpose is to explain the regulations of religious ceremonies. Such ceremonial regulations play a great part in the life of primitive races, but many of these customs have become in part or altogether unintelligible to the one who observes them in the earliest times of which we have authentic record. For customs are far more persistent than opinions, and religious customs are particularly conservative. And even we, whose religious service has undergone a vigorous purging in the Reformation and again at the hands of rationalism, see and hear in our churches many things which we understand only in part or not at all.

Ancient Israel reflected deeply upon the origin of these religious practices. And if the grown people become too blunted by custom to be able to perceive the strange and unintelligible features of the custom, they are roused from their indifference by the questions of the children. When the children see their father perform all sorts of curious customs during the Feast of the Passover, they will ask—thus it is expressly told, Ex. xii. 26; xiii. 14—What does this mean? and then the story of the Passover is to be told them. A similar direction is given with relation to the twelve stones in the Jordan (Josh. iv. 6), which the father is to explain to the children as memorials of the passage of the Jordan. In these examples, then, we see clearly how such a legend is the answer to a question. Similarly, questions are asked with regard to the origin of circumcision, and of the Sabbath. Why do we not eat the muscle of the thigh? Why do they anoint the holy stone of Bethel

and deliver the tithes there? Why do we not sacrifice a child at Jeruel as Jahveh commands, but in its stead a ram (Gen. xxii.)? Why do our people "limp," that is, perform a certain dance, at the festival in Penuel (xxxii. 32)?

No Israelite could have given the real reason for all these things, for they were too old. But to relieve this embarrassment myth and legend step in. They tell a story and explain the sacred custom: long ago an event occurred from which this ceremony very naturally sprang, and we perform the ceremony representing the event in commemoration of it. But this story that explains the custom is always laid in primitive times. Thus the ancient race gives the entirely correct impression that the customs of their religious service originated in the immemorial past: the trees of Shechem and Hebron are older than Abraham! We perform the rite of circumcision in memory of Moses, whose firstborn was circumcised as a redemption for Moses whose blood God demanded (Ex. iv. 24 ff.). We rest on the seventh day because God at the creation of the world rested on the seventh day (a myth, because God himself is the actor in it). The muscle of the thigh is sacred to us because God struck Jacob on this muscle while wrestling with him at Penuel (xxxii. 33). The stone at Bethel was first anointed by Jacob because it was his pillow in the night when God appeared to him (xxviii. 11 ff.). At Jeruel—this is the name of the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac, xxii. 1-19 (cf. the *Commentary*, p. 218 ff.)—God at first demanded of Abraham his child, but afterward accepted a ram. We "limp" at Penuel in imitation of Jacob, who limped there when his hip was lamed in the wrestling with God (xxxii. 32). And so on.

In all this matter we are constantly hearing of certain definite places, such as Bethel, Penuel, Shechem, Beersheba, Lacha-roi, Jeruel, etc., and of the trees, wells, and stone monuments at these places. These are the primitive sanctuaries of the tribes and families of Israel. Primitive times felt that there was some immediate manifestation of the nature of the divinity in these monuments, but a later time which no longer regarded the connexion as so clear and so self-evident, raised the question, Why is this particular place and this sacred memorial so especially sacred? The regular answer to this question was, Because in this place the divinity appeared to our ancestor. In commemoration of this theophany we worship God in this place. Now in the history of religion it is of great significance that the ceremonial legend comes from a time when religious feeling no longer perceived as self-evident the di-

vinity of the locality and the natural monument and had forgotten the significance of the sacred ceremony. Accordingly the legend has to supply an explanation of how it came about that the God and the tribal ancestor met in this particular place.

Abraham happened to be sitting under the tree in the noonday heat just as the men appeared to him, and for this reason the tree is sacred (xix. 1 ff). The well in the desert, Lacha-roi, became the sanctuary of Ishmael because his mother in her flight into the desert met at this well the God who comforted her (xvi. 7 ff). Jacob happened to be passing the night in a certain place and resting his head upon a stone when he saw the heavenly ladder; therefore this stone is our sanctuary (xxviii. 10 ff). Moses chanced to come with his flocks to the holy mountain and the thornbush (Ex. iii. 1 ff). Probably every one of the greater sanctuaries of Israel had some similar legend of its origin.

We can easily imagine that any such legend of a sanctuary was originally told on the occasion of the festival concerned and on the original spot, just as the Feast of the Passover and the legend of the exodus, the feast of Purim and the legend of Esther, the Babylonian Easter festival and the Babylonian hymn of the creation, belong together, and as with us Christmas and Easter are not to be thought of without their stories. These ceremonial legends are so valuable to us because we discover from them what were the sacred places and customs of Israel and at the same time they give us a very vivid realisation of ancient religious feeling: they are our chief sources of information regarding the oldest religion of Israel. Genesis is full of them, and but few are found in the later books. Almost everywhere in Genesis where a certain place is named, and at least wherever God appears at a definite place, it is based on such a legend. In these legends we have the beginning of the history of religion.

GEOLOGICAL AND OTHER LEGENDS.

Aside from the foregoing we may distinguish a number of other sorts of legends, of which at least the geological deserves mention. Such geological legends undertake to explain the origin of a locality. Whence comes the Dead Sea with its dreadful desert? The region was cursed by God on account of the terrible sin of its inhabitants. Whence comes the pillar of salt yonder with its resemblance to a woman? That is a woman, Lot's wife, turned into a pillar of salt in punishment for attempting to spy out the mystery of God (xix. 26). But whence does it come that the bit of territory

about Zoar is an exception to the general desolation? Because Jahveh spared it as a refuge for Lot (xix. 17-22).

All these ætiological legends, then, are remote from the standards of the modern sciences to which they correspond; we regard them with the emotion with which a man looks back upon his childhood. But even for our science they have a great value, for they furnish us in their descriptions or implications of definite conditions the most important material for the knowledge of the ancient world.

MIXED LEGENDS.

Very frequently various types of legend are combined in one. The flight of Hagar (xvi.) is to be called ethnographic because it depicts the life of Ishmael; ethnologic, because it undertakes to explain these conditions; in one feature it is allied to the ceremonial legends, its explanation of the sacredness of Lacha-roi; furthermore it has etymological elements in its interpretation of the names Lacha-roi and Ishmael.—The legend of Paradise treats all at once a number of questions.—The legend of Bethel explains at once the worship at Bethel and the name of the place.—The legends of Beersheba (xxi., xxii. ff., xxvi.) contain remnants of history, telling of a tribal treaty established there, and at the same time certain religious features, as the explanation of the sanctity of the place, and finally some etymological elements.—The legend of Penue! explains the sanctity of the place, the ceremony of limping, and the names Penue! and Israel. And so on. Etymological elements, it may be noted, never appear alone in Genesis, but always in connexion with other features.

ORIGIN OF THE LEGENDS.

In many cases the origin of the legends will have been revealed with what has already been considered. Thus in most etymological features it can be shown quite clearly that those features in the legend which explain the name were invented for this very purpose. The incident of Abraham's giving Abimelech seven (sheba) lambs at Beersheba (xxi., 28 ff.) was surely invented to explain this name; also the laughing (sahak) of Isaac's mother (xviii. 12-15), etc. The narrative of Judah, Er, Onan (xxxviii.) and the others is plainly nothing but a history of the Israelite families, just as the legend of Dinah (xxxiv.) is merely a reflexion of the attack upon Shechem. But on the other hand the investigator is to be warned not to be too quick to jump at the conclusion that he always has

the origin of the legend in this oldest interpretation attainable by us; on the contrary, we have to reckon with the possibility that the features of the story which are intelligible to us were injected into it later, and that the legend itself is older than any meaning we can see in it.

Finally, there are legends which cannot be classified under any of the heads given above. Of such are large portions of the legend of Joseph; also the chief feature of the story of Jacob and Laban, the deceits and tricks, cannot be understood from the standpoint of either history or ætiology.

The preceding classification of legends is based of course upon the chief or dominant features. Along with these go the purely ornamental or æsthetic features twining about the others like vines over their trellises. The art of these legends is revealed especially in this portrayal of the subject matter given.

THE HOLY SAINT JOSAPHAT OF INDIA.

FROM THE ACCOUNT OF THE HON. ANDREW D. WHITE.

WE owe the picture constituting the frontispiece to the present number of *The Open Court* to the courtesy of our distinguished fellow-countryman, the Hon. Andrew D. White, American Ambassador to the court of Berlin, and a scholar and publicist of merited eminence, who has had the original photograph especially reproduced for our purpose. The story of St. Josaphat, who is none other than Buddha himself canonised and enrolled as a Christian saint, forms so interesting an episode in the history of religion and sheds so much light on the evolution of our religious and intellectual beliefs, that we have decided to reproduce Mr. White's excellent account of the affair in full, rather than limit ourselves to a mere note on the picture. This account is taken with the author's consent from his large two-volume work, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*.¹ In the chapter on "The Victory of the Scientific and Literary Methods," Mr. White traces briefly the history of Assyrian and Egyptian research and its effect on our interpretation of the Bible and on traditional theological science. He then says:

"Even more extensive were the revelations made by scientific criticism applied to the sacred literature of southern and eastern Asia. The resemblances of sundry fundamental narratives and ideas in our own sacred books with those of Buddhism were especially suggestive.

"Here, too, had been a long preparatory history. The discoveries in Sanscrit philology made in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, by Sir William Jones, Carey, Wilkins, Foster, Colebrooke, and others, had met at first with some opposition from theologians. The declaration by

¹ This very interesting work, which is now the standard history of civilisation, is published by D. Appleton & Co. of New York.

Dugald Stewart that the discovery of Sanscrit was fraudulent, and its vocabulary and grammar patched together out of Greek and Latin, showed the feeling of the older race of biblical students. But researches went on. Bopp, Burnouf, Lassen, Weber, Whitney, Max Müller, and others continued the work during the nineteenth century. More and more evident became the sources from which many ideas and narratives in our own sacred books had been developed. Studies in the sacred books of Brahmanism, and in the institutions of Buddhism, the most widespread of all religions, its devotees outnumbering those of all branches of the Christian Church together, proved especially fruitful in facts relating to general sacred literature and early European religious ideas.

"Noteworthy in the progress of this knowledge was the work of Fathers Huc and Gabet. In 1839 the former of these, a French Lazarist priest, set out on a mission to China. Having prepared himself at Macao by eighteen months of hard study, and having arrayed himself like a native, even to the wearing of the queue and the staining of his skin, he visited Peking and penetrated Mongolia. Five years later, taking Gabet with him, both disguised as Lamas, he began his long and toilsome journey to the chief seats of Buddhism in Thibet, and, after two years of fearful dangers and sufferings, accomplished it. Driven out finally by the Chinese, Huc returned to Europe in 1852, having made one of the most heroic, self-denying, and, as it turned out, one of the most valuable efforts in all the noble annals of Christian missions. His accounts of these journeys, written in a style simple, clear, and interesting, at once attracted attention throughout the world. But far more important than any services he had rendered to the Church he served was the influence of his book upon the general opinions of thinking men; for he completed a series of revelations made by earlier, less gifted, and less devoted travellers, and brought to the notice of the world the amazing similarity of the ideas, institutions, observances, ceremonies, and ritual, and even the ecclesiastical costumes of the Buddhists to those of his own Church.¹

"Buddhism was thus shown with its hierarchy, in which the Grand Lama, an infallible representative of the Most High, is surrounded by its minor Lamas, much like cardinals; with its bishops wearing mitres, its celibate priests with shaven crown, cope, dalmatic, and censer; its cathedrals with clergy gathered in the choir;

¹[Huc's delightful book of *Travels* has been recently reprinted by the Open Court Publishing Co. with the original wood-cuts.—*Ed.*]

its vast monasteries filled with monks and nuns vowed to poverty, chastity, and obedience; its church arrangements, with shrines of saints and angels; its use of images, pictures, and illuminated missals; its service, with a striking general resemblance to the Mass; antiphonal choirs; intoning of prayers; recital of creeds; repetition of litanies; processions; mystic rites and incense; the offering and adoration of bread upon an altar lighted by candles; the drinking from a chalice by the priest; prayers and offerings for the dead; benediction with outstretched hands; fasts, confessions, and doctrine of purgatory—all this and more was now clearly revealed. The good father was evidently staggered by these amazing facts; but his robust faith soon gave him an explanation: he suggested that Satan, in anticipation of Christianity, had revealed to Buddhism this divinely constituted order of things. The naïve explanation did not commend itself to his superiors in the Roman Church. In the days of St. Augustine or of St. Thomas Aquinas it would doubtless have been received much more kindly; but in the days of Cardinal Antonelli this was hardly to be expected: the Roman authorities, seeing the danger of such plain revelations in the nineteenth century, even when coupled with such devout explanations, put the book under the ban, though not before it had been spread throughout the world in various translations. Father Huc was sent on no more missions.

“Yet there came even more significant discoveries, especially bearing upon the claims of that great branch of the Church which supposes itself to possess a divine safeguard against error in belief. For now was brought to light by literary research the irrefragable evidence that the great Buddha—Sakya Muni himself—had been canonised and enrolled among the Christian saints whose intercession may be invoked, and in whose honor images, altars, and chapels may be erected; and this, not only by the usage of the mediæval Church, Greek and Roman, but by the special and infallible sanction of a long series of popes, from the end of the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth—a sanction granted under one of the most curious errors in human history. The story enables us to understand the way in which many of the beliefs of Christendom have been developed, especially how they have been influenced from the seats of older religions: and it throws much light into the character and exercise of papal infallibility.

“Early in the seventh century there was composed, as is now believed, at the Convent of St. Saba near Jerusalem, a pious romance entitled *Barlaam and Josaphat*—the latter personage, the

hero of the story, being represented as a Hindu prince converted to Christianity by the former.

"This story, having been attributed to St. John of Damascus in the following century, became amazingly popular, and was soon accepted as true: it was translated from the Greek original not only into Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopic, but into every important European language, including even Polish, Bohemian, and Icelandic. Thence it came into the pious historical encyclopædia of Vincent of Beauvais, and, most important of all, into the *Lives of the Saints*.

"Hence the name of its pious hero found its way into the list of saints whose intercession is to be prayed for, and it passed without challenge until about 1590, when, the general subject of canonisation having been brought up at Rome, Pope Sixtus V., by virtue of his infallibility and immunity against error in everything relating to faith and morals, sanctioned a revised list of saints, authorising and directing it to be accepted by the Church; and among those on whom he thus forever infallibly set the seal of Heaven was included '*The Holy Saint Josaphat of India*, whose wonderful acts St. John of Damascus has related.' The 27th of November was appointed as the day set apart in honor of this saint, and the decree, having been enforced by successive popes for over two hundred and fifty years, was again officially approved by Pius IX. in 1873. This decree was duly accepted as infallible, and in one of the largest cities of Italy may to-day be seen a Christian church dedicated to this saint. On its front are the initials of his Italianised name; over its main entrance is the inscription '*Divo Josafat*'; and within it is an altar dedicated to the saint—above this being a pedestal bearing his name and supporting a large statue which represents him as a youthful prince wearing a crown and contemplating a crucifix.

"Moreover, relics of this saint were found; bones alleged to be parts of his skeleton, having been presented by a Doge of Venice to a King of Portugal, are now treasured at Antwerp.

"But even as early as the sixteenth century a pregnant fact regarding this whole legend was noted: for the Portuguese historian Diego Conto showed that it was identical with the legend of Buddha. Fortunately for the historian his faith was so robust that he saw in this resemblance only a trick of Satan; the life of Buddha being, in his opinion, merely a diabolic counterfeit of the life of Josaphat centuries before the latter was lived or written—just as

good Abbé Huc saw in the ceremonies of Buddhism a similar anticipatory counterfeit of Christian ritual.

"There the whole matter virtually rested for about three hundred years—various scholars calling attention to the legend as a curiosity, but none really showing its true bearings—until, in 1859, Laboulaye in France, Liebrecht in Germany, and others following them, demonstrated that this Christian work was drawn almost literally from an early biography of Buddha, being conformed to it in the most minute details, not only of events but of phraseology; the only important changes being that, at the end of the various experiences showing the wretchedness of the world, identical with those ascribed in the original to the young Prince Buddha, the hero, instead of becoming a hermit, becomes a Christian, and that for the appellation of Buddha—'Bodisat'—is substituted the more scriptural Josaphat.

"Thus it was that, by virtue of the infallibility vouchsafed to the papacy in matters of faith and morals, Buddha became a Christian saint.

"Yet these were by no means the most pregnant revelations. As the Buddhist scriptures were more fully examined, there were disclosed interesting anticipations of statements in later sacred books. The miraculous conception of Buddha and his virgin birth, like that of Horus in Egypt and of Krishna in India; the previous annunciation to his mother Maja; his birth during a journey by her; the star appearing in the east, and the angels chanting in the heavens at his birth; his temptation—all these and a multitude of other statements were full of suggestions to larger thought regarding the development of sacred literature in general. Even the eminent Roman Catholic missionary Bishop Bigandet was obliged to confess, in his scholarly life of Buddha, these striking similarities between the Buddhist scriptures and those which it was his mission to expound, though by this honest statement his own further promotion was rendered impossible. Fausbøll also found the story of the judgment of Solomon imbedded in Buddhist folklore; and Sir Edwin Arnold, by his poem, *The Light of Asia*, spread far and wide a knowledge of the anticipation in Buddhism of some ideas which down to a recent period were considered distinctively Christian.

"Imperfect as the revelations thus made of an evolution of religious beliefs, institutions, and literature still are, they have not been without an important bearing upon the newer conception of our own sacred books: more and more manifest has become the

interdependence of all human development; more and more clear the truth that Christianity, as a great fact in man's history, is not dependent for its life upon any parasitic growths of myth and legend, no matter how beautiful they may be.¹ The present writer gladly avails himself of the opportunity to thank the learned Director of the National Library at Palermo, Monsignor Marzo, for his kindness in showing him the very interesting church of San Giosafat in that city; and to the custodians of the church for their readiness to allow photographs of the saint to be taken. The writer's visit was made in April, 1895, and the original photograph of our illustration may be seen in the library of Cornell University. As to the more rare editions of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, a copy of the Icelandic translation is to be seen in the remarkable collection of Prof. Willard Fiske, at Florence. As to the influence of these translations, it may be noted that when young John Kuncewicz, afterward a Polish archbishop, became a monk, he took the name of the sainted Prince Josafat; and, having fallen a victim to one of the innumerable murderous affrays of the seventeenth century between different sorts of fanatics—Greek, Catholic, and Protestant—in Poland, he also was finally canonised under that name, evidently as a means of annoying the Russian Government."²

¹ "For full details of the canonisation of Buddha under the name of St. Josaphat, see Fausbøll, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, translated by Rhys Davids, London, 1880, pp. xxxvi and following also Prof. Max Müller in the *Contemporary Review* for July, 1890; also the article 'Barlaam and Josaphat,' in ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. For the more recent and full accounts, correcting some minor details in the foregoing authorities, see Kubn, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, Munich, 1893, especially pp. 82, 83. For a very thorough discussion of the whole subject, see Zotenberg, *Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Josaphat*, Paris, 1886; especially for arguments fixing date of the work, see parts i to iii; also Gaston Paris in the *Revue de Paris* for June, 1895. For the transliteration between the appellation of Buddha Bodhisat and the name of the saint Josaphat, see Fausbøll and Sayce as above, p. xxxvii, note; and for the multitude of translations of the work ascribed to St. John of Damascus, see Table III., on p. xcv. The reader who is curious to trace up a multitude of the myths and legends of early Hebrew and Christian mythology to their more eastern and southern sources can do so in *Bible Myths*, New York, 1883."

² See Contieri, *Vita di S. Giosafat, Arcivescovo e Martire Ruseno*, Roma, 1867.

THE MUSKEE-KEE WIN-NI-NEE.

THE MEDICINE-MAN OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY W. THORNTON PARKER, M. D.

THE medicine-man among all North American Indians is a person of conspicuous importance, as he is supposed to possess control over mysterious agencies, and to be endowed with powers well-nigh supernatural. He is believed to be not only under the influence of spirits of great power, but to have more or less control over them, compelling their aid for weal or woe, upon friend or enemy. He is also supposed to be able to interpret signs of major or minor import, and to foretell the severity or mildness of approaching seasons, and the appropriateness of time for expeditions concerned in the chase, or in war.

These doctors, magicians, prophets, dreamers, or whatever the medicine-man may be conceived to be, are prepared for their skilful profession only after long and arduous training. The tests necessary for recognition as skilful and responsible practioners are often very severe and exacting, requiring physical endurance and bravery of no mean order. These ordeals or tests when completed endow the medicine-man with magical and mysterious powers of cure and prophecy, acknowledged by all the tribes.

Oftentimes the renown of these men will have spread among other tribes and even among other nations, Indians making long journeys to consult and listen to the distinguished Shaman. Young men who are seeking to become great prophets travel far for the instruction of those celebrated in the mythical arts; but such instances are by no means common, as each tribe has its own system of arriving at results.

The medicine-lodge is believed by many to be the actual habitation of the Great Spirit; it is as it were their tabernacle, or Sacred



BLACK LODGE CAMP (CROW). Red medicine-teepee with painted characters upon it, right centre of photograph.

Ark in the wilderness. Col. Inman in his *Salt Lake Trail* thus describes the influence of the medicine-lodge :

"When the prophecies of these medicine-men fail, the Indians "attribute it to some neglect of the instructions imparted, and not "to any deficiency in their medicine-man; but when success occurs, "great is the honor bestowed upon their prophet. Their confidence "in these medicine-men is really remarkable."

The Indian believes in the immortality of the soul, and in his dreams and in the semi-delirium of sicknesses or accidents gains an insight into future mysteries, and has glimpses of the beauties and happiness of the life to come. It is not to be wondered at therefore that to his prophets he attributes great discernment in these and all other matters of importance.

Among the Ojibways the commonest form of greeting is *Bo-sho-nee-chee*. *Bo-zho* is undoubtedly a corruption of the French, *Bon jour*, which thick-mouthed French voyageurs have repeated in the hearing of Indians; and so after centuries the words *Bo-zho* have become almost universal among Algonquin Indians, or those living along the Great Lakes and upon the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers. So early trappers witnessed the wonderful influence of the medicine-men and also saw that these possessors of supernatural powers made use of it in healing diseased bodies, as well as in controlling the mind and spirit. They therefore called these men *médecin*, or doctor.

From calling them doctor or *médecin* it was an easy transition to call their power by the same name, and the similarity in sounds of the English and the French words made the term readily adapted by the English-speaking people. So at last *medicine-man* came to mean the man having mysterious power over medicine or magic or mysterious arts in general; and the medicine-man controlling the medicine, and some medicine being good, some evil, certain things came to be called "good medicine" or "bad medicine," and certain occurrences to be "good medicine" or "bad medicine," in other words "propitious" or "unpropitious."

Traditions have also been in the keeping, as it were, of the medicine-men. Colonel Inman, in his *Salt Lake Trail*, mentions that the Indians of North America or most of them have a tradition of a great flood or deluge which occurred ages ago. While on the expedition of General Carr, in 1869, when Buffalo Bill (Cody) was Chief of Scouts, a member of the command brought into camp a huge bone. The surgeon of the expedition examined it and said it certainly must be an enormous femur or thigh bone. The In-

dians agreed with this theory, but claimed it had belonged to one of the giants which inhabited the earth many generations back. One of the medicine-men present thus explained the prodigious size of this apparently human bone. "A long time ago," said he, "the great earth was peopled by warriors of gigantic stature. These



CURLEY, CUSTER'S SCOUT (CROW).

Only Survivor of the Custer Massacre, June 25, 1876.

Indians were huge enough to walk beside the buffalo and lift them up and carry them under their arms as a man would a pet dog. These warriors became so powerful that at last they dared to defy the Great Spirit! This angered the Creator and He ordered the

rain to come. It poured so continuously that all the rivers overflowed their banks, and the prairies became submerged. The Indians in terror fled to the hills and then the waters rose upon them there. At last they climbed the highest peaks of the Rockies, but go where they would the Great Father's vengeance followed them and engulfed them all. Then the earth became silent, and when the last of the waters had receded and all was dry and fair again,



AN AMERICAN INDIAN IGNITING WOOD BY MEANS OF A FIRE-DRILL.

the Mighty Creator sent a new race, the size of men we now see, not over six and a half feet tall. These people would not defy the Great Spirit, but taught their children to call Him Great Father and to worship Him for His goodness and implore His help and protection and His blessing. The Great Father knows the hearts and minds of His children and those who love Him He blesses."

The Indian medicine-man never teaches disrespect toward or rebellion against the Great Father, neither does he count his art as wonderful in the sight of the Creator of all men and all things.

The religion of the Indians promises nothing for the next world, having no reference to it, but helps to prolong life here. The Christian religion is considered greatly inferior, as its promises are for the future life.

The ceremony of the Grand Medicine is an elaborate ritual, covering several days, the endless number of gods and spirits being called upon to minister to the sick man and to lengthen his life. The several degrees of the Grand Medicine teach the use of incantations, of medicines and poisons, and the requirements necessary to constitute a Brave. "When a young man seeks admission to the Grand Medicine Lodge, he first fasts until he sees in his dream some animal (the mink, beaver, otter, and fisher being most common) which he hunts and kills. The skin is then ornamented with beads or porcupine quills, and the spirit of the animal becomes the friend and companion of the man." The medicine-men have only a limited knowledge of herbs, but they are expert in dressing wounds, and the art of extracting barbed arrows from the flesh can be learned from them.

"After going through with certain incantations, the Grand-Medicine-man tells his patient that his pain is caused by a bear or some other animal, which is gnawing at the vitals. He makes a most infernal noise in order to drive the spirit away, and if the patient recovers, he accredits it to his own skill; if death follows, he falls back upon the plea so often used by his white brother, 'I was called too late!' They make great gain out of the people and are their counsellors in peace and war. They are bitter opponents of Christianity. The venerable medicine-man Shadayence was the most cunning antagonist I ever had among the Indians."¹

In olden times,—yes, to within the memory of living Ojibways,—the medicine-man at the funeral ceremony thus addressed the departed: "Dear friend, you will not feel lonely while pursuing your journey towards the setting sun. I have killed for you a Sioux (hated enemy of the Ojibways), and I have scalped him. He will accompany you and provide for you, hunting your food as you need it. The scalp I have taken, use it for your moccasins."

And yet in spite of these apparently heathenish rites, the Indian is never an atheist; always bending humbly in recognition of

¹ From Bishop Whipple's Autobiography, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*.

the Great Spirit, the Heavenly Father, the Creator of all things and all men, "Geechee Manito," Great Spirit, whom we in English call the Almighty God.

The Muskee-kee win-ni-nee or medicine-man is quite a different individual from the priest or prophet or magician. The Indian doctor is very skilful in curing simple ailments. Their remedies are cathartics, sweating medicines, expectorants or cough and lung remedies; diuretics, remedies acting on the kidneys, emetics to produce vomiting; remedies for inflammation of mucous surfaces, bladder, etc.; alteratives to eradicate diseases, bitter herbs for tonics, and soporifics, narcotics, etc. to induce sleep; ointments, emulsions, lotions, teas, etc. When we consider the Indian remedies, it makes quite a pharmacopœia and dispensatory. Then the Indians possess very strict rules concerning the management of women in their natural ailments, and unlike the Africans, our Redmen, native Americans, are a clean, orderly people and worthy of respect. In matters relating to hydrotherapy they excel. No one can give better sweatings.

Down by one of the sweat lodges a woman is kindling fires and heating the stones in the centre of the lodge and outside. She covers the frame with robes or skins so as to keep the heat in. A bucket of water stands near the fire. Soon half a dozen young men come to the place and following them the medicine-man. The young men drop their blankets and crawl into the sweat lodge; they are naked as they creep beneath the coverings. The medicine-man starts his "Hoyhey, Hoyhey, Hoyhey,"¹ and sings his sacred songs. The woman passes a vessel into the sweat house; the water hisses as it falls on the hot stones, and steam creeps forth from the crevices in the coverings. At length after a longer or shorter exposure to the steam heat, the men creep out, rise, and all wet with perspiration rush down to the stream and plunge into the cold water. This is the famous Indian sweat bath, cleansing, invigorating, almost stimulating. The patient feels refreshed and like a new man. It is primitive, but it is effective.

¹ The word "hoyhey" is hard to spell in English, perhaps "hoy-ee" would be more explanatory. In the matter of cathartics the Indians outdo their pale-face friends in the abuse and excess of these remedies. They require *large* doses and as every treatment is preceded by purgings some attribute their mortality from consumption to be due to this over-dosing. It is more likely, however, that the change from well-ventilated teepees to close cabins, and from open wood fires to overheated iron stoves, and from venison, prairie chicken, and ground corn cooked in open fireplaces, to the doughy flour bread baked in stoves, that this is due. The borders of the lakes where camps and cabins have long been established become foul and unhealthy, and the pure water they have been used to has failed. Change of habits and the infrequency of the healthful exercise of the hunt, also act against their once rugged constitutions.

And last but not least, these medicine-men are skilled in counter-irritation for the treatment and cure of various disorders.



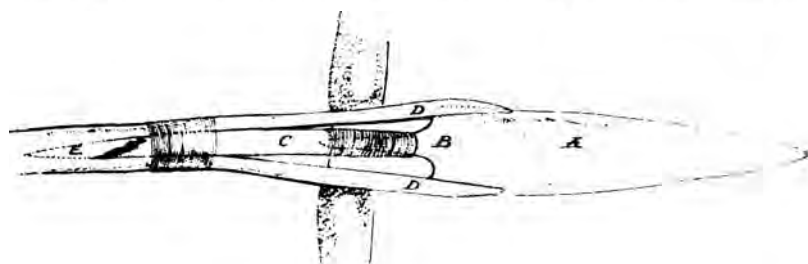
CROW INDIAN MEDICINE-MAN'S SWEAT TEEPEE.
Here the Indian "Turkish" bath is administered with heated stones.

As surgeons they excel in skilful bandaging, splints, and other treatment of fractures; in deformities; in the treatment of snake, dog, wolf, and other bites. They are adepts in extracting arrows

and bullets. Bishop Whipple once narrated to me how the Indians remove an arrow-head. They take a willow stick, cut it exactly in half by dexterously splitting it, remove the pith and smoothing the ends insert one above the superior flange of the arrow, the other beneath, then bind the two together close to the wound and cautiously remove *all*.

The Indian ambulance or *travois* is a remarkable conveyance for carrying the wounded out of reach of the battle, or for transporting him over long marches to his home camp. The comfort of this mode of conveyance is greater than would appear at first sight. It is from witnessing this primitive method among our Indians that American army surgeons have in frontier wars adopted this system and called it the *travois*.

Where can you find among primitive peoples greater natural intelligence in all that pertains to every-day life? In the manufacture of clothing, of teepees or lodges, of arms, or ornaments fit for

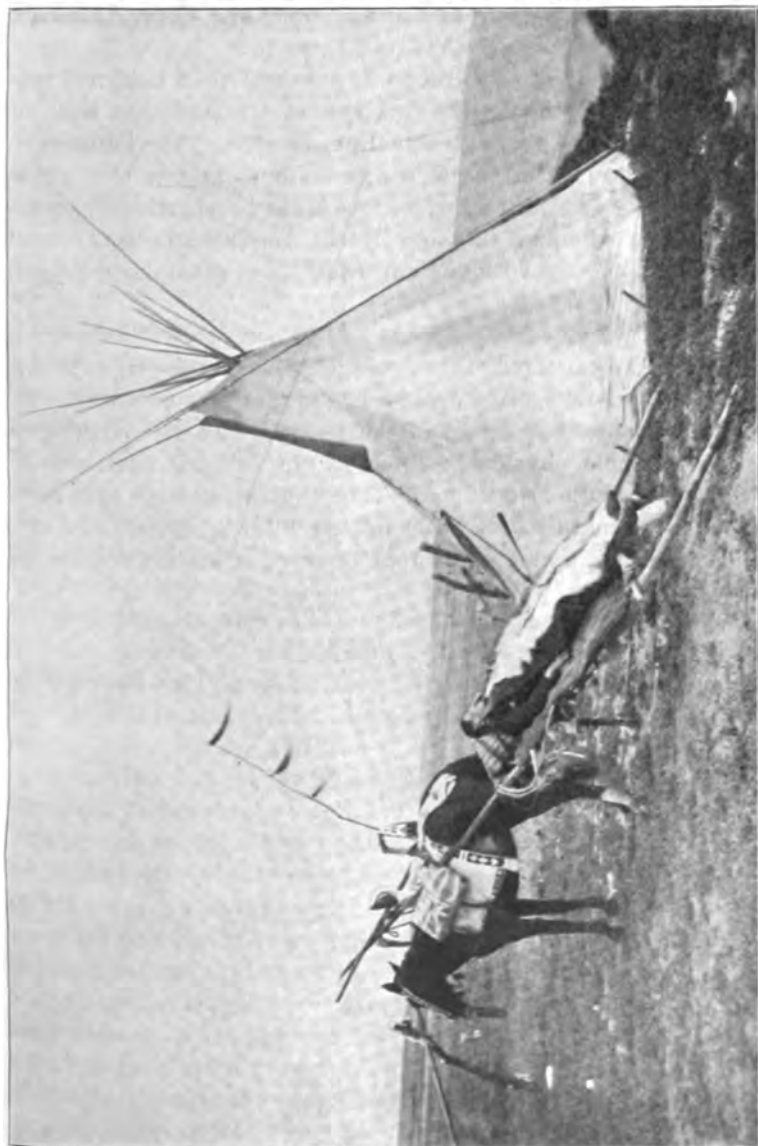


THE EXTRACTION OF AN ARROW-HEAD.

A, Arrow-head; *B*, Shaft of arrow bound upon flange of arrow-head with gut; *C*, Shaft of arrow; *D*, Superior portion of wood; *D*, Inferior portion of wood; midway between *E* and *C*, gut string binding the two pieces tightly together before traction is made to withdraw.

a prince to wear? In point of fact, the clothing of a well-to-do Indian squaw, of which the dress of the wife of the Ute chief Uray would be an excellent example, is often quite valuable, ranging anywhere from fifty to one hundred and fifty dollars. The bead ornaments are skilfully and beautifully made, handsome specimens readily bringing in our eastern stores from ten to seventy-five dollars. The decorated otter and mountain-lion skins and the well-known buffalo hides are highly prized. The skins used for the teepees or lodges are most carefully tanned and prepared by squaws. Moccasins, pouches, rifle-cases, knife-scabbards, and quirts, are well made and command high prices. All these beautiful things, together with pipes, silver ornaments, precious stones, and ores, nug-

gets of gold, are freely given to the medicine-man for his professional fees, or as a reward from "grateful patients" for some



CROW INDIAN TRAVOIS.
The primitive ambulance, a pattern which has often been used by white soldiers in Indian campaigns.

extraordinary success in "cure." The ordinary fee for the Muske-
kee win-ni-nee is in yards of calico, so many for each consultation.

The grand-medicine-lodge is usually an unroofed structure,

quite different from the medicine teepee illustrated in this paper. An excellent picture of the open structure appeared about a year ago in *The Open Court*, in the article on "The Cross Among the North American Indians" (Vol. XIII., p. 302).

The honor of grand-medicine is now and then conferred upon 'pale-faces,' and the writer received this recognition from the Ojibways at White Earth Reservation, in 1879. The initiation reminds one who is a mason of the ceremonies in one of the blue-lodge degrees, and certain mysterious signs have strangely enough led masons to believe that our North American Indians are not wholly unacquainted with ancient rites *closely* resembling the masonry of early times.

Among people so intelligent and so competent it follows that much would be expected of the medicine-man, occupying as he does a position of dignity and influence and oftentimes of wealth. We cannot study our aborigines in a spirit of fairness without discovering among them characters which in old Biblical times were regarded as "wise-hearted" men. The Indian in peace or in war is the true son of nature, a believer in God, a loving father, a devoted, enduring friend, and a consistent enemy; in other words, he is a true *man*.

THE CRISIS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY THE EDITOR.

AMONG the great nations of the world England is the pathfinder of constitutional government, and historians therefore frequently regard her as an ideal country, the prototype of liberal government ; and rightly so, for she has discovered the method by which in administrative affairs liberty may be combined with law and order.

In her political and diplomatic career England has been neither more nor less blameable than other nations. She has time and again been guilty of high-handed procedures, especially in dealing with weak peoples and savage tribes ; and there obtains a feeling of bitterness against the English which is most strongly marked on the European continent. Nevertheless, the sober, liberal-minded element of Germany, Austria, the United States, and even of France, Italy, Spain, and the Latin republics of Central and South America, has always given credit to England for her fairness and love of liberty, as promoting everywhere the liberal cause and progress and peace. The situation has gradually been changed, and England has entered a crisis through which she can pass unscathed only by great circumspection and moderation. Her conquests and her power being upon the whole based upon the development of her industries and the expansion of trade, her wars were incidents only, partly due to adventitious conflicts which perhaps could not be avoided, and partly to bungling diplomacy. But the balance of England's greatness and good qualities was quite sufficient to compensate for occasional mistakes, and so she increased in power and was regarded, together with the United States, as the hope of humanity, the refuge of liberty, and the support of progress.

During the last decade a reaction has set in all over the world, which threatens to turn the wheel of progress backward. The

Dreyfus affair in France is a symptom of it; Germany shows her mailed fist; and even the United States have taken an attitude in their conquered provinces which makes the world suspect the honest intentions of the great Republic of the West; but the most lamentable affair has been the war in South Africa against the Afrikaners. Much has been written for and against England, for and against the Transvaal; a justification of the war on moral grounds has been attempted with quite plausible arguments for both sides. And no doubt, attorneys on either side can make a fair showing on the basis of reliable statistics, so long as they restrict themselves to pointing out the faults of the other party and its lack of consideration for other people's rights.¹ Upon the whole, the people almost everywhere are upholders of the Boers, while the governments stand by the British. The hostile feeling toward the Boers is no more than lukewarm, while the enemies of England are in the habit of condemning indiscriminately every step of the British government, even though they themselves would have done the same thing if they had been in England's place.

The moral question of the Boer war is an intricate problem, and we do not propose to touch it; but it seems advisable to point out that as a rule the fundamental question is usually left out when critics of either party deal with it. It is this. At the bottom of right and wrong lies the possession of power, which should never be lost sight of. Right is not based upon priority of ownership, for possession itself constitutes a right only on the supposition that the possessor is in the position to maintain his possession. In this sense the proverb of Latin law holds good, *beati possidentes*, happy are those in possession, which means, "possession is nine points of the law." He has the right to govern a country who has the power to keep order and preserve the peace. He who has no power has forfeited his title. The Hottentots may be the aboriginal inhabitants of the Cape land, but not having the power to protect themselves, let alone peaceful settlers who pursue a legitimate trade in their territory, they have forfeited their right to government, and the party that is able to maintain order without friction is by the law of nature entitled to rule.

The conflict in Africa is ultimately a conflict of might. The Boers have failed to take into due consideration certain rights of both their black subjects and their white guests. They provoked a

¹ See, e. g., *Selected Official Documents of the South African Republic and Great Britain. A Documentary Perspective of the Causes of the War in South Africa.* Edited by Hugh Williams, M. A., B. L. S., Library of Congress, and Frederick Charles Hicks, Ph. D., Library of Congress.

war the consequences of which have proved woful and disastrous. But let the worst be said against the Afrikanders, it does not as yet justify the English cause. England can justify her policy only by establishing law and order and showing that she is capable of maintaining it. One element, however, of maintaining a good government in a civilised country is the consent of the governed, which again is a question of might, not of right in a technical sense, i. e., being in agreement with some written statute. It is the unwritten law of nature that the nation which is strong enough to resist foreign invaders, even though it be a nation of brigands, is entitled to its liberty. No one doubts the right of Abyssinia to freedom, because they drove the Europeans out and slaughtered a whole army of invaders.

Now it appears that the war in South Africa is a very unfortunate affair, because it was undertaken frivolously and without considering the consequences. Whatever legal title England may have had to interfere in the Transvaal, the step she took was, considered solely from the standpoint of British interests, most unwise, and she has had to pay dearly for the lesson. It has been calculated that fifteen British soldiers perished to one Boer killed, and the expenses are incredible. Mr. Chamberlain comforted the members of Parliament with the thought that the subjected territory is immeasurably rich, and that it will pay the war indemnity as soon as order has been restored. That may be true, but the prospect of a restoration of order is very poor.

The English are in a desperate position. They have taken the capital of the country, and driven the president, poor old Oom Krüger, into exile; they hold the open field and have disbanded and disorganised the Afrikander armies. But scattered Boer forces are still in the field and prevent the restoration of order. No train can run without being exposed to attack or being in danger of being derailed and wrecked. And this condition of things has become chronic. How is it possible to develop the country, establish industries, work the mines, if a handful of unruly marauders have the sympathy of the population, while the authorities in spite of their best intentions are hated as foreigners, invaders, conquerors, and usurpers?

The British government ought to have foreseen the difficulty of the situation and the temper of the Dutch settlers before venturing into the war. But they, like Napoleon when marching against Russia, cherished the fond illusion that the whole affair would be ended within a fortnight; for they thought all would be over when

they had taken the capital of the country. They should have listened to the warning voice of some of their prophets at home who pleaded for peace. A few of them went even so far as to openly advocate the cause of the Boers. It is now too late, and it seems that England must wade through blood to fulfil her destiny. Whatever the final outcome may be, the situation is critical, and a clear-headed, wise man at the helm is the first desideratum to steer the ship of state past the cliffs and rocks that threaten her destruction.

How many soldiers have bled to death on the battle-field, how many officers have fallen! There is scarcely a family in the three kingdoms that has not suffered from the loss of a brother, or son, or cousin, or nephew in South Africa. And even that might be passed by if there were only an end of the affair now, or if the prize were worth the sacrifice. But there is not even the bubble reputation in it, and it seems as if even now after having gained an apparently complete victory the best course would be to grant self-rule to the subject Afrikaner republic; for, indeed, *the easiest way to govern a country is by giving it home-rule*. It does not pay to rule a people with guns and bayonets.

England's power has, upon the whole, been built upon peace and liberty. She learned a lesson when trying to bring her American dependencies into submission, and thenceforth made it a rule to grant independence to all her colonies. The question is now whether by a bellicose policy she will be able to maintain the acquisitions of the past. It seems that there is no nation in the old world that ought to fear a disturbance by war more than England, and the situation is extremely complicated. England has great interests at stake in India and in China, and while she is engaged in a desperate struggle in South Africa her hands are not free to wage a war against Russia either in Afghanistan or in Manchuria.

In the Transvaal the difficulties would have adjusted themselves peaceably in favor of the English. It would have taken some time, but the result would have been unailing. The Uitlanders outnumbered the Boers in the proportion of three to one before the war, and would after twenty years, if peace had been preserved, presumably have been ten to one. At the same time, the English language had begun to supplant the Dutch taal and the final result would have been that city interests would have come into collision with the prerogatives of the farmer aristocracy. The settlement of their disputes would have become a purely local affair and the colossus of the British Empire would not have been obliged to risk its reputation in a warfare of such strange odds that

no laurels could be plucked and where even a brilliant victory would have been devoid of honor.

Why was not the peaceful course pursued? Heaven only knows; but the people say that Cecil Rhodes had no patience. He wanted the control of Africa during his life and did not care to leave the completion of his grand enterprises to his children and grandchildren. He gained the confidence of Chamberlain, and Salisbury does as Chamberlain wishes. Thus the British interests were actually jeopardised by the war and the prospect of a slow but certain conquest of the country was surrendered for the doubtful hope of bringing it at once to subjection by force of arms. The probability at present is that the country will remain in an unsettled condition and whatever its natural resources may be, the former flourishing state will not be re-established, for the necessary confidence in England's fairness is lacking. The Boers are to be pitied, but it seems as if the British were in no less pitiable a plight; and at any rate have not gained anything.

The sentiment in England seems to be divided. The Unionists have their way and run the ship of the government. They are supported by two elements, by the old-fashioned Tory of the proud old English aristocracy, and the rabble. The rabble are always for war. They have nothing to lose, they can only gain, or at least they think so. They have no property and are not worried with the idea of an increase of taxes. If they have relatives in the ranks, they do not mind whether they are dead or alive. If men are needed in the army, they can enlist or expect that wages at home will rise. The rabble in England have helped to make sentiment; they have shown their force in riotous demonstrations and have broken up the meetings of the friends of peace.

The middle classes have not shown any great enthusiasm in the present war. The last elections resulted in favor of the Unionists because the war was in progress and it seemed the best policy to let the government finish what it had begun. The time seemed least appropriate for making radical changes in the administration, for in a critical situation it is always better to have a bad government, that is assured to be constant, than a succession of good governments each of which follows a different plan. Therefore we must not assume that all who voted the Unionist ticket were advocates of Chamberlain's policy. There are many who went to the polls with heavy hearts and thought it best, *under the circumstances*, to let the government have a free hand.

When the writer travelled in England last October, he was im-

pressed with the fact that though English sentiment is very strong in condemning Oom Krüger and the policy of the Transvaal, the people by no means feel sure that the course which the British government has taken is the best and wisest. That the Irish are openly avowed friends of the Boers is well known. But there are quite a number of Englishmen who do not hesitate to denounce British politics in the severest terms.

Many bitter words were written and said of the English on the European continent, mostly in France, but the hardest things I have heard were uttered in London. One of the Irish members, I believe it was Tim Healy, used the expression "John Bull, Thieves, and Co." in Parliament and his remarks passed without a rebuke from the chair; there was not even a ripple of indignation among the conservative members of the House. The Irish members have blunted their weapons by using them without discrimination. The House no longer listens to their invectives because they have become monotonous, and they speak now to the galleries only. Their speeches are read by their constituents in Ireland who take delight in the strong language of their representatives, and their re-election can be assured in no other way.

One evening the writer of these lines attended a meeting of the Pharus club, consisting of liberals, perhaps radicals, and other dissatisfied elements of London and its vicinity. The speaker of the evening had just returned from Africa where he had served as a reporter for one of the great English dailies. He was not Irish, but purely English, but the tales of woe he told were heartrending and not to the credit of the English administration of the Transvaal. The remarks and questions made after the lecture indicated the prevalence of an unusual indignation against the British government which was denounced as the most tyrannical government on earth. As a guest from beyond the sea, I ventured to make a few comments on the subject under discussion and tried to say that though the English government had made some grievous mistakes, the English nation had yet some great redeeming features which ought not to be lost sight of; there was in England a love of liberty which made a meeting such as that of the Pharus club possible where English people would grant justice even to an enemy. But I was interrupted and voices from the audience shouted that I could not have been long in England, otherwise I ought to know that there was more freedom in any other country than in Great Britain. Several persons spoke of peace meetings that had been broken up and other methods by which free speech had been suppressed. It

was an interesting experience to find myself, a foreigner, isolated before an English audience in saying a good word for England. I was far from defending Chamberlain's policy; I only insisted that England was a country where love of liberty prevailed as in no other European state, except perhaps Holland and Switzerland.

The boldest advocate of peace is Wm. T. Stead, the well-known editor of the *Review of Reviews*. He has fearlessly written and spoken on the subject and has expressed his opinion without reserve. But he is so severe that his countrymen will not listen to him, and he is commonly characterised as an unbalanced man without any influence. Nevertheless his position is well known all over England and may in time become a factor that has to be taken into consideration.

When the Peace Conference met at the Hague, Mr. Stead on some occasion said that, being an Englishman, he would have to apologise for the atrocities of the British government—a speech which was at once misrepresented in the English press as if he had apologised for being an Englishman. The truth is that Mr. Stead's feelings as to the criminal mistakes made by the British government are so intense because he is a good Englishman, and, whatever erratic notions he may otherwise cherish, he is certainly carved of the same wood as Hampton who resisted the government when infringing upon the rights of the people and preferred to bankrupt himself rather than submit to the payment of an illegal tax.

Mr. Stead, whatever his antagonists may say against him, is a man who has the courage of his convictions. He is not afraid to call a spade a spade. He has been called unpatriotic, but at heart he is a good Briton. He is as truly British as Junius was in the days of the revolution of the American colonists. His patriotism is different though from the common type: it is no jingoism. His patriotism rebels at the thought of having a blot on the escutcheon of England, and he insists on having it removed.

Some speak of the decline of England; and undoubtedly English prestige has suffered greatly of late. But so long as England breeds a Junius *redivivus*, such as Stead, we need not despair. Mr. Stead represents the national conscience, and though he may be a voice crying in the wilderness, still his voice is heard and may be regarded as a symptom of the health of the national life and as an indication of the strong reserve of moral power. The British government may forbid Mr. Stead's writings to circulate in South Africa, but they would not dare to suppress them in England.

In order to appreciate the truth of this observation we must

bear in mind how vigorous and how uncompromising is Mr. Stead's criticism of his own country. He does not hesitate to warn his countrymen of the danger they are running in South Africa by quoting Bismarck's prophecy that South Africa will be the grave of English power. He went so far as to publish a paper entitled *War Against War in South Africa*, bearing the motto "Deliver us from Bloodguiltiness, O Lord!" and his programme was formulated in the following six propositions, printed in bold capitals in large type legible at a long distance:

PROGRAMME.

1. What do you want to do? Stop this war!
2. When? Immediately!
3. Why? Because we are in the wrong.
4. How? By confessing our sins and doing right.
5. What sins? Lying to cover conspiracy. Fraud in making false claims. Bad faith in going back on our word. Wholesale slaughter.
6. And to do right? Expose and punish criminals. Compensate their victims and make peace!

Mr. Stead's peace-propaganda made no impression upon the leading men of the British government. His programme was read in the House, not for considering it but for denouncing him.

In the meantime the war was waged first with fluctuating success until at last the Boers were outnumbered by the British. The capital was taken and the country annexed for the sole purpose of having the legal title of calling the Boers in the field rebels. All organised resistance is broken, but scattered forces remain in the field and it is extremely difficult to suppress them. We need not wonder that the British commander is in despair, for the enemy's appearance and disappearance has become a matter beyond the possibility of computation. The Boers come and vanish like ghosts; and a small number of men can do enormous damage before they are caught. The natural result is that the British resort to desperate means, and have begun to burn farm houses and commit other outrages which are usually condemned by civilised nations as barbarous. We must not blame the British commander too much, for he is driven to despair; and the method pursued by Weyler in Cuba is the sole remedy that is left to him. It is the inevitable policy of an invader who tries to maintain himself against the wish of the large masses of the population. But of this policy the natural result will be that in the long run either the whole population will be wiped out and the end of hostilities will be the peace of the church-yard, or the invader will by and by learn that the

cost of his conquest is higher than the booty, and the losses which he endures bleed him slowly but surely to death. This is the alternative of the present state of things.

Mr. Stead has denounced the methods of the British commanders vigorously, calling it "Hell let loose." Here are some comments on the subject:

"Any house in which a gun is found is given over to the flames. But every white man's house in that wild black man's country needs a gun as part of its indispensable equipment, and they are specially needed when only women are left in charge. But wherever a rifle is found the house is burned.

"What does this mean?

"Levying war upon women and little children. Mr. E. W. Smith, correspondent of the *Morning Leader*, writing before this last Draconian order was issued, gives a terrible picture of the kind of work we have been doing in the Orange Free State, even before this savage order was issued. He says:

"The column commanded by General French, with General Pole-Carew at the head of the Guards and 18th Brigade, is marching in, burning practically everything on the road. It is followed by about 3500 head of loot cattle and sheep. Hundreds of tons of corn and forage have been destroyed. They have seized over 1000 rifles at various farmsteads and destroyed thousands of rounds of cartridges. I hear, too, that General Rundle burnt his way up to Dewetsdorp. Some painful stories are told of the march of the devastating armies by officers in charge of the execution. At one farm burned yesterday only women were left at work upon it. The troops were told that the owner had been captured with Cronje. Still, rifles were found hidden under the mattress of the bed. So the place had to go. Orders were inexorable in all cases where arms came to light. The woman, who swore that her husband had been in commando for four months, threw her arms round the officer's neck, and begged that the homestead might be spared. It had to go. When the flames burst from the doomed place the poor woman threw herself on her knees, tore open her bodice, and bared her breasts, screaming: 'Shoot me, shoot me. I've nothing more to live for now that my husband is gone, and our farm is burnt, and our cattle taken!'"

"Another officer told me of a similar case. 'I am a hard-hearted fellow,' he said, 'but I couldn't stand the women crying, and in one instance I did leave a farm standing that I ought to have destroyed.' A third case has been related to me of a farm where the property was confiscated while the owner was lying dying in another room. As the soldiers ransacked the place they heard a pitiable voice crying from an inner room: 'What are they doing? What are they doing?' and as the firing parties withdrew from the ruined homesteads they were frequently followed by groups of weeping women and children, who covered them with epithets of bitter complaint and denunciation. I hear that Lord Roberts had given preliminary warning that any burghers not found on their homesteads would be treated as hostile, and their property dealt with accordingly. The execution of a whole district was, of course, accompanied by strange scenes, some of bloodthirsty violence."

These are the sentiments of an English officer who is a gentleman and may be accused of sentimentality. But the rank and file of the men, although they may by nature be kind-hearted, are nec-

essarily brutalised by a war of this kind. One brief instance must suffice, for it would smack of sensationalism to enter into details:

"Mr. C. Williams, the *Morning Leader*, quotes from a sergeant's letter from Norvals' Point:—"It is a splendid sensation to know that one can help himself to anything that is worth looting."

The British government might have suppressed the rebellion of the American colonists if it had limited its methods of warfare to attacks upon General Washington's army. But unfortunately for the British authorities the English commander lost patience and began to make war upon the inhabitants themselves. The burning of farms and the punishment of peaceful citizens, not excluding women and children, simply because they sympathise with the enemy, is a symptom not of strength, but of weakness, not of energy but of despair, not of victory but of a final defeat; it is the external expression of a presentiment dimly dawning upon the invading party that their position has become untenable.

Mr. Stead sees the situation in this light, and in one of his publications, entitled *The Candidates of Cain*, he says, p. 108:

"What is the best that can be hoped for?

"If the present policy is not reversed, and the policy of absolute coercion replaced by one of absolute conciliation, the best that we can hope for is that in ten or twenty years we may be able to maintain our hold upon Capetown, and Simon's Bay, as a naval base of the Empire, in the same way that we hold Gibraltar as a naval base at the extremity of Spain. We shall be lucky if we can save that from the general shipwreck of British interests that has been brought about by the statesmanship of Joseph Chamberlain."

It is a grave mistake to think that Mr. Stead is not a good Englishman because he opposes the policy of the present ministry. He claims to be, and I do not hesitate to say that he is, at least as good an Englishman as are his opponents. He claims, with a show of good argument too, that neither the Boer nor the friend of the Boer is a rebel, but Chamberlain, for he violates the law of the land and opposes the most sacred principles of English traditions. Mr. Stead says:

"Every one recognises to-day that it was George Washington and the American colonists who last century vindicated the true principles of English liberty against the Tory Ministers of George III., who were the rank rebels of last century, as Mr. Chamberlain and his friends are the rank rebels and traitors of to-day."

In calling Mr. Chamberlain a rebel Mr. Stead follows no less an authority than that of Edmund Burke, who says:

"We view the establishment of the English Colonies on principles of liberty, as that which is to render this kingdom venerable to future ages. In comparison of this, we regard all the victories and conquests of our war-like ancestors, or of

our own time, as barbarous, vulgar distinctions. This is the peculiar and appropriated glory of England. Those who have and who hold to that foundation of common liberty . . . we consider as the true and the only true Englishmen. Those who depart from it, whether there or here, are attainted, corrupted in blood, and wholly fallen from their original rank and value. They are the real rebels to the free constitution and just supremacy of England."

The present situation becomes more complicated by the crisis which has come over the affairs of China. England suffers Russia to take Manchuria because she needs her armies in South Africa and could not leave India exposed to a Russian attack. Yet there is more at stake in China than in the Transvaal, and Russia will have her way unless she be checked by the bold attitude of Japan, which has the advantage of being on the spot and may be willing to fight for the great prize that may be gained by an increase of her power in Eastern Asia.

Would Great Britain lose in power if she gave back to the Transvaal her independence? Certainly not. She would gain in power; she would fortify her position in South Africa, and would have her hands free to assert her influence in other quarters of the globe. Besides she would rehabilitate her credit as a liberty-loving nation, and the precedent of the victor voluntarily rendering justice to a conquered adversary would redound to her glory for ever.

What England needs is a new man at the helm. Lord Salisbury has given Mr. Chamberlain too much rope, and considering the many former mistakes he made during his administration which have been too easily condoned by the English voters, such as his protection of Dr. Jameson and his blunder in the Venezuela question, he ought to be replaced by a man who is at once firm as Lord Beaconsfield and considerate as Mr. Gladstone. When Edward VII. mounted the throne he had a good chance to make a change without doing any harm to the dignity of Great Britain, and the opportunity has not yet slipped away. The sooner it be done the better, for the time will come when the voters in England and Scotland will resent the great sacrifices of precious lives as well as the enormous drain on the pecuniary resources of the people, and then the British government will be compelled to do what it might do now voluntarily and graciously.

But where is the right man to take the helm?

MISCELLANEOUS.

CARUS STERNE'S GREAT WORK ON THE MODERN SCIENTIFIC WORLD-VIEW.

The popular expositor of science *par excellence* of Germany is Carus Sterne. Not only have his works contributed as much as Haeckel's to the spread of Darwinistic views, but unlike Haeckel his literary labors have not been limited to biology, and every science the advancement of which has contributed to the intellectual and religious enfranchisement of mankind has been made the subject of his luminous expositions. With exuberant eloquence and imagination he combines astonishing erudition, and his researches in the field of classical and Northern mythology, for example, rival even those which he has made in the history of science. Nor is Carus Sterne an expositor of science purely; science has become for him first a philosophy and then a religion; and his works have accordingly assumed a deeply ethical and religious tone, which puts them, in spirit at least, quite in harmony with the teachings of *The Open Court*. Several of his essays appeared in the early volumes of *The Open Court*, and last year (July, August, October, November) translations of selections from his book on the history of civilisation were published.

Carus Sterne's greatest work, and that on which his fame chiefly rests, is his well-known *Werden und Vergehen*, or the story of the coming and the passing away of worlds and of life. Having been long exhausted, it has now appeared again in its fourth edition,¹ revised and enlarged, profusely illustrated with cuts, lithographic color-plates, etc., from the entire literature of science, and equipped in every way with the modern paraphernalia of exposition. It has the reputation in Germany of being the finest existing presentation of those results of scientific research which bear upon the great fundamental problems of life, and in its present improved form there is every reason to believe that it will sustain in other countries the credit which it enjoys at home. We can give in so brief a notice but a general idea of the luxuriant wealth of material contained even in the first volume of this work, which now lies before us. The first chapter treats of astronomy and cosmogony and is prefaced by a beautiful reproduction of the photographs of Mars by Schiaparelli. The second is devoted to geology and bears the title "The Diary of the Globe"; it has a fine colored picture of a coral archipelago, a photograph of

¹*Werden und Vergehen*. Eine Entwicklungsgeschichte des Naturganzen in gemeinverständlicher Fassung. Von Carus Sterne (Dr. Ernst Krause). Vierte neubearbeitete Auflage, mit zahlreichen Abbildungen im Text, vielen Karten und Tafeln in Farbendruck, Holzschnitt, etc. Two volumes, 10 marks each. Berlin: Gebrüder Bornträger.

the Armand cave in the Lozère, and of a lagoon in the Great Barrier reef of Australia. Chapter III. is entitled "The Forms of the Mineral Kingdom" and gives an account of the formation of crystals and precious stones. Chapter IV. treats of the origin and development of terrestrial life (colored plate of siphonophores; photographs of the moon, the Colorado canon). The fifth chapter describes the kingdom of the Protista; the sixth, the "Youth of the Plant-World" (colored plate of mimicry of crustacea; photographs of basalt scenery). Chapter VII. has for its subject "Animal Colonies"; Chapter VIII. is devoted to "The Predecessors of the Higher Animal Forms" (colored lithograph of mimicry in insects); Chapter IX. to the echinoderms, etc.; Chapter X. to the Mollusca, etc., "The First Landlords" (photographs of the carboniferous period, etc.). The title of Chapter XI. is "From the Multiped to the Quadraped"; of Chapter XII., "The Vesture of the Earth" (beautiful color-plate of the development of the violet, photographs of the fauna and flora of the geologic periods. The volume ends with Chapter XII., and besides 28 plates above indicated contains 396 cuts in the text.

The book, which is dedicated to Ernst Haeckel, contains a notable preface in which the author states his position with respect to the relations between religion and science, the responsibility which rests on every creed of sloughing off its superstitions as these are revealed by growing science, and above all the education of our youth from the point of view of absolute verifiable truth. The picture of the world here so beautifully portrayed by Carus Sterne is the picture that has been revealed by the patient toil of countless investigators extending through many centuries; it is that of science, philosophy, and religion in one; whoever wishes to contemplate the truth about the world in which we live, as that truth is shaped to-day, will do well to consult its pages, and they will find that their quest has been not in vain and that their efforts have been amply and pleasantly repaid.

ANCIENT CIVILISATION IN EASTERN TURKESTAN.

A great sensation was created at the last international congress of Orientalists at Rome, in 1899, by the exhibition of a magnificent collection belonging to the British government, of antiquities gathered in the western part of Eastern Turkestan, and by a report of the important discoveries made by a Russian expedition in the eastern provinces of the same territory. These discoveries and explorations have acquainted us with the astounding fact that up to nearly one thousand years ago Eastern Turkestan was the seat of a luxuriant and thriving civilisation which reflected in its extraordinarily composite character the influence of the neighboring Chinese, Indian, and Græco-Asiatic civilisations.

The English collection consists of manuscripts and woodcuts, coins and seals, terra cottas and similar sculptures which were found in graves, towers, and other buildings, and dug up from localities covered with driftsand.

The most important find of the Russian expedition (1898) was the discovery of not less than 160 artificial caverns, which in some cases were connected with surface buildings in imitation of the various Buddhistic subterranean cloisters and temples of India. Many of these buildings are decorated with Chinese, Indian, and Turkish inscriptions, and with religious and secular frescoes.

The inscriptions are the most important of all these antiquities, for the reason that they are nearly all written in unknown characters and languages, which have quite unexpectedly placed Oriental research before an astonishing set of problems

the solution of which will greatly enrich our knowledge of Middle-Asiatic chirographic lore, languages, and history.

Of the highest importance also are the works of sculpture and painting, for the reason that they represent interesting and scientifically significant relationships between Chinese, Indian, Persian, Græco-Roman, and Western Asiatic art.

Yet, valuable as the results of the English and Russian explorations are, they represent nevertheless but a comparatively small portion of the discoveries in chirography, painting, and sculpture which might be brought to light by a more thorough and systematic exploration of the region in question. To this end, the excavation of cities which have been covered by sand-storms will be necessary, and the equipment of a scientific expedition to Eastern Turkestan for this purpose would require considerable money. There is a movement on foot in Germany to equip such an expedition, and all persons who are interested in promoting the enterprise should communicate with Dr. Georg Huth, care of Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Königgrätzer-Str. 120, Berlin, S. W., Germany.

A FREETHOUGHT INSTITUTE FOR LONDON.

The freethought circles of England and America will be gratified to learn that their movement is recently showing indications of taking a more enduring and prominent form. We learn from a communication from Mr. Charles A. Watts, of London, that a philanthropic friend of the cause, Mr. George Anderson, who is approaching eighty years of age, and whose benefactions in behalf of free thought have in the past years been considerable, has invited Mr. Watts, "in conjunction with a few trusted friends, to arrange for the building of a Freethought Institute in London, to the cost of which he will contribute the handsome sum of 15,000 pounds sterling if an additional 15,000 pounds be subscribed for completing and endowing the building. Negotiations," the circular continues, "have already commenced with a view to acquiring a splendid site in a most populous centre, but no final decision will be arrived at pending the response to this proposal. The intended Institute will consist of a large hall, a minor hall, club and class rooms, a library, and residential accommodation. It is desired to establish a comprehensive Society, embracing all sections of the Freethought and Ethical movement, and in which the ideal and the practical aspects of Rationalism will be equally represented. The Sunday meetings will comprise organ recitals, readings from works of rational and ethical interest, addresses from well-known and representative speakers, and singing. A systematic endeavor will be made to enlist the support of women. A Sunday School for children and young persons will be a prominent feature, and social gatherings will be held regularly each week. Various courses of lectures will be delivered and classes held, according to the needs of those frequenting the Institution. Among other subjects, it is hoped that logic, philosophy, literature, psychology, ethics, and sociology will be dealt with, while opportunities will be provided for discussions to take place each week. There will also be classes for the study of elocution and the dramatic art, and of the other fine arts, should a sufficient demand arise. It is also intended to afford facilities to students who contemplate devoting their energies to the propagation of rational thought, and in this way a valuable educational centre may be established. There will be a large book shop in connexion with the Institute, and from this department a fair revenue is anticipated. Not only rationalistic, scientific, ethical, and educational works, but

also standard books in other departments of literature and selected periodicals will be on sale."

It has been decided by the promoters to limit the cost of the land and the building to 20,000 pounds, leaving 10,000 pounds for carrying on the work of the Institute. Persons in sympathy with the project are requested to communicate with Mr. Watts at his address, 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., London, E. C., and to state whether they will support the undertaking in any of the following ways: (1) By donation; (2) By annual subscription; (3) By shares in a Limited Liability Company; or (4) By bequest.

WUNDT'S GREAT WORK ON SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY.¹

The second part of the first volume of Professor Wundt's colossal work on social psychology comprises over 600 pages, and is a continuation of his analysis of language, to which the entire first part of this volume also was devoted. The present second part is made up of four chapters, viz.: the sixth, treating of verbal forms; the seventh, treating of syntax; the eighth, treating of changes of meaning; and the ninth, treating of the origin of language. The encyclopædic knowledge of the great psychologist is exhibited here to the best advantage, and the reader will find in the present volume the subject of language treated with unusual copiousness as well as analysed in every form in which it can possibly enter into consideration as a socio-psychological factor. The digests presented of linguistic researches, together with the bibliography indirectly given in the references, will render Professor Wundt's book a reference work of the highest order, and make it for many purposes a substitute for special works. It is impossible to do full justice to its contents without detailed analysis, and we shall consequently limit ourselves to a reproduction of some of the general considerations which Professor Wundt has advanced regarding the psychological conditions and causes of the exceedingly interesting phenomena presented by the historical *changes of the meanings of words*. This will render his mode of investigation clearer perhaps than a mere descriptive account.

The phenomena connected with changes of meaning are dependent upon conditions the thorough investigation of which in every single instance would be an absolutely impossible task, leading back as it does to the countless remote influences which have affected the historical development of speech, and encountering also formidable obstacles in the form of individual creations which, like all arbitrary acts, defy our attempts to disclose their originating motives. In fact, the infinite range of the conditions determining changes of meaning is manifestly the reason for the wide-spread opinion that such changes are invariably a product of accident and caprice. It is overlooked that even among the simplest, the most universal, and the most rigorously determined of natural phenomena, no concrete fact can be predicted with absolute precision as it actually is at a definite period of time and in a definite configuration of external circumstances. And so here we must content ourselves with showing that the changes in question arise necessarily from the conditions which are immediately given and which immediately precede; and since these immediate conditions are in their turn also natural phenomena likewise dependent on their spatial and temporal environment, we may regard it as

¹ *Völkerpsychologie. Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythos und Sitte.* Von Wilhelm Wundt. Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann. 1900. Pages, x, 644. Price, bound, 18 marks.

perfectly justified from a logical point of view to assume that no phenomenon exists that is not uniquely determined throughout its entire chain of occasions and causes. The application of this assumption to the phenomena of changes of meaning is directly corroborated by the facts themselves. In the case of the great majority of the phenomena of psychic life, particularly those which form part of some connected intellectual development, definite motives admit of being disclosed which, while they do not always constitute the absolute and conclusive reason for the event, still point distinctly enough to it to justify us in concluding that the reason for its occurrence could be adduced if the antecedent motives were discoverable. For example, the word *gas* is one of the most arbitrary verbal creations imaginable. It was invented about the year 1600 by a Belgian physician and mystic, Baptiste van Helmont, as he himself expressly admits, "*paradoxi licentia*." It was not fully adopted until the nineteenth century, qualified forms of the word *air* still being used throughout the eighteenth century to describe the various gases,—for instance, "the fixed air" of Black for carbonic acid gas, and "dephlogisticated air" for oxygen. Yet despite the seemingly arbitrary character of Van Helmont's invention, we are nevertheless able to point very definitely to the associations which led him to the formation of the name. He tells us himself that he believed he had discovered in gas a sort of primal matter which was intimately related to the *chaos* of the ancients; and that, further, the word *gas* and another word *blas* (meaning *blow*) designated for him two parallel concepts,—*blas* was derived from the Dutch cognate of the German verb *blasen*, to *blow*, and was used by Van Helmont as a descriptive name for the cold air or ethereal fluid which according to the conception of the day emanated from the fixed stars. But the consonants *ch* and *g* in Dutch are phonetically almost the same as an aspirated *gh*, and consequently the word *gas* is distinctly revealed to be a resultant creation of the two associations *chaos* and *blas* (blow). It is not impossible that the association of the idea with the Dutch word for *spirit* (the cognate of the English *ghost*) may also have influenced the alteration of the initial consonantal sound of the word.

Now, concludes Professor Wundt, if the inventor of this new term had not himself definitely pointed to the causes and conditions of its creation, we to-day should be very likely to look upon the word as an absolutely capricious and arbitrary product.

Taking it for granted, accordingly, that there is by analogy a presumption in favor of conformity to law also in the growth of phenomena which have not been investigated as to their origins, we are led to distinguish two species of determining conditions, viz., the *general occasions* or conditions, and the *causes* proper. The notion of *conditions* is the more general and vaguer notion, while *causes* are conceived as the *immediate* determining conditions of an event, without which the event would either not have taken place or would have taken place differently. But as the conditions so called are in their turn dependent also on other more remote conditions, the range and compass of the conditions are in each individual case infinite in extent. Therefore, wherever there is occasion to go beyond immediate causes, the search for conditions must necessarily be limited to such as stand in some immediate connexion with the causes.

As contrasted with the vague and shifting notion of conditions, the notion of cause is rigorously circumscribed. Causes are such conditions only as are, when assumed, absolutely sufficient for the explanation of the phenomenon. For example, in the instance above adduced, the associations with the word *chaos*, with the hypothetical substance *blas* (blow) and with the word *spirit* (ghost), are the three

sufficient causes of the term *gas*. The fantastic notions which led our alchemist to think of the primal *chaos* of the ancients; the origin of the views which were widely diffused in his time of an ethereal fluid emanating from the fixed stars; the origin of the designation *spirit* (ghost) for volatile substances,—all these are not causes in the restricted sense of the word, but conditions which, if they were followed farther, would lead the inquirer back to a vast domain of mystic concepts and mythological survivals and through these finally to the ultimate and boundless expanse of relationships subsisting between our civilisation and that of these remote epochs.

The situation is not otherwise with the phenomena which constitute normal and historical changes of meaning. In the case of the history of the word *pecunia* (money) among the Romans the sufficient causes are given in the fact that the notion of a medium of exchange was first associated with cattle (*pecus*), which were used for this purpose, and that afterwards the notion of other media of exchange, bronze and the precious metals, was successively associated with the same conception. On the other hand, the mutations of civilisation, the transition from trade in kind to trade in money, and all the other historical transformations upon which these changes depended, are part and parcel of the broader province of the "conditions" so called, which, if we exhausted them utterly, would comprise in the last instance all of Roman history and would go back even to still more remote prehistoric social movements and cultural conditions.

Accordingly, if the interpretation be restricted in the present case, as it is in others, to the most exact possible establishment of the causes, coincidently with which reference to the general conditions is only secondary and roughly possible, then the method of this interpretation will consist exclusively in a retrogressive and never in a progressive procedure. That is to say, in every case the causes can be sought only from the phenomena that are given; and effects cannot conversely ever be deduced from causes assumed or given. As a matter of fact, we are almost invariably obliged to employ this retrogressive procedure even in the investigation of natural phenomena, whenever an explanation is required of complex processes which have arisen without our deliberate interference or experimental control. Now, in the case of the development of the significance of words, we are concerned with phenomena the conditions of which we never control but which we can only investigate in the forms in which they are exhibited to our view in the course of their natural growth. Here, therefore, interpretation of the retrogressive sort only is possible; and not until we have actually accomplished such an interpretation in many cases and under varying circumstances are we able to obtain enlightenment as to the general nature of the causes. An auxiliary deductive procedure accompanying the inductive process here indicated is indeed possible, and consists in bringing the complicated facts which we are investigating into connexion with other more simple psychical processes, particularly with those with which we are acquainted from our experimental analysis of sensory images and their course of development. But owing to the great complications involved, certain peculiarities are intermingled with the effects which could not have been foreseen from mere analogy with simpler known facts, and in this way the domain of linguistic phenomena affords an important extension and complement to the results which inquirers have reached in the field of general psychology, and so claims the closest attention.

Finally as to mechanism, the immediate causes of changes of meanings are always *elementary processes of association*, such as are regularly exhibited and

traceable in their manifold forms from simple sense-perceptions through the ordinary operations of sensual recognition, to acts of memory performed by the individual consciousness. The conditions under which these causes operate are complex external circumstances which in many cases are definite historical facts and in others proceed from the action of the intellect itself as exerted upon its own vehicle, language. But if associations constitute the causes into which changes of meaning are resolved when we reduce them to their ultimate elements, nevertheless the entire causal field is not exhausted by them. On the contrary, the very function is neglected in this analysis which alone renders the coherent action of the elementary associations possible, the function which combines them into definite and single consolidated results. This function is *apperception*. No other domain of psychical phenomena affords so favorable an occasion for analysing the relation which obtains between these two unceasingly interacting psychical operations, the *associative* and the *apperceptive*, as language. And it is to the illumination of these fundamental processes that the results of the present investigation particularly redound.

BOOK NOTICES.

The International Globe Co., of Chicago, have published a flat globe, that is to say, a map of both hemispheres printed on either side of a large circle. The colors of the different countries are prominent, which has the advantage of bringing out their boundary lines boldly so as to be impressive to children. Around the equator the difference of time is marked by clock dials at intervals of fifteen degrees. The cable and steamer lines are indicated and, in addition, in the empty spaces of the oceans on the Southern Hemisphere the fauna and flora of the five zones are pictorially represented. The whole arrangement is a very convenient substitute for a globe, and has the advantage of taking no room. Along with the map is sold a geographical manual as a help for the teacher. The main drawback to this world's chart is the price, which is \$2.00. (International Globe Co., Room 415 Continental National Bank Bldg., Chicago.)

A new magazine has been established in Chicago bearing the title *School Science*, which is designed to furnish knowledge and assistance to the science-teachers of our secondary schools. The editor, Mr. C. E. Linebarger, is a man of competence and thorough training, his specialty, physical chemistry, peculiarly fitting him for his labors. From its announcements the little journal would seem to have the support, not only of able educators in our own country, but also of scientists abroad. We wish the venture every success. The contents of the first number are as follows: Associations of Science Teachers, by Charles Skeele Palmer; High School Astronomy, by George W. Meyers; Metrology, a Foreword, by Rufus P. Williams; Research Work for Physics Teachers, by E. L. Nichols; Quantitative Experiments in Chemistry for High Schools, by Lyman C. Newell; A Teacher's Index of Current Physical Literature, by George Flowers Stradling; The Teaching of Physical Geography, by William H. Snyder; Some Ways of Depriving Germinating Seeds of Air, by Louis Murbach; A Neglected Feature in Fern Study, by J. A. Foberg; A Convenient Method of Determining the Density of Air, by A. W. Augur; Experiments on the Removal of Oxygen from the Air, by O. Ohmann; A Simple Form of Sciopicon, by C. W. Carman; Notes—Zoölogy, Biology, Geology, Chemistry; Book Reviews, Correspondence, etc. (*School Science*, A Journal of Science Teaching in Secondary Schools. Published Monthly, September to

May inclusive. Unity Building, Chicago. Price, \$2.00 per year. 25 cents per copy.)

NOTES.

A school has been established in New York City for the benefit of a small number of abnormal children whose individual needs require physical, mental, and moral development by experts. The founder of the school is Dr. Maximilian P. E. Groszmann, who was formerly superintendent of the well-known Ethical Culture Schools established in New York by Dr. F. Adler, and who until recently has conducted in Virginia an establishment similar to the one of which he is now the head. He has been fortunate enough to acquire the co-operation of several prominent physicians, among them being Dr. Nathan Oppenheim, the author of several works on child-development, and Dr. Franz Törez and Dr. William Hirsch, two other eminent specialists. The location of the school, near Ft. Washington, is one of the finest and healthiest on Manhattan Island, overlooking the Hudson and commanding a view of the Palisades. The work of instruction is based on the soundest modern educational and psychological research, and the curriculum will include school-gardening, manual training, art instruction, sport and gymnastics of all kinds. The object, however, is not instruction but education, and the main stress is laid on psychological and physiological influences. Interested persons may address Dr. Groszmann at "The Pinehurst," Corner Fort Washington Ave. and Depot Lane, Manhattan Borough, New York, U. S. A.

The Buddhist Mission, located at 807 Polk St., San Francisco, California, founded mainly for the Japanese and Chinese Buddhists of San Francisco who are in danger of losing their religion, and supported chiefly by the Buddhists of Japan, is now publishing a religious magazine called *The Light of Dharma*, which is "devoted to the teachings of Buddha," and will be published bi-monthly. The first number, being the "Buddha Birthday Number," lies before us, and is ornamented with a frontispiece representing the famous Buddha statue of Kamakura. The contents are an editorial, "Buddha and His Religion," and in addition a few editorials, such as "The Ethics of Buddhism," by Sister Sanghamitta; an "Address at the Buddhist Mission," by Col. Olcott, who after an absence of many years in India arrived in San Francisco on February 25th last; an article by S. Nagao entitled, "Why There are Various Doctrines in Buddhism"; "Buddhism," by T. Mizuki; a poem by Miss Albers, "Nature's Voices"; and a letter from the Anagarika H. Dharmapala. The price of this little periodical is 10 cents per copy or 50 cents per year.

PHILOSOPHICAL CLASSICS.

The third volume to appear in the cheap paper-bound reprints of philosophical and scientific classics which The Open Court Publishing Co. has begun to issue in its Religion of Science Library is David Hume's famous *Enquiries Concerning the Principles of Morals*.¹ This work, which is the keenest and most lucid exposition of the utilitarian theory of ethics in philosophical literature, is a companion-piece to the *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, which should be read

¹*An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals.* By David Hume. Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co. 1900. Pages, 169. Price, paper, 25 cents.

in connexion with it, and which has already appeared in this same series with biographical and critical remarks.

Descartes's *Discourse on Method* has also appeared in the Religion of Science Library; Berkeley's *Principles of Human Knowledge* and his *Three Dialogues Between Hylas and Philonous*, and Kant's *Prolegomena* are in preparation. These books are being all favorably received and have been adopted in some colleges and universities for collateral reading. Their cheapness and convenience



DAVID HUME

(1711-1776.)

From a painting by A. Ramsay in the Gallery at Edinburgh.

will probably lead to their supplanting other more expensive series in the libraries of students who wish to go to the sources. The type of the books is large and clear, the paper good. Recently an illustrated cover has been designed for the series. Each volume has a good portrait of its author, and usually contains an index, besides introductory historical or critical matter. The portrait of the present volume is the Hume of Sir Joshua Reynolds. The portrait here reproduced is by Ramsay and formed the frontispiece to the reprint of the *Human Understanding*.



PRAJNÂPÂRAMITÂ.

THE PERFECTION OF WISDOM.

Specimen of the Ancient Buddhistic Art of Java. (Royal Museum of Leyden.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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OUR GOLDEN-RULE-TREATY WITH CHINA, AND OUR MISSIONARIES.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

IN 1796 President Washington sent to the Senate a treaty with Tripoli whose opening article is as follows:

"As the Government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion,—as it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquillity of Mussulmans,—and as the said States have never entered into any war or act of hostility against any Mahometan nation, it is declared by the parties that no pretext arising from religious opinions shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony between the two countries."

This treaty was at once ratified by the Senate. Precisely seven centuries before (1096) began the Crusades which for nearly two centuries hurled the armies of Christendom against Islam. But even from the time of Constantine in whose vision shone a Cross with suffering Jesus detached from it,—a mere blazon of victory,—Christianity was known to non-Christian mankind as the banner of conquerors, fierce avengers, sharp traders, lax in morals, rigid in creed, cruelly intolerant. The words of George Washington quoted above were not casual, nor was their ratification by the Senate—which contained great men—thoughtless. They had severed a nation from the old world and meant it to be an asylum for all mankind, and they seized the first occasion that arose to separate the New World boldly from the evil, blood-stained, and intolerant history and reputation of Christianity. By implication the treaty affirms that the Christian religion *has in itself a character of enmity against the laws, religion, and tranquillity of Mussulmans.*

Although political and commercial exigencies have necessitated some *modus vivendi* between the so-called Christian nations and so-called pagans, it is obvious that Christianity has in its claim to be the only divinely revealed religion a character of enmity to all non-Christian religions. This character it possesses "in itself," and it was as genuinely, however subconsciously, in the missionary besieging the pagan's soul as in the crusader slaying his body. From what were pagan souls to be saved? From their religion. The *raison d'être* of the missionary was that other religions systematically bore souls to perdition, and must be supplanted by the only saving faith—the Gospel.

Belief in the inevitable damnation of unconverted heathen carried into the mission fields able and self-sacrificing men like Cary, Heber, Judson, Morrison, Groves, and the notion lasted long enough to enlist the youthful energies of greater men, among them Francis William Newman, Dr. Legge, Dr. Livingston, and Colenso. But meanwhile the doctrine that a good man must be damned because he was a Buddhist or a Mohametan fell into disrepute. Sixty years ago the clergy began to retreat into phrases about "the uncovenanted mercies of God," and to extort our dimes and dollars by blood-curdling fictions about mothers casting their babes to crocodiles, devotees crushed under Juggernaut (the death-hating deity, near whom no destruction of life is possible), and especially by the immortal falsities of Heber's hymn,—the deadliest being

"They call us to deliver
Their land from error's chain."

That the poor heathen call for our missionary, and long for him instead of trembling at sight of him and see their chain in his hand, will of course remain the faith of vulgar conventicles, but among educated Christians the old foundations of proselytism have crumbled. The learned men relinquished that field: Legge to introduce Christians to Chinese sages greater than their own, Livingston to devote himself to exploration and science, Colenso and Newman to show Christendom that its religion is untrue and that it needs missionaries more than the foreign lands. The mission fields are now filled by inferior men. There is no educated Christian who believes that a man will be damned for being a Buddhist or a Confucian. The missionary Boards continue their assemblies, and go on singing Heber's fantasies, such as that about Ceylon—

" [Where] every prospect pleases
And only man is vile,"

though every instructed person knows that in any large city in

Christendom more crime and immorality occur in one day than Ceylon knows in a year. (A Singhalese in Ceylon told me that it is well-known there that Heber wrote his lines because a Moslem in Colombo sold him a large emerald that turned out to be glass.) The missionaries in Ceylon and India seem to be well aware that they cannot claim any superior moral fruits for the Christian tree, and the only argument I heard from them was the larger prosperity and progress of Christendom.

And I remark, by the way, that the Rev. William Weber (in *The Monist*, April, 1901) uses a similar argument with regard to modern Christian nations, "that they rank on the scale of progress and civilisation in exact proportion to their more or less thorough acceptance of the yoke and burden of Christ." The rationalist would say that the most thoroughly Christianised countries are the most backward, and that the progress of the leading nations has been *pari passu* with their growth in scientific materialism and skepticism, but my citation of the idea is only to note a certain gesture in contemporary Christianity. At a time when the progress and civilisation of the foremost nations are saliently represented by their exploitation of the weak, by the unrestrained murder of innocent negroes in the United States, the desolation of homes and farms in South Africa, the looting of China, their yoke and burden of Christ appears painfully like that imposed on Europe by the swords of Constantine, Theodosius, and Charlemagne.

To recur to the missionaries, their main claim, that the superior progress of Western nations results from their Christianity, is a fallacy: each Western nation is, so to say, a cord of many racial strands, the Asiatic countries being more nearly single races. One need only contrast the greatness of pagan Greece with the insignificance of Christianised Greece to find that the finest civilisation is by no means a fruit of Christianity. In fact there has never been a real civilisation planted in any nation by a propaganda of Christianity. National prestige once involved, a flag lifted, and the one great necessity is to win; success, at whatever cost, comes to mean "progress"; all sorts of meanness, trickery, crime, inhumanity, are condoned for the sake of triumph, and the world is thus gained for a religion through the loss of its soul. Jesus, prophet of the individual heart and happiness, concerned for no kingdom but that "within," warned his friends against foreign missions, even so near as Samaria, and in trying to reform their own countrymen to withdraw from cities where they were persecuted. Their outward victories would there be inward defeats. What becomes

of humility, charity, of sweetness and simplicity, amid the egotism, ambition, and other vulgar passions awakened by a competition in pushing, shoving, elbowing others to get ahead?

A proclamation of the "Twentieth Century National Campaign," signed by leading ministers of various sects, aims at the conquest of the world for Christ. "To Him 'all power has been given in heaven and on earth.' In Him and His Gospel lies the solution of every problem which besets and troubles humanity." It is not the wild unreason of such talk as this that is so distressing, not the familiar absurdity of appealing for a fund in aid of omnipotence, but it is the vulgar war-whoop in it. All the religious teachers in America put together would not produce one Confucius, or a Buddha, or a Zoroaster, but the war-god called Christ is to exterminate those great brothers of Jesus! The edict goes forth from a land whose only founders of religions are thus far Joe Smith and Mrs. Eddy, and from a nation which has seen the Gospel quoted equally for and against slavery, for and against peace, for and against polygamy, for and against Christian scientism, for and against silverism, socialism, divorce, proving itself—that same Gospel—unable to solve any problem that has ever beset and troubled this country!

Of course our Twentieth Century campaigners would disclaim all carnal weapons in carrying out their aims; their millennial vision of all the varied fruits in the garden of the earth transformed to American pippins is to be fulfilled by Christian horticulture; but recent experiences in Turkey and in China prove that if the new crusade requires bloodshed blood will be shed. The one thing needful is triumph. The clamor that we should make war on Turkey unless some ruined mission property was paid for was not because of \$90,000, which excited the ridicule of Europe, but because, first, of the necessity that Christ should score a victory over an "infidel" sovereign; and secondly, that the position taken up by President Washington should be reversed, and the Christian propaganda avowedly adopted by the United States and protected by its military forces in a salient way. No government is responsible for property destroyed by a mob unless collusion of its officials be proved in its own courts, yet such was the missionary pressure that a warship would have been sent, as I have reason to believe, had not one of our foreign ministers cabled, "Remember the Maine!" To satisfy the missionaries the fiction was invented that the ninety thousand had been indirectly paid.

The first steps of the United States in its new career as a world-

power has brought us into the novel situation of having to deal with non-Christian religionists. Lord Salisbury's declaration that it had become proverbial in such lands that the missionary comes first, the soldier next, and finally the loss of territory, needs modification in our case only by the substitution of \$25,000,000 indemnity for territory. It is to be hoped that some Congressman will demand a detailed account of the losses that justify this demand, and take care that no indemnity of missionaries or of their converts is included in it. The reasons for this will presently appear.

Dr. Ament, who has long been chief of the American missions in China, traces the Boxer outbreak to a priest, "a hypnotist of great power" recently executed at Peking, and who "produced the charms and incantations by which the Boxers considered themselves invulnerable to bullets." I recently received a circular (1900-1901) asking help for circulating the Bible, from which I learn that the American Bible Society is especially industrious in China, 514,295 having been distributed last year in five different dialects. The priest's incantations for invulnerability were probably based on Mark xvi. 17, 18. It is only in the closing verses of Mark xvi., long admitted to be spurious, that the notion is found that the non-Christian world will be damned; and only in the same spurious verses that Christ commands his disciples to preach "the gospel" to every creature (the prophetic Mark xiii. 10 being no exception, and the directions in Matth. xxviii. and Luke xxiv. saying nothing about the "gospel"). Thus mainly on a spurious text missionaries must base their disregard of Jesus's prohibition of foreign missions (Matt. x. 5); it is quoted by them as their own credential and authority, and it is natural that the "heathen" should take it to heart. They find that Christ promised invulnerability to his missionaries, also the power to cast out devils and to heal the sick by laying on hands. The extent of these beliefs among the Chinese have long been familiar to European scholars though not traced to any origin.

Dr. Dennys, in his *Folklore in China* (1876) states that the sick are supposed to be "possessed," and adds that "in those parts of China to which missionary effort has penetrated a popular belief exists in the power of Christian exorcism." Missionaries of all denominations are called on "to cast out the devil" from patients, and, says this English geographer, "it is to be feared that the confidence thus evinced turns on the popular belief that Christian relations with the Satanic hierarchy are uncommonly intimate." The late Sir William Hunter, Gazeteer General of India, in his little book entitled *The Old Missionary* reports similar superstitions

among the Hindus. This Anglican missionary, one of the noble Douglas family, had studied medicine, but made the mistake of offering up a prayer when he prescribed. The Hindus did not distinguish between his prayers and the incantations, so he stopped the prayers. But he lost influence. The sorcerers "told the villagers that I was very deep, as I kept to myself the spells, without which the drugs were merely dead earths," and that "if they had as good medicines as mine their gods would never let their sick people die at all." "Whenever a man died the Christian God was reviled." A Brahman convert came to him with the text in St. James prescribing prayer and the benediction of oil for the sick, and the old missionary could only remain silent. The venerable Dr. Douglas had made himself beloved by many services to the natives, but the missionaries in China are among villagers who love them not, who confront them with their own scripture—"the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up,"—and who when their people die have no gods to revile but plenty of missionaries to suspect of ill-will and of using occult and Satanic powers against them.

Among the 400,000,000 people in China comparatively few have the scientific training or the sceptical mind which might defend them from cumulative superstitions which have poured in on them for thousands of years, those of the Koran and the Bible being only the later mixtures. The efforts of Confucius and the Confucians to eradicate these tares and inspire the masses with rational ideas and ethical principles have had some success in the past, and until the fools rushed in where angels might well fear to tread. These missionaries, counting up their "converts" have never been able to see that the mass of those who distrusted them and detested them are their completest "converts." All Chinese people read, and they read in all their dialects the Bible, and while finding the morality of little interest, as inferior to that of their own scriptures, receive with eager credulity the fresh importation of marvels guaranteed by the learned Western nations. Sorcery, witchcraft, miraculous cures, the evil eye, diabolical possessions, preternatural plagues, ghosts,—such notions, diffused and confirmed by the Bible, are taken seriously in China on the authority of the wonderfully learned Christian nations which send the book as the Word of their God.

But more dangerous things than these are taken seriously. In 1804 when the Missionary Society in New York welcomed the Osage Indians, presented them with the Bible as containing "the

will and laws of the Great Spirit" a protest appeared signed "A Friend to the Indians" asking whether it was safe for the whites on our frontiers to put into the hands of Indians a book containing so many massacres of men, women, and children, ascribed to commands of the Great Spirit. "Will not the shocking accounts of the destruction of the Canaanites, when the Israelites invaded their country, suggest the idea that we may serve them in the same manner, or the accounts stir them up to do the like to our people on the frontiers, and then justify the assassination by the Bible the missionaries have given them?" The suggestion was not fruitless. Our aboriginal "Canaanites" were exploited first, then given the Bible to show them how godly the proceeding was. But how profoundly more intelligent races may be influenced by scriptural and Christian propagandism has been especially shown in the history of China. The leader of the great Tai-ping revolution, Hung Seu-tseuen, was a sort of spiritualist in his remote village, until he met an American missionary, Rev. I. J. Roberts, who gave him five tracts. Sew-tseuen became a "convert,"—with a vengeance! He set up a theocratic kingdom of Heaven, with himself for king, decreed a new Trinity,—God, Christ, and himself, appointing his son Junior Lord. He had visions,—was caught up into heaven like Paul. He made war on Buddhists and Confucians, captured Nanking and other cities, treating the people with severity, and gave textual reasons therefor: that they were "idolaters," and that it was his messianic duty to exterminate them, as idolatrous people were exterminated by Jehovah. He quoted from the Old Testament a justification for every atrocity.

This "convert" of our missionary Roberts bore the title Tien-Wang (King of Heaven), but it was England that raised his movement to such formidable dimensions. Against all the outcries and entreaties of the Chinese, England determined to force Indian opium upon them, and to that end slew thousands, burnt villages, and exacted an indemnity of 27,000,000 dollars. The British agent in this opium war was the saintly soul who wrote the favorite hymn beginning—

"In the cross of Christ I glory
Towering o'er the wrecks of time."

The maddened people of the province of Canton rose against their government for its feebleness and its treaty with wrong, and the "convert's" converts made common cause with them. England came to the assistance of China, and the Christian rebellion was finally put down by Christians in 1867. The Chinese Messiah's

army was largely crushed by Gordon who afterwards fell before a Soudan Messiah, and who was a kindred soul to both.

The "powerful hypnotist" to whom Dr. Ament traces the Boxer movement is a *revenant* Sew-Tseuen; his head is similarly a mixture of Biblical and ancient Chinese superstitions; and his followers are Christian perverts from the peace principles of Lao-Tzu and Confucius. Their recent outbreak is the result of outrages similar to those of sixty years ago. In both cases there are indications of popular panic, but the Boxer excitement especially presents signs of terror. It was made plain by the victory of Japan that the Quaker principles of Confucius had withered the sinews of war in China, and the birds of prey began to gather. The people saw their territory crumbling, and they also saw their religion steadily crushed in coils of a foreign system as odious to them as Mormonism to the majority of Americans. But in this case the odium among the ignorant is accentuated by the belief already referred to that the missionaries possess to some extent the supernatural powers conferred by Christ on his disciples. Here are elements enough to generate under vigorous leadership, even without any "hypnotism," the cyclone that swept over the capital which credulous Confucian rulers have for fifty years been surrendering to an aggressive, land-grabbing, and gunpowder Gospel.

Our government at Washington has been assuring us of its virtuous conduct in China with suspicious iteration. "The lady doth protest too much." We have waited to understand how it was that while our government was protesting against an "irrevocable" ultimatum to China, its minister there signed it and remained himself irrevocable. And how is it that after boasting of our superior humanity in not joining punitive expeditions, we were found so late as April 6 demanding more decapitations, Russia being left alone in its refusal to unite in that demand for the punishment by death and otherwise of twenty-five officials. But though our government gives us anonymous protestations through the press instead of documents, the enterprise of a New York paper has been the means of revealing the seamy side of American conduct in China. Dr. Ament, who has been for many years head of the American missions in China, having given an account of his lootings and extortion of indemnities and fines from many towns, all from persons unconnected with the Boxers, in redress for the slain "converts" and for the Church, and having received a storm of indignation from his countrymen here instead of the evidently expected applause for his shrewdness and his clamor for Chinese

blood, is unwilling to be a scapegoat. On April 1, Dr. Ament cabled to the American Board: "Nothing has been done except after consultation with colleagues and the full approval of the United States Minister. I will secure a certificate from Mr. Conger to that effect."

Before the arrival of this dispatch we were left to conjecture concerning the force under which Dr. Ament was able to go from town to town—Wenah, Paoting-hsien, Pachow, Pingting, Chochow, Liang-hsiang, Shuni, and others—assessing and collecting many thousands of dollars from Confucians and Buddhists accused of no offence. The foreign armies having agreed that it was no part of their joint function to demand indemnity for the converts, the only alternative seemed to be that Dr. Ament's lynching of the innocent to redress the deeds of the guilty was done under protection of the menacing American forces. It is now admitted that it was done under authority of the United States Minister. It is a mere quibble that the Rev. Dr. Judson Smith uses, in the *North American Review* (May, 1901), in saying that Dr. Ament had no military force to back him. The authorisation of the United States carried with it the whole American force even though it did not escort Dr. Ament in his tour among the terrified towns.

It was at a time of peace. No perils nor panics surrounded the missionaries, their homes or churches, nor their converts. No excuses can be adduced on that score for the actions in which the United States authorities and the missionaries at Peking united. To the poor frightened villagers the slightest threat of authority would extort all their means. On the meanness and immorality of the thing there is no need to comment. That which first demands attention is the violation of treaties by men who are enabled to live in China only by and under those treaties. Although under our treaties it is agreed that Chinese converts to Christianity are not to be molested on account of their faith, they remain under Chinese jurisdiction. Here then was a matter unquestionably between Chinese and Chinese. We thus find, on the confession of Dr. Ament, an assemblage of missionaries, under necessity of covering the losses of their converts from either Christian or Confucian pockets constituting themselves into a foraging band and proceeding over trampled treaties to spoil helpless villagers under the American flag, given them by the United States Minister commissioned to maintain those treaties. And they also compel these helpless Confucians to add to Dr. Ament's estimates for the converts a goodly sum for the Church.

This organised American lawlessness may shed some light on the frantic Boxer lawlessness. How long have these missionaries been dealing with the Chinese in disregard of treaties, and in the bloodthirsty spirit of Dr. Ament?

It is interesting to observe the steps by which these proselytisers got their foothold in China. By the treaty of 1844 citizens of the United States in China were permitted to rent sites on which to construct "houses, places of business, and also hospitals, churches, and cemeteries." The churches were meant simply for the use of the American citizens, but the precaution was taken that the sites of all the places should be rented, not bought, and should be selected by the local authorities of the two governments "having due regard to the feelings of the people in the location thereof." No propaganda being admissible under this treaty, it was superseded by that of 1858, in which Article 29 reads as follows: "The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches are recognised as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teach and practise the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested." In the supplementary treaty of 1868 the following was added: "The twenty-ninth Article of the treaty of the 18th of June, 1858, having stipulated for the exemption of Christian citizens of the United States and Chinese converts from persecution in China on account of their faith, it is further agreed that citizens of the United States in China of every religious persuasion and Chinese subjects in the United States shall enjoy entire liberty of conscience, and shall be exempt from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith or worship in either country."

The Chinese government does not undertake to indemnify American citizens for what may be done by mobs, incendiaries, or other lawless persons, but it will endeavor to suppress such rioters, and if it be proved that the local authorities have been in collusion with them, those authorities shall be punished and their property confiscated to repay the losses. This is the general principle of the treaties with regard to American ships, etc., but nothing is specified concerning Christians, churches, and converts, except

that China in any grant of sites does not relinquish its preëminent rights over them.

The American propaganda in China was conceived in unconstitutionality and born in deception. Forbidden by the Constitution to make any "law respecting an establishment of religion" our government established the Protestant and Catholic Churches in China, and it was done by the deception of declaring that the object of those churches was simply to teach men "to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them." These are the fundamental instructions of both Buddhist and Confucian, and the United States contracted with the Confucian government for the immunity of these benevolent American allies in "converting" to the Golden Rule the rude and superstitious millions who know not Confucius. The two Churches were to be exempted on condition that they taught and practised peaceably the tenets and principles named, benevolence and the Golden Rule. That contract remains in force to this day. The reader will observe however that in 1868, when the contract was confirmed and added to, its remarkable terms are not recited, but referred to as a stipulation "for the exemption of Christian citizens and Chinese converts from persecution in China on account of their faith." The Chinese negotiators of 1868 were "childlike and bland," as yet without American graduation in "ways that are dark," and did not observe that this reference to the original treaty, omitting the repetition of its conditions, might possibly be claimed, in any particular case, as their legal construction.

How are the American missionaries fulfilling the contract made for them by the United States in 1858, confirmed in 1868?

Dr. Ament is their chosen leader and spokesman. He is supported by his colleagues in China and by the Board of Foreign Missions in America. We have his testimony that the Chinese are naturally tolerant. Lao Tzu, founder of Taoism, Confucius, Buddha, stand together in their temples; they have welcomed Mohamedans and Nestorians. Dr. Ament demands a further law that will place Christianity on an equal footing with Buddhism and Mohamedanism. But these religions needed no legislation for their welcome: why does Christianity need it? Is legal or armed force needed to peaceably teach the Golden Rule, according to our contract, among Confucians and Buddhists whose religion was based on it before Christianity existed? What is it that has excited the hostility of an admittedly tolerant people ("naturally liberal with their means" and "grateful," adds Dr. Ament) against Christian-

ity, and especially it would appear against its American representatives? A few sentences from Dr. Ament may cast light on the anomaly:

"Christianity is essentially a militant religion, and in course of time will create more or less disturbance in unevangelised countries. We would not give much for Christianity if it did not do so."

"Opposition is sometimes the greatest praise which can be given to the work we are endeavoring to do. We are thankful that Christianity is not a negative force in the community, but is a positive lever which is lifting society to better things."

"Experience in China proves that seeming weakness in dealing with the Chinese only increases their spirit of distrust and their desire to continue in crime. Excessive kindness they will attribute to fear; the spirit of altruism is entirely alien to their natures."

Those of us who have known Chinese gentlemen will not after this be surprised at learning incidentally from Dr. Ament that socially he and his colleagues are below par, that he has vainly attempted to make friends with young men of his own race, that the missionaries are not liked in the legations nor by the literary men who visit China. It is shocking to think that a man so ignorant of the Chinese character as well as of the simplest principles of religious science should be a public teacher in China. He regards the images and statues in temples as "idols," and is proud of the hatred incurred by opposing "idol worship," and actually glories in the recent "martyrs,"—young Chinese converts, boys and women,—who preferred decapitation to saluting any image. There is no intimation of glorying in these "heroes" because they told the truth; Dr. Ament praises as much those who refused escape by flight. It is evident too that he cares little about the truths or dogmas of his faith. "As to cramming dogma down their throats that is the last thing a missionary seeks to do." When one asks then of these men, as Hamlet of the players, "How chances it they travel?" the plain answer is that they are possessed by a perverted military instinct. They want to triumph over somebody, and send home brilliant narratives of conquests and lists of captives for the cross. Dr. Ament rejoices in the Boxer outbreak. He feels himself in the midst of an Armageddon, and the Boxer has a corresponding feeling. But those who desire not victory for victory's sake, but with Lao Tzu weep for the fallen even in a bad cause, will recognise in these pious invaders of foreign countries elements of great danger. In the hands of these inferior men with their gunpowder gospel, their ignorance and holier-than-thou obtrusive-

ness, Christianity loses abroad all the ethical refinements and softening of dogma familiar in churches at home. Indeed it is said by some that the mission field is the dumping ground for preachers that can find no listeners at home. Their "militant Christianity," illustrated by stories of massacre in "God's Word," and by the gospel of salvation by blood, illustrated still more by remembrance of the Chinese blood shed by Christians in the opium and other wars, means now to China a crusade of extermination and dismemberment. The defiant pulpit cries—"Jesus shall reign!" "The whole world must bow!" "The cross shall triumph!"—may be cant at home but abroad they are war-cries, affronts, always threatening to turn into cannon balls.

A thoughtless freethinker might rejoice in the figure that "Christianity" is presenting to the people of Asia, but the interests of humanity are above all such considerations. The American people are confronted by the fact that their late Minister in China by his authorisation of the exaction of indemnities from Chinese people has not only violated our treaties but placed us in the position of crusaders propagating religion (!) by the sword. There is too much reason to fear that our government will yield to some powerful pressure to accept this attitude. Dr. Ament may be sacrificed, but no scapegoat will redress the wrongs we have done as a nation. It is absolutely necessary that every coin extorted by the missionaries under sanction of our Minister shall be restored to the victimised villagers. That the utmost effort should be made to recompense the owners of the premises which the missionaries took possession, one of them a palace, for the articles found in them and, as Dr. Ament states, sold on the suggestion of the United States Minister. Our government introduced these soul-saving looters under a contract with China for their teaching and practising the Golden Rule; through our Minister we have advised and sanctioned their violations of our treaties; and we are responsible. It will be necessary then to officially instruct the missionaries that this government cannot legally guarantee them against troubles in China beyond memorialising the Chinese law-officers of them. All Chinese offenders against United States citizens must be tried in Chinese tribunals. They must be assured that winning the confidence and affection of the people is their best security. It is the more important that our government should act promptly and inflexibly in the matter because there is little doubt that the people who go out to China as missionaries in future will be of even a lower type than those now there. The missions will no

doubt be continued because it is a convenient way of pensioning the pulpit failures and ignoramuses that every church has to provide for. But really kind-hearted men and women will hereafter refuse to enter the mission field in China after these disgraceful and horrible revelations, unless it were to try and undo the misdeeds of Ament and his colleagues. And now that these have associated American missions in Chinese minds with every kind of dishonesty and cruelty and with their heavy losses and disasters, it would be an idle effort for any benevolent man to try and win respect for missionary Christianity.

SEVEN.

BY THE EDITOR.

SEVEN is a sacred number in many religions, especially in the Zarathustrian faith of the *Zend Avesta* and in the Mithras religion, but also among the Buddhists, the Jews and the Christians.



THE SEVEN IGHIGS, OR CELESTIAL GENII.

Appearing in the second row of an ancient bronze tablet. Representing Chaldean religious beliefs.¹

Its sacredness is as old as history and dates back to the beginning of civilisation in both Akkad and Egypt.

The ancient Babylonians believed in seven great gods, in

¹ Reproduced from Lenormant. The original is in the collection of M. de Clercq.

seven celestial spirits, called *ighigs*, and seven spirits of the underworld, called Anunnaki.¹ Bel Merodach combated and conquered seven wicked storm-demons. Hell (the underworld) has seven gates; magic formulæ must be repeated seven times in order to be efficient, and the great epic of the formation of the world was written on seven tablets, corresponding to the seven days' work of the creation account in Genesis.

The seven great gods were associated with the seven planets, who were worshipped as the rulers of the world in the great Temple at Babylon, the ruins of which are now called Birs Nimrud. Mr. Robert E. Anderson says²:

"The famous mound, Birs Nimrud, has been proved to be the ruins of the 'Temple of the Seven Spheres,' a national structure finally rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar the Great, who informs us that the original tower had existed many ages previously. The entire height of this temple was only 156 feet, but the general



THE SEVEN GREAT GODS OF THE CHALDEANS. (Bas-Relief of Malaija.)³

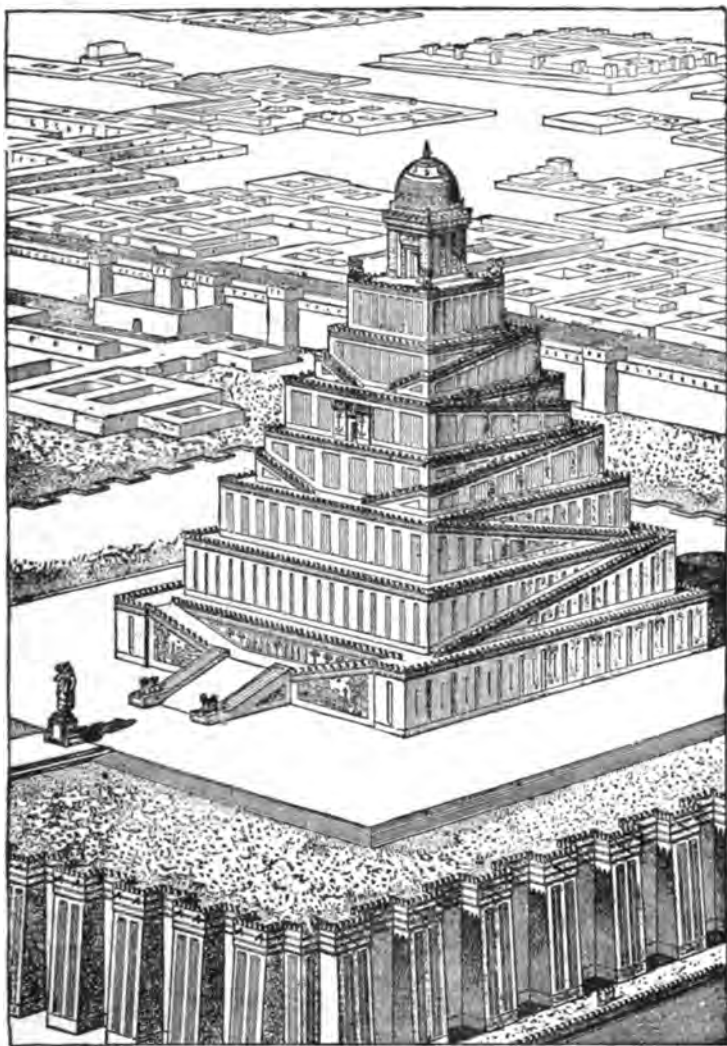
effect of its appearance would be very striking to any modern observer, since each of the seven stages was a mass of one color different from all the others, and representing symbolically one of 'seven stars of heaven.' The first, Saturn, black, the masonry being covered with bitumen; the second, Jupiter, orange, by a facing of orange bricks; the third, Mars, blood-red, by bricks of that color; the fourth,

¹ The *Ighigs* or *Igigi* are similar to the Hebrew archangels. Their name means "the strong ones" and they are closely associated with the seven Anunnaki. Jastrow characterises them as follows: "In Babylonian hymns and incantations the *Igigi* and Anunnaki play a very prominent part. Anu is represented as the father of both groups. But they are also at the service of other gods, notably of Bel, who is spoken of as their 'lord,' of Ninib, of Marduk, of Ishtar, and of Nergal. They prostrate themselves before these superior masters, and the latter at times manifest their anger against the *Igigi*. They are sent out by the gods to do service. Their character is, on the whole, severe and cruel. They are not favorable to man, but rather hostile to him. Their brilliancy consumes the land. Their power is feared, and Assyrian kings more particularly are fond of adding the *Igigi* and Anunnaki to the higher powers—the gods proper—when they wish to inspire a fear of their own majesty."

² *The Story of Extinct Civilisations*, pp. 33-34.

³ Reproduced from *Mitth. aus d. Or. Samml. zu Berlin*, XI., p. 23. Cf. Roscher's *Lexicon*, v. Nebo.

the Sun, covered with plates of gold ; the fifth, Venus, pale yellow, by suitable bricks ; the sixth, Mercury, blue, by vitrification, the whole stage having been subjected to intense heat after building ; the seventh stage, the Moon, probably covered with plates of silver."



THE SEVEN-STORYED ZIGGURAT¹ AT BABYLON, COMMONLY CALLED BIRS NIMRUD.
Restored after Perrot and Chipier.

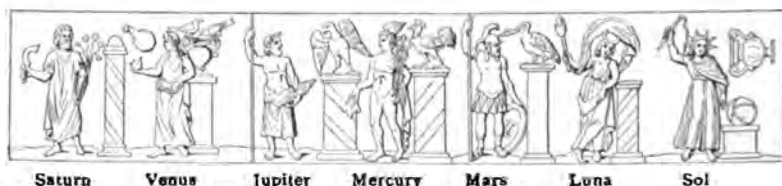
A reminiscence of the idea that the celestial bodies are governors is still preserved in the Old Testament, which in comparison

¹ Ziggurat means "mountain peak."

with the cuneiform inscriptions of ancient Babylonia is a quite recent production. There we read in Genesis i. that "God made two great lights, the greater light to *rule* the day and the lesser light to *rule* the night, and he made the stars also . . . to *rule* over the day and over the night," etc.—Gen. i. 16 and 18.

The Syrian Gnosis, however, (if the scholarly investigation of Anz¹ can be relied upon,) has faithfully preserved the Babylonian traditions, for there the planetary spirits are still called the rulers (*ἀρχοντες*), and the soul must learn the secret of appeasing them in order to pass without molestation through the seven celestial spheres to the abode of eternal bliss.

In the *Zend Avesta* as in Babylonia the sacredness of the number seven is based upon the connexion in which astronomy stood to the religion of ancient Iran. The seven planets were regarded as the seven deities, who, with the rise of monotheism, which made Ahura Mazda, the Lord Omniscient, sole God throughout the universe, were changed into archangels, or the ruling spirits of the heavens.



THE SEVEN GODS PRESIDING OVER THE SEVEN DAYS OF THE WEEK.

(After the *Gaz. arch.*, 1879, i.)

The number seven is popular among all the nations of the world because of the number of the days of the week, which are the fourth part of the circuit of the moon round the earth. The moon is the natural calendar of man, and its phases offer the most convenient mode of calculating time and determining dates. Now the sidereal month consists of 27 days, 7 hours, and 43 minutes, nearly; the synodical month, i. e., from new moon to new moon, is longer, being 29 days, 12 hours, and 44 minutes, nearly; which yields an average of 28 days, and this condition gave rise to the institution of the week.

The week is among many nations a religious institution. So it was in ancient Rome and every day was presided over by a special deity.

The progress of the sun in the region of the fixed stars during

¹ Wilhelm Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnosticismus*, Leipzig, 1897.

the twelve months led to a division of the heavens into twelve houses or mansions, which constitute the zodiac; and this is the reason why the number twelve is either closely connected with seven or placed in contrast to it.

Ezekiel, the Hebrew prophet (Chap. ix) speaks in his remarkable vision of six men, every one holding in his hand a slaughter weapon and of another man with a writer's inkhorn by his side. Our Bible version speaks of him as "among the six" as though he were one of them, but Hebrew scholars (Smend, Cornill, Berthelot) interpret the passage in the sense that the man in linen who has not a slaughter weapon but an inkhorn is to be added to the other six, and Gunkel recognises in the vision a reminiscence of the seven great planetary gods of the Babylonians. In his excavations at Nippur, Hilprecht has discovered many traces of the exiled Jews and Ezekiel is full of allusions to Babylonian thought and religion. The man with the inkhorn, clothed in linen after the fashion of Babylonian priests, is no other than Nebo, the god of learning and the tutelary deity of priestcraft, represented by the planet Mercury (8).

Ancient Egyptian cubit sticks (the oldest measuring rods still extant) are divided into seven palms, and as seven has been one of the most awkward numbers for purposes of measurement, we must assume that this division is due to the reverence for this oddest of the prime numbers.

The same is true of the rainbow whose division into seven colors is not founded upon fact, but betrays only the popular preference for a number deemed sacred.

It is a strange coincidence that the human head is furnished with seven apertures, two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, and one mouth; but it is obviously far-fetched to think that this is the reason for the sacredness of the number seven.

The number seven is sacred also to the prehistoric man, the savage; for our tri-dimensional space offers six directions in every place, which, including its centre, constitutes seven worlds, situated in the seven regions, one here in the place where man lives, four regions in the four quarters and two more, one in the zenith of heaven and the other in the nadir underground. Major John W. Powell in his *Lessons of Folklore* explains the subject as follows:

"Every tribe believes itself to inhabit the center of the world; thus we have a zenith world, a midworld, and a nadir world. Then they speak of a world to the north, of a world to the south, of a world to the east, and of a world to the west, for men think of the world in terms of the cardinal points. Chained to this mode

of thinking by the terms of language, the three worlds are multiplied and *seven* worlds are known: the midworld, the under world, the upper world, the north world, the south world, the east world, and the west world. All tribal peoples, savage and barbaric alike, believe in these seven worlds as departments or pavilions to the world of firmament and earth."

Under these circumstances we need not wonder that a great number of arbitrary enumerations fixed themselves upon the num-



DIONYSIAN BULL WITH SEVEN PLEIADES.
Ancient gem. From Baumeister's *Denkmäler*.

ber seven. We have seven sages in Greece, seven argonauts and seven wonders of the world. The Pleiades which happen to consist of seven stars of great intensity are deemed a constellation of special significance and power.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD HAVE FREE GOVERNMENT ENDURE.

BY THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

I. REFORM OF THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

1. If the American people would have free government endure, they should attend to its administration as to any other matter of business. They should rid themselves of the notion that the Government will maintain and perpetuate itself. They should give up the wonderful delusion that the business of a public office can be properly transacted, and its duties well discharged, by an occupant who has not had any special training or experience to fit him therefor. Such qualifications as are deemed indispensable for every business position, should be demanded for every official station.

2. If the American people would have free government endure, they should give honest pay for honest labor; and command the best service of the ablest men, by showing an appreciation of great abilities and attainments, and a willingness to bestow a proper reward for the earnest devotion of such endowments to the welfare of the country.

Men who in the most honorable departments of business or professional life can command fame, fortune, and peace, will not "scheme for office, work for nothing, board themselves, and pay for the privilege," for any empty honors or incidental pecuniary advantages. Neither will able men, with rare exceptions, be willing to give the strength of their best years to the public service for salaries which barely cover their current expenses, and leave them at length to an old age of poverty, humiliation, and distress, unless they can manage while in the public service to accumulate a private fortune. Either increased compensation during official terms, or

longer terms, and civil service pensions thereafter, have become a necessity.

The true remedy is to permanently establish the Civil Service Pension for all important public servants who shall have rendered faithful service for a specified term, or who shall have conferred some extraordinary benefit on the people by an especial effort in their behalf. The principle of the military pension should be extended to the civil service, for a self-governed State or nation should always offer the strongest incentives to serve its interests in preference to those of any private business.

The corrupt and scheming adventurer asks no such inducement. To him salary or pension is of little moment. He expects to take his own rewards, whether the people approve or not. But to the upright and honorable soul, moved by an earnest desire to win distinction by worthy deeds, the assurance that those he serves will be just to him in age or infirmity would be a perpetual fountain of strength and courage.

The principle of the Civil Service Pension should be declared and established. It should be made the duty of the president of the United States, from time to time, to nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to appoint and commission persons to be members of a body which shall be known as "The Civil Service List of the United States of America," and in and by such nomination, appointment, and commission, to grant to the person so appointed a certain annual pension, to be specified therein, and which shall thereafter be paid, in quarter-annual installments, during the life of such person.

Such appointments should be made and pensions granted for a long continued and faithful public service, or for any extraordinary act of heroism, or for any conspicuous achievement, in any department of life wherefrom great benefits shall have resulted or will result to the people. The amount of the pension should be fixed with reference to the nature and value of the service rendered. In case of the death of the person by whom the service was rendered, the pension might be either granted or transferred to the family of such person, or to any member thereof, at the discretion of the president.

Some such measure is indispensable to the security of our system of free government. For if the influences now so potent should go on unchecked, it will become more and more difficult for those whose service would be most valuable to the people to obtain and hold positions in which they can efficiently render it;

and so more and more will public offices be debased to the service of private and personal purposes and interests, threatening the final subversion of free institutions.

The prosperity and the power of Great Britain and Germany are due even more to the just rewards and honors of their civil service than to those of their army and navy. Without their statesmen, their soldiers and marines would have no mighty interests to uphold. Their civil pension list is the roll of an intellectual army unsurpassed, if ever equalled, in the history of the world. And one of its glories is the fact that it is not confined to public officers, but extends to all departments of civil life. One may make his country his debtor by a great achievement in science, literature, art, discovery or invention, quite as well as in war, diplomacy or legislation. But, manifestly, such a policy is even more important to America than to England or to Germany. It is the true safeguard of the purity and integrity of free government.

3. If the American people would have free government endure, they should adopt a permanent policy of true economy. The shameful custom of cutting down, for political effect, the pay of honest and faithful public servants below the measure of fair compensation, while millions on millions of the public funds and property are granted to powerful combinations, or wasted in jobs to secure or reward political support, must be abandoned. The economy demanded is the economy of honest, faithful, and competent administration; not the false economy of unqualified, half-paid workmen, incensed at the injustice of their employers, and goaded by debts and hunger to the desperate conclusion that it is "better to steal than to starve."

4. If the American people would have free government endure, they should cease to give their support to the fawning demagogues who seek official power by the arts which honest men despise, and to which men of self-respect will not descend. Great leaders command support by their superior qualities, not by flattery and liberal contributions for party purposes. "Like master like man," is a true maxim. If the people would have noble, honest, and trustworthy public servants, they must be noble, honest, and trustworthy themselves.

II. REFORM OF THE PUBLIC SERVANTS.

1. If the public servants would have enduring honors and adequate rewards, they should earn them and be worthy of them. They should show a sincere desire to promote the general welfare.

They should prefer the public good to party advancement. They should scorn flattery and tell the truth to their constituents. They should appreciate the merits, and shun the vices of all classes. They should seek their own advancement only by the promotion of the general good, not by a sacrifice of public interests, or the undue advancement of personal concerns.

2. If the public servants would have enduring honors and adequate rewards, they should show practical results as the fruits of their service. The nature of the public service requires perpetual improvement and advance. The country has not yet passed the period of experiment in the best methods of performing the public work, and hence every office-holder should be in the endeavor to improve upon, or to perfect, the methods of his predecessor, and should from time to time afford some evidence of such endeavor.

3. In times of great public peril, those who see what the emergency demands should not stand too much on ceremony, or wait too long for the proper call to action. A good swimmer and brave man does not wait for the formality of an introduction when a fellow-man is drowning. In such cases, prompt and bold action in the right direction is the highest virtue; and it is a greater virtue to risk property, person, or life, in the service of the community, than for the rescue of a single imperiled fellow-being.

4. The public servants should realise the great perils of public service, and understand that nothing less than eternal vigilance is the price of perfect personal integrity in the midst of the bewildering temptations of official life. They should learn by study and observation, not through their own bitter experience, that many an unfortunate office-holder who entered public life without a thought or purpose of any dishonorable act, has suddenly awakened, as from a seductive dream, to find himself in the hands of banditti, and driven to purchase the means of existence by joining an association for public plunder. The field of battle is not more deadly to human life, than is the field of politics to personal independence and uprightness; and to face the perils of the latter requires the highest order of moral courage.

No leader ever commanded the respect of others who did not enjoy his own. The man who would have others believe in him, must believe in himself. The people naturally love and admire what is, or appears to be, superior to themselves. No soldier ever willingly followed a commander whose courage, skill, and knowledge he thought inferior to his own.

III. REFORM IN ELECTIONS.

1. The "rant and fustian" of "universal" suffrage, and almost universal elections, must give way to a system of common sense. The infant has not the capacity to participate in the government; the vagrant has no right to take part in that to which he contributes no support; and the inexperienced alien has neither the knowledge nor the interest requisite for such participation. There should be, therefore, no such thing as "universal" suffrage.

The family is the unit of the State, and the heads of families constitute the natural governing body. In a free government, the qualification of some education should be added. The idea of a family involves some estate for their support, and in this country some education of the children. Hence, as it is easier to go forward than to go back, the suffrage had better be extended than restricted, so as to allow one vote to every citizen for the protection of the rights of person, another vote to married men for their interest in the welfare of families, and a third vote to taxpayers as a just equivalent for their contributions to the public funds.

THE BABYLONIAN AND HEBREW VIEWS OF MAN'S FATE AFTER DEATH.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Jewish ideas concerning the state after death exhibit in several important details a close agreement with Babylonian views. The Hebrew word *sheol* (שְׁאוֹל) "the pit," corresponds exactly with the Assyrian *suâlu*; both denote the place under the ground where the dead reside. In Assyrian the term is explained as the place of judgment, among the Jews as the place where every living being shall finally be demanded¹—a place of ingathering. Habakkuk compares the vicious man's desire to *sheol* or death who "cannot be satisfied but gathereth unto him all people" (ii. 5).

The conception of *sheol* is modeled after the nature of the grave. Bodies were buried in pits or in holes dug in the ground, only that the pit of *sheol* was supposed to be deeper than any grave: it was situated underneath the aboriginal *tehom*, the waters of the deep, viz., the underground flood which in the beginning of the world was divided into the waters above and the waters below the firmament.

Sheol is called by the Assyrio-Babylonians, as well as by the Hebrews, "the land whence no traveller returns."² Istar goes down "to the land without return," and Job describes it as the place

"Whence I shall not return, even the land of darkness, and the shadow of death; a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness" (x. 21-22).

Both the good and the evil must share the same destiny, a fate such as is described in 2 Samuel xiv. 14:

"We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again; neither doth God respect any person."

¹ The root שָׁאַל means to ask, to demand.

² *Mat la tarî*, i. e., the land of no return.

Isaiah describes sheol as a place where all the dead are together, good and evil, and he rejoices that the King of Babylon is slain and will go down to sheol, the inhabitants of which are excited about the event, and greet him. The prophet says:

"Sheol from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth; it hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations. All they shall speak and say unto thee, 'Art thou also become weak as we? art thou become like unto us? Thy pomp is brought down to the grave, and the noise of thy viols: the worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee.'" (Isaiah xiv. 9-11.)

A similar description of the dead being swallowed up by the grave is given by Ezekiel:

"Son of man, wail for the multitude of Egypt, and cast them down, even her, and the daughters of the famous nations, unto the nether parts of the earth, with them that go down into the pit.

"Whom dost thou pass in beauty? go down, and be thou laid with the uncircumcised. They shall fall in the midst of them that are slain by the sword: she is delivered to the sword: draw her and all her multitudes. The strong among the mighty shall speak to him out of the midst of hell with them that help him: they are gone down, they lie uncircumcised, slain by the sword.

"Asshur is there and all her company: his graves are about him: all of them slain, fallen by the sword: Whose graves are set in the sides of the pit, and her company is round about her grave: all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused terror in the land of the living.

"There is Elam and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living; yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit. They have set her a bed in the midst of the slain with all her multitude: her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword: though their terror was caused in the land of the living, yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit: he is put in the midst of them that be slain.

"There is Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude: her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword, though they caused their terror in the land of the living. And they shall not lie with the mighty that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to hell with their weapons of war: and they have laid their swords under their heads, but their iniquities shall be upon their bones, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living. Yea, thou shalt be broken in the midst of the uncircumcised, and shalt lie with them that are slain with the sword.

"There is Edom, her kings, and all her princes, which with their might are laid by them that were slain by the sword: they shall lie with the uncircumcised, and with them that go down to the pit.

"There be the princes of the north, all of them, and all the Zidonians, which are gone down with the slain; with their terror they are ashamed of their might; and they lie uncircumcised with them that be slain by the sword, and bear their shame with them that go down to the pit.

"Pharaoh shall see them, and shall be comforted over all his multitude, even

Pharaoh and all his army slain by the sword, saith the Lord God." (Ezekiel xxxii. 18-31.)

The dead can appear to the living and are regarded as shades having a resemblance to the living person. They are called Elohim or gods, i. e., supernatural beings. (1 Sam. xxviii. 13.) When Saul visited the witch of Endor, Elohim or spirits rose up, and we read that Samuel appeared wearing the garments which he wore during his life. Saul said unto the witch :

"What form is he of? And she said, An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a mantle. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he stooped with his face to the ground, and bowed himself." (1 Samuel xxviii. 14.)

There are some glimpses of hope that man might be released from sheol, but the expressions are rather indistinct and vague. The only passage which seems to be unequivocal in modern Bible translations is a misinterpretation of the text; it occurs in Job xix. 25-27, where we read :

"For I know *that* my redeemer liveth,
And *that* he shall stand at the latter *day* upon the earth :
And *though* after my skin *worms* destroy this *body*,
Yet in my flesh shall I see God :
Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another :
Though my reins be consumed within me."¹

The passage is translated by Professor Budde as follows :

"But I know that my Vindicator liveth ;
And at the last (?) he shall appear upon the ground : (?)
And . . .
And from out my flesh (?) I shall see God.
Whom I shall see to my own good,
And mine eyes shall see him and not as one estranged ; (??)
My reins are consumed within me."

Montefiori says of this famous passage :

"It has been supposed from ancient times that Job in this passage has worked his way up to a belief in a future life in our sense of the words (i. e. a life different from and opposed to the shadowy and joyless life in Sheol). But neither the wording nor the connexion, nor the previous or subsequent speeches of Job, seem to warrant this interpretation."

In reviewing other translations he adds :

"Professor Cheyne thinks that not only are many words corrupt, but that the passage has plainly been edited and re-edited to gratify the very natural longing of a later age for references to the resurrection of the body."

The context suggests that Job is confident of being justified by some kinsman (נֶפֶשׁ) of his, and that his enemies will be pun-

¹ The italics indicate words that do not appear in the Hebrew text.

ished. Professor Cheyne translates the passage on the basis of his proposed emendations as follows :

"But I know that my Avenger lives,
And that at last he will appear above (my) grave ;
My witness will bring to pass my desire,
And a curse will take hold of my foes.
My inner man is consumed with longing,
For ye say, How (keenly) we will persecute him !
Have terror because of the sword,
For (God's) anger falls on the unjust."

There is another passage, which though it does not hold out any definite hope of immortality, attributes to Yahveh the power of "making alive." We read in 1 Sam. ii. 6: "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up."

Upon the whole, the outlook beyond the grave is dreary. The Psalms assure us again and again that Yahveh enjoys life and not death, we must praise him while living, for the dead cannot praise God. We read for instance in Psalm vi. 5:

"For in death there is no remembrance of thee: in the grave who shall give thee thanks?"

And again in Psalm cxv. 17-18:

"The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence. But we will bless the Lord from this time forth and for evermore."

How common this sentiment was among the very best and noblest minds of the Hebrews appears from the fact that even Isaiah expresses it in plain and unmistakable terms. He says:

"For the grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee: they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.

"The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day: the father to the children shall make known thy truth."

Psalm lxxxviii. is the fragment of a hymn to be sung by the sons of Korah for sick people. The conclusion is missing, perhaps because it contained ideas which were not in accord with the redactor's religious views, but we may be sure that, if it held out a comfort of some kind, it cheered the patient with a prospect of recovery and did not contain a promise of immortality. The psalm is interesting, because it pictures the Hebrew conception of sheol, and the feeling of desolation with which the state of death is contemplated,—a feeling which is natural, though we may be astonished to find it in the Bible. Psalm lxxxviii. reads:¹

"O Yahveh, God, my Help,
Daily do I cry at night before Thee.

¹ Cf. *Polychrome Bible*, Psalms, p. 92.

Let my prayer come before Thee,
 Incline Thine ear to my wailing!
 For my soul is sated with sorrows,
 And my life stands close before Sheol.
 I am reckoned already with those who have gone to the pit,
 I am like a man without help;
 With the dead am I reckoned,
 Like the slain who lie in the grave,
 Whom thou dost no longer remember,
 And who are snatched out of Thy hand.

5. "Into the lowest pit hast Thou plunged me,
 Into darkness, into deep shadows.
 Thy wrath lies heavy upon me,
 Thou hast summoned up all Thy billows.
 Thou hast put my acquaintance far from me,
 Thou hast made me to them an abhorrence.
 I am imprisoned, and cannot come forth.
 Mine eyes are wasted with sorrow;
 I call Thee continually, O Yahveh;
 To Thee do I stretch out my hands.
10. "Wilt Thou for the dead work a wonder?
 Will shades rise to render Thee thanks?
 Do they tell in the grave of Thy goodness?
 Of Thy faithfulness, in the world down below?
 Can Thy wonders be made known in the darkness?
 And Thy righteousness in the land of oblivion?
 And I—to Thee, Yahveh, I cry;
 In the morning my prayer goes to meet Thee.
 Wherefore, O Yahveh, dost Thou disdain my soul?
 And veilest Thy countenance from me?
15. "Wretched am I, and dying of
 The dread of Thee weighs on me heavily; I faint.
 The fires of Thy wrath go over me,
 Thy terrors have stricken me dumb;
 They surround me, like water, all day,
 They all beset me together.
 Thou hast removed from me friends and companions,
 My acquaintance are darkness and Sheol.

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The objection which is made to the belief in immortality by the canonical authors of the Old Testament seems strange to us who have acquired the custom of reading the Hebrew Scriptures in the light of the New Testament doctrines among which the belief in immortality is the keystone of religion. But we shall understand the situation better when we consider the intimate connexion

of the belief in immortality among the Babylonians with the worship of Tammuz and Istar. The wailing for Tammuz was a kind of All Souls' day, and the hope of the bereaved for a restoration of their beloved dead to life was based upon myths and celebrated with idolatrous practices which were an abomination to the sober and rationalistic Yahvist. The close relation to idolatry of all rituals that have reference to the dead is indicated in a passage of Jesus Sirach (xvii. 24-27) where we read:

"I hate idolatry with all earnestness: Who will praise the Most High in Sheol? For all the living can praise, but the dead that are no longer cannot praise. Therefore praise the Lord whilst thou livest and art whole."

Idolatry is mentioned in one breath with sheol, and in the same connexion the expectation that the dead can praise God, is most emphatically denied.

Even in the latest phase of the development of the canon, the Jewish philosopher takes little comfort concerning man's condition after death, for Ecclesiastes taking the ground that "man is dust and must return to dust," proposes the question in chapter iii. verse 21: "Who knoweth that the spirit of man goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast goeth downward to the earth?" The answer to this question is stated bluntly and unequivocally in verses 18-20, which read:

"I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts: even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast: For all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again."

It is true that in the Old Testament two cases are on record of men who were not doomed to stay in sheol: there is the legend of Enoch, whose death is not recorded, and the ascension of Elijah in the fiery chariot. But these exceptions are not mentioned anywhere as indicating a hope for other mortals to escape the doom of a retention in sheol, which is called "the eternal house" *בית עולם* (*beth-olam*).¹ For the mass of mankind, sheol remains a monster whose maw is constantly open to devour life with all its glory and noise and splendor (Isaiah v. 14; Proverbs i. 12 and xxx. 16).

It is strange that the Old Testament offers so little encouragement for the hope of a resurrection or an outlook toward the immortality of the soul; and this is the more strange as the Assyrio-Babylonians decidedly believed in a life after death, and depicted

¹Cf. Jonah ii. 7; Jeremiah li. 39.

the place of the blessed as an island far away in the sea, where the tree of life stood and where the waters of life welled up from a source situated at the roots of the tree.

What is the strange reason that the Hebrews, otherwise so devoutly religious, were so outspokenly reluctant in accepting the doctrine of a life after death and the resurrection of the dead? The belief in immortality crops out only in the Apocrypha, and seems to be strictly banished from the canon of the Old Testament.

The reason is obviously this: the belief in immortality as described in the religious documents of the Assyrio-Babylonians was too mythological, too polytheistic, too fantastic, for the rationalistic spirit of the redactors of the Old Testament.¹ The priests who selected from the Hebrew literature those writings which seemed to them to serve the purpose of edification were strict monotheists, and radical iconoclast in all matters of mythology. They abhorred polytheism, and any allusion to it; and since the belief in immortality as expressed in the Assyrio-Babylonian legends cannot easily be extracted from the Babylonian religion without retaining at the same time a good deal of the mythological elements, the redactors of the Hebrew canon preferred to omit the whole and embraced an attitude of positive unbelief rather than to defile the Scriptures with paganism. And we must grant that if they had admitted a belief in immortality in the shape in which we find it in the Assyrio-Babylonian documents, they would necessarily have re-introduced pagan mythology under conditions where it would naturally have taken a firm hold upon the imagination of the people. For nothing is more powerful in religion than the belief in man's condition after death.

A review of the Assyrio-Babylonian documents which are at our disposal will justify our proposition.

* * *

The Babylonian notion of the underworld, being the prototype of the Hebrew sheol, was originally not less dreary and desolate, only it is couched in mythological expressions, being a place under ground ruled by a god and a goddess with their divine servants.

The Babylonian deities of the underworld are the goddess Alatu and the god Nergal. Nergal is called "King of the deep," "King of the river (viz., of the dead)," "King of the watery habitation," "Lord of the great city," "Deluge," "Fitted with the dead," "King of prophets," and addressed in a hymn as follows:

¹ Cf. the author's article on "The Fairy-Tale Element in the Bible," in the current numbers of *The Monist*, Vol. XI., April and July issues.

"O, Hero, powerful deluge, who rulest the hostile country,
 Hero, Lord of the underworld,
 From Sid-lam who proceedest,
 Powerful steer, lord of strength,
 King of Kuta."

Nergal is identical with Adar, the god of the destructive heat of the sun. Like Adar, he is not only the god of war and of the chase, but also of all evil powers, the god of death and of the underworld. Allatu is also named Irkalla; she is called "Queen of the scepter of justice,"¹ "Mistress of the great city," "Mistress of the earth," "Mistress of power," etc. Her servants are Namtar and Asakku, which means "pestilence" and "consumption." Namtar is Allatu's special favorite. It is his business to imprison those who are subject to special punishment, and his activity on earth is directed against the life of mortals for the sake of bringing new subjects into the domains of his mistress.

The Anunnaki, the seven spirits of the underworld, are enemies of god Ea and are supposed to guard with jealousy the spring of life in sheol. When the Deluge begins, they appear on earth with their torches, for the sake of causing destruction, and the gods weep with Istar over the destructive work of the anunnaki.

A pictorial description of the Assyrio-Babylonian belief after death is preserved in a relief which is published in the *Revue Archéologique* for December, 1879. The reverse of the relief represents a scaled monster in the shape of a leopard, with four wings, whose head appears threateningly above the upper margin of the tablet. It consists of four pictures. The third scene from above represents a burial. The dead lies wrapped in a shroud. A candelabra stands at the side, and two genii [perhaps priests, dressed like god Ea in fish skins] consecrate the place. The battle between the demons indicates the mutual destruction of the evil powers, and thus exhibits their inability to do any harm to the spirit of the dead. In a scene above this funeral rite there are the seven ighigs who hold on their uplifted right arms the highest one, which is the seat of the gods, indicated by the signs of the sun, the moon, the planets, and other symbols. The lowest picture, apparently the main scene, shows the underworld surrounded by the waters of death, indicated by swimming fishes. A boat moored at the shore carries a horse upon which a strange monster kneels upon one knee. The other foot is placed upon the head of the animal; two young lions are suckling at her breast. In her lifted arms she holds up two ser-

¹ *Kan mihri*. Lenormant calls her "Queen of the Wand." (*Magic*, p. 64.)

pents. According to all we know of the Babylonian religion, we cannot fail to recognise here the goddess Allatu, the serpents indicating that she is the goddess of the earth. To the right of the group in the boat, beyond the water, there is a place covered with trees, which can be only the Island of the Blessed. The trees symbolise a happy country, and we know that the waters of death touch sheol as well as the shores of the Island of the Blessed.

The figure with a scorpion's tail and eagle's feet, standing behind Allatu in the left corner of the relief, is supposed to be either Nergal the awful husband of Allatu, or one of the scorpion men mentioned in the so-called Nimrod epic and said to be guardians of the way to the Islands of the Blessed.

While the Babylonian conception of man's condition after death was fashioned after the positive knowledge that can be obtained of the fate of the body in the grave, the dead were by no means identified with their bodily remains. They were supposed to be dream-like shades called *ekimmu*, and some of them were doomed to wander about on earth and haunt people, disquieting their surviving relatives if they had not duly performed all the ceremonies necessary for their journey into the underworld, or, driven to despair by their disconsolate condition, inflicting even strangers with nightmares and all manner of diseases. Thus (as with all primitive people) the physician was not a medical man but a medicine-man. Diseases being attributed to obsession, it became necessary to cast out the evil spirit. Sorcery was a profession, and patients were cured, not by drugs, but by prayers to the gods. Here is a specimen of an incantation addressed to the trinity of Ea, Shamash,¹ and Marduk (quoted from King's *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, p. 119 f.):²

"O Ea, O Shamash, O Marduk, deliver me,
And through your mercy let me have relief.
O Shamash, a horrible spectre for many days
Hath fastened itself on my back, and will not loose its hold upon me.
The whole day long he persecuteth me, and in the night-season he striketh
terror into me.
He sendeth forth pollution, he maketh the hair of my head to stand up.
He taketh the power from my body, he maketh mine eyes to start out,
He plagueth my back, he poisoneth my flesh,
He plagueth my whole body."

The *Ekimmu* is appeased by furnishing him with the necessary means for his journey to the underworld:

¹ Shamash is the Sun-god, the prototype of the humanised Samson of the Bible. Ea is the God of Wisdom, Marduk his son, the great conqueror of Tiamat.

² See also King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, p. 45.

"A garment to clothe him, and shoes for his feet,
 And a girdle for his loins, and a skin of water for him to drink,
 And [. . .]¹ food for his journey have I given him.
 Let him depart into the West,
 To Nedu, the chief Porter of the Underworld, I consign him.
 Let Nedu, the chief Porter of the Underworld, guard him securely,
 And may bolt and bar stand firm (over him)."



GOD SHAMASH STARTING ON HIS JOURNEY.

(Cylinder Seal, British Museum.)²

On the summit of a mountain the goddess Istar appears with outstretched wings. The figures on either side are doubtful; the one on the right-hand side may be Ea, the one on the left-hand side accompanied by a lion may be Marduk. The name of the owner, "Adda the Scribe," appears in the left-hand corner.



GOD MARDUK SLAYING TIAMAT.

(Cylinder Seal, British Museum.)

Burial ceremonies, it appears, were observed with great punctiliousness. Food offerings were made to the dead, and mourning was worn by the survivors; lamentations were performed by professional mourners both male and female; funeral music was played on flutes; dirges were sung; and the body was treated, obviously

¹ The word indicating the food offered to the Ekimmu is not yet understood.

² All the illustrations of this article have been reproduced from King's *Babylonian Religion and Mythology* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899).

for preservation, with oil, salt, or honey. The reverence in which salt water is held even to-day by many religious people, the custom of the extreme unction with consecrated oil, and the Greek custom of giving honey sops to the dead (mentioned in the tale of Psyche's descent to Hades) may date back to primordial days of human civilisation and have perhaps been imported into the West from ancient Babylon. An Assyrian king describes the funeral of his fathers in these lines :

" Within the grave,	Such as he loved,
The secret place,	All the furniture that becometh the grave,
In kingly oil,	His just title to sovereignty
I gently laid him.	I displayed before the Sun-god,
The grave-stone	And beside the father who begat me
Marketh his resting-place.	I set them in the grave.
With mighty bronze	Gifts unto the princes,
I sealed its entrance,	Unto the Spirits of the Earth, ¹
I protected it with an incantation.	And unto the gods who inhabit the grave,
Vessels of gold and silver,	I then presented."

The Nimrod epic (as the legend of the hero Gilgamesh is frequently called) describes in its closing lines the difference between the warrior who died on the battlefield and received due burial, and the slain of the conquered enemy whose corpses are left uncared for. Gilgamesh, speaking of the sights he has seen in the country without return, says :

" On a couch he lieth
 And drinketh pure water,
 The man who was slain in battle—thou and I have oft seen such an one.
 His father and his mother [support] his head,
 And his wife [kneeleth] at his side.
 But the man whose corpse is cast upon the field—
 Thou and I have oft seen such an one—
 His spirit resteth not in the earth.
 The man whose spirit has none to care for it—
 Thou and I have oft seen such an one—
 The dregs of the vessel, the leavings of the feast,
 And that which is cast out upon the street, are his food."

* * *

The Babylonians sought solace in their bereavement through conjurors, who perhaps in the way of the modern spiritualists or after the fashion of the Witch of Endor made the dead rise from sheol to comfort the survivors and give directions to them as to what they wished them to do. And these conjurations were closely

connected with the belief in Tammuz and Istar, than whom there are no other gods held in more abomination in the Old Testament.

The most important document still at our command is a fragmentary poem called *Istar's Descent to Hell*. The main subject is introduced for the sake of justifying the possibility of conjuring the dead from sheol. Dr. Jeremias¹ explains the situation as follows:

"A man grieves over the death of his sister. He consults a magus as to how to release the spirit of the deceased from the jail of Hades. The priest tells him the story of Istar's descent to sheol for the sake of proving that the gates of sheol are not unconquerable, and advises him to address Istar, the conqueror of Hades, and Tammuz her consort, with prayer and sacrifice, in order to gain their assistance. He is requested to comply with funeral ceremonies at the coffin of the dead and to begin his mourning with the assistance of the Uhats, the companions of Istar. The spirit of the dead, hearing the lamentations of her brother, requests him to rescue her from the horrors of Sheol through mourners' music and sacrifices in the days of Tammuz, which is the time when the people sing and weep, as told by Ezekiel viii. 14, and mourn for their dead under the shape of Tammuz. The concluding lines of the poem, which are summed up in these words, form the core of the whole, while the legend of Istar's descent to sheol is only an introduction to it, and constitutes a part of the conjuration of the dead. From other documents of Babylonian literature we learn that on the names of Istar and Tammuz, the hero and heroine of the legends of the descent to sheol, depend the hopes of a rescue from sheol." (*l. c.*, pp. 7-8.)

It appears that people celebrated with special preference the days of the god Tammuz, who represented the disappearance of vegetation and its resurrection to life. The legend of Istar's descent to sheol reads in the translation based on Dr. Jeremias's version as follows:

(OVERSE OF THE TABLET.)

"To the land without return, to the land [which thou knowest (?)]²

Istar, the daughter of the moon-god, meditated [to go].

The daughter of the moon-god meditated to go

To the house of darkness, to the seat of Irkalla,

5. To the house whose visitor never returns,

On the path the descent of which never leads back,

To the house whose occupants are removed from the light,

To the place where dust is food, and dirt is meat,

Where they (viz., the occupants) see no light, where they dwell in darkness,

¹ For further details see Dr. Alfred Jeremias, who publishes the text of the passages here quoted and offers a literal German translation with editorial notes and other explanations. The conception of the document as set forth in the quoted passages is based upon the interpolation of Dr. Jeremias, which he justifies in his critical notes. Dr. Jeremias's interpretation of the concluding words is justified by another cuneiform tablet which while relating a conjuration of the dead begins with the same description of sheol as does the legend of Istar's descent to Hell.

² The passages in brackets are mutilated in the original and the words are suggested by the context or sometimes by parallel passages.

15. Where they are clothed like birds, dressed with wings,¹
Where upon gate and bolt dust is spread.

"When Istar had reached the gate of the land without return,
She spake to the keeper of the gate:
'Keeper of the waters, open thy gate,

15. Open thy gate,—I will enter!
If thou dost not open, if I cannot enter,
I shall demolish the gate, I shall break the bolt,
I shall smash the threshold, I shall break the doors;
I shall lead out the dead, shall make them eat and live,
20. And unto the crowds of the living the dead shall I join."

The keeper opened his mouth and spake
In reply to the sublime Istar:
'Stay, my lady, do not upset [the door]!
I will go to announce thy name to Queen Allatu.'

25. The keeper entered and spake to Queen Allatu:
'The water has been crossed by thy sister Istar [. . .]

The Goddess Allatu is greatly agitated about Istar's appearance in sheol. The poem continues:

When Goddess Allatu [heard] this . . .
Like unto a tree cut down . . .

30. Like unto reeds mowed down [she drooped and spake]:
'What has driven her heart, what . . .
These waters have I [made encompass sheol] . . .
Like the inundation of the Deluge, like the swelling (?) waters of a great flood,
I will weep over the men who left their wives,
35. I will weep over the wives who were taken from their consorts,
Over the little children I will weep, who prematurely [were taken away].²
Go, keeper, open the gate,
And strip her according to the primordial decree.'
The keeper went, he opened the door to her:
40. 'Enter, my lady, the underworld [Kîtu] may rejoice;
The palace of the land without return may enjoy thy arrival!'

Through the first door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took from her head the golden crown.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take from my head the golden crown?'
'Step in, my lady, such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'³

¹ Is the dress of wings perhaps an expression of the belief that the soul is winged, found also in Egypt, where the soul of man is compared to a human-headed hawk, in which form it is at liberty to visit other places?

² Why the Goddess Allatu proposes to weep is not quite clear. Is it perhaps a promise to have all the funeral rituals with their wailings and lamentations properly attended to for the sake of preventing further attempts at having the dead reclaimed?

³ Viz., the Goddess Allatu.

45. Through the second door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took off the ornaments from her ears.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the ornaments from my ears?'
'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
Through the third door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took off the chains from her neck.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the chains from my neck?'
50. 'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
Through the fourth door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took off the ornaments from her breast.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the ornaments from my breast?'
'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
Through the fifth door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took off the gem-covered belt from her hips.
55. 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the gem-covered belt from my hips?'
'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
Through the sixth door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took off the bracelets from her hands and feet.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the bracelets from my hands and feet?'
'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
60. Through the seventh door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took away the robe from her body.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the robe from my body?'
'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
Now, when Istar was descended to the land without return—
Allatu beheld her, and vehemently upbraided her;
65. Istar, forgetful, assaulted her . . .
Then Allatu opened her mouth and spake,
Addressing Namtar, her servant, giving him this command:
'Go, Namtar, open (?) my [. . .]
Let her out . . . the Goddess Istar,
70. With a disease on her eyes [punish her],
With a disease on her hips [punish her],
With a disease on her feet [punish her],
With a disease on her heart [punish her],
With a disease on her head [punish her],
75. Upon her whole person [inflict diseases].
When Istar, the lady, [was thus inflicted],
The bull no longer covered the cow, the he-ass the she-ass,
The lord no longer sought the maiden of the street.
The lord fell asleep in giving command,
80. The maid-servant fell asleep [. . .].

REVERSE OF THE TABLET.

- Pap-sukal, the servant of the great gods, scratched his face before Samas,
Clothed in mourning and filled with [. . .]
Samas went; he went to Sin, his father [and wept];
Before Ea, the king, he shed tears;
5. 'Istar has descended into the land and has not returned,
Since Istar descended into the land without return,

- The bull no longer covers the cow,
 The jack-ass no longer covers the she-ass,
 A man no longer seeks the maiden of the street,
 The lord falls asleep in giving command,
 10. The maid-servant falls asleep
 Then Ea in the wisdom of his heart created a male being,
 He created Uddusunâmir,¹ the servant of the gods:
 'Go forth, Uddusunâmir! to the door of the land without return turn thy
 face,
 The seven doors of the land without return shall open before thee,
 15. Allatu may see thee, she may enjoy thy arrival.
 When her heart has become calm and her soul is comforted,
 Conjure her in the name of the great gods,²
 Lift up thy head over the source of waters (?), make up thy mind (and
 speak):
 'Not, O my lady, shall the spring be debarred from me; from its water I
 will drink.'
 20. When Allatu heard this,
 She smote her loins and bit her finger³ (and spake):
 'Thou hast demanded a demand which cannot be fulfilled—
 Hence, Uddusunâmir, I will confine thee in the great prison,
 The slime of the city shall be thy food,
 25. The gutters of the street shall be thy drink,
 The shadow of the wall shall be thy habitation,
 The thresholds, thy dwelling-place,
 Prison and confinement shall break thy strength.⁴
 Allatu opened her mouth and spake,
 To give command to Namtar, her servant:
 'Go, Namtar, demolish the eternal palace,
 Demolish the pillars, make the thresholds quake;
 Lead out the Anunnaki, put them upon the golden throne,⁵
 Sprinkle upon Goddess Istar the water of life;
 35. Take her away from me!
 Namtar went and demolished the eternal palace,
 He demolished the pillars and made the thresholds (?) quake,
 He lead out the Anunnaki and placed them upon the golden throne,
 He sprinkled upon Goddess Istar the waters of life and led her away:
 40. Through the first door he led her and replaced the robe upon her body;

¹ Uddusunâmir means "his light will illumine." The significance of this being does not seem to be clear. Is he perhaps a mere puppet, an automaton to bear the curse of Allatu without suffering harm?

² The name of the great gods is the most powerful means of conjuration, and Ea alone, the god of unfathomable wisdom, seems to dispose of it. The Babylonian origin of the Talmudic and cabalistic belief in the power of the mysterious name is fully established.

³ The same gestures of grief are recorded in Jeremiah xxxi. 19 for the Hebrews, in *Odyssey* xiii. 198 for the Greeks. In a similar way, we read of Ea in another document, "when he heard this he bit his lip" (cf. A. S. K. T. lxxvi. 24).

⁴ Allatu curses Uddusunâmir, but the conjuration which he uttered is too powerful, and she must obey. Thus the power of the realm of death is broken and Istar is free.

⁵ The context does not reveal the meaning of this act that the Anunnaki, the seven evil spirits of sheol, should be placed upon the golden throne.

- Through the second door he led her and replaced the bracelets upon her hands and feet ;
 Through the third door he led her and replaced the gem-covered belt upon her hips ;
 Through the fourth door he led her and replaced the ornament upon her breast ;
 Through the fifth door he led her and replaced the chains upon her neck ;
 Through the sixth door he led her and replaced the ornaments in her ears ;
 45. Through the seventh door he led her and replaced upon her head the golden crown.

The conjurer here addresses his client and promises the release of his dead sister from the power of Allatu. The poem continues :

- "When she (goddess Allatu) does not afford release, turn to her (to Istar) [thy face],
 To Tammuz, the consort of her youth,
 Pour pure water and costly balm [invite a priest].
 Cover him with the sacrificial robe, a crystal flute may he [blow].
 50. The Uhats may weep with grievous [lamentations].
 The goddess Belili may break the precious utensil¹
 With diamonds shall be filled thy

Now the spell takes effect. The spirit of the departed sister rises from sheol :

- "Thus she heard the lamentations of her brother, the goddess Belili broke the precious utensil,
 With diamonds were filled the [and the departed spirit said :]
 55. 'My only brother, let me not perish,
 In the days of Tammuz play the crystal flute,
 Play the instrument
 In those days play to me, the male mourners and the female mourners
 May they play upon instruments
 May they breathe incense"

* * *

The most important Babylonian document that has reference to the belief in immortality in addition to *Istar's Descent to Sheol* is a fragment of the visit of Gilgamesh or Nimrod (with whom the Babylonian hero for fair reasons is identified) to the Island of the Blessed. It is a part of the Nimrod epic, so called, and is recorded on the eleventh tablet, the connexion between the several tablets being unclear. The legend tells of Istar's love for the hero, who, however, scorns the goddess. To punish him, she petitions her father Anu, and when Gilgamesh and Eabânî, the friend of his bosom, conquer a divine bull, Istar's wrath is roused. Finally Eabânî dies and Gilgamesh is visited with leprosy, the most awful disease of the Orient.

¹ The significance of Belili's breaking a precious utensil in the ritual of lamentation is not clear.

The twelfth tablet begins with the wailing for Eabâni. Gilgamesh visits one temple after another and invokes the several gods, until through the mediation of Marduk "the spirit of Eabâni rises before him like a breath from the earth."¹ The fourth column contains a dialogue between Gilgamesh and the risen spirit of his friend, which begins with the words:

"Tell me, my friend, the condition of the country (sheol) which thou hast seen."

The spirit answers:

"Not can I tell thee, my friend, not can I tell thee what the condition is of the country. . . . I will sit down and weep, I will sit down and weep."

The rest of the column and the greater part of the next one are mutilated. Then follows a scene which by its rhythm indicates that it was a hymn in honor of the hero who died honorably on the



GILGAMESH AND EABÂNI IN CONFLICT WITH TWO BULLS.
(Cylinder Seal, British Museum.)

field of battle and receives a decent funeral, while all the bodies of the conquered ones are thrown away without burial.

Gilgamesh, himself being infected with leprosy, decides to visit his ancestor Pir-napistim for the sake of finding a cure for his disease, and to solve the mystery of his ancestor's apotheosis. Tablet 9 tells of Gilgamesh's mourning for Eabâni, as follows:

"Nimrod wept for Eabâni, his friend,
Bitterly, lying down upon the field;
'I will not die like Eabâni;
Mourning has come over my soul,
Fear of death I have tasted, lying down upon the field.'²

¹ Cf. the fragment quoted by Jeremias, *l. c.*, p. 103.

² To lie down on the ground as a sign of great grief is an ancient custom frequently mentioned in the Bible (2 Sam. xii. 16; xiii. 31; Ez. xxvii. 30) and by Homer (*Od.* 4, 541. *Iliad* 22, 414; 24, 165 and 640).

To the Power of Pir-napistim, the son of Kidin-Marduk,
Shall I wend my way with hasting step.'"¹

Gilgamesh at once carries out his plan. The moon-god in a dream points out the way. Having reached a mountain the name of which is Masu, he meets the scorpion-man. The verses run as follows :

"To the mountain Masu he came,
Whose exit is guarded day by day,
Whose crest reaches to the ramparts of heaven,
And whose side unto Mount Arâlu—
The scorpion-men guard its door ;
Overawing they are, their aspect is death,
Terrible is their brightness, crushing down mountains,
At sunrise and at sunset they guard the sun :
Gilgamesh saw them, with fear and
With terror his face was clouded ;
He was deprived of his presence of mind by their grim appearance,
The scorpion-man spoke to his wife :
'He comes to us, an omen of the gods (viz., marked with disease) is his
body.'"²

Gilgamesh reveals to the scorpion-men his proposition to visit "Pir-napistim, who knows about life and death";³ and the scorpion-man warns him of the dangers of the journey. He declares that the way, twelve miles long, leads on a lonely journey to the country Mâsu which is wrappd in eternal darkness ; but Gilgamesh insists upon going and is allowed to pass through the door.

The country Mâsu is known to us from the historical accounts of Asurbanipals's and Sargon's expeditions to be the Syrio-Arabic desert to be in the southeastern part of Mesopotamia, and we may assume that at the time when our epic was written the desert was known only by rumors, and the idea was prevalent that no living being could maintain its existence in it. Gilgamesh further passes through a country which is full of beautiful trees the fruits of which are precious stones, and arrives at the sea-shore where his progress is checked by a gate kept under the superintendence of Sabitu, a female guardian, who describes the impossibility of crossing the ocean, saying :

"Gilgamesh, never has there been a passage
And no one since all eternity could cross the sea—
Samas the hero has crossed the sea,
But who besides Samas can cross it?
Difficult is the passage and troublesome the way,
Impassable are the waters of death which are

¹Jeremias, *l. c.*, p. 83.

²Jeremias, *l. c.*, p. 84.

³Nimrod epic, 61, 5.

Interposed like bars.

Why, Gilgamesh, wilt thou cross the sea?

When approaching the waters of death, what wilt thou do?—

Nimrod! There is Arad-Ea, the ferry-man of Pir-napistim,

. . . . he felled in the wood a cedar-tree,

. . . . may thy face see it.

If possible cross over with him; if it is not possible

. . . . behind him"

Sabitu's door is similar to the gate which we know from Istar's descent to sheol, only it is in front of the waters of death, and appears to be the landing-place of Arad-Ea, the ferry-man, or Babylonian Charon. Gilgamesh confides to Arad-Ea his intention, and Arad-Ea requests him to cut in the woods a rudder sixty ells long. The hero obeys and both enter the ship. Having rowed for several months, they reach the waters of death, and now the greatest danger begins. The two oarsmen do not rest, but row in-



GILGAMESH AND EABĀNI GILGAMESH AND ARAD EA
COMBATING A LION. CROSSING THE WATERS

OF DEATH.

(Cylinder Seal, British Museum.)

cessantly until all peril is past. They reach the shores of the Island of the Blessed. Here Gilgamesh sees Pir-napistim, who listens to his words and sympathises with the hero. Pir-napistim's reply ends with the exposition of man's destiny that no one was allowed, except the god of Fate, to protect man from death. He says:

"So long as we build houses, so long as we make contracts, so long as brothers quarrel, so long as enmity obtains, are the days of death unknown."

Pir-napistim here tells the story of his apotheosis, how the Deluge came, how he escaped, and how Marduk raised him and his wife to the dignity of gods. The tale of the Deluge being told, Pir-napistim cures the disease of Gilgamesh. He gives him the magic food of life, which, lying in his boat, he eats in a magic sleep. Pir-napistim requests his servant, Arad-Ea, to enter a ferry-boat moored at the shore, saying:

"The man whom thou ledest is covered with boils all over,
The scales of leprosy have destroyed the purity of his body.
Take him, Arad-Ea, to the place of purification bring him,
His boils the water may cleanse as snow,
He may doff his scales and the sea may carry them away—
Healthy shall appear his body."

The act of purification is told in these words:

"His boils he washed in the water pure as snow,
His leprosy he doffed, the sea carried it off, healthy became his body."

The water of life in the Island of the Blessed at the mouths of the river is mentioned also on other occasions as a cure for diseases. In a magic formula god Ea is related to have given his son Marduk the following advice as to the curing of diseases of the head:

"Go, my son Marduk, take a kippatu, (?)
At the mouth of the rivers, kilallê-water (?) fetch,
This water bless with thy pure conjuration, and purify it with thy spell.
With the water sprinkle the man, the child of his god."

Another conjuration destroyed in the most important place begins as follows:

"Only water [],
Water of the Euphrates, which in its place
Water which is eternally hidden (?) in the ocean,
Which has been purified by the pure mouth of Ea;
The sons of the deep, the seven,
Have rendered the water pure, have rendered the water clear, have rendered
the water bright."

The seven demons of the deep are the Anunnaki, who enviously protect the water.

Gilgamesh being cleansed of his leprosy returns with the ferryman and Pir-napistim's wife speaks to her husband:

"Gilgamesh has returned, comforted and cured,
What wilt thou give that he return to his country?"

Thereupon, Pir-napistim reveals to the hero the secret decree of the gods. He shows him the magic plant, which as it seems grows upon high trees or upon high rocks of the island; for in order to obtain it Gilgamesh must pile rocks one upon another. The name of the plant is significant; it is called *sibu-issahir-amêlu*, that is, "though old, man is rejuvenated." Gilgamesh, full of joy, exclaims that through its possession he will return to vigor and youth.

Gilgamesh now returns to his country, but while he rests after a row of four hours an earth-lion robs him of the magic plant and takes it with him into the deep.

The Babylonian conception of the Island of the Blessed is apparently as hazy as the Greek conception of Elysium, the Egyptian Sechnit-Aahlu, the abode of bliss, and in either case the relation seems to be similar to Arâlû, the mountain of the gods, the Assyrian Olympus, for Tiglathpileser declares on an eight-sided prism that his family is called to reside on the mount of the gods forever. Habitation on the mount of the gods, accordingly, is practically the same as to live on the Island of the Blessed. Thus, Heracles is sometimes said to live in the Elysian fields and sometimes to have ascended to Mt. Olympus.

The spring of life, situated in the recesses of sheol and guarded by the seven spirits called Anunnaki, is supposed to be the means for the possibility of a liberation from the land of the dead. When Istar was sprinkled over with the water of that spring, she was cured of all her illnesses and, in spite of the anger of the goddess of sheol, restored to life. She passed back through the seven doors of the realm of death and returned to the assembly of the gods. As Tammuz annually is resurrected from death, so the hope of a release from the bonds of sheol is attached to Istar, the conqueror of Allatu. For this reason, the Magus, when requested to assist in the conjuration of the dead, relates the story of Istar's descent into sheol and her liberation, and advises the party consulting him to address her with prayer and to consecrate the conjuration with a libation for Tammuz.

Marduk is called "the merciful, he who loves the resurrection of the dead." And in another place, "the merciful, through whom there is resuscitation." Further, he is called "the god of the pure life." The goddess Gula is addressed as "the lady, the resuscitator of the dead"; and Nebi, "he who prolongs the days of life and resurrects the dead."¹ Almost all the gods are supposed to have the power to restore life; but Istar and Tammuz are more than others the deities of resurrection; and in this sense Istar is praised as "she who gives life, the merciful goddess to whom it is good to pray."

It is a pity that "Istar's Descent to Hell" is a mere fragment, but the sense of the poem is sufficiently clear to reveal an unusual depth of feeling and an extraordinary power of faith. We can understand what a fascination the festival of the weeping for Tammuz must have exercised upon the minds of the Israelites, for even we children of the twentieth century to whom Istar and Tammuz have become the shady figures of a dead mythology, feel the dint of sympathy, and, touched by Istar's grief, cannot help assenting to the underlying truth which is the theme of the story that love is stronger than death, and if there is any power that can conquer Allatu, the goddess of sheol, it is Istar, the goddess of love.

¹Cf. *Jeremias, l. c.* p. 101.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ.

Our frontispiece, Prajñāpāramitā, the perfection of wisdom, is a masterpiece of the ancient Buddhist art of Java.

We read that a king of Gujerat, India, being told in an oracle that his country would go to ruin, sent his son with a fleet and five thousand followers to Java. They settled in the center of the Island, and being reinforced by another detachment of two thousand soldiers from India, they succeeded in founding a great and flourishing empire, carrying on an extensive commerce with Gujerat and other countries. They were Buddhists, and introduced the Buddhist faith, erecting extensive monuments, the ruins of which are still standing. The best-known temple of this period is Boro Buddor, which is built on a rising mound with extensive galleries and passages well adapted for processions, which play an important part in the Mahāyāna ritual. The pillars and walls of this sacred mound are covered with inscriptions and reliefs representing scenes from the life of Buddha and Buddhist folklore tales.

There are also relics of the Brahman religion, which was probably introduced before the Buddhist emigrants reached Java; but the Brahman art shows no perfection and consists simply in circles of stones which are either in their natural shape or carved into rude representations of Hindu deities. But they are so rude that even the elephant-headed Ganesa can sometimes hardly be recognised. Further there are figures supposed to represent Siva and Vishnu and other gods of the Brahman pantheon.

The Buddhist civilisation apparently was far superior to that of the Brahmans, but it was superseded through the influx of Mohammedans, who by and by became so powerful that in the year 1479 they conquered Majapahit, the capital, and remained for a long time in possession of the island. The year of the Mohammedan conquest terminated the artistic period of Java. Says Fergusson, in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II., page 258: "It is as if the masons had thrown away their tools, and the chisels had dropped from the hands of the carvers. From that time forward no building was erected in Java, and no image carved, that is worth even a passing notice. At a time when the Mohammedans were adorning India with monuments of surpassing magnificence, no one in Java thought of building either a mosque, or a tomb, or a palace that would be deemed respectable in any second-class state in any part of the world."

The statue of Prajñāpāramitā is one of the finest gems of the Royal Museum of Leyden, which I had occasion to admire on a visit to that famous Dutch university town. My friend, Monsieur G. Birnie, of Deventer, Holland, who had the kindness to show me the artistic and scientific treasures of his country, noticing

the interest which I took in the statue, had it photographed with the permission of the authorities of the Museum, and we owe it to his courtesy that we are able to offer it to the readers of *The Open Court*. We hereby publicly express our thanks both to him and to the authorities of the Royal Museum of Leyden.

We have before us in this statue the ideal of Wisdom sitting in the attitude of a teacher, evidently enforcing the instruction which she gives by the assistance of her fingers, used in enumerating the points which she makes. The halo behind her head indicates that the spirit of Buddha is incarnate in her; her seat, like that of the Tathágata, is a lotos flower; her features indicate the influence of the Gandhara school, founded by Greek artists in the Græco-Indian kingdom of Gandhara in the valley of the Indus, flourishing in the second and first centuries before Christ.

Javanese art is distinguished by a purity of taste that indicates a purity of religious sentiment and conception in the artists. What a pity that the civilisation of which the work of art before us is a symptom was swept from the face of the earth to be succeeded only by periods of barbarism!

P. C.

BERKELEY'S TREATISE CONCERNING THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.

Berkeley's *Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*, of which a reprint has just been published as the fourth of the series of Philosophical Classics of the Religion of Science Library,¹ first appeared in Dublin in 1710. The second edition, the last of the author's life-time, appeared in London in 1734, in the same volume with the third edition of the *Three Dialogues Between Hylas and Philonous*, a reprint of which will also immediately appear in the Religion of Science Library.

The *Principles*, published when the author was only twenty-six, is the most systematic of all of Berkeley's expositions of his theory of knowledge: it was the direct outgrowth of the *Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision* (1709), which sought to banish the metaphysical abstractions of Absolute Space and Extension from philosophy, and was itself mainly concerned with the abolition of Abstract Matter and of the ontological and theological corollaries of that concept. The *Dialogues* treat of substantially the same subjects, but are more familiar and elegant in form and are devoted in the main to the refutation of the most plausible popular and philosophical objections to the new doctrine. They have been called the gem of British metaphysical literature, and on them Berkeley's claim to be the great modern master of Socratic dialogue rests. No other writer in English, save perhaps Hume, has approached Berkeley in lucidity of metaphysical style.

The two books, which mark a distinctively new epoch in philosophy and science, together afford a comprehensive survey of Berkeley's doctrines, placing within the reach of every reader in remarkably brief compass opinions which have profoundly influenced the course of intellectual history. Works of this kind have been almost invariably distinguished by their brevity. "I had no inclination," is Berkeley's characteristic remark, "to trouble the world with large volumes. What I have done was rather with the view of giving hints to thinking men, who have leisure and curiosity to go to the bottom of things, and pursue them in their own minds. Two or three times reading these small tracts, and making what is read the occasion of thinking, would, I believe, render the whole familiar and easy to the mind,

¹ The Open Court Pub. Co. Chicago and London. 1901. Pp. xv, 128. Price, 25 cents.

and take off that shocking appearance which hath often been observed to attend speculative truths."

Berkeley's philosophy, having been the victim of much popular, and even professional, misapprehension, the editor has endeavored in his prefatory remarks to the *Principles*, to give by appropriate quotations and digests a synthesis of current philosophical opinion concerning his doctrines, to point out his relation to his predecessors, to indicate certain peculiarities of terminology and thought necessary to the understanding of his theory, and to show finally wherein certain of his analyses



GEORGE BERKELEY

(1685-1753)

From a picture by Smibert, now in Yale College

have been rendered antiquated by modern scientific inquiry. Berkeley's life is so interesting that we cannot refrain from offering to our readers the sketch given of it in Lewes's *Biographical History of Philosophy* (1845), a work which, though on technical points partisan and not always trustworthy, has at least the merit of a vivacious style.

LIFE OF BERKELEY.

"There are few men of whom England has better reason to be proud than of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne; for to extraordinary merits as a thinker and

writer he united the most exquisite purity and generosity of character; and it is still a moot point whether he was greater in head or heart.

"He was born on the 12th of March, 1685, at Kilcrin, in the county of Kilkenny, Ireland. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was in 1707 admitted as a fellow. In 1709 he published his *Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision*, which made an epoch in science;¹ and the year after, his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, which made an epoch in metaphysics. After this he came to London, where he was received with open arms. Ancient learning, exact science, polished society, modern literature, and the fine arts, contributed to adorn and enrich the mind of this accomplished man. All his contemporaries agreed with the Satirist in ascribing

To Berkeley every virtue under heaven.

Adverse factions and hostile wits concurred only in loving, admiring, and contributing to advance him. The severe sense of Swift endured his visions; the modest Addison endeavored to reconcile Clarke to his ambitious speculations. His character converted the satire of Pope into fervid praise. Even the discerning, fastidious, and turbulent Atterbury said, after an interview with him, "so much learning, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels, till I saw this gentleman."²

"His acquaintance with the wits led to his contributing to the *Guardian*. He became chaplain and afterwards secretary to the Earl of Peterborough, whom he accompanied on his embassy to Sicily. He subsequently made the tour of Europe with Mr. Ashe; and at Paris met Malebranche, with whom he had an animated discussion on the ideal theory. In 1724 he was made dean of Derry. This was worth eleven hundred pounds a year to him; but he resigned it in order to dedicate his life to the conversion of the North American savages, stipulating only with the Government for a salary of one hundred pounds a year. On this romantic and generous expedition he was accompanied by his young wife. He set sail for Rhode Island, carrying with him a valuable library of books and the bulk of his property. But, to the shame of the Government, be it said, the promises made him were not fulfilled, and after seven years of single-handed endeavour he was forced to return to England, having spent the greater part of his fortune in vain.

"He was made Bishop of Cloyne in 1734. When he wished to resign, the King would not permit him; and being keenly alive to the evils of non-residence, he made an arrangement before leaving Cloyne whereby he settled 200*l.* a year during his absence on the poor. In 1752 he removed to Oxford, where, on the evening of the 14th January, in 1753, he was suddenly seized, while reading, with palsy of the heart, and died almost instantaneously.

"Of his numerous writings we cannot here speak; two only belong to our subject: the *Principles of Knowledge*, and the *Dialogues of Hylas and Philonous*. [His other most important philosophical work was *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher* (1733)]. We hope to remove some of the errors and prejudices with

¹ This statement is hardly exact. The *Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision* was a psychological rather than a scientific treatise. The work has been well characterised by Prof. A. C. Fraser in his edition of the collected works of Berkeley, Vol. I., page 5, as follows: "The treatise is a professed account of the facts, the whole facts, and nothing but the facts of which we are visually conscious, as distinguished from pretended facts and metaphysical abstractions, which confused thought, an irregular exercise of imagination, or an abuse of words had substituted for them. It is a contribution to the psychological analysis of the fact of vision, and not a deduction from merely physical experiments in optics or the physiology of the eye."—*T. J. McC.*

² Sir James Mackintosh.

which his name is encrusted. We hope to show that, even in what are called his wildest moods, Berkeley was a plain, sincere, deep-thinking man, not a sophist playing with paradoxes to display his skill.

THE TRADITIONAL MISCONCEPTION OF BERKELEY'S IDEALISM.

"All the world has heard of Berkeley's Idealism, and innumerable 'coxcombs' have vanquished it 'with a grin.'¹ Ridicule has not been sparing of it. Argument has not been wanting. It has been laughed at, written at, talked at, shrieked at. That it has been *understood* is not so apparent. Few writers seem to have honestly read and appreciated his works; and those few are certainly not among his antagonists.² In reading the criticisms upon his theory it is quite ludicrous to notice the constant iteration of trivial objections which, trivial as they are, Berkeley had often anticipated. In fact, the critics misunderstood him, and then reproached him for his inconsistency—inconsistency, not with *his* principles, but with *theirs*. They force a meaning upon his words which he had expressly rejected; and then triumph over him because he did not pursue their principles to the extravagances which would have resulted from them.

"When Berkeley denied the existence of matter, he simply denied the existence of that unknown *substratum*, the existence of which Locke had declared to be a necessary *inference* from our knowledge of qualities, but the nature of which must ever be altogether hidden from us. Philosophers had assumed the existence of substance, i. e., of a *noumenon* lying underneath all *phenomena*—a *substratum* supporting all qualities—a *something* in which all accidents *inhere*. This unknown substance Berkeley denies. It is a mere abstraction, he says. If it is unknown, unknowable, it is a figment, and I will none of it; for it is a figment worse than useless; it is pernicious, as the basis of all Atheism. If by matter you understand *that* which is seen, felt, tasted, and touched, then I say matter exists: I am as firm a believer in its existence as any one can be, and *herein I agree with the vulgar*. If, on the contrary, you understand by matter that occult *substratum* which is *not* seen, *not* felt, *not* tasted, and *not* touched—that of which the senses do not, cannot, inform you—then I say I believe not in the existence of matter, and *herein I differ with the philosophers and agree with the vulgar*.

"'I am not changing things into ideas,' he says, 'but rather ideas into things: since those *immediate objects of perception*, which according to you (Berkeley might have said, according to philosophers) are only *appearances of things*, I take to be the real things themselves.

"'Hylas: Things! you may pretend what you please; but it is certain you leave us nothing but the empty forms of things, the *outside of which only strikes the senses*.

"'Philonous: What you call the empty forms and outside of things seem to me the very things themselves. . . . We both therefore agree in this, that we perceive only sensible forms; but herein we differ: you will have them to be empty appearances; I, real beings. In short, *you do not trust your senses; I do*.'

"Berkeley is always accused of having propounded a theory which contra-

¹ "And coxcombs vanquish Berkeley with a grin."—*Pope*.

² These words were written in 1845-1846. Since then Prof. A. Campbell Fraser's magnificent edition of Berkeley's collected works (4 vols. Clarendon Press. 1871) and his exhaustive dissertations on Berkeley's doctrines, together with the many excellent histories of philosophy of the last half century, have rendered such misunderstanding, at least on the part of the philosophical public, almost impossible.—*T. J. McC.*

dicts the evidence of the senses. That a man who should thus disregard the senses must be out of his, was a ready answer; ridicule was not slow in retort: declamation gave itself elbow-room, and exhibited itself in a triumphant attitude. It was easy to declare (Reid, *Inquiry*) that 'the man who seriously entertains this belief, though in other respects he may be a very good man, as a man may be who believes he is made of glass; yet surely he hath a soft place in his understanding, and hath been hurt by much thinking.'

"Unfortunately for the critics, Berkeley did *not* contradict the evidence of the senses; did *not* propound a theory at variance in this point with the ordinary belief of mankind. His peculiarity is, that he confined himself exclusively to the evidence of the senses. What the senses informed him of, that, and *that only*, would he accept. He held fast to the facts of consciousness; he placed himself resolutely in the centre of the instinctive belief of mankind: there he took up his stand, leaving to philosophers the region of supposition, inference, and of occult substances.

"The reproach made to him is really the reproach he made to philosophers, viz., that they would not trust to the evidence of their senses; that over and above what the senses told them, they imagined an occult something of which the senses gave no indication. 'Now it was against this metaphysical phantom of the brain,' says an acute critic (*Blackwood's Magazine*, June, 1842, p. 814) 'this crochet-work of philosophers, and against it alone, that all the attacks of Berkeley were directed. The doctrine that the realities of things were not made for man, and that he must rest satisfied with mere appearances was regarded, and rightly, by him as the parent of scepticism with all her desolating train. He saw that philosophy, in giving up the reality immediately within her grasp, in favor of a reality supposed to be less delusive, which lay beyond the limits of experience, resembled the dog in the fable, who, carrying a piece of meat across a river, let the substance slip from his jaws, while with foolish greed he snatched at the shadow in the stream. The dog lost his dinner, and philosophy let go her secure hold upon truth. He therefore sided with the vulgar, who recognise no distinction between the reality and the appearance of objects, and repudiating the baseless hypothesis of a world existing unknown and unperceived, he resolutely maintained that what are called the sensible shows of things are in truth the very things themselves.

"True it is that owing to the ambiguities of language Berkeley's theory does not seem to run counter to the ordinary belief of mankind, because by Matter men commonly understand the seen, the tasted, the touched, &c.; therefore when the existence of Matter is denied, people naturally suppose that the existence of the seen, the tasted, and the touched is denied, never suspecting that Matter, in its philosophical sense, is *not* seen, *not* tasted, *not* touched. Berkeley has not, it must be confessed, sufficiently guarded against all ambiguity. Thus he says in one of the opening sections of his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, that 'It is indeed an opinion strangely prevailing amongst men that houses, mountains, rivers, and, in a word, all sensible objects have an existence, natural or real, distinct from their being perceived by the understanding.' This is striking the key-note false. It rouses the reader to oppose a coming paradox.

"Yet Berkeley foresaw and answered the objections which Wimpsey, Beattie, Reid, and others brought forward. He was not giving utterance to a caprice; he was not spinning an ingenious theory, knowing all the while that it was no more than an ingenuity. He was an earnest thinker, patient in the search after truth. Anxious, therefore, that his speculations should not be regarded as mere dialectical

displays, he endeavoured on various occasions to guard himself from misapprehension.

"I do not argue against the existence of any one thing that we can apprehend either by sensation or reflection. That the things I see with my eyes and touch with my hands do exist, really exist, I make not the least question. The only thing whose existence I deny is that which philosophers call Matter, or corporeal substance. And in doing this there is no damage done to the rest of mankind, who, I dare say, will never miss it. . . .

"If any man thinks we detract from the reality of existence of things, he is very far from understanding what has been premised in the plainest terms I could think of. . . . It will be urged that thus much at least is true, viz., that we take away all corporeal substances. To this my answer is, that if the word *substance* be taken in the vulgar sense for a combination of sensible qualities, such as extension, solidity, weight, &c., this we cannot be accused of taking away.¹ But if it be taken in the philosophic sense, for the support of accidents or qualities without the mind; then, indeed, I acknowledge that we take it away, if one may be said to take away that which never had any existence, not even in the imagination.

"But say what we can, some one perhaps may be apt to reply, he will still believe his senses, and never suffer any arguments, however plausible, to prevail over the certainty of them. Be it so; assert the evidence of sense as high as you please, *we are willing to do the same*. That what I see, hear, and feel, doth exist, i. e., is perceived by me, I no more doubt than I do of my own being; but I do not see how the testimony of sense can be alleged as a proof of anything which is not perceived by sense."²

"After reading these passages (and more of a similar cast might be quoted) in what terms shall we speak of the trash written to refute Idealism? Where was the acuteness of the Reids and Beatties, when they tauntingly asked why Berkeley did not run his head against a post, did not walk over precipices, &c., as, in accordance with his theory, no pain, no broken limbs, could result?³ Where was philosophical acumen, when a tribe of writers could imagine they refuted Berkeley by an appeal to common sense—when they contrasted the instinctive beliefs of mankind with the speculative paradoxes of a philosopher, who expressly took his stand with common sense against philosophers?

"Men trained in metaphysical speculations may find it difficult to conceive the non-existence of an invisible, unknowable substratum; but that the bulk of mankind find it almost impossible to conceive any such substratum is a fact which the slightest inquiry will verify. We have experienced this more than once. We remember a discussion which lasted an entire evening, in which by no power of illustration, by no force of argument, could the idea of this substance, apart from its sensible qualities, be rendered conceivable.

"Berkeley, therefore, in denying the existence of matter, sided with common sense. He thought with the vulgar, that matter was that of which his senses in-

¹ An answer to Dr. Johnson's peremptory refutation of Berkeley, viz., kicking a stone: as if Berkeley ever denied that what we call stones existed!

² *Principles of Human Knowledge*, Sections 35, 36, 37, 40.

³ "But what is the consequence? I resolve not to believe my senses. I break my head against a post that comes in my way; I step into a dirty kennel; and after twenty such wise and rational actions I am taken up and clapt into a madhouse. Now I confess I had rather make one of those credulous fools whom nature imposes upon, than of those wise and rational philosophers who resolve to withhold assent at all this expense."—Reid's *Inquiry*, ch. vi., sec. 20. This one passage is as good as a hundred.

formed him; not an occult something of which he could have no information. The table he saw before him certainly existed: it was hard, polished, coloured, of a certain figure, and cost some guineas. But there was no *phantom table* lying underneath the *apparent table*—there was no invisible substance supporting that table. What he perceived was a table, and nothing more; what he perceived it to be, he would believe it to be, and nothing more. His starting-point was thus what the plain dictates of his senses, and the senses of all men furnished."

MONCURE D. CONWAY, A MILITANT MISSIONARY OF LIBERALISM.

Some time ago we published an article on the Boxer Movement, illustrated by the reproduction of Chinese proclamations and pictures, from the pen of a Christian missionary, the Rev. George T. Candlin, who lived in China during the outbreak of the troubles, and who is known to our readers through several thoughtful contributions on Chinese literature to both *The Open Court* and *The Monist*. His pamphlet, *Chinese Fiction*, published in our Religion of Science Library, shows his thorough acquaintance with and appreciation of the Chinese character and modes of thought.

In the present number we offer an article on the same subject, from the opposite standpoint, by Moncure D. Conway, whose trenchant pen has won him a deserved reputation for the humorous and satirical treatment of such phases of the religious and social conditions of our age as seem to need reform.

Moncure D. Conway is a descendent of the Washington family, a Virginian by birth and a minister by education. In 1857, he was compelled to leave Washington, D. C., where he had charge of a congregation, on account of his denunciations of slavery. He then accepted a call to a Unitarian church in Cincinnati, and when the war broke out lectured gratuitously throughout the Northern states, advocating emancipation. He set a good example to his fellow-citizens by colonising his father's slaves in Ohio. In 1863, he visited England, and in 1870-71 served as a war correspondent for the *New York World*, during the Franco-German War. Having grown more and more liberal, he became the speaker of the South Place Ethical Society in London, and since resigning his position lives as a literary man, devoting himself mainly to religious and ethical topics.

Moncure D. Conway is not yet entirely free from a certain acerbity in the statement of his propositions, which may be due to the unpleasant experiences and persecutions to which he has been repeatedly subjected on account of his convictions. Our readers will observe that he denounces militant Christianity on account of the excrescences of its militant character, but it will be noticed that he himself has proved his whole life long one of the most fervid militant missionaries for what he recognised as the truth.

P. C.

THE JUDGES OF JESUS, JEWS OR GENTILES?

To the Editor of the Open Court :

Allow me to ask if you will elucidate a statement published in your April number in your commentary on the story "The Crown of Thorns."

The passage alluded to is as follows: "Jesus was crucified by the Romans, not by the Jews." Meaning that the *death-decree* passed on the Teacher of Galilee by the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem was *executed*—according to the Roman law—by Roman officials?

Will you insert a note in the Miscellaneous Columns of one of your forthcoming numbers illustrative of the exact inference the paragraph is intended to convey?

This point is referred to your consideration, as some readers may be carried away with the idea that the learned Dr. Paul Carus transfers all odium in the Hebrew tragedy, and all authority, from the famous Jewish Senate which governed Judæa, on to the shoulders of the Roman Procurator who countersigned the Sanhedrin's decree; passing the sentence of death being the authority allowed to the Jewish Council, the *power for executing the Senate's sentence* being rigorously vested in the hands of the Roman procurator. To use the words of the Deputies of the Jewish Sanhedrin guilty of Christ's arraignment before Pilate: "We have already judged him according to our laws, and having found him guilty of death have brought him unto you to carry the sentence into execution."

The printing press is the pedagogue of the world. And all earnest students are encouraged to question of their "pedagogue" any statement which may not be clearly understood. Surely, *The Open Court* will not fail its many students.

GEO. AULD.

BASSETTERRE, St. Kitts, B. W. I., April 27, 1901.

In reply to our correspondent, we will state that at the time of Christ's crucifixion the Romans alone exercised the right of capital punishment in Judæa. The Jewish Sanhedrim could make as many declarations as they pleased that a certain man deserved death according to their laws, but they had not the power to execute the judgment. It is quite probable that the Roman prefect would not have executed Jesus had he not been delivered over unto him by the Jewish authorities. But for that reason Pilate, the representative of the Roman Empire, remains the responsible person who alone had the right to pronounce judgment in the case. According to the Gospel accounts, the Jewish Sanhedrim, having condemned Jesus for blasphemy, plays the informer in order to have him executed for his pretensions as a Messiah, and as such Jesus is executed by the order of Pilate.

The statement that "Jesus was crucified by the Romans, not by the Jews," is made without any implication, merely as a statement of fact; but we might as well incidentally mention that originally among the Jew-Christians Rome was regarded as the main enemy of the kingdom of God. Rome is compared to Babylon, and is criticised with the severest names in the Revelation of St. John the Divine. The Gentile Christians, many of whom were Romans, were more careful in their attitude toward Rome. Paul himself was a Roman citizen, and he never uttered a definitely hostile word against Rome. When by and by the Gentile Church became positively Roman, the Roman authorities were more and more exonerated, and the whole odium of the crucifixion of Jesus was then thrown upon the Jews.

P. C.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS IN ITALY.

To the Editor of The Open Court.

Will you kindly allow me by means of *The Open Court* to endorse the wishes expressed in your March number by your correspondent Signora Evelyn Martingengo Cesaresco, that animals should receive that careful and considerate attention that is surely their due at the hands of all men and more particularly those professing Christianity. "Their lives," in many cases, are not fallen in "pleasant places,"

they have not a "goodly heritage," particularly, I am sorry to say, in Italy, where I have seen the most heart-rending cruelty to beasts of burden. Not only are they constantly compelled to draw burdens greater than they can bear, but there is a systematised practice, common throughout Italy, and by no means confined to that country, of treating mules with unwarranted cruelty, by means of nose-plates fixed to their head-gear. These nose-plates are made of brass formed to fit the nose of the animal and upon the inside there are serrated edges which saw the flesh through to the bone. The mule may be a bad-tempered, stubborn animal and require stern treatment, but surely such a barbarous mode ought not only be unnecessary, but should be absolutely prohibited. This kind of cruelty is not, I assure you, in isolated cases. It is a common practice among the peasantry. I have examined the noses of scores of mules and have invariably found ghastly, ulcerating wounds caused by these plates.

If the Signora continue this good work of hers on behalf of the suffering lower creation, she will not only be helping to lighten their bitter lot, but will render untold benefit to humanity at large.

D. HOLLAND STUBBS.

St. Andrew's Cathedral, Singapore.

AN INDIAN CHIEFTAIN ON THE DEVIL.

Our readers will remember the picture of the manly looking Indian clergyman, the Rev. J. J. Emmengahbowk (the Man-Who-Stands-Before-His-People) which appeared in *The Open Court* of last January (p. 50). The Rev. Emmengahbowk was much interested in *The Open Court*, and especially so in the announcement which he saw of Dr. Carus's *History of the Devil*. After subscribing to *The Open Court*, he writes as follows:

"WHITE EARTH RESERVATION, March 9th, 1901.

"*The Open Court*,

"Gentlemen:

"Some thing my people interested to see the picture of the olden times and to have some idea how the ancient people worshipped to the unknown God; that some thing the faith and worship of my people are similar.

"I was telling one of the chiefs that some a good white man has written a book about the Devil and made pictures of them. He ask: 'Is the white man still living?' I said, 'Yes, live in Chicago very near us.' 'O, dear me,' he said, 'I wish I could see the man who visited and talked with the Devil.' And he continued to say: 'Can you not procure his book and let us hear what the Devil had to say and what they look a like? The gentleman asks too much,—I am not able to buy it—too, too much to have his numerous friends see the picture of his friend the Devil!'

"He ask me again and said: 'Emmengahbowk, do you ever know or hear of any of your friend see the Devil personally, either through dreams or in imagination.' I said: 'I have not.' 'Well, I have. Sometimes he comes with all the beautiful form like any human being—sometimes in the form of a mountain, and other times in the form of a beautiful green leaf, of course with all their enticing bait, or other word *allure*.'

"My poor people know this much and understand it: that we are allured to evil by some promised good. We are enticed into it through our passions. We are seduced when drawn aside from the path of rectitude.

"Again the chief asked: 'Do you say that he saw the Devil?' 'Of course he

must; cannot be otherwise,' said another of the heathen chiefs. 'How can a man make picture of an object unless he saw it? So he must have seen and talked with him as a friend.' I wish the gentleman would be so generous to give his book to the inquisitive chief. He may do him much good." EMMENGAHBOWK.

BOOK REVIEWS.

NEUCHRISTENTHUM UND REALE RELIGION. Eine Streitschrift wider Harnack und Steudel. Nebst einem Katechismus realer Religion. Von Dr. Julius Baumann, ord. Professor of Philosophy in the University of Göttingen. Bonn: Verlag von Emil Strauss. 1901. Pages, 56.

In this work Doctor Baumann criticises Professor Harnack of Berlin and the Rev. Steudel, pastor of the church of St. Roberty, of Bremen, and a disciple of the famous professor—the former for his lectures on the essence of Christianity, and the latter for his text-book of religious instruction for young people. Our author opposes the lack of scientific thoroughness in both, and discovers the weak point in the religious views of this new Christianity and new Protestantism in a banking after mysticism. Harnack is a scientific man; he is one of the most prominent representatives of the critical school; his investigations of Church history, the history of the Christian dogma, etc., are classical; but in all his studies we can trace his staunch allegiance to a belief in the supremacy of sentiment (page 188). Harnack says: "Science cannot satisfy all the yearnings of the spirit and the heart" (*Lectures*, pages 11–12). And again: "Science cannot give meaning to life. The questions of whence and whither she can answer as little to-day as two or three thousand years ago. She teaches us facts, traces contradictions, interconnects phenomena, explains illusions of the senses." Harnack denies that she can produce judgments of any absolute valuation. He says (page 11): "Absolute judgments of valuation are always the creatures of sentiment and will; they are a subjective act." While Harnack is strictly scientific in his work as a professor and historian, while he eliminates miracles and critically analyses the texts and documents of Christianity, while he concedes that the early Christians were utterly mistaken in the main dogma of their religious conviction, viz., as to the second advent of Christ, he again and again objects to science as being unable to give a norm of life, and resorts again and again to sentiment as being alone capable of giving absolute valuations of religious significance. Professor Baumann points out that all religions are of the same nature, that for instance, the present Chinese national movement against foreigners is essentially based upon such a subjective valuation of their religious convictions against those of the Christian invaders. There is subjectivism on both sides. But Professor Harnack does not consider these contradictions as affecting his judgments of absolute valuation. His own religion is, as he himself expresses it (page 95), "A dualism the origin of which we do not know; but as moral beings we are convinced, that as it is presented to us for the sake of being overcome and reduced to a unity, it points out an original unity, and will ultimately be resolved in harmony in a concrete dominion of the good."

Harnack's disciple, Pastor Steudel, follows essentially the same direction. He is critical, he opposes belief in miracles, but after all he builds his religion upon subjective conviction. "Metaphysical cognition has only a subjective significance," he says; "objective certitude can only be obtained by experimental science" (page 92). Thus, the essential religious ideas lie outside the pale of science. Steudel says (page 13): "If God could be reached by means of investigation, as

for instance we can investigate the nature of light, he would cease to be the object of religious conception. He would be one of the many cognisable things of the world, the presence and mode of activity of which must be heeded. It is exactly the incognisability and the incomprehensibility of God which makes him the object of religion. In contrast to all the things of the world, his existence is only surmise." Thus, Steudel revels in the infinite, and yields to the sentiment of awe. "The fixed stars in space," he says, "must be conceived to be infinite. Matter is infinitely divisible, and these things are in the interest of a religious explanation of our world-conception not less important than the order of the laws of nature."

Professor Baumann claims that this Christianity is something new, and ought not to claim to be a mere reform of the established Christianity. He proposes in its place "a real Christianity," or, as he calls it, "a really scientific religion"; and no doubt the main idea of his proposition is valuable and can be substantiated. But the explanation which he gives on pages 43-50 will be found very unsatisfactory, for it lacks precision and suffers as much as the views of his opponents from terms that must be regarded as purely sentimental. His religion, too, is expressed by: "I believe" (No. 8, page 44). It is not based on scientific knowledge, and the contents of his belief are expressed thus: "I believe in God, creator and preserver of the world, from eternity to eternity." Baumann believes that the organic world has risen out of the inorganic, not in the way that 9 is a product of 3 times 3 , as an equal from equals; but he says: "It must be assumed that under the thoughts of God, at a certain stage of the evolution of inorganic nature, the use of it as the basis of an organic activity is discovered and will be realised as a real thought" (No. 13, page 45).

We do not mean to say that the idea which Professor Baumann means to express is incorrect, but we would say that it needs further elucidation. We agree with him in his criticism of both Harnack and Steudel, but we cannot as yet say that he himself has discovered the right formula of a religion that would be acceptable upon strictly scientific grounds. We believe ourselves that this is the ideal of the future; in fact, we try to realise such a truly scientific religion, and we hail his attempt to do so. Nevertheless, we find him over-critical in judging the work of others, and lacking in justice as to the mode of the evolution of thought. Professor Baumann says that the original Christianity as Jesus meant it died out with the non-fulfilment of the prophecies of the second advent. The Christianity of history such as it developed on the soil of the Roman Empire, and which was transferred to the Teutonic races in Northern Europe, has comparatively little to do with the eschatological view of Jesus of Nazareth and the early Jews. This is true in one sense only. The fact is that in its development Christianity adapted itself and changed, giving new interpretations where the old views had become untenable. Both Professor Harnack and Pastor Steudel are as much entitled to call themselves Christians, or new Christians if they please, as Paul was to call himself a disciple of Jesus. With given conditions a new phase may set in which will so radically change former traditions that the traditional name ceases to be appropriate; but it seems to me that men like Harnack and Steudel are sufficiently in contact with tradition to be justified in calling themselves Christians, and remaining in contact with the historical evolution of Christianity. Since the change which St. Paul made in starting the Gentile Church, and also Luther's reformation, were sanctioned in history as mere phases in the evolution of Christianity, we see no reason why the changes of modern theology should not be regarded in the same light.

P. C.

CONSTRUCTION FORM WORK. An Introduction to Geometry for Grammar Grades.

By William N. Hailmann. Boston: C. C. Birchard & Co. 1901. Pp., 60.

The teachers of this country are waiting for a good work along the lines suggested by the above title. There is an opportunity in the combining of mathematics with manual training in the grades, possibly limited to the drawing and coloring of geometric figures, as in this work, possibly adding paper-folding as was done for more advanced students by Sundara Row in India (The Open Court Publishing Co. has in preparation an American edition), or possibly adding mensuration and thus making a triple alliance of arithmetic, geometry, and drawing. But unfortunately this little work of Dr. Hailmann's fails to meet the reasonable requirements for such a manual. While it awakens interest in geometric constructions, not only by the study of pure form, but also by the use of color, it sadly fails in point of accuracy and of modern spirit.

A work of this kind should have a propædæutic value; it cannot exist by itself; it must look forward to more substantial mathematics beyond, and it must not scatter seeds that will bring forth tares. Yet it is just here that this book becomes a dangerous one. It lacks mathematical scholarship; or rather, perhaps, it was so hurriedly written and so ill revised that it contains the many errors attendant upon a first draft.

One cannot read the work without discovering a number of these errors, together with many eccentricities that are foreign to the modern language of geometry. A few of each should be mentioned to justify this criticism: "For purposes of measurement, the circumference of the circle is divided into two equal parts. Each part is called a degree" (p. 5); "To draw a *regular* rhombus" (p. 25), rhombus having already been defined to be what the author calls "regular"; "How to draw a regular pentagon" (p. 29), the construction being only an approximation; "How to inscribe a regular heptagon in a circle" (p. 33), with the assertion that half the side of the inscribed equilateral triangle is a side of the regular heptagon. Of course it will at once be said that the author does not mean what he says, and that these constructions are intended as approximations in spite of his positive assertions. But if this be so, why has there been such care to specify approximate features only fifteen pages later? The author classifies lines as either parallel or diverging. Under the latter he says that they "converge in the direction in which they approach each other. When prolonged in the direction in which they converge, *they will meet in a common point.*" He surely could not have had in mind the hyperbola $xy=a$, or indeed any case of asymptotes, for his other definitions exclude considerations of infinity. He cannot claim exemption from the consideration of conics, since he introduces the subject; indeed, he carries the subject of curves into the interesting domain of "watch-spring" and "diverging" spirals! Without specifying further cases of this kind, except to say that the regular polyhedron mentioned on page 57 may be very irregular, the other criticism of the book should be noted.

The work has been described as eccentric. By this is meant that it uses terms, follows sequences, arranges figures, and employs definitions, that are not justified by common mathematical and educational usage. We have "focuses" for the foci of an ellipse, but "radii" for what analogy would suggest as the radiuses of a circle. There is a definition (though questionable) for radius, but none for horizontal and vertical until long after those words appear. The rarely used terms "octants" and "sextants" are defined, but "isosceles" is not explained until after it is used, and then in these words: "The resulting triangle is said to be isosceles

because it has two sides equal." While not denying this statement, it would be interesting to know what it means to the child or to the teacher who has not studied Greek. That "a circle is a curvilinear plane bounded by a uniformly curved line" may be accepted if we know what a uniformly curved line is and how it differs from an ellipse (or an elliptical curve, the two terms being used interchangeably on p. 45).

It is hardly worth while to pursue the subject further. Enough has been said to justify the assertion that the book is disappointing and is not one to be recommended to teachers.

DAVID EUGENE SMITH.

State Normal School, Brockport, N. Y.

ÉTUDE SUR L'ICONOGRAPHIE BOUDDHIQUE DE L'INDE. D'après des documents nouveaux. Par A. Foucher, maître de conférences à l'École des Hautes Études. Ouvrage accompagné de dix planches et de trente illustrations d'après les photographies de l'auteur. Paris: Ernest Leroux, éditeur, 28 Rue Bonaparte. 1900.

MYTHOLOGIE DES BUDDHISMUS IN TIBET UND DER MONGOLEI. Führer durch die lamistische Sammlung des Fürsten E. Uchtomskij. Von Albert Grünwedel, Dr. phil. Mit einem einleitenden Vorwort des Fürsten E. Uchtomskij und 188 Abbildungen. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1900.

Buddhist iconography is in its full extent a *terra incognita* still, but there are a number of scholars and travellers at work who have done creditable work, and the authors of the two books under review belong to the very foremost authorities in their special line of investigation. But while Grünwedel has given special attention to the Gandhara sculptures which, as is now a well-established fact, mark the beginning of all Buddhist art, Foucher has excluded them from the province of his investigations for the purpose of limiting his review to the properly native Indian art. The Gandhara sculptures are Græco-Indian and represent a period in which the Greek spirit is still Greek and not as yet assimilated to the Asiatic taste. Foucher proposes to trace the figures of the iconography of the Northern Asiatic nations to their Indian prototypes. This is a difficult task, because the artists who carved or painted them omitted to denote their significance. As means of identification M. Foucher utilises materials of the University Library of Cambridge, among them a manuscript containing numerous miniatures with explanations. He reviews in Chapter I. the sacred monuments of Buddhism, the stupas or tumuli, the temples, the cave temples, the assembly halls (*charityas*), the monasteries (*vihāras*), and in Chapter II. the divinities in their general characteristic features and the Buddhas, the Dīpankara, a kind of John the Baptist, one of the most important former incarnations of Buddha, Shakyamuni, or Bhagavan, the Blessed One, Vajrārāṇa, or Buddha on the diamond seat; and the Bodhisattvas, among them Avalokiteśvara or Lokeśvara, the Lord Protector of the world, Meitreyā, the Buddha to come, Mañjuśrī, etc.; lastly the feminine divinities Tara, Cunda, Mañi, Vasudhārā, Prajñāpāramitā, etc. The third Chapter contains a discussion of the most important scenes of the life of Buddha represented on the monuments.

The illustrations of Foucher's work are indispensable for a comprehension of the material discussed. They are heliogravures made from photographs.

Grünwedel laid the foundation to a comprehension of the historical development of Buddhist art in his book *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, where he pointed out the significance of the Greek influence in Gandhara. We have here in the form of

a guide through Prince Uchtomskij's valuable collection of Buddhist art, an instructive introduction to the mythology of the Mahāyāna. Prince Uchtomskij has written the preface, in which he complains of the indifference that prevails in Russia toward the religious life of the Buddhists, who form such an important portion of Russia's Asiatic subjects. He recommends the study of their faith to Christian missionaries and dwells on the seriousness and other virtues of the devotees of Shakyamuni.

Grünwedel sketches the Buddhist pantheon of India in concise outlines (pp. 1-28), explains the best-known Buddhist saints, beginning with Nāgārjuna and ending with Lamas of the present day, and finally goes over the same ground treated by Foucher in his *L'iconographie bouddhique*. He discusses the tutelary divinities, the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and the female divinities, such as Tārās and Dākinis, then the Dharmapālas or protectors of religion, and local deities. References and Notes are relegated to an Appendix.

Grünwedel's book is rich in beautifully executed illustrations, and a good portrait of Prince Uchtomskij forms the frontispiece.

P. C.

NOTES.

The Rev. C. A. Seelakkhandha, a high priest of Ceylon, is publishing a text of the *Visuddhi-Marga*, a famous Buddhist book, the title of which in English means "the path of purity." It is written by Buddhagosha, and is the same work which Mr. Henry Warren, of Cambridge, Mass. (the author of *Buddhism in Translations*) had begun to translate into English when he died, leaving the completion of his work to his teacher and faithful assistant, Prof. Charles Lanman, of Harvard. Since the *Visuddhi-Marga* is one of the most important Buddhist works yet untranslated, a text edition made by a Buddhist scholar and a prominent native priest will no doubt be of considerable assistance to the proper comprehension and interpretation of the book. The Rev. Seelakkhandha is one of the most active and best-known Buddhist priests, respected not only by his own followers, but also by European and American scholars. Further, Mr. Seelakkhandha has published a number of other works in Sanskrit, which will be valuable to students of Sanskrit. Among his recent publications we may mention his commentary to the Bhaktisataka, the price of which is only one rupee, and which contains a complete life of Gautama Sakya, and is recommended by the author to Sanskritists for translation.

He is regarded as a poet of repute among the Singhalese, and a recent hymn-book of his, the *Manglashtaka*, is recommended by those who can read it as a creditable composition, full of the spirit of Buddhist piety. It has been composed for the purpose of being read at the consecration of the Vihāra.

A book on the mechanism of the English government is a boon to students of history. Such information is the most difficult of all to get, for the reason that the constitution of Great Britain is an unwritten one, and her governmental methods have taken on a peculiar idiosyncratic form which has scarcely an analogue, let alone a duplicate, in any other country. Other constitutions and forms of government have been made; those of Great Britain have *grown*. The sketch, therefore, which Leonard Courtney has written of *The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom* will find many appreciative readers. He has distributed his exposition under three headings: (1) Parliament; (2) Institutions Subordinate to

Parliament; and (3) Parliament in Relation to the Empire and to Foreign Powers. Under the first heading are treated the History and Functions of the House of Commons, the Government and Parliament of Ireland, the Scots Constitution, the House of Lords, the Crown, the Army, the Navy, and the Civil Service, Royal and Parliamentary Commissions, the Parties, Elections, etc. Under the second heading, the Judiciary, Church, and Local Organisations of England, Scotland, and Ireland receive consideration. Under the third, the Government of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, of the Crown Colonies, the Self-Governed Colonies, and India find elucidation. An index completes the usefulness of the work. (New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pages, viii, 383. Price, \$2.00.)

A handsome edition of the Greek text of Demosthenes's *Oration on the Crown*, with critical and explanatory notes, historical sketch, essays, etc., have been made by Dr. William Watson Goodwin, Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. The work has been printed by the Cambridge University Press of England, and has all the substantial typographical elegance that characterises the productions of this famous institution. Dr. Goodwin has sought to supply students in this volume with what he has deemed most essential to a thorough understanding of this great masterpiece of oratory. The Greek text with comments and notes takes up 227 pages; the historical sketch, which has been written for the special elucidation of the events to which the oration refers, is exhaustive, and runs from the accession of Philip to the Battle of Chaeronea, 338 B. C. Following this we have eight essays: I. Argument of the Oration, with remarks on sections 120 and 121; II. The *γραφὴ παρανόμων*; III. The Suit against Ctesiphon; IV. Trials of Aeschines and Philocritus in 343 B. C.; V. Constitution of the Amphictyonic Council; VI. The Hero Physician and the Hero *Καλαμίτης*; VII. Manuscripts of the Oration on the Crown; VIII. Stichometry in the Manuscripts of Demosthenes. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, ix, 368. Price, \$3.75.)

We are pleased to announce the appearance of a new German bi-monthly, *Das freie Wort*, a magazine "devoted to the cause of progress in all the domains of the intellect." The editor is Carl Saenger, and the periodical, which finds its main support among the liberal people of Frankfort-on-the-Main, is also published in the same city. Dr. Arthur Pfungst, whose name has appeared in *The Open Court*, is a contributor to the first number, as are also Dr. Arnold Dodel (who writes on his own life), Dr. C. Lombroso, Dr. J. Jastrow, Karl Henckell, and Dr. O. Harnack. We quote the following declaration of principles from the proclamation of its editor: "We know but one interest which we champion, the truth; but one party which we espouse, humanity; but one goal towards which we strive, progress in all the domains of human life, conduct, and aspiration. We desire to realise this progress by the fostering of genuine knowledge, by the strengthening of our moral volition, by arousing and elevating our feeling of the dignity of humanity." A free arena is accorded to the opinions of all who desire to take part in the discussions leading to these ends, hence the name of the magazine, *Das freie Wort*. The list of future contributors to the little magazine is a good one, and its future seems to be promising. The subscription is two marks per quarter. (Frankfort-on-the-Main: Neuer Frankfurter Verlag.)

A new book by H. W. Conn, Ph. D., of Wesleyan University, author of *The Story of Germ Life* and *The Story of the Living Machine*, bears the title *The*

Method of Evolution: A Review of the Present Attitude of Science Toward the Question of the Laws and Forces which Have Brought About the Origin of Species. The problems of evolution have taken on a different aspect from that which they presented in the period immediately following Darwin, and especially the last fifteen years "have seen a very profound modification of our ideas concerning the "origin of species, but the facts that have produced the change have hardly been "within the reach of the person who is interested in evolution but cannot follow "the discussion in its various ramifications in scientific journals. The purpose of "this work is to present to such students a review of the subject of evolution as it "stands to-day, at the time when our younger naturalists are abandoning old "methods and beginning to search in new fields for new information." Mr. Conn's survey covers in concise form such researches as are presented in the works of Romanes, Cope, Weismann, Eimer, Nägeli, etc., published by the Open Court Pub. Co. The summaries and discussions of this book will be of value for the general student. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1900. Pages, ix, 408.)

Dr. Frank L. McVey, Professor of Economics in the University of Minnesota, has had an excellent idea in the way of supplying a book for teaching civil government,—a subject which is, or rather has been, greatly neglected in our public schools. That idea has been an attempt thoroughly to analyse the functions of our state governments by writing the history and describing the administration of some special one of our states. He has selected for his purpose his own state, Minnesota, and has endeavored to present in the small volume now before us "a harmonious picture of the history and government of the commonwealth of Minnesota." The reader and student may follow here the workings of the machinery of our state governments in all its intricacy. Naturally, the volume will have more value for residents of the state of which it treats than for those of the other states of the Union. (*The Government of Minnesota: Its History and Administration.* Handbooks of American Government. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pages, xi, 236. Price, \$.75.)

The late Prof. F. Max Müller, who was a contributor to the early numbers of *The Open Court* and *The Monist*, spent half a century of his life in the interests of the University of Oxford, and his chief efforts being devoted to the advancement of our knowledge of ancient India, the Oxford people have thought it proper that his name should be commemorated in that ancient seat of learning in such a way as to promote the studies in which he was so greatly interested. Beyond question a bust, relief, or portrait will be placed in the Bodleian Library; but in addition to this it is proposed that a fund shall be formed to be called "The Max Müller Memorial Fund," to be held by the University in trust, "for the promotion of learning and research in all matters relating to the history and archaeology, the languages, literature, and religions of ancient India." The movement has received the approval of many distinguished personages, and a goodly sum of money has already been subscribed. Contributions payable to "The Max Müller Memorial Fund" will be received by the Honorable Treasurer, C. Grant Robertson, M. A., All Souls College, Oxford, England.

The latest number of the excellent *Temple Cyclopaedic Primers* is the story of *Australasia, the Commonwealth and New Zealand*, by Arthur W. Jose. As the author well remarks, the story of Australasia is not an exciting one for the world

at large; its annals are filled with no triumphs of diplomacy, no great battles, and no enduring struggles of race with race; but it has other startling features which will recompense the reader for this lack of the usual stuff of which history is made. The narration of the building up of the great Australian confederacy is the story of nation-making in its purest and simplest form. This story Mr. Jose traces from the discovery of the continent to the present day, treating especially of political mechanism and forms of self-government. The little book contains several illustrations, and like the rest of the series costs but 40 cents.

The Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution have devoted their additional report for the year ending June 30, 1897, which is just out, to the memorial of George Brown Goode, in commemoration of his great services in the promotion of an organisation of museums in the United States. The volume contains not only the memorial exercises, but also the history of the United States National Museum and of museums of history, also a selection of Dr. Goode's papers on various subjects relating to the administration of museums, museums of the future, American science, etc., etc. The volume is adorned with a frontispiece of Dr. Goode and a number of portraits of men connected with the history of museums in the United States.

The second part of the *List of Private Libraries*, compiled by Mr. G. Hedeler of Leipsic (18 Nürnberg-Strasse) will soon be ready. It will contain more than 600 important private collections of the *United Kingdom*, including supplement to Part I. (U. S. A. and Canada). Those happy possessors of libraries with whom Mr. Hedeler has been unable to communicate are requested to furnish him with a few details as to the extent of their treasures and the special direction to which they devote themselves. By doing so, they will of course not incur any expense or obligation. It is obviously to the interest of bibliographical science that a work of this kind should be as complete as possible.

Mr. George Hall, Principal of the Petersburg Academy, Petersburg, Va., has written a book on *The Common Sense of Commercial Arithmetic*. It does not seem to us that the subject has been treated in a form sufficiently new or exhaustive to justify its incorporation in a separate volume. But it is possible that the work may be of use to students in our commercial schools. (New York: The Macmillan Co. London: Macmillan & Co. 1901. Pages, xii, 187. Price, 60 cents.)

The Fifth Summer Assembly of the Jewish Chautauqua Society will be held at Atlantic City, New Jersey, July 8th to 28th, 1901. This is an increase of one week over previous sessions. A prospectus giving the programme of the Assembly may be had by addressing the Jewish Chautauqua Office, P. O. Box, 825, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Librarian of Congress is desirous of completing his file of *The Open Court*, in which Nos. 35 and 36, Vol. V., are missing. Any person who may be able to supply copies of these numbers will confer a favor upon the National Library.



POPE LEO XIII.

Born March 2, 1810.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE LEGENDS OF GENESIS.¹

BY H. GUNKEL.

II.

THE LITERARY FORM OF THE LEGENDS.

THE beauty of the legends of Genesis has always been a source of delight to readers of refined taste, and it is not mere chance that painters have been so fond of choosing the subjects of their works from Genesis. Scholars have more rarely expressed appreciation of the beauty of these narratives, often perhaps for personal reasons, and perhaps often because the æsthetic point of view seemed to them incompatible with the dignity of science. However, we do not share this prejudice, but, on the contrary, are of the opinion that one who ignores the artistic form of these legends not only deprives himself of a great pleasure, but is unable properly to satisfy the scientific demands of the understanding of Genesis. Nay, more: it is no insignificant question for science to answer, in what the peculiar beauty of the legends consists,—a problem whose solution requires a thorough investigation of the contents and the religion of Genesis.

GENESIS IS PROSE.

The first question is, whether the form of the diction is prose or poetry. Aside from Genesis 49, which is a poem and not a narrative, and on that ground alone is out of place in Genesis, all that the book contains is prose in form. Detailed investigations of the nature of this prose have not been carried on. Meanwhile, at least this may be said, that this prose is not the common colloquial lan-

¹Continued from the May *Open Court*.

guage of every day life, but is more artistic in its composition and has some sort of rhythmical construction. Hebrew prosody is still a sealed book to us, but in reading Genesis aloud one feels an agreeable harmony of rhythmically balanced members. The translator of Genesis is constrained to imitate this balancing of sentences. Since the legends were already very old when they were written down, as will be shown hereafter, it is a matter of course that the language of Genesis is somewhat archaic; this too must be reproduced in the translation. In certain passages, the climaxes of the stories, the language rises into poetry, as is the case with the German *Märchen*, where the spells and charms are in poetic form. In the case of some of the legends we know variants both Biblical and extra-Biblical, notably of the stories of creation, of the Garden of Eden and of the Flood, which are in strictly metrical form. Inasmuch as these poetical variants are known to be older than the prose versions transmitted in Genesis, we are warranted in the conjecture that the poetic form of these legends is older than any prose form whatever. The older and strictly rhythmical form, which we must suppose to have been sung, would differ from the later prose form, which was recited, as does the ancient German epic from the later *Volksbuch* (book of popular legends), or as do the Arthurian poems of Christian of Troyes from the prose versions of Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur* or the Welsh *Mabinogion*.

GENESIS A FOLK-BOOK.

A second question is, whether these poetic versions are popular traditions or the productions of individual poets. Modern investigators have answered the general principle of the question to the effect that Genesis is popular oral tradition written down. We are able to explain clearly how such popular traditions originate. Of course, in the ultimate beginning it was always an individual who improvised or devised this or that poem. But it is characteristic of such popular traditions that we are never able to observe them in the germ, any more than we can in the case of language, but that they appear, wherever we hear of them, as primitive possessions inherited from the patriarchs. Between the poet who first conceived them and the time when they were fixed for transmission to posterity a long period elapsed, and in this period the legends were repeated from generation to generation and passed through many hands. Yet however faithfully such legends are transmitted they are inevitably altered in the course of the centuries. And thus

they finally become the common product of the people. This transformation of the legends was unconscious, at least in its earlier stages. Only in the more recent modifications is it reasonable to assume the operation of conscious art.

Both narrators and auditors regarded the legends as "true" stories. That this is true of the legends of the Old Testament is shown in the historical books of the Bible, where the narrators proceed by almost imperceptible degrees from legends to genuine historical narratives. It follows also from the legends themselves, which go about in all seriousness to account for actual conditions: because the woman was made from man's rib, therefore he longs for union with her; here we see that this story was no mere poetical figure to the one who told it, but an event that had actually happened. And furthermore, it is to be expected from the nature of the case: legends come from ages and stages of civilisation which have not yet acquired the intellectual power to distinguish between poetry and reality. It is therefore no slight error when modern investigators declare the legend of Paradise to be an allegory which was never intended to represent actual occurrences.—Moreover, for the very reason that the legend is the product of the whole people, it is the expression of the people's mind. And this is a point of greatest importance for our interpretation of the legends of Genesis. We are warranted in regarding the judgments and sentiments presented in Genesis as the common possession of large numbers of people.

THE CONTENTS OF GENESIS IN PRIMITIVE FORM.

Accordingly we should attempt in considering Genesis to realise first of all the form of its contents when they existed as oral tradition. This point of view has been ignored altogether too much hitherto, and investigators have instead treated the legendary books too much as "books." If we desire to understand the legends better we must recall to view the situations in which the legends were recited. We hear of such situations Ex. xii. 26 f., xiii. 14 f., Joshua iv. 6: when the children ask about the reason of the sacred ceremony then the father answers them by telling the story. Similarly we can imagine how the story of Sodom was told with the Dead Sea in view, and the legend of Bethel on the summit of Bethel. But the common situation which we have to suppose is this: In the leisure of a winter evening the family sits about the hearth; the grown people, but more especially the children,

listen intently to the beautiful old stories of the dawn of the world, which they have heard so often yet never tire of hearing repeated.

Many of the legends, as will be shown later, have such a marked artistic style that they can scarcely be regarded in this form as products of the collective people. On the contrary, we must assume that there was in Israel as well as among the Arabs a class of professional story-tellers. These popular story-tellers, familiar with old songs and legends, wander about the country, and are probably to be found regularly at the popular festivals.

We have seen (p. 386, *May Open Court*) that the transmitted prose narrative was perhaps preceded by a narrative in regular rhythmical form and intended for singing. In the case of these songs the circumstances of their presentation may have been different. From the precedent of the Babylonian poem of the creation, which in its form is an Easter hymn in praise of Marduk, we may infer that the legends regarding forms of worship go back to hymns for the sanctuary which were perhaps sung by the priest at the sacred festivals and on the sacred ground, cp. p. 281, *May Open Court*. But however this may be, the legends regarding sanctuaries as we have them now had certainly ceased to be sung, and, as their peculiarly colorless attitude shows, were not connected with the sacred place in this form, but belong already to popular tradition.

THE REAL UNIT IN GENESIS.

A new and fundamental question is: What unit is really the constituent unit in Genesis, the one which we should first apply ourselves to? For there are a number of different units in Genesis. The most comprehensive unit is the whole Pentateuch, then Genesis, and then the single collection of legends that preceded it; then the individual legends of which the book was composed. Among these a distinction has to be made between the independent individual legends, such, for example, as those of the flight of Hagar and the sacrifice of Isaac, and on the other hand certain groups of several legends constituting legend-cycles, such as the cycle which treats the destinies of Abraham and Lot down to the birth of their sons, or the one comprising Jacob's experiences with Esau and with Laban, or the one of which Joseph is the hero. All of these various units must be considered. But the first question is, which of these units is most important for our purposes, that is, which of them was the original unit in oral tradition.

This is a question that arises in many similar cases: Which is the elemental unit: the song-book, the individual group of songs

in it, or the individual song? Is it the gospel, the address, or the individual utterance that is reported of Jesus? The whole apocalypse, the separate apocalyptic documentary sources, or the individual vision? For the proper understanding of Genesis also it is of critical importance that this question be clearly met and correctly answered. Hitherto investigators have seemed to regard it as a matter of course that the original sources were the constituent units, though the true view has not been without witnesses.¹ Popular legends in their very nature exist in the form of individual legends; not until later do compilers put several such legends together, or poets construct of them greater and artistic compositions. Thus it is also with the Hebrew popular legends. The legends of Genesis even in their present form give clear evidence of this. Every single legend that is preserved in an early form is a complete whole by itself; it begins with a distinct introduction and ends with a very recognisable close. Compare certain specific cases: Abraham wishes to sue for a wife for his son; being too old himself he sends out his oldest servant,—thus the story opens. Then we are told how the old servant finds the right maiden and brings her home. Meantime the aged master has died. The young master receives the bride, and “he was comforted for the death of his father.” Every one can see that the story ends here.

Abraham is directed by God to sacrifice his son; this is the exposition (from 22 on), which makes an entirely new start. Then we are told how Abraham was resolved upon the deed and very nearly accomplished it, but at the last moment the sacrifice was prevented by God himself: Isaac is preserved to Abraham. “Then they returned together to Beersheba.” We see that the narrative always begins in such a way that one recognises that something new is about to begin; and it closes at the point where the complication that has arisen is happily resolved: no one can ask, What followed?

Similarly, the unity of the separate legends is shown in the fact that they are in each case filled with a single harmonious sentiment. Thus in the story of the sacrifice of Isaac, emotion is predominant; in that of Jacob's deception of Isaac, humor; in the story of Sodom, moral earnestness; in the story of Babel, the fear of Almighty God.

Many stories are entirely spoiled by following them up imme-

¹ Reuss, AT III., p. 73: “Originally the legends of the patriarchs arose individually without connexion and independently of one another.”—Wellhausen, Composition 2, p. 9: “Tradition in the popular mouth knows only individual legends.”

diately with new ones which drive the reader suddenly from one mood to another. Every skilful story-teller, on the contrary, makes a pause after telling one such story, giving the imagination time to recover, allowing the hearer to reflect in quiet on what he has heard while the chords that have been struck are permitted to die away. Any one, for instance, who has followed the story of Isaac sympathetically, feels at the close the need of repose in which to recover from the emotion aroused. Those stories especially which aim to give a reason for some present condition (Cp. the *May Open Court*, pp. 271, 276-283, *supra*) require a pause at the close so that the hearer may compare the prophecy and its present fulfilment; as evidence of this consider the close of the story of Eden, of the Flood, or of the drunkenness of Noah.

LEGEND CYCLES.

In later times there were formed of these individual legends greater units, called legend cycles, in which the separate legends are more or less artistically combined. But even here it is not at all difficult in most cases to extricate the original constituent elements from one another. Thus the legend cycle which treats Abraham and Lot separates clearly into the following stories: (1) The migration of Abraham and Lot to Canaan; (2) their separation at Bethel; (3) the theophany at Hebron; (4) the destruction of Sodom; (5) the birth of Ammon and Moab; (6) the birth of Isaac. The legend cycle of Jacob-Esau-Laban divides clearly into the legends of Jacob and Esau, of Jacob and Laban, the legends of the origin of the twelve tribes, with various legends interspersed of the origin of ritual observances. In the stories connected with Joseph, also, those of Joseph's intercourse with his brothers are clearly distinguished from those of Potiphar's wife, of Pharaoh's dreams, and those of the agricultural conditions of Egypt (Gen. xlvii. 13-26).

This leads to the practical conclusion for the exegete that each individual legend must be interpreted first of all from within. The more independent a story is, the more sure we may be that it is preserved in its original form. And the connexion between individual legends is of later origin in many cases, if it is not simply an hallucination of the exegete.

As an example of a primitive legend which is almost wholly without antecedent assumptions, take the story of Hagar's flight, Gen. xvi., for which we need to know only that there is a man named Abraham with a wife named Sarah; everything else is told

by the legend itself. An example of a later narrative is that of the suit for the hand of Rebecca (chap. xxiv.): this legend is based upon a whole series of individual elements which belong to other legends, as the kinship and migration of Abraham, the promise of Yahveh at the migration, the facts that Isaac was his only son and the son of his old age, and so forth. Hence it is the individual legend with which we shall have to deal first in this treatise.

LENGTH OF LEGENDS.

What are the limits of such a story? Many of the stories of Genesis extend over scarcely more than ten verses. This is the case with the stories of Noah's drunkenness, of the tower of Babel, of Abraham's journey to Egypt, of Hagar's flight or the exile of Ishmael, of the trial of Abraham, of Jacob at Bethel and at Peniel. After these very brief stories we can classify a series of more detailed stories occupying about a chapter, such as the story of Paradise, of Cain's parricide, of the Flood, of the theophany at Hebron, of the betrothal of Rebecca, of the deceit of Isaac by Jacob. Finally the legend cycles exceed this limit of space.

This matter of the compass of the legends constitutes a decided distinction between them and our modern productions. Even the most complex legend groups of Genesis, such as that of Joseph, are of very modest extent by modern standards, while the older legends are absolutely abrupt to modern taste. Now, of course, the brief compass of the old legends is at the same time a symptom of their character. They deal with very simple occurrences which can be adequately described in a few words. And this compass accords also with the artistic ability of the narrator and the comprehension of the hearer. The earliest story-tellers were not capable of constructing artistic works of any considerable extent; neither could they expect their hearers to follow them with undiminished interest for days and even weeks continuously. On the contrary, primitive times were satisfied with quite brief productions which required not much over half an hour. Then when the narrative is finished the imagination of the hearer is satisfied and his attention exhausted.

On the other hand our narratives show us that later times were no longer satisfied with the very brief stories of primitive construction; a more fully developed æsthetic faculty demands more scope for its expression. Thus greater compositions arose. This growth in the compass of legends was favored by the circumstance of their being written down; written productions are natu-

rally more discursive than oral ones, because the eye in reading can more easily grasp larger conceptions than the ear in hearing. Accordingly, this too is a measure of the relative age of legends, though a measure which must be used with caution: the briefer a legend, the greater the probability that we have it in its original form.

SIMPLICITY AND CLEARNESS OF PRIMITIVE LITERARY ART.

The brevity of the legends is, as we have seen, a mark of the poverty of primitive literary art; but at the same time this poverty has its peculiar advantages. The narrow limits within which the narrator moves compel him to concentrate his entire poetic power into the smallest compass; so that while these creations are small, they are also condensed and effective. And the moderate grasp which these small works of art have to reckon upon in their hearers results also in making the narratives as clear and synoptic as possible.

To make this last fact more evident, consider in the first place the balance of parts. Not only the longer of these narratives, but especially the briefest also are outlined with extraordinary sharpness. Thus, the story of Noah's drunkenness is constructed as follows: Exposition, Noah's drunkenness. I. the occurrences: (1) Canaan's shamelessness; (2) the filial respect of Shem and Japhet; II. the judgments: (1) concerning Canaan; (2) concerning Shem and Japhet.—Or take the story of the Garden of Eden, chap. iii.: I. the sin: (1) the serpent tempts Eve; (2) the woman and the man sin; (3) as consequence, the loss of their innocence; II. the examination; III. the punishments: (1) the curse upon the serpent, (2) upon the woman, (3) upon the man; IV. conclusion: the expulsion from the garden.

By means of such plain and beautiful analyses the narratives gain in clearness, that is, in the prerequisite of all æsthetic charm: the whole is analysed into divisions and subdivisions which are themselves easily grasped and the relation of which to one another is perfectly plain. And these outlines are never painfully forced, but seem to have come quite as a matter of course from the nature of the subject. Consider, for instance, in the story of Eden how perfectly the outline corresponds to the contents: in the fall the order is: serpent, woman, man; the examination begins with the

last result and reverses the process, the order here being: Man, woman, serpent; the punishment falls first upon the chief sinner, and accordingly the original order is here resumed: serpent, woman, man. Hence the modern reader is advised to heed the systematic arrangement of parts, since the analysis will at the same time give him the course of the action.

Furthermore, the narrator of the legend, unlike the modern novelist, could not expect his hearers to be interested in many persons at once, but on the contrary he always introduces to us a very small number. Of course the minimum is two, because it takes at least two to make a complication of interests: such are the cases of the separation of Abraham and Lot, of Esau's sale of his birthright, and of the story of Peniel; there are three personages in the story of the creation of the woman (God, the man and the woman), in the story of Cain's fratricide (God, Cain and Abel), in the story of Lot in the cave, and of the sacrifice of Isaac; there are four in the story of Eden, of Abraham's journey to Egypt, of Hagar's flight, of the deception practised upon Isaac by Jacob.

There are indeed narratives in which more personages take part, as in the case of the detailed story of the suit for the hand of Rebecca, and especially in the stories of the twelve sons of Jacob. Yet even here the narrators have not been neglectful of clearness and distinctness. In very many cases where a number of persons appear, the many are treated as one: they think and wish the same things and act all alike: thus in the story of the Flood and of the tower of Babel all mankind are treated as one person, so also with the brothers Shem and Japhet, with the three men at Hebron and at Sodom (according to the original version of the story), Lot's son-in-law at Sodom, the courtiers of Pharaoh, the citizens of Shechem (Gen. xxxiv. 24), the brothers of Dinah (xxxiv. 25), the citizens of Temnah (xxxviii. 24), and in many other cases. This is in accord with the conditions of antiquity, in which the individual was much less sharply distinguished from the mass of the people than in modern times. At the same time, however, this condensation of several persons into one is due to the inability of the narrator to catch and depict the actual distinctions among individuals.

How limited in those days the capacity of even an artistically developed narrator to depict character is shown in the conspicuous instance of the story of Joseph: the narrative presents Joseph and the eleven in conflict; among the others the story distinguishes Joseph's full brother, Benjamin, the youngest; of the remaining

ten Reuben (Judah) is recognised separately. But this is the extent of the narrator's power to characterise; the remaining nine lack all individuality; they are simply "the brothers."

Further simplicity is attained by means of the arrangement of parts, which, as we have noted, resolves the story into a number of little scenes. And in these scenes it is rare that all the persons of the story appear at once, but only a few, usually only two, are shown us at once. Compare the scenes of the story of the suit for Rebecca; the first scene shows Abraham and his servant, the second shows the servant alone on the journey and at the well, the third the servant and the maiden, the fourth the maiden and her family, the fifth (and principal) scene shows the servant together with the maiden in her home, the sixth the servant returning home with the maiden, the last their arrival at the tent of Isaac. Or, another instance, the story of the exile of Ishmael (xxiv. 4 ff.) shows in succession: Sarah hearing the laughter of Ishmael, and persuading Abraham; Abraham expelling Hagar; then Hagar alone in the wilderness with the child, and finally her rescue by the angel. The story of Jacob's deception (xxvii.) treats first of Isaac and Esau, then of Rebecca and Jacob, next of Jacob before Isaac, and of Esau before Isaac, of Esau's hatred of Jacob, and finally of Rebecca's advice to Jacob.

The narrative takes especial pains to motivate this succession of scenes; and yet it does not hesitate to simply drop a personage on occasion, as in the case of the serpent after the temptation, or of Rebecca after the death of Isaac. By means of this analysis the narrative gains great clearness; the hearer is not constrained to keep a confusing group of people in view, but he sees them in succession; thus he has time to inspect them at leisure and to familiarise himself with them. Only once, at the climax of the action, do all the persons appear together: thus in the story of Eden, in that of Noah's drunkenness, and in the story of Joseph at the close. But even here the narrators considered grouping necessary. They would not have been able to conduct a conversation between a number of persons at once. Thus at the end of the story of Eden God does not reprove all the participants in one common address; but he turns first to the serpent, then to the woman, then to the man. And elsewhere also it is the nature of the style to divide up the conversation into so many dialogues.

CHIEF AND SUBORDINATE PERSONAGES.

The survey of the various personages is further facilitated by a very distinct separation of leading and subordinate parts. The hearer does not have to ask many questions to learn which of the personages should receive his especial attention; the narrator makes this very plain to him simply by speaking most of the chief personage. Thus in most of the legends of the patriarchs the patriarchs themselves are as a matter of course the chief personages. In the following cases the personages of their respective stories are arranged in the order in which they interest the narrator: Cain, Abel; Abraham, Sarah, Pharaoh (Genesis xii. 10-20); Abraham, Lot; Hagar, Sarah, Abraham (chap. xvi); the servant and Rebecca are the chief personages in chap. xxiv., the others being all of second rank; in chap. xxvii. the chief personages are Jacob and Esau, while the parents are secondary; in the story of Jacob and Laban these are the chief personages, the women secondary. In this classification sympathy and veneration are not to be confused with interest; the artistic interest of the narrator is greater in Cain than in Abel, in Hagar than in Sarah; in chap. xxiv. the servant is the chief personage while Abraham has only a subordinate part. —In many cases it is the destinies of a single leading personage that we pursue, noticeably in the case of the stories of Joseph.

DESCRIPTION OF CHARACTERS.

In attempting to discover the method by which characters are depicted we are first struck by the brevity with which subordinate personages are treated. Modern literary creations have accustomed us to expect that every personage introduced be characterised if possible with at least a few touches as an independent individual. The method of the primitive saga-man is entirely different. The personages whom he considers altogether or temporarily subordinate receive little or no characterisation. In view of the primitive feeling on the subject it is a matter of course that not much attention was paid to slaves. The attendants of Esau (xxxii. ff.) or of Laban (xxxi. 23) are introduced merely to show their masters' importance, and have no further significance. The narrators did not even consider it necessary to mention the sin of the two chamberlains of Pharaoh (xli. 1), or the feelings of Dinah (xxxiv.), or those of Sarah on the journey to Egypt (xii. 10 ff.). Hirah, the friend of Judah (xxxviii. 1, 12, 20), is not characterised; the sin

of Er (xxxvii. 7) is not specified; nothing is told of Shuah, the wife of Judah (xxxviii. 2-12), that is really characteristic; the same is true of Joseph's steward (xliii. 16), of Potiphar, and others.

And even the characterisation of the chief personages is remarkably brief according to our notions. Only a few traits, often but one, are ascribed to them. Cain is jealous of his brother, Canaan is shameless, Shem and Japhet respectful. In the story of the separation of Lot and Abraham, the former is greedy, the latter conciliatory. In the story of Hebron, Abraham is hospitable, and in the migration he is obedient to the will of God. In the story of Penueel, Jacob is strong and brave, in the affair with Esau he is crafty, in the story of Joseph he is fond of the children of Rachel. In the somewhat complex story of the Fall the serpent is crafty and evil, the man and the woman are guileless as children, the woman is fond of dainties and gullible, the man follows his wife. Even in the case of God each individual story as a rule speaks of but one single quality: in most of the legends he is the gracious helper, in others, as the stories of Paradise and Babel, he is the lofty sovereign whose concern is to keep men within bounds.

We are struck by this paucity in the legends, since we are familiar in modern compositions with portraits made up of many separate traits and painted with artistic detail. The art of the primitive story-tellers is very different. True, it is based upon the actual conditions of primitive ages in one respect: the men of antiquity were in general more simple than the many-sided men of modern times. Yet it would be an error to suppose that men in those earlier days were as simple as they are represented to be in the legends; compare in evidence of this the character sketches of a somewhat maturer art in the second Book of Samuel. With this example in mind we shall recognise also that there is some other ground for the brevity of the legends of Genesis than that abbreviation of the real which is inevitable in every artistic reproduction of life.

POPULAR LEGENDS TREAT MEN AS TYPES.

It is, on the contrary, a peculiar popular conception of man that we meet in Genesis. This conception was unable to grasp and represent many sides of man, much less all; it could see but a little. But so much the more need had it to catch the essential traits of the individual, wherefore it constructed types. Thus in the story of the flight of Hagar, Hagar is the type of the slave (xvi.) who is too well treated, Sarah of the jealous wife, Abraham

the type of the conciliatory husband. Rachel and Leah are types of the favorite and of the unloved wife; in the story of the migration of Abraham to Egypt, or the story of Joseph, Pharaoh acts like the typical Oriental king in such cases; his courtiers are courtiers and nothing more; Abraham's servant, chap. xxiv., is an old and tried servant; Isaac, in the story of the deception, is a blind old man, and Rebecca a cunning, partial mother; Abraham in his migration and in chap. xxii. is the type of the pious and obedient man. A number of figures are the types of the races which are said to be descended from them: the shameless Canaan, the generous but stupid Esau, the crafty Laban, the still more crafty Jacob (cp. the *May Open Court*, p. 274).

Doubtless it is another sign of the lack of creative grasp when the legends thus present to our eyes species instead of individuals; but the narrators have made a virtue of necessity. Within the limited sphere assigned to them they give us extraordinary achievements. The types which they had the opportunity to observe they have depicted with a confidence and a clearness similar to those displayed in the national types preserved to us by the Egyptian painters. And for this very reason many of the old legends still fascinate the modern reader, and even the unlearned reader; they often reproduce universally human conditions and relations which are intelligible without interpretation unto this day. To the special student, however, they yield much greater pleasure, for to him they furnish the most intimate revelations regarding primitive conditions and sentiments.

As a natural conclusion from this simplicity of the characters represented we recognise that the art of these popular legends was far from undertaking to show any development in the characters, such as improvement or degeneration. Not that primitive times ignored the possibilities of such changes; the denunciations of the prophets as well as historical evidence prove the contrary. But the art of the story-teller is far from equal to the task of depicting such an inward change. All that modern exegetes claim to have found in Genesis in this line is simply imported into the sources: Jacob's dishonest character did not change at all; and Joseph's brethren are not at all reformed in the course of the story, but simply punished.

While, therefore, the individual legends recognise in the main only one quality of the personages involved, the legend cycles are able to give more detailed descriptions, although after a peculiar manner. The characteristic instance is, of course, the portrayal

of the figure of Joseph in the cycle of legends devoted to his history. Here each individual legend brings out one or two sides of his nature: one legend (xxxvii.) tells us that he was loved by his father and therefore hated by his brethren, and that he had dreams; another (xxxix.) tells us that everything thrived under his hand, and that he was fair and chaste; a third (xl.) that he could interpret dreams; and a fourth (xli.) that he was crafty; and so on. Combining all these individual traits we get finally a complete portrait.

Furthermore, the narrators are exceedingly grudging in the outward description of their personages: they reveal nothing regarding hair, complexion, eyes or garb. In all this they seem to take the normal Hebrew type for granted. And wherever they deviate from this rule in their description, it is done for specific reasons: Esau is red and hairy (xxv. 25) clearly because he is a type of the Edomite; Joseph wears his long garment with sleeves (xxxvii. 3) as a badge of the love of his father; Leah had "tender eyes" and Rachel is beautiful of form (xxix. 17) to explain why Jacob rejects Leah and loves Rachel.

Now if we ask what principle the story-teller follows when he does emphasise definite characteristics of his personages, we discover that the characterisation is generally subordinated to the action. The particular quality of the person is emphasised that is necessary for the development of the action; all others are ignored. The story of the deception practised by Jacob tells how the latter, following his mother's counsel, induces his father to bless him instead of Esau: here Jacob is crafty, he practises deception; Esau is stupid, he lets himself be cheated; Isaac is easily deceived, is blind; Rebecca is cunning, she gives the deceitful advice and is partial to Jacob. This is further portrayed in a more detailed narrative: Jacob is a shepherd who dwells at home with his mother, Esau a hunter whose venison the father is fond of. The modern story-teller would add a quantity of further traits to give color and life to the figures, but the primitive story-teller rejected all such details. It is very easy to see what the æsthetic interest of the narrator was: he cared above all things for the action; the portrayal of figures was for him only a secondary matter.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ROME.

BY F. W. FITZPATRICK.

WITH a new king over "United Italy," too young a man to remember the stirring events preceding 1870, and with a new Pope in St. Peter's chair, as in the natural course of events there must soon be, to whom that period can be but a rather vague memory, there may be entertained a hope that a better understanding and friendlier relations may obtain hereafter 'twixt Vatican and Quirinal than there have been, while the occupants of both palaces were men who had passed through those troublous times, who had played important parts in them, and who had come out of them thoroughly prejudiced and embittered against each other. Aye, there are some people even sanguine enough to hope that this new Pope, through the grace of God, superior diplomacy, or a power lent him by other nations, may wrest to the See of Rome the temporal power over its old Dominions, that its Bishop may again be King in deed as well as in name.

These latter good people are, I am afraid, overly sanguine. True, the Papacy has been dispossessed of its temporal power, and had it again restored many a time, twice even in the past century; but this last dispossession, methinks, is final. One is as justified in expecting to hear Rome ring again with the shouts of "Ave Cæsar" as he is in expecting to ever hear that "Eternal City" again acclaim a pope as its ruler.

I will go a step farther and say that though we may hope that, under these changed conditions, new and younger régimes, friendlier relations *may* obtain between these great contending parties, the hope is based upon no very rock-like foundation. In fact, we may feel reasonably sure that neither this nor the next generation will witness such a change, desirable as it may seem, for the simple reason that neither party can possibly recede from the position

created by its predecessors, a position that neither, indeed, would be justified in receding from, or in changing in any way, and that neither party, its protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, really *desires* to change, strange as that may seem.

Possibly this is treading upon thin ice. Prejudice is such that some people dislike even to hear the name of the Pope mentioned, while there are others who deem it blasphemous to speak that august name except in profoundest reverence. Then, too, the subject may be considered abstract, and we all know how intolerant are our twentieth-century readers of anything of that sort. Still, there are at least thirty millions of thinking Catholics more or less interested in this subject, and surely as many more of other sects who may take a passing interest in it, as well as many unprejudiced students of events and conditions, so that, after all, this brief, dispassionate review of the conditions as they are may not go absolutely unread.

Some may think it was the high-handedness of Pius IX., the last of the Sovereign Pontiffs, that brought about this last and final overthrow of the "temporal power"; others say it was the Italian Revolution of 1860, and still others lay the blame at the door of Garibaldi and of his, one time, not over-zealous superior, Victor Emmanuel, while many claim this undoing of the Pope was the work of the great Cavour. Beyond all these, and still beyond, is the real cause. Modern Thought is the real culprit. As Leroy-Beaulieu aptly puts it "... a papal monarchy, the very embodiment of the conservatism of the Middle Ages, is absolutely an impossibility in this nineteenth century that has seen the secularisation of every state accomplished. . . ." For three hundred years has the tendency been that way, the work going on, and the climax was but the logical sequel of that process of evolution. The fact that Rome was in Italy amounted to little. Had the papal kingdom been in any other land or "an island in the sea," the result would have been the same. That structure was sure to crumble, of its own weight and spite of the stays, the props, the flying buttresses that other nations might have applied—for a time.

Undoubtedly the political necessities of Italy on the one hand and the undiplomatic moves of Pius IX., while basking under the scant protection of "Napoleon the Little," on the other, hastened the end.

The world witnessed then a strange paradox indeed: a people in revolt against its many rulers, seeking not to establish a republic, but still clamoring to become subjects of a king whose rule

was to be over "United Italy." State after state petitioned to be allowed to fly the flag of the Sardinian King, Victor Emmanuel II. Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and even the papal Romagna so changed their fealty. The Pope, conscious of the trend of affairs, interposed all of his mighty power in the way of the Republican-Monarchical wave that was sweeping over Italy. He hurled allocutions, ex-communications, and irregular troops, some claim even brigandage, in the way, and he comprehended in his wrath not only those he supposed his enemies, immediately surrounding his territory, but aimed his bolts at the Swiss, the German governments, all those who were not absolutely *with* him. Even then Cavour seems not to have had his eyes turned towards Rome except in protest. Later, in sheer self-defence, he had to threaten a retributive war unless the Pope ceased his direct attacks against and still more dangerous attempts at undermining Italian Unity. These protests availed not. The Pope was misled by the hollow protests many powers made against any interference with the Holy See,—and France's was the merest echo of a protest.

Rattazzi, Cavour's successor, was the first to think of Rome as essential to Italy's peace, and the impetuous Garibaldi the first to plan its downfall; he planned it, advocated it, and set about accomplishing it in spite of the king but with the sanction of the people. Then came the evacuation of Rome by its French garrison, a threatened revolution in Italy, the Revolution of Paris and consequent withdrawal of all moral as well as physical protection of Rome by France, a loud and fierce demand for Rome and all Italy to be one, and particular petitions from the papal subjects for annexation. We are told that the Roman people voted for this under the coercion of Italian bayonets. History does not bear out this contention, and indeed we know that the papal states were grossly mismanaged. To the Church as a spiritual government over one hundred and eighty millions of souls we bow in respectful admiration of its methods and discipline; but, for the Church as a temporal government over even but three million people, history will justify us in withholding all but the veriest modicum of commendation.

The appeal from the Romans to be freed from the papal "yoke," as they called it, found its way to the Italian Parliament while it was in Florence, if not indeed while it was still in Turin, and at a time when papal bayonets were the only ones that could possibly be used in coercing them.

There were a few little brushes between the two armies, but after one day's siege of Rome by General Cadorna, with 4,000

troops, Pius IX., realising the hopelessness of resistance and wishing to avoid bloodshed, ordered his 9,300 soldiers to surrender. The Italian army then entered the Eternal City, on the 20th of September, 1870, and the people acclaimed it as their deliverer!

All Italy demanded that Rome be the capital of the "new Italy." Barring religious sentiment, it was the best political move to make. Italy ruled from anywhere but Rome were a hollow mockery of kingdom, while to govern that ancient country from the city of the Cæsars was but just and meet. We may regret the political necessity but can offer no logical reason why it should not have been done.

Rome became the capital of Italy July 3, 1871. Was it a harsh and unjustifiable measure, or was it merely the inevitable result of war and other complications, matters little to us just now, but Parliament deemed it expedient to take it, to absorb the summer palace, the cathedrals, the art-treasures, all the emoluments, lands, and buildings that for centuries had been the popes', for the use and profit of the new kingdom (many of these palaces and churches had been built, restored, or added to by that "protector of the arts," Pius IX., from funds that that Pontiff could as well have turned to his personal use, therefore was much of this property in a sense personal property, rather than crown lands), leaving to the Pope the rather bald privilege of remaining in Rome (all Christendom would have *sincerely* protested against his expulsion) and enjoying the rather insalubrious and malarial Vatican and Lateran palaces and their respective great Basilicas. It also voted the Pope a sum sufficient in its estimation to maintain the semblance of a Court—money that neither Pius IX. nor Leo XIII. ever touched—and was shrewd enough to accord him all the honors and liberties due a monarch in his own right. To the Italian Parliament and king—I place them in that order advisedly—the Pope is in no sense a subject; they are punctiliousness itself in treating him as rather an unwelcome guest, but a peer to them, a monarch in his own right, nevertheless.

Neither Pope ever took advantage of that alleged liberty, and both elected to remain within the confines of the Vatican. Hence the generally accepted reference, the "Prisoner of the Vatican." It is misapplied, in that the prisonership is purely voluntary, a justifiable, dignified, and perhaps necessary, reclusion, but voluntary withal.

For thirty years have there been more or less vigorous appeals from this or that quarter for the "restitution of the temporal power

of the Pope." Like the Chinese question, it is one of those matters upon which all nations never can agree at the same time, hence is it bound to remain an unsettled one. Unlike the Chinese question, however, it is one in which but one or two outside countries can have the slightest material interest, therefore is it only brought out of the national closets, a poorly articulated skeleton, at such times as it may be of value in scaring this party into submission, or to placate that other one, after which temporary use it is comfortably tucked away again. It is, we are justified in calling it, merely a religious question then, a sectarian one, if you wish. Yet, just such immaterial, very spiritual questions have before now plunged the world into very material if not even bloody strife. The possibility of 180,000,000 people uniting in demanding something of one government, through their respective governments, is hardly to be set aside as of no importance.

For years I have followed with the greatest interest what the Catholic press, their best writers and deepest thinkers, have said and written anent this subject. To-day there seem to be making more strenuous efforts than heretofore, louder protests against Italy, more clearly defined demands, in fact there appears to be a well-planned and directed propaganda, wherever there are Catholics, for the restoration of the Church to its old temporal glory. Of all that has been said and written, however, I think the palm should be awarded to Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul, for the clearest and most concise and succinct statement of Catholic hopes and ideas that has yet been given us. I refer to his sermon upon the "Temporal Power of the Pope," delivered at St. Patrick's church here in Washington, Sunday, December 9th last.¹ It was a masterly oration, indeed, and, given in the inimitable style of that arch-master of the art, it must have carried conviction to almost his entire audience.

I would that space permitted me to quote that sermon in its entirety.

Reduced to the lowest denomination in words, the learned gentlemen stated that as the Catholic Church is a divinely created organism, having received its mission direct from Christ, and He having made Peter and the latter's successors His representatives on earth, and they having established their basis of operations at Rome, the capital of what was then the civilised world, those successors must therefore have a right to independence and conse-

¹ The Archbishop's article in the March *North American Review* covers exactly the same ground as did that sermon, varying from it but little in wording and not at all in substance.

quent temporal sovereignty. In other words, we are to infer that, in legal parlance, the right to rule and a deed to Rome were given to the popes directly by God.

The Archbishop fears that the endeavors of the Pope towards establishing amity and justice between nations must be greatly weakened by the Pontiff's being, in a sense, dependent upon the king and Parliament of Italy. He fears that nations, ever jealous and suspicious of any interference with their affairs, might suspect that when the Pope counsels his adherents, their citizens, to do thus and so that advice might be inspired by Italy and be merely a mask or coloring for some political scheme favoring that country and perhaps detrimental, if not positively endangering, the country whose people the Pope was then addressing. He fears that possibly some future pope might yield to Italian blandishments or coercion and even play the part of cat's paw to Italian intrigue among Catholic nations.

If present conditions continue, we were told, and a weak man ever occupy St. Peter's throne, then the papacy would degenerate to the point where the pope would be little better than the court-chaplain to the king of Italy.

"The Church," said he, "has ever stood for freedom of conscience . . . it has sent a message of truth to barbarous lands . . . it has smitten with spiritual weapons the despots of peoples who fain would wrest from them their heaven-born liberties . . . it has summoned Christendom to stem the advancing flood of Mohammedan barbarism. . . . It has rights, God-given rights, the rights of God's Church, and the rights of its papacy. At times, true, it has not enjoyed those rights. . . . We can wait. We, the children of a day, who live but a little while, despair if things are not righted under our eyes. Not so the papacy, which is eternal; it is patient, it can bide its time. Some day it will again enjoy all its rights as it did of yore, when the pope virtually ruled the world! . . . Other Churches than the Catholic do not demand civil independence and temporal power for their chieftains, because no other Church than the Catholic is a world-church; no other Church than the Catholic aims at being at the same time universal and one; no other Church than the Catholic fulfils the injunction of the Saviour, 'Teach all nations!' . . . The whole life of the Church is dependent upon the independence of the successor of St. Peter from all subjection to temporal rulers or temporal governments. . . ."

The Prelate compared the Rome of old, the Rome of the popes, to our District of Columbia, in that both were removed

from the possibilities of any interference on the part of governors or legislatures of special states. He did not question the right of the Italians to pull away, as they did, from petty princelings and foreign domination to form a "United Italy," but he deplored that the Italian government did not leave Rome as a District of Columbia in Italy, that it changed the historical and providential conditions of the Church, by establishing its capital at Rome. The papacy was thereby despoiled of its influence and shorn of its dignity in the name of Unity. He contended the government should have respected history and the wishes of the Pope, and remained somewhere outside of Rome. And he demanded in the name of history that Italy restore Rome to the Pontiffs. "Rome must again be a world-city, not merely an Italian city. It must be the capital of a world-wide spiritual empire, the city of the papacy; for that reason does the Pope continue to demand, vain as the demand may seem, the restitution of the temporal power, and for that reason also should all good Catholics, the world over, exert every means in their power to that end."

The Church has other claims, other arguments, than these, but let us first glance at what the Italians and the other opponents of the "temporal power" answer to the sermon, the argument of the Archbishop. Say they, they are no more opposed to the Pope's tracing his right to rule his followers, spiritually, to a divine gift than they have to Emperor William's theory of the "divine right of kings," provided neither forces those theories down unwilling throats and that their respective peoples are willing to accept such assertions as Gospel truths. But they do contest and claim invalid the suppositious divine deeding of Rome to the Church. And we have to admit that when it failed to hold Rome by arms, the Church lost all record of that deed. It would be exceedingly difficult, not to say impossible, to find any court on earth that would recognise the validity of such a claim and order Rome back to its old rulers, the popes, any more than it would now recognise any Spanish claims to sovereignty over the Philippines. And unfortunately for the Church, it is these terrestrial courts that are regulating affairs these days, irrespective of any alleged but invisible, unproducable divine documents.

As for the lessening of the papal influence for good with other nations, on account of their fear of the pope's furthering Italian interests and schemes, making himself a tool of that country, instead of a great, good, and impartial friend of all men, how much more suspicious would they be if, and were they of old when the

pope was a king himself, with his own temporal interests to further, his kingly and human ambitions to foster, secret alliances to form, and advantages to gain by pitting one country against the other? A great many Catholics, American and foreign, and high dignitaries of the Church, claim, as do the outside opponents to its temporal power, that the Church is stronger, more impartial, chastened, purified, and exalted by reason of that loss of temporal power than it ever was before. The loss was not over-powering, the Catholic world did not suffer, it was more of a personal loss to a few, one might call it, while the gain in spiritual influence by divorcing the Church from State and political affairs, was tremendous and a benefit to the Catholic world. "Agitation for the restoration of the 'temporal power' must necessarily result in producing division and disorder in Italy and even imperil the peace of Europe."

I am still giving you the substance of what is contended by the opponents to the "temporal power."

They claim that it is well for Christendom that advanced thought *has* set the papacy where it belongs, over merely a spiritual realm. It has always "demanded its rights," as the Archbishop said, and has used them, whenever it could, to dethrone kings, to annex territory, to parcel out kingdoms to favorites, to stir up strife, and to wage wars at others' expense and what not in those lines, as well as simply to "smite despots with spiritual weapons." The Church has been a hard mistress in her palmy days. Her rights? Why, she is fully satisfied with but one, and that is to sweep aside all opposition and to dominate the world, with kings and peoples at her beck and call. Not "God-given rights," but the intensely human right to satisfy the most overweening ambitions and fiercest passions. That is what "temporal power" has led to formerly. The trouble is the Church is magnificently egotistical, it recognises no other rights but its own, and it has a divine mission and right to own all things. Away with all others' claims! And there are prayerful souls who still hope that some day all these usurped rights will be restored to mother-church!

The Archbishop's reference to history's sanctioning the restitution of Rome to the pontiffs as a sort of District of Columbia affair was, claim his opponents, an unfortunate argument. They answer it by a parallel. Spain, say they, held Cuba for centuries. That possession was sanctioned by right of conquest, history, sentiment, everything else. When she mismanaged it and we took it

away from her, we ought, at least, to have left her Havana, for sentimental, historical reasons. She should have been permitted to hold and rule that city, regardless of our laws, Cuban wishes, and the rest of it, because, forsooth, of her long and unwise rule of that miserable country!

The illustration is not an inapt one. We can imagine the results of such magnanimity on our part. Similarly would Rome be, if restored to the Pope, not "the Capital of a world-wide spiritual empire," but a very hot-bed, a constant leaven causing fermentation, and trouble, and strife all about. The Italian king might as well abdicate at once as to turn Rome over to the Pope. He would have little time indeed to correct municipal abuses and relegate men like Casale—the "Dick Croker" of Naples—to oblivion, and such other wise reforms. His attention would be all taken up in holding unto his crown. Even with the Pope safe behind the walls of the Vatican, he is a constant menace to the Italian Monarchy and Unity. Monsignor Ireland laments that the papal press, its Italian organs, have been suppressed. What could the Italian government do? Those sheets from merely abusive became absolutely seditious. It meant either their suppression or trouble.

* * *

As matters are to-day, the most complex situations have constantly to be faced. Not the least of these are the social or court matters of both parties. Other sovereigns, or princes, or high functionaries of the courts or governments, exchange visits; but whenever any one of these thinks of visiting Italy it becomes a question of the greatest moment as to whom he will first call upon, the Pope or the King, if, in fact, he can call upon the other at all after once showing a preference for the one. As a result Rome sees fewer foreign notables than does any other European capital. And this exchanging of visits means so very much in European politics.

To the uninitiated it may seem strange that in so Catholic a country as Italy—for it *is* Catholic—there is no clerical party. The fact is that Catholics are forbidden by the Church to take any part whatsoever in politics. They, of course, do indirectly help one or the other existing parties, and both of these, the *reds* and the *blacks*, make high bids for that indirect but nevertheless powerful support of the clergy and the faithful.

One would think that it would be politic for the Catholics to take a hand in State affairs. They are powerful enough. I mean the supporters of the papacy in *all* its claims and ideas. The great

majority of Italian Catholics are Catholic in religion only. Of course, the picture of St. Peter's successor metamorphosed into a party leader is hardly a pleasing one to contemplate, but one would think that the surest, if not the most direct, way back to temporal power. But there again is a two edged weapon. A political party, even if victorious once, is never assured of a continuous tenure of power. And the papacy knows too much to expose itself to the ups and downs of party strife; besides, such participation in politics would hurt it with other nations, it would too closely identify it with Italian affairs and make it too essentially an Italian institution, it would still further antagonise the king and the supporters of Italy's unity. Yes, such a party, by judicious alliances, might even hope to overthrow the monarchy which is at best "a house of cards," but, strange as that may seem, its fall might involve the papacy in even worse troubles than the latter labors under now; unknown ones, anyway, and they are always dangerous. The Pope can take no "gambler's chances." No, the Pope cannot afford to take a hand in politics; better far the dignified isolation of the Vatican.

A priest, a bishop, a cardinal, may be Italian, French, American, but when once a man becomes pope he should forget his nationality, he is catholic, the chief supreme of all Catholics. He can have no politics, save the Church's own interests, nor can he ally himself to any nation, party, or movement of any sort, unless it be most evident that such alliance be purely in the interests of universal Catholicism. And of all parties or governments Italy's is the last he can with any consistency affiliate with.

It is a notable fact, too, that the Church, day by day, is growing less and less Italian in its organisation. Leo XIII. raised more foreigners to the Sacred College than ever did any of his predecessors, and the effect is already visible in the broadening of Catholic policy. There is little danger, however, of any other nationality soon acquiring the ascendancy at headquarters. Note that of the twelve recent "creations" of cardinals by Leo XIII., ten were Italians, the two others being Austrians. Many of us had hoped that one American, Archbishop Ireland, would have been of that number.

It must not be imagined that Italy dictates to or meddles overmuch with the papacy, even though the Pope be "the prisoner of the Vatican." Certainly not to the degree of justifying one in saying that the Pope is a subject of the King. Italians were too shrewd politicians to force such a condition: it would, if nothing

worse, have made Italy responsible for the Pope's acts and utterances *vis-à-vis* other nations and have involved the country in no end of squabbles. True, Crispi forbade a Conclave from assembling outside of Rome, as had been proposed, and, true, the government showed most pitiable weakness, if not a criminal neglect of its obligations, in the arrangements made for the translation of the ashes of the dead Pontiff, Pius IX., from St. Peter's to St. Lawrence's, in July, 1881, when, as the procession was wending its way, in the dark of night, the government permitted a counter-demonstration, almost a riot, and half-heartedly and just barely saved those ashes, by a tardy police interference, from profanation at the hands of the mob. Still, to all intents and purposes, the Pope has a wee kingdom of his own inside the Vatican, and rules it jealously. Note, for instance, the affair Martinucci, an architect who, having some dispute with the Papal Court in 1880, sued it before an Italian tribunal. The latter, and later virtually the Supreme Court of Italy itself, found that the Italian Courts *had* jurisdiction over even the internal affairs of the Vatican, but they took good care, much to Martinucci's chagrin and cost, never to render a verdict, much less to ever enforce once. And to this day there has never been the slightest indication on the part of the Vatican, that it recognised the Italian laws as applicable to it or to its affairs any more than have the makers of those laws sought to enforce them there.

At the beginning of this paper I said that neither party really desires to change the relations that exist between the Vatican and the Quirinal. I will qualify that by adding that whatever they may desire it would be the poorest policy for either or both to cultivate friendlier relations. And neither dares to aggravate existing conditions, for any step, in that direction would, more than likely, lead into still worse complications. Mistakes were made before. Experience has made both parties exceedingly wary.

If friendly, one or the other would absorb the other. It is a good deal like trying to maintain the parity of monetary metals,—according to some authorities. Italy might be benefited by a sort of amicable alliance with the Pope, or even his friendship. That might strengthen her hands and pave the way to still stronger ties on the outside; but one or the other of the two factions would eventually be in the ascendancy. Either the Quirinal would have a sort of mortgage on the Vatican, and, as Archbishop Ireland fears, the Pope would have to become virtually a court chaplain, or else the King would be reduced to no better than a feudal lord

or major-domo to the Pope. There is no middle-ground, and both know it.

Nor would any open rupture be wise. Should the King make things so uncomfortable that the Pope *had* to seek shelter elsewhere—and it is the former's most earnest desire that the successor of St. Peter would find more congenial, healthful surroundings than Italy, or at least Rome, can offer—there would be such a hubbub raised by the Catholic peoples the world over, that their governments might be forced into an interference in favor of the Holy Father,—an unknown, a dangerous territory, perhaps a boundless morass!

And so with the Pope. As Leo XIII. learned, so must his successor learn to read signs. The first was quite content to ask, to sue for things that Pius IX. refused even to consider when offered him. Leo would have been satisfied—and so will this new pope be—with Italy's control of Rome, anything the latter wanted, if it would *only* remove its capital from the Holy City. That is the bone of contention. Yet, all the Pope could do would be to stir up such strife as would disturb the existing government. A full-fledged Republic might possibly be the result. Some may say that anything were better than a king, and that "the tiara of Peter is a crown that revolutions do not tear from its wearer's head." Nor is "the heir of the fisherman of Galilee necessarily bound to or to support monarchies or kings." Other popes, in the Middle Ages, have thrown their strength towards the people in their opposition to the emperors of the North and the kings of the South. But conditions have changed. Catholicity, and consequently the papacy, is synonymous with all that is conservative. Any move or inclination towards a republic or democracy on the part of the Pope would be looked at askance by other monarchs. They all need the fullest conservation of monarchical power and must stand together, Catholic and Protestant, and the Pope must be with them. It would be a dangerous precedent to establish, and to retain their friendship and moral support the Pope can well afford to set aside his personal interests and ambitions. Yes, that very reciprocal antipathy of the papacy and democracy, the two opposite poles of society, is, as a witty Frenchman puts it, "the very best lightning-rod the king of Italy can have over his palace."

All sorts of solutions to the problem have been thought of. Pope Leo has been repeatedly urged to take up his residence elsewhere, and, at times, has seriously debated that possibility with his "cabinet," or official family and friends. He said his position in

Rome was intolerable and could not continue. We all remember the New York Herald's active urging, a few years ago, that he should accept sanctuary in the United States. Canada was also spoken of, and England, and Switzerland. But all these are impossible. The Holy See must be and ever remain in Europe, and in the centre of Catholic Europe at that. Nor do the larger, stronger countries offer an acceptable domicile, and for most obvious reasons. The purchase of Monaco and the turning of that little principality into a Catholic Headquarters, detached from all European politics and influences, essentially the spiritual capital of the world—what a transformation would there have to be in that place!—is the proposition that has met with most favor. There would be perfect liberty, a pleasant place, admirably situated geographically, healthy by contrast with Rome, particularly the Vatican, altogether an ideal spot for the purpose. But where would be the associations? The Pope abandon the tombs of the Apostles, the bones of the martyrs in the catacombs? Perish the thought! The "Pope of Avignon" was a hollow-enough title, but the "Pope of Monaco" would have absolutely no significance, no prestige, an empty, meaningless title. And such things go for so much in the Church.

Besides, to be forced out of Rome is one thing, something Italy will take mighty good care not to do, but to "flee from Rome" is quite another matter. It would be playing right into the king's hands, a tacit acknowledgement of impotency, surrender.

No man can predict the final result of all this. It would seem—and few who have not lived long in Italy can have any appreciation of the exact conditions that could not continue for months anywhere else, that have obtained and will continue there for years,—that both Pope and King have been condemned by obdurate Fate to exist, for perhaps another generation's time, in the present abnormal situation. There appears to be no human help for it. And for the peace of Italy, aye, of the whole world, may they be able to bear the trying ordeal!

The liberalising of the Church, its acceptance of the modern tendencies as something to be worked with rather than obstructed at every step, may go far towards solving the tangled problem. Or, perchance, may there arise some day another Solomon who will mete out perfect justice, and before whose court all these vexed questions may be settled satisfactorily to all men as well as to the high-contending parties.

Whatever the outcome, I think that even in the Church the great majority of thinkers will subscribe to Lyman Abbott's *résumé* of the question, "That a state is purer for not being dominated by a Church, and a Church is stronger for not being supported by a state."

SEVEN.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE ancient Babylonians identified seven of their great gods with the seven planets; but we must remind the reader of the fact that the ancient astronomers knew only those five planets which were visible to the naked eye; the word *planet*, however, had then another connotation, meaning a celestial body that moved freely about in the heavens. Thus it is obvious that the sun and the moon were counted among the planets.

The fixed stars were supposed to be attached to a hollow globe, which was accepted as a sufficient reason for their rotation in unison. All the other celestial bodies that possessed a motion of their own, i. e., the planets, were conceived as having their several separate spheres, each one revolving according to the arbitrary will of its ruler, the Sun, the Moon, Jupiter, Venus, Mars, Mercury and Saturn.¹ Happily for the number seven two new planets, Uranus and Neptune, were discovered in due time when, owing to a change of our astronomical science and its terminology, the sun and the moon ceased to be regarded as planets. The old belief, however, unfortunately falls to the ground because the earth must now be counted among the planets, which would raise their number to eight,—without counting the planetoids, about three hundred altogether.

In India, the number seven also played an important part, and Buddha no doubt utilised the sacredness of the number to enforce thereby his own views of morality on his disciples. The Buddhist canonical scriptures teach us that there are seven jewels of the law, which when united make up the bright diadem of Nirvâna. They are: (1) Purity; (2) calmness; (3) comprehension; (4) bliss; (5) wisdom; (6) perfection; and (7) enlightenment.

¹ St. Paul's notion of the seven heavens to which he alludes in his Epistles, is apparently based upon the astronomical views of his time. For an illustration of this conception see p. 418.

There is in addition another mode of utilising the number seven in Buddhistic ethics, which appears in the enumeration of the seven points which constitute religious endeavor: (1) Earnest meditation; (2) the great struggle against sin; (3) the aspiration for saintship; (4) the acquisition of moral power; (5) the production of the organs of spiritual sense; (6) the attainment of wisdom; and (7) the leading of a life of righteousness.

The number seven plays an important part in Buddhist folklore. There are seven kinds of miraculous property, the sword, the snake skin, the palace, the garden, the robes, the bed, and the shoes. They are endowed with magical qualities; the shoes for instance "convey the wearer one hundred miles without fatigue and across water without wetting, the snake skin cannot be wetted



THE SEVEN JEWELS OF BUDDHIST FOLKLORE.

by water, nor shaken in the wind, neither become warm in heat, nor cold in freezing weather. The sword confers invincibility, etc. A world monarch is possessed of seven jewels, which are described by Col. L. A. Waddell as follows:¹

"The seven gems² are the attributes of the universal monarch (*Cakra-vartin Raja*), such as prince Siddharta was to have been had he not become a Buddha. They are very frequently figured on the base of his throne, and are:

"1. The Wheel. The victorious wheel of a thousand spokes. It also represents the symmetry and completeness of the Law. It is figured in the early Sanchi Tope.

"2. The Jewel (Skt., *Ratna*; Tibetan, *Norbu*). The mother of all gems, a wish-procuring gem (*Cintamani*).

¹ *The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 389.

² Cf. Hardy's *Man*, p. 130, and Alabaster's *Wheel of the Law*, p. 81.

"3. The jewel of a Wife (Skt., *Stri*; Tibetan, *Tsun-mo*). 'The Jasper-girl' who fans her lord to sleep, and attends him with the constancy of a slave.

"4. The gem of a minister (Skt., (?) *Girti* or *Mahajana*; Tibetan, *bLon-po*), who regulates the business of the empire.

"5. The (white) Elephant (Skt., *Hasti*; Tibetan, *glan-po*). The earth-shaking beast, whom as a symbol of universal sovereignty the Buddhist kings of Burma and Siam borrowed from Indian Buddhism. It seems to be Indra's elephant *Airāvata*.

"6. The Horse (Skt., *Ashva*; Tibetan, *v Ta-mch'og*) It seems to symbolise the horse-chariot of the sun, implying a realm over which the sun never sets, as well as the celestial *Pegasus*-steed, which carries its rider wherever the latter wishes.

"7. The gem of a General (Skt., *Kshatri* or *Sena-pati*; Tibetan, *dMag-dpön*) who conquers all enemies."

As the Greeks speak of seven sages so do the East Indians of the seven rishis (i. e., inspired men of great sanctity) and Hindu folklore discovers them in the seven stars of the Great Bear. The Chinese, too, know of the seven wise men who spurned the temptations of the world and retired to the bamboo grove where they led a life of undisturbed rest and happiness.

The awe of the number seven could only be enhanced when the first notions of mathematics dawned on the thinkers of mankind and when geometricians discovered that the relation of the radius to the circumference of the circle could be roughly expressed by the number seven; or, what is the same, that the relation of the diameter to the circumference is approximately expressed by the number three and a half.

The number three and a half (viz., seven halves) plays an important part in eschatologies and other prophecies as being the determinant of cycles of history. Almost every important period, be it one of trial, expectation, punishment, or other dispensation, is supposed to be three and a half days, weeks, months, or years. Such periods of "three and a half" are calculated in different ways according to the notions of the various prophets.

Daniel makes the prophecy that the Jews shall be given into the hands of an enemy who is plainly recognised as Antiochus Epiphanes, for "a time and [two] times and the dividing of time," which makes three and one-half (chap. vii. 25). And the same computation is made for the scattering of the holy people: "It shall be for a time, times, and an half" (chapter xii. 7). The conclusion of the Book of Daniel introduces the same notion of a cycle of three and one-half years. The prophet says: "And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two



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.

hundred and ninety days,"—viz., little more than three and one-half years (chap. xii. 11).¹ Again, the interruption of the sacrifice is stated to be one-half year-week, that is to say, three and one-half years (Daniel ix. 27).

According to the Revelation of St. John (Chapter xi) the holy city will be trodden under foot by the gentiles for forty-two months which is three years and a half (verse 2). Then two witnesses clothed in sack cloth will prophesy "a thousand two hundred and three score days" (verse 3), which is again three years and a half, counting twelve months of thirty days (i. e., $\frac{7}{4} \times 30 \times 12$). The prophets are killed by the beast and their bodies remain dead for three days and a half (verse 9). But after three and a half days the spirit of life from God re-enters them (verse 11). The same method of calculating events by this old-fashioned method of squaring the circle by assuming π equal to seven halves is met with again and again in the eschatological books of that age. Power is given to the beast for forty-two months (Rev. xiii. 5), and the Jews of the time when Christ lived believed that the famine in the days of Elias lasted three and a half years,² which does not agree with the reports of the Old Testament, where we read that it ceased *in* the third year.

The same mode of calculating a cycle as being three times and something more appears to have determined the time of the sojourn of the prophet Jonah in the belly of the big fish, from which he escaped on the fourth day, for the statement is made (i. 17) "and Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights."

A last yet dim echo of the archaic calculation of π still lingers in the determination of the time which Christ was said to have passed in the domain of death. A passage in Matthew ascribed to Christ himself which must have been written before the Church had determined to celebrate the death of Christ on Passover eve and the day of his resurrection on the next Sunday, reads as follows:

"For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."

The question, Why Sunday was celebrated among the gentile Christians as the day of resurrection in spite of an explicit prophecy which would have fixed the date on Tuesday, is not germane

¹ See Hilgenfeld, *Jüdische Apok.*, pp. 31 et seq. Neither Hilgenfeld nor any other scholar offers an explanation for the constant recurrence of the number $3\frac{1}{2}$ for the computation of cycles, and we recommend our theory of $3\frac{1}{2}$ as the ancient approximation of π , to the consideration of scholars working in this field.

² Compare Luke iv. 25 and James v. 17 with 1 Kings xviii. 1.

to our present inquiry, but it is obvious that the day of the sun which was traditionally the religious holyday among the pagans of Asia Minor at the time when Paul began to preach, recommended itself to the early Christians as the best choice for church services.

In Greece the number seven was not less esteemed than in Asia and Egypt. Pythagoras looked upon seven as the symbol of light, and it designated for him the opportune time (*καρπός*), perhaps for the very same reason that it played such an important part in the eschatologies of Jews, Christians, and Gnostics. Seven times the radius of any circular motion constituted in any rough computation the duration of a whole cycle, and thus seven stands for π and governs all those relations that depend upon this important and mysterious number. Following in the footsteps of his



THE SEVEN PRIESTS OF DIONYSOS-SABAZIOS.

(From the Tomb of Vibia. After Maas.)

master, Philolaos, a Pythagorean of the fifth century B. C., claims seven for the symbol of spiritual light or intelligence.

It is perhaps no accident that seven priests of Dionysos partake of the Dionysian Eucharist in the frescoes of the tomb of Vibia.

It appears that the Jews developed their notion of the sacredness of seven on the same lines as the Babylonians and the Persians. It is well known that a seven-armed candlestick stood in the temple at Jerusalem, and we cannot doubt that its seven lights were representative of the seven divine messengers of Yahveh, who are the same as the seven rulers in the starry heavens of the more ancient religions of Mesopotamia.

In the Bible seven is a number of great significance. In the first chapter of Genesis we read that God rested on the seventh day from his works, and he consecrated it as a Sabbath (Gen. ii. 2-3). "Whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold" (Gen. iv. 15). Noah was commanded by God, according to the priestly account of the Deluge, to take seven pairs of all clean animals into the ark (Gen. vii. 2-4). Jacob served seven years for Leah and seven other years for Rachel (Gen. xxix.). Jacob bowed before Esau seven times (Gen. xxxiii. 3). Pharaoh saw in a dream seven



THE SEVEN-ARMED CANDLESTICK OF
THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM.
(From the Arch of Titus.)



THE SEVEN HEAVENS OF CHRISTIANITY.¹
(French MS. of the XVIth century.
Didron.)

well-favored and fat-fleshed kine and seven other ill-favored and lean-fleshed kine (Gen. xli. 2-3). Joseph mourned for his father seven days (Gen. l. 10). The Lord smote the river Nile for seven days (Ex. vii. 25). The children of Israel were commanded seven days to eat unleavened bread (Ex. xii. 15). The law demanded

¹ The seven heavens show the signs of the seven planets. They are covered by the vault of the fixed stars, above which is the dwelling-place of the trinity.

that a Hebrew slave should serve six years and in the seventh he should go out free for nothing (Ex. xxi. 2). In the temple service the priest had to dip his finger in the blood of the sacrificed bullock and sprinkle of the blood seven times before the Lord, before the veil of the sanctuary (Lev. iv. 6). A woman after the birth of a male child was unclean seven days (Lev. xii. 2). The Lord threatens to punish the people for disobedience with all kinds of terrors, and if they will not yet for all this hearken, then he will punish them seven times more for their sins (Lev. xxvi. 18). Balaam requested Balak to build seven altars and prepare seven oxen and seven rams (Num. xxiii. 1). In Deuteronomy we read among the curses on disobedience, that the children of Israel will flee before their enemies on seven ways (Deut. xxviii. 25), but if they hearken unto the Lord their enemies shall flee on seven ways (Deut. xxviii. 7). The walls of Jericho fall on the seventh day before the blast of seven rams' horns, blown by seven priests, after having compassed the city seven times (Josh. vi. 4). Bathsheba's child died on the seventh day (2 Sam. xii. 18). Because David had numbered the people, the children of Israel were punished, and a choice was given him between seven years of famine, three months of flight, and three days of pestilence (2 Sam. xxiv. 13). Naaman became clean of his leprosy by bathing seven times in Jordan (2 Kings v. 10-14).¹ Job's friends mourned with him seven days and seven nights (Job, ii. 13). Seven days is the time of mourning for a dead person (Sirach xxii. 13). The psalmist sings that seven times a day he does praise God (cxix. 164). In Proverbs xxiv. 16 we read that a just man falleth seven times and riseth up again.

In Hebrew to swear an oath is the same word as seven, and the reason can only have been that the number seven played an important part in swearing or making solemn contracts. Thus we read (Gen. xxi. 22-31):

"And Abraham took sheep and oxen, and gave them unto Abimelech; and both of them made a covenant. And Abraham set seven Ewe lambs of the flock by themselves. And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What mean these seven ewe lambs which thou hast set by themselves? And he said, For these seven ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that they may be a witness unto me, that I have digged this well. Wherefore he called that place Beer-sheba; because there they *swore* both of them."

The word שָׁבַע *shaba* = "to swear," is the verbal form of שֶׁבַע "seven," the latter being obviously akin to the Sanskrit *sapta*,

¹ Conf. also Lev. xiii. 33; when healed a leper had to be confined for seven days before he was declared clean.

Zend hapta, Persian *heft*, Greek *ἑπτὰ*, Latin *septem*, and English *seven*. A solemn declaration of truth consisted in "sevening" it, be it by repeating it seven times, or offering a sevenfold sacrifice, or calling in seven witnesses. Herodotus tells us (in Book III., 8) that in Arabia the two men making a contract had their hands cut with a sharp flint, and seven stones placed between them were stained with tufts of their mantles dipped in their blood.

In the Book of Esdras we read that before the day of resurrection the world will be turned into silence for seven days, and no man will remain.



THE UNCLEAN SPIRIT CAST OUT FROM
THE HUMAN HEART.



RETURN OF THE UNCLEAN SPIRIT WITH
SEVEN OTHER SPIRITS MORE WICKED
THAN HIMSELF.¹

According to the Book of Tobit there are "seven holy angels who present the prayers of the saints and go in before the glory of the Holy One." Corresponding with this idea of seven holy angels seems to be the doctrine of the seven evil spirits who take possession of the soul, as related in Luke xi. 24-25, where Jesus is reported to say:

¹ Reproduced from *Geistlicher Sittenspiegel*, Würzburg, 1732. See *History of the Devil*, pp. 354-358.

"When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest; and finding none, he saith, I will return unto my house whence I came out. And when he cometh, he findeth it swept and garnished."

It is not impossible that the idea of the seven holy angels before the throne of God and the seven other wicked spirits, more wicked than the unclean spirit, is a reminiscence of the seven Igighs and the seven Anunnaki of the Babylonians.

The belief in the sacredness of seven found support in Greece in the fact that the Greek language had seven vowels, *ε* and *ο* being represented twice as short and long. The seven vowels *α ε η ι ο υ ω* were by the Greek Gnostics supposed to be related to the seven planets. Prof. Richard Wünsch says :

"We learn from the Church Fathers that the Gnostics, particularly the followers of Markos, chose the seven vowels to indicate the rhythm in which the seven spheres participate in the harmony of the universe. Now these seven spheres are the sun, the moon, and the five planets, and each of these heavenly bodies is ruled by a particular guardian spirit, an 'archon.' The names and nature of these archons are very different within the various Gnostic sects; they are mostly creatures of the demiurgos, are hostile to the human soul and try to detain it in their realm when, after the death of the body, it enters upon its journey to God, but they are overcome by the soul if it is initiated into the mysteries of Gnostic philosophy and the magic formulæ which even the archons must obey. Sometimes indeed these archons are treated as the equals of the archangels so that the writing out of the vowel series was equivalent to an apostrophe to the archangels; most familiar and perhaps most striking in this connexion is the inscription in the theatre at Miletus :

αεηνωω : Thou holy one, protect the city of the Milesians and all the inhabitants thereof

εηνωω : Thou holy one, protect, etc.

This appeal appears seven times, and then collectively in conclusion :

Ye archangels, protect, etc.

Sometimes the archangels are connected by name with the planets and the vowels; Kopp, *Palaeogr. crit.*, III., 334, 335 : *α* Luna-Gabriel, *ε* Mercury-Michael, *η* Venus-Arael, *ι* Sol-Raphael, *ο* Mars-Samuel, *υ* Jupiter-Zadagiel, *ω* Saturn-Kafriel.

The Christian Church adopted the Gnostic doctrine of the seven celestial regions. St. Paul speaks of the seventh heaven. Further, there are "the seven spirits which are before the throne of Him which is and which was and which is to come," reminding us of the seven igighs of the Chaldæans.¹ Not only is the number seven frequently referred to as a sacred number by St. John the Divine in the Revelation as well as by the Church fathers, but we have also the evidence of the Christian monuments.

Christ is represented on a lamp found in the Catacombs as the

¹ See illustration on p. 336 of *The Open Court*, No. 541.



ORNAMENTATION OF A
LAMP FOUND IN THE
CATACOMBS. (Twin-
ing, *Symbols and*
Emblems, plate 14.)¹



SEVEN LAMPS REPRESENTING
THE SEVEN GIFTS OF THE
SPIRIT. (From a French
MS. of the Apocalypse,
fourteenth century, in the
British Museum.)



10.

SEVEN DOVES AS THE
SEVEN GIFTS OF THE
SPIRIT. (From a MS.
of the fourteenth cen-
tury, of Old English
devotional poetry.)

¹The good shepherd is represented with seven sheep. Seven stars over his head and the symbols of sun and moon indicate an influence of Mithras worship; but the dove on the ark and the two pictures of Jonah, as lying under the gourd and swallowed by the fish, are evidences of the Christian character of the whole composition.

Good Shepherd who carries a lamb in the usual style, and is surrounded by seven sheep which are supposed to represent the seven Churches of the Revelation. About the Good Shepherd appear the figures of the sun and the moon, and between them are the seven stars. On the right side of the Good Shepherd we see a small box representing the ark of Noah, with a dove standing upon it; the picture on the left side is meant to represent Jonah under the gourd vine.

The Christian view of the seven heavens ruled by the seven planets remained unaltered until the Copernican world-conception took its place and caused the old Christian pictures of the universe to be regarded as mere archæological curiosities.

Is it a mere accident, or are we confronted with echoes of older traditions, when we find the number seven regarded as sacred throughout all mediæval Christianity? There are frequent pictorial representations of the seven gifts of the Spirit. The names of these seven gifts are not always the same; they vary considerably in various illustrations and are not always specified, since their several names are either supposed to be known or taken to be indifferent. But there is a general agreement as to the number of them, being the same as the Buddhist jewels of the law.

Theologians discovered seven penitential psalms in the bible, and the schoolmen of the Middle Ages classified the scientific aspirations under seven heads as the seven liberal arts.

The seven gifts of the Spirit are represented¹ either as seven doves surrounding Christ, or the Virgin Mary.

The seven-fold nature of the spirit of the Saviour is also indicated in the Revelation of St. John, where the lamb is represented with seven horns and seven eyes. In the same book we read: "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive (1) power, (2) riches and (3) wisdom and (4) strength and (5) honor and (6) glory and (7) blessing," which are seven qualities.

In a manuscript Bible of the twelfth century, now in the British Museum, we find a picture of the seven gifts of the Spirit, represented in female heads; the spirit of wisdom is placed at the top, and wears a crown on her head. Besides the name of the gift, each representative figure bears an appropriate sentence, and the circle of these seven little figures is completed by a hand representing the presence of God the Father sending out twelve rays of light corresponding to the twelve Apostles. The figures of Faith,

¹ Louisa Twining's *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediæval Christian Art*. New Edition. 1885. London: John Murray, Albemarle St. Plates, 27, 29 and 30.

Hope and Charity occupy the centre of the circle, and Charity being the greatest of the three is distinguished by a crown. The other six gifts are understanding, the strength of patience, the bliss of piety, the wisdom of counsel, the knowledge of temperance, and the power of the Lord.

Another manuscript represents the seven gifts of the Spirit as seven doves which are the gifts (1) of wisdom; (2) piety; (3) strength; (4) counsel; (5) understanding; (6) cleverness (called



FAITH, HOPE, AND CHARITY SURROUNDED BY THE SEVEN GIFTS OF THE SPIRIT

From a MS. Bible of the twelfth century, in the British Museum.

(After Louisa Twining's *Symbols and Emblems*, Plate XXIX.)

connyng); and (7) fear of God (dreede). A poem accompanies this picture, which Louisa Twining translates as follows :

" In this desert wild and waste,
Seven fowls are flying with flight,
That are the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost,
That nowhere but in clean hearts will light,
And dwell there, if they find them chaste,

And give them ghostly strength and might,
 So big and bold¹ that they then haste
 To pray to God both day and night."

Besides the seven gifts of the spirit, Christian theologians enumerate seven virtues (which consist of a combination of the three Christian virtues of St. Paul and the four Greek virtues of



From a MS. of the eleventh century, in the British Museum.



From a MS. of the Psalter of St. Louis, Library of the Arsenal, Paris, thirteenth century.

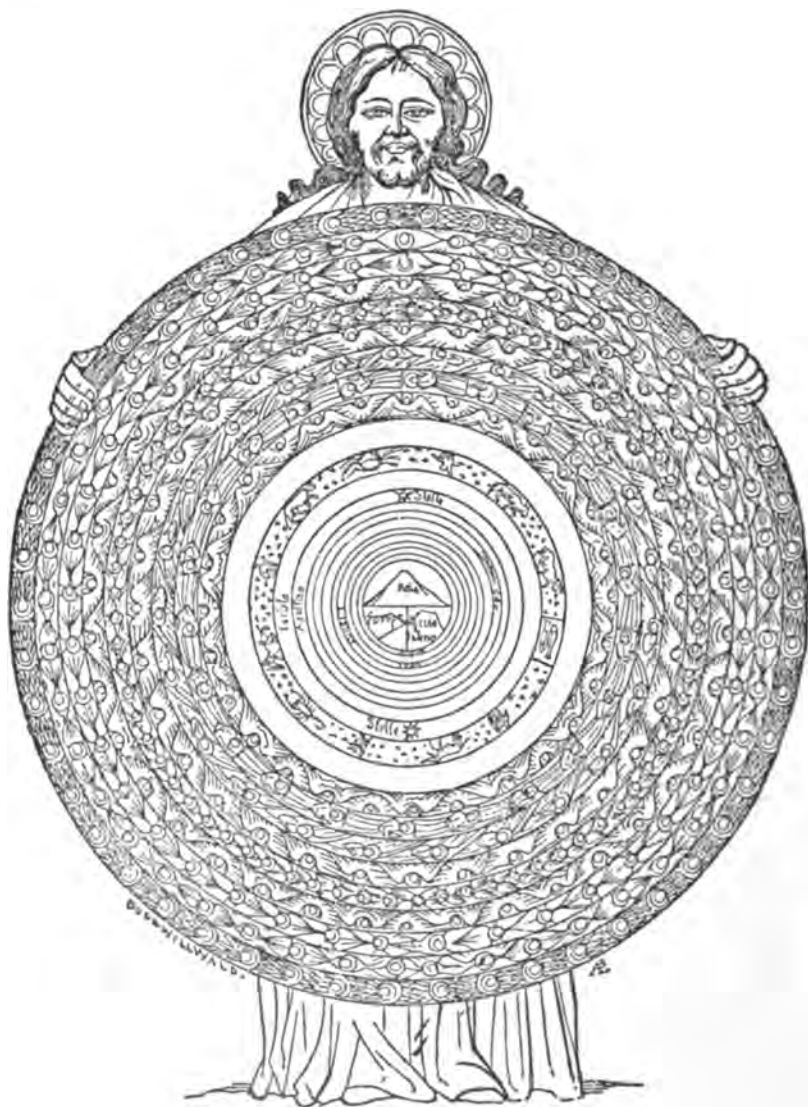


From a painted window in the Abbey of St. Denis, twelfth century.

CHRIST WITH THE SEVEN GIFTS OF THE SPIRIT.

Plato) and seven deadly sins. The Roman Catholics to this day preach sermons on the seven dolours of Mary, and the legends of the saints tell the story of the seven sleepers of Ephesus.

¹ "These words are not quite clear in the original, but I believe this is the meaning of them."
 —Louisa Twining.



GOD SUPPORTING THE WORLD, CONSISTING OF TWICE NINE SPHERES.
(By Buonamico Buffamalco.)¹ Fresco in the Campo Santo of Pisa.

¹ This picture is the embodiment of the Christian world-conception of the fourteenth century. A sonnet accompanies the fresco and explains that nine choirs of angels surround the world, in whose inner circles the constellations roll round the earth which occupies the centre of the universe.

When the spheres of the sun and the moon were added to the seven spheres of the planets, the number nine grew more and more prominent, and its sanctity was the more firmly established as it was regarded as the product of three times three.

A picture in the Campo Santo represents God holding in his hands the world. There are nine spheres of angelic life corresponding to the nine spheres of the planets, the sun and the moon. The two realms are separated by the sphere of the fixed stars with the zodiac, and the center of all spherical domains is the earth with its three continents, Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Seni, Wallenstein's astrologer, explains the cabalistic significance of numbers in Schiller's drama, *The Piccolomini*. Speaking to a servant who places eleven chairs in the Duke's reception-room, he says :

"Eleven is a bad number ; set twelve chairs. Twelve signs are in the zodiac, five plus seven. The holy numbers are contained in twelve."

"Eleven means sin. Eleven transcends the ten commandments."

In explanation of the holiness of five, Seni says :

"Five is the soul of man. As man is a mixture of good and evil, so five is the first sum of odd and even."

One, among the Pythagoreans, is the number of essence. Two is otherness involving diversity of opinion or difference. Three is mediation or atonement, and completeness, indicating beginning, middle, and end. Four is the square, meaning squareness or justice ; it also signifies the four quarters of the earth. Five, represented in the five fingers of the hand, stands for a small group. Being a combination of odd and even, it signifies marriage in the Pythagorean system, and also man as a combination of matter and mind, or of good and evil, as explained by Seni in the above quotation. Six, i. e., a half dozen, is an important number in the duodecimal system of Babylonia but has otherwise no particular meaning. We might consider it as the number of the surfaces of a die, meaning luck or chance. Eight, the first cube, indicates solidity. Nine, the treble triad, the number of the threefold trinity of Babylonia, is believed to be the most efficient number for incantations. The three times three is still used in our lodges by the freemasons and other fraternities.

The symbolism of numbers attributes to seven a peculiar sanctity. Being the sum of three and four, it means the All as ensouled by God. Three means the Deity ; four, the world, and thus seven is the sum of the two and represents the entire cosmos, God and the world.

BUDDHA'S DISCOURSE ON THE END OF THE WORLD;¹

OR, THE SERMON ON THE SEVEN SUNS.

Now first translated from the Pāli by ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

A late expansion of this discourse is given by Warren, in his *Buddhism in Translations*, from Buddhagoshā's *Way of Purity*, a Pāli compendium of the fifth Christian century.² When Warren wrote, the Pāli original had not as yet appeared in the edition of the Pāli Text Society, which is printed in Roman letters.

It is well known to New Testament scholars that the great Eschatological Discourse in the Synoptical Gospels (i. e., the Sermon on the Last Things, delivered upon the Mount of Olives) is a blending of historical and spiritual vaticination. As I pointed out in 1893,³ the Evangelist Luke attempted to separate the spiritual prophecy from the historical prediction, putting the former into his seventeenth chapter, and the latter into his twenty-first. But Luke evidently understood even the physical cataclysm to refer to the siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Hebrew State. Even Mark and the editor of Matthew probably understood the same thing, though our English translations of Matthew make his "consummation of the æon" the "end of the world." After the siege, the early Christians evidently made this Eschatological Discourse refer to a cosmical convulsion. But the only words which can justly apply to such a thing are those in all three of the Synoptists: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."⁴ We have therefore used this verse among our parallels to Buddha's present discourse, but have reserved the text of the Gospel prophecy for a forthcoming translation from the famous *Andagata-dhayāni*, selected by Asoko among his favorite texts. Its subject is the decline of religion.

¹ Sixth Series of Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts.

² On p. 323 of Warren's book our present Sutta is quoted by name.

³ Haverford College Studies for 1893: *Our Lord's Quotation from the First Book of Maccabees*.

⁴ The second clause indicates the application of this verse: the passing of heaven and earth does not belong to the subject of the discourse, but is used as a standard whereby to gauge the perpetuity of the oracles of Christ.

THE END OF THE WORLD.

Mark xiii. 31. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

2 Peter iii. 10. But the day of the Lord will come as a thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the heavenly bodies (or elements) shall be dissolved with fervent heat, and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up (or, discovered).

Rev. xxi. 1. And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth are passed away; and the sea is no more.

NUMERICAL COLLECTION VII. 62.

Thus have I heard. At one season the Blessed One was staying at Vesâli, in Ambapâli's grove. And the Blessed One addressed the monks, saying: "Monks!" "Lord!" answered those monks, in reply to him. The Blessed One spake thus:

"Impermanent, O monks, are the constituents of existence, unstable, non-eternal: so much so, that this alone is enough to weary and disgust one with all constituent things, and emancipate therefrom. Sineru, monks, the monarch of mountains, is eighty-four thousand leagues¹ in length and breadth; eighty-four thousand leagues deep in the great ocean, and eighty-four thousand above it.

Now there comes, O monks, a season when, after many years, many hundreds and thousands and hundreds of thousands of years, it does not rain; and while it rains not, all seedlings and vegetation, all plants, grasses, and trees dry up, wither away and cease to be. Thus, monks, constituent things are impermanent, unstable, non-eternal: so much so, that this alone is enough to weary and disgust one therewith and emancipate therefrom.

And, monks, there comes a season, at vast intervals in the lapse of time, when a second sun appears.

After the appearance of the second sun, monks, the brooks and ponds dry up, vanish away and cease to be. So impermanent are constituent things! And then, monks, there comes a season, at vast intervals in the lapse of time, when a third sun appears; and thereupon the great rivers: to wit, the Ganges, the Jamna, the Rapti, the Gogra, the Mahî,—dry up, vanish away and cease to be.

At length, after another vast period, a fourth sun appears, and thereupon the great lakes, whence those rivers had their rise: namely, Anotatto,² Lion-leap, Chariot-maker, Keel-bare, Cuckoo, Six-bayed, and Slow-flow, dry up, vanish away, and cease to be.

¹ I. e., yojanas, a yojana being about eight miles.

² I am not sure of the meaning of this word and its Sanskrit equivalent *Anavatapta*, but it seems to mean "without warmth at the bottom."

Again, monks, when, after another long lapse, a fifth sun appears, the waters in the great ocean go down for an hundred leagues; then for two hundred, three hundred, and even unto seven hundred leagues, until the water stands only seven fan-palms' deep, and so on unto one fan-palm; then seven fathoms' deep, and so on unto one fathom, half a fathom; waist-deep, knee-deep, ankle-deep. Even, O monks, as in the fall season, when it rains in large drops, the waters in some places are standing around the feet of the kine; even so, monks, the waters in the great ocean in some places are standing to the depth of kine-feet. After the appearance of the fifth sun, monks, the water in the great ocean is not the measure of a finger-joint. Then at last, after another lapse of time, a sixth sun appears; whereupon this great earth and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, reek and fume and send forth clouds of smoke. Even as a potter's baking, when first besmeared, doth reek and fume and smoke, such is the smoke of earth and mountains when the sixth sun appears.

After a last vast interval, a seventh sun appears, and then, monks, this great earth, and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, flare and blaze, and become one mass of flame. And now, from earth and mountains burning and consuming, a spark is carried by the wind and goes as far as the worlds of God; and the peaks of Mount Sineru, burning, consuming, perishing, go down in one vast mass of fire and crumble for an hundred, yea, five hundred leagues. And of this great earth, monks, and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, when consumed and burnt, neither ashes nor soot remains. Just as when ghee or oil is consumed and burnt, monks, neither ashes nor soot remains, so it is with the great earth and Mount Sineru.

Thus, monks, impermanent are the constituents of existence, unstable, non-eternal: so much so, that this alone is enough to weary and disgust one with all constituent things and emancipate therefrom. Therefore, monks, do those who deliberate and believe¹ say this: 'This earth and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, will be burnt and perish and exist no more,' excepting those who have seen the path.

FORMER RELIGIONS ECLIPSED BY THE RELIGION OF LOVE.²

Matthew v. 17, 18, 43, 44. Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto

¹ Translation uncertain. The word *saddhātā* is not in Childers, and I can find no equivalent in Sanskrit; but the various reading, *saddhātā*, indicates the sense.

² There is no break in the Pāli, but the present division is made for the sake of another Gospel parallel.

you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished.

* * *

Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you.

"In olden times, O monks, there was a religious teacher (or Master) named Sunetto, founder of an order, and free from indulgence in lusts; and he had several hundred disciples. The Master Sunetto preached to his disciples the doctrine of fellowship with the world of God; and those who understood all his religion in every way, when he preached this doctrine, were born again, upon the dissolution of the body after death, to weal in the world of God. Those who did not understand all his religion in every way, were born again, upon the dissolution of the body after death,—some into fellowship with those angels who transmute subjective delights into objective and share them with others;¹ some into fellowship with the angels who delight in subjective creations; some into that of the angels of Content (*Tusitā*); others with the *Yāmā*; others again with the angels of the Thirty-three; others into fellowship with those of the Four Great Kings; and yet others into fellowship with Warrior magnates, Brahmin magnates, householder magnates.

"Now Sunetto the Master, O monks, thought to himself: 'It is not fit that I should allow my disciples to have such destinies as these repeatedly: what now if I practise the Highest Love?' Whereupon, monks, the Master Sunetto practised Benevolence (or, love-meditation) for seven years, and for seven æons of consummation and restoration he did not return to this world.² Yea, monks, at the consummation of the world³ he became an Angel of Splendor, and at the world's restoration he rose again in the empty palace of the Brahmas. Yea, then, O monks, he was a Brahmā, the Great Brahmā (or, God), conquering, unconquered, all-seeing, controlling. And thirty-six times, O monks, was he Sakko, the lord of the angels; many hundreds of times was he a king, a righteous world-ruler and emperor, victorious to the four seas, arrived at the security of his country, and possessed of the seven treasures. Moreover, he had more than a thousand sons, heroes, of mighty frame, crushers of alien armies; he dwelt in this ocean-girt earth,

¹ I have been guided here by Warren, p. 289, and Lafcadio Hearn, *Gleanings in Buddha-fields*, p. 245.

² See Itivuttaka 22, translated in April, 1900, where Gotamo relates the same of himself.

³ Itivuttaka has *æon*.

overcoming it, staffless and swordless, by righteousness. But even the Master Sunetto, though thus long-lived and long-enduring, was not emancipated from birth, old age, death, grief, lamentations, pains, sorrows, and despairs; I say he was not emancipated from pain. And why? Because of not being awake to four things (*dhammā*) and not seeing into them. What four? The Noble Ethics, the Noble Trance (*Samādhi*), the Noble Wisdom, and the Noble Release (or Emancipation). When these, O monks, are known in their sequence and penetrated into,¹ the craving for existence is annihilated, its renewal is destroyed: one is then reborn no more."

Thus spake the Blessed One, and when the Auspicious One had said this, the Master further said:

"Morality, Trance, Pure Reason, and Supreme Release;

"These things are understood by the celebrated Gotamo.

"Thus enlightened (*buddho*) by supernal knowledge, he told the doctrine to the monks.

"The Master, who made an end of pain, the Seeing One, hath passed into Nirvāna."

¹ "Known in their sequence and penetrated into," represent the same words before translated: "being awake to," and "seeing into." So, again, "Pure Reason" (*Paṃṇā*), in the verse below, appears above as "Wisdom."

A CHIEF'S VIEW OF THE DEVIL.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE last number of *The Open Court* contained a letter from the Rev. J. J. Emmengahbowk (The-Man-Who-Stands-Before-His-People), a native clergyman of great distinction among the Ojibways, an Indian tribe that has been distinguished in its history for moral earnestness and friendliness toward the whites. We need not say that our correspondent speaks the language of his people, and his knowledge of English has been acquired, not in early childhood, but in school and by his intercourse with government officials and other English-speaking people.

His letter appealed to the editor for several reasons, and the attention which it attracted in several circles proved that its publication was justified. It might have appeared advisable to correct the mistakes in the letter, but our readers will agree with us that it was a document, and on that account it was important to leave it in the exact shape in which it was received. We felt confident that our readers would not misunderstand or misjudge our motives, and we appreciated at the same time the nobility of our correspondent's character, who defined the idea of evil in terms of which a modern philosopher or a clergyman of white congregations need not be ashamed. The editor purposely abstained from making any comments on the letter, and it is a great satisfaction to him that the *Chicago Evening Post* published an editorial communication by Mr. Justin W. McEachren which brings out the significant points of the Rev. Emmengahbowk's letter to such an extent that we take pleasure in republishing it:

"There is both humor and food for reflexion in the copy of a letter appearing in the miscellaneous department of the current *Open Court*. This quaint communication comes from the White Earth Indian reservation, and is from the pen of

Rev. J. J. Emmengahbowk (the Man-Who-Stands-Before-His-People). It has to do with Dr. Paul Carus's *History of the Devil*, published not long ago, and makes a request with which the good doctor doubtless has complied before this.

"To the simple mind of this Ojibway chief it is difficult to understand how a man 'can make a picture of an object unless he saw it.' Dr. Carus presents an absorbing study, a remarkable and scholarly work, embellished with illustrations of his satanic majesty from the earliest Egyptian frescoes, from pagan idols, old black-letter tomes, quaint early Christian sculpture, down to the model pictures of Doré and Schneider. To the ordinary scholar this is instructive and suggestive; but to the Indian it is actual. How could any person print such pictures of the devil unless he had seen him, had 'talked with him as a friend'? No wonder the pagan Ojibway chiefs are interested. They have their conceptions of the 'evil spirit,' just as they have of a Supreme Being—Gitche-Manito. They can understand the pictures which go with Dr. Carus's text. Would 'the gentleman be so generous to give his book to the inquisitive chief'?

"This Emmengahbowk is a remarkable character. Of the people before whom he stands Dr. W. Thornton Parker says: 'Their religious character is one of their most conspicuous traits, and we are bound to acknowledge and respect them for it. A people devout and with a strong and genuine belief in the "Great Spirit," in the "Mighty Creator," in the "loving attentive Father,"—a people devoted to their country, to their nation, to their homes (humble though they be), to their families, and whose love for their children is beautiful beyond description,—such a people demonstrate beyond a doubt that their religion is practical, genuine and worthy of recognition. These people are an inspiration to the palefaces who have met them.'

"And when Dr. Parker asked Emmengahbowk, the beloved Indian priest of the Episcopal mission at White Earth, Minn., what actuated him in risking his life to save paleface woman and children from capture and death, he answered: 'They have been kind to me, and I could not bear to have them harmed; and it was my duty as a Christian.'

"Truly, such a conception of manliness and duty should be an 'inspiration to palefaces.'

"It will be noticed from Emmengahbowk's ingenuous letter that he does not share the pagan chief's views on the 'History of the Devil.' To him the evil allures by some promised good. The devil to this priest, no matter how he may be pictured, is dangerous because appearing in an attractive guise. But to the inquisitive pagans he is a personality as various as their imaginations. While they would like to see the devil in proper person, they are almost equally curious to know something about a man who can 'make pictures of the devil,' who has talked with him as a friend. Emmengahbowk's faith and Christian enlightenment prompt him to say he never has seen the evil one nor dreamed of him, nor imagined his appearance; but to his questioners, still held by the fancies and nature interpretations of primeval times, 'sometimes he comes with all the beautiful form like any human being, sometimes in the form of a mountain, and other times in the form of a beautiful green leaf, of course with all their enticing bait, or other word allure.'

"And just here is where Emmengahbowk's quaint missive becomes instructive. The Indian's conception of the devil is safer than that of the early fathers of the Church. To these children of the forest the most trying temptations to evil are baited with promise of good. To the early Christians—and not a few modern ones—evil was painted in the most repellent of colors; the devil was a repulsive monster; sin was something abhorrent. Not so with the Indian's idea. They picture

the evil spirit as something which allures. They must look closely at what seems most attractive to them because it may conceal the cloven hoof. To them evil is dangerous because often pleasing, and they expect to combat the devil through their fancies of the beautiful—'the mountain' and the 'beautiful green leaf' rather than in such pictures as those of the Egyptian frescoes, pagan idols, or even the drawings of Doré. Surely this is safer—not to dwell upon results—than the one-time popular conception of forked tail and cloven hoof seen through a lurid sheen of fire and brimstone."

PROFESSOR TIELE ON BABYLONIAN MYTHS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE cuneiform texts of the Babylonian creation-story, the Deluge-legend, and other myths which reappear in rationalised versions in the Old Testament, are the product of a late phase in the religious development of Mesopotamia. To be sure, they are much older than the Biblical versions of the same tales, but they no longer bear traces of a mythological religion; they exhibit traces of advanced thought, of philosophical reflexion, of a literary art which is conscious of the mythological nature of the material. At the time they were written, the thinkers and poets of Babylonia had become monotheists, who utilised their national myths for the sake of teaching their hearers a lesson in the same way that the sages of Greece, Socrates and Plato, did.

We quote Professor Tiele's opinion of the Babylonian myths which we hope will be helpful:¹

"The well-known story of Istar's descent to hell is quite unmistakably a nature-myth, most vividly describing her journey to the underworld in search of the fountain of the waters of life. Having been detained there, taken prisoner and afflicted with all manner of diseases by Allat, the goddess of death and queen of the realm of shades, the germinative and creative powers of the world forthwith ceased, so that the gods took counsel with one another and resolved to demand her release. Ea now created a miraculous being, a sort of priest, called "his light lighteth," who is commissioned to seek for the fountain of life and whom Allat with all her vituperations and maledictions cannot withstand. The goddess is set free, returns to the upper world, and calls back to life her dead lover, Dumuzi (Tammuz) by sprinkling him with the water of immortality.

"Though this myth did not undergo either a cosmogonic or an ethical transformation, it has been converted into a story of a purely anthropomorphic character, containing episodes and points of detail of which the original physical significance is often very much obscured, evidently for the purpose of strengthening the belief in immortality. Also, the story of the flood, which we possess in different versions, and which is itself composed of quite heterogeneous materials, distinctly

¹ Translated from C. P. Tiele, *Babyl. Assyrl. Geschichte*, pp. 335-338.

betrays its polytheistic authorship, and its origin from a nature-myth, notably when compared with the closely related Biblical variant. But the mythological stage was far removed from the author's time. There is a fund of ingenuous humor in the manner in which the gods are made to play their parts; their actions are stamped with jollity and good nature—think but of the wailings of Istar that she had begotten men forsooth but fishes never; of the crafty subterfuges by which Ea justifies toward Bel his conduct in having wrested his favorite from the doom which the latter had ordained for him; hear but the reprimands which the wise Ea showers upon the head of Bel for his foolish wrath, and the proclamation of the great Istar that he has forfeited his share of the sacrifice; and afterwards observe how he tacitly admits his wrong by leading out, along with his own kin, the man at whose rescue he had been so incensed, and by raising him to rank among the gods. From all this, it is plainly manifest that the narrator used the mythical material which he had at hand solely for the purpose of depicting the destruction of a sinning humanity, and of delivering the warning that the gods still had at their disposal, in famine, pestilence, and the wild beasts of the field, this means to punish wrongdoers.

"In Berosus's version, the myth is still more obscured. The god that caused the flood, Kronos, that is Bel, is also the same that rescued Xisuthros; but the chief object here is to tell the story of the rescue of the sacred books. So far as we can judge from the fragments that have been recovered, ancient nature-myths are always at the bottom of the so-called Epic, of which the story of the flood is an episode. The hero, who has not without reason been compared with Nimrod, the great hunter, and who shows considerable resemblance to Samson and the Western Hercules, was at the start certainly a god, and not a king. His battle with the Elamite King Humbaba, whom he vanquished with the assistance of Ea-bani, a half-human being, his battle with Istar, whose hand he had scorned, and who appears here as the queen of Uruk, and several other episodes, are not legendary history, but myths localised in legends. The twelve tablets certainly appear to correspond to the twelve months; but the manner in which the gods and demigods here act and converse, the irreverence of address, for example, to which the great goddess Istar is forced to submit, shows that the time of the origin of the myths which the poet treated lay far behind him in the past.

"The Babylonian priests and scholars did not reject myths, but used them for the purpose of inculcating their doctrines. The story of the sources is not yet advanced far enough to justify us in speaking at this day of a Babylonian dogmatology. Unquestionably traces of a theology of some sort are not wanting there. It is clear from numerous examples that the Babylonian and Assyrian religion was dominated by the theocratic dogma of the Semites, who believed in the unbounded supremacy and omnipotence of God, softened only by their confidence in His justice, mercy, and compassion. This dogma dominates all the deeds of the kings, who looked upon themselves as the executors of his divine will; they cherished an unwavering belief in a just and providential government of the world, and particularly in a moral world order, although this world order was conceived with all their national limitations, as is scarcely otherwise conceivable in antiquity.

"There is also no doubt that the Babylonians believed in a personal immortality, of which there is ample evidence in the epithets which were applied to certain of their gods, their mythical conception of the underworld where the fountain of life was situated, various passages from their sacred hymns, and finally their solicitous care of their dead."

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE DATE OF DEUTERONOMY.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Kindly answer in the earliest number possible of *The Open Court* briefly, directly, and without sending us to books:

1. If Deuteronomy was written in or about the days of Josiah, how comes it that Joshua, who lived eight hundred years before him, and Amaziah, who lived two hundred years before him, obeyed laws or directions which are found in Deuteronomy only?
2. Were not the prophets enemies of only immoral priests, and denouncers of rituals and festivals only when unaccompanied with right conduct, instead of being as you state (p. 159) "enemies of priests and denouncing the established rituals and festivals as immoral and ungodly"?

REV. DR. H. PEREIRA MENDES.

EDITORIAL REPLY.

It is impossible to give any satisfactory reply to the two questions of Dr. Mendes without reference to books; otherwise, the defense of De Wette's position would require the writing of a whole book on the subject. We can only repeat: the theory that Deuteronomy must have been written in the age between the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah, viz., not in the days of Moses but some time before 621 B. C., may be regarded now as almost universally accepted. For a summary of the question, from a conservative point of view, see for instance President W. R. Harper's articles in the current numbers of the *Biblical World*. See also the Book of Joshua in the *Polychrome Bible*, page 44, edited by the Rev. W. H. Bennett, professor of Old Testament languages and literature, Hackney and New Colleges, London. In the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XVIII., pp. 505-515, s. v. Pentateuch, Professor Welhausen sums up the belief of scholars as follows: "As regards Deuteronomy and the Jehovist there is tolerably complete agreement among critics. Some, indeed, attempt to date Deuteronomy before the time of Josiah, in the age of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 4, 22), or even still earlier; but on the whole the date originally assigned by De Wette has held its ground."

We shall try, however, to satisfy Dr. Mendes and give an answer to his questions in concise outlines.

The institutions and religious views of Deuteronomy can easily be explained as a product of the time immediately preceding Josiah's reign. They were not established facts of history in the time between Moses and Josiah. They are utterly

disregarded by Samuel, Saul, and David and other prominent Israelites, on occasions when they ought to have been minded and mentioned.

The first question, how it is possible that Joshua, who lived 800 years before Josiah, could have obeyed the laws of Deuteronomy, is easily disposed of. The Book of Joshua, like the five books of Moses, is a compilation from mainly two ancient sources, viz., a Judaic (*J*), or southern and an Ephramitic (*E*) or northern, history of Israel. These two accounts, (*J*) and (*E*), were combined into one book, (*J/E*). The combination of the two accounts was edited by a harmonising redactor, (*R/E*), and was supplemented by additions written in the Deuteronomic age, (*RD*), viz., the time of Josiah, about 621 B. C.¹

The Book of Joshua as it now lies before us is a product of these influences and redactions. Accordingly, the portions of Joshua which show traces of the Deuteronomic spirit must be regarded as Deuteronomic additions some of which were made for the purpose of proving the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy.

In reply to the second question, I will gladly concede that the prophets objected to the established rituals, sacrifices, and festivals which were the main function of priesthood in the olden times, on account of the immorality connected therewith. But we cannot be blind to the fact that the prophetic denunciations are sometimes very uncompromising. The prophets do not limit their censure to the immoral features of the ancient forms of worship, but denounce the feasts and Sabbaths themselves, together with incense and oblations, as abominations and iniquity. Although sacrifices are a recognised institution of the Mosaic law, Isaiah says (i. 11-14):

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats.

"When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts?

"Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting.

"Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them."

Jeremiah expresses the same sentiment: "Your burned offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices sweet unto me."—vi. 20.

Amos is still more emphatic in his condemnation of feast days, solemn assemblies, sacrifices, songs, and music. He says (v. 21-23):

"I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies.

"Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts.

"Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols."

I publish the questions of Dr. Mendes because he means them as a protest against the theory of the late date of Deuteronomy, and thus wishes to indicate that he, a prominent rabbi and a Hebrew scholar, still holds to the doctrine of its Mosaic origin. I gladly comply with his wish, but I declare at the same time that it will be impossible for me to enter into a controversy on the subject. I am, after all, only a student of the Hebrew language and literature, not an investigator and

¹ The italicised letters in parentheses are technical abbreviations of the Old Testament scholars.

a scholar. I have come to the conclusion that the view of the late date of Deuteronomy, which I find almost unanimously accepted by Hebrew scholars, is based on sound arguments.¹ If our venerable correspondent desires to attack this position, he is kindly requested to attack, not me, but scholars of first rank, who hold this view. To refute me would have no effect upon the critical school of Biblical scholars. Yet should there be one among them who is willing to make an elaborate reply, I shall be glad to open the columns of *The Open Court* for a ventilation of the question.

COUNT GOBINEAU.

At first sight it seems strange that a Frenchman should become an object of enthusiasm in German circles; but such is the case with the Gobineau Society which counts among its members a number of aristocratic names, and even princes of distinction, in addition to professors, especially such as take an interest in anthropology, and a great number of employees of the German government. The secret probably lies in the revival of race interest, which is the main ideal of Count Gobineau.

Count Gobineau, a Norman nobleman born at Ville d'Avray in 1816, claims to be a descendant of Attar, one of the Norman invaders, who, banished from home in Norway, succeeded in seizing the country of Bray, where his family have remained in possession of large tracts of real estate to the present day.

Count Gobineau received his education in Biel, Sweden, and in Baden-Baden. He served as ambassador several times under Napoleon III. He was secretary to the French embassy in Bern, Hanover, Frankfort, and finally in Persia. To the latter country he was later appointed ambassador. When the fisheries question between England and France as to the right to fish on the Newfoundland coast had to be settled, he was appointed commissioner by the French government. In 1864, he was ambassador to Athens; in 1868, he went in the same capacity to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where he became an intimate friend of Dom Pedro. In 1870, he temporarily withdrew from politics, and devoted his energies to the local interests of his home in Normandy, acting as Mayor of Tyre and member of the general council of his *arrondissement*. In 1872, he re-entered the diplomatic service, and accepted the position of ambassador to Norway and Sweden. In 1877, he withdrew definitively from politics, and devoted the rest of his life to a translation of the *Kushnam*, a heroic poem of Persia. In 1880, he became acquainted with Richard Wagner. In 1882, he died among strangers in Turin, while on a journey.

The characteristic work of his life is a book the title of which may be regarded as the key-note to his literary labors; it is entitled *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (4 volumes, Paris, 1853-1855; second edition, 1884). The Count believes, and there is certainly a grain of truth in it, that race is of paramount im-

¹See for instance the article "Deuteronomy," pages 1079-1093, Vol. I., of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne and Dr. J. Sutherland. The article is written by the Rev. George F. Moore, professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., and as it is impossible to give even a meager summary of the arguments, we merely quote the following sentence: "Modern critics are, therefore, almost unanimous in the opinion that the law-book, the discovery and the introduction of which are related in 2 Kings, 22 f., is to be sought in Deuteronomy; and they are very generally agreed, further, that the book was written either in the earlier years of Josiah, or at least under one of his next predecessors, Manasseh or Hezekiah."

portance in history. Degeneration, according to Gobineau (and here he probably goes too far), is assumed to be due to a mixture of higher races with lower races. Certainly there are other reasons to which the degeneration of the classic nations must be attributed, although the importation of lower races from Africa and Asia may have contributed a little; but Gobineau is decidedly mistaken when he finds in this the key to a comprehension of the course of history which is supposed to explain the succession of different predominant races and the extinction of effete civilisations.



COUNT GOBINEAU.
1816-1882

Gobineau apparently is first a nobleman and then a historian and anthropologist. His anthropology is a justification of the pride of his nobility; this may be seen in one of his first books, the *History of Jarl Ottar, the Conqueror of the Country of Bray and His Descendants* (Paris, 1879), which is the story of his own family.

Gobineau wrote on cuneiform literature, first a lecture on the cuneiform texts (Paris, 1858), then a treatise on cuneiform literature (2 volumes, Paris, 1864), both of which may be regarded as out of date now. During his journeys through Asia,

he found occasion to study the history and religions of Asiatic nations, embodying his experience in several books, the most important of which are *The Religions and Philosophies of Central Asia* (Paris, 1865; second edition, 1866); the *History of the Persians*, and *Three Years in Asia*. His experiences in Newfoundland were recorded in a memoir entitled *A Journey to the New World and Souvenirs of the Voyage* (Paris, 1872). In addition to these anthropological and geographical studies, Count Gobineau wrote poetry, among which we note a novel, *The Pleiads*, and his Asiatic novels.

Gobineau is almost forgotten in France, and his spirit revives in Germany, where his numerous friends show a great anxiety to republish his books partly in the French original, partly in German translations.¹ No doubt the main reason for this interest is the reawakened pride of the Germans, who, since their victories over the French in 1870, begin to feel that they are the elect race of the world. Gobineau himself, though a good Frenchman, cherished a very strong pride in his Norman blood, and so felt himself akin to the Teutonic races. He reminds us of Desmoulins who has lost confidence in the French race on account of its heterogeneity, and has become an Anglomaniac, believing in spite of his French descent in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon races.

It is interesting to find a man like Gobineau neglected by his own people and taken up by their hostile neighbors. It is a symptom of the times, and we hope that the movement in favor of Gobineau's *Inequality of the Races* will lose its eccentricities and contribute its mite toward a better comprehension of the race problem.

Considering the importance which is at present attributed to Gobineau's works in certain influential German circles, it would be desirable to have them subjected to a careful and appreciative, but at the same time critical, review, which ought to be of great interest for the United States of America, where the mixture of the races has been more pronounced than in any other country in the world.²

P. C.

ST. JOSAPHAT OF INDIA.

To the Editor of The Open Court.

In connexion with the article on "The Holy Saint Josaphat of India" in the May *Open Court* attention should be called to the edition of two English versions of the legend with an introduction by Mr. Joseph Jacobs, entitled "Barlaam and Josaphat," London, 1896. It is to be noted that while St. Josaphat figures in the

¹A German edition of his chief work, translated by Prof. Ludwig Schemann, and just completed, is published in four volumes by Frommanns Verlag of Stuttgart. This translation, which bears the following German title *Versuch über die Ungleichheit der Menschennassen*, is done with great care and faithfulness. The translator resisted the temptation to bring the work up to date and offered it to the public as he states in the fourth volume, for exhibiting "*das Weltbild eines Grossen*"—the world-picture of a great man from a point of view natural but never before understood. Such, he adds, it will remain. "The oftener I read this work on race, the more I discovered antiquated passages and trifling errors in detail, which, however, do not disturb the great truth of the entire work."

The third French edition of *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Central* appeared but last year in Paris (Leroux, 1900).

²Persons interested in Gobineau and the Gobineau movement should address themselves to the Secretary of the Gobineau Society, Herrn Professor Ludwig Schemann, Freiburg i. B., Germany.

Catalogues of the Saints, this is not equivalent to formal canonisation, and it is therefore not exact to say that Buddha has been canonised as a Saint of the Catholic Church.

This is not an isolated instance of the evolution of a pagan deity into an unofficial Christian saint. The shrine of Guadalupe is the most famous in Mexico. Here was originally worshipped the Aztec goddess of Maize. A miraculous appearance of the Virgin to the Indian, Juan Diego, was the "machinery" whereby the transformation to a Christian shrine was accomplished, the details of which form a most interesting chapter in the history of religions.

An account of the worship as a saint in the church at Mixistlan, Mexico, of a wooden idol originally representing the god of water appeared in *The Open Court* for July, 1899.

EDWARD LINDSEY.

WARREN, Pa., May 16, 1901.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

For details concerning Barlaam and Josaphat as saints, see E. Cosquin's article in the *Revue des questions historiques*, XXVIII., 583-585, and the work of the Archimandrite Sergej, *Polnyj mesjacestov vostoka*, II., 1, 305 f., 2, 364 f.

Josaphat is first mentioned in the *Manica*, a voluminous Greek collection of names of saints under the date of August 26th (Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, I., 187), and in the official *Martyrologium Romanum* of Cardinal Baronius, published 1583 A. D. The Regensburg edition of 1874 mentions him on page 149 under August 3d, with these words:

"Apud Indos Persis finitimos passio sanctorum monachorum et aliorum fidelium quos Abener rex, persequens Ecclesiam Dei, diversis afflictos suppliciis cædi jussit."

And under November 27th (p. 237):

"Apud Indos Persis finitimos [commemoratio] sanctorum Barlaam et Josaphat, quorum actus mirandos sanctus Joannes Damascenus descripsit."

"Professor Rhys Davids (on p. xxxix of his *Buddhist Birth Stories*) translates the latter quotation with these comments:

"When the increasing number of Martyrologies threatened to lead to confusion, and to throw doubt on the exclusive power of the Popes to canonise, Pope Sixtus the Fifth (1585-1590) authorised a particular Martyrologium, drawn up by Cardinal Baronius, to be used throughout the Western Church. In that work are included not only the saints first canonised at Rome, but all those who, having been already canonised elsewhere, were then acknowledged by the Pope and the College of Rites to be saints of the Catholic Church of Christ. Among such, under the date of the 27th of November (p. 177 of the edition of 1873, bearing the official approval of Pope Pius IX., or p. 803 of the Cologne edition of 1610) are included 'The holy Saints Barlaam and Josaphat, of India, on the borders of Persia, whose wonderful acts Saint John of Damascus has described.'"

BOOK REVIEWS.

GESCHICHTE DER PHILOSOPHIE IM ISLAM. Von T. J. de Boer. Stuttgart: Fr. Frommann's Verlag (E. Hauff). 1901. Pages, 191. Price, bound, 5 M.

Little has been done so far for the investigation of the history of the philosophy of Islam. Herr de Boer offers in the present volume a concise synopsis of Moslem

philosophy, and he has succeeded in giving us interesting as well as instructive pictures of a movement which, though it seems to have died out, has contributed not a little to the higher development of Christian philosophy, where it became a factor the effects of which continue even to the present day.

The author reviews the cradle of Islam philosophy, which is ancient Arabia. He sketches the significance of the first caliphs, the character of the Arabian tribes, the influence of Greece on the one hand and of India on the other. For some time the Syrian Christians were the teachers of Islam philosophers, but they yielded at an early date to Neo-Platonism and to the theology of Aristotle, who was destined to dominate the whole development of independent spirits among the Moslem thinkers.

We cannot enter into details, and therefore pass over in silence De Boer's discussions of Neo-Platonic influence and philological studies which dominated the schools of Basra and Kufa. The various chapters on the doctrine of duty, on ethics and politics, the development of the doctrine of dogma, of mysticism, the rise of nature philosophy, the formation of brotherhoods such as the Karmates, are descriptions of interesting historical phases, but the most fascinating phenomena of Moslem philosophy are the lives and doctrines of the philosophers Kindi, Farabi, Ibn Maskawaih, Ibn Sina, commonly called Avicenna, and among the philosophers of the West Ibn Roschd (Averroes) of Cordova; the latter is perhaps the most interesting, and for all further development of Western philosophy the most important of all philosophers.

The story goes that Ibn Roschd was introduced to Prince Abu Jaaqub Jusuf, who asked him for his views concerning Heaven. The philosopher replied guardedly that he did not know enough philosophy; but the prince showed in his conversation so much knowledge of the subject, quoting from Aristotle, Plato, and other philosophers, as well as Moslem theologians, that Averroes grew bold and no longer hesitated to disclose his opinions. He gained the favor of Prince Abu Jaaqub Jusuf, and exercised a most powerful influence upon the philosophy, first of Spain and afterwards of the entire Christian world. Abu Jaaqub Jusuf appointed him court physician, and gave him the office of judge in his native city. But times changed, and philosophy became suspected in Spain. In his old age Ibn Roschd was banished, and his writings were publicly burned.

Averroes recognised in Aristotle the master of all philosophy. He looked up to the Greek sage as an incarnation of the highest possible wisdom, a kind of supernatural personality whose authority when seemingly in error would in the end always be justified.

To us the philosophy of Islam is of great importance on account of the influence which it exercised upon Christian thought in the Middle Ages. Aristotle became known to the schoolmen through the Moslem philosophers, especially through Averroes; and in Aristotle they recognised, as did their Spanish teacher, the highest authority of human wisdom. This idea continued to produce a problem which led to many compromises between theology and philosophy, between religious truth and secular science, between revelation and worldly wisdom. In the thirteenth century Averroes began to exercise a most powerful influence in Paris, which was then the centre of Christian thought. In the year 1256, Albert the Great wrote against Averroes. Fifteen years later, St. Thomas Aquinas opposed the disciples of Averroes, whose head was Siger of Brabant, member of the faculty of Brabant. The latter recognises revelation, but in spite of it, reason maintains about the same position as in the system of Averroes. The problems

which Islam philosophers have introduced into the Christian world never ceased to provoke new controversies, and led finally to the establishment of a declaration of Independence of the sciences. While thus Aristotle, the ideal of Averroes, ceased to be the norm of worldly wisdom, the scientific idea, which after all was the potent factor of the original Aristotle, was re-instituted in its full rights and is to-day fully recognised by our naturalists in their researches.

The picture which T. J. de Boer gives is, considering the enormous extent of the subject, brief and may be regarded as a mere sketch; but it is well done and will be welcome to all those who are interested in a comprehension of philosophical thought.

P. C.

THE ARITHMETIC PRIMER. An Independent Number Book Designed to Precede any Series of Arithmetics. By *Frank H. Hall*, Author of "The Arithmetic Readers," "The Arithmetic of the Farm and Work-Shop," "The Werner Arithmetics," "The Hall Arithmetics," and a Monograph entitled, "Arithmetic: How to Teach It." New York, Chicago, and Boston: Werner School Book Co. 1901. Pages, xx, 108. Price, cloth, 25 cents.

Mr. Frank H. Hall has produced an admirable book in his little *Arithmetic Primer*, which may be described as a parent's and teacher's manual designed for oral instruction in first and second grade work. In his selection and adoption of the best features of the leading American and European systems of arithmetical instruction he has preserved in our judgment a balance that is nothing less than commendable, and in both its psychological foundations and its technical development his method leaves but little to be desired. It is natural and practical and should certainly not fail of efficiency.

The precise form which a book of this character takes is largely a matter of taste; so long as they are typical, the details are in a sense indifferent; and the wealth of illustrative material employed and the consequent outcome of the work must depend after all on the ability and the resources of the individual teacher; where the latter are lacking even the best method can produce only tolerable results. The full resources of paper-cutting and folding, of constructive work, and notably of the simple mathematical recreations, have in our judgment not been fully exploited even in our best elementary works; and the monotony and banality of the usual subjects of exercises of these books are still to be greatly reduced by taking more advantage of such devices. To do everything in any one book is, however, impossible; it would sacrifice brevity and simplicity, which are the chief aims, and obscure the purpose of the instruction. Most of this, therefore, must be left to individual initiative. It is sufficient to have indicated possibilities; and this, in the main, Mr. Hall has done. We wish that every parent and teacher whose ideas need forming and enlightenment on this subject could read Mr. Hall's introductory chapter and apply the spirit of his method. His advice will be found to be both intelligible and helpful, and the instructional technique of the book easily mastered.

T. J. McC.

HELEN KELLER SOUVENIR, Commemorating the Harvard Final Examination for Admission to Radcliffe College, June 29-30, 1899.—Volta Bureau, Washington City.

Helen Keller has of late been very prominently before the public, not only because her having been deprived since childhood of the senses of both hearing and sight and of the faculty of speech has elicited general sympathy, but also because

her successful education, which to a great extent has compensated for the deficiencies of her physical equipment, appeals to the sense of the marvellous and has become a source of wonderful stories concerning her accomplishments. The volume before us, commemorating her final examination at Harvard, is apt to set the public aright concerning the true state of affairs. One of her teachers, Miss Sullivan, says: "Helen Keller is neither a phenomenal child, an intellectual prodigy, nor an extraordinary genius, but simply a very bright and loving child, unmarred by self-consciousness or any taint of evil." On the one hand, the marvellous capacities of Helen Keller have been greatly exaggerated, and on the other hand due credit is to be given to her teachers as well as to her own energy in accomplishing the extraordinary feat of passing an examination for admission to college. Whatever assistance she may have had through the leniency of her examiners, and the probable assistance of her interpreter, much of which must naturally have been unconscious, the fact itself shows an unusual perseverance in this extraordinary blind and deaf-mute girl; and the world will not favor her with less sympathy if on a closer examination it is shown that her case cannot be utilised for mysterious revelations concerning the occult powers of the soul.

The secret of how it was possible for her to accomplish so much is explained when we learn her teacher's method, which was that of making her learn the use of language and all else she knew by contact with life. "Out of the needs of life, out of its experiences, its joys and sorrows, its dreams and realities, Helen Keller has learned what she knows now." By living "in the constant society of seeing and hearing persons," by being "taught in classes of normal pupils," she has acquired the necessary means to continue her studies at the college. It is perhaps natural that she should do "good work in arithmetic," while "mathematics is not her favorite study." It is interesting to glance over the collection of English words which gave her some trouble in her examination.

The book is elegantly got up in quarto, bound in blue with gilt top, and contains very good pictures of Helen Keller and her teachers, Miss Annie M. Sullivan and Mr. Merton S. Keith, and also a picture representing a lesson with Miss Sullivan.

P. C.

THE NEW STORY OF THE BIBLE. By *William A. Leonard* (Author of "The Story of the Book of Common Prayer," "The History of Music in the Western Church," etc.). Issued by the Rationalist Press Association, Ltd. London: Watts & Co., 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street. 1901. Pages, 102.

The present pamphlet undertakes to popularise the higher criticism of the Bible and to expound its results in the interests of freethought. The little volume is written in a lively style, but is not free from partisan acrimony, sometimes exaggerating, sometimes laying stress on unessential points, and its tenor may prove irritating to many. Upon the whole, however, the book is serviceable, and most of its statements are reliable. The book would be more welcome if it did not suffer from a lack of systematic arrangement of the subject, there being no table of contents and only a sporadic subdivision of the material under discussion.

P. C.

Reference was made in *The Open Court* of last year to the projected publication of a French bi-monthly review devoted to the synthetic presentation of historical research, which would afford a philosophic summary of the work which has been done in all departments of history and furnish a programme of the work which remains to be done in the future. Its efforts were to have been directed to-

ward unity of thought and endeavor in the field of historical research and to the seeking out of central and dominant philosophical points of view. We have now before us the first numbers of this review, the *Revue de synthèse historique*, and to judge from the character of the articles and the standing of the contributors, the editor, M. Henri Berr, is in a fair way toward accomplishing the ideal task which he had set himself. We find in these numbers an article by M. Émile Boutroux, of the Institute of France, on some philosophical questions, and one by Prof. Karl Lamprecht, of the University of Berlin, on historical methods in Germany; discussions on the science of history between M. Xénopol and M. Paul Lacombe; studies of the historians, Niebuhr, Ranke, Sybel, and Mommsen, by M. A. Bosseret; an appreciation of Pascal by the editor; a study of Nietzsche, by M. Henri Lichtenberger; sociological and socio-psychological studies by M. Émile Durkheim and M. Paul Lorquet, etc., etc.; apart from notes, reviews, and discussions. A very valuable auxiliary feature of the magazine is its comparative summaries of the histories of literature, art, music, and science. For example, French literature has been treated by M. Gustave Lanson; Greek literature by M. Maurice Croiset; the music of the Middle Ages by M. Jules Combarieu; ancient music, by M. Louis Laloy; the history of China, by M. Ed. Chavannes; that of Hungary by J. Kont; the art of the Middle Ages by Émile Male; the history of mathematics by M. Paul Tannery; and the history of physics by A. Lalande. (Paris: Librairie Léopold Cerf, 12, rue Sainte-Anne. Price per annum, 17 francs.)

Dr. Rudolf Tombo, of Columbia University, has recently rendered into English the essay of Gustav Ruemelin, the well-known South German publicist and late Chancellor of the University of Tübingen, on *Politics and the Moral Law*. Ruemelin's *Essays and Addresses* and his studies of Shakespeare are justly celebrated in Germany, and the reproduction of a specimen of his labors in the present little volume is a distinct contribution to our literature. The translation has been carefully and skilfully made, and a valuable introduction supplied by Mr. Frederick W. Holls, member of the Peace Conference for the United States of America and author of a work on the proceedings and outcome of the Conference. The present political situation in America is such in Mr. Holl's opinion as to have made a recurrence to first ethical principles imperative; and he believes that Ruemelin's essay is as complete and healthful a presentation of the difficult subject of the relationship of morals to politics as can well be compressed within limits calculated to attract, not so much the theorist and philosopher, as the busy man of affairs. He regards it, in fact, "as a notable and important contribution to a branch of the science of ethics of which the literature in the English language is admittedly meager." (New York: The Macmillan Co. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pages, 125. Price, 75 cents.)

The American Literary Index for the Year 1900 has just appeared. The titles and names of authors of all articles in the leading American and English periodicals, with references to essays, book chapters, etc., are catalogued in this valuable volume, which in addition contains a list of the bibliographies of the year, of authors who died in 1900, and an index to the dates of the principal events of the same year. The book is absolutely indispensable to libraries, editorial offices, and even to individual students who are under the necessity of consulting the current literature of the department of inquiry. (New York: Office of the *Publishers' Weekly*. 1901. Pages, 258.)

M. Lucien Arréat, the well-known French critic and correspondent of *The Monist*, in a recent small volume, *Dix années de philosophie*, summarises in an admirable manner the results of French philosophical thought in the last decade. Students of sociology, psychology, æsthetics, ethics, and religion will, with the help of this book, be able in a few brief hours to gain a clear conception of the work now being done in all these departments in France. (Paris: Félix Alcan, 108 Boulevard Saint-Germain. 1901. Pages, 184. Price, 2 fr. 50.)

The second edition of M. Paul Janet's philosophical works of Leibnitz, with introduction and notes, has recently appeared. Besides the *New Essays on the Human Understanding* and the *Theodicy*, many minor treatises of Leibnitz and much of his philosophical correspondence have been incorporated in the present edition. (Paris: Félix Alcan, 108 Boulevard Saint-Germain. 1900. Pages, Vol. I., xxviii, 820; Vol. II., 603. Price, 2 vols., 20 francs.)

NOTES.

Mrs. Frances Trumbull, widow of the late Gen. M. M. Trumbull, one of the most eminent of the contributors to *The Open Court*, and author of *Wheelbarrow*, died at her residence in Chicago, June 17, 1901.

The Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania, which is the oldest in this country, is proposing to erect the most complete and extensive laboratories of either Europe or the United States. An appropriation of \$500,000 has been set aside for this purpose.

The Harvard Summer School of Theology will go in session July 2, and continue till July 19, 1901. The central theme of discussion will be the Minister's Relation to Social Questions, which will be treated by eminent speakers from the most varied points of view. Intellectually and æsthetically no more agreeable summer sojourn is conceivable than a fortnight amid the classic shades of Cambridge, our oldest and largest American university.

There is a new computing machine in the market which recommends itself in comparison with other machines in the same line, by its small size. It is Goldman's Arithmachine, built on the system of an infinite chain. The figures are worked with a curved stylus, and the result is transferred to a slit at the top of the machine. It is only about one pound in weight, and $4\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size. One can carry it like a notebook in the pocket. It is first of all an addition machine, but multiplication, division, raising to powers and extracting of roots can be done with it; and the inventor has devised some ingenious tricks by which these more complicated functions can be performed with comparative ease. These devices are explained in an instructive little book which is sold with the arithmachine. (The International Arithmachine Co., Chicago.)



THE ANANDA TEMPLE.

Greatest of the Burmese temples at Pagan, in four styles of architecture,
Greek and Buddhistic. Eleventh century.

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A PLACE FOR OUR EX-PRESIDENTS.

BY THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

UNDOUBTEDLY the American people would be glad to make some appropriate provision for all surviving Ex-Presidents of the United States, and the present seems a favorable time for the agitation of this matter. It is therefore respectfully urged that without distinction of party but as a patriotic service, an amendment to the National Constitution be adopted without unnecessary delay, and submitted to the several States for ratification, providing that all such Ex-Presidents shall be *ex-officio* Honorary Members for life of the Senate of the United States, with all the rights, privileges, immunities, and compensation of a Senator, except that such honorary members shall not vote upon any question. Of course the voting power of the Senate would not be disturbed by the proposed change.

Such an amendment would secure to the country the benefit of the experience and wisdom of the Ex-Presidents and would give them an honorable and dignified position in which, there is no doubt, they would be glad to continue to serve the people.

The advantages of such a course are so obvious and so many, and the absence of grounds for objection is so noteworthy that it seems as though little argument or effort would be required to carry this suggestion into full effect. Indeed, there is no good reason why the State legislatures should not have the amendment before them for action next winter.

It would require a vote of two-thirds of each House of Congress to pass the proposed amendment; and a ratification by three-fourths of the States to make it a part of the Constitution. May we not hope that the next session of Congress will be distinguished by the adoption of the proposed amendment?

THE LEGENDS OF GENESIS.

BY H. GUNKEL.

[CONTINUED.]

METHODS OF THE NARRATOR.

WHAT means do the narrators use for the representation of the character of their heroes? The modern artist is very apt to explain in extended descriptions the thoughts and feelings of his personages. When one turns from such a modern story-teller to the study of Genesis, one is astonished to find in it so few utterances regarding the inner life of the heroes. Only rarely are the thoughts of even a leading personage expressly told, as in the case of the woman when she was looking desirously at the tree of knowledge, or of Noah, when he sent forth the birds "to see whether the waters were dried up off the earth," or the thoughts of Lot's sons-in-law, who judged that their father-in-law was jesting; the thoughts of Isaac, who feared at Gerar that he might be robbed of his wife (xxvi. 7); or the cunning thoughts with which Jacob proposed to evade the revenge of his brother Esau (xxxii. 9), and so on. But how brief and unsatisfactory even this appears compared with the psychological descriptions of modern writers!

And even such examples as these are not the rule in the legends of Genesis. On the contrary, the narrator is usually content with a very brief hint, such as, "He grew wroth" (iv. 5; xxx. 2; xxxi. 36; xxxiv. 7; xxxix. 19; xl. 2), or, "He was afraid" (xxvi. 7; xxviii. 17; xxxii. 8), "He was comforted" (xxiv. 16), "He loved her" (xxiv. 67; xxix. 18; xxx. 3; xxxvii. 3), "She became jealous" (xxx. 1), "He was filled with fear" (xxvii. 33), "He eyed him with hatred" (xxvii. 41; xxxvii. 4), and elsewhere. But even these brief hints are far from frequent; on the contrary, we find very often not the slightest expression regarding the thoughts and feelings of the person concerned, and this in situations where we

cannot avoid a certain surprise at the absence of such expressions. The narrator tells us nothing of the reasons why God forbade man to partake of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, nor of the reasons of the serpent for wishing to seduce mankind. He says nothing of the feelings with which Abraham left his home, or Noah entered the ark. We do not learn that Noah was angry at Canaan's shamelessness, that Jacob was disappointed when Laban cheated him with Leah, that Hagar was glad when she received the promise that Ishmael should become a great nation; we are not even told that mothers rejoice when they hold their firstborn son in their arms. Particularly striking is the case of the story of the sacrifice of Isaac: what modern writer would fail under such circumstances to portray the spiritual state of Abraham when his religious devotion wins the hard victory over his parental love, and when his sadness is finally turned into rejoicing!

THOUGHT EXPRESSED BY ACTIONS.

Now what is the reason for this strange proceeding? We can find it in an instance like that of xix. 27 ff. In sight of the city of Sodom Abraham had heard certain remarkable utterances from the three men; they had said that they were going down to Sodom to examine into the guilt of the city. This strange remark he let run in his head; in the morning of the following day he arose and went to the same place to see whether anything had happened in Sodom during the night. And in fact, he sees in the valley below a smoke, whence he must infer that something has taken place; but this smoke hides the region, and he cannot make out what has happened. For the story-teller this little scene is plainly not of interest because of the thing that happens, but because of the thoughts which Abraham must have thought, and yet he does not tell us what these thoughts were. He merely reports to us the outward incidents, and we are obliged to supply the really important point ourselves. This story-teller, then, has an eye for the soul-life of his hero, but he cannot conceive these inward processes with sufficient clearness to express them in definite words.

This is a typical instance for Genesis. In very many situations where the modern writer would expect a psychological analysis, the primitive story-teller simply presents an action. The spiritual state of the man and woman in Paradise and after the Fall is not analysed, but a single objective touch is given by which we may recognise it. The narrator says nothing of the thoughts of Adam when the woman handed him the forbidden fruit, but merely, that

he ate it; he does not discourse to us on Abraham's hospitable disposition, but he tells us how he entertained the three men. He does not say that Shem and Japhet felt chastely and respectfully, but he has them act chastely and respectfully; not that Joseph had compassion upon his brethren, but that he turned away and wept (xlii. 24; xliii. 30); not that Hagar, when mistreated by Sarah, felt offended in the depths of her maternal pride, but that she ran away from her mistress (xvi. 6); not that Laban was dazzled by the gold of the stranger, but that he made haste to invite him (xxiv. 30); not that obedience to God triumphed in Abraham over parental love, but that he arose straightway (xxii. 3); not that Tamar remained faithful to her husband even beyond the grave, but that she took measures to rear up children from his seed (xxxviii).

From all this we see on what the story-teller laid the chief emphasis. He does not share the modern point of view that the most interesting and worthy theme for art is the soul-life of man; his childlike taste is fondest of the outward, objective facts. And in this line his achievements are excellent. He has an extraordinary faculty for selecting just the action which is most characteristic for the state of feeling of his hero. How could filial piety be better represented than in the story of Shem and Japhet? Or mother-love better than by the behavior of Hagar? She gave her son to drink—we are not told that she herself drank! How could hospitality be better depicted than in the actions of Abraham at Hebron? And there is nothing less than genius in the simple manner in which the innocence and the consciousness of the first men is illustrated by their nakedness and their clothing. These simple artists had not learned how to reflect; but they were masters of observation. It is chiefly this admirable art of indirectly depicting men through their actions which makes the legends so vivid. Little as these primitive men could talk about their soul-life, we gain the impression that they are letting us look into the very hearts of their heroes. These figures live before our eyes, and hence the modern reader, charmed by the luminous clearness of these old legends, is quite willing to forget their defects.

SOUL-LIFE NOT IGNORED.

But even when the story-teller said nothing of the soul-life of his heroes, his hearer did not entirely fail to catch an impression of it. We must recall at this point that we are dealing with orally

recited stories. Between narrator and hearer there is another link than that of words; the tone of the voice talks, the expression of the face or the gestures of the narrator. Joy and grief, love, anger, jealousy, hatred, emotion, and all the other moods of his heroes, shared by the narrator, were thus imparted to his hearers without the utterance of a word.

Modern exegesis is called to the task of reading between the lines the spiritual life which the narrator did not expressly utter. This is not always such a simple matter. We have in some cases gotten out of touch with the emotions of older times and the expressions for them. Why, for instance, did Rebecca veil herself when she caught sight of Isaac? (xxiv. 25). Why did the daughters of Lot go in unto him? Why did Tamar desire offspring of Judah? (xxxvii.) What is the connexion of the awakening modesty of the first men and their sin? In such cases exegesis has often gone far astray by taking modern motives and points of view for granted.

A further medium of expression for the spiritual life of the personages is articulate speech. Words are not, it is true, so vivid as actions, but to make up for this they can the better reveal the inner life of the personages. The early story-tellers were masters in the art of finding words that suit the mood of the speakers: thus the malice of the cunning serpent is expressed in words, as well as the guilelessness of the childlike woman, Sarah's jealousy of her slave as well as the conciliatoriness of Abraham (xvi. 6), the righteous wrath of Abimelech (xx. 9), the caution of the shrewd Jacob (xxxii. 9), and the bitter lament of Esau (xxvii. 36) and of Laban (xxxi. 43) when deceived by Jacob. Notable masterpieces of the portrayal of character in words are the temptation of the first couple and the conversation between Abraham and Isaac on the way to the mount of sacrifice.

LACONISM OF THE LEGEND WRITERS.

But even in this connexion we find many things to surprise us. First of all, that the personages of Genesis often fail to speak where the modern writer would surely have them do so, and where the very nature of the case seems to require it. We may well imagine that Joseph complained aloud when he was cast into the pit and carried away to Egypt (cp. also xlii. 21), that the murder of Abel was preceded by a dispute, that Hagar left Abraham's house complaining and weeping that Abraham had put her away (xxi. 14); but there is nothing of the kind. The first couple do not utter a

word of reply when God pronounces his curse upon their future: they do not even indulge in self-accusations; not a word does Rebecca say in chapter xxvi., nor Noah during the Deluge, nor Abraham in chapter xviii. when a son is promised him or when he is commanded to sacrifice Isaac; neither does Hagar when she sees her child dying, nor later when God heard the weeping of Ishmael. One who examined these references might easily conclude that the personages of Genesis were intended to be portrayed as taciturn and even secretive; he would find the only talkative individual to be—God.

But if we go more deeply into these legends, we perceive that this extraordinary laconism is part of the style of the narrator. The narrators subordinated everything to the action. They introduced only such speeches as really advanced the action. Hence especially they avoided giving utterance to the feelings of the merely passive personages. Whether Joseph complains or keeps silence, when his brethren sell him, makes no difference with his destiny. What words were spoken by Abraham and Noah when they received the commands of God makes no difference; suffice it, they obeyed. The destiny of the first family is fixed when God has cursed them; no self-reproaches will help the matter. Or, what do we care about the dispute that preceded the murder of Abel, since we know the reason which prompted Cain's deed! And it appears perfectly natural that men should make no reply to the promises of God, as is usually the case; for what can man add when God has spoken?

The other side of this strangely laconic method is that the remarks which the narrator does introduce are an essential part of the narrative. The conversation between the serpent and the woman is to show how it came about that the forbidden fruit was eaten. Cain pours forth his guilt-laden heart before God, and as a result modifies his sentence. Abraham begs his wife to declare herself his sister; and thus it comes about that she was taken into the harem of Pharaoh (xii. 11 ff.). Abraham gave Lot the choice of going to the east or to the west; hence Lot chose the plain of the Jordan. At Sarah's request Abraham takes Hagar as concubine and at her request he gives her up again. In these cases the words are not idle; on the contrary they are necessary to suggest an inner motive for the action to follow. Especially necessary are the words of cursing and of promise; they are the very climax of the story, up to which all the rest leads. This explains why God is so often represented as speaking in Genesis; for speech is really

the chief medium through which God influences the action in these legends.

In some places the narrators have introduced monologues, the most unconcrete of all forms of speech, when the situation showed that there was no one present to whom the person could have spoken. This is quite commonly the case with God; for to whom should God reveal his most hidden decrees? But in a few cases we can infer (i. 26; ii. 6 f.) an elder form of the account, in which God addressed himself to his celestial associates.

But even in the laconic legends there are speeches which, while they are not exactly necessary, either characterise a person or attempt to give the opinion of the narrator, or which aim at some other point which the narrator wants to make. Many of the speeches in Genesis are exceedingly brief. Recall the lament of Hagar: "I am fleeing before the face of my mistress" (xvi. 8), or the words of the daughters of Lot (xix. 31), of Sarah (xxi. 10), of Abraham (xxi. 24), "I will swear," of Rebecca (xxiv. 18 ff.), of Jacob (xxv. 33), "Swear to me this day," of Isaac (xxvi. 7), "She is my sister," of the shepherds of Gerar (xxvi. 20), "The water is ours," of Isaac's slaves (xxvi. 32), "We have found water," of Laban (xxix. 14), "Yea, thou art my flesh and blood," and so on. Of course, the speeches are not always so brief; they are especially apt to grow longer in the solemn and impressive formulæ of cursing and blessing. But in general we may see in brevity a characteristic mark of a certain type in Genesis.

Even such utterances do not always reveal the ultimate purpose of the actors, and reveal their spiritual life only in an indirect way. Hence the expressions are not always entirely clear for us, and require an especial gift for their interpretation. We are told that God forbade to man the fruit of the tree of life, but his reason for this is not given. What thought was in God's mind when threatening man with immediate death, whereas this result did not actually follow? So, too, we learn that the serpent desires to betray the woman, but not his reason. And even such psychological masterpieces as the story of the temptation are only indirect portrayals of soul-life.

NO NATURE-LOVE IN GENESIS.

Very many of the legends are no less laconic in their descriptions of incidental circumstances. In this respect also there is a great difference between the primitive literary art and that of modern story-tellers. Of course, the ancients have no touch of the in-

timate feeling for the landscape; there is no trace of nature-love in Genesis. The facts that the story of Eden is set among green trees, the story of Hagar in the barren desolation of the wilderness, the story of Joseph in the land of the Nile, affect the course of the story in certain respects, indeed: since the first pair clothe themselves with leaves, and since the desert is a place where one can get lost, and where there is no water. But these facts in no wise affect the mood or sentiment of the action.

ECONOMY OF DETAILS.

But aside from this intimate feeling for the life of nature, which was foreign to the primitive man, how easy it would have been to give a description of Paradise! What modern poet would have missed the opportunity! But the early story-tellers were content to say that there were beautiful trees there, and the source of mighty rivers. It is a piece of the same method that the narrator does not tell us with what weapon Cain slew Abel; he tells us merely that Noah planted vines and then that he drank of the wine, omitting the intervening steps of picking and pressing the grapes; he no more tells us how the contempt of Hagar was expressed (xvi. 4) than how Sarah took her revenge. We are wont to admire the circumstantiality of the narratives, and justly, but this by no means implies that the legends abound in striking and highly concrete touches: on the contrary, they present on the whole not an abundance, but a paucity, of concrete elements; but the little that we have is so judiciously selected that we are warranted in seeking for a purpose in almost every minute feature.

This economy of circumstantial details is the more striking because alongside such lightly sketched features, and especially in the more detailed narratives, there are often very minute descriptions. Thus, for instance, the meal that Abraham serves to the three men is described in detail, while the meal of Lot is but briefly sketched. For the purpose of exegesis it is very suggestive to keep this question constantly in mind, to observe the brief and detailed treatments, and to consider everywhere the interest of the narrator. In general this will warrant the conclusion that the narrator portrays the principal events concretely, while merely hinting at or omitting those which are incidental to the action: thus, for instance, in the story of the sacrifice of Isaac the three days' journey is covered at a bound, while the short passage to the place of sacrifice is described in all detail. The narrator is quite arbitrary in the matter. Similarly the experiences of Abraham's ser-

vant on the day when he sued for the hand of Rebecca are reported very minutely, while all the days consumed in the journey to the city of Nahor are disposed of in a breath.

This emphasis laid upon the action is seen also in the manner of the conclusion of the narrative. The legends stop promptly when they have attained the desired object, not with a gradual cadence, but with a sudden jerk. This observation also is important for exegesis. The point just before the close is recognised as the climax by the narrator. Yet there are here two varieties of conclusion: the customary sort follows the climax with a short sentence (the type is the sacrifice of Isaac); the less common, and plainly more impressive, closes with a pathetic address (the curse of Noah is here the type).

UNITY AND COHERENCE OF PARTS.

From the above observations we conclude that everything is subordinated in the primitive legends to the action. In other literatures there are narratives in which the action is merely a garb or a thread, while the chief concern is the psychologic study, the brilliant conversation, or the idea; but not so with the primitive Hebrew legend. The primitive man demanded from his storyteller first of all action; he demands that something shall happen in the story to please his eye. But the first essential in such a story is to him its inner unity; the narrator must furnish him a connected series of events each necessarily dependent on the preceding. One of the chief charms of the early legend is just this: to show how one thing resulted from another. The more plausible and necessary this connexion appears, the more attractive seems the whole story. A famine forces Abraham to go to Egypt; but he is afraid of being killed there on account of his beautiful wife. *Therefore* he reports his wife to be his sister. Deceived by this Pharaoh takes Sarah and makes presents to Abraham. *Therefore* God punished Pharaoh. *In consequence of this* Pharaoh releases Sarah but permits Abraham to retain the presents.—Sarah has no children, but desires them. *Therefore* she gives her maid to Abraham as concubine. *Thus* Hagar conceives of Abraham. *Hence* Hagar despised her mistress. *This* offends the proud Sarah most deeply. *Therefore* she causes Abraham to restore Hagar to her, and mistreats her. *As a result* Hagar flees into the desert. *Here* God has compassion on her and promises her a son.

Observe how in such cases each successive member is linked to the preceding one; how each preceding member appears as the

natural cause or at least the antecedent of the succeeding one. We are in the habit, following a sort of tradition, of calling this kind of narrative childish; but in so doing we are only partially right.

These narratives, then, are exceedingly tense in their connexion. The narrators do not like digressions, but press with all their energy toward the mark. Hence they avoid if possible the introduction of new features in a given story, but seek an uninterrupted connexion. Rarely indeed are new assumptions introduced, but good style demands the announcement of all assumptions as near the beginning as possible. In pursuit of this method it is considered permissible to skip over the necessary consequences of what has been told, provided only that those features stand forth which are essential to the continuation of the action. There must be nothing too much, and nothing too little. The narrator does not spring aside; but the hearer also must not be allowed to spring aside: the narrator holds fast to him so that he can think only what the narrator wants to have him think.

VARIATIONS ON A GIVEN THEME.

Many of the legends are fond of varying a given motive. Consider how the story of Eden makes everything dependent on the nakedness and the clothing of man, and how the relation of "field" and "field-tiller" (this is the etymology of the Hebrew word here used for "man") pervades this whole legend; how the story of Joseph's sale into Egypt treats the coat-sleeve (coat of many colors) and the dreams; how the story of Jacob's last testament (xlvi. 29 ff.) constantly connects his actions with his bed: in praying he bows at the head of the bed, xlvii. 31; in blessing he rises up in bed, xlviii. 2; in dying he stretches himself out upon his bed, xlix. 33 (English version: "gathered up his feet in his bed"), and so on. In this the rule is, quite in opposition to our sense of style, to repeat the expression every time the thing is referred to, so that one and the same word often runs through the story like a red thread. Undoubtedly this custom originated in the poverty of the language; but the narrators of our legends follow it in order to produce an impression of unity and simplicity. Precisely because of this inward connexion in the story it is possible in many places where our received text shows gaps or distortions to recognise the original form of the legend: the text-criticism is in this point very much more positive than in the case of the prophets, the laws and the songs, which lacked this connected condensation.

PLAUSIBILITY DEMANDED.

Furthermore, the course of the action must be probable, highly credible, even unavoidable. Nowhere must the hearer be able to make the objection that what is being told is inconsistent with what has preceded or with itself. Hagar, when elevated to too high station, could not fail to grow haughty; and Sarah could not help feeling offended. True, the probability aimed at by these old story-tellers was different from that of which we speak. Their understanding of nature was different from ours; for instance, they regarded it as entirely credible that all the kinds of animals could get into the ark; furthermore, the way in which they speak of God and his participation in the affairs of the world was simpler than is possible for us of modern times; they regarded it as quite plausible that the serpent should have spoken in primitive times; that Joseph, the grand vizier, should look after the sale of the corn in person.

Hence it would be quite unwarranted to speak of the "arbitrariness" and "childish recklessness" of the legends simply because the assumptions of the narrators are impossible to us in modern times. Only in a very few places can the eye of the modern reader, even though trained for criticism, detect improbabilities. In this line we may ask why Joseph, who was so much attached to his father, failed to communicate with him all the long years. Even after Hagar and her son were once rescued, were not the dangers of the desert sure to recur every day? But the auditor of ancient times doubtless did not ask such questions; he was more willing to surrender to the narrator, and was more easily charmed; he was also more credulous than we are; cp. for instance, xliii. 23.

SUSTAINED INTEREST.

On the other hand, in a well-told legend the incidents are not so simple that one can guess the whole course of events from the first few words; if it were so, the legend would lose its interest. No one cares to hear of things that are self-evident. On the contrary, our story-tellers are dealing with what they regard as a complicated situation, whose final outcome cannot be surveyed in advance by the hearer. This leads him to listen the more intently. Jacob wrestles with a supernatural being; which of the two will conquer? Jacob and Laban are equally gifted in cunning; which

will succeed in deceiving the other? The shrewd but unwarlike Jacob has to meet the dull but physically superior Esau: how will he manage him? Abraham has to go down into Egypt, and how will he fare there? Thus all these stories are more or less exciting. The childlike listener holds his breath, and rejoices when the hero finally escapes all the threatening dangers.

The narrators are very fond of contrasts: the child cast out into the desert becomes a mighty people; a poor slave, languishing in prison, becomes the ruler of Egypt with all her abundance. They try if possible to focus these contrasts into a single point: at the moment when Hagar is in utter despair, God takes compassion on her; the very instant when Abraham raises his arm to slay Isaac, he is checked by God. Lot lingers, and Jacob holds the divinity fast until the dawn is at hand: the next moment will surely bring the decision. And where this intense interest is wholly lacking, where there is no complication of interests, there we have no real legend. Thus the account of creation in Genesis i. is scarcely to be called a story; and yet, from v. 2 and 26, as well as from the poetic versions referred to on pages 267-268, and 276 of *The Open Court* for May, we can conjecture a form of the account in which more personages appear and in which the world is created after a conflict of God with Chaos. In like manner, the accounts of Abraham's migration and of his league with Abimelech are not real legends, but only legendary traditions which have originated probably from the decay of earlier and fuller legends.

LEGENDS NOT PURE INVENTION.

As we have seen in the second division of this treatise, the legends are not free inventions of the imagination. On the contrary, a legend adopts and works over certain data which come from reflexion, tradition or observation. These fundamental data have been treated in the preceding pages; our present task is to consider the part taken by the imagination in the development of the legends. With this subject we have reached the very heart of our investigations.

As has been shown above, many of the legends seem intended to answer definite questions. That is, these legends are not the thoughtless play of an imagination acting without other purpose than the search for the beautiful, but they have a specific purpose, a point, which is to instruct. Accordingly, if these narratives are to attain their object they must make this point very clear. They do this in a decided way, so decidedly that even we late-born mod-

erns can see the point clearly, and can infer from it the question answered. The sympathetic reader who has followed the unhappy happy Hagar on her way through the desert will find no word in the whole story more touching than the one which puts an end to all her distress: God hears. But this word contains at the same time the point aimed at, for upon this the narrator wished to build the interpretation of the name Ishmael ("God hears").—Or what word in the legend of the sacrifice of Isaac stamps itself so deeply upon the memory as the affecting word with which Abraham from the depths of his breaking heart quiets the questioning of his unsuspecting child: God will provide! This word, which made God himself a reality, is so emphasised because it answers the question after the etymology of the place (Jeruel).

Other legends reflect historic events or situations, and in such cases it was the duty of the narrator to bring out these references clearly enough to satisfy his well-informed hearer. Thus in the legend of the flight of Hagar the actors are at first mere individuals whose destinies are interesting enough, to be sure, but at the climax, with the words of God regarding Ishmael, the narrator shows that in Ishmael he is treating of a race and its destinies.

Hebrew taste is especially fond of playing about the names of leading heroes and places, even when no etymology is involved. Many of the legends are quite filled with such references to names. Thus the legend of the Deluge plays with the name of Noah (cp. viii. 4, 9, 21), the story of the sacrifice of Isaac with Jeruel (xxii. 8, 12, 13), the story of the meeting of Jacob and Esau with Mahanaim and Penuel (cp. p. 321 in my *Commentary*), and so on. Thus these legends are rich in points and allusions; they are so to speak transparent: even the one who reads them naïvely and simply as beautiful stories finds pleasure in them, but only the one who holds them up against the light of the primitive understanding can catch all their beautiful colors; to him they appear as small but flashing and brilliant works of art. The characteristic feature of the Hebrew popular legends as contrasted with other legends, if we understand the matter, consists in the flashing of these points.

The art of the story-tellers consists in avoiding every suspicion of deliberate purpose at the same time that they give great prominence to their point. With marvellous elegance, with fascinating grace, they manage to reach the goal they have set. They tell a little story so charmingly and with such fidelity to nature that we listen to them all unsuspecting; and all at once, before we expect it, they are at their goal. For instance, the story of Hagar's flight

(xvi.) wishes to explain how Ishmael, although the child of our Abraham, was born in the wilderness: to this end it draws a picture of Abraham's household: it shows how, by an entirely credible series of events, Ishmael's mother while with child was brought to desperation and fled into the wilderness: thence it came that Ishmael is a child of the desert.

In many cases the task of the narrator was very complex: he had to answer a whole series of different questions, or to assimilate a quantity of antecedent presumptions. Thus one variant of the legend of Babel asks the origin of the difference of languages and of the city of Babel, the other wants to know the source of the distribution of races and also of a certain ancient structure. Or again, the story of Abraham at Hebron undertakes to tell not only the origin of the worship at Hebron, but also to explain the birth of Isaac and the choice of his name. Here then the task was to unite the differing elements into unity. And it is just here that the story-tellers show their art. The prime motive furnishes the leading thread of the story; the subordinate motives they spin into a single scene which they introduce into the body of the story with easy grace.

ETYMOLOGIES SUBORDINATE FEATURES.

The etymologies usually constitute such subordinate motives. Thus in the story of the worship at Jeruel a scene is interjected which is to explain the name of the place, "God sees"; but this little scene, the dialogue between Abraham and Isaac, xxii. 7 f., expresses so completely the tone and sentiment of the whole story that we should not be willing to dispense with it even if it had no particular point of its own. In other cases the artists have joined together two leading motives; then they invented a very simple and plausible transition from one to the other: thus the first part of the legend of Hebron presents the establishment of worship there under the guise of the story that Abraham entertained the three divine visitors there; the second portion, which is to account for the birth of Isaac, simply proceeds with the given situation, having the three guests enter into a conversation at table and therein promise Isaac to Abraham. It is the most charming portion of the task of the interpreter of Genesis to search for these matters, and not only, so far as this is possible, to discover the for us oldest meaning of the legends, but also to observe the refinements of artistic composition in the stories.

SUMMARY.

We have to do, then, even in the oldest legends of Genesis, not with aimless, rude stories, tossed off without reflexion, but on the contrary, there is revealed in them a mature, perfected, and very forcible art. The narratives have a very decided style.

Finally attention should be called to the fact that the narrators scarcely ever express a distinct opinion about persons or facts. This constitutes a clear distinction between them and the later legends and histories worked over under the influence of the prophets. Of course the narrators of the early legends had their opinions; they are by no means objective, but rather intensely subjective; and often the real comprehension of the legend lies in our obtaining an impression of this opinion of the narrator. But they almost never gave expression to this opinion: they were not able to reflect clearly on psychological processes. Wherever we do get a more distinct view of such an opinion it is by means of the speeches of the actors which throw some light on what has happened; consider particularly the utterances of Abraham and Abimelech, chapter xx., or the final scene of the story of Laban and Jacob, xxxi. 26 ff. At the same time this suppression of opinions shows most clearly that the narrators, especially the earlier ones, did not care to proclaim general truths. It is true, there are at the basis of many of the legends and more or less distinctly recognisable, certain general truths, as, in the case of the story of the migration of Abraham, a thought of the value of faith, and in the story of Hebron, the thought of the reward of hospitality. But we must not imagine that these narratives aimed primarily at these truths; they do not aim to teach moral truths. With myths, as has been shown at page 270 of the *May Open Court*, this is different, for they aim to answer questions of a general nature.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE TEMPLES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL TREASURES OF BURMA.

BY DR. ALBERT GRÜNWEDEL.¹

OF the many bizarre contradictions that mark the dominant tendencies of the present age, none is more striking than that now presented in the distant Orient. On the one hand, the armies of Europe, equipped with all the machinery of modern military science, may be seen engaged in the systematic destruction of the art and civilisation of the Orient, whilst at the same time peaceable and scholarly countrymen of these vandals may be observed putting forth every effort, employing their utmost ingenuity, and shrinking before no obstacle or sacrifice, to rescue or restore the ruins of the works of art that have been left standing in these countries from precisely similar catastrophies in former centuries. It would almost seem as if this strange and mournful destiny were ordained to impend forever over the creations of humanity. Is it not the acme of irony that almost at the very moment when we are called upon to lament the destruction of so many conspicuous works of Chinese art, the intelligence should reach us from the most distant quarters of Asia of the discovery of highly important relics of extinct civilisations? It is now the ruins of Babylon or Armenia, now cities unearthed from the desert sands of Eastern Turkestan, now the dazzling discoveries of the Pamir plateaus, that excite the wonder of the scholars of Europe, and put before them for solution an endless number of problems on which their ingenuity will be exercised for many generations to come.

Recently the situation has taken an altogether new turn, and one of great significance for the development of Oriental science. The enormous treasures which have been brought to light in remote Eastern Asia are placing new obligations on the patrons of

¹ I take pleasure in thanking my colleague, Dr. Georg Huth, for the valuable assistance he rendered me in the preparation of this article.

Oriental science. Western Asia has been and is now being exploited to the full. Such, however, has not been the case with India, Central and Eastern Asia; and it is now high time that the numerous problems here presented should also be approached with enthusiasm, and above all that more abundant means should be placed at the disposal of investigators for this purpose. The amount needed is not great. In fact, it is far less than is almost daily incurred in the purchase of Greek and Roman antiquities. A comparative statement of the prices regularly paid for classic relics and curios and of the sums necessary for carrying out extensive scientific expeditions in Middle, Eastern, and Southern Asia, would afford an instructive illustration of the neglectful treatment which some branches of knowledge have suffered through the over-indulgence accorded to others. Yet many of the Cinderellas which have been so maltreated would, in the garments which are their natural right, exhibit a beauty that would far outshine and even put to shame the charms of their more richly appareled sisters. Indian archæology is one of the sciences that have been little worked, yet bear within them the promise of rich discoveries. Nevertheless, the researches which have already been carried out in this field have led to discoveries of great significance, of which we shall here mention but the two following :

1. The fact of very general interest that Indian art has been definitely shown to be a continuation of Roman provincial art, and is thus immediately connected with the ramifications of the art of antiquity, in other words that it has played in Further Asia the same part which Byzantine art played with reference to the later Mediæval art of the Orient.

2. The fact, of importance especially for our knowledge of India, that Indian archæology, both directly by inscriptions and indirectly by the style, details, and leading *motifs* of its sculpture, contains important data for determining the chronology of entire historical epochs, for which the *literature* of India, by reason of the utter lack of historical sense so characteristic of the Indian race, contains *no chronological data whatever*.

But if Indian archæology in itself is a greatly neglected department of inquiry, much more so is the art of Further India, although naturally it should be expected that the enormous extent of the monuments of Further India would secure for them above all others a more immediate and general interest. But, while the archæological booty awaiting the systematic exploration of the ruins of the ancient capitals of Cambodia and Siam is something enormous,

yet even these treasures are surpassed by those of Burma, the former vast extent of whose celebrated capital, Pagan, may be inferred to-day from the hundreds of ruined temples which dot the road leading toward Mandalay, and of which many are still so well preserved that worship may be held in them.

EARLY HISTORY OF BURMA.

To be able to appreciate the importance of these monuments for the history of Burma and Further Asia as a whole, we must first take a cursory glance at the political development of the Burmese people, using for our purpose both the native Burmese historical tradition and the parallel narratives of Chinese sources, and taking into account also the data which the ethnography and local history of the adjacent nations furnish. The appellation "Burmese" by which the entire country is known to-day belonged originally to a single tribe only, a member of a larger group of kindred tribes, all of which gradually fell under the leadership and influence of more highly civilised Indian immigrants and gathered ultimately about a centre which became the political and religious (Buddhist) capital of the whole. In their oldest history, the following periods of development are particularly notable:

1. Colonists from Eastern Bengal carried Aryan civilisation into the land and founded the state of Tagaung, on the upper banks of the Irawadi River. The royal family of Tagaung, according to Burmese tradition, was descended from the famous king of Western India, Asoka, of the Maurya dynasty, of the third century before Christ. The destruction of this kingdom followed upon the irruption from the north of hordes of the Shan race.

2. After the destruction of Tagaung, a second kingdom was established at Old Pagan in the immediate vicinity, by Aryan colonists from Western India. After sixteen kings had ruled in this kingdom, a conflict in the reigning family and an invasion of the Shans brought about the dissolution of this realm also.

3. Descendants of the last king of the country found their way to Prome, on the lower banks of the Irawadi River, and founded there also a kingdom.

4. From there colonists proceeded up stream toward the north and founded on the same river, about 483 after Christ, the city of Sriksheṭra, and subsequently in the immediate vicinity of the latter, New Pagan, which gradually absorbed all the Burmese elements on the upper as well as the lower banks of the Irawadi River.

This new and powerful kingdom of Pagan reached its zenith in the reign of the mighty king Ano-ya-hta-so (1010-1052 A. D.), one of the most unique and remarkable personalities that ever occupied a Buddhistic throne. Filled with the idea of uniting *all* forms of Buddhistic religion under a single ruler, he entered into an alliance with all the Buddhistic kings of Western and Further Asia, and requested them to forward to him Buddhistic relics, objects of art and culture, manuscripts, etc., and to render him homage as the overlord of their church and the representative of the purest form of their faith. It was unavoidable under these circumstances that he should have come into violent conflict with some of the foreign Buddhistic princes.

His most embittered enemy was Manuha, the king of the Mon nation, which dwelt on the western coast of Further India, on the Gulf of Martaban, and which had received its culture and political organisation from Dravidian settlers from Southern India. In the capital, Thahton, of this nation lived the Canon of the pure, Southern Buddhistic Church, and it was toward him that the attention and urgent requests of the Burmese king were particularly directed. The ruler of the Mon nation, who had already detected certain worldly ambitions in the spiritual aspirations of Ano-ya-hta-so, refused to deliver into his hands the celebrated and ancient collection of canonical writings in the possession of the Mons. In addition to this, certain ancient and antagonistic national traits stood between the Mons and the Burmese. As it was, a war was inevitable, and it took place in the year 1050. King Manuha was defeated, and carried off a captive with his entire family to Pagan, where to the end of their lives they were compelled to perform the duties of slaves of the temple.

Shortly after, a second expedition was sent out by King Ano-ya-hta-so toward the northeast, for the purpose of securing from Gandarit, a country presumably situated there, certain precious relics, notably the tooth of the founder of Buddhism, which was supposed to be hoarded in this region, and to investigate the nature of the north Buddhistic influence at its very source. He came no farther, however, than Yun-nan, the southwestern-most province of China, where he secured, instead of the desired tooth, a Buddha statue specially consecrated by contact with the holy tooth. King Ano-ya-hta-so sent out his third and last expedition to Ceylon to procure from that country the famed tooth of which he was in search; yet his hopes here also were blasted.

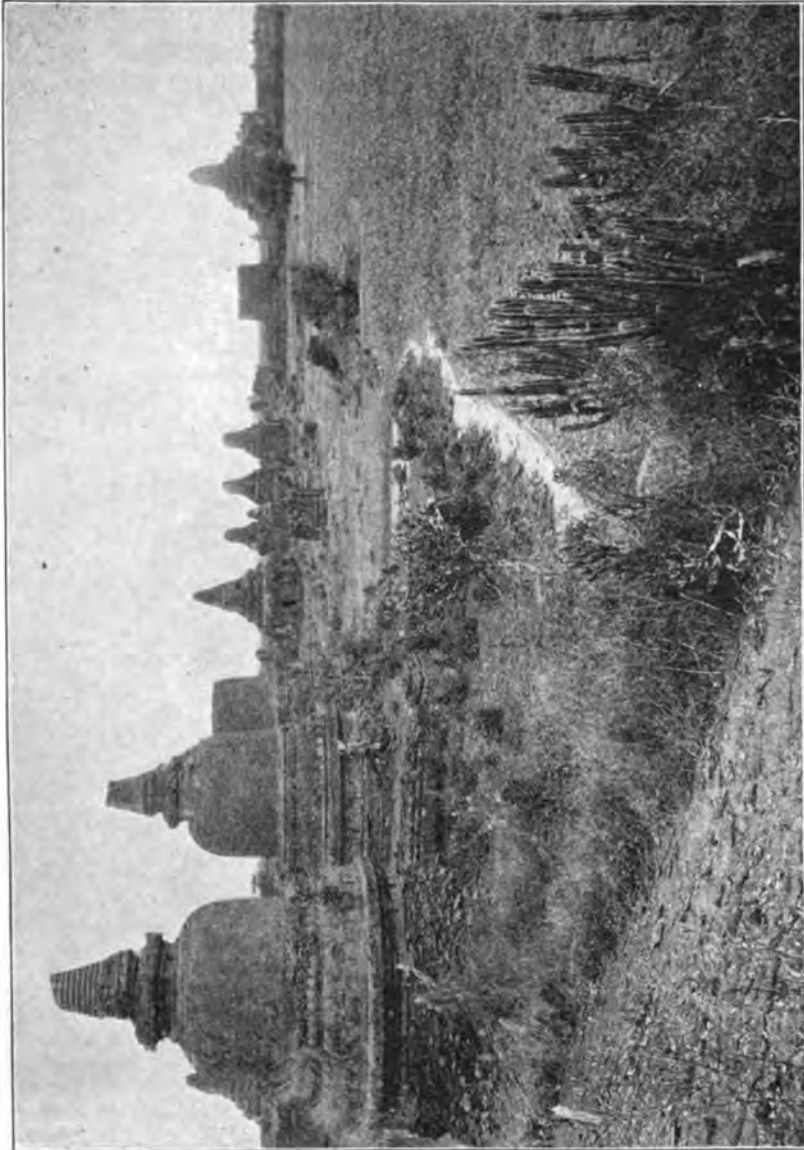
Remarkable is Ano-ya-hta-so's ambition of erecting in his cap-

ital, Pagan, temples in the precise style of architecture of the Buddhist countries from which the numerous precious relics to be stored in them were procured, an aspiration which was likewise zealously cultivated by all his successors. It is owing to this practice of the Burmese rulers that there is now spread before us in that boundless expanse of ruined temples that dot the plains of Pagan, a collection of all the multifarious styles of architecture of all the various countries of Buddhism,—a phenomenon which stands signally alone in the history of religious architecture, and the significance of which is immeasurably enhanced by the fact that the majority of the original structures imitated in the temples of Pagan have vanished from the countries of their origin without leaving so much as a single vestige behind. When we reflect that the dynasty of *Ano-ya-hta-so* occupied the throne of Burma for a single century only (ending with the year 1279), the vast area of temples which they erected, the numbers of which reach into the thousands and some of which are of colossal size, is only calculated to fill us with unbounded amazement, particularly when we learn that the erection of many of these gigantic structures extended through two or three generations of rulers.

Witness is borne to the surpassing splendor and magnificence of many of these structures by the celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, according to whom "golden images of the disciples of Buddha, golden models of the sacred localities of Buddhism, golden images of the fifty-one predecessors of the king of Pagan and of the king himself with his entire family," were among the adornments of the temple of *Manggalachait-yam*, the last to be constructed.

It was inevitable that the erection of so many magnificent temples should have exhausted the financial resources of the state of Pagan, and after the completion of the last temple the proverb became current among the people: "The pagoda is finished and the country ruined." With financial exhaustion in the interior arose political complications without. The expansion policy of the Burmese rulers was a source of endless boundary disputes with China, and after the latter country fell into the hands of the Mongolians it ultimately led to a Chinese invasion of Burma. According to the report of Marco Polo, the horses of the Mongolian cavalry fled precipitately before the elephants of the Burmese warriors; but the Mongolian general commanded his troops to dismount, to tie their horses to trees and to attack the elephants vigorously with arrows.

The elephants having been partly killed and partly put to flight by the wounds they had received, the Mongolians again mounted their

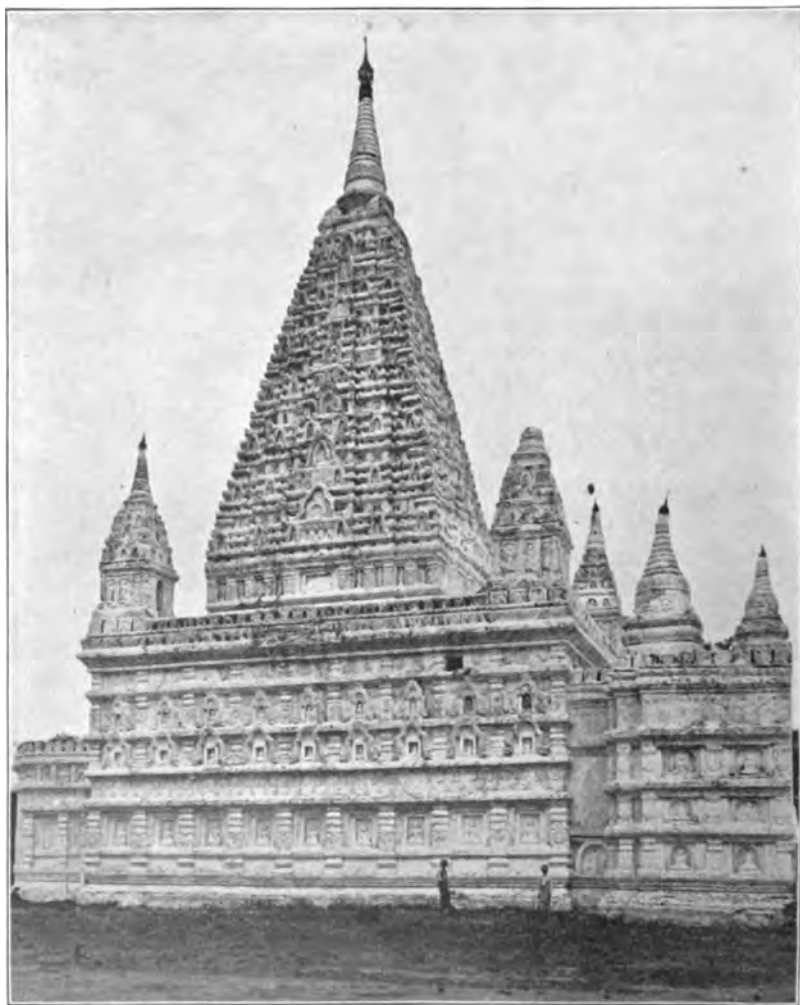


GROUP OF THE MOST ANCIENT OF THE BURMESE STUPAS (Memorial Monuments). Names unknown.

horses and defeated the Burmese with fearful slaughter. Thus, in the year 1279 A. D. the flourishing kingdom of Pagan came to an end.

THE TEMPLES OF PAGAN.

We shall now take a survey of the knowledge which we possess concerning the structures of Pagan. Strange to say, in spite of



BODHI TEMPLE AT PAGAN (Burma). Modelled after the temple of Buddha-Gaya.

their great number and size, and in spite of the fact that they are situated along the road leading to the modern capital of Burma, Mandalay, in sight of nearly all travellers that have visited this

country, they have never received more than cursory mention. The only praiseworthy exception to this neglect is the case of the scholarly editor of the newest edition of Marco Polo's *Travels*, Henry Yule, whose photographic reproduction and plans of the main temple and the district of the ruins, made in 1853, form up to the present day the sole genuinely scientific material at our command. Val-



DOME OF THE ANANDA TEMPLE AT PAGAN. (See frontispiece.)

uable supplements to this material were furnished by Nötling, a member of the Indian Geological Survey, who brought from Burma and presented to the Royal Ethnological Museum at Berlin a collection of photo graphs, glazed ware, and sculptures.

But the greatest advance in the scientific exploration of the ruins in the vicinity of Pagan, which, as we have seen, have re-

mained almost untouched archæologically, was made by the expedition of Herr Thomann, in the year 1899. This expedition brought



VIEW OF A CORRIDOR IN THE ANANDA TEMPLE AT PAGAN.

to light an amazingly large number of important facts. The mere recital of the objects discovered and brought back will give us

some dim conception of the extraordinary value of the collection in question. This collection comprises the following objects:

1. Paper casts of not less than 142 inscriptions containing



SCHWE ZIGON TEMPLE AT PAGAN.

nearly 4500 lines, among them one of 105 lines with an English translation by Burmese scholars and officials.

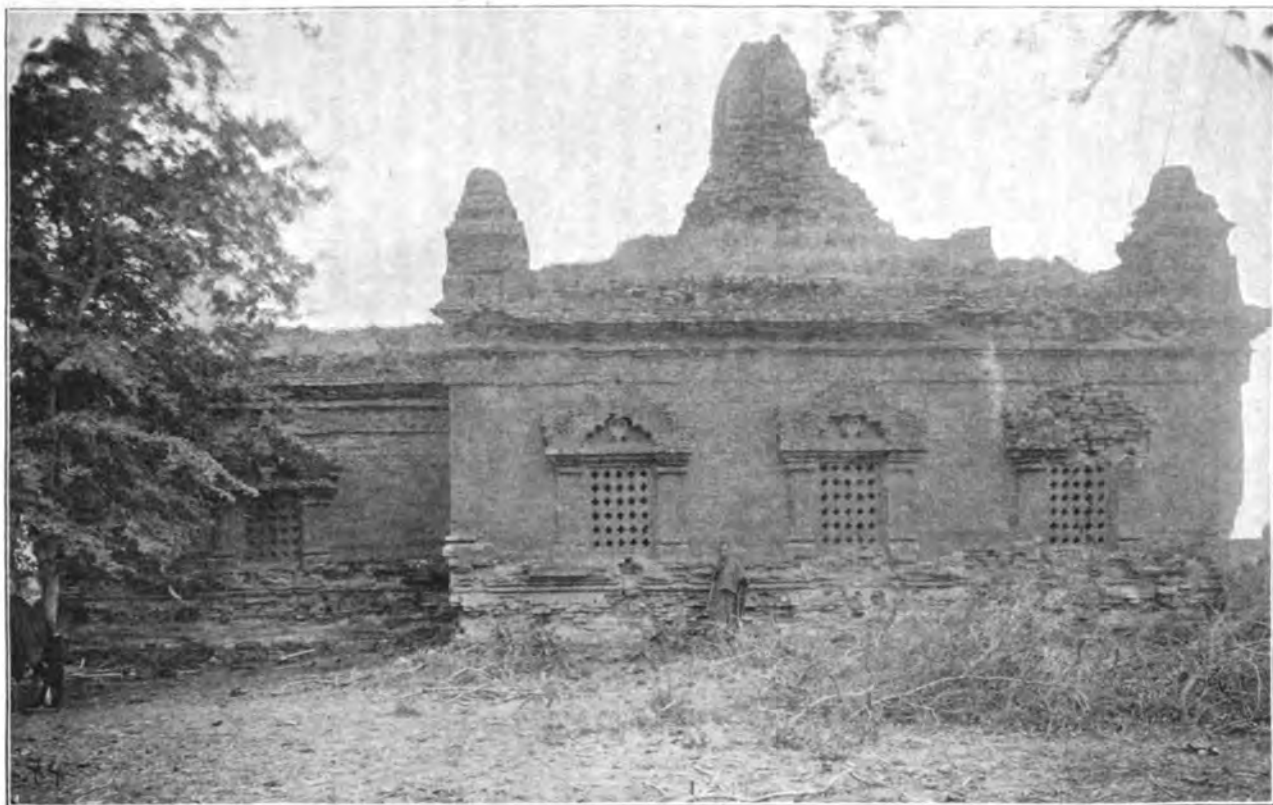
2. Not less than 193 casts of glazed reliefs representing scenes from the former existences of Buddha.

3. Antique original sculptures of stone.
 4. Antique original sculptures of bronze.
 5. Antique original sculptures of wood.
 6. 46 casts of sculptures from a celebrated temple.
 7. Not less than 376 frescoes from five different temples, representing various episodes of the Buddha legend.
 8. Not less than 144 negatives of photographic views of all the large temples and ruins of Pagan, Prome, Rangun, and other localities, of the panorama of Pagan, and finally of numerous native types.
 9. 80 photographs with negatives from one of the most celebrated temples, representing scenes from Buddha's life.
 10. Materials excavated from a Buddhistic stupa (a memorial dome-like structure).
 11. Plans, etc. English translations of several extremely valuable Burmese writings of an important historical character.
- In addition are the following objects of modern origin:
12. Wood carvings.
 13. Artistic and industrial miscellany, paintings on silk, etc.
 14. Weapons, articles of clothing, etc.
 15. Burmese Punch and Judy show.

The great value of the collection consists in the fact that it contains an enormous number of original frescoes and casts of sculptures and glazed reliefs, absolutely all the accessible inscriptions to be found in Pagan (some of enormous extent, partly transcribed into modern Burmese with English translations), numerous important and valuable plans and maps, and finally a number of valuable and hitherto entirely unknown religious, political, and historical documents with English translations. It will be seen that the collection affords material for the investigation of the political, religious, and artistic history of Burma that could scarcely be conceived of higher value from a scientific point of view, or of greater interest to persons of education.

In order to show the extraordinary wealth and comprehensiveness of Thomann's collection, we shall enter more into detail with regard to some parts of it, though of course mentioning only a very few of the numberless large and small temple ruins.

One of the favorite subjects of the representations which adorn the temples is the legend of Buddha's life. Long rows of painted Buddha images are to be seen separated by fantastic decorations, relieved by pictures of worshipping devotees. The different surfaces are separated by painted columns, the architectural styles of



NAM TEMPLE AT PAGAN, BUILT BY THE MON KING, MANUHA.

which reveal Western Indian influence. All of these decorative accessories have been worked out in colors extraordinarily delicate in harmony, the details of which are sometimes very minute; the chief colors are a dull chrome and ochre yellow, a deep brown, delicate light green, and vivid claret. The technique of the fresco is the same in style as that of the European fresco, and reveals some extremely remarkable details into which we cannot enter here. The fact is to be specially remarked, however, that the older a temple is the more perfect the technique of the paintings contained in it. The later pictures, of which one copy is found in the collection, form a marked and almost ludicrous contrast with the old,—a state of affairs which is sufficiently familiar to us from the history of West Indian art. The technical procedure in the production of a painting of this sort is the same as that of the paintings of Hither India, and their details are of great importance for the history of style.

Thomann's collection contains 376 frescoes, of which 265 treat of scenes from the 550 prior existences of Buddha, and have been taken from a temple built in the eleventh century. The legends of the reincarnation of Buddha, the so-called *Jatakas*, are immensely popular subjects and recur again and again in the temples of Pagan. Entire walls are divided into numerous small compartments, each of which contains a representation of a scene from some such *Jataka*, with an appropriate inscription, usually giving: (1) the name of the *Jataka* in the sacred Pâli language of the Southern Buddhists; (2) the personality or form in which Buddha was re-born, in Burmese; and (3) the number of the *Jataka* in the canonical collection of the Southern Buddhist legends. Above the square compartments in which the *Jatakas* are represented, runs a richly decorated frieze extending to the ceiling. Thomann's collection contains nine specimens of such friezes. Whole walls may be constructed from the frescoes and friezes in this collection.

The same legends are represented on the glazed ware which Nötling presented to the Berlin Museum. His collection numbers 100 pieces taken from the temple of Mangalachaityam, which was the last to be constructed. Thomann's collection contains 193 specimens of this work from the Ananda temple, one of the most magnificent structures of Pagan, dating from the eleventh century.¹ This temple is remarkable for its mixed architecture, of which no less than four styles are represented. In the first place, its ground plan represents a Greek cross; it is surrounded by covered corri-

¹ See the Frontispiece to this number of *The Open Court*.

dors massively built, in the outside walls of which niches have been built containing glazed work representing Jataka stories and executed in correspondence with the Northern Buddhistic form of these details, but having inscriptions referring to the Pâli texts of the Southern Buddhists. The details have been unquestionably carried out on the same theories as the frescoes of the Jatakas. This same Ananda temple also contains in one of its inner colonnades, sculptural ornamentations in the shape of eighty large reliefs hewn out of hard volcanic rock, being representations of Buddha's entire life from birth to death. These sculptures show Southern Indian (Deccanese) influence, which constitutes the fourth element of the mixture of styles above referred to. All these reliefs, which are represented in Thomann's collection by photographs, are accompanied with valuable inscriptions in Burmese, of which Thomann is the only one to have made copies, transcriptions, and English translations. The frescoes of Buddha's life found in four temples of the twelfth century also deserve mention; of these, Thomann's collection contains not less than 102, one of which, representing the birth of the Buddha infant in the Lumbini Grove, is especially beautiful.

There is no need of calling special attention to the incalculable value of these various representations of the Jatakas and of Buddha's life, for the iconography of Buddhism. The matter contained in the inscriptions to these frescoes alone sheds a vivid light upon the detailed modes of representation of Buddhistic art in its most varied phases.

The isolated inscriptions are also of great importance. Their value for the ancient religious and political history of Burma has already been emphasised, and we may here call attention to their importance for the history of the temple architecture of Pagan. We have every reason to believe that much valuable information will be obtained from them, relative to the Western models of which the famous structures of Pagan are imitations, and also concerning the relics which they contain.

The great variety of the styles of architecture mentioned above in connexion with our sketch of Burmese history also deserves emphasis. We find in the temples of Pagan the architectural styles of Northern India, of Bengal, and of Southern India, not to mention the Grecian influence noticeable in the plan of the Ananda temple. It is a remarkable fact that one of the structures of Pagan, the Bodhi temple, was constructed in imitation of the celebrated temple of the same name at Buddha-Gaya, the most sacred site of

Buddhism, and we know from a Burmese inscription found in Buddha-Gaya that this latter temple was restored and rebuilt by the same Burmese dynasty that erected the temple at Pagan. Proof of still older relations of Further India with Buddha-Gaya is furnished by the fact that gems taken from the last-mentioned place have been found in Tagaung, the above-mentioned capital of the oldest Burmese state. The presence of terraces in several of the temples of Pagan recalls to mind further the stupendous foundations of the Buddhistic temples of Boro-Bodur on the island of Java.

All the temples of Pagan are built of bricks with the exception of two, which are of stone and quite peculiar in style. The latter are said to have been erected by the Mon king, Manuha, who had been carried to Pagan as a prisoner of war, or rather by his followers, who had been taken captive with him. It is also interesting to learn that Thomann's casts of one of the four main pillars and of one of the corner pillars of one of these two temples have undoubtedly been made in the Northern Indian, or so-called Tantra, style of architecture, as is shown by their representation of three-headed gods with lotus flowers. This also accords with the fact that the capital city of the Mon nation, Thahton (Sanskrit, *Suvarnadvipa*), was the seat of the Tantra Buddhism, that the famous North Buddhistic church father, Atisa, studied in this city, and that the Tantra school of Buddhism still persists in the Nat-cult of the modern Dirmans. One of the two temples in question, the Namphaya, which is still well preserved in all its parts, shows the same style as the ruins of Thahton.

Another point which reveals the high value of Thomann's collection is its wonderful contribution to our knowledge of that dynasty of Pagan which enjoys the distinction of having been the first in history to have united under one dominion all the Burmese races, and by its uninterrupted warfare upon the neighboring nations of Further and Hither India to have created a distinctive, conglomerate civilisation.

Philology also has profited by Thomann's work, for the inscriptions which it contains will contribute greatly to our knowledge of the written and spoken language of the Burmese from the ninth to the thirteenth century after Christ.

Further, the value of Thomann's collection is not limited to the archæology and the religious history of Further India alone, but, as we have seen, also sheds a flood of light upon the history of the development of the religious architecture of Hither India.

The close connexion which is here shown to have existed between the Buddhistic art of Hither and Further India is a strong confirmation of the opinion which has been lately gaining ground that in the artistic development of the different Buddhistic countries of Gandhara and Hither India, Cambodia and Pagan, Eastern Turkestan, China, and Thibet, we are concerned with single stages merely of one great and comprehensive artistic development which is to be conceived as a coherent organic whole, and is to be studied accordingly.

It has frequently been remarked that the artistic products of the Far Orient do not appeal to our æsthetic sense, and consequently exert on us none of that chastened and ennobling influence which the products of Greek antiquity have exercised on European culture ; but it is to be observed that the lack of æsthetic pleasure to be derived from this source is amply recompensed by the immense practical advantage which is bound to result from a careful study of the minutest phases of Asiatic civilisation. Psychologically as well as historically such studies cannot fail to bring about a broader and deeper insight into the character of those nations of the Orient with which modern commercial and industrial development are daily bringing us into more intimate and more various connexion.

THE EXPOSITION AND THE PASSION-PLAY.

BY J. S. STUART GLENNIE.

MORE than one magazine article we have had lately on the Exposition at Paris and on the Passion-Play at Oberammergau, considered separately, but none, I believe, pointing out the instructive light which these wonderfully contrasted spectacles, if both can be recalled, reflect on each other. It chanced, however, that after visiting the Exposition in August I went to Oberammergau in the middle of September for the representation on Sunday the 16th, returning again to Paris towards the end of that month. And an endeavor to supplement what others have said of each of these spectacles by what each appeared to me capable of suggesting with reference to the other, may possibly be not without interest.

I.

Among the recent Oberammergau articles, one in the *Nineteenth Century* dilated on the "vulgarising of the Passion-Play, not in any way by the actors, but by the audience." "From beginning to end," says the author, "a devotional spirit, or even a spirit of reverence, never breathed its softening influence over that crowded house. . . . Perhaps, roughly speaking, there are four hundred people who go to the Play with a devout mind and a reverent intention, and the audience numbers four thousand." No one capable of being duly impressed by the pathos and tragedy of this wonderful dramatising of the whole of the Christian Theory of History, save its later apocalyptic scenes, could, I think, but be struck by the extraordinary little emotional effect produced by this tragic World-Drama on all but, at most, a tenth of the audience. The writer, however, of the article cited does not concern himself with any inquiry into the cause of the present unaffectingness of what might have been anticipated to be the most affecting of all trage-

dies, and it remains to him surprising, or only to be explained by vulgarity of mind. But, coming as I did from the palace-resplendent quays of the Seine to the cottaged banks of the Ammer, the surprise which I shared with Mr. Morant could hardly be more than momentary. And I propose, first, to show how this most remarkable, perhaps, of all the remarkable features of the Passion-Play is illuminated by the Exposition.

The reader, however, may either not have been at Oberammergau, or may have been one of the nine-tenths of cool or even bored play-goers. And in order that he may, in the same degree, realise how very remarkable that modern unaffectedness of the Passion-Play is which we would explain, it may be desirable briefly to recall the character of the scenes which are successively presented from eight in the morning to five in the afternoon, with but an interval for the midday meal. By an admirable artifice the essentials of the whole Christian conception of Man's History from the Fall to the Crucifixion and Resurrection are presented with an unsurpassable dramatic unity. The main dramatic action begins with and derives all its motives from the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem and the incidents therewith connected. But the acts and scenes of this comparatively brief action are interpolated with tableaux of more or less symbolically relevant scenes from Old Testament history interpreted by majestic choruses. Thus the main dramatic action is most artistically presented as no mere martyrdom of one of many heroic sufferers in the cause of Humanity. It is on the contrary presented as—what orthodox Christian theory has universally accounted it—that one supreme Martyrdom, the Martyrdom of the only begotten Son of God Himself, prophesied in all the past, and, in its effects, triumphant in all the future history of mankind.

But in addition to this dramatic presentation of, in its way, the unquestionably sublime conception of the Christian theory of History, there are presented in the course of this great World-Drama not only an extraordinary number of different characters, but an extraordinary number of pathetic incidents. Besides an immense and varied world of lesser characters, there appear statesmen as characteristically distinguished as Pilate and Herod, priests so typically different in the expression of their tyrannic intolerance as Caiaphas and Annas, and traitors so contrasted in their characters, yet both so pitiful in their repentance, as Peter and Judas. And besides the more personal, yet to some, perhaps, more poignantly touching incidents, such as the parting of Christ and His

Mother, there are represented incidents of a more general and profound significance, and perhaps more worthily calculated to excite in men, at least, deep emotion,—the enthusiasm, for instance, of the multitude, even though it was but temporary, for such a character as that of Jesus; His washing of the Disciples' feet; and His prayer from the Cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

With all this we are, of course, familiar from childhood in the narratives of the Evangelists. But nobly played, as it was, with every word of the Christ, and indeed of most of the other chief actors, distinctly heard, vast as was the theatre; with realistically Oriental scenery of streets and houses, etc., staged in the open air; with birds flying overhead, the blue empyrean above all, and actual forest-clad mountains as background of the scenes,—the pathos and the tragedy of, one might almost say, the too familiar incidents might well have been expected to be brought home to the spectators with a purifying and solemnising power. And yet, if one should say that a tenth of the vast assemblage was thus affected, it would be, I think, a too generous estimate.

Here and there, once or twice, there was a blowing of noses, occasioned no doubt by involuntarily tear-filled eyes. But opera-glassed curiosity, critical approval, and, at last, yawning boredom were incomparably more generally evident among the audience than religious or even deep human emotion. Yet this wonderfully composed Drama with which, as a whole, no single nameable author can be credited, has unconsciously complied with all the requirements of Victor Hugo's analysis: "*La foule demande surtout au théâtre des sensations; la femme des émotions; le penseur des méditations; tous veulent un plaisir; mais ceux-ci, le plaisir des yeux; celles-là le plaisir du cœur; les derniers, le plaisir de l'esprit.*" Especially of meditations the Passion-Play might surely be anticipated to be suggestive. I heard, however, no remark afterwards in conversation which testified to anything of the sort,—trivialities only about the impersonation of the Mother of God, etc. Meditations, however, doubtless there were, and one able editor present, an old acquaintance, but undiscovered in the throng, has published his. Christ, he tells us, with what some may think a blasphemous humorousness, personified to him the Boers; Caiaphas, Mr. Chamberlain; Annas, Lord Salisbury; Judas, Mr. Rhodes, Pilate, the European Concert. But such meditations, characteristically ingenious as they are—for not only the greater but all the lesser personages are similarly identified—appear to me to testify,

more even than would no meditations at all, to the loss now by the Passion-Play of any purifying and solemnising power, save on an almost inappreciable minority.

Why and how is it that such a World-Drama—a representation of the theory of Man's history—still professedly believed by all Christians; a Drama alive with varied characters and touching incidents excellently acted and so admirably staged that Madame Patti, who was present on the same 16th of September, declared that she had never seen in any opera house anything better managed than certain of the more crowded scenes,—Why and how is it that, for all that, the most remarkable feature about this World-Drama now is its unaffectingness?

Easily explicable, however, to one who had just come from the Exposition on the Seine appeared that twofold phenomenon of worldly curiosity and sceptical indifference which at first excited surprise, seated amid the witnesses of the Passion-Play on the Ammer. For this last Exposition, a more artistically splendid show than any of its predecessors, was also much more than that. In its Street of the Nations, and generally in the sympathetic impartiality of the immensely varied lesser shows of which the whole was made up, it was a concrete exposition of the New Morality of Internationalism. And it was yet more than that. In its Congresses and Conferences—not merely in the Palais des Congrès and its Sous-sol opening on the terrace along the palace-lined river, but in the Petit Palais of Historical French Art opposite the Grand Palais des Beaux Arts in the Avenue leading to the magnificent Alexander III. Bridge, in the Halls of the Sorbonne on the heights of the Latin Quarter, in those of the Trocadero above the Pont d'Iena, in the neighboring Musée Guimet in the Place d'Iena, and in the Salle Wagram in the Avenue of that name running up to the Arc de Triomphe—there was not only a concrete exposition of the contemporary results of Scientific Research in the universality of its many-sidedness, but some prophetic dawning also of the New Ideal which will yet arise in sun-like splendor as the synthesis of these underworld Results of Research.

And what was the Thought that inspired, and was demonstrated by these many-sided researches? It was the Thought of Evolution as arising from the conflict of forces in the Kosmos itself, and therefore in Mankind as part of the Kosmos; it was the Thought more particularly of Man's History as incomparably longer in its process, and more complex in its elements, than imagined in the Jewish legends which form the basis of that Christian

theory dramatised in the Passion-Play; and it was the Thought of Man's possible Kingship of Nature and Mastership of Fate through ever-increasing knowledge of those conflicts of Natural and Humanital forces whence Evolution, Natural and Humanital, arises. And this various-sided Thought, thus expressed in halls and amid surroundings of such unsurpassedly suggestive instructiveness and stimulating splendor, was no new, and merely tentative, idea; it was a Thought which, in its later, more definite, and hence more verifiable, form has been, for more than forty years, producing revolutionary effects, not only of an affirmative and reconstructive kind among men of Science, but of a negating and destructive kind among hitherto believing Christians; and it was a Thought of whose merely temporary predominance opponents could have no reasonable hope, seeing that the last forty years have been demonstrably the epoch, not by any means of its advent, but rather of its culmination after a history millenniums long, a history of stormful vicissitudes, but of vicissitudes by which, like a sturdy oak, it has only been the deeper rooted, and the more aspiringly invigorated. Such is the atmosphere of Thought in which the Passion-Play is now performed. Can we wonder, therefore, at the mere worldly curiosity and sceptical indifference with which it is now witnessed by nine-tenths of the vast assemblages which, during the decennial season, fashion rather than faith attracts weekly to Oberammergau?

Remarkable it no doubt is—nay, at first, almost astounding—to find nine-tenths of these thousands of assembled Christians unmoved spectators of a realistically presented Passion so momentous as that which accomplished their redemption from the eternal damnation, the furnace of fire that never shall be quenched, the outer darkness, the wailing and gnashing of teeth, in a word, the Hell into which Christ himself again and again asseverated that his angels would cast them that do iniquity.¹ And yet how could anything else be rationally expected when, in consequence of that great movement of Thought to which I have just referred, even a Christian Champion and Conservative Chief finds himself obliged candidly to admit all that the most daring of Biblical and Church History Infidels have ever urged? “When,” says Mr. Balfour,² “we reflect upon the character of the religious books and of the religious organisations through which Christianity has been built up; when we consider the variety in date, in occasion, in author-

¹ Compare Matth. viii. 12; *ibid.*, xi. 41, 42; and Mark ix. 43, 44.

² *Foundations of Belief*, p. 246.

ship, in context, in spiritual development which mark the first, the stormy history and the inevitable division which mark the second; when we further reflect on the number of problems, linguistic, metaphysical, and historical, which must be settled, at least in some preliminary fashion, before either the books or the organisations can be supposed entitled by right of rational proof to the position of infallible guides, we can hardly suppose that we were intended to find in these 'the foundations of our beliefs.'¹ Thus, this Christian champion. And, I ask, "when we reflect upon and consider" this scepticism both as to the Protestant's Bible and the Papist's Church as being, though in a more or less vague and second-hand manner, in the minds of the vast majority of the witnesses of the Passion-Play, can we wonder that, however often the Gospels may tell us that Christ insisted on the reality of Hell, it is not actually believed in by nine-tenths of these professing Christians as being, if a reality at all, either eternal or otherwise very terrible; or wonder that, the Hell preached by Christ, as by modern Salvationists, not being believed in, neither the need nor fact of redemption from it by so stupendous a sacrifice as that of the Son of God Himself is really believed in; or can we wonder, finally, that a Passion presented however dramatically as such an unbelieved-in Atoning Sacrifice, is viewed with cool indifference as but a fine spectacular performance?

Nor, I will add, can we wonder that some at least of the more or less believing tenth, like apparently the writer whom I have first quoted, should regard the indifference of the nine-tenths as insulting and even blasphemous, and should think that this Passion-Play, the fulfilment of a religious vow, and intended to deepen the emotion and strengthen the faith of believers, ought no more to be permitted to be degraded into a source of entertainment for Worldlings, and of profit for Tourist-Agents. For very similar to the Neo-Platonic is our present Neo-Christian Period, and very instructive is the study of the former in relation to the latter. No more than was then the Olympian, is now the Christian mythology literally and unequivocally believed by nine-tenths of professing believers. Hence, just as an occasional revival of the old Mythological Drama would have been in the Neoplatonic Period a source of such entertainment rather than edification as the believing few would have resented as blasphemous, so is it with a similar revival now. And just as was then the New Comedy of love and intrigue,

¹ Or, in Mr. Balfour's more wordy language, "the logical foundations of our system of religious beliefs."

so is the so far similar New Comedy now incomparably more to the public taste than a revival, save very occasional and remotely local, of the old Mythological Tragedy. But only an old Mythological Tragedy is the Passion-Play? It is, indeed, reduced but to *that* by the "philosophic doubt" both as to the Protestant's Bible and the Papist's Church which is the only side of the new movement of Thought which Mr. Balfour, humorously enough, considering his position, appears to have been capable of assimilating. And, the entertaining rather than edifying effect of it testifies, it is but as an old Mythological Tragedy that the Passion-Play is now regarded, not perhaps openly, yet secretly, by nine-tenths of those who make the fashionable pilgrimage to Oberammergau.

II.

And yet, though in full sympathy with, and accepting all the more verified results of, that great movement of European Thought, which is the direct or indirect cause, as I have shown, of the unaffectedness now of the Passion-Play, I was *not* one of the majority thus unaffected. On the contrary, my surprise at the little effect that the great Christian World-Drama appeared to have on others was chiefly due to the powerful effect which it had on myself. But only after it all, in the course of a long night stroll, more or less in the shadow of trees or mountains, but under a frostily brilliant sky a Day of the Universe of surpassing splendor—did I become in some degree articulately conscious of what the thought had been that had subconsciously caused, and that, as I then saw, justified the deep feeling occasioned by the Passion-Play. It was a corollary from that Law of Historical Intellectual Development, discovery of which has, for more than a century and a half, been quested by scientific students of History, and a statement of which, more approximately verifiable, at least, than previous statements, was enunciated at one of the Conferences under the auspices of the Paris International Assembly, or "École Internationale de l'Exposition."¹ But, before stating this corollary, a word or two on the history of the efforts which have been made at discovery of such a Law may be desirable.

Profound has been the contribution of Germany to the discovery of a law of Historical Intellectual Development, and especially in the Philosophies which logically succeeded each other from Kant to Hegel. Yet, not only in chronological priority, but in verifiable definiteness, the contributions of France and Scotland

¹At the Petit Palais, Friday, 21st September.

stand foremost. Great foundations were first laid in France by Bodin (*Methodus*, 1557, and *Res publica*, 1567), Montesquieu (*Esprit des lois*, 1748), and Turgot (*Sur les Progres successifs de l'Esprit Humain*, 1750). Then, in Scotland, came Hume (*Dialogues on Natural Religion*, about 1750, though only posthumously published, and *Natural History of Religion*, 1757), with his contemporaries and friends, Adam Fergusson (*Origin and History of Civil Society*, 1766), Millar (*Origin of Ranks*, 1771), and Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, 1776). The next contemporaneous steps were, first, that theory of the *Begriff* in which Hegel generalised the categories of Kant, and stated that Law of Differentiation and Integration now recognised to be the general form of Evolution; and, secondly, that "Law of the Three Periods" in which Comte formulated the generalisations of Turgot and of Hume. But since then, since 1822, when Comte, as he so often affirms, discovered this "grande loi philosophique,"¹ the results of scientific research bearing on every single problem involved in the real discovery of such a law have been of the most anti-Comtist character. These results of research—in obtaining which Scottish scholars, MacLennan, Robertson Smith, Fraser, etc., have again been prominent—have led to quite new conclusions with respect especially to (1) Primitive, or Relatively Primitive, Conceptions of Nature; to (2) The Origins of Civilisation, and hence of Intellectual Development; and to (3) the stages distinguishable in the history of such Development and of Civilisation. Hence the Law stated at the meeting of the International Assembly at Paris, above referred to, was simply an attempt to generalise these later results of research in their relations to each other. And whether, as thus stated, the Law of Historical Intellectual Development is found fully verifiable or not, the above notes may at least suffice to make it seem probable that such a Law will, sooner or later, be thus verifiably stated.

But, if it should be so, would not a logical deduction from such a Law be the conception of the Intellectual History of Mankind as a sublime, though tragic, struggle, through vicissitudes the most terrible, yet a struggle ever onward to a truer World-Consciousness? Should we not, by such a corollary, be further led to regard this struggle as not so much ours, as the local struggle on this earth-ball, of which the chief flower and fruit is Man,—the local struggle of the Kosmos itself towards truer self-consciousness? And would not such a view so transform all our ideas of Nature, and of History, as to create a New Ideal, a New Religion, and a

¹ See, for instance, *Philosophie positive*, LIV., p. 653, and Appendix to *Politique positive*, LIV.

New Art, no more opposed to, but inspired by, Science? Apply, for instance, to the Passion-Play such a corollary from the discovered Law of Historical Intellectual Development. False as, both in the place given to Hebrew Legends and the connexion therewith of Christian Myths, the theory of Man's History dramatised in the Passion-Play may be recognised to be, will it not, by those who accept a Law of Historical Intellectual Development with such a corollary as suggested, be viewed, as by nine-tenths now, with anything but merely worldly curiosity and sceptical indifference? Will not, on the contrary, all that is sublime in that theory of history, which dogmatic Christianity is, be, from this higher point of view, not seen only, but felt, in all its tragic pathos? And will not, from this higher standpoint, the idealised character of the God-Man: the enthusiastic love and fanatical hate He excited; and, finally, His forgiven Crucifixion, justly disturb with an emotion which, in its purifying and solemnising power, may shame those nine-tenths of professing Christians?

III.

We have thus seen how instructive is the light thrown by the Exposition on the Passion-Play in explaining, not only what is, perhaps, its most remarkable feature, its unaffectingness so far as nine-tenths are concerned, but also how it may come about that those who most fully accept, in their constructive as well as destructive aspects, the results of research set forth at the Congresses of the Exposition, may be profoundly affected by this Christian World-Drama. But no less instructive shall we find the light thrown by the Passion-Play on certain remarkable features of the Exposition. For as definite are the reciprocal variations of Shell and Organism in the human, as in the molluscan, animal. Hence, human clothes generally, and especially Architectures, are involuntarily, and often humorously, expressive, and become, indeed, a physical symbolism which greatly aids the historical student in penetrating to psychical conditions. And looking across the Seine from the river terrace on which opened the Sous-Sol of the Palais des Congrès, the Headquarters of the National Assembly, one was struck with a very significant, though probably quite unintentionally significant, juxtaposition,—up the river, from the Pont de l'Alma to the Pont des Invalides, the "Rue des Nations"; and down the river, from the Pont de l'Alma more than halfway to the Pont d'Jena, the far extending Palaces of the "Armées de Terre et de Mer."

It was to the "Rue des Nations" I went first. Most interesting in themselves, but still more deeply interesting in their effects, were the characteristic exhibitions of the successive National Pavilions. For the effects on the many-nationed visitors to these palaces were manifested in both visible and audible expressions of interest in, and admiration of, what they found—with much surprise in most cases—that other peoples had done, and what other peoples, in capacity and aspiration, were. And I may note by the way that so great was the interest shown in the British Pavilion, that barricades had to be erected to prevent its being altogether overcrowded; and that the remarks I heard among the good-humored crowd as I stood at the barricade were chiefly expressive of admiration, by the women particularly, at the excellent French of the stalwart and helmeted English policeman who was firmly but courteously keeping us back. But to have to pass from the immensely varied but overcrowded scenes witnessing to, at least some initial realisation of what I have ventured to call the New Morality of Internationalism—to have to pass at once from such scenes as these by merely crossing the end of the Pont de l'Alma to such Palaces as those almost equally far-extending along the river as the "Rue des Nations"—Palaces devoted to the exhibition of the weapons of every kind of the "Armées de Terre et de Mer," the most elaborately and ingeniously contrived machines, some of the most gigantic size, for wholesale fratricidal slaughter—to have to pass at once from the "Rue des Nations" to these other, yet immediately adjoining Palaces, struck me as almost demoniacally humorous.

But "accidental" (or what is so-called) though this juxtaposition no doubt was, it was not, on that account, less significant of a very real conflict of Social Forces. The New International Morality to which the Pavilions of the "Rue des Nations" testified is the correlate of that New General Theory of History set forth in the Congresses of the Exposition; and the fratricidal weapons exhibited in the adjoining Palaces belong to the Arsenal of the established General Theory of History. For with the conflict of economic and political forces there goes always a conflict of moral and religious Ideals; the latter, indeed, holding the former together, and inspiring them with whatever conquering power they may possess. Hence, a vibrant concrete symbol of the Ideal inspiring one set of the economic and political forces of a revolutionary conflict will illuminate for us its every manifestation. And such a symbol is the Passion-Play, not only in itself, but in its re-

lations. For, in itself, the Passion-Play is nothing less than a vividly dramatic presentation of what the Creed of Christendom with respect to Man's History and Man's Salvation has been, still is, and, so long as a Christendom exists, will, and must be. And, in its relations, the Passion-Play is especially associated with economic conditions and political institutions menaced by other economic and political forces which are more definitely and enthusiastically inspired by another and incomparably more verifiable theory of Man's History and Man's Salvation.

A profoundly important question is thus suggested. What are the relative strengths of the Historical Theories, and thereon founded Ideals which respectively marshal and inspire the opposing economic and political forces of our revolutionary epoch? If we assume, as probably we justly may, that the Passion-Play, in the Pilgrims it attracts to the banks of the Ammer, accurately enough samples the relative numbers of genuine, and of but ostensible, Christians in Christendom—meaning, of course, by genuine Christians, not merely persons of genuinely good life, but of genuinely orthodox belief—we may be tempted to think that, in Beliefs which the unaffectedness of the Passion-Play showed to be, in the case of nine-tenths, ostensible rather than genuine, there can be but little potency of inspiring with their Ideal one militant side of so terrible an underlying Conflict as that so strikingly indicated by the juxtaposition, on the quays of the Seine, of the Pavilions of the New International Morality and the Palaces of the "Armées de Terre et de Mer." Excusably one may be thus tempted to underestimate the potency of Sham-beliefs. But History—to those at least whose eyes have been duly opened to its facts by practical experience of great movements, political, religious, and social—disillusioningly shows that, even in the greatest of such movements, heroic souls, believing to their inmost core, and even to their defeated death, in what they fight for, are always in a minority; that the majority of those taking part in movements of a heroic character, whether Conservative or Progressive, are individually the reverse of heroic; and that this majority is brought into such movements chiefly by the material bribes with which are backed what would be otherwise the ineffective persuasions of the recruiting-officers of the True Believers.

Now, Christianity is, by hundreds of millions sterling, the wealthiest Institution the World has ever seen. Even suppose, therefore, that nine-tenths of the population of Christendom are, like apparently nine-tenths of the Pilgrims at Oberammergau, but

ostensible believers in the Historical Theory dramatised in the Passion-Play, we should take far too optimistic a view of human nature if we imagined that, on that account—because of their unbelief in the Historical Theory which is the intellectual backbone of Christianity—they are not, save perhaps a small minority of them, enthusiastic adherents and supporters of an Institution possessed of so incalculable a number of posts to appoint to, and incomes to endow with. Thus we may again see what is so tragic, yet so constantly recurring, a feature in Human Conflicts—the little difference in moral character between the heroes of the Conservative and Progressive sides respectively; and the little difference, save in moral character, between the Believers in the new, and the Sham-believers in the old views of Nature and of History. They differ only in the facility which the latter, and the impossibility which the former, find in reconciling themselves, for the sake of goodly loaves and fishes, to equivocations, and prevarications, evasions, reservations, and mystifications as degrading to moral character as they are deadening to intellectual insight. And facility in reconciling consciences to such lies is so general a human characteristic that, though the Passion-Play may show failure of belief now in Christianity as a Religion, it cannot, for such a reason as that, be taken to show any failure of belief in Christianity as an Institution worthy of all possible support.

But the Passion-Play Theory of History and the Ideal thereon founded has a third element of strength. Besides the moral potency of genuine believers, and wealth enough to recruit overwhelming armies of mercenaries, the Christian Theory of History and thereon-founded Ideal is backed by a kind of Authority in accordance with present intellectual and moral conditions. It is no new discovery—though lately put forward as if it were—that Beliefs are, in general, mainly due to Authority defined as the “causes moral, social, and educational, which produce their results by psychic processes other than reasoning.”¹ This is a characteristic which, *pace* Mr. Balfour,² Man shares with all other Social Animals. But Authority, like everything else, has had its history. In the Earlier Ages of Civilisation it was, as it still is where its earlier stages survive, Immemorial Custom; in the Age which may be dated from the Sixth Century B. C., the causes indicated by the term Authority have characteristically been Sacred Books and their Guardian-Interpreters; and, in the New Age, the causes which

¹ Balfour, *Foundations of Belief*, p. 219.

² *Ibid.*, p. 230.

will mainly influence belief will be Laws of Nature and of History discovered and verified by Methods of which the principles approve themselves to all. In our present Age, however, intellectual and moral conditions are such that only exceptionally appreciated is the sufficiency for heart as well as brain of the Laws of Nature and of History, even as already discovered. Generally acceptable, in contemporary conditions of historical ignorance and uninquiring belief, is only the Authority of some Pope, some infallible interpreter of Scriptures. And it is in these conditions that we find the life enshrined of that Passion-Play-Theory of History which is the backbone of Christianity as a Religion.

In comparison with such elements of strength as these—sincere beliefs (of at least a minority), boundless wealth, and appropriate conditions—what elements of strength are there in that other Theory of History, of which either the principles were implied, or the special or general results were expounded, in the Congresses of the Exposition? As the first element of strength in this New Theory we may note its definite historical evolution in a more and more verifiable form. First, there was its early synthetic period which may be associated with the names more particularly of Hume, of Hegel, and of Comte, the period of "Philosophies of History" innumerable, just because facts enough were not as yet known to make possible anything more than suggestive hypotheses. Then, the great analytic period of the last half century, in which a just reaction against General Theories of History as altogether premature has forced the majority of scholars to limit themselves to special departments of research. And now there is the opening of that later synthetic period which marks the history of all great Theories, the period in which (as in the paper above referred to as read at the *École Internationale de l'Exposition*) there is an attempt to generalise in their relations to each other the more important of the vast and varied accumulations of facts, which we owe to the more characteristically analytic period of scientific historical research. Contemporaneously also the Socialism of the end of the century is distinguished from that of its beginning as an Historical is from an Utopian Ideal. Surely it were futile to imagine that, however fundamentally opposed it may be to the Historical Theory of the Passion-Play, this New Historical Theory—to the elaboration of which all the greatest European intellects of the last century and a half have, in one way or other, and even sometimes involuntarily, contributed—has not before it, though a desperately opposed, a triumphant future?

If this is doubted, then note further, that the New Theory of History is by no means merely of a higher intellectual, but of a more largely sympathetic, and hence higher moral, character. For, from the standpoint of this New Theory, every Religion, and among these—as above seen at the Passion-Play—Christianity, is given full recognition and sympathy in its due place in Man's tragic struggle towards a truer World-Consciousness and hence juster Socialisation. Nay, what is best in the New Theory is admitted to be only a development of the moral element in Christianity. But this admission is without partiality. For the moral element in Christianity itself is recognised as but one of the developments of a Moral Revolution, five hundred years earlier, and embracing all the peoples of Civilisation. And this higher moral character, which is the fit correlate of the higher intellectual outlook of the New Theory of History, will have the more effect, considering the narrowness and even ferocity of that Morality of Christians with which the Morality of Internationalism is now constantly found contrasted. I have no space here for recent illustrations of this contrast among ourselves. But I may recall the *saigner à blanc* with which the French were menaced by Bismarck, should there be another Franco-German War; the recent "No Quarter" speech of his master, the Kaiser, the other most prominent and most powerful of modern champions of Christianity; and the protest made against this ferocious speech in the great debate in the Reichstag led, in an oration four hours long, by the Socialist Bebel (Friday, the 23rd of last November). A debate more significant there could not have been of the *moral* conflict between the opposed forces, not of the German Empire only, but of Christendom.

Finally, if in Great Britain, where the very idea of a Science of History, a discipline aiming at the discovery of General Laws is academically tabooed—if here, there is not, in favor of the New Theory, the education, as elsewhere, of Sociological Chairs, there is the education, at least, of political conditions. For the conception of the probable future of Humanity to which the observer of political conditions will, I think, be more and more led, is identical with that which the student of Historical Development deduces from his discovered Laws. More and more clearly the former will see in present conditions, as the latter more and more clearly sees in past inheritances, forces driving towards the union of all human races and peoples. Nor will the present Imperial Stage of such union be regarded as the last, but rather as a preparation for the higher union of a freely constituted Organism in which varieties of

capacity have their due scope in recognised and needed functions for the Common Good. For instance, may we not see even already that the Imperial Powers of the West are rousing to a new national life the oldest of all civilised peoples, and preparing a counter-balance to Western, in renewed Eastern, Civilisations? Can it be imagined that these Eastern Civilisations will renew themselves on the bases of Christian Gospels and Hebrew Legends rather than on the bases of their own older Histories, and equally moral sacred Literatures? And if so, then, must not the all-comprehensive Historical Theory of Science, with its justice to every people, rather than the exclusive one of the Passion-Play, with its Jews as the only "Chosen people," and its Christ as the only "Saviour," be the intellectual basis of the New Ideal common to all the peoples of an organised Humanity?

To sum up. The Exposition and the Passion-Play, when brought together, reveal to us, as by an electric flash, the opposed Theories of History, and consequent Ideals, with one or other of which all the economic and political forces of the time are more or less closely, if not exclusively, connected. They reveal to us two utterly different and antagonistic views of Nature, of Man's History, and of the Kosmos. Such differences of view are no mere intellectual Theories and Ideals. They are each associated with all the material, as well as spiritual, needs that rouse human passion to the utmost. Along with these different Theories and Ideals there are in antagonism two different Worlds of Institutions, the one established, the other aiming at getting established. It is with the established Historical Theory and Ideal and the established World of Institutions that the "*Armées de Terre et de Mer*" are associated. But the fear to use them, which is the most powerful guiding motive of European statesmen, arises from instinctively feeling, or more intelligently seeing, that to use these Armies in Europe would but give occasion for the outburst of a far profounder Conflict, and one which all the European Powers are equally anxious to postpone. That ever-menacing Conflict, however, of the majesty and terror of which we may now, perhaps, have some glimpse—that, it may be hoped, Last War—will, with its lulls, probably occupy the whole of the Twentieth Century.

DUPLICATE THE NAVAL ACADEMY.

A SUGGESTION TO CONGRESS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE decision of all important questions of international dispute will be made on the waters. The nation that rules the sea owns the world.

At present the influence of England is paramount. Britons rule the waves, and it is solely by reason of their undisputed naval supremacy that they were able to maintain their prominent position in the crisis of the Boer war. Other nations, especially France and Russia, would gladly have interfered, but a war with England would have meant the destruction of their navies. An alliance of all the European nations alone would have been strong enough to cope with England on the ocean, and the German Emperor, in conscious opposition to the sentiments of his people, did not favor the idea of humiliating the English for the sake of assisting the Afrikaners. He had more confidence in British rule in Africa than in Boer supremacy. The former can be relied upon to respect German rights in Africa, while the latter would have led to the establishment of a United States of South Africa, which naturally would have put an end to the colonising schemes of all European nations. Thus the only chance of the Boers, namely the check-mating of the English navy by an European coalition, failed, and their only hope now is to render the possession of the Transvaal unprofitable by continuing a guerilla warfare. It is lucky for England that they have no access to the sea, for if a nation of the stubborn character of the Boers could extend their hostilities to privateering on the seas, they might repeat the deeds of the famous John Paul Jones, who at the time of the Revolutionary War frightened the English merchantmen from the seas and caused the British government to confer high honors on their naval commander for a lost battle, in recognition of his brave resistance.

Whatever were the advantages of Great Britain in the present Boer war, one thing is certain, that the energies of all the nations are bent on maintaining and extending their sphere of power by an increase of their navies. Russia's aim in securing Manchuria is not so much the acquisition of new territory as the possession of ice-free ports as a basis for operations. England, having her hands tied in Africa, could not prevent this and so Russia has practically succeeded in gaining a firm foothold in the East Asiatic seas. Russia's next move will be to gain access to the Arabian sea through Afghanistan and Beloochistan.

Germany's efforts to strengthen her navy are not less marked, and it is worth while bearing in mind that the German navy, like the German army, is splendidly equipped and well manned, a statement which can hardly be made of the French navy, though the latter is stronger than Germany's, so far as numbers are concerned.

It is not absolutely necessary that diplomatic difficulties arising from conflicting interests in international affairs should lead to war, but this much is sure that in the peaceable settlement of disputed points those nations only will have a voice which can justify their cause with ironclads and guns. The Monroe Doctrine will be respected only so long as the American navy is powerful enough to keep off intruders from American shores, but not one day longer, for there is a hunger in Europe for transatlantic possessions. We need not say that Germany by reason of her naval strength and progressive spirit is the only nation that could become dangerous to the United States, and there is only one way of preserving peace, viz., by being strong enough to render any infringement upon the traditions of the Monroe Doctrine inadvisable.

Our navy has proved efficient in the Spanish war, but would it be strong enough to meet a more dangerous foe? One fact is patent that for extraordinary emergencies, for a war with England, or Germany, or Russia, it is not large enough to place the assurance of final success beyond all doubt. There is at present no imminent danger of a war, but if difficulties should arise, as happened for instance under Cleveland by the sudden disturbance of the *entente cordiale* between Great Britain and the United States through the Venezuelan dispute, the quarrel will be adjusted only if the two parties are equally matched in strength. Disputes may arise at any moment, over the right of control of the Panama canal, over the proposed schemes of the Nicaragua canal, doubtful though its execution may be, over colonisation schemes and political complications in South America, in which European nations could be

involved by making exaggerated claims for the loss of lives or properties of some of their subjects. We must always bear in mind that weak nations are at the mercy of those that have the power to enforce their claims; and I repeat: the decision of all important questions of international dispute will be made on water.

What is the lesson of these truths for the United States?

The United States ought to be in a position to enlarge their navy at a moment's notice. They ought not only to have enough ironclads ready to be prepared for a sudden emergency, but in addition should possess the materials for increasing and extending their naval forces in times of danger. We can, if war clouds gather on the diplomatic horizon, buy a goodly number of ocean greyhounds, although the Germans in this respect have the advantage of the Americans; but we have not the men to man them. We could at once begin building men-of-war and manufacturing guns, but we could not within any reasonable time educate officers for service. Yet it would be so easy to meet the demand with very little sacrifice, simply by enlarging or duplicating our naval academy.

The United States train just enough cadets at the Naval Academy at Annapolis to keep their navy supplied with officers, not more and scarcely enough. If our government gave the same education to twice as many youths as there are officers wanted in the navy, they would educate a number of efficient sailors for practical use in our mercantile marine and would have a reserve of trained men upon which they could draw in case of need.¹

We hope that our legislators will see the importance of this advice, which recommends itself for many reasons. The expense is small in comparison to the benefits which it confers. Whatever the future may have in store, we may be sure that the time will come when this Republic of the Western world will be tried in the furnace of international disputes and then we shall be glad to have a goodly stock of men equipped with all the necessary experience to fight on the deck of a vessel. Our strength on the seas and our unquestioned power to cope with an intruder may at a critical moment preserve peace when otherwise war would be the inevitable result.

¹ The writer of this article visited the Naval Academy at Annapolis but his stay was too short to enable him to form an opinion that would be worthy of consideration. The general impression was very favorable and the spirit in which the cadets are treated appears to be practical, healthy, and of a good moral character. The instruction in the sciences, mechanical engineering, etc., never loses sight of the practical application of the lesson; but it seems to be a mistake that the study of German is dropped on the plea that all German naval officers speak English. On a similar plea French officers remained ignorant of German while the Germans studied French. The knowledge of a language gives a man access to the spirit of that nation, and our naval officers have as much reason to study German as Spanish. The method in which languages are taught at Annapolis, however, is very recommendable and produces the best results in a comparatively short time. All efforts are concentrated on making the pupils speak the language. Written exercises are given, indeed, but even they serve the purpose of an oral efficiency, a practical and immediate command of the spoken word.

MISCELLANEOUS.

JOSEPH LE CONTE.

(1823-1901.)

In the death of Prof. Joseph Le Conte on July 6th last, the American scientific world has lost one of its most conspicuous and interesting figures. In him there passed away a rare and ingenuous inquirer of the olden type, which held the universality of Leibnitz and Thomas Young as their ideal, and never lost touch with the general movement of human thought to inhume itself in specialisation. His interests embraced all fields,—physics, geology, biology, the theory of evolution,



JOSEPH LE CONTE.

philosophy, and scientific theology,—and his expositions and labors in each of these departments, while not epoch-making in their character, were all marked by originality and independence of thought; they stood quite apart from the common run of manufactured professional products, and were distinguished by a simplicity and lucidity of presentation that could not fail to assure them the success they have achieved. One need but glance, even now, years after their appearance, at his *Elements of Geology* and his work on *Sight* in the International Scientific Series, to appreciate the charm and scientific solidity of these books. His work on *Religion and Science* (1874), one of the first to consider that ancient conflict from a calm and unhysterical point of view, has become celebrated. Professor Le Conte's views on this subject are familiar to the readers of *The Open Court* and

The Monist, to which he several times contributed (*The Monist*, Vol. I., No. 3; Vol. V., No. 4; Vol. VI., No. 3. *The Open Court*, No. 191), and his views on the idea of God came again recently into prominence through Professor Royce's latest work. It was the ethical and religious side of science, in fact, that claimed his highest interest always, and it was his mastery of science that lent tone and author-

ity to his utterances on ethical questions, where the same opinions from smatterers would have been unlistened to.

In his religious development Prof. Joseph Le Conte started from the orthodox faith of traditional Christianity; but his views widened with the growth of his scientific knowledge. He wrote for *The Monist*, not merely for business reasons, but because he took a deep interest in its aims and methods. In a personal interview with the editor of *The Monist*, Joseph Le Conte frankly expressed his readiness to accept the monistic solution of the soul-problem, while to the God-idea he assented without reserve. Prof. Joseph Le Conte was a deeply religious man and as much a theologian as a geologist and botanist. His development is characteristic of the scientific type of men, and his life is a noble instance which, we are confident, is a prophetic symptom of the future.

Prof. Joseph Le Conte was born February 26, 1823, in Liberty County, Georgia. He was a purely American product, like his brother John Le Conte, like Joseph Henry and the late Professors Cope and Rowland. He came of a distinguished family, of French Huguenot descent, and also one of affluence. He was educated in Georgia, one of his teachers having been the celebrated American statesman, Alexander H. Stephens, and was graduated from Franklin College, in the University of Georgia, afterwards receiving a medical education in New York and studying in Cambridge under the great naturalist Agassiz.

Professor Le Conte has left us, in his memoir of his brother (1894) which we fortunately have at hand, a delightful account of his own boyhood days, which shows us an environment from which talent might well have sprung, and which we cannot refrain from quoting here at some length. It gives us a delightful insight, not only into the moral and educational atmosphere of a family from which several bright minds have come, but also into the more cheerful aspects of the patriarchal life of the South before the war, which was not always so bad as it is painted.

John Le Conte, of whom Joseph speaks in this memoir, was the first to notice and explain the beautiful phenomena of sensitive flames now so familiar to physicists, and to introduce by his discovery a new method of research which in the hands of Barrett, Tyndall, Koenig, and others has revolutionised the science of acoustics. Louis Le Conte, the father of John and Joseph Le Conte, was the elder brother of Major John Eatton Le Conte, a name also well known in the history of American science. He was born in 1782, was graduated at Columbia, and in 1810 took possession of the large Georgia plantation left him by his father.

Prof. Joseph Le Conte speaks as follows of his home and surroundings: "Liberty County was originally settled by a colony of English Puritans, who have left their strong impress on the character of the people of that county even to the present day. A more intelligent and moral community I have never seen. It received its name of Liberty in recognition of the fact that it was the first colony in Georgia to raise the flag of independence on the breaking out of the war of the Revolution, in 1776.

"Our father, Louis, lived on his plantation and devoted himself entirely to the care and management of his large property and to the passionate pursuit of science in nearly all departments, but especially in those of chemistry and botany, in both of which his knowledge was both extensive and accurate. The large attic of his plantation-house was fitted up as a chemical laboratory, in which he carried on researches daily. I well remember what a privilege it was to us boys to be per-

mitted sometimes to be present, and with what silent awe and tiptoe steps we, especially John, followed him about and watched these mysterious experiments.

"His devotion to botany was even, if possible, still more intense. A large area of several acres of enclosed premises was devoted to the maintenance of a botanical and floral garden, widely known at that time as one of the best in the United States, and often visited by botanists, both American and foreign. Far removed from any city (Savannah was near forty miles distant), this garden was used only for scientific study and refined enjoyment. It was the never-ceasing delight of the children. The tenderest memories cluster around it, especially about the image of our father in his daily walks there after breakfast, sipping his last cup of coffee, enjoying its beauty, planning improvements, and directing the labor of the old negro gardener, 'Daddy Dick.' It is, alas, in ruins now, but some of the grand *camelia japonica* trees, of which there were eight or ten, still remain. I said 'trees,' for in December, 1891, I visited the old place and measured some of these. The largest, a double white, measured fifty-four inches in girth, ten inches from the ground where the first branches came off. In bygone days I have seen at least one thousand pure white blossoms five inches in diameter and double to the center on it at once.

"To supply this garden he made many excursions, often with visiting botanists or collectors, sometimes lasting several days, and always returning laden with botanical treasures. As evidence of his keen perception of the true affinities of plants, it is noteworthy that although the Linnean system was at that time universally used, yet even at this early day he always spoke of the affinities of plants in terms of their natural orders.

"Nor was he neglectful of other departments of science. This was well shown in the composition of his large library of scientific books and periodicals. In fact, his love of nature was so spontaneous and passionate that it could not but extend in all directions. Mathematics, astronomy, physics, geology, and zoölogy alike engaged his attention. I remember well the intense enthusiasm with which he read Lyell's *Principles of Geology* when first published. I remember, too, his delight in working out the most complex mathematical puzzles; such, for example, as magic squares. The boys were all ardent gunners, but under his influence we never failed to observe carefully what we shot. Every new form of bird or beast was brought home in triumph to be determined in name and affinities by him.

"Nor was he wanting in kinds of culture other than scientific. His training in Latin, for example, was so thorough that he read it at sight almost as readily as English.

"It is easy to see from the above sketch that Louis Le Conte was one of a type of scholars now almost extinct. Such simple, disinterested love of truth for its own sake, such open-eyed, yet thoughtful, observation in all directions, such passionate love of nature, and all combined with such utter forgetfulness of self and absence of any ambition or vanity or reputation. Those who knew him best, but especially his brother, Major John Le Conte, affirmed that he made many important discoveries in both chemistry and botany, yet he never published a line, but freely gave away his new things in the latter science to his many correspondents in New York.

"Here, then, until his death, in 1838, he lived his simple, quiet life of intellectual culture and beneficent activity, administering the affairs of an estate with two hundred slaves with firmness and kindness, daily directing their labor, visiting the sick, and caring for the old. His medical knowledge was of inestimable value

to him now, not only on his own place, but to the poor of the surrounding country, who were unable to pay for medical service. His plantation was on the borders of the pine barrens of McIntosh County, inhabited only by a shiftless class of 'Pine Knockers.' For twenty miles about, in pure charity, he visited these people in their sickness; and in chronic cases even bringing their children to his own house, as the only hope of their recovery. In order to diminish their sense of dependence and to cultivate in them, if possible, a sense of self-respect he sometimes required of them in return some light work, as picking of cotton or gathering of corn. He was looked up to by these poor people as a being of another order from themselves.

"It is easy to imagine the passionate love, the reverence, approaching to fear and even to worship, with which he inspired his children. The effect of such a life and such a character on young John is simply inestimable. To the day of his death John looked back on his father with the greatest love and reverence and upon his influence as the greatest of all influences in forming his character; and, indeed, of all the children John most resembled his father.

"I have dwelt somewhat on the life and character of Louis Le Conte, not only because of its paramount influence on his children, especially John, but also because such a life and such a character ought not to go wholly unrecorded."

Such was the father as described in Joseph Le Conte's own words, and such the environment of two of the most prominent and lovable figures in the history of American science. They both put to splendid use the talents entrusted them, and left an unostentatious yet distinct impress on American thought and education: John Le Conte was the "father of the University of California," which he was called to organize, and Joseph Le Conte was the second pillar and mainstay of that institution, in which from 1869 he held the professorship of Geology and Natural History, and an honorary professorship of Biology. Professor Le Conte remained active in his literary, educational, and scientific labors to the last, and died suddenly while on a geological excursion in the Yosemite Valley, at the age of seventy-eight.

T. J. McC.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA.

A MONUMENT OF BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP.¹

Theology is frequently discredited, not only by progressive liberals but also by conservative believers, and placed in an unfavorable contrast to religion. Religion is frequently praised as the genuine article, while theology is blamed for all the evils that appear under certain circumstances to crop out from religion. This view is utterly unjustified and unjustifiable, and is based upon a radical misconception of the nature of theology. Actually, it is held only by those whose judgments are the product of their sentiments, and who allow themselves to be carried away by prejudices. The truth is that if theology were better known there would be fewer misconceptions of religion. If a man like Ingersoll had been familiar with modern

¹*Encyclopædia Biblica*. A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M. A., D. D., and J. Sutherland Black, M. A., LL. D. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Adam and Charles Black. Vol. I., A to D, pages, xxviii, 372, 1899; Vol. II., E to K, pages, 772, 1901. Price, \$5.00 each.

theology, most of his attacks on Christianity would have remained unspoken. And on the other hand, if our pious but narrow-minded dogmatists who like to pride themselves on being orthodox knew more about theology, their religion would be purer and more elevated and would at the same time make them more tolerant of the scientist and the scholar, who seek the truth and yet lack that confidence which distinguishes the dogmatist.

What is theology but reasoned religion? Or better, it is the science of religion. The word means literally, "the science of [the knowledge of] God," but practically it includes everything that pertains to man's relation to divinity in the widest sense of the word,—worship, adoration, and above all morality. It includes at the same time the investigation of the history of religion, not only Biblical scholarship but also comparative religion. In a word, theology is the scientific conscience of religion; it is its critical regulator, its last court of appeal in matters of truth.

Theology is by no means subject to dogma or to a traditional interpretation of religious tenets. Theology is a science, and has as such always been respected in German as well as in English and American universities. It is true that the conscience of theological professors has sometimes been tied by a promise to teach a certain kind of theology, and allow itself to be regulated by a definite confession of faith, be it the Augustana in Protestant Germany or the Thirty-nine Articles in England. But a promise of this kind is a shackle on institutions, not on theology. All those professors who at their appointment are compelled to take a vow to teach a certain dogma, be it right or wrong, cannot be considered as theologians; they are not scholars, not investigators of truth; they are appointed as teachers, as mere transmitters of tradition, and their office cannot be regarded as being properly theological.

Theology has made great advances of late. Scientific investigation has brought its light to bear upon religion. We understand at present more of the psychology of religion; we are better familiar with the facts of the history of the people of Israel; we know of the influence which Babylonian views exercised upon the several authors of the Old Testament. We understand the composition of the Bible and the elements from which the Scriptures have coalesced; and all this increased knowledge, far from destroying our interest in Hebrew literature, has tended to increase it. The so-called "higher criticism" has found much disfavor in certain circles on account of its name. The religious sentiment resented the term *criticism* because the pious were shocked at the idea that the Scriptures, which contain in their opinion a direct revelation of God, should be subjected to investigation, should be called before the tribunal of science which was deemed to be human and therefore fallible; and it would perhaps have been better if the term "higher criticism" had been avoided, and had been replaced by "Biblical scholarship," in the sense of a scientific treatment of the Scriptures. At any rate, under whatever name it may appear, the higher criticism is nothing but a better comprehension of the Bible, and the removal of misconceptions which in the long run can only detract from the purity, the goodness, and the truth of religion.

The present age, far from being irreligious, is more intensely religious than any prior age; but the religion of the twentieth century will no longer be a child-like submission to traditional doctrine; it will be the independent and conscious comprehension of the revelation of religious truth which began with the dawn of history and is by no means as yet exhausted or concluded. The Polychrome Bible, of Paul Haupt, assisted by of the most eminent Bible scholars of both hemispheres,

is one symptom of the increased interest in religion, not from a purely sentimental aspect, but from a desire to comprehend the truth scientifically.

We now hail the appearance of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, edited in a most scholarly manner in the spirit of the late Professor William Robertson Smith, by the Revs. T. K. Cheyne, M. A., D. D. and J. Sutherland Black, M. A., LL. D., the former Oriel Professor at Oxford, the latter the theological assistant editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The first two volumes, covering the letters *A* to the beginning of *K*, lie now complete before us, and the editors may be congratulated upon the success of their work, which is satisfactory to theologians of every school and tendency, giving information concerning the progress of our comprehension of the Bible, historically as well as archæologically and geographically, covering all the wants of any one who for some reason or another is interested in a thorough knowledge of the Bible.

The work is most appropriately dedicated to the memory of Prof. William Robertson Smith, and his spirit is perceptibly moving over all the columns of the articles presented in these volumes. They are written in a deeply devout spirit, and yet are uncompromisingly progressive in accepting scientific truth wherever it can be positively obtained. The Bible Dictionary which lies before us has become what he contemplated such a work should be, that is to say in the words of the editors: "No mere collection of useful miscellanea, but a survey of the contents of the Bible, as illuminated by criticism—a criticism which identifies the cause of religion with that of historical truth, and, without neglecting the historical and archæological setting of religion, loves best to trace the growth of high conceptions, the flashing forth of new intuitions, and the development of noble personalities, under local and temporal conditions that may often be, to human eyes, most averse."

The work is addressed mainly to the scholars of the Christian community, but of course it will be useful to all investigators and readers of the Bible. The price seems high at first, but considering the expense at which these large heavy volumes have been brought out, and the condensed and reliable information which they contain, it is by no means exorbitant. At the same time it becomes an indispensable hand-book which can no longer be ignored or left unconsulted.

We cannot give our readers a better insight into the nature of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* than by offering a sample article, and we select for it the explanation of Asherah, which commends itself by its concise brevity and is a subject of universal interest. It is signed by George F. Moore, Professor of Hebrew, Andover, Mass.

Asherah, plur. Asherim, the RV (Revised Version) transliteration of the Heb. אֲשֵׁרָה (pl. אֲשֵׁרִים; in three late passages אֲשֵׁרִי), a word which AV (Authorised Version), following G (Greek Version) (*aloe* [BAFL]) and Vg. (the Vulgata) (*lucus*), renders *grove*, *groves*. That this translation is mistaken has long been universally recognised. RV avoids the error by not translating the word at all; but, by consistently treating the word as a proper noun, it gives occasion to more serious misunderstanding.

"The *asherah* was a wooden post or mast, which stood at Canaanite places of worship (Ex. 34₁₃ Jud. 6₂₅ and frequently), and, down to the seventh century, also, by the altars of Yahwe, not only on the high places, or at Samaria (2 K. 13₆) and Bethel (2 K. 23₁₅), but also in the temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 23₆). The *asherah* is frequently named in conjunction with the upright stone or stele (*masseba*, *hamman*). The pole or post might be of considerable size (cp. Judg. 6₂₅ f.); it was

perhaps sometimes carved (1 K. 15₁₃),¹ or draped (2 K. 23), but the draping especially is doubtful.

"The shape of an *asherah* is unknown. Many Cypriote and Phœnician gems and seals representing an act of adoration show two (more rarely three) posts, generally of about the height of a man, of extremely variable forms,² which are supposed by many archæologists to be the *asherahs* (and *massebas*³) of the OT (Old Testament). This is not improbable, though direct evidence is thus far lacking; but in view of the great variety of types, and the age and origin of the figures in question, it can hardly be confidently inferred that the *asherahs* of the Old Canaanites and Israelites were of similar forms. The representations do not give any support to the theory that the *asherah* was a phallic emblem.

"It is the common opinion that the *asherah* was originally a living tree (*Sifre* on Dt. 12, *Aboda zara*, fol. 45 a b.; cp. Di. on Dt. 16₂₁), for which the pole or mast was a conventional substitute.⁴ This is antecedently not very probable. The sacred tree had in Hebrew a specific name of its own (*el, ela, elon*, or, with a different and perhaps artificial pronunciation, *alla, allon*), which would naturally have attached to the artificial representative also; nor is it easy to explain, upon this hypothesis, how the *asherah* came to be set up beneath the living tree (2 K. 17₁₀). The only passage in the OT which can be cited in support of the theory is Dt. 16₂₁: 'Thou shalt not plant thee an *asherah* of any kind of tree (RV) beside the altar of Yahwe thy God,' or, more grammatically, 'an *asherah*—any kind of tree' (אֲשֵׁרָה כֹּל עֵץ). As, however, in the seventh century the *asherah* was certainly not ordinarily a tree, this epexegetical gloss would be very strange. In the context, whether the words in question be original or a gloss, we expect, not a restriction of the prohibition such as this rendering in effect gives us, but a sweeping extension of it. We must, therefore, translate, 'an *asherah*—any wooden object.'⁵

"It does not appear from the OT that the *asherahs* belonged exclusively to the worship of any one deity. The *asherah* at Ophrah (Judg. 6₂₆) was sacred to Baal; the prohibitions of the law (Dt. 16₂₁, f.) are sufficient proof that they were erected to Yahwe;⁶ nor is there any reason to think that those at Bethel, Samaria, and Jerusalem were dedicated to any other god. The assertion, still often made, that in the religion of Canaan the *massebas* were sacred to male, the *asherahs* to female deities, is supported by no proof whatever.

"From certain passages in the OT (especially Judg. 3, 1 K. 18₁₈, 2 K. 23),⁷

¹ A shocking thing (Jewish tradition, *phallus*) as an *asherah*; on 2 K. 21 see below.

² See Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, 1847 f.; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 1893, where a great many of these pieces are collected. Similar figures are found on Assyrian reliefs, and on Carthaginian *cippi*. We may compare the Egyptian *dedu* column (at Busiris), the Indian sacrificial post (Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 91), the so-called "totem-posts" of the N. American Indians, etc. See in general Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, 237 ff., and Jevons, *Int. Hist. Rel.* 134 f.

³ *Massebas* are sacred stones or monoliths, sometimes heaps of stones, probably the oldest form of consecrating a special place to a religious worship of some kind or other.—*Reviewer*.

⁴ See Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, etc., Pl. lxxxiv. 3 and 7, where in precisely similar relations to the scene a carved post (supposed *asherah*) takes the place of a cypress tree.

⁵ *עץ* is not only a tree, but also a stake (Dt. 21₂₂ and often). That the trees depicted on Phœnician coins, etc., were called *asherahs* (Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 213) is merely inferred from the OT.

⁶ The condemnation is based, not on the fact that the presence of these symbols presumes the worship of other gods, but on the principle that Israel shall not worship Yahwe as the Canaanites worship their gods (Dt. 12 ff.).

⁷ In 2 K. 21, "the image of the *asherah*," the word *image* is a gloss; cp. v. 3 and 2 Ch. 33. On 1 K. 15₁₃ and 2 K. 23, see above. In 1 K. 18₁₈ the 400 prophets of *Ashera* are interpolated (We., Klo., Dr.).

it has been thought that there was also a Canaanite goddess Ashera, whose symbol or idol was the *ashera* post. Since in the places cited the names of Baal and Ashera are coupled precisely as those of Baal and Astarte are elsewhere (Judg. 2, 10, 1 S. 7, [ΘBAL¹ τὰ ἄλογα Ἀστανωθ] 12, 10 [ΘBAL τοῖς ἄλογα]), many scholars have inferred, further, that Ashera was only another name or form of the great Semitic goddess, Astarte (Theodoret, *Quest.* 55 in *iv. Reg.*, Selden, Spencer, etc.); whilst others attempt in various ways to distinguish them—e. g., Astarte, a pure celestial deity, Ashera, an impure 'telluric' divinity (Movers); or the former a goddess of the Northern Canaanites, the latter of the Southern (Tiele, Sayce).

Conservative scholars such as Hengstenberg, Bachmann, and Baethgen, however, have contended that in the passages in question the symbol of Astarte is merely put by metonymy for the name of the goddess; and many recent critics² see in these places only a confusion (on the part of late writers) of the sacred post with the goddess Astarte.³ A critical examination of the passages makes it highly probable that in the OT the supposed goddess Ashera owes her existence only to this confusion. In the Amarna correspondence, however, there is frequent mention of a Canaanite who bears the name Abd-asratum, equivalent to Heb. 'Ebed-*ashera*, sometimes with the divine determinative,—i. e., Servant of (the divine) *Ashera*. This has not unnaturally been regarded as conclusive evidence that a goddess Ashera was worshipped in Palestine in the fifteenth century B. C.⁴ The determinative might here signify no more than that the *ashera* post was esteemed divine—a fetish, or a cultus-god—as no one doubts that it was in OT times; cp. Phœnician names such as 'Ebed-susim, Servant of (the sacred) horses (*C/S* i. 46, 49, 53, 933, etc.); or 'Ebel-bekal, Gerhekal (G. Hoffmann), which might in Assyrian writing have the same determinative; further, Assy. *ekurru*, 'temple, sanctuary,' in pl. sometimes 'deities' (Del. *HWB* 718).

'The name of the 'goddess *Asratum*,' however, occurs in other cuneiform texts, where this explanation seems not to be admissible: viz., on a hæmatite cylinder published by Sayce (*ZA* 6, 161); in an astronomical work copied in the year 138 B. C., published by Strassmaier (*ZA* 6, 241, l. 9 ff.); and in a hymn published by Reisner (*Sumer.-babylon. Hymnen*, 92)—in the last in connexion with a god *Amurru*, which suggests that the worship may have been introduced from the West. See Jensen, 'Die Götter *Amurru* und *Asratu* *ZA* 11, 202-208.

The word *ashera* occurs also in an enigmatical Phœnician inscription from Ma'sub, which records a dedication 'to the Astarte in the *ashera* of El-hammon' (G. Hoffmann); where it is at least clear that *ashera* cannot be the name of a deity. The most natural interpretation in the context would be 'in the sacred precincts.' In an inscription from Citium in which the word was formerly read (Schroeder, *ZDMG* 35, 424, 'mother Ashera'; *contra*, St. *ZATW* 1, 244 f.; cp. E. Mey. in *Roscher*, 2870), the reading and interpretation are insecure.

The etymology and the meaning of the word are obscure. The most plausible hypothesis perhaps is that *asherim* originally denoted only the *sign*-posts set up to mark the site or the boundaries of the holy place (G. Hoffmann), *l. c.* 26). The use of the word in the Ma'sub inscription for the sacred precincts would then

¹ The abbreviation Bal after Θ (Greek version) means an agreement of the editions Lagarde and Swete.—*Reviewer*.

² We., G. Hoffmann, E. Mey., St., WRS, and others.

³ This confusion is found in a still greater measure in the versions.

⁴ Schr. *ZA* 3, 284, and many. The name is once written with the common ideogram for the goddess Istar (Br. Mus. 33 obv. 1, 3).

be readily explained, and also the Assyrian *asirtu* plur. *asrati* (*esreti*), defined in the syllabaries as meaning 'high place, oracle, sanctuary.' In any case, *asherah* is a *nomen unitatis*, and its gender has no other than a grammatical significance.

The same author has spoken of the *asherahs* in his article on Idolatry (§ 7, History), which reads as follows:

"The Israelites when they invaded Canaan brought with them the common ideas of the nomadic Semites; they had their holy mountain (Horeb), holy wells (Beer-sheba), and fountains (Kadesh); the standing stone or stone-heap (altar) represented the deity in sacrifice; domestic idols were probably not unknown. They found in Canaan a people of kindred race, possessed of an agricultural civilisation which the newcomers adopted. The Canaanite high places became Israelite sanctuaries, and the *massebahs* and *asherahs* beside the fire-altars and beneath the holy trees were taken over with them; if new sanctuaries were founded, they were furnished with a similar apparatus. The prophets and prophetic historians regard the idols also as adopted from the Canaanites; and, speaking generally, this is doubtless true. The Baals and Astartes, the gods of the land, were worshipped by the side of Yahwe. The founding of the national kingdom gave rise to international relations and led to the introduction of foreign religions (Phœnician, Moabite, Ammonite 1 K. 11), which were externally much like that of Israel. The worship of the Tyrian Baal in the reign of Ahab, however, provoked a reaction which overthrew the dynasty of Omri. The larger political horizon in the eighth and seventh centuries, and especially the long-continued friendly relations of Judah with Assyria, opened the way for the introduction of many foreign cults, among which the worship of the Host of Heaven, the Queen of Heaven, the Moloch-worship, and the rites of mourning for Tammuz are the most important; 2 K. 23, ff. shows us the state of things in Jerusalem and its suburbs in 621.

"The reforms of Josiah made no permanent change, as is evident from the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; the latter gives us glimpses of the strange rites which were introduced or revived in the last years of the city (Ezek. 8). In the Persian period the strongest foreign influence was Aramæan; this is seen not only in the gradual displacement of Hebrew by the Aramaic vernacular, but also by the allusions to Syrian cults such as those of Gad and Meni (Is. 65₁₁). Under the successors of Alexander, the Jews in Palestine as well as in Egypt and Syria were brought under the spell of Hellenic civilisation, and the liberal party, especially strong among the priestly aristocracy, showed no prejudice against the Greek religions,¹ until the violent measures of Antiochus Epiphanes provoked an equally violent reaction."¹

P. C.

SYNEDRIUM OR PRETORIUM?

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In the year of the crucifixion of Christ—33—did the Roman officials of Judea represent unfettered power?

Was not the mighty Sanhedrin the important governing body?

¹ The older literature is cited under Ashtoreth (q. v.). For recent discussion see We. CH 281 f. note; St. GVI 1458 ff., cp. ZATW 1345. 4293 ff., 6218 f.; G. Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phön. Inschriften*, 26 ff.; WRS, *Rel. Sem.* (3) 187 ff. On the other side, Schr. ZA 3384. Reference may be made also to Baethgen, *Beitr.* 218 ff.; and to Collins, *PSBA* 11291 ff., who endeavors to show that the *asherah* was a phallic emblem sacred to Baal.

² See Scholz, 419 ff.

³ Quoted from *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II., 2157.

When the imperial sovereign of Rome declined all interference with the rule of the Sanhedrin over Jerusalem, considering it policy to court the senate of elders rather than provoke hostilities, did it lie within the office of the procurator to rescind a sentence passed by the leading authorities of Jerusalem on an apostate from Israel?

A review of the political and religious aspect of the brief period of Christ's messianic activity leads to the conclusion that to the sway of the highest native tribunal, the Sanhedrin, the imperium of Rome lent official aid. The issue being that if the Procurator did not act in co-operation with the Holy Senate he was the one the crafty Tiberias went against: as instanced by the three recorded rebellions of the Jews under Pontius Pilate when in each case he was compelled to yield in consequence of the Jews' appeals to the Emperor. From such conditions were begotten Pilate's political peril and the weakness of his situation; the sequence being that not as the accomplice, but as the implement of the priestly aristocracy, he was coerced cravenly into ratifying the decree of the Jewish council, giving up to its authority one whose righteousness he declared himself convinced of. Overcome by the outrage of the Jews he yielded his name to the scourge of history while casting upon the priest-led Jewish mob the whole reproach of the death of "This Just Man, He in whom I find no fault,"—a responsibility which was accepted with cries of "Let his blood be upon us."

Was it Tiberias who was guilty of the death of Jesus?

Was it Pilate?

Was it not rather the old Mosaic law represented by Hanan? A law which assigned the penalty of death to all attempts to change the Hebrew faith.

How many death sentences dictated by priestly intolerance have forced the hand of the civil power! Sacerdotal cruelty has ever shielded itself behind the secular arm.

Christ had made the first step towards incurring the hatred of the rabbis, and the condemnation of those who disputed the right of individual judgment in the sphere of religion, when as a little child he had stood amongst the doctors in the Jewish hall pondering on problems, and hearing and asking questions; with an early introversion seeking through outward forms for the subtle essence of eternal verities. That day he had taken the first step towards the agony of Gethsemane. That day he had set his face all unconsciously towards the dread shadow of the Mount of Golgotha.

"Socrates was the glory of the Athenians who would not suffer him to live amongst them. Spinoza was the greatest of modern Jews and the Synagogue expelled him with ignominy. Jesus was the glory of the people of Israel who crucified him." Thus wrote an Oriental scholar of the past on the subject of the crime committed upon Calvary. "Jesus was crucified by the Romans, not by the Jews," thus writes one of our great scholars of to-day. In the presence of such conflicting literary statements, will *The Open Court* treat considerably the foregoing suggestions cast forth by one of its constant and earnest students? GEO. AULD.

BASSETTERRE, ST. KITS.

THE JUDGES OF JESUS, AGAIN.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In the number of *The Open Court* for June you answer the question of Mr. George Auld in terms which are technically correct. Undoubtedly the sentence of

the Jewish Sanhedrim was executed, and legally could have been executed, only through the Roman Governor. But is it not true that, in the deeper sense in which the transaction is regarded by the Christian World, the responsibility for the execution, as well as for the sentence, rested upon the Sanhedrim? The death of Jesus was demanded under the Jewish law because he had declared himself to be the Son of God. Pilate, however, tried to save him and, to that end, exhausted every argument he could employ and, when his efforts proved ineffectual, washed his hands before the multitude and declared his innocence "of the blood of this just person." According to St. John, he did not consent to the execution until two appeals had exercised upon him a coercive effect,—*first*: that in declaring himself a King, Jesus had committed treason against Rome, and, *second*, that for this reason, to refuse the crucifixion would be an offence against Cæsar.

From my point of view it follows that, while Pilate was a moral coward, the Sanhedrim was substantially responsible for the sentence and the execution.

HENRY E. HIGHTON.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS.

In considering historical questions of events narrated in the New Testament, we must bear in mind that the Gospels are not history in the literal sense of the word. The contradictions of the Gospels are a sufficient evidence to prove that the statements of the New Testament stand as much in need of critical revision and investigation as do any secular records or documents. There is no doubt that the main facts themselves,—the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, the offence he gave to the orthodox Jews, his condemnation by the Roman governor, and his crucifixion,—are historical; but the reports are colored by the opinions of the several authors. There can be no doubt, as our correspondent, Mr. Highton, says, that "in the sense in which the transaction was regarded by the Christian world," the responsibility for the sentence lies with the Jewish priests. Without being prosecuted by the Sanhedrim, the Roman authorities would not have crucified Jesus. But it seems to me very doubtful to speak of this interpretation as "the deeper sense"; it is rather an interpretation which does not take the facts as they are, but weighs at the same time the moral responsibility of one of the parties, fixing the guilt on a whole nation which belongs to one class only. Jesus was obnoxious to the orthodox Jews because he was a sectarian, and moreover a leader, one who had been, as is probably historically true, greeted at his entry into Jerusalem as the Messiah by the members of his sect. According to the Gospel account, he was condemned for blasphemy because he called himself the "Son of God," which is interpreted in the sense in which Paul uses the term "Son of God." But it is not probable that the Sanhedrim would condemn a man for calling himself the son of God, since even to-day there is a large Jewish society which call themselves "Sons of God," the "B'nei Adonai" or the "B'nei Elohim." God is frequently called "Father" in the Old Testament, and Israel collectively is called the "Son of God." The introduction of the narrative that Pilate washed his hands, seems to me to betray the tendency of whitewashing the Romans, and I deem it, though not impossible, yet as historically improbable. But whether or not historical, this symbolical act does not relieve Pilate of his responsibility. That the Roman governor at first tried to release the prisoner is quite plausible, for Pilate knew of the bitterness with which the orthodox Jews persecuted their unorthodox fellow-countrymen. But as soon as he heard that Jesus was regarded by a part of the population as a Messiah, he did not hesitate to condemn him to the cross, and thus it seems to me

that the historical background of the judgment scene in the prætorium is historically tenable. But for all that, even if the Sanhedrim hated the man who was worshipped as the Messiah by the Nazarenes, the Ebionites, or some similar sect, it would be very wrong to make the whole nation responsible for his condemnation.

Translate the whole story into modern conditions, such as we are familiar with. Suppose that there is a tribe of South Sea Islanders ruled by a British governor. There rises among them a native pretender, harmless and inoffensive, who somehow makes himself obnoxious to the chieftains of his own nation. The latter, themselves of a rebellious character, hand him over to the British governor as a traitor to the cause of British rule. The British governor finds no guilt in the prisoner, but the chieftains say that the accused is a rebel, and if he be not executed at once they will report the case to London. Now let us assume, the British governor learns that the pretender is the head of a powerful native party which he suspects of being just as dangerous as the chieftains, and so he concludes to have him executed, would the governor and with him the British government not be responsible for the execution? The chieftains would not be free from blame, but we could not say that the South Sea Islanders had killed him.

The Jewish Christian certainly did not condemn the entire nation; and the conception of fastening the guilt upon the Jews collectively originated at a later date, when Christianity had taken root among the Gentiles. It is a peculiarly Gentile-Christian conception, and characterises the interpretation of the Gentile-Christian world of the second century and later ages.

ADOLF BASTIAN ON THE ETHNOLOGICAL WORK OF AMERICA.

Dr. Adolf Bastian, the Nestor of German ethnologists and director of the great museum of Berlin, is as active as ever in research and literary production. Scarcely a year goes by but several works descriptive of the results of his extensive travels and vast studies appear. Just recently three books, one treating of the history of civilisation as illuminated by Buddhism,¹ a second of ethnology in its relation to history,² and a third of ethnic psychology,³ have come to our table,—not to mention contributions to technical journals. The readers of *The Open Court* will soon have the opportunity to read an article by Dr. Achelis of Bremen treating at length of Bastian's fruitful and unremitting labors in the field of ethnology, so that our remarks may be brief at this time. It is interesting to know, however, the high opinion which Bastian has of the ethnological work now being done in America, and we accordingly quote from a private letter of his to the editor the following remarks:

"The science of modern times, our new 'science of man,' struck root in the soil of the New World most quickly of all; and by the generous endowments there made for its advancement has reached a high point of development.

¹ *Culturhistorische Studien unter Rückbeziehung auf den Buddhismus*. I. Berlin: Druck und Verlag von A. Haack. Pages, 197.

² *Die Völkerkunde und der Völkerverkehr unter seiner Rückwirkung auf die Volksgeschichte*. Ein Beitrag zur Volks- und Menschenkunde. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1900. Pages, iv, 171.

³ *Die humanistischen Studien in ihrer Behandlungsweise nach comparativ-genetischer Methode auf naturwissenschaftlicher Unterlage*. Prolegomena zu einer ethnischen Psychologie. Berlin: Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagbuchhandlung. 1901. Pages, iv, 186.

"Although the universal point of view is the one always to be considered by ethnology, embracing as it does the 'entire human race in all its variations,' nevertheless the present restriction of American labors to things purely American is, by its very specialisation, of great moment and advantage. In point of fact, the *Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*, genuine *Monumenta ethnologica americana*, are laying sound foundations for that branch of research which is now encompassing the entire earth and which promises to be the first to furnish to man that knowledge of himself and his destiny which tradition tells us he has sought time out of mind."

POPE LEO XIII. ON PROTESTANTS.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

F. W. Fitzpatrick's article in the July *Open Court*, on His Holiness the Pope, pleased me greatly, and I am only astonished that in his appreciation of the attitude of Leo XIII. toward the world the author did not quote his communication to the American Protestants, which was referred to and cited in full by the Hon. Charles Carroll Bonney in his opening address to the Roman Catholic Congress in the memorable year 1893. It is contained in Mr. Bonney's *World's Congress Addresses*,¹ page 23, and reads as follows:

"I have a claim upon Americans for their respect, because I love them and I 'love their country. I have a great tenderness for those who live in that land, Protestants and all. Under the Constitution Religion has perfect liberty, and is 'a growing power. Where the Church is free it will increase; and I bless, I love Americans for their frank, open, unaffected character, and for the respect which they pay to Christianity and Christian morals. My only desire is to use my 'power for the good of the whole people, Protestants and Catholics alike. I want 'the Protestants as well as the Catholics to esteem me."

"A ROMAN CATHOLIC."

A FRENCH ANTHROPOLOGIST ON GOBINEAU.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

With respect to your remarks upon the revival of Gobineau's ideas, mentioned in *The Open Court* for July, 1901, it must be borne in mind that Gobineau's work on *The Inequality of Races* was published forty years ago, before the foundation of the Anthropological Society of Paris. The field of anthropology has entirely changed since then. Broca and those who have since gathered around me naturally could not take the work into consideration, for our labors were based on different data and proceeded from a different point of view. If I were to write you on Gobineau's work, as you suggest, it would necessitate my reading the book again. When it was published, there was a persistent confusion between linguistic races and anthropological races. The current doctrine was that genuine peoples were to be recognised by language. Historians and subsequently diplomatists were the authors of it. It led to the notion of Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism, etc. The doctrine fell before, or rather was eclipsed by, the numerous assaults of anthropology.

The diplomatists, however, particularly the Germans, have a great interest in keeping it up. At first it was said that people who had spoken the same language

¹ "Religion of Science Library," published by The Open Court Publishing Co.

were brothers of the same race. But now they say that peoples who at present speak the same language should be assembled under the same dominion. It is the reason that the German politicians have for extending their language around them. It is really a conquest for the future.

Well, the Gobineau Association must have that doctrine as a flag, and the recrudescence of a Gobineau movement is certainly intended to make the said linguistic doctrine popular. It may be a preparatory movement to claim the German-speaking populations of Austria, when the old emperor dies.

PAUL TOPINARD.

PARIS.

BOOK NOTICES.

A CENTURY OF CASTE. By *Judge A. N. Waterman.* Chicago: M. A. Donohue & Co. 1901. Pages, 85.

Judge A. N. Waterman has written a book under the title *A Century of Caste.* It is a simple but touching tale of the life of a Negro woman of the South, and if we mistake not the tenor and style of the story it is based on fact. There is nothing extraordinary in the fate of the poor old slave woman: how she grew up on a plantation, how she was married to Tom, how her husband was sold, how the War came, and her old age. The reader feels that he is confronted with a living personality. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* may have collected the worst facts of Southern slave life; but here we find mingled with the sufferings of the poor Negro, also the gentler sympathies of their white owners, and the love of the Negro for the white folks, whom they feared and admired at the same time. And we see how the slaves love the children of their masters as much as their own.

Judge Waterman begins his tale with these words: "With many, life is a melodrama; for some, a tragedy; to most, a disappointment. The greater portion of mankind feel that they have been unjustly dealt with, unduly vexed and troubled, not properly appreciated or rewarded; that opportunities afforded to others have been denied to them. To these, this presentation of burdens they have never borne, is offered for their consideration."

Being a judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois, we feel confident that Judge Waterman does not exaggerate the conditions; in fact, he substantiates the statements incidentally made in his book by adding in a note the laws and ordinances of several Southern states, and also of the state of Illinois, showing the spirit in which the black population was kept in subjection. The book is short, but no one can lay it aside after perusal without gaining sympathy for the downtrodden, and feeling the need of constant further improvement as to the removal of castes and extending good will even to the lowest and most unfortunate living creature. P. C.

A. S. Barnes & Co., of New York, just issue a book on *Atoms and Energies*, by D. A. Murray, A. M., some time instructor in the Government Shogyo Gakko, Kyoto, Japan. Now, the Shogyo Gakko is not a school of *physics*, or of *mechanics*, but a *commercial school*, and the weight of the book is further augmented by its having a preface written for it by our esteemed friend and contributor, Dr. Frederick Starr, who is Professor of Anthropology and Indian Science in the University of Chicago, and an authority on Indian mechanics. Mr. Barnes believes that energy is an "entity," and that there are two forms of Substance: (1) Material Substance or Atoms, and (2) Kinetic Substance or Energies, to which he adds a third, Psychic Substance, Soul or Life,—all genuinely prehistoric conceptions

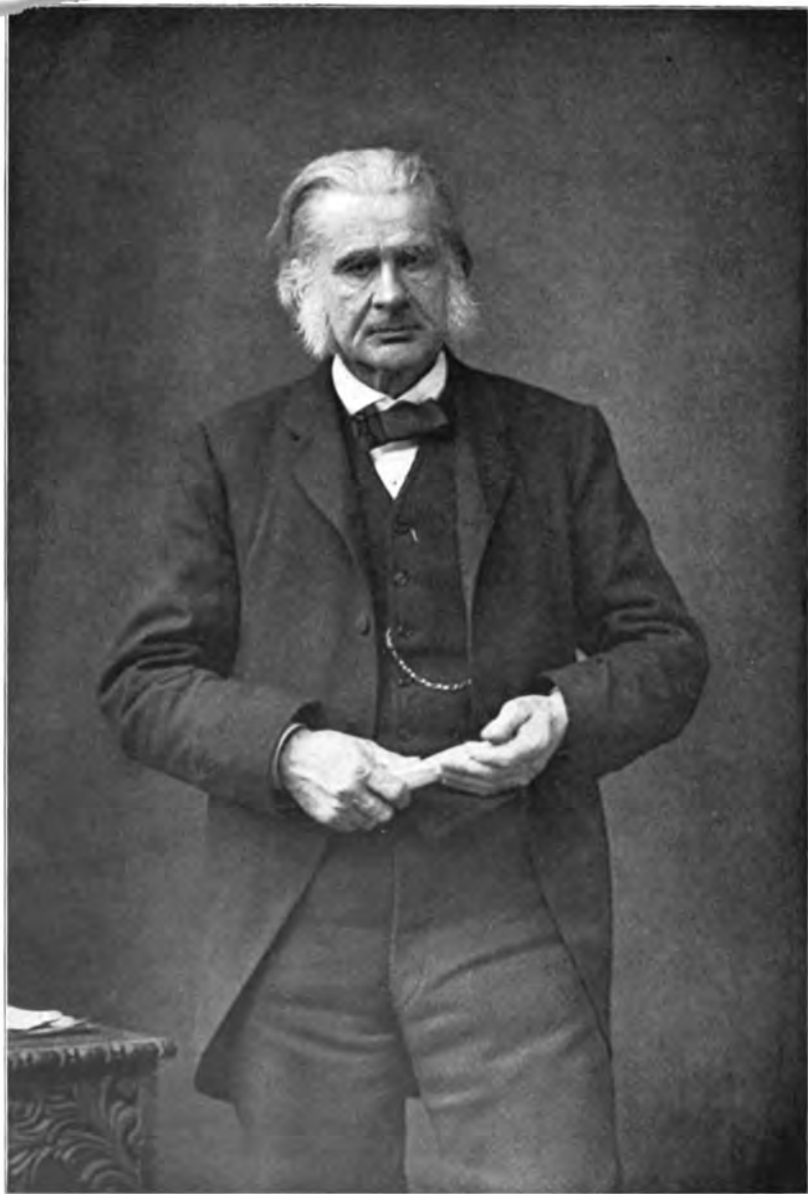
which could not but have thrilled with rapture the heart of a professor of prehistoric lore, and logically have led to his fathering the book. "It is long," says Professor Starr, "since I have read a book in Physical Science which has given me so much pleasure," and we should be the last, by *our* animadversions, to deprive others of the same joy. Never were folklore and physics more happily blended. (Pp., 202. Cloth, \$1.25.)

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., of New York, have recently issued a neat edition of Ralph Waldo Trine's three booklets: (1) *The Greatest Thing Ever Known*, (2) *Every Living Creature*, and (3) *Character-Building Thought Power*. Mr. Trine's books have been successful from the point of view of circulation, and appeal strongly to the semi-scientific and mystical tendencies of present-day thought. Amid most outspoken doctrines of Christian Science and Mental Healing will be found such ethical and psychological truths as the following: "A thought—good or evil—an act, in time a habit, so runs life's law,—what you live in your thought-world, that sooner or later you will find objectified in your life." (Pages, 82, 85, and 51 respectively. Price, each, 35 cents.)

NOTES.

We have learned with deep regret of the death of Prof. John Fiske of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Professor Fiske was an original and fearless thinker and did much to disseminate sound evolutionary thought in our country at a time when the reigning influences were decidedly hostile to it. The chief works of his which contributed to this end were *Myths and Myth-Makers* (1872), *Cosmic Philosophy* (1874), and *The Unseen World* (1876). Fiske's highest aspiration was the chair of philosophy at Harvard, but the time was not ripe and he failed to receive the appointment, although he was specially fitted for the place by his natural bent, his talents, his preparatory studies and the high achievements of his pen. He was suspected of being too liberal and so he was disappointed. He subsequently devoted himself with great success to the study of American history, and produced works in this field which betokened the highest impartiality and critical power, and which have been very effective in offsetting the ridiculous Chauvinism and braggadocio that characterised the current standard expositions of this subject prior to his labors. But in this field too he failed to find the official recognition which he would have most highly appreciated, a university position as professor of history, although that higher recognition which comes from the appreciation of thinkers and readers at large fell in both instances to his share. The titles of his main historical productions and text-books are as follows: *The Beginnings of New England* (1889), *The Discovery of America* (1892), *The American Revolution* (1891), *Critical Period of American History, 1783 to '89* (1888), and *Civil Government in the United States*. Other works of Professor Fiske are *Excursions of an Evolutionist* (1883) and *The Idea of God* (1885). Professor Fiske's labors and interests were very comprehensive, and his productions were invariably marked by erudition and critique.

The article on Burmese Temples in the present *Open Court* was written especially for our pages by Dr. Grünwedel, an officer of the great Ethnological Museum of Berlin, which corresponds to our Bureau of Ethnology in Washington; and the photographs were obtained for us by Dr. Huth from Herr Thomann's own collection. To all these gentlemen we wish to publicly express our thanks here.



THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY.

(1825-1895.)

From the Cabinet Portrait Gallery.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE RELIGIOUS PARLIAMENT IDEA.

A TRUE STORY OF AN ORTHODOX EXAMPLE.

BY THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

BORDERED by picturesque hills and beautified by groves and gardens the Village of the Vale lies as fair as a dream in the bosom of one of the brightest valleys of the Empire State. The Eastern hills hold the sun in their hands at its rising, and the summits of the Western highlands receive its caresses as the day deepens into the evening twilight.

A brief inspection will suffice to show that this village is a seat of learning, not a center of industry in the common acceptance of that term.

On a southerly hill rise large buildings whose form and arrangement sufficiently proclaim the high educational uses for which they are maintained. It is the site of a University.

The surrounding country is divided into small farms which present ever-varying scenes of a pleasing character. Reigning like a queen on her chosen site the University seems to have put the impress of her genius on all the neighboring country. Farm-folk as well as village residents cherish with a pleasing pride the institutions of learning which give the locality its only claim to distinction aside from the charms it has received from the hand of nature.

The population of the village has always been largely Baptist. The locality is known as a Baptist stronghold. Several other denominations maintain places of worship in the village but the Baptists hold an easy pre-eminence in numbers and influence.

Of all the inhabitants of the locality ten or fifteen per cent.

who acknowledged the Roman Catholic Church as their spiritual Mother, seemed the least important from every point of view. They had no priest to instruct them and keep them in order, and seemed entirely beyond the reach of the Protestant churches. The result was more or less disorder among them, manifesting itself in intemperance and other vices, to the disturbance of the community.

Finally a change came. A Catholic Priest made his appearance in the village, obtained a location and set himself to work. He was a young man, modest in demeanor and agreeable in manner, and soon made a favorable impression on those among whom he had come to live and work.

The inhabitants of the village soon saw that where disorder had so long prevailed new conditions were speedily being established. Intemperance was greatly diminished; industry largely increased; Sunday services took the place of Sabbath-breaking; and peace and happiness began to display their charms around the homes of Catholic families.

The ministers and members of the Protestant Churches soon found that they had a new and powerful ally in the young Catholic Priest and the Church he had established; and to their honor it should be added that they were not slow to acknowledge his good work and bid him Godspeed in its continuance.

This Priest had raised the necessary funds and erected an unpretentious house of worship; which it is not too much to say, was regarded with respect and affection by nearly the whole community.

But one unfortunate night a fire occurred and the little Catholic church was consumed. Its congregation was homeless again. Its membership had been heavily burdened in the work they had done, and the prospect of regaining what had been lost seemed gloomy enough. But this gloom proved only the darkness which precedes the dawn. Better things were in store.

The priest and his people went to work to rebuild their church, and soon something happened which deserves to be told throughout Christendom, as an exemplification of the Golden Rule in the relations of churches of different creeds. Connected with the University was and is a Theological Seminary, sturdy and orthodox, justly regarded with pride by the Baptist denomination. Indeed the University was built for the sake of the Seminary instead of the Seminary for the sake of the University.

The President of the University was also the President of the Seminary and was a man of noble and commanding character, and

high standing among the authorities of the Baptist Church. Conferences began to be held among the Protestants of the village on the subject of rebuilding the Catholic church, and these conferences soon bore fruit.

It is told that the President and all the members of the Theological Faculty and the Pastors and leading members of all the Protestant churches of the village gladly joined in the contribution of funds for rebuilding the little Catholic church. These contributions were made, not because the faith of those Protestants was weak but because it was so strong and tenacious, so vigorous and enduring. The Baptists naturally took the lead in this noble and generous work. In explaining their action they justified it by the saying, that a tree is known by its fruits; and by the obvious truth that a continuation of the work established by the Catholic priest was essential to the peace and good order of the community.

These zealous Protestants felt that the hand of Divine Providence had shown them an effective way of dealing with the Catholic part of the village population; and that it would be wise to continue that way.

So the Catholic church was rebuilt and has ever since been maintained in the heart of a Protestant community, a living monument of true Christian charity; an inspiring example of the application of the Golden Rule to the things of Religion.

It is told in exemplification of the Church fraternity that followed that the President of the Baptist Theological Seminary attended the Catholic picnic as an honored guest; and it is hardly necessary to add that neither the Catholics nor the Protestants were in any degree compromised by their fraternal relations. The Baptist was, if anything, a sturdier Baptist than before; and the Catholic more faithful than before to his Mother Church: and both more obedient to the Divine Master because of their neighborly relations with each other.

Free indeed from the bitter breath of bigotry must be the theological atmosphere in which such roses of tolerance shed their sweet perfume; pleasant indeed must be the voice of instruction which in such a place calls the learner to the fountains of knowledge.

This story may well serve as an illustration of the essential principle on which was organised the World's Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1893 as one of the great series of World's Congresses that distinguished the World's Fair of that year.

The invitation which asked the attendance at that Parliament

of representatives of all the Religions of the World bore upon its face the declaration that the object of the Convocation was:

"To unite all Religion against all irreligion; to present to the world in the Religious Congresses to be held in connexion with the Columbian Exposition of 1893, the substantial unity of many religions in the good deeds of the Religious Life; to provide for a World's Parliament of Religions, in which their common aims and common grounds of union may be set forth, and the marvellous Religious Progress of the Nineteenth Century be reviewed; and to facilitate separate and independent Congresses of different Religious Denominations and Organisations, under their own officers, in which their business may be transacted, their achievement presented, and their work for the future considered."

When this declaration was adopted, an eminent Bishop, seeing the mighty sweep of the undertaking, reverently exclaimed: "It is almost Divine! It is almost Divine!"

The relation of the Parliament of Religions to the other World's Congresses may be seen from the proclamation of the object of the whole series as set forth on the general invitation sent throughout the world, and which was as follows:

"To establish fraternal relations among the leaders of mankind; to review the progress already achieved; to state the living problems now awaiting solution; to suggest the means of further progress; to bring all the departments of human progress into harmonious relations with each other in the Exposition of 1893; to crown the whole glorious work by the formation and adoption of better and more comprehensive plans than have hitherto been made; to promote the progress, prosperity, unity, peace, and happiness of the world, and to secure the effectual prosecution of such plans by the organisation of a series of world-wide fraternities, through whose efforts and influence the moral and intellectual forces of mankind may be made dominant throughout the world."

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

BY IRA WOODS HOWERTH, PH. D.

THE insight into the private life of Prof. Thomas H. Huxley afforded by the many letters and extracts from letters, which have been arranged by his son, Leonard, with such comment as is necessary to tell the story of his life and present a picture "of the man himself, of his aims in the many struggles in which he was engaged, of his character and temperament, and the circumstances under which his various works were begun and completed," is remarkably interesting and suggestive.¹ The redacteur has wisely kept himself in the background, and has introduced only such matter of his own as is necessary to make a continuous narrative.

The first reflexion of the reader after a perusal of the two large volumes, made up almost entirely of letters from Professor Huxley to his wife, children, and friends, is likely to be on the striking difference between the Huxley here revealed and the caricature of him sometimes presented by the zealous opponents of his religious philosophy. Instead of the narrow, soured, and bigoted partisan of "science falsely so-called," intent on the destruction of "the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints," which used to be a not uncommon pulpit characterisation of him, we find an almost ideally broad-minded, truth-loving, scrupulously honest and charitable man.

The life of Huxley is, from one point of view, especially interesting as an illustration of the effect upon character of a strictly scientific training. There are some who affect to believe that the pursuit of science stifles the feelings and dwarfs the moral nature. Exact and critical studies, they think, are not calculated to pro-

¹ *Life and Letters of Thomas H. Huxley*, by his son Leonard Huxley. In two volumes, with many portraits and illustrations. Pages x, 539 and vi, 541. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1901. Price, \$5.00

mote a high tone of mind. Such a belief, however, is not supported by either the example of Huxley or that of his great *confrère*, Charles Darwin, to say nothing of other illustrious characters which might be mentioned by way of illustration. Darwin and Huxley were from their earliest years almost exclusively engaged in scientific pursuits. Darwin is said to have betrayed an early scientific bent by his love of collecting, and it is well known how this tendency was fostered and encouraged through all his experience. Huxley, "kicked into the world a boy without guide or training, or with worse than none," and with almost no regular schooling, manifested an early interest in physiology, and as a mere boy almost sacrificed his life in a *post mortem* examination to gratify his curiosity in regard to the intricacies of living structure. And this early inclination was favored by such education as he received, and was strengthened by a life of almost exclusive devotion to science. Like another great English scientist, Joseph Dalton Hooker, both Darwin and Huxley began their scientific career on board a Government vessel; Darwin to make his celebrated scientific expedition around the world, and Huxley in a voyage of four years on the "Rattlesnake," which took him to Australia and other parts of the world, and during which he was wholly absorbed in science. Intellectually and morally they were both products of a strictly scientific training. And yet it would be difficult to find a character more noble and generous, or more profoundly simple, than that of Darwin, or one that could bear the light better than that of Huxley.

Whatever be the comparative results, however, of a scientific and a literary or theological training, there can be no doubt that science produced in Professor Huxley the qualities upon which society has put the stamp of its highest approval. Industry, will, good fellowship, altruism, honesty, and devotion to truth were among his conspicuous traits.

The most striking characteristic revealed in Professor Huxley's letters is perhaps his passion for the truth. He is reported as having once described himself as "almost a fanatic for the sanctity of the truth," and this is the impression left by the reading of his letters. In early life he was greatly influenced by the teachings of Carlyle, imbibing from them an ineradicable hatred of cant, humbug, and sham. This, to be sure, is an indispensable part of the moral equipment of the true man of science. Unless it is inborn in him, or acquired at the low price of reading a few books like *Sartor Resartus*, it is likely to be drilled into him by painful expe-

rience in which the unsparing criticism of his co-workers performs a disciplinary function. Professor Huxley fortunately began his work with this fundamental requirement strongly developed. He not only loved the truth, but he believed in its general efficacy. "The more rapid truth is spread among mankind," he said, "the better it will be for them." When certain friends advised him for the sake of his own prospects and reputation to withhold his *Man's Place in Nature* from publication, he rejected their advice, believing, as he said, "that a man of science has no *raison d'être* at all, unless he is willing to face much greater risks than these for the sake of that which he believes to be true." In this connexion his advice to young students of science in regard to publishing the results of honest and careful investigation, found in the 1894 preface to the book mentioned, is worth quoting. "I doubt not," he says, "that there are truths as plainly obvious and as generally denied as those contained in *Man's Place in Nature*, now awaiting enunciation. If there is a young man of the present generation who has taken as much trouble as I did to assure himself that they are truths, let him come out with them, without troubling his head about the barking of the dogs of St. Ernulphus. *Veritas praevalabit*—some day; and even if she does not prevail in his time, he himself will be all the better and wiser for having tried to help her. And let him recollect that such great reward is full payment for all his labor and pains."

Perhaps the best idea of Professor Huxley's devotion to the truth is conveyed in a letter written in reply to Charles Kingsley who had endeavored to console him on the death of his son. After referring to his convictions on certain questions naturally raised by his affliction, he says, "the great blow which fell upon me seemed to stir them to their foundation, and had I lived a couple of centuries earlier I could have fancied the devil scoffing at me and at them and asking me what profit it was to have stripped myself of the happiness and consolation of the mass of mankind? To which my only reply was and is—Oh devil! truth is better than much profit. I have searched over the grounds of my belief, and if wife and child and name and fame were all to be lost to me one after the other as the penalty, still I will not lie." This strong declaration is in striking contrast with the intimation of some of his clerical opponents that he invented Bathybius, or refused to desert it after the evidence upon which it had been described was shown to be unsound, merely because of prejudice against a theological dogma. How often we have heard this put forward as proof

of the over-zealousness of Professor Huxley to destroy the doctrine of special creation! The fact is, that as soon as he was assured of his mistake, he came forward and with characteristic frankness made a public renunciation of Bathybius at the British Association



HUXLEY WITH HIS GRANDSON.

From a photograph by Kent and Lacey, 1895. By permission of Messrs.
D. Appleton & Co.

for the Advancement of Science. In his mind there was really no possible compromise between truth and untruth. "The only serious temptations to perjury I have ever known," he says, "have arisen out of the desire to be of some comfort to people I cared for

in trouble. If there are such things as 'Plato's Royal lies' they are surely those which one is tempted to tell on such occasions"; and when urged to write a more eulogistic notice of a dead friend than he thought deserved, he said, referring to the wife of his friend, "she is such a good devoted little woman, and I am so doubtful about having a soul, that it seems absurd to peril it for her satisfaction."

From what has been said, it must not be inferred that Professor Huxley was fond of parading his attachment to the truth. With characteristic wit, he wrote to Professor Haeckel that he thought it a good thing for a man, once at any rate in his life, to perform a public war-dance against all sorts of humbug and imposture. But that having satisfied one's love of freedom in this way, the sooner the war paint was off the better.

To his unconquerable hatred of lies and humbug should be attributed his caustic sarcasm in polemical discussion, by which he obtained the reputation, in some quarters, of a savage controversialist. It is strikingly evident throughout all Professor Huxley's philosophic and critical works that he loved intellectual battle. It served him as a sort of tonic. Intellectual warfare in behalf of the truth as he saw it, or a "row" (as he called it) with one of his opponents, seemed to be good for his health. "Controversy," he gravely declared, "is as abhorrent to me as gin to a reclaimed drunkard," and yet, when an "absurd creature" went about declaring that in a review article he had made all sorts of blunders, Huxley wanted somebody to persuade him to put what he had to say in black and white, for "it would be so nice to squelch that pompous impostor."

And yet, it cannot be said that Professor Huxley courted controversy for its own sake. He was reported to have said near the close of his life that for twenty years he had never attacked, but always fought in self-defense, counting Darwin as a part of himself. Prior to that period, he admits an attack upon a man whom he could not trust, and another upon Gladstone. He seems to have thought, and no doubt correctly, that service of the truth demanded that he strike a severe blow at Gladstone's pretensions to historical and scientific accuracy. His real object in this instance, as in others, was to arouse people to think. One can easily understand, of course, that a man with the keenness of wit and brilliancy of style which Professor Huxley possessed, might find genuine delight in using these weapons of debate to overthrow an adversary.

It is greatly to his credit, therefore, that there are few, if any, instances of his use of them for the mere pleasure of the exercise.

If it were true, as Professor Huxley says of himself, that he had a natural vein of laziness, we may well be glad that he lived in an atmosphere of controversy. "Ingrained laziness," he said, "is the bane of my existence," and in more than one place he professes a great dislike for letter-writing. If there was indeed a "vein of laziness" in his character, he was responsive to the stimulus of debate. All this self-disparagement is naturally discounted, however, in the presence of his vast epistolary correspondence, and the catalogue of his books and articles, which covers twenty octavo pages. The amount and character of his work, and especially of his scientific and critical contributions to knowledge, lend a special interest to the methods he employed.

As might be expected, Professor Huxley was extraordinarily careful in the preparation of his lectures. He always thought out carefully every word he was going to say. "There is no greater danger," he said, "than the so-called *inspiration of the moment*, which leads you to say something which is not accurately true, or which you would regret afterwards." So careful was he in giving nothing out second-hand, that, as his son tells us, one of his scientific friends reproached him with wasting his time upon unnecessary scientific works, to which competent investigators had already given the stamp of their authority. "Poor —," was his comment afterwards, "if that is his own practice, his works will never live."

In composing, his practice was to write and rewrite things, until by some sort of instinctive process they acquired the condensation and symmetry which satisfied him. "It is an excellent rule," he said, "always to erase anything that strikes one as particularly smart when writing it."

Considering his felicity of phrase and brilliancy of style, it is curious to read his admission that his pen was not a very facile one, and that what he wrote cost him a good deal of trouble; and again, that writing was a perfect pest to him unless he was interested, and "not only a bore but a very slow process." He was extremely fastidious in his choice of words and phrases. Some times he wrote an essay half a dozen times before he could get it into the proper shape. When he got to a certain point of tinkering his phrases he had to put them aside, as he tells, for a day or two. "The fact is," he said, "that I have a great love and respect for my native tongue, and take great pains to use it properly." As a result of this he was able, as another has said of him, always to

put his finger on a wrong word, and always instinctively to choose the right one. His object was to express himself in such language that he could "stand cross-examination on each word." He strove to be clear, to avoid confusion, obscurity, and shuffling. As he grew older he became more and more fastidious, and it constantly became more difficult for him "to finish things satisfactorily." His letters detract nothing from his reputation as one of the great masters of prose writing.

A few passages already quoted may have suggested the amusing turns of expression and the scintillating wit which abound in Professor Huxley's letters. Nothing but the reading of them, however, could convey an adequate idea of the agility and playfulness of his mind. Of several amusing anecdotes illustrating his wit the following related by Professor Howes may be given: When time permitted, he would remain after a lecture to answer questions; and in connexion with his so doing his wonderful power of gauging and rising to a situation, once came out most forcibly. Turning to a student, he asked, "Well, I hope you understand it all." "All, sir, but one part, during which you stood between me and the blackboard," was the reply; the rejoinder: "I did my best to make myself clear, but could not render myself transparent."

There is a side of Professor Huxley's nature which has not been sufficiently dwelt upon. Early in life, and probably from the reading of Carlyle, he acquired a great interest in social problems; and throughout his life he was almost constantly engaged in some sort of labor to improve the condition of the working class. The preparation of lectures to be delivered before bodies of working men took up no small portion of his time. Instances in which his interest in the poor manifested itself financially might be pointed out. Some have supposed from his unsparing criticism of General Booth's Salvation Army scheme that he was uninterested in, or opposed to, all forms of charitable work. On the contrary he repeatedly betrays a strong interest, and in a letter of January 2, 1880, he says, "if I am remembered at all, I would rather it should be as 'a man who did his best to help the people' than by other title." His idea of helping the people, however, was that of careful legislation, and wise provision for the education of the young, rather than spasmodic and indiscriminate charity. Against all sentimental proposals for social reform he was uncompromising in his criticism.

In the criticism of social schemes, as well as in that of theological doctrine, Professor Huxley manifested the tenacity of pur-

pose which was one of the marked characteristics of his nature. His family motto was *tenax propositi*, and he seemed to have no difficulty in living up to it. He inherited from his father "that amount of tenacity of purpose which unfriendly observers some times call obstinacy." To this obstinacy or doggedness, if we may choose to call it so, we are indebted for his steady attention to the main business of his life, namely, scientific investigation. For few men have pursued a chosen career under greater difficulties and discouragements. In the face of them all, he declared, in a letter written to his wife, "I will *not* leave London—I *will* make myself a name and a position as well as an income, by some kind of pursuit connected with science, which is the thing for which nature has fitted me if she has ever fitted any one for anything." The same determination is manifested throughout all his work, as for instance in his untiring championship of the doctrine of evolution. His characterisation of himself as "Darwin's bulldog," was not inapt.

What Professor Huxley has just been quoted as saying in regard to his fitness for science is eminently true. He approximates the ideal type of the man of science. With intellectual integrity, scrupulous honesty, carefulness in investigation, accuracy in expression and fearlessness in the presentation of unpalatable truth, he presents an example which should be held up for the emulation of all modern students. These virtues were the aim and object of his life. He more than once declared that he cared nothing for posthumous fame. What he did really care about was the progress of scientific thought. "My sole motive," he said, "is to get at the truth in all things. I do not care one straw about fame, present or posthumous, and I loath notoriety, but I do care to have that desire manifest and recognised." As a hater of lies in every form, as a smiter of humbugs, as a generous though uncompromising controversialist, as a populariser of technical scientific knowledge, in a word, as the great protagonist of truth in all its forms, it is to be feared we shall not soon look upon his like again.

It is always an interesting question as to what constituted the motive of a man who has left such a deep mark upon the world as Professor Huxley. Fortunately he has expressed himself emphatically upon this point, and under circumstances which leave no doubt of his sincerity. In the same letter on the death of his son from which we have previously quoted, he says, after referring to the mistakes of his life, "for long years I have been slowly and painfully climbing, with many a fall, towards better things. And

when I look back, what do I find to have been the agents of my redemption? The hope of immortality or of future reward? I can honestly say that for these fourteen years such a consideration has not entered my head. No, I can tell you exactly what has been at work. *Sartor Resartus* led me to know that a deep sense of religion was compatible with the entire absence of theology. Secondly, science and her methods gave me a resting-place independent of authority and tradition. Thirdly, love opened up to me a view of the sanctity of human nature, and impressed me with a deep sense of responsibility. If at this moment I am not a worn-out, debauched, useless carcass of a man, if it has been or will be my fate to advance the cause of science, if I feel that I have a shadow of a claim on the love of those about me, if in the supreme moment when I looked down into my boy's grave my sorrow was full of submission and without bitterness, it is because these agencies have worked upon me, and not because I have ever cared whether my poor personality shall remain distinct for ever from the All from whence it came and whither it goes. . . . I may be quite wrong, and in that case I know I shall have to pay the penalty for being wrong. But I can only say with Luther, '*Gott helfe mir, ich kann nicht anders.*'. . . One thing people shall not call me with justice and that is—a liar."

After this frank expression, one can understand the high esteem in which Professor Huxley was held by the men with whom he was associated in science and public business. One of these, Sir Spencer Walpole, to use a single illustration, said of him, "of all the men I have ever known, his ideas and his standard were—on the whole—the highest. He recognised that the fact of his religious views imposed upon him the duty of living the most upright of lives, and I am very much of the opinion of a little child, now grown into an accomplished woman, when she was told that Professor Huxley had no hopes of future reward, and no fear of future punishment, emphatically declared: 'Then I think Professor Huxley is the best man I have ever known.'"

THE LEGENDS OF GENESIS.

BY H. GUNKEL.

THE ARTISTIC FORM OF THE LEGENDS.

AN EARLY ISRAELITISH ROMANCE.

OUT of the type of legend which has been sketched in essentials in the preceding chapters there was evolved, as we may discover even in Genesis itself, another type relatively much nearer to modern fiction. While the story of Hagar's flight is a classic instance of the former sort, the most conspicuous example of the second is the story of Joseph. It is necessary only to compare the two narratives in order to see the great differences in the two kinds: there, everything characteristically brief and condensed, here, just as characteristically, everything long spun out.

The first striking difference is the extent of the stories. Since the vogue of the earlier form we see that men have learned to construct more considerable works of art and are fond of doing so. The second is that people are no longer satisfied to tell a single legend by itself, but have the gift of combining several legends into a whole. Thus it is in the story of Joseph, so also in the Jacob-Esau-Laban story and in the legends of Abraham and Lot.

Let us inquire how these combinations came about. In the first place, related legends attracted one another. For instance, it was to be expected that legends treating the same individual would constitute themselves into a small epic, as in the stories of Joseph and of Jacob; or the similar, and yet characteristically different, legends of Abraham at Hebron and Lot at Sodom have become united. Similarly in J a story of the creation and a story of Paradise are interwoven; both of them treat the beginnings of the race. In P the primitive legends of the creation and of the deluge originally constituted a connected whole. In many cases that we can observe the nature of the union is identical: the

more important legend is split in two and the less important one put into the gap. We call this device in composition, which is very common in the history of literature—instance *The Arabian Nights*, the *Decameron*, *Gil Blas*, and Hauff's *Tales*—"enframed stories." Thus, the story of Esau and Jacob is the frame for the story of Jacob and Laban; the experiences of Joseph in Egypt are fitted into the story of Joseph and his Brethren; similarly the story of Abraham at Hebron is united with that of Lot at Sodom.

DEVICES FOR UNITING SEVERAL STORIES.

In order to judge of the artistic quality of these compositions we must first of all examine the joints or edges of the elder stories. Usually the narrators make the transition by means of very simple devices from one of the stories to the other. The transition par excellence is the journey. When the first portion of the Jacob-Esau legend is finished Jacob sets out for Aram; there he has his experiences with Laban, and then returns to Esau. In the story of Joseph the carrying off of Joseph to Egypt, and later the journey of his brethren thither, are the connecting links of the separate stories. Similarly in the story of Abraham and Lot, we are first told that the three men visited Abraham and went afterwards to Sodom. Now we must examine how these various journeys are motivated. The sale of Joseph into Egypt is the goal at which everything that precedes has aimed. The journey of his brethren to Egypt is prompted by the same great famine which had already been the decisive factor in bringing Joseph to honor in Egypt. And the experiences of the brethren in Egypt are based upon Joseph's advancement. Thus we see that the story of Joseph is very cunningly blended into a whole. There is less of unity in the story of Jacob; but even here there is a plausible motive why Jacob goes to Laban: he is fleeing from Esau. In other respects we find here the original legends side by side unblended. On the contrary, in the story of Abraham and Lot no reason is alleged why the three men go directly from Abraham to Sodom; that is to say, there is here no attempt at an inner harmonising of the different legends, but the narrator has exerted himself all the more to devise artificial links of connexion: this is why he tells that Abraham accompanied the men to the gates of Sodom, and even returned to the same place on the following morning. In this we receive most clearly the impression of conscious art, which is trying to make from originally disconnected elements a more plausible unity. In the Joseph legend we have an instance of a much more intimate

blending of parts than the "frames" of these other stories, a whole series of different adventures harmonised and interwoven.

EPIC DISCURSIVENESS.

Another characteristic feature of the Joseph story is its discursiveness, which stands in notable contrast with the brevity of the older narratives. We find in it an abundance of long speeches, of soliloquies, of detailed descriptions of situations, of expositions of the thoughts of the personages. The narrator is fond of repeating in the form of a speech what he has already told. What are we to think of this "epic discursiveness"? Not as an especial characteristic of this particular narrative alone, for we find the same qualities, though less pronounced, in the stories of the wooing of Rebecca, of Abraham at the court of Abimelech (Genesis xx.), in some features of the story of Jacob (notably the meeting of Jacob and Esau); and the stories of the sacrifice of Isaac and various features of the story of Abraham and Lot also furnish parallels. Very evidently we have to do here with a distinct art of story telling, the development of a new taste. This new art is not satisfied, like its predecessor, with telling the legend in the briefest possible way and with suppressing so far as possible all incidental details; but it aims to make the legend richer and to develop its beauties even when they are quite incidental. It endeavors to keep situations that are felt to be attractive and interesting before the eye of the hearers as long as possible. Thus, for instance, the distress of Joseph's brethren as they stand before their brother is portrayed at length; there is evident intent to delay the narrative, so that the hearer may have time to get the full flavor of the charm of the situation. Thus Joseph is not permitted to discover himself at the very first meeting, in order that this scene may be repeated; he is made to demand that Benjamin be brought before him, because the aged Jacob hesitates a long time to obey this demand, and thus the action is retarded. Similarly in the story of the sacrifice of Isaac, the narrative is spun out just before the appearance of God upon the scene, in order to postpone the catastrophe and intensify the interest.

The means that is applied over and over again to prolong the account is to report the same scene twice, though of course with variations. Joseph interprets dreams for Egyptian officials twice; Joseph's brethren must meet him in Egypt twice; twice he hides valuables in their grain sacks in order to embarrass them (xlii. 25ff., xlv. 2 ff.); twice they bargain over Joseph's cup, with the steward

and with Joseph himself (xliii. 13 ff., 25 ff.), and so on. Sometimes, though surely less frequently, it is possible that the narrators have invented new scenes on the basis of the earlier motives, as with the last scene between Joseph and his brethren, chapter l.

Quite unique is the intercalated episode, the negotiations of Abraham with God regarding Sodom, which may almost be called a didactic composition. It is written to treat a religious problem which agitated the time of the author, and which occurred to him in connexion with the story of Sodom. These narrators have a quite remarkable fondness for long speeches, so great as to lead them to subordinate the action to the speeches. The most marked instance is the meeting of Abraham with Abimelech, chapter xx. Here, quite in opposition to the regular rule of ancient style, the events are not told in the order in which they occurred, but a series of occurrences are suppressed at the beginning in order to bring them in later in the succeeding speeches. Thus the narrator has attempted to make the speeches more interesting even at the expense of the incidents to be narrated.

It is also a favorite device to put substance into the speeches by having what has already been reported repeated by one of the personages of the story (xliii. 13, 21, 30 ff.; xliii. 3, 7, 20 f.; xliv. 19 ff.). The rule of style in such repetition of speech is, contrary to the style of Homer, to vary them somewhat the second time. This preference for longer speeches is, as we clearly perceive, a secondary phenomenon in Hebrew style, the mark of a later period. We observe this in the fact that the very pieces which we recognise from other considerations as the latest developments of the legend or as intercalations (xiii. 14-17; xvi. 9 f.; xviii. 17-19, 23-33) are the ones which contain these speeches.

We may find this delight in discursiveness in other species of Hebrew literature also. The brief, condensed style of Amos is followed by the discursive style of a Jeremiah, and the same relation exists between the laconic sentences of the Book of the Covenant and the long-winded expositions of Deuteronomy, between the brief apothegms which constitute the heart of the Book of Proverbs and the extended speeches which were afterwards added by way of introduction, between the oldest folk-songs, which often contain but a single line each, and the long poems of art poetry.

INTEREST IN SOUL-LIFE.

We do not always agree with this taste of the later time; for instance, the story of Joseph approaches the danger-line of becom-

ing uninteresting from excessive detail. On the other hand, this discursiveness is at the same time the evidence of a newly acquired faculty. While the earlier time can express its inner life only in brief and broken words, the new generation has learned to observe itself more closely and to express itself more completely. With this there has come an increase of interest in the soul-life of the individual. Psychological problems are now treated with fondness and with skill. Thus in the story of the sacrifice of Isaac there was created the perfection of the character study. The narrator of the stories of Joseph shows himself a master of the art of painting the portrait of a man by means of many small touches. Especially successful is the description of Joseph's inner vacillation at the sight of Benjamin (xliii. 30), and the soul painting when Jacob hears that Joseph is still alive (xlv. 26), and elsewhere. But while in these later narratives the incidental features of the old legend are still developed with greater detail, on the other hand this very fact has naturally thrown the chief features somewhat into the background and made the original point of the whole less obvious. This result has been further favored by the circumstance that the original points had in many cases ceased to be altogether clear to those of the later time. Thus in the story of Joseph the historical and etiological elements have lost importance.

The difference between the two styles is so great that it seems advisable to distinguish them by different names, and to limit the use of "legend" to the first while we call the second "romance." Of course, the transition between the two is fluctuant; we may call such transition forms as the story of Laban and Jacob, or that of Rebecca, "legends touched with romance," or "romances based on legendary themes."

On the relative age of these styles, also, an opinion may be ventured, though with great caution. The art of narrative which was acquired in the writing of legends was applied later to the writing of history, where accordingly we may make parallel observations. Now we see that the oldest historical writing known to us has already adopted the "detailed" style. Accordingly we may assume that this "detailed" style was cultivated at least as early as the beginning of the time of the kings. And therefore the condensed style must have been cultivated for many centuries before that time. However, it should be observed, this fixes only the time of the styles of narrative, and not the age of the narratives preserved to us in these styles.

ACCOUNT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEGENDS OF
GENESIS IN ORAL TRADITION.

At the time when they were written down the legends were already very old and had already a long history behind them. This is in the very nature of legend: the origin of legends always eludes the eye of the investigator, going back into pre-historic times. And so it is in the present case. The great age of the legends is seen, for example, by the fact that they often speak of vanished tribes, such as Abel and Cain, Shem, Ham and Japhet, Jacob and Esau, none of which are known to historical times, and further, by the primitive vigor of many touches that reveal to us the religion and the morality of the earliest times, as for instance, the many mythological traces, such as the story of the marriages with angels, of Jacob's wrestling with God, and the many stories of deceit and fraud on the part of the patriarchs, and so on.

FOREIGN INFLUENCES.

A portion of these legends, perhaps very many, did not originate in Israel, but were carried into Israel from foreign countries. This too is part of the nature of these stories, this wandering from tribe to tribe, from land to land, and also from religion to religion. Thus for instance many of our German legends and *Märchen* came to us from foreign lands. And even to this day there is perhaps nothing which modern civilised peoples exchange so easily and so extensively as their stories, as may be seen, for instance, in the enormous circulation of foreign novels in Germany.

Now if we recall that Israel lived upon a soil enriched by the civilisation of thousands of years, that it lived by no means in a state of isolation but was surrounded on all sides by races with superior culture, and if we consider further the international trade and intercourse of the early ages, which went from Babylonia to Egypt and from Arabia to the Mediterranean by way of Palestine, we are warranted in assuming that this position of Israel among the nations will be reflected in its legends as well as in its language, which must be literally full of borrowed words.

Investigators hitherto, especially Wellhausen and his school, have erred frequently in assuming that the history of Israel could be interpreted almost exclusively from within, and in ignoring altogether too much the lines which connect Israel with the rest of

the world. Let us trust that the investigators of the future will be more disposed than has hitherto been the case to give the history of Israel its place in the history of the world! Of course, with our slender knowledge of the primitive Orient we are in large measure thrown back upon conjectures. Yet this cannot justify us in ignoring altogether the surroundings in which Israel lived, and there are after all certain things which we may declare with tolerable certainty.

BABYLONIAN INFLUENCE.

Babylonian influence is evident more than any other in the primitive legends. We can demonstrate this in the case of the legend of the Deluge, of which we possess the Babylonian version; and we have strong reasons for accepting it in the case of the story of creation, which agrees with the Babylonian story in the characteristic point of the division of the primeval sea into two portions; also in the legend of Nimrod, and in the traditions of the patriarchs, the ten patriarchs of the race as given by P being ultimately the same as the ten primitive kings of the Babylonians. The legend of the Tower of Babel, too, deals with Babylonia and must have its origin in that region. The Eranian parallels to the legend of Paradise show that this too came from further East, but whether from Babylonia specifically is an open question, since the Babylonians located Paradise not at the source of the streams, so far as we know, but rather at their mouth. We have besides a Buddhistic parallel to the story of Sodom. (Cp. T. Cassel, *Mischle Sindbad*.)

As to the time when these legends entered Israel the opinions of investigators are divided; to us it seems probable from interior evidence that these legends wandering from race to race reached Canaan as early as some time in the second millennium B. C. and were adopted by Israel just as it was assimilating the civilisation of Canaan. We know from the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence that Babylonian influence was working upon Canaan even in this early period; and on the other hand, a later time, when Israel's self-consciousness had awakened, would scarcely have accepted these foreign myths.

EGYPTIAN AND PHŒNICIAN INFLUENCES.

Egyptian influence is recognisable in the romance of Joseph, which has its scene partly in Egypt and very likely goes back to Egyptian legends. This is particularly evident in the legend of

Joseph's agrarian policy, xlvii. 13 ff. We may well wonder that we find so few Egyptian elements in Genesis, but so far as we can see the same observation is to be made for the civilisation of Israel in general: Egypt was already a decadent nation and had but slight influence upon Canaan. We shall find also Phœnician and Aramaic elements in the legends; the second is proven by the importance of the city of Haran to the patriarchs.

The probable home of the Ishmael legend is Ishmael, and that of Lot the mountains of Moab, where Lot's cave was shown, xix. 30. The Jacob-Esau stories and the Jacob-Laban stories were originally told in "Jacob"; the Shem-Japhet-Canaan legend in "Shem," as it would seem; the Abel-Cain legend neither in Abel, which perished according to the legend, nor in Cain, which was cursed and exiled; accordingly in some unnamed people.

RELIGIOUS LEGENDS NOT ISRAELITIC.

The legends of worship in Genesis we may assume with the greatest certainty to have originated in the places of which they treat. The same may be said of other legends which ascribe names to definite places. Accordingly it is probable that most of the legends of the patriarchs were known before Israel came into Canaan. This assumption is supported by the character of many of the legends of Genesis: the complaisance and peacefulness of the figures of the patriarchs are by no means Israelitish characteristics. The connexion of man and fruitland (Cp. the *Commentary*, p. 5) in the story of Paradise is conceivable only among a people of peasants. According to the Cain and Abel legend also, the field is God's property, iv. 14.

But especially the religion of Genesis hints of a non-Israelitish origin for most of the legends: two of our sources (E and P) avoid calling the God of the patriarchs "Jahveh," in which we may see a last relic of the feeling that these stories really have nothing to do with "Jahveh" the God of Israel, as furthermore the book of Job, which also treats a foreign theme, does not use the name "Jahveh." But even in the third source (J), which speaks of "Jahveh," the name "Jahveh Zebaoth" is not found. On a few occasions we are able to catch the name of the pre-Jahvistic God of the legend; we hear of "El Lahaj Ro'i" at Lahaj Ro'i, xvi. 30, of "El 'Olam" at Beersheba, xxi. 33 ff., of "El Bethel" at Bethel, xxxi. 13; El Shaddai and El 'Eljon are probably also such primitive names. In the legend of Abraham at Hebron there are assumed at the start three gods; polytheism is also to be traced in

the legend of the heavenly ladder at Bethel and in the fragment of the Mahanaim legend, xxxii. 2, where mention is made of many divine beings.

We recognise Israelitish origin with perfect certainty only in those legends that introduce expressly Israelitish names, that is particularly in the legends of Dinah (Simeon and Levi) xxxiv, Tamar (Judah) xxxviii, and Reuben xxxv. 22. But we do not mean to declare by this that other narratives may not be of Israelitish origin. In particular the considerable number of legends which have their scene in Negeb (southward of Judah) may be very likely of Israelitish origin. But Israelitish tradition flows unmixed, so far as we can see, only from the introduction of the story of Moses.

The general view of the legendary traditions of Israel gives us, then, so far as we are able to make it out, the following main features: The legends of the beginnings in the main are Babylonian, the legends of the patriarchs are essentially Canaanitish, and after these come the specifically Israelitish traditions. This picture corresponds to the history of the development of civilisation: in Canaan the native civilisation grows up on a foundation essentially Babylonian, and after this comes the Israelitish national life. It is a matter of course that the sequence of periods in the themes for story-telling and in the epochs of civilisation should correspond; thus among modern peoples the children make the acquaintance first of the Israelitish stories, next of the Græco-Roman, and finally the modern subjects, quite in accordance with the influences in the history of our civilisation.

GREEK PARALLELS.

A particularly interesting problem is offered by the correspondence of certain legends to Greek subjects; for instance the story of the three men who visit Abraham is told among the Greeks by Hyrieus at Tanagra (Ovid, *Fast.*, V., 495 ff.); the story of Potiphar's wife contains the same fictional motive as that of Hippolytus and Phædra and is found in other forms; there are also Greek parallels for the story of the curse upon Reuben (Homer, *Iliad*, IX., 447 ff.) and for the story of the quarrel of the brothers Esau and Jacob (Apollodor., *Biblioth.*, II., 2/1); the legend of Lot at Sodom suggests that of Philemon and Baucis. In the legends of the beginnings also there are related features: the declaration that man and woman were originally one body (Plato, *Symp.*, p. 189 ff.), and the myth of the Elysian happiness of the primeval time are

also familiar to the Greeks. The solution of this problem will surely be found in the assumption that both these currents of tradition are branches of one great Oriental stream.

Accordingly we infer that the legends of Genesis are of very varied origin, which is altogether confirmed by more careful examination. For the narratives themselves are far from consistent: some conceive of the patriarchs as peasants, others as shepherds, but never as city-dwellers; some have their scene in Babylonia, some in Egypt, some in Aram, and others in North and South Canaan; some assume an original polytheism, others speak of the guardian genius (El) of the place, some think of God as the severe lord of mankind, others praise the mercy of God, and so on.

THE ADAPTATION OF THE LEGENDS.

Naturally these foreign themes were vigorously adapted in Israel to the nationality and the religion of the people, a process to be recognised most clearly in the case of the Babylonian-Hebrew legend of the Deluge. Here the polytheism has disappeared: the many gods have been dropped in favor of the one (the myth of creation), or have been reduced to servants of the one (the legend of Hebron); the local divinities have been identified with Jahveh and their names regarded as epithets of Jahveh in the particular locality involved (xvi. 13; xxi. 33; xxxi. 13).

The amalgamation of these legends and their infilling with the spirit of a higher religion is one of the most brilliant achievements of the people of Israel. But quite apart from the religion, in this Israelitising of the legends it is quite certain that a quantity of changes took place of which we can survey only a small portion. Foreign personages were displaced by native ones: as for instance the Hebrew Enoch took the place of the Babylonian magician Enmeduranki, while the more familiar Noah took the place of the hero in the Babylonian account of the Deluge. Thus also the Egyptian stories found in the last of Genesis were transferred to the Israelite figure of Joseph. And thus in many cases the stories which are now connected with definite personages may not originally have belonged to them. Or again, native personages were associated with the foreign ones: thus Esau-Se'ir was identified with Edom, and Jacob with Israel, and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob made to be ancestors of the people of Israel. Or foreign legends were localised in the places of Canaan: thus the story of the three visitors of Abraham, which is known also to the Greeks, is localised at Hebron; the legend of the vanished cities, which even in the form pre-

served knows nothing of the salt lake, beside the Dead Sea. And in the process various specifically Israelitish features have been introduced into the legends, for instance, the prophecies that Esau (Edom) would sometime separate from Jacob (Israel), xxvii. 40; that Joseph would receive Shechem, xlviii. 22; that Manasseh would dwindle as compared with Ephraim. In the legend of Jacob and Laban the motive of the boundary treaty at Gilead is a later interpolation; a piece about the preservation of Zoar has been added to the legend of Sodom. The legends of worship which were originally intended to explain the sanctity of the place, were transferred to Jahveh and to the patriarch Jared and received the new point that they were to explain why Jared had the right to worship Jahveh at this place.

MODE OF AMALGAMATION.

Further alterations came about by exchange or combination of local traditions. We can imagine that such things happened very frequently in connexion with travel, especially perhaps on the occasion of the great pilgrimages to the tribal sanctuaries, and by means of the class of travelling story-tellers. Thus the legends travelled from place to place and are told in our present form of the tradition regarding various places. The story of Sodom and Gomorrah was localised, as it seems, by another tradition at Adma and Sebo'im (cp. my *Commentary*, p. 195). According to another tradition a similar legend was told in connexion with Gibeah in Benjamin (Judges xix.). The rescue of Ishmael was localised both in Lahaj Roi and in Beersheba (xxi. 14). The meeting of Jacob and Esau on the former's return was located at Mahanaim and at Penuel on the Jabbok (in Northeastern Canaan) where it seems originally not to belong, since Esau is supposed to be located in Edom, south of Canaan. The names of the patriarchs are given in connexion with the most various places, all claiming to have been founded by them; Abraham particularly in Hebron, but also in Beersheba and elsewhere; Isaac not only in Beersheba, but also in Mizpah (xxxi. 53); Jacob in Penuel, Bethel and Shechem. In which of the places the figures were originally located we are unable to say, nor whether Abraham or Isaac was the original personage in the legend of Gerar. These transformations are too old to be traced out in detail. Wellhausen's conjecture (*Prolegomena*, p. 323) that Abraham is probably the latest personage among the patriarchs, is untenable.

Then again, various legends have been combined (see *The*

Open Court, for July, pp. 390, 398), for instance, the stories of Paradise and of the creation as told by J, and the myth of the creation and of the Elysian period as told by P.

Or again, various different personages have grown together: thus the figure of Noah in Genesis consists of three originally different personages, the builder of the ark, the vintager, and the father of Shem, Ham and Japhet. In Cain we have combined the different personages: (1) Cain, the son of the first human couple, (2) Cain, the brother of Abel, (3) Cain, the founder of cities. Jacob, according to the legend of Penue!l, is a giant who wrestles with God himself; according to the Jacob-Esau stories he is shrewd but cowardly, thus seeming to be an entirely different person; probably the Jacob to whom God reveals himself at Bethel is still a different person. Incidentally to the joining together of the legends the pedigrees of the patriarchs were established: thus Abraham became the father of Isaac, and he in turn of Jacob; thus Ishmael was made a son of Abraham and Lot made his nephew, and so on. And the reasons for this are not at all clear. How old this pedigree may be we cannot tell. The amalgamation of the legends is a process which certainly was under way long before Israel was in Canaan; we can imagine that it proceeded with especial rapidity and thoroughness at the time when Israel was again gathering itself together as a nation under the first kings.

FIDELITY OF TRANSMISSION.

And not only from place to place, but also from age to age, do our legends wander. In general they are simply repeated, and often with what is to us an incredible fidelity,—perhaps only half understood or grown entirely unintelligible, and yet transmitted further! How faithfully the legends have been told we can learn by comparing the different variants of the same story, which, in spite of more or less deviation, agree nevertheless in the general plan and often even in the very words. Compare, for instance, the two variants of the legend of Rebecca. And yet even these faithfully told legends are subject to the universal law of change. When a new generation has come, when the outward conditions have changed or the thoughts of men have altered, whether it be in religion or ethical ideals or æsthetic taste, the popular legend cannot permanently remain the same. Slowly and hesitatingly, always at a certain distance behind, the legends follow the general changes in conditions, some more, others less. And here, consequently, the legends furnish us a very important basis for judging of changes

in the people; a whole history of the religious, ethical and æsthetic ideas of ancient Israel can be derived from Genesis.

VALUE OF THE VARIANTS.

If any one proposes to study this history he will do well to begin with the variants. It is the characteristic of legend as well as of oral tradition that it exists in the form of variants. Each one, however faithful it may be, and especially every particular group and every new age tells the story transmitted to it somewhat differently. The most important variants in Genesis are the two stories of Ishmael (xvi.; xxi. 8 ff.), and next the legend of the danger to the patriarch's wife, which is handed down to us in three versions (xii. 13 ff.; xx. 26), and then the associated legend of the treaty at Beersheba, likewise in three versions. In the case of these stories the variants are told with almost entire independence of one another.

To these are to be added the many cases in which the stories are transmitted to us in the variants of J and E (or of the various hands in J) worked over by the hand of an editor; the chief illustrations of this method being the stories of Jacob and of Joseph. Sometimes, furthermore, variants of portions of Genesis are transmitted to us in other Biblical books: thus the idyllic account of the way in which Jacob became acquainted with Rachel at the fountain is told also of Moses and Zipporah; the renunciation of the old gods under the oak at Shechem is told of Jacob and also of Joshua (Joshua xxiv.); the interpretation of the dream of the foreign king is told of both Joseph and Daniel. Let the investigator make his first observations on these twice-told tales; when he has thus acquired the keen eye and found certain lines of development, then let him compare also the legends which are told but once. Then he will begin to see how extraordinarily varied these legends are; among them are the coarsest and the most delicate, the most offensive and the most noble, those showing a naïve, polytheistic religion, and others in which is expressed the most ideal form of faith.

JUDGMENT OF INDIVIDUAL NARRATIVES.

Moreover, the history of the legends is to be derived from the individual narratives themselves. If we look sharply we shall see revisions in the taste of a later time, slight or extensive additions bringing in a thought which was foreign to the old narrator; in certain rare cases we may even assume that a whole story has

been added to the tradition (chap. xv.); and such additions are recognised by the fact that they are out of place in an otherwise harmonious story, and usually also by the fact that they are relatively unconcrete: the art of story-telling, which in olden times was in such high perfection, degenerated in later times, and the latest, in particular, care more for the thought than for the narrative. Hence such additions usually contain speeches. Sometimes also short narrative notes are added to the legend cycles, as for instance, we are told briefly of Jacob that he bought a field in Shechem (xxxiii. 18-20), or that Deborah died and was buried at Bethel (xxxv. 8), and so on.

But with these faithful narrators more significant than the additions are certainly the omissions which are intended to remove features that have become objectionable; for we find gaps in the narratives at every step. Indeed, to those of a later time often so much had become objectionable or had lost its interest, that some legends have become mere torsos: such is the case with the marriages with angels, with the story of Reuben (xxxv. 21-22a), of Mahanaim (xxxiii. 2 ff.). In other cases only the names of the figures of the legend have come down to us without their legends: thus of the patriarchs Nahor, Iscah, Milcah (xi. 29), Phichol, Ahuz-zath (xxvi. 26); from the legend of the giant Nimrod we have only the proverbial phrase, "like Nimrod, a mighty hunter before the Lord" (x. 9). By other instances we can see that the stories, or particular portions of them, have lost their connexion and were accordingly no longer rightly understood: the narrators do not know why Noah's dove brought precisely an olive leaf (viii. 11), why Judah was afraid to give to Tamar his youngest son also (xxxviii. 11), why Isaac had but one blessing to give (xxvii. 36), and why he had to partake of good things before the blessing (xxvii. 4), why it was originally told that Jacob limped at Penue! (xxxii. 32), and so forth.

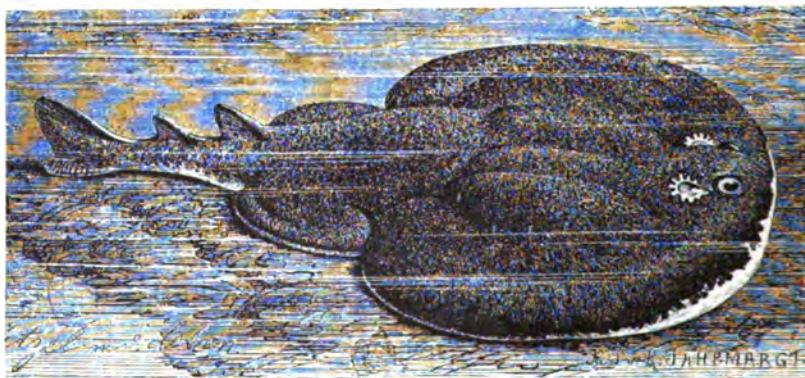
Hence there is spread over many legends something like a blue haze which veils the colors of the landscape: we often have a feeling that we indeed are still able to recall the moods of the ancient legends, but that the last narrators had ceased to have a true appreciation of those moods. We must pursue all these observations, find the reasons that led to the transformations and thus describe the inner history of the legends. But here we give only a short sketch.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ELECTRICITY AND PHOSPHORESCENCE IN THE ANIMAL WORLD.

BY THE EDITOR.

MANKIND is materialistic by nature ; so it is a matter of course that most people shrink from the idea of thinking spiritual realities as purely spiritual. They hanker after a belief in substance, and even the soul is supposed to be a spiritual essence ; in fact, the name *spirit* itself is nothing but the thinnest substance known at the time of its formation, viz., the wind. The Latin word



CRAMP-FISH (*Torpedo marmorata*).

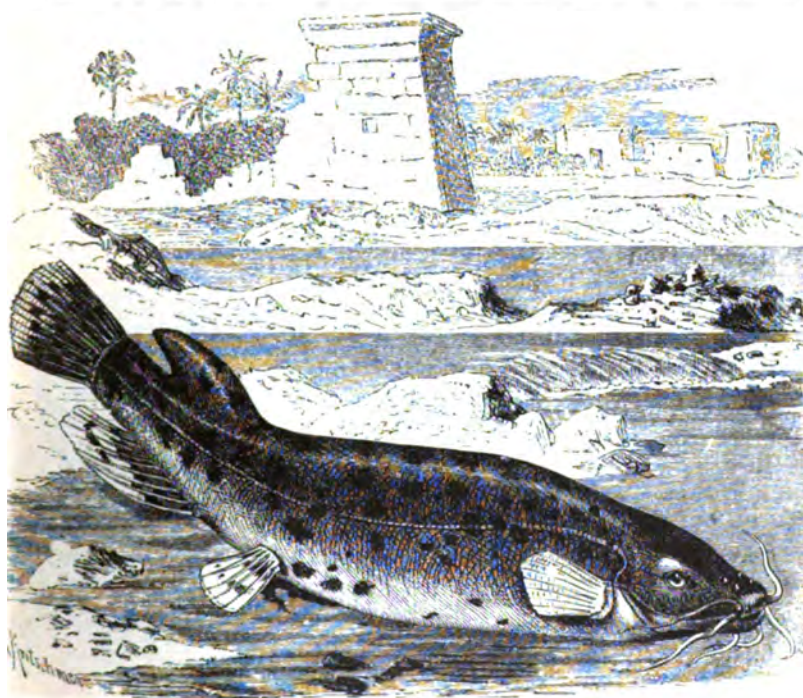
One-fifteenth natural size. Weight, 50 to 75 pounds. (After Brehm.)

animus has the same significance, and it took some time for mankind to abandon the idea of finding in air the seat of the soul.

Since the discovery of electricity and its close connexion with light, our scientists have been forced to assume the existence of a luminiferous ether, a substance so much finer and more rarefied than air, that air in comparison with it is as coarse as clay is to our senses. This most sublimated of all substances, being the most

tenuous material known, appeals to our spiritualistic materialists, who are naturally inclined to utilise it for their hypothesis of the existence of a soul-substance. The fact is, however, that ether can no more serve the purpose than air. Soul is and remains a function due to organisation, and therefore form alone can be the essential feature of soul-life.

Electricity plays a very secondary part in the general functions of living organisms, and wherever it happens to be prominently employed it is specialised for definite uses which have nothing



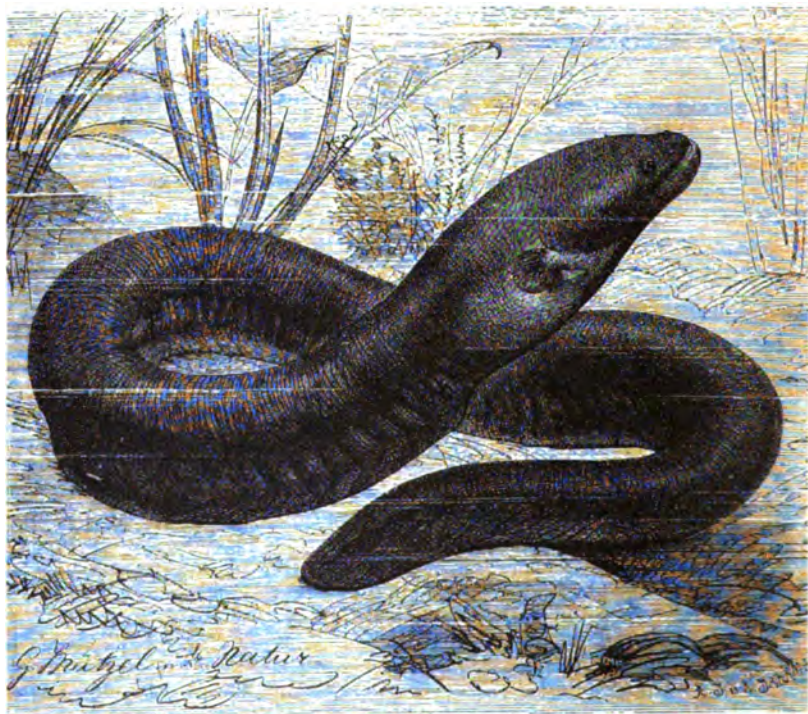
ELECTRIC CAT-FISH (*Malapterurus electricus*).

One fifth natural size. (After Brehm.)

whatever to do with the particular psychical functions of living organisms.

Du Bois Reymond has proved that every transmission of nervous irritation is accompanied with electrical phenomena. The apparatus connected with the nerve for measuring the electric tension shows a decrease of the strength of the current during a state of nervous activity. This was called by Du Bois Reymond *negative Schwankung*, "negative fluctuation."

The negative fluctuation of the electric tension, it may be incidentally mentioned, is not at all a phenomenon of nervous activity alone. Du Bois Reymond's law holds good for muscular fibres also. In a state of rest, the living muscle, like the nerve, shows in the galvanometer the presence of a low and constant current, which in a state of activity noticeably decreases, proving that a corresponding amount of electricity is being used in other directions.



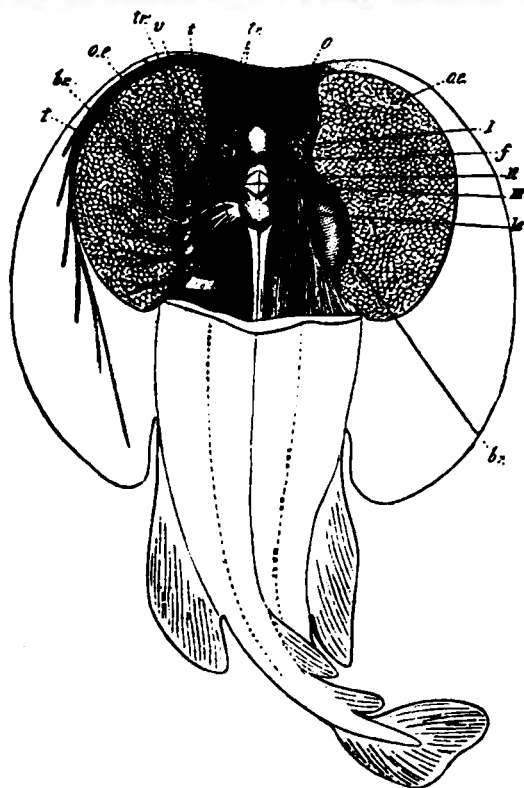
ELECTRIC EEL (*Gymnotus electricus*).
One-eighth natural size. (After Brehm.)

Obviously the part played by electricity in the animal organism is purely incidental and has no psychical significance whatever.

Electricity is used in many fishes as a weapon both for protective and aggressive purposes.

Professor Du Bois Reymond (the same who investigated the electrical nature of the nerves) and G. Fritsch have made important and thorough experiments with electrical fishes, and have

come to the conclusion that upon the whole the electrical organ consists of little boxes embedded in the membranes, in the same way as the cells of a hive form a series of prismatic, hollow spaces. These boxes are filled with a gelatinous substance. A number of powerful nerves enter the surface of these cells and form a delicate network constituting a kind of electric plate for each little box. Each electric plate consists of two closely connected cells, but the



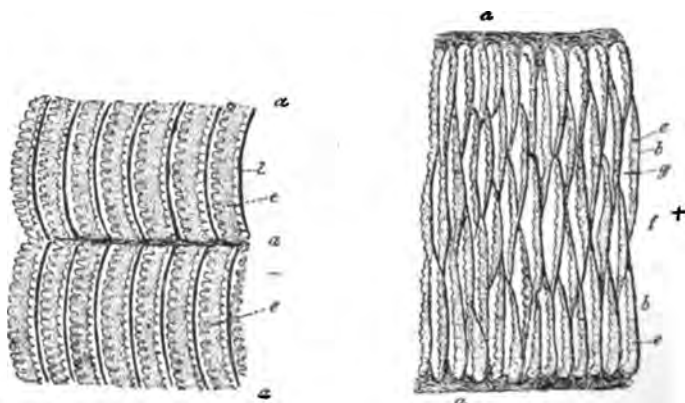
Upper view of the electric organ. The organ (e.e.) is exposed superficially only, at the right. Medially, it borders on the branchial sacs (br.), which are overlaid by a common constrictor layer, and may be seen separately exposed on the left-hand side. On the left-hand side may be seen also the nerve-trunks terminating in the electric organs (e.e.). The open cranial cavity also shows the brain: I. The forebrain; II. The midbrain; III. The hindbrain. l.e. Lobus electricus of the afterbrain. v. Nervus vagus. tr. Trigemini group. tr'. Electric ramification. o. Eye. s. Spouting-orifice. t. Gelatinous tubes of the integument. br. Gills. (After Gegenbaur.)

ELECTRIC APPARATUS OF CRAMP-FISH (*Torpedo marmorata*).

electric nerves are connected with one surface of the plates only, and this surface in all the plates of an electric organ is in the same fish always the same: in some it is the upper, and in others the

lower; and it is noteworthy that in either case the cell in which the nerve terminates is the electro-positive, while the other is the electro-negative.

Such is the general structure of the organ in the several electric fishes. In other respects, there are great differences. In the cramp-fish, also called the electric ray (*torpedo*), of the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the electric organs are flat and lie at both sides of the head, receiving their nerves, a branch of the fifth pair, viz., the *trigeminus*, and four branches of the tenth pair, viz., the *vagus*, from below. In the gymnotus, living in certain lakes and rivers of North and South America, two electric organs are situated on either side of the tail, immediately underneath the skin; and they are controlled by nerves coming from the caudal part of the spinal cord. The electric organs



Section of two columns of the electric organ of *Gymnotus*. *a*. Horizontal dividing membranes. *l*. Transverse dividing membranes, convex toward the head. *e*. Electric plates.

Section through a portion of the electric organ of *Malapterurus*. *a*. Integument. *b*. Septa. *e*. Electric plate. *g*. Gelatinous substance. *f*. Caudal side. (After M. Schultze.)

LONGITUDINAL SECTIONS OF ELECTRIC ORGANS.

of the malapteruroids of the rivers Nile and Senegal are situated underneath the skin along the whole length of the body, both to the right and to the left, separated merely by a thin wall divided like the little boxes into numerous cells, and controlled only by one pair of nerves coming from the dorsal part of the spinal cord, between the second and third pairs.

If the electrical nerves are cut, and if thus the connexion of the electrical organs with the brain ceases, further discharges become impossible. The electric power can be restored, however, if the ends of the cut nerves are irritated.

Strychnine affects the electric organs in a peculiar manner: it throws the animals into a kind of tetanic condition in which a series of involuntary discharges take place.

The cramp-fish, or the electric ray, was well known to the ancients, and is frequently depicted on the frescoes of Herculaneum. Dioscorides, one of the ancient authors, declares that its touch

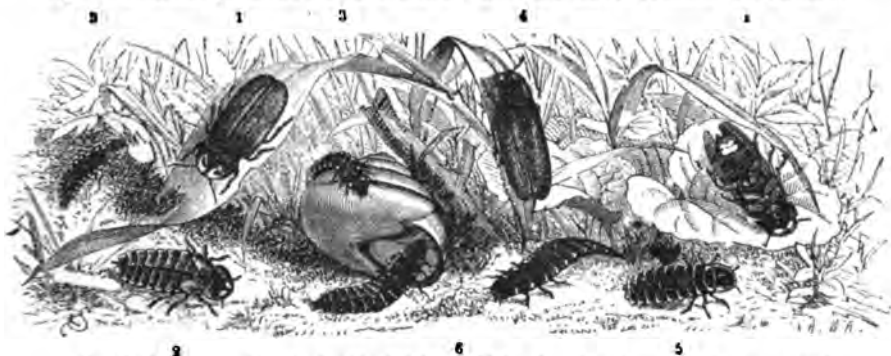


LUMINOUS BEETLE (*Pyrophorus noctilucus*).

Natural size. (After Brehm.)

cures headaches, and later physicians used the fish as a cure for gout. This is the oldest information which we have concerning electricity in the service of therapeutics.

Among all the electric animals, the cramp-fish seems to be the strongest and the most formidable, for it is known to have killed by its discharge mules and horses; and we have reason to believe



Small glow-worms (*Lampyrus splendidula*): 1. Male, dorsal and ventral views; 2. female; 3. Larva. Large glow-worms (*L. noctiluca*): 4. Male; 5. Female; 6. Larva. Numbers 1, 2, and 4 only have been enlarged. (After Brehm.)

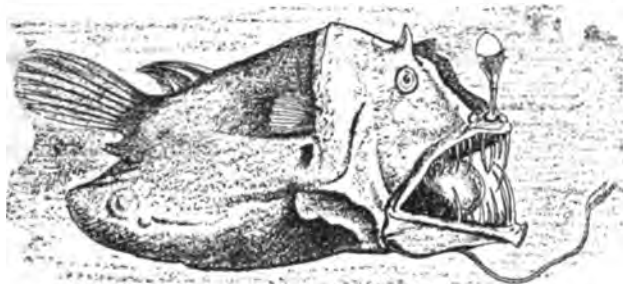
GLOW-WORMS.

that its presence has depleted some lakes formerly well stocked with fish. Its contact is most anxiously avoided by all fishes.

The psychic life of the electric fishes does not present any striking qualities, and we have no reason to assume that they range higher than other fishes which have attained the same stage of evolution.

Electricity, it appears, has nothing to do with another remarkable and mysterious phenomenon, viz., phosphorescence.

There are a number of phosphorescent beetles, such as glow-worms, fire-flies, or lightning-bugs, which make their appearance in the hot summer months, especially about the middle of June. The phosphorescence constitutes an important part in the sexual relations of these beetles, as it helps the sexes to find each other. As a rule, and especially in the European species, the winged male beetles swarm through the air, while the wingless females stay on the ground. The light expires soon after fecundation, the males die at once, while the females live long enough to deposit their eggs. In America the female of the common fire-fly enjoys the same advantages as the male: both are winged and both enjoy the liberty of swarming about in hot summer nights.



TORCH-FISH (*Linophryne lucifer*).
(After Collet.)

The number of phosphorescent maritime animals is very great, especially among those which inhabit the deeper parts of the ocean. The accompanying plate shows in Fig. 1 a striped jelly-fish.¹ Fig. 2 is a phosphorescent crab (*Sapphirina fulgens*). Fig. 3 is a phosphorescent sea-star, called *Ophiura fragilis*. Fig. 4 shows a phosphorescent ciliate, called *Polynoe fulgurans*. The fifth illustration shows a specimen of *Noctiluca* which is represented in 5a in its natural size, in 5b, 5c, and 5 in magnified sizes. Fig. 6 represents the phosphorescent jelly-fish *Pelagia noctiluca*; Fig. 7 the *Pyrosoma giganteum*, a large phosphorescent animal of cylindrical shape, somewhat magnified.

A peculiar animal is the torch-fish (*Linophryne lucifer*) which haunts the recesses of the deeper parts of the ocean. He carries a torch on his upper lip, which in appearance is not unlike our mod-

¹ Schleiden calls it *Rippenquall*.

ern electric light. This torch, together with a long phosphorescent filament hanging from his lower jaw, is used for alluring prey. The fish is armed with long, sharp teeth. Our illustration (reproduced from Collett) shows the voracious robber of the deep in the act of swallowing some victim which is disappearing in his powerful maw.

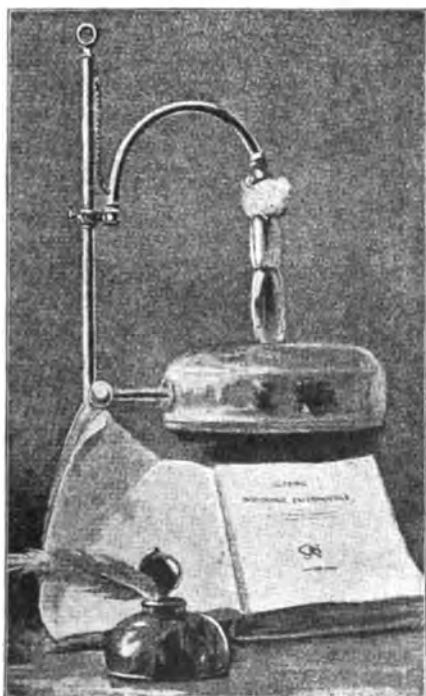
"Many fishes of the deep sea," says Dr. Günther, "are provided with more or less numerous, round, shining, mother-of-pearl-colored bodies, imbedded in the skin. These so-called phosphorescent or luminous organs are either larger bodies of an oval or irregularly elliptical shape placed on the head, in the vicinity of the eye, or smaller round globular bodies arranged symmetrically in series along the side of the body and tail, especially near the abdominal profile, less frequently along the back. The former kind of organs possess in the interior a lenticular body, like the lens of an eye, and are considered by some naturalists true organs of vision (accessory eyes), the function of the latter, which have a glandular structure, being left unexplained by them."

The cause of phosphorescence has been a subject of much investigation and doubt, but the problem cannot as yet be considered as satisfactorily solved. It seems that the light is produced by phosphorus-freighted materials which are slowly consumed by combination with oxygen, and thus the process must be regarded as a mild and slow combustion. Phosphoric acid has been found in the ashes of the organs which exhibit the strange phenomenon. Humidity and the introduction of oxygen favor phosphorescence, while dryness and lack of air render it impossible. Heinemann observed that the phosphorescent organs of animals if cut out would continue to glow in dry air for not longer than four hours, while in a damp atmosphere their light would last more than twelve, and sometimes twenty-four, hours.

"The fact that," says W. E. Hoyle, "the nervous system is so often closely connected with the luminous organs indicates that the exhibition of the light is either dependent on the volition of the animal or is the reflex result of the stimulation of sensory nerves (Panceri). In the glow-worm the distribution of tracheæ (air-tubes) throughout the photogenic apparatus, and the fact that carbonic acid extinguishes the light while oxygen intensifies it, suggest that it is due to some form of slow combustion, while the fatty contents of the luminous cells of this and many other animals point to the probability that a fat containing free phosphorus is the active agent in the process. Since a large number of luminous organs retain their power after the death of the animal, and even after

desiccation and subsequent moistening, there seems no necessity to adopt the theory that we have to deal with an instance of the direct transformation of vital into radiant energy."

At present, Prof. Raphael Dubois, of Lyons, France, is engaged in producing cultures of photo-bacteria for the purpose of using them in lamps. Our illustration shows one of them, taken from a photograph published in *La Nature*, showing that the light



BACILLARY LAMP.

Cultures of photo-bacteria, used for illuminating purposes. (From *La Nature*.)

is sufficiently clear to allow even small print to be read without difficulty.

The lamp consists of a flattened globe attached to a stand. The upper part of the globe is covered with tin-foil which serves as a reflector. The inside is filled with a bouillon prepared from oil cakes, which serves as nutriment for the phosphorescent bacteria. The cylindrical attachment on the top of the flattened globe is filled with sterilised cotton to prevent the intrusion of hostile germs which would destroy the photo-bacilli. Through a tube and

bulb attachment on the margin air can be pressed into the bouillon which causes the bacteria to develop their vitality, and thus makes the lamp give out a more radiant light.

If the lamp is kept at rest, the bacteria may live for months quietly upon the nutriment with which it is filled. If it is constantly used, the bouillon in the globe will last for several nights without standing in the need of replenishing.

The light produced by these bacteria does not generate any noticeable heat. At the same time, the chemical rays are very weak; accordingly, it was necessary in taking the photograph to have the plate exposed for several hours in order to produce a clear picture. Thus, this living lamp might become useful as a substitute for the red light in the photographer's dark room.

The most remarkable quality of the light of the living lamp, however, is its similarity to the Roentgen ray, for it penetrates opaque bodies also and passes through wood and paste-board.

We need not add that the psychic life of phosphorescent bacteria is apparently a purely physical phenomenon; it may be subservient to higher ends in their lives but is in itself not a psychical event. Although these animalcules may be used for "enlightening the world," they do not seem to rank higher than other bacteria, just as electric fishes and fire-flies cannot be regarded as superior to other fishes and beetles.

CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS.

BY THE REV. R. MORRISON.¹

IN China there is much to blame, and perhaps something from which to learn. A good writer² has remarked that the Christian spirit is very different from what may be called the heroic spirit; it is of a more tame, gentle, and submissive cast. It is matter of regret how little, in this particular, it has moulded the public feeling of Europe, and how much we yet overvalue a high, proud spirit, with a bold disregard of consequences, and prefer it to a rational, meek, unassuming, and humble spirit. Nothing can be more unchristian than the stern resentment of insults cherished by Europeans.

The Chinese teach contempt of the rude, instead of fighting with them. And the man who unreasonably insults another, has public opinion against him, whilst he who bears and despises the affront, is esteemed.

The Chinese are fond of appealing to reason. They have their "Men of a high-spirited sense of right," and who manifest a bold adherence to it, but still such characters are at great pains to show that reason is on their side. They have no conception of that sullen notion of honor, that would lead a man to prefer being shot, or shooting somebody else, rather than explain and prove the truth and reasonableness of his words and actions.

Even the Government is at the utmost pains to make it appear to the people, that its conduct is reasonable and benevolent on all occasions. They have found by the experience of many ages that

¹ The Rev. R. Morrison was one of the most prominent Christian missionaries and a close student of Chinese language, literature, history, and customs. His opinion of the Chinese, as given in the conclusion of his book *A View of China for Philological Purposes*, is remarkable for its correctness and justice which is best evinced in the fact that the statement, though made almost a century ago (viz., in 1817), might have been written yesterday and not a word of it would lose its force.

² Archdeacon Paley.

it is necessary. To make out the argument, they are not nice about a strict adherence to truth; nor are their reasons or premises such that Europeans would generally admit: but granting them their own premises and statement of facts, they never fail to prove that those whom they oppose are completely in the wrong.

A Chinese would stand and reason with a man, when an Englishman would knock him down, or an Italian stab him. It is needless to say which is the more rational mode of proceeding.

Were the religious and moral writings of Europeans considered by a person living in China, as a faithful delineation of their character, how much would he be mistaken! And on the other hand, if he formed his opinion from the follies and vices recorded in the daily papers, whilst he would form a quite opposite opinion, it would be equally unfair. We should guard against judging of the whole by a part only. The European student must not consider what the Chinese teach, and what they do, as always the same. Their moral maxims are as ineffectual in regulating their hearts and conduct, as the moral maxims of Christendom are with respect to Europeans. This, knowing what is right, and doing what is wrong, can be accounted for only on the principle that human nature is depraved, or fallen from its original purity and rectitude.

The millions of China, whom, on principle, we must recognise as children of the same Almighty Father (for God hath made of one blood all nations of men), are rendered by the strong arm of power, exerted by the magistrate, the parent, or guardian, more afraid of telling truth than Europeans. They are vastly prone to prevaricate, to deceive, to lie. Superstition and idolatry usurp the place of true religion; and, Chinese, like the rest of mankind, are inclined to be satisfied with external observances, instead of religious and moral rectitude.

The affairs of Europe are of comparatively no importance whatever to China; and on the other hand, the affairs of China do not much concern Europeans. There exists mutual indifference.

The Greeks and Romans were the ancestors of Europeans. The scenes of their battles; the situation and antiquities of their cities; the birth-place of their poets, historians, legislators, and orators, all possess an acquired interest in the minds of those whose education has led them to an early acquaintance with them. But it would be difficult for a Chinese of the best talents and education, to acquire in the years of manhood, a similar interest.

The Chinese also can point out the scenes of battles where thou-

sands fought and died; the situation of splendid courts; the tombs of monarchs; the abodes of historians, moralists, and poets, whose memory is dear to them, and which interest their hearts in the antiquities of their fathers. But what they look on with interest and pleasure, can certainly have few charms for a foreigner, who is excluded from their families, and passed from Peking to Canton in a boat, under military escort.¹ Still from this to deny that the country does not possess any of the charms of Europe, does not seem a fair conclusion. If the reality of things is to be judged of by the feelings of the inhabitants of a country, every region of the world, and every state of society, would in its turn assume the place of high superiority. Europe, which is the most scientific portion of the globe, is not yet free from selfish and narrow prejudices; and to a person placed on the Eastern verge of the Asiatic Continent, who hears little of the nations of Europe, but the distant rumour of their perpetual wars, with all their advantages, they appear still as rancorous against each other, as if they possessed no great principles of equity and justice to appeal to, or were too selfish and barbarous to do so.

There are certainly not many things in which the Chinese are worthy of imitation: there is, however, one benevolent cause, which a Chinese would never think of opposing, but which has yet to struggle with much unreasonable opposition in modern Europe, viz., that of making education as general as possible, and giving to moral science a decided preference to physical science, in the education of youth. To honor virtue more than talent. It is painful to hear a smattering of astronomy and geography, together with a little music, drawing, and dancing, which can be of very little use in the regulation of the heart and life, considered of great value, whilst instruction in relative and religious duties, on which depend the peace and happiness of families and of nations, is lightly esteemed. To utter a moral or religious sentiment anywhere but in the pulpit is esteemed perfectly insufferable. Every benevolent Englishman must wish to see the reasoning faculty more called into exercise, than it generally is amongst the poor of his own country, and to hear duty to parents, with a rational and religious self-control, quite as much honored in general conversation as those attainments and accomplishments, which may confer elegance on a dwelling, and give grace to a person, but which have no influence on the springs of human action, morally considered, nor feed the sources of real heart-felt human bliss.

¹ This was in 1817.—*Ed.*

The writer, however, means not to insinuate, that in morals we are inferior to the Chinese; he believes the fact to be very far the reverse. Their advantages indeed have not been equal to ours; and our public morals are still greatly below what our acknowledged standards require. As, "*Fas est ab hoste doceri*," so probably in some things, nations denominated Christian, may yet learn from Heathens. As Confucius taught, our dislike of a man's vices should never be carried to such a height as to make us blind to what is really good about him.

The good traits in the Chinese character, amongst themselves, are mildness and urbanity; a wish to show that their conduct is reasonable, and generally a willingness to yield to what appears so; docility; industry; subordination of juniors; respect for the aged, and for parents; acknowledging the claims of poor kindred: these are the virtues of public opinion, which, of course, are, in particular cases, often more show than reality. For on the other hand, the Chinese are specious, but insincere, jealous, envious, and distrustful to a high degree. There is amongst them a considerable prevalence of scepticism; of a Sadducean, and rather Atheistical spirit; and their conduct is very generally such as one would naturally expect from a people whose minds feel not that sense of Divine Authority, nor that reverence for the Divine Majesty and Goodness, which in Sacred Scripture is denominated the "Fear of God." Conscience has few checks but the laws of the land; and a little frigid ratiocination, on the fitness and propriety of things, which is not generally found effectual to restrain, when the selfish and vicious propensities of our nature may be indulged with present impunity. The Chinese are generally selfish, cold-blooded, and inhumane.

Perhaps the behavior of no people amongst themselves and towards foreigners is exactly the same. With the Chinese it is exceedingly different. When interest or fear do not dictate a different course, they are to strangers, haughty, insolent, fraudulent and inhospitable. A merchant will flatter a foreign devil (as they express it), when he has something to gain from him; then he can be servile enough; particularly if he is not seen by his own countrymen; for the presence of a menial servant of his own nation will make him more on his guard in yielding his fancied superiority. Europeans are secluded from general intercourse with natives of different ranks; which affords great facilities to merchants and native domestics to combine and impose upon them, which they usually do. Few instances of gratitude or attachment have ever

occurred on the part of servants to their European masters. The Chinese study to get the better of those with whom they have to contend, by bringing the other party into a dilemma, like the king in chess, who is reduced to checkmate; and they become apprehensive, when their opponents maintain calmness and an apparent indifference; they remember their own maxim, "He that has reason on his side, need not talk loudly."

Love to one's own country is perfectly compatible with benevolent feelings to all mankind; and the prosperity of this nation, with the prosperity of that. It seems quite a mistake to think that attachment to one's own people is manifested by a violent dislike of others.

Will the day ever come when the various tribes of men shall live together as brothers? When they shall not hurt, nor destroy each other any more? When Truth and Knowledge shall universally prevail? Let us still cherish the pleasing hope, that so desirable a state of society will finally exist, and whilst cherishing this hope, every serious mind will readily join in the King of Israel's Prayer to the Almighty, "O God, let thy ways be known upon the Earth, and thy saving health amongst all nations."

EMPEROR TAO-KWANG AND THE OPIUM WAR.¹

BY M. M. CALLERY AND YVAN.

TAO-KWANG, the second son of emperor Kia-king, was born in 1780. His youth was passed in comparative obscurity, and he was thirty years of age when an event which nearly overthrew his dynasty suddenly brought out some of the eminent qualities with which he was endowed.

The Emperor Kia-king was a weak incapable man, completely governed by those around him. An unworthy favorite reigned in his name. This person, who was named Lin-king, was the chief eunuch of the place. Instances of this kind are not rare in the annals of the court of China. The chief of the eunuchs has always great influence in the intrigues of the palace, and according to the strange ideas of the country, his personal defect is no obstacle to his ambition. The authority of Lin-king was boundless. He disposed of every office. The highest functionaries, the ministers, and even the imperial family, bowed before him. Nor did this lofty position satisfy him. The indirect exercise of power emboldened him to desire the sovereign authority for himself, and he began to open a path to the throne by gaining over the greater part of the military mandarins. This conspiracy was conducted with so much secrecy, that no one at the Court of Peking suspected it in the least.

One day, when the Emperor was hunting with his sons, Lin-king introduced into the capital those troops whose chiefs he knew were entirely devoted to him, and the soldiers were disposed about the environs of the palace. The plan of the first eunuch was to kill the Emperor and the princes of the imperial family, and to have himself immediately proclaimed by the army, whose chiefs he had secured. Towards the evening the Emperor returned to the

¹ From the French by John Oxenford.

palace without mistrust, accompanied by his eldest son, and followed by his usual *cortège* of civil and military mandarins. Scarcely was the great portal closed behind him than Lin-king gave the signal to his cohorts, who at once surrounded the palace, and guarded every outlet.

In the hurry of this critical moment, the first eunuch had not observed that the second son of Kia-king was not returned from the chase with his father. When the conspiracy had already broken out, the prince returned to Peking alone. He was in a hunting dress, and wore none of the insignia of royalty; he could therefore traverse the city without being recognised. The greatest agitation already prevailed in the principal quarter, and he only required a moment's reflexion to perceive the cause of the tumult, and to divine the purpose for which the troops had surrounded the palace. By the aid of his plain costume, he passed through the people, who were in an excited and disorderly state, and reached the very focus of rebellion. The first eunuch had left the palace to harangue his partisans, and the prince could now see that the favorite, whose insolence had so often angered him, was at the head of the rebellion. He approached still nearer, unobserved among the throng of troopers, and although he was quite alone among so many enemies he did not for an instant lose his courage or his presence of mind. Tearing off the round buttons which adorned his dress, to use them as bullets, he loaded the fowling-piece which he carried in his belt, and taking a short aim at the chief eunuch, shot him dead on the spot.

The troops were thrown into disorder. The soldiers threw down their arms and fled, and all the partisans of Lin-king dispersed, to escape the chastisement they had deserved. The prince returned triumphant into the imperial residence, the threshold of which had not been profaned by the rebels, and old Kia-king learned his danger and his deliverance at the same time.

Tao-kwang ascended the throne in 1820. According to the usages of the princes of his dynasty, he had married a Tartar woman—a woman with large feet. She did not give birth to any children; but he had a numerous family by his concubines. In China, neither law nor custom makes any difference between the children of a lawful wife and those of a concubine: they have all the same rights; the sterility of the Empress therefore did not at all affect the succession to the throne.

During the earlier part of his reign, Tao-kwang called to the administration of public affairs, those statesmen who, in the eyes

of the people, were faithful guardians of Chinese traditions. Every nation whose history dates from a remote past, has its conservative party; and during tranquil times it is to the representatives of the old national guarantees that the government is naturally entrusted. But when the moment for modifying ancient institutions has inevitably arrived, the exclusive attachment of this party to things of the past becomes really dangerous. This political truth may be perceived as well in the history of Chinese revolution, as in the history of France. The agents of Tao-kwang, thoroughly Chinese in their ideas, and filled with a proud disdain for barbarian nations, involved their country in a disastrous war, because they did not see that the moment was come when they should descend from that diplomatic elevation where their presumption and the endurance of the Europeans had so long maintained them. At a later period, the same spirit of resistance to the exigencies of the time caused the insurrectional movement of which we are about to treat. In fact, the two most important events that were chronicled in the annals of China during the second quarter of the last century—namely, the war with England, and the revolt in the Kwang-si—both proceeded from the same cause.

By virtue of its original charter, the East India Company enjoyed till 1834 the monopoly of the British trade with China. Those merchants who founded, beyond the limits of their own country, the most opulent and extensive empire of modern times, had the sole right of trading in the produce of the Chinese empire. It will easily be understood that when difficulties arose between the Chinese functionaries and the Company's agents, the latter, being exclusively occupied with commercial interests, made but feeble protestations against pretensions which were often exorbitant. The representatives of the Company were, for the most part, clever merchants, and nothing more; and the one among them, who acquired the most celebrity—namely, Sir John Davis—was more distinguished for his literary attainments than for his national susceptibility.

When the Company's charter expired in 1834, the English Government refused to renew their exclusive privileges; and all British merchants had now a right to trade with China. Some years afterwards, the Emperor Tao-kwang resolved to check in his dominions the progress of a custom, which was about a century old—in other words, to prohibit the sale of opium through the whole extent of the Celestial Empire. For this purpose he sent to Canton a man whose services he had already learned to appreciate.

A mandarin of acknowledged integrity and inflexible will, whose severity was somewhat barbarous, came to the capital of the two Kwangs to replace a faithless official, who, in consideration of enormous advantages, had closed his eyes to the illicit traffic of the British merchants and the smugglers.

Every one trembled at the arrival of the new governor, who wore the insignia of the highest dignities, and whose appearance was very imposing. Lin was then about fifty years of age; he wore the red ball, and the peacock's feather with two eyes.¹

Lin's only error was that he did not understand the altered spirit of the time, and consequently did not reckon on the change which had taken place in the character of the foreigners with whom he had to settle such difficult and delicate questions. So long as the mandarins had to deal directly with agents of the East India Company, they could without danger assume a disdainful tone; for such a tone inflicted no deep wound on men devoted solely to their commercial interests. But when Lin came suddenly into contact with the representatives of a government jealous of its dignity, he struck against a rock which he little expected.

As a man of tact, he should have confined himself to the efficacious measures he had already adopted. Thanks to his activity, zeal, and above all to the fear which he inspired, he had given new sinews to the Chinese Government, and the smugglers, constantly chased by the custom-house officers of the Celestial Empire, had nearly abandoned their dangerous trade. But not content with this first success, he wished, by a vigorous act, to strike a blow at the British merchants, and to put out of their heads all thoughts of again introducing the narcotic drug into the Chinese empire.

One night the "hongs," or factories in which the foreigners resided, were surrounded by Chinese troops; and the English, American, and Parsee merchants learned, when they awoke, that they were Lin's prisoners, and that the viceroy of the two Kwangs allowed them three days to give up all the opium they had on board the "receiving ships"; in default whereof, they were to be treated according to the utmost rigor of the new law,—in other words, were to lose their heads.

When Lin struck his decisive blow, there were vessels off the island of Lin-tin loaded with more than 20,000 chests of opium,

¹ The color of the ball worn at the apex of the conical cap serves, in some measure, to mark the rank of the wearer. Red indicates the highest degree of official dignity. The introduction of peacock's feathers, of one, two, or three eyes, and of different colors, to hang from the top of the cap down the back as a sign of various degrees of merit, was an invention of the Tartar dynasty.—J. O.

and representing a value of more than \$10,000,000 (2,000,000*l.*). This glut arose from the efficacious measures which had been pursued by the hoppo (the director-general of the Canton customs), at the instigation of and under the authority of Lin.

In this extremity, the prisoners wrote at once to Captain Elliot, commander of the naval forces of England in the Chinese waters, who then happened to be at Macao. They informed him of the dangers which threatened their lives and fortunes, at the same time soliciting his intervention and assistance. Captain Elliot hastened to his countrymen at once, and after urging them not to yield to the demands of the mandarins, he announced that he purchased the 20,000 chests of opium in the name of her Britannic Majesty; and declared that he would make a political question of what had hitherto been a commercial difficulty. He then ordered Lin to withdraw his troops, and release the Queen's subjects. The viceroy took no heed of this demand. He simply replied, that the severest measures would be taken against the English, unless the whole of the opium on board of their ships was given up.

As Captain Elliot had not sufficient force to resist the Chinese troops, he gave up the prohibited article. Lin caused large pits to be dug, and the opium, covered with quick-lime, was buried in the island of Lin-tin, in the presence of witnesses; after which operation, the foreign merchants detained at Canton were set at liberty.

However, the day of retribution was at hand. In a short time a British fleet sailed up the river of Canton, dismantling the forts, and threatening the banks on each side, and took a strong position on the northern coasts of China, by occupying Chusan. When news of these events was received at Peking, Lin was immediately recalled, and Ki-shan, a member of the imperial family, was appointed by the Emperor to succeed him. Ki-shan was an intelligent and resolute man. He saw at once with what sort of enemies he had to deal, and the danger to which the Government had been exposed by the imprudence of his predecessor. As a skilful diplomatist he did not hesitate to accept the *ultimatum* laid down by the "barbarians"; that is to say, he avoided a disastrous war by accepting hard conditions, such as a heavy indemnity paid to the English, the cession of Hong-kong, and so forth. However, when the treaty was submitted to the Emperor for sanction, the "Son of Heaven" rejected it with indignation. Ki-shan was ignominiously recalled, and underwent the greatest indignity that had ever been inflicted on any high functionary under the reign of Tao-kwang. He was publicly degraded, his property was confiscated,

his concubines were sold, his house was razed to the ground, and, to complete his misfortune, he was exiled to the remotest part of Tartary.

These sudden reverses of fortune are spectacles which the Celestial Emperor often presents to the Chinese people. The lower orders always applaud such catastrophes, which appeal to their gross instincts: and they think that a strong blow is necessarily a just one. Those of our readers who wish to form a better acquaintance with the great mandarin Ki-shan, have only to read the delightful *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China* of MM. Huc and Gabet; they will find him at Lassa, on intimate terms with the intrepid travellers.¹

A mandarin named Y-shan succeeded Ki-shan in the government of Canton, and brought back with him the treaty which his predecessor had concluded, torn. Hostilities were renewed at once. Every one knows the result of the English expedition. Ning-po, Shang-hai, Chu-san, Ting-hai, fell successively into the hands of the English, who at last compelled the Chinese to sign at Nankin a treaty, by which they ceded Hong-Kong to the "barbarians"; opened to them four new ports on the northern coast of the empire, granted them the occupation of Chu-san for five years; and, moreover, bound themselves to pay a heavy indemnity.

This treaty was concluded by Ki-in, another member of the royal family. He was the political friend of Mu-chang-ha, the prime minister, and member of the council. These two persons were unquestionably the greatest statesmen during the reign of Tao-kwang.

At all events, the treaty of Nankin was signed and ratified, and Ki-in, who was appointed governor of the two Kwangs, came to occupy the difficult post at Canton. He at once impressed his convictions on the mind of the prime minister, Mu-chang-ha, and through his influence with that high dignitary, though difficulties still sometimes arose between the people of the West and the Chinese, a rupture became almost impossible. We should add that this new policy, this attitude of the progressive conservatives, irritated the population of Canton against them. They were accused of temporising with foreigners, and betraying their sovereign for the advantage of the barbarians. Thousands of placards held up the name of Ki-in as an object of popular hatred and vengeance.

We quote one of these placards literally, to show that injus-

¹ New reprint edition published by The Open Court Pub. Co., 2 vols.

tice, violence, and evil passions, belong to all countries and all races.

"Our cannibal mandarins have hitherto been the accomplices of the English robbers in all the acts that the latter have committed against order and justice. For five years to come our nation will mourn the humiliation it has been forced to undergo.

"In the fifth moon of the present year, many Chinese have been slain by foreigners; their bodies have been flung into the river, and buried in the bellies of fishes; but our high authorities have treated these affairs as though they had never heard of them; they have looked upon these foreign devils as though they were gods; they have despised the Chinese as though they had the flesh of dogs; and have not valued the life of men more than the hair which is shorn from the head. They persist in keeping the throne in ignorance of what is passing, and in neglecting to treat this affair with the importance which it deserves. Thousands of people are filled with grief and anger; sorrow has penetrated the marrow of their bones, and their sole consolation is to express their woes in the public assemblies, etc., etc."

These absurd accusations had no influence on the political fortunes of Ki-in. The Emperor, satisfied with his services, recalled him to Peking to confer new dignities upon him and to raise him to the highest offices. He became the colleague of Mu-chang-ha. These two statesmen endeavored to effect several reforms. The first was directed to the military department. Ki-in saw clearly that the Chinese soldiers, armed like the Homeric heroes with bows and arrows, or encumbered with old-fashioned matchlocks, could not cope with the European troops, and he endeavored to change this grotesque mode of equipment.

Thus in the last days of the reign of Tao-kwang the Chinese empire was really in the path of progress. Mu-chang-ha and Ki-in gave a powerful impulse to the movement, while the conciliatory spirit of the two ministers improved the relations with foreigners. The English chased the pirates, to the advantage of both nations; and if a suspicious junk made its appearance in the southern waters they ran it down at once. In fact, all was going on for the best, when an unexpected event changed the aspect of affairs, the great Tai-Ping insurrection.

A RECENTLY-DISCOVERED MOSAIC AT JERUSALEM.¹

BY DR. CONRAD SCHICK.

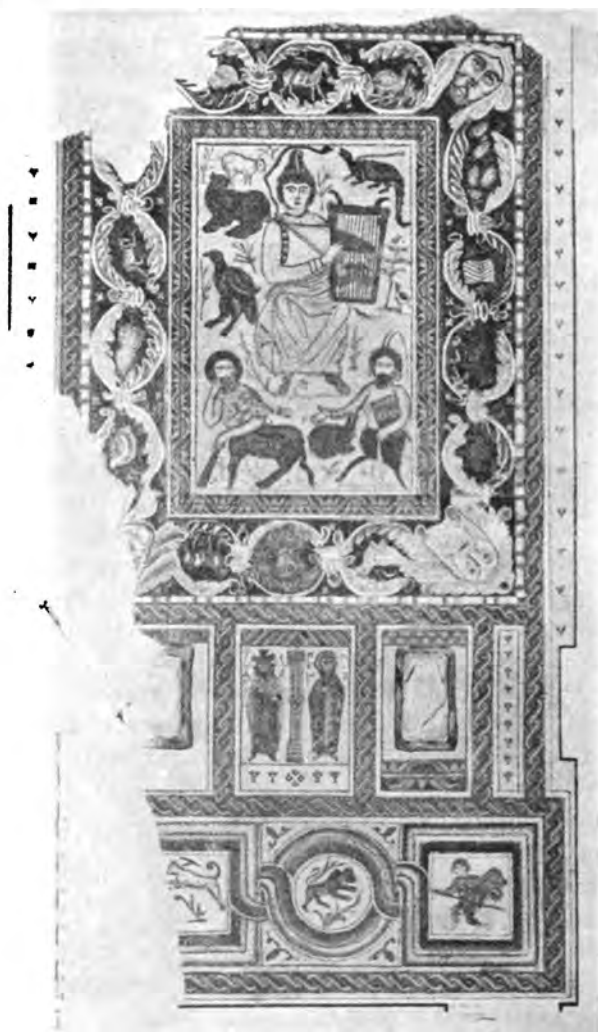
IN 1894 a fine mosaic was found in digging foundations for a new house north of Jerusalem, and Dr. Bliss and I reported on it in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1894, p. 257. Towards the end of March last a similar one was discovered nearer to the town, in the ground of the Jewish Colony, generally called Nissim Buck's Colony. The proprietor of the ground, wishing to dig in order to build a cistern for his house close by, came, scarcely three feet under the surface, to this fine mosaic pavement. He did not destroy it, but told others about it, and so people came to see it, and a negotiation for buying it, or to find means to get part possession in it, arose, and in consequence it became more and more difficult for others to see it. However, copies and photographs were taken, and of the latter I forward herewith a print.

The mosaic is laid out in various colors, and represents Orpheus, and below him Pan and a centaur, surrounded with a fine frame, around which is a kind of twisted ornament of branches of plants enclosing various figures with their faces directed to Orpheus; then comes again an outer frame. Beneath are three other frames, one in the middle containing two women, with an inscription in Greek letters around them, "Theodosia" and "Georgia." The frames to the right and left contain simply a plain, flat surface. The whole is between ten and twelve feet long, and seems to have been the flooring of a music room. The two women were once most likely celebrated singers.

The design is pagan, still the work itself may be Christian of the second or third century, as in the Early Church such symbols were often used. The Dominican brethren made a colored copy of the mosaic on a large scale, so that even each little square of

¹Report to *The Palestine Exploration Fund*, July, 1901.

stone can be recognised. They showed it to me, and I found it exceedingly nice, and advised them to multiply it by lithography, but they said it would be too expensive, so I do not know what they will do.



ORPHEUS MOSAIC FOUND NEAR JERUSALEM.

The site is six hundred feet north of the present city wall, west of the Damascus Gate.

Mr. Consul Dickson writes that this mosaic "represents Orpheus, life-size, playing upon his harp, surrounded by several animals, all in beautiful colors and graceful attitudes. It seems to be a work of art of high order. There is also a head of Jupiter and of Minerva at the corners of the square containing Orpheus. Below these figures there are two other figures of women with an inscription in Greek around them, an exact copy of which I enclose. It is easily read, and I think the mosaic must be Christian."

The mosaic is now covered up with earth.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE RELIGIOUS PARLIAMENT IDEA.

The Religious Parliament, held in 1893 at Chicago, has become a fact in history. But it is necessary to spread the idea as a principle of action and as a religious maxim which should receive universal approbation. It is the basis upon which not only peace among the different religions can be maintained, but it also facilitates the investigation into truth in the right spirit, which should be done with conservative tendencies on the basis of fraternity and without flippancy. We would only add that in the Religious Parliament the voice of science should be heard and the religious significance of both scientific investigation and scientific truth be recognised.

The Religious Parliament idea has developed on the soil of America. Here is the country of freedom; people soon began to realise the necessity that the different elements of the population should have their religious needs attended to in the manner which would be most congenial to them and best adapted to their spiritual constitution. Mr. Bonney, in the present number, tells the story of brotherly help which in one typical case congregations of a different faith afforded one another; and instances of a similar kind can be multiplied. It is by no means unfrequent for Jews to assist in building up Christian churches, and *vice versa*, Christian denominations have sometimes extended a helping hand to the Jews, as for instance in one special case, when their synagogue had been destroyed by a conflagration. Mr. Bonney deemed it wise to omit names, because there are always captious fault-finders who might expose the parties concerned to hostile criticism, on account of the very breadth shown by them.

The Religious Parliament idea is a practical application of the Golden Rule in matters of religion; and the first realisation of a Religious Parliament on a large scale is an event which will constitute a new epoch in the religious history of mankind. It certainly has contributed a good deal to bring peace on earth to the men of good will.

P. C.

THE ORPHEUS MOSAIC.

We publish in the present number an article by Dr. Conrad Schick and the picture of a mosaic recently discovered at Jerusalem, in a house belonging to a Mohammedan, west of the Damascus Gate. About five hundred feet northeast of this point, there was discovered six years ago in the house of a Jew another mosaic with an Armenian inscription, indicating that the place was a mortuary chapel, which Dr. Murray was inclined to assign to the time of Justinian; but it may be of later date, and the two mosaics seem to be of the same period.

The Armenian mosaic measures about 21 feet in length and 13 in breadth; it shows a guilloche pattern similar to that of the mosaic reproduced in the present number, and inside a vase from which a vine springs with branches conventionally arranged in the form of circles, within which are various kinds of birds. It has been described and explained by Dr. Frederick J. Bliss in his book *Excavations at Jerusalem*.

The Orpheus mosaic, recently discovered and reproduced on page 564 of the present number of *The Open Court*, is of greater interest than the Armenian mosaic on account of its artistic designs. It exhibits no sign of Christian symbolism,



CHRIST AS ORPHEUS.¹

From paintings in the cemetery of St. Calixtus in the Catacombs of Rome.

but shows Orpheus in an attitude similar to that in which he is represented in the Catacombs, some of which we reproduce for comparison.

Dr. Schick seems to explain the absence of Christian symbols by the assumption that the mosaic forms "the flooring of a music-room," and that "the two women represented at either side of the column are celebrated singers." The former proposition is not probable, and the latter is of a questionable character.

It is safe to assume, however, that the mosaic is purely pagan, and it would corroborate the theory which otherwise can be demonstrated that the Christians in the early centuries availed themselves freely of pagan symbols, until they had developed a symbolism of their own.

¹ *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Medieval Christian Art*. By Louisa Twining. Pl. 16. London, 1885.

The cult of Orpheus was wide-spread among the people of Greece and Rome at the beginning of the Christian era, and we have reason to believe that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul taught in the Orphic Mysteries resembled to a great extent the Christian view of resurrection. At any rate the Christians adopted the picture of Orpheus as symbolising Christ at a time when they did not dare to make pictures of Jesus.

P. C.

A SERIES OF ARTICLES ON CHINA.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Chinese are in possession of a very ancient civilisation; they know it and are proud of it. But Chinese pride is outdone by European insolence, and thus resulted a lamentable state of affairs which led to the climax of the present disturbances. The distrust, hatred, and contempt which are mutual are not a recent affair but the product of centuries.

The situation is very sad for China, and the prospects of the country are gloomy. It is impossible to tell what will be the end and how the difficulties will be adjusted, but one thing is sure, that the Chinese will in future centuries become an independent factor in the history of the world. I say "the Chinese," not the Chinese empire, for the latter will probably break down and fall a prey to the struggling parties. The Chinese people are patient and industrious; they are modest, easily satisfied and meek. They are at a disadvantage in warfare and politics; but the main struggle for survival will be decided, not by guns and diplomatic treaties, but by sociological conditions; and when the Chinese people shall be drawn into the great whirlpool of the world's commercial interests, we shall discover that they will soon make their influence felt, and the probability is that their very virtues, their frugality and tenacious industrial habits will make them obnoxious to the white man, who kindly offers himself to bear the burden of governing the yellow race.

It will be easier to conquer China than to subdue it, and should a foreign power succeed in taking it (which is by no means an easy task), the conquerors will find out that the easiest way of holding the country would be by becoming Chinese themselves.

The Chinese government, we must remember, is in the hands of foreign conquerors of a different nationality, not much liked by the Chinese and positively hated by many of those patriots who still cherish the memory of the purely Chinese traditions.

The present situation is very complicated. Chinese mobs have killed the German ambassador and have threatened to destroy the lives of all foreigners residing in the embassies of Peking. The Empress Dowager, *de facto* ruler of China, has openly shown her sympathy with the rioters, and the Western powers were thus forced to send troops for the relief of the imprisoned families of the ambassadors. The imperial court withdrew from the capital, and Count Waldersee, generalissimo of the allied Western troops, established his headquarters in the forbidden city. Then a great part of the palace was accidentally destroyed by fire. In the meantime the Russians took possession of Manchuria, and the powers made out their bills of indemnity claims. Such is the present situation, and no one knows what will come of it.

Some blame the missionaries as being the cause of the trouble, others the greediness of the powers, still others would condemn the Chinese for their haughti-

ness and stupidity. Perhaps there is some fault all around. It is certain, however, that had our diplomats taken the trouble to study the Chinese character, many severe clashes and the spilling of innocent blood as well as the expenditure of enormous sums of money in a warfare that, far from redressing wrong only served to make matters worse, might have been avoided.

China is an interesting country; the landscapes are beautiful; its mountains are rich in coal and ores; its plains are as fertile as the prairies of Illinois, perhaps more so; its national traditions are curious; and it is certain that some time the currents of Chinese nationality and Western civilisation will be intermingled. China will be opened to Western civilisation, and perhaps the Chinese too will slowly but steadily gain a foothold in the territories of the West. It is difficult to predict the result, but one thing is sure, that while Western civilisation is bound to upset and revolutionise China, the Chinese will in their turn affect the habits, opinions, and the entire social and racial constitution of Western culture. There is never an action without its reaction. The Chinese are not war-like, they are not conquerors like the Saxons, but they possess qualities that in the struggle for existence are of greater importance still, viz., endurance, persistence, plodding patience, and industrious habits.

We propose to publish a series of articles, partly original and new, partly reproduced from relatively inaccessible sources, for the purpose of shedding some light on the relation of China to the Western world. The present number contains a brief sketch of the Opium War and a judgment of the Chinese character by Rev. R. Morrison, which will be followed up in the subsequent number by articles on the Tai Ping Rebellion, on Hung Hsin Ch'uan, the leader of the Tai Ping, a description of Gützlaff's influence in China, a translation of the Tai Ping canon, and kindred subjects.

P. C.

THE NEW JEWISH ENCYCLOPÆDIA, AND THE PROPOSED UNIVERSITY OF JEWISH THEOLOGY, HISTORY, AND LITERATURE.

On Tuesday, May 21, 1901, the "Judeans," one of the most scholarly of American Jewish organisations, entertained the publishers and editors of *The Jewish Encyclopedia* at a banquet in New York, as an expression of their appreciation of the indefatigable labors of the editors and publishers, and especially of the promotor of the *Encyclopedia* idea, Dr. Isidor Singer, formerly of Vienna and Paris, and now of New York.

The first volume of *The Jewish Encyclopedia* was published this month by the Funk and Wagnalls Co., of New York. The work is a monumental one, and is designed to be a complete history of the Jews and Judaism. All that has gone to the making of the Jewish people, its history and biography, its literature, philosophy, and sociology, is to be presented here authoritatively and completely.

Dr. Isidor Singer, the originator of the undertaking, had labored hard in Austria, Germany, France, and England, for the realisation of his project; but it was not until he reached America and until he pressed his case with the Funk & Wagnalls Co. that he was successful in obtaining the support to enable him to carry out his ideas.

The Board of Consulting Editors engaged by the publishers of the *Encyclopedia* number thirteen, and include the names of B. Felsenthal, Ph. D., Bernard Drachman, Ph. D., Gustav Gottheil, Ph. D., H. Pereira Mendes, M. D., Joseph

Silverman, D. D., Ira Maurice Price, B. D., Ph. D., Emil G. Hirsch, Ph. D., LL. D., Moses Mielziner, Ph. D., D. D., J. Frederic McCurdy, Ph. D., LL. D., Henry Hyvernatt, D. D., George F. Moore, M. A., D. D., David Philipson, D. D., and Jacob Voorsanger, D. D. In addition to the staff of editors, more than four hundred European and American scholars are at work on the task.

In the words of Dr. Leipziger, the president of the Judæans, who presided as toast-master :

"The Jewish Encyclopedia represents not only a valuable book, a compendium of Israel's Science and Sorrow, but also a harmonious movement among Israel's scholars, a movement indefinite perhaps at present, to unite and perpetuate the scattered relics of the past in order to intensify Jewish conviction and Jewish faith. For this reason the honor tendered at this time to the makers of the Jewish Encyclopedia by the Judæans, a body of gentlemen who stand in the community as thinking men in active life, marks an historic event."

This banquet is also memorable for Jewish people from the fact that the first announcement was there made by Dr. Singer of the proposed establishment of a University for Jewish Theology, History, and Literature. The plan of this institution is the outcome of conferences held by Dr. Singer with prominent rabbis, scholarly laymen, and some Wall Street men, recognised leaders of American Judaism. The plan of the University is not that of a sectarian institution, but simply of an educational centre for Jewish lore and culture in general. To quote the words of Dr. Singer :

"It is not at all our intention to create a denominational college, an institution which would rightly meet with the strongest kind of opposition from the majority of progressive American Jews. We Jews in America do not feel that we are of a particular sect with a special *Weltanschauung*; we are not in the position of the Catholic Church, which possesses an inflexible body of dogmas and religious doctrines and which therefore quite naturally intends to have its future priest get his entire higher education in an atmosphere essentially Catholic. The Roman Catholic Church was thus certainly justified in creating its Catholic University in Washington. But there is nowhere, as far as I know, either here or in Europe, a "Protestant" University built on similar lines as the Catholic University, and we American Jews would be guilty of a disastrous blunder were we to establish a Judeo-National University with a more or less definite sectarian purpose. The consequences of this fatal error would reach not only us here, but the Jews the world over. What *we* want is merely to establish on American soil a University for Jewish Science, international and cosmopolitan, as all seats of true science are or should be. Above the entrance to this university, which shall be opened not only to Jews, but to students of all religious denominations, will be our motto: *כל דכמין ייתי ויבין*."

The further hope and desire is expressed by the founders, "that students of various Christian Theological Seminaries, as well as of the two Universities in our city; nay, that professors of these and other educational institutions and many Catholic and Protestant clergymen will come and sit at the feet of Jewish scholars as Reuchlin and Luther, Pico di Mirandola and J. Chr. Wolf and so many other great Christian scholars did in past centuries. This unique audience, where priests and rabbis of fashionable churches and synagogues will sit side by side with the poor Russian Maskill of East Broadway, will in itself mark an epoch in the intellectual and social evolution of the Jewish race as well as of Christianity. But not only theologians but also historians, jurists, philologists and *litterateurs* will come

to this fountain of genuine Jewish learning to study Jewish history, Talmudic jurisprudence, Hebrew language, and the vast Jewish literature from the Bible down to the works of the New York Ghetto poet."

A provisional programme of the lectures for the first year has already been published, and the officers of the University may be addressed at the Bible House, New York City.

SUGGESTIONS TOWARD A THEORY OF GRAVITATION.

To the Editor of the Open Court :

A distinguished English physicist has recently brought forward evidence that the atomic theory does not adequately account for the ultimate constitution of matter; a conclusion that has long been advocated by me as essential to a solution of the problem of gravitation.

In view of the evident trend of investigation in that direction it has occurred to me that this might be a favorable time to lay the matter before the public of *The Open Court*. The following is a brief synopsis of my argument :

I. Recent discoveries in physical science tend to show that the atomic theory, in so far as it pronounces upon the ultimate constitution of matter, is unfounded. With due regard for scientific caution, we cannot go beyond the statement that matter acts *as if* it were composed of atoms; but further than this their existence is experimentally unproven, and it seems probable that their distinctive characters will remain forever unknown.

II. With our conception of matter thus qualified, we may say that ether is a rarified kind of matter. This conclusion is widely disputed, but we cannot escape it without doing violence to logic, inasmuch as whatever possesses attributes of matter must be matter. The main objection to it is that matter is composed of ultimate particles and ether is not; but it is equally permissible and somewhat more consistent with the present trend of investigation to regard the atom as a center of concentration of properties inhering in ether, and continuous with it.

III. Given a universe as above constituted and assuming the existence of a tendency to contraction at its periphery, we would then have a condition capable of effecting the phenomenon of gravitation within its mass. All solid bodies located therein would be subjected to an equal pressure on all sides except the side opposite an adjacent body, upon which side each body would be relieved of the pressure to an extent varying with mass and proximity. The result would be the establishment between the two bodies of a line of least resistance along which each body would tend to move.

IV. This is, in substance, the theory of Le Sage; but he provided for his pressure by a system of "transmundane particles" that violated the consistency of nature. If, instead, we postulate a body of matter without discontinuity, we obviate the difficulty that made Le Sage's hypothesis intolerable. If this explanation is accepted, an adequate physical cause of gravitation will have been attained, but the problem of adjusting this conception, and the mechanism it involves, to the preconceived order of nature will raise fresh difficulties in many directions.

NEW YORK CITY.

GEO. S. SEYMOUR.

AN AMERICAN EDITION OF LOTI'S BOOK.

The Story of a Child by Pierre Loti is a book that has become famous in its original form, which is in French, and needs not our praise to recommend it. The

English translation by Caroline F. Smith, prefaced by Edward Howard Griggs, and published by C. C. Birchard & Co., a young but enterprising house of Boston, is in every respect excellent. The style is simple and dignified, the print is antique, clear, and artistic, and the binding tasteful.

To characterise the book, we reproduce here chapter 77, pp. 286-289 :

"I will here recount a dream that I had in my fourteenth year. It came to me during one of those mild and sweet nights that are ushered in by a long and delicious twilight.

"In the room where I had spent all the years of my childhood, I had been lulled to sleep by the sounds of songs that the sailors and young girls sang as they danced around the flower-twined May-pole. Until the moment of deep sleep I had listened to those very old national airs which the children of the people were singing in a loud, free voice, but distance softened and mellowed and poetised the voices as they traversed the tranquil silence; strangely enough I had been soothed by the noisy mirth and overflowing joyousness of these beings who, during their fleeting youth, are so much more artless than we, and more oblivious of death.

"In my dream it was twilight, not a sad one however, but on the contrary, the air was soft and mild and overflowing with sweet odors like that of a real May night. I was in the yard of our house, the aspect of which was not changed in any particular, but as I walked beside the walls all abloom with jasmine, honeysuckle and roses, I felt restless and troubled as if I was seeking for some unnamable something; I seemed to have a consciousness that some one, whom I wished ardently to see, awaited my coming; I felt as if there was about to happen to me something so strange and wonderful as to intoxicate me by its very advance.

"At a spot where grew a very old rosebush, one that had been planted by an ancestor and for that reason guarded sacredly, although it did not bear more than one rose in two or three years, I saw a young girl standing motionless with a seductive and mysterious smile upon her lips.

"The twilight became a little deeper, the air more languorous.

"Everywhere it became darker; but about her there shone a sort of indeterminate light, like that coming from a reflector, and her figure outlined itself clearly against the shadows in the background.

"I guessed that she was very beautiful and young; but her forehead and her eyes were hidden from me by the veil of night; indeed, I could see nothing very distinctly except the exquisite oval of her lower face, and her mouth which was parted smilingly. She leaned against the old flowerless rosebush, almost in its branches. Night came on rapidly. The girl seemed perfectly at home in the garden; she had come I knew not from where, for there was no door by which she could have entered; she appeared to find it as natural to be here as I found it natural to find her here.

"I drew very close in order to get a glimpse of her eyes which puzzled me; suddenly, in spite of the darkness that became ever thicker, I saw them very distinctly; they also were smiling like the lips;—and they were not just any impersonal eyes, such, for instance, as may be found in a statue representing youth; no, on the contrary, they were very particularly somebody's eyes; more and more they impressed me as belonging to some one already much beloved whom I, with transports of infinite joy and tenderness, had found again.

"I waked from sleep with a start, and as I did so I sought to retain the phantom being who faded away and became more and more intangible and unreal, in proportion as my mind grew clearer through the effort it made to remember.

Could it be possible that she was not and had never been more than a vision? Had nothingness re-engulfed and forever effaced her? I longed to sleep again so that I might see her; the thought that she was an illusion, nothing more than the figment of a dream, caused me great dejection and almost overwhelmed me with hopelessness.

"And it took me a very long time to forget her; I loved her, loved her tenderly, and the thought of her always stirred into life an emotion that was sweet but sad; and during those moments every thing unconnected with her seemed colorless and worthless. It was love, true love with all its great melancholy and deep mystery, with its overwhelming but sad enchantment, love that, like a perfume, endows with a fragrance all it touches; and that corner of the garden where she had appeared to me and the old flowerless rosebush that had clasped her in its branches awakened in me, because of her, agonising but delicious memories." P. C.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

FROM WHENCE, WHAT, AND TO WHAT END? Being a Narrative Life of Man. By *Frederick Wollpert*. New York: Peter Eckler, Publisher. 1901. Pages, vii, 75. Price, 25 cents.

The title of this book seems to indicate that the author would discuss the problem of the origin and destiny of the soul; but the real subject of discussion is the problem whether or not suicide under special conditions would be allowable. The tenor of the book is partly agnostic, partly positively infidel, and many passages will be apt to shock religious people. The author is frequently sarcastic, but behind his sarcasm there is a serious background which solicits sympathy with the gloom and melancholy of a distracted soul. It is a pity that the book does not tell us anything of the author's life history, for it would afford a key to the notes of despair which ring through its pages.

The author says in the preface: "When a survey of the field is taken, it is found that instead of civilisation being a detriment unto the thought of suicide, it encourages it, rather than being a barrier; for as civilisation and knowledge increase, a longing for a freer activity of thought increases, and intensifies the smallness of this sphere."

Church institutions are regarded as invented merely for "the enslavement of the ignorant." "Individuals claiming to be divinely appointed for the extension of the original and divine word, have ever had but one object in view; and that is, the enslavement of the ignorant; and in their endeavors they have had recourse to all manner of pious frauds. As stated, the one universal object of the priesthood, of whatever worship, is deception."

Neither is there solace in evolution. Our author does not see forward, but backward; he does not see that man rises higher, but grows melancholy at the idea that he has risen from below. He says: "All the higher forms of living beings, including man, are descendants of some lower and extinct forms, which have become extinct in the gradual struggle for life; thus the process has gone on until the present species have been evolved." He growls at religion because it condemns suicide, and the theological argument is set forth as follows: "God being the Creator of all, man cannot commit self-destruction, lest he err greatly, and defy the laws of his Lord and Creator." The God of the Old Testament is especially objectionable to the author. The book abounds in passages such as these: "It has been demonstrated, again and again, that Jehovah is the breaker of his own laws."

Justice, honesty, mercy, and the truth, have been wilfully slaughtered by this great God, and then how is it possible for man to defy laws that are broken by the Head that enacted them. Such laws are not the embodiment of the truth, and available for the betterment of man, but are rather a nonsensical medley of mouthed words, being of no worth."

The first of the Ten Commandments, on account of its jealousy, is spoken of as "graphically outlining the littleness of God."

Christianity fares little better than the Mosaic faith, for "The Christian faith is nothing but a solid extract of Oriental doctrines, and nothing else."

The existence of a spiritual soul is purely an assumption of theology; but not even "science, the expounder of so many truths, can by direct evidence prove that there is such a thing as an immortal something, or soul, within the human being."

The result of the book is summed up in the last paragraph, page 75, which reads as follows: "And as to whether self-destruction is a crime or not, it has been graphically outlined that this is the inborn right of every individual. It is true, man should take into consideration the duty that he owes to wife, child, friend, and society. As long as man can be of use in the world, he should remain and add to the comfort of those he loves, but when the day draws nigh that finds him naught but a wreck upon earth, or one bound to the bed of suffering, or one whose every thought is in search of far greater knowledge, and which knowledge is only to be gained beyond this sphere, then as the Narrative defines, let him consider his position, and cast the die."

Obviously the author suffers from an acute attack of *melancholia religiosa*, or what means the same, *irreligiosa*. While we may grant him the maxim for which he contends, that under definite circumstances (which happily are very exceptional) man has a right over his own life, the book is a symptom of a sorely troubled mind; and far from criticising it, we feel it were better to advise the author to take courage again, to live within the living present, and to cease fostering gloomy thoughts. Life has its charms still, and there is no need of exaggerating the terrors of death.

P. C.

MATHEMATISCHE UNTERHALTUNGEN UND SPIELE. By Dr. W. Ahrens. Leipzig, Teubner. 1901. Pages, 428. Price, 10 marks.

Ever since Claude Gaspar Bachet, in 1612, published the first edition of his *Problèmes plaisants et délectables qui se font par les nombres*, France has taken great interest in the amenities of arithmetic. Bachet's famous work has gone through five editions, and Mersenne, Mydorge, Ozanam, Montucla, and Guyot, followed by numerous writers in the nineteenth century, have carried the work beyond the merely amusing, into the domain of the scientific. The most prominent of the French writers of our generation, Lucas, did not live to complete his projected publications upon the subject, but the contributions that he did make were so numerous and valuable as to place him among the first writers upon the subject.

England and Germany, while contributing to the amusing side of mathematics in the past, have done little in recent years in the way of publishing distinctive works upon the subject. Rouse Ball has written the only valuable book that has appeared in England in three generations. Germany has done even less, Schubert's *Mathematical Essays and Recreations*, first published in scattered form and afterwards collected into a work of three volumes, Leipsic, 1900 (English translation of selections from these essays by T. J. McCormack, The Open Court Pub.

Co., 1899) being the only recent critical work, until the appearance of the one under review.

Recognising the need of another work that should give a general view of the field, Dr. Ahrens has undertaken the task, and he has performed it in such way as to deserve high praise. His is no such trivial work as that of Vinot, which appeared in Paris in 1893, nor is it like the somewhat more elaborate *Récréations arithmétiques* which Fourrey published two years ago and of which the second edition is just out. It is more like the treatise of Lucas, the most scholarly and elegant of the modern writers upon the subject; but at the same time it is no servile copy. The author has already contributed to the literature of the subject; he is inventive; his insight into the science is clear, and his style has that conciseness joined to interest that makes German mathematics so much more attractive than the dry English or the prolix French.

The work is divided into twenty-three chapters, the scope of which may be gained from a few titles: *Erschwerte Ueberfahrten* (the problems of the jealous husbands, the switching of the trains, and others of this class); Tait's problem (on arranging coins in rows and columns), Systems of numeration; *Umfüllungsaufgaben* (first suggested by Tartaglia in the form of dividing 8 liters of wine equally between two friends, the only measure being the full 8 l. and a 5 l. cup and one of 3 l.); the Eight Queens' problem; the Knight's problem; Magic squares; Kirkman's problem of the school girls; the Problem of Josephus; the Bridges and Labyrinths; the Map coloring problem; the 15-puzzle; Paper-folding, based on Sundara Row's work.¹

One of the most valuable features of the work is the bibliography. The history of the several problems is given, with footnotes setting forth the sources of information. The first of the two valuable indexes gives a very complete bibliography of the subject from about 1530 to the present time.

DAVID EUGENE SMITH.

TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

Mr. Henry Wood had added another volume to his successful mystical productions. It bears the title: *The Symphony of Life; a Series of Constructive Sketches and Interpretations*. It is largely a skilful presentation of the doctrines of Christian Science disguised under the appellations "Higher Therapeutics," "Metaphysics" (shades of Aristotle and Kant, to what a bathos hath not this word sunk!), the "New Thought," etc., etc. As for this new thought, it is in reality so ancient as to antedate history, but in the modern psychological investigations of "suggestion," etc., it has found a foothold for its vagaries, which have been pushed far beyond what the common sense of the animistic savage could ever have dreamt of. Apart from its mysticism and spiritualistic bent, the book is, however, a sincere and deeply religious production. (Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1901. Pages, 300. Cloth, \$1.25.)

Two new volumes have appeared of the series *Les Grands Philosophes*, edited by the Abbé Piat. One is on Malebranche, by Henri Joly, editor of a series of *Biographies of the Saints* mentioned before in *The Open Court*; and the other is on St. Augustin, by Abbé Jules Martin. (Paris: Félix Alcan. Pages, respectively, xii, 289 and xvi, 400. Price, each, 5 francs.)

¹ An American edition of Sundara Row's book by Beman and Smith is now in preparation, Chicago, The Open Court Pub. Co.

Dr. Élie Halévy has undertaken in a work of two volumes recently published by Alcan, of Paris, the restoration of the utilitarian philosophy of Bentham, which was at once social, juridical, constitutional, and economical in character. The titles of the volumes are: (1) *La Jeunesse de Bentham*, and (2) *L'Évolution de la Doctrine Utilitaire de 1789 à 1815*. In the first volume, he has treated in a very interesting manner of the life and intellectual development of Bentham; in the second, he has expounded the evolution of utilitarianism from 1807 to 1815; in the third, forthcoming, volume he will treat of philosophical radicalism, which is the term applied to Bentham's system of thought. (Vol. I., pages x, 439. Price, 7 francs 50. Vol. II., pages, iv, 379. Price, 7 francs 50.)

Philosophical students will be interested in learning of the publication of a history of metaphysics, by M. Charles Renouvier of the French Institute, a well-known writer on philosophical questions and a thinker of more than ordinary distinction. He has formulated the great fundamental problems of philosophy and followed out their development and destinies throughout the ages, not omitting at the end to put forward solutions of his own, as these have taken shape in his doctrine of Neo-criticism. It is a remarkable fact that the work contains an index. (*Histoire et Solution des Problèmes Métaphysiques*. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1901. Pages, ii, 473. Price, 7 francs 50.)

The second edition has been published of the *Variétés philosophiques* of J.-P. Durand (De Gros), which is an attempt to go to the bottom of the central problems in metaphysics and to apply the results of the inquiry to the reinforcement of the foundations of physiology, medicine, psychology, ethics, and sociology. The work has very practical ends in view and is an ardent appeal for a reconstruction of the ethical and religious forces of society. M. Durand (De Gros), whose recent death was greatly regretted, was an independent thinker, and his works offer much material for reflexion and assimilation. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1900. Pages, xxxii, 333. Price, 5 francs.)

M. Ribot, professor of psychology in the Collège de France and now at last Member of the French Institute, has recently published another of his delightful psychological treatises, with some of the translations of which the old readers of *The Open Court* are familiar. The present work is devoted to a subject of the greatest intrinsic interest, viz, creative or constructive imagination, and M. Ribot has used the fascinating material here presented to the best advantage. (*Essai de l'Imagination Créatrice*. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1900. Pages, vii, 304. Price, 5 francs.)

While on the subject of psychology, we might also note the appearance of a volume of the proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Psychology, held in Paris during the Exposition of 1900. The volume contains the addresses of the president, delegates, and members of the Congress, and reprints of essays and papers, in English, German, and French. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1901. Pages, iii, 799. Price, 20 francs.)

The June number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* contains a review of the *History of Geometry* by Paul Tannery and a review of Christian Greek literature by A. Puech, also an article on the Classification of the Sciences and History, by M. Xénopol. (Paris: Librairie Léopold Cerf.)



ROBERT WILHELM BUNSEN.

(1811-1899.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

DIED SEPTEMBER 14, 1901.

BY THE EDITOR.

MAN'S worst enemy is man. The greatest hindrances to the welfare of the human race are the errors, the passions, and the evil intentions in the souls of those that are mentally or morally diseased. President McKinley has been assassinated in cold blood by the hand of a demented youth! And why? The assassin does not hate the man, but the office. The President represents social order, law, and government.

The nation stands aghast at the crime, and the lover of liberty is perplexed at the problem of how to deal with those unruly elements who prefer the bullet to the ballot, who spread their doctrines not by argument but by sowing hatred and inciting to murder, and whose idea of progress is slaughter and destruction. How liberty shall be benefited by the deed and how progress can be promoted through the terrorism which the enemies of our social order try to spread, is incomprehensible; but who can disentangle the twisted knots of the logic of a fanatic?

America is the land of liberty, but liberty is possible only by the restriction imposed upon every one through a respect for the rights of others. Laws are devised for no other purpose than to insure the liberty of all. We must grant that there are wrong laws, laws which do not serve this purpose, but the tendency of our national development is toward progress on the lines of freedom, and there is reason to hope that bad laws will in time be abrogated. Certainly there is no ground to denounce law itself because some laws are not right. The greatest hindrance to progress is the false notion that one can kill ideas or abolish institutions by

slaying their representatives. The assassination of kings in Europe has so far only strengthened the reactionary powers, and the assassination of a president in America will certainly not weaken the people's belief in our constitution.

William McKinley became conspicuous by his vigorous defence of a high tariff, but he would never have risen into national prominence had not the Democratic party raised the cry for free silver,—a step that would have led to the deterioration of our money standard. The people's enthusiasm for a high tariff is gone, and Mr. McKinley would never have been elected upon his favorite issue. But when there was the choice between honest money and repudiation, the people elected him by an overwhelming majority, in spite of his stand on the tariff.

In his administration President McKinley endeavored to do his best. It may be granted that he made mistakes, but he felt the responsibility of his high office, and he grew with the expanse of his duties. We must remember that new problems offered themselves with the conquest of new territories, and our administration had to grope its way to find the proper solution. Whatever enemies Mr. McKinley may have had, partisan hatred, envy, and cavil ceased at the bedside of the stricken man. Both the North and the South, Republicans and Democrats, see in him the representative of the nation, and all unite in their admiration of his courageous behavior in the hour of trial and in the face of death.

The halo of martyrdom now surrounds his head, and history will gladly and fully recognise the merits of his administration. His memory will be kept sacred by the side of his predecessors Abraham Lincoln and James A. Garfield.

ANARCHISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

ANARCHY means lawlessness,¹ and anarchism is the theory that there ought to be no laws, no government, no ruler. Now, in the original sense of the word, the tendency of the American political ideal is anarchistic, for liberty and independence are the keynotes of our history. The underlying principle of our political institutions is that the men to whom the public affairs of both the several States and the United States are handed over, are not the rulers but the servants of the nation. Properly speaking, we have no government but an administration. The president of the United States is not a sovereign, and the citizens are not his subjects, but he is the chosen leader, the *primus inter pares*, entrusted to attend to certain duties which are in the interest of all but can in their very nature be performed only by one person.

The people of the United States never found fault with anarchism so long as anarchists merely expounded their theories, and we must state here that there are quite a number of avowed anarchists who are opposed to law on account of the *compulsion* to obedience which the idea of law implies, and are therefore consistently opposed to all violence as a matter of principle. These anarchists, the peaceful anarchists so called, long ago gained a hearing and preached their doctrines to limited audiences. They were, however, ridiculed by some of their own friends as milksops and sissies, and the word anarchism, as commonly understood, accordingly denotes with the large masses of the people a defiance of the law by assassination and destruction.

The American people are very patient and are always inclined to allow every theory to be put into practice to show the results to which it leads. Anarchism cannot complain of not having had a

¹ Derived from ἀρχή, a first principle, a rule, government, and a privative, meaning *not*.

fair trial. The anarchist papers were not suppressed, and anarchist speeches were tolerated. But now that violent anarchism exhibits dangerous consequences, the people become indignant and feel like stamping it out as a nefarious weed that threatens to choke the harvest of good citizenship.

But if we love liberty and abhor government, why are we not all anarchists and why do we believe in law? The old conception of law is the view that law is the ukase of the government and serves to maintain the machinery that keeps the people in subjection. What, then, is the American conception of law where the term government has ceased to mean sovereignty over the people and has actually become the administration of public affairs? How can law, which inevitably means compulsion, be united with liberty?

Kant said that the principle of ethics consists in laying down maxims of conduct, and all those sentiments or motives to action are moral which can be made universal maxims. Now as to liberty, we mean to assert our own liberty and, as a matter of moral consistency, respect the love of liberty in others. For the sake of maintaining liberty as a general principle we deem it wrong to trespass upon the rights of others and recognise the necessity of self-restriction. If all men were truly honest, well-intentioned, and moral, there would be no need of enforcing self-restriction by law, because every one would as a matter of course refrain from wronging his fellow beings, and the truth is that the higher a civilisation the more lenient the laws can be. Progress implies a wider scope for individual liberty and a relaxation of legal coercions. American civilisation has actually reached the point where law has ceased to imply the idea of suppression and indicates the order which *for the sake of preserving our liberty* must be maintained. Our laws are not imposed upon us by rulers but are established by the legally chosen representatives of the people. Law in this sense is nothing but Kant's principle of morality applied to the domain of social life. Law empowers the authorities of the administration to employ force against those who do not possess sufficient self-control to abstain from trespassing upon the rights of others.

It is true that there are laws which are neither wise nor just, and frequently there are men in authority who are unworthy of their trust and abuse their office for personal gain. But we ought to be wise enough to remember that the world is nowhere perfect, and that we can improve conditions only by constant vigilance and by the repeated endeavor to correct our mistakes. There are

hours in which we feel desperate about the slowness of progress; but we should not lose patience. *Eppur si muove!* Liberty has been increasing slowly but constantly and its progress would be quicker but for its false friends who identify liberty with lawlessness.

The world would gladly accept the gospel of freedom were it not for the skeleton in the closet, the grinning sham freedom of violent anarchism, with its gospel of hatred, its bloody deeds of darkness, its contemptible treachery, its narrow-minded and stupid logic, and its insanity-begotten aspirations.

Anarchism (i. e., the violent anarchism that would sanction assassination) is as erroneous as it is immoral. Its doctrines can never become universal maxims. The anarchist's notion of liberty is licence, his ideal of progress is the destruction and ruin of his betters, his propaganda consists in preaching hatred and spreading terrorism, the methods he commends are felony and murder. Should his ideas gain a foothold in the minds of our people it would not lead us onward to a higher civilisation but back to barbarism, to a state of society in which the hand of every one is against that of every other and war is the general rule.

Happily we need not be afraid of anarchism, but though we must deeply deplore the erratic deed of a criminally insane individual who figures as an exponent of this dangerous doctrine, there is no need of being alarmed or resorting to means of repression that would make the remedy worse than the evil.¹

¹ It is generally expected that Congress will pass a bill for the protection of the lives of our Presidents and other high officials. No doubt the step is justified. But would it not be proper to extend the same protection to all people. If the murderer's intent has been proved by a deed beyond the shadow of a doubt and the victim has escaped only by good luck or by the skill of physicians, the law should, under aggravating circumstance, empower the judge or jury to treat the assailant as a murderer. There are cases in which the victim of an attempted murder becomes a cripple for life and leads a miserable existence ever afterwards, while the assailant escapes with a comparatively light punishment. Humane laws are a blessing, but leniency toward and a consideration of the interests of the criminal should not be bought by a withdrawal of the protection to law-abiding citizens.

THE LEGENDS OF GENESIS.

BY H. GUNKEL.

[CONTINUED.]

HISTORY OF THE TRANSMISSION OF THE LEGENDS IN ORAL TRADITION.

THE most important element in the history of the legends is probably this: in older times as the outward circumstances in which they arose were shifted, the legends also incurred certain alterations. Thus they forgot who the king of Gerar really was (xx. 26), and put in the king of Egypt instead (xii. 10 ff.). Incidentally it seems, according to Winckler, that a confusion arose between Mizraim (Egypt) and the North Arabian tribe of the Muzrim, to whom Gerar belonged; and Hagar also has been changed from a Muzritish Arabian woman to a woman of Mizraim, that is, an Egyptian. Or at a time when the Philistines had possession of Gerar this people also was brought into the legend of Gerar, whereas the oldest version of the story (xxi. 22 ff., 26) knows as yet nothing of this fact. The figure of Hagar, once the type of a tempestuous Bedouin woman (xvi.) has lost this characteristic color in the later tradition which was not familiar with the desert. The stories of Jacob's breeding devices while in Laban's employ, once the delight of the professional hearers and therefore quite detailed, were later much abbreviated for hearers or readers who had no interest in the subject. (See *Commentary*, p. 307.) Of the theories regarding the gradual origin of human arts and trades (iv. 17 ff.) only fragments have been preserved. Very often the characteristic elements of the legend, when far from the places where they were understood, grew colorless or were replaced by others. This is particularly clear in the legends of sanctuaries, of which we shall speak later. Still other legends were probably entirely for-

gotten because the interest in them had died out. And in addition to this the imagination, which is mightily stirred by such narratives, develops them almost involuntarily. We can here and there recognise such continuations and developments due to the free play of the imagination.

LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

The most important feature of this study is the history of religion. In very many legends of Genesis a monotheistic tendency is to be observed, an avoidance of mythology to which we have referred (*The Open Court*, pp. 270 and 535). This feeling continued to grow in Israel and was the cause for the fading out of a number of legends. In the case of the myth of creation, of which we have older variants of a different attitude, the history of this elimination of the mythological elements is still to be observed. The narrative of the Deluge too has lost much of its color in the oldest Hebrew account (that of J), and doubtless from this very reason. Others, like the legend of the marriage with angels (vi. 1-4) and of Mahanaim (xxxv. 21-22a), which were once in existence in older Israelitish tradition, are in their present form entirely mutilated. Of the Nephilim, the Hebrew "Titans," which are said to have been very famous once (vi. 4), we have nothing but the name.

MODIFICATION OF THE THEOPHANY.

Furthermore, we may observe how naïvely the older legends speak of Jahveh's appearance on earth, but how the later time objected to this and made the revelation of the divinity ever more intangible. While according to the oldest belief the divinity himself walked without reserve among men—as in the present form of the legends of Paradise and of the Deluge—the later time decked the theophany in the veil of mystery: God appeared only in the darkness of night and vanished with the rising of the sun (xix.); or he appeared to men without their recognising him (xviii), and in this way the divinity, though revealing himself, nevertheless did not wholly unveil his nature. Still later versions put some subordinate divine being in place of the divinity himself, J calling it "the angel of Jahveh," and E "the angel of God"; though this device was not observed consistently; passages enough have been left which presuppose the appearance of Jahveh himself, the older version peeping forth from behind the newer one.

This same point of view has led to the change of God's appear-

ance on earth to the apparition in a dream, or to the declaration that the angel remained in heaven and spoke to the patriarch from there: the mystery of the dream-life left a veil for the divinity who revealed himself, or in the other case he was not seen at all, but only heard. The last stage in this development is represented by those legends in which the divinity no longer appears at a definite point in the story, but dominates the whole from the ultimate hidden background, as in the stories of Rebecca and of Joseph.

Thus we progress in Genesis by many stages from crass mythology to a belief in providence which seems to us altogether modern. It is a marvel indeed that the legend of Penue! (xxxii. 25 ff.) is transmitted to us in such primitive form; in this the device has been to leave it undefined who the God really was that attacked Jacob.

THE DIVINITY AND THE SANCTUARY.

We recognise in this process of refining the nature of the theophany at the same time the dissociation of the divinity with the sanctuaries: the oldest belief that the God belonged to this particular place and could operate nowhere else, is not clearly found in a single legend of Genesis. On the contrary, the opinion of the legend is that the places are sacred to the divinity because he had once in primitive time appeared here to some ancestor. Even the very old legend of Hebron, which actually has God appear and eat, does not allege that the divinity came forth out of the tree. In the story of Hagar's flight, the mother of Ishmael meets the divinity at the well, but no explanation is given as to what connexion he had with the well. The great age of this whole point of view is to be gathered from the story of Bethel: the oldest religion had thought to find the God of the place in the stone itself, as the name of the sacred stone, *beth-el*, or "house of God," shows; but those of the later age believed that God dwelt high above Bethel, in heaven, and only a ladder preserved the connexion between the real dwelling of God and its symbol. This belief in the heavenly dwelling of the divinity rested, as the legend shows, upon a polytheistic basis: Jacob sees many divine beings going up and down the ladder.

Many legends of sanctuaries are transmitted to us in very faded form: from the story of Ishmael (in both versions) and likewise from the legends of Hebron (xviii.), Mahanaim (xxxii. 2 f.), Penue! (xxxii. 25 ff.) and others, we no longer gather that the scenes of the stories are places of worship. The legend of the

sacrifice of Isaac, originally a legend of worship, has lost all its aetiological purpose in the version transmitted to us and remains nothing but a character sketch. In the legend of Penue! too the aetiological element is now forgotten. The anointing of the stone at Bethel, once a sacrificial ceremony, seems in its transmitted form to be no more than a sort of rite of consecration. The Masheba, once sacred stones, symbols of the divinity, are finally mere memorial or tomb stones. The cave of Machpelah, once a place of worship, is nothing but the burial-place of the patriarchs in our form of the narrative. And so on.

The fading out of these legends of worship shows plainly that these stories are not preserved for us in the form in which they were probably told originally on the spot for the purpose of establishing its sanctity, but as they circulated among the people in later times and far from the places concerned. At the same time we see from this colorless character of the legends concerning the popular sanctuaries that the latter had ceased to occupy the foreground of religious interest with the people, or at least with certain groups of the people. The bond between religion and the sanctuaries was already loosened when the passionate polemic of the prophets severed it. How else could the people of Judah have accepted the "Deuteronomic Reformation," which destroyed these places with the exception of the royal temple at Jerusalem! (2 Kings xxiii.).

GOD'S RELATION TO MAN.

Genesis furnishes the most varied utterances concerning the relation of the divinity to mankind. In the oldest legends we hear how God holds men in check, how he guards and favors certain individuals in accordance with his sovereign pleasure, and how he glorifies and aggrandises his people above all others. In certain of the oldest legends God's action in such cases seems not to involve at all any thought of the moral or religious attitude of men: God reveals himself to Jacob at Bethel simply because Jacob happens to come to Bethel; similarly at Penue! the divinity assails Jacob without any evident reason; God is pleased with Abel's offering simply because he loves Abel the shepherd; he protects Abraham in Egypt and gives a fortunate outcome to the patriarch's deception; in any conflict of the patriarch with third parties God takes the part of his favorite even when the latter is plainly in the wrong as in the case of Abraham in dealing with Abimelech (xx.

7), or when he has indulged in very questionable practices, as in the case of Jacob with Laban, and so on.

But alongside these there are other legends upon a higher plane, according to which God makes his favor to depend upon the righteousness of men: he destroys sinful Sodom, but saves Lot because of his hospitableness; he destroys the disobliging Onan, and exiles Cain because of his fratricide; Joseph is helped by him because he has deserved assistance by his chastity and his magnanimity; to Abraham he gives a son because of his kindness to strangers. These legends all belong, taken absolutely, to a later time which has a finer ethical sense, yet they are all primitive in Israel. The belief that God looks with approval upon the just and rewards the wicked according to his sin is certainly familiar to the religion of Israel from the beginning (cp. 1 Sam. xxiv. 20; 2 Sam. iii. 39). From a broader point of view we may include here another group of legends which tell how God has compassion on the outcast and despairing; a particularly affecting instance of this is the legend of the exile of Hagar (xxi. 8 ff.).

A third variety of legend emphasises strongly what it is that wins God's approval, to wit, faith, obedience, invincible trust,—these God imputes as righteousness. At God's command Noah built a ship upon dry land; following God's word Abraham left his secure home and migrated to alien lands, trusting in God's promise that he should become a nation despite the fact that he had not even a son as yet. Thus they won the favor of God. The legend of the suit for the hand of Rebecca also shows how such steadfast trust in God is rewarded. In the legend of the sacrifice of Isaac we have a wonderful character sketch showing how the man of true piety submits to even the hardest and most terrible trials if God so commands. The famous prayer of Jacob, xxxii. 10-13, portrays the humble gratitude of the pious man who confesses himself to be unworthy of the divine favor. The narratives and pieces which speak thus of favor mark the climax of high religious feeling in Genesis; it is these especially which give value to Genesis even to the piety of the present day. We see in them a comparatively late development. This conclusion is supported by other reasons in the case of most of them: the Babylonian legend of the Deluge, for instance, knows nothing of the trial of the hero's faith; Jacob's prayer is quite secondary in its connexion, and what a contrast this prayer with its deep feeling makes with the remaining conduct of the eel-like Jacob! What a difference between it and the legend which stands beside it, Jacob's wrestling with the di-

vinity! It is to be noted also how peculiarly inconcrete the story of Abraham's exodus is; while the narrative of the covenant, chapter xv, is perhaps a later composition without any basis of tradition!

NOT MERELY A TRIBAL GOD.

Thus we can discern here a series of thoughts about God leading from the crudest up to the highest. But in any case these legends teach that it is an error to think that ancient Israel conceived only of a relation between God and Israel; on the contrary it is everywhere a matter of the relation of God to individual men. It is true that these persons are in part race types, but the legend looks upon them as persons and depicts God's relation to them in large measure just in the way in which the people of that time believed that God dealt with individuals. We should deprive many of these narratives of their whole charm if we failed to recognise this fact: the reason the legend of Hebron was heard so gladly by ancient listeners is that it tells how God rewards hospitality (thine and mine also!); and the story of how God hears the voice of the weeping boy Ishmael in the wilderness is touching because it shows God having compassion on a child: this God will also hear the cry of our children!

RELIGIOUS AND PROFANE MOTIVES MINGLED.

Another line of development is seen in the fact that the elder stories have a naïve way of mingling profane and religious motives, and clearly without taking any offence at it: thus the legend of Abraham in Egypt celebrates the shrewdness of the patriarch, the beauty of his wife and the steadfastness of God. The legend of the Deluge praises not only the piety, but also the shrewdness, of Noah (in the story of his sending out the birds); the legend of the flight of Hagar (xvi.) gives quite a realistic picture of the condition of affairs in Abraham's household and then tells of God's assistance. These legends come, therefore, from a time when profane and sacred matters were still frankly united, when the men of Israel fought at the same time for God and the popular hero ("a sword for Jahveh and Gideon!" Judges vii. 20), when lively humor was not inconsistent with piety, as for instance the merry butcher Samson who is at the same time God's nazir (devotee), or the humor of the legend of Abraham in Egypt. Now we see by the variants especially of this last legend that later times no longer tole-

rated this mingling of profane and sacred motives, or at least that it offended by the attempt to glorify God and profane qualities of men at the same time. Accordingly this later time constructed stories which are specifically "sacred," that is, which deal only with God and piety, and in which profane interests are relegated to the background. Such legends are those of Abraham's exodus, of the covenant, of the sacrifice of Isaac, and so on. Here the formerly popular saga is on the point of becoming "legend," that is, a characteristically "sacred" or "priestly" narrative. Whether this phenomenon was connected with the fact that the legends were at that time making their way into certain definite "sacred" or "priestly" circles, we are unable to say.

The earlier times knew also legends of the patriarchs which were altogether of profane character, such as the legend of the separation of Abraham and Lot, or that of Jacob and Laban. In later tradition religious elements made their way into even these legends and gave them a religious coloring. For instance, objection was taken to the notion that Canaan belonged to Abraham simply because Lot did not choose it, and an addition supplied to the effect that God himself after Lot's withdrawal personally promised the land to Abraham (xiii. 14-17). Similarly, later narrators hesitated to say that Jacob had run away from Laban and accordingly interpolated the explanation that God had revealed the plan to him (xxxi. 3).

ETHICAL NOTIONS.

Furthermore, a whole history of ethics can be constructed from these legends. Many of the legends of the patriarchs are filled with the pure enjoyment of the characters of the patriarchs. Consequently many things in these characters which are to us offensive caused no hesitation in the time which first told the stories, but were on the contrary a source of pleasure or of inspiration. The people of old took pleasure in Benjamin's career of plunder (xlix. 29), in Hagar's defiant spirit (xvi.) and in the courage of Tamar and the daughters of Lot, who took seed of a man where they could find it, and further in the shrewd deceit of Abraham in Egypt, in Joseph's cunning when he introduced his brothers to his prince as shepherds (xlvii. 1 f.), in Rachel's trick by which she deceived her father so perfectly (xxxi. 34), and especially in the wiles and schemes of the arch-rogue Jacob. It is impossible to ignore the great rôle played by deceit and cunning in these legends of the patriarchs, and the amusement the people of old got out of it, and

the character which they thus reveal to us. Then we see from many examples how the later tradition took offence at these stories, re-interpreted them or remodeled them and tried to eliminate the questionable features as far as this was possible. This is most evident in the variants of the legend of the danger of Sarah: here the later narrators have remodeled the whole story, which plainly appeared highly questionable to them, changing, for instance, Abraham's lie into a mental reservation (xx. 12), the disgraceful presents which the patriarch receives for his wife into a testimonial of good repute (xx. 16), and even finally deriving Abraham's wealth from the blessing of God (xxvi. 12); similarly, the deportation of Abraham (xii. 20) has been changed into its opposite, (xx. 15), and so on.

The defiant Hagar of chapter xvi. has been changed into a patient and unfortunate woman, in order that no offence might be taken with God's compassion upon her (xxi. 8 ff.); the attempt has been made to explain Abraham's treatment of Hagar by adding that God had commanded him to put her away (xxi. 11). Especial pains has been taken to clear Jacob of the charge of dishonesty in his relations with Laban: in several long speeches the narrator undertakes the demonstration that there is no shadow upon Jacob; Jacob's wives and finally Laban himself are obliged to recognise his uprightness (xxxi. 4 ff.; 36 ff.). Here too the resort is, to ascribe to the authority of God that which seems questionable to men: God always caused the herds to bring forth in Jacob's interest (xxxi. 7), and God himself revealed to Jacob the color of the newborn for the coming year (xxxi. 10 ff.). With somewhat less energy the narrators have taken hold of the story of Tamar; yet here too they have done their best to wash Judah white: Judah, they urge, did not go to Timnath until his wife was dead. And a similar endeavor has been made to give at least for Lot himself a somewhat more decent shape to the story of Lot's daughters, which was very offensive to those of the later age: they say that Lot was deceived by his daughters.

THE PATRIARCHS NOT SAINTS.

The olden time undoubtedly took delight in the patriarchs, but it did not consider them saints, but told of them quite frankly all sorts of things that were far from ideal. Some of the old stories are in this respect exceedingly true to nature: they portray the fathers as types of the Israelitish nationality, just such as individ-

ual men in Israel are. Thus the story of the flight of Hagar (xvi.) sketches the people in Abraham's household: Sarah as the jealous wife, Hagar as the defiant slave, and Abraham as the peace-loving husband. The later time with its "sacred" or "priestly" feeling could not tolerate such things. On the contrary, this age saw in the patriarchs always models of piety, and of that intense and tender piety which belonged to this later age. Thus there has entered into the portraits of the patriarchs a peculiar dissonance: the very Abraham who thrust his son Ishmael into the wilderness (xxi. 14), who does not hesitate to turn Sarah over to the foreign king and even to accept presents for her (xii. 16), we are asked to regard as the same who is the lofty model of faith for all ages! And the cunning Jacob is the same who speaks the wonderful prayer of gratitude! We resolve this dissonance and free these legends from the unpleasant suspicion of untruthfulness by recognising that the different tones are the product of different periods.

The earlier time did not hesitate to recognise here and there the rights of aliens when brought into conflict with the patriarchs: for instance, Pharaoh's right as opposed to Abraham's (xii. 18 f.), and Esau's as opposed to Jacob's (xxvii. 36); indeed some of the patriarchs have been simply abandoned: Simeon, Levi and Reuben were cursed by their great-grandfather (xlix. 3-7)! Israelitish patriotism was at that time so sound that it tolerated such views. But the later times, with their onesided, excessive reverence for "the people of God," could not endure the thought that the patriarchs had ever been wrong or done wrong. Thus we see how one of the narrators takes pains to show that Abraham was not altogether in the wrong in his relations with Abimelech (in the speech, xxi. 11-13). From the same motive, in order to avoid saying anything bad about the patriarchs, only a fragment of the story of the curse of Reuben has been transmitted (xxxv. 21-22a), and the story of Simeon and Levi has been cast into several forms (xxxiv.): first excuses for the brothers were sought—they were defending the honor of their sister (J)—and finally they were even justified and their betrayal of Shechem represented as quite the natural thing. Here, too, God is finally made to take their side (E, cp. xxxv. 5). We do not always relish such modifications, and sometimes it seems to us as if they made the matter worse, rather than better. Thus, the lie of Abraham in introducing his wife as his sister (xii. 13), in which the earlier narrators take evident pleasure, is after all more tolerable than the mental reservation which is put in its place, which seems to us Jesuitical (xx. 12). But despite

these instances we must not surrender our gratification at this gradual improvement in ethical judgment which we can see in Genesis.

On the history of ethical taste which is to be found in these legends we have already treated in the preceding pages (§ 3), and have but a few points to add here. We gain a deep insight into the heart of the primitive people when we collect the chief motives in which the eye of the legends takes pleasure. This is not the place for such a summary; attention may, however, be called to the fact of how little is said of murder and assassination, and on the contrary, how much is said of peaceful occupations and household affairs, especially of the begetting of children; eating and drinking, too, play quite a rôle. These narrators are thoroughly posted in the life of peasants and shepherds and are therefore a prime source for our "archæology"; but they are not at home in political affairs: in this they are simple and natural.

The older legends are often quite coarse: for instance, the legend of the defiant Hagar (xvi.), or Jacob's deception of his blind father and the delight of the listeners (xxvii.), or the exceedingly coarse way in which Laban's quick-witted daughter deceives her father (xxxi. 34 f.): it must have been a stocky race that took pleasure in such stories. How very different are the later stories which overflow with tears, such as the legend of the exile of Hagar (xxi.), of the sacrifice of Isaac, and especially the legends of Joseph! Here a different generation is expressing itself, one that loves emotion and tears.

Still another distinction between the older and the later time is that the former was interested in the familiar things of its nearest surroundings, while the latter tries to give a piquant charm to its stories by locating the legend far away and introducing the description of foreign customs, as in the story of Joseph.

CRITERIA OF THE AGE OF THE LEGENDS.

Accordingly we have an abundance of grounds on which we can establish the age or the youth of the narratives. Sometimes we are enabled to outline a very brief preliminary or pre-natal history of the legend in question, as for instance in the case of the legend of Hagar (xvi.), in which first an "El," then Jahveh himself, and then his messenger, was the divinity that appeared. Often a series of various arguments lead to a given conclusion, that a legend is late or early; thus the legend of Abraham in Egypt is to

be regarded for many reasons as very old; it is very brief, has a primitive local coloring, and does not idealise its personages, and so on. On the other hand many arguments lead to the conclusion that the legend of Joseph is very late: it has the latest, spun-out style, few ætiological elements, contains the belief in Providence, and so on. But very often the various considerations cross one another: in that case it is evident that the legend contains a confused mixture of early and late elements: thus the narrative in chapter xv., containing no complications, seems to be relatively late, but the theophany in fire and smoke is surely a very primitive conception. The different phases of development have not been distinct and clear cut: early features often continued to hold their own for a long time; hence it will be necessary to conceive of this outline of the history of the legends not as simple and straightforward, but as very confused and full of vicissitudes.

TRIBAL LEGENDS.

If we take one more survey of the history of these transformations, we shall surely have to admit that we can get sight of only a small part of the entire process. These transmutations must have begun at a very early period, a period so early that our sources give us no insight into it. This should warn us against supposing that we are able to arrive always at the very primitive significance of the stories from the historical and ætiological allusions which we find in the narratives. In this connexion we may refer to the legends in which there have been no such allusions from the beginning, especially the legend of Jacob and Laban. And a special warning is needed against rashly interpreting as tribal legends those legends whose heroes are plainly ancestors of tribes, for it may be, as has been shown above, that the story was applied to the tribal hero long after its origin.

And if it is scarcely possible for us to declare the original significance of the legends from the sources handed down to us, neither may we claim to know in every case who the originals were of the figures in the legends of the patriarchs. Some of them are really names of countries, or races, and of tribes, as for instance, Israel, Ishmael, Ammon, Moab, Rachel, Leah, Hagar, Keturah, and the tribes of Israel. In an inscription of Thotmosis III (ca. 1500 B.C.) mention is made of a Canaanitish tribe or district J'qb'ar, which would correspond to a Hebrew Ja"qob'el, (Hebrew l=Egyptian r); and the name Jacob-el would be related to Jacob as Jephthahel

and Jabn'el are related to Jephthah and Jabne: they are all names of tribes or of places, like Israel, Ishmael, and J'rahm'el. Even on this evidence we should conclude that Jacob was originally the name of a Canaanitish district, which existed in Canaan before the Israelitish immigration.¹

PATRIARCHS DISGUISED DIVINITIES.

Still another question is, whether these tribal names were not also originally names of divinities, as for instance Assur is at the same time the name of the God of Assur (Assyria). This is to be assumed for Gad, which is at the same time the name of the god of fortune, and also for Edom—cp. the name Obed-edom, "servant of Edom," Wellhausen Composition², p. 47, 2. ed. Names of divinities have been suspected further in Selah (cp. the name Methuselah=man of Selah), R'u (cp. the name R'u-el), Nahor (cp. the name 'Ebednahor=servant of Nahor), Terah (perhaps the same as the North-Syrian god Tarhu), Haran (cp. the name Beth-haran=temple of Haran). Sarah and Milkah are, as we know, names of the goddesses of Haran, with which the Biblical figures of Sarah and Milkah have perhaps some connexion. This suggests very easily the thought that Abraham, the husband of Sarah, has been substituted for the (moon-) god of Haran. The name Laban too suggests a god; L'bana means moon; the fact that Laban is represented as being a shepherd would correspond to his character as a moon-god: for the moon-god may be represented as the shepherd of the clouds. In ancient as well as in modern times the attempt has been repeatedly made to explain the figures of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob also as originally gods. There is no denying that this conjecture is very plausible. The whole species of the legend—though not indeed every individual legend—originated in the myth; at least many legends are derived from myths. And such an interpretation is very natural for the stories of Jonah in the whale's belly, of Esther (Istar), of Samson (Semes's sun) and others. What is more natural than to attempt this interpretation with the legends of Genesis whose origin goes back in part to prehistoric times when myths were the order of nature? But—as we look at it—the attempts in this line hitherto made have not been exactly fortunate and have sometimes failed to demonstrate their theses. Of such pieces as can be interpreted with reasonable certainty as remnants of mythical narratives there are not many among

¹Cp. Ed. Meyer ZAW 1886, p. 1 ff.

the tales of the patriarchs (we are not now speaking of the legends of the beginnings): the note that Abraham with 318 servants slew his enemies (xiv. 14) may in Winckler's opinion go back to a moon-myth, the moon being visible 318 days in the year; Jacob's wrestling with God suggests that this Jacob was really a Titan, and consequently we can scarcely avoid seeing here a faded out myth; Joseph's dream that the sun, the moon, and eleven stars were compelled to bow down before him must have been originally an oracle referring to the Lord of Heaven before whom the highest powers of heaven bow, although it seems that this dream was introduced very late into the story of Joseph.

CAUTION NEEDED IN INTERPRETATION.

But before we are warranted in declaring with regard to a figure in Genesis that it bears the impress of an earlier god, we must demand that not merely certain elements of a story permit a mythical interpretation, but that whole legends have striking resemblances to known myths, or that they can be interpreted as myths in perfectly clear and unquestioned fashion. Such a demonstration as this has not been given by investigators hitherto.¹ Let us hope that those who attempt it in the future may be more successful! But let us by no means fail to recognise the fact that Israel in historical times, when these legends were told, saw in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, not gods but men, its ancestors. And we must further demand that those investigators who propose to find mythological foundations to our legends must first of all investigate most carefully the history of the legends which lies before us so clearly in the sources. Only for the oldest elements of the legends

¹ The older theory of Goldziher (*Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, 1876), which depended chiefly on the etymologies of names, is long since discredited. Stucken (*Astralmythen*, I. Abraham, 1896, II. Lot, 1897) bases his assertions upon individual elements of the legends, for which he hunts together an amazing abundance of parallels from all over the world; but these parallels are often only very incidental. As Etana, carried up to heaven by an eagle, according to the Babylonian myth, looks down upon the earth, so Abraham and Lot, according to Stucken, look upon the land from Bethel, and so Abraham looks up to heaven and upon Sodom. But such analogies will not stand attack. Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, II., 1900, who continues to build upon this uncertain foundation, depends especially upon the characteristic numbers: the four wives of Jacob are the four phases of the moon, his twelve sons the months; the seven children of Leah are the gods of the days of the week, the 300 pieces of silver which Benjamin the youngest receives are the 30 days of the last month, the 5 state dresses are the 5 intercalary days; Joseph's coat suggests the garments of Tamar and Istar (and every other garment!); his being thrown into the cistern denotes the descent of Tammuz into the under world; the dipping of his coat in blood and his father's belief that he had been eaten by a wild beast suggest the slaying of Adonis by the boar, and so on. After such a review we cannot yet see satisfactory solutions of the problem in either of these works, although we gladly recognise the extensive learning and the keenness of them both. And yet we would emphasise the point, that there is no reason on principle against a mythical interpretation of the legends of the patriarchs.

may a mythical origin be ultimately expected. Accordingly we are unable to say what the figures of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which chiefly interest us, may have signified originally. But this is by no means strange. These matters are simply too primitive for us.

Apologetic meditation is wont to lay great importance upon the historical verity of Abraham; in our opinion there is no longer any room for this assumption, and moreover it is hard to see what significance this position can have for religion and the history of religion. For even if there had once been a leader by the name of Abraham, as is generally believed, and who conducted the migration from Haran to Canaan, this much is beyond question with every one who knows anything of the history of legends, that a legend cannot be expected to preserve throughout so many centuries a picture of the personal piety of Abraham. The religion of Abraham is in reality the religion of the narrators of the legends, ascribed by them to Abraham.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

WHAT IS LIFE?

A SUNDAY ADDRESS.

BY WILLIAM M. SALTER.

THERE are two noble concerns of man. One is to know his duty in life, and to do it. The other is to understand the great world about him, to understand himself as a part of the world.

Religion has always in some fashion met these concerns. It has not only given a rule of life, it has sought to make existence intelligible. It has aimed to banish the sense of strangeness which man has as he confronts the Universe, to make him feel at home in it. The religions that lie directly back of us did this in a very simple way. They told us of a Creator of the world; they explained the steps of the process,—in six days it was all done. They explained evil; they explained death. They pictured the Creator ever watching over, and now and then interfering in his world,—and one of them pictured him as sending down a Son from the heavenly heights in which he lived to rescue man from evil and from death, and point the way to heaven where man might go and live forever. How finite and comprehensible seemed the world in such a view! How simple was life! And in a way how affecting and beautiful the whole story!

And now that science makes us doubt whether the world ever was created, whether a hand from without ever interfered in it, whether Jesus was more heaven-sent than other men, and whether heaven itself is more than boundless space and innumerable planets and suns, how strange the world again becomes! The old familiar house in which we lived has been torn down, or rather melted in thin air, and we have to get our bearings and take our reckonings anew. It was, as we see, a kind of fairy-tale in which we believed, a sort of dreamland in which we were living,—and the world is other, vaster, more mysterious than we thought.

And yet the human mind has the same need as ever. It raises the same wondering questions. It has the same deep strong desire to know, to understand this wondrous frame of things, to be at home in it, to be a child of the universe, instead of a stranger. A religion for to-day must meet this need. It must face the new world and give some reasonable account of it. It is a great thing, the greatest thing, to inspire men with a vision of the right, and with courage to do it and dare for it; but it is only second to this to make men serene, at peace with the world because they see their place in it, happy in existence, fighting their battle for the right and the just in the light, and not in darkness.

It is with the hope that I may contribute, if ever so little, towards making those who come here feel at home in the world, that I am taking up the subjects for these two Sundays, "What is Death?" and "What is Life?" I would help you see the meaning of both. I would have you not shrink from the thought of death or regard it as an outlaw or a blot on the fair face of the world, but as a normal and even happy and beneficent part of it. I would have you see with Whitman and say with him: "Beautiful . . . that the hands of the sisters, Death and Night, incessantly, softly wash again and ever again this soil'd world." I would have you not merely submit, but consent and even praise "Our Sister Death," as all the great processes and forces of nature. My guide is science. I wish to admit everything it teaches. I wish to hold nothing and to hope for nothing that is inconsistent with it. I wish to follow the full sweep of all the physical, chemical, biological, psychological research and results of our time. It was said of Faraday that when he went into his oratory he turned the key of his laboratory. His science was one thing and his religion another. But the two things should interpenetrate. I have faith in the possibility of a religion that shall have part of its inspiration from science. I think that the conflict of the two is a passing phase—not that by a sort of hocus-pocus now becoming familiar, science will play into the hands of the old religion, but that religion will have a new birth through science, that knowledge itself will suggest what is beyond knowledge, that what we see and what we rationally dream of will be recognised as of one texture, so—

"That mind and soul according well
May make one music as before,
But vaster."

What can we say about life? It is of course premature to

speak of any final, finished doctrine,—yet there are hints, partial aspects of the truth, that we may gather together.

Life is of course a quality or attribute of many things. There is not only our human life, but animal life. Still lower down the scale there is vegetable life. Man, animal, plant,—all alike, though so different, live. What do we mean by saying so?

In the broadest sense anything may be said, I suppose, to be alive that moves of itself, instead of being pushed from without. If any of the wretched flying papers of which our Chicago streets and vacant lots are full on a windy day, were to take to flying when there was no wind, we should be amazed and think that somehow they must be alive. They are dead things, only because it takes something else to move them. The waves on our lake are pushed by one another, and all together they are pushed by the wind, but if they arose without any wind, and above all if one arose by itself and no other had caused it, if there were a spontaneous rising and swelling of the water, we should say the water there must be alive. Of course, none of these things happen, and it is something of a strain on our imagination to picture them, but they serve in a simple way to bring out the idea that is, I think, in all our minds when we speak of life. If you come on some strange object as you are walking along a country road, and can't make out whether it is alive or dead, you perhaps poke it or shove it, and if it moves only as you make it move you call it dead (perhaps it never was a living thing), and if it moves of itself you call it alive. Movement from within,—that is life.

Well, strange as it may seem, there is, in this broad general sense of the word, more life in the universe than we are at first aware of. There is a vast deal of movement that is produced by other movement, but, as we examine carefully, we find that every now and then we come upon movement that there are no outside causes to explain. When, for instance, you throw a ball up into the air, the upward movement is intelligible enough, for it is caused by the movement of your arm, but what causes the downward movement that sooner or later takes place? Is there somebody up there that gives the ball a push back? What even makes the ball stop? For there is evidently more than the friction of the air that hinders it from going up indefinitely. The real fact seems to be that the ball comes down, not because anything else makes it come down, but from its own intrinsic attraction or gravitation or weight. In the strict sense of the word, so far as I can see, it moves itself. It moves because it is so constituted, because its matter is not

mere matter, but a seat of living force. "Attraction," "gravitation," "weight," are not properly explanations of the movement, but other ways of describing it. All we can say truthfully is simply that the movement comes from within,—that the attraction, gravitation, and weight are inherent, not produced from without. And so it is wherever the so-called law of gravitation holds good,—so it is with all bodies throughout the wide world (so far as we know it). Movement is taking place every day, freshly beginning every day, movement is indeed eternally going on,—which is not caused by other movement, but arises from depths of energy within each object itself. In a sense, then, the whole universe is alive, for the earth and the sun and the stars and the whole choir of heaven, yes, and the tiniest fragment of dust under our feet, move, not because of anything that pushes them, but because of unexhausted and inexhaustible supplies of energies within themselves. You can throw up a ball again and again, and again and again, and it will always repeat the downward movement; it never tires or wearies of doing so; its action can be mathematically predicted—that is what we have in mind when we speak of the law of gravitation, but the law does not make it move, it is only an abstract statement of the fact and way in which it does move. So with the earth and the sun—as masses they may disintegrate, but the essential particles of which they are composed will never cease to have their inner vital attractions. They may make and remake worlds without end, and be as fresh as on creation's morn.

Must we not say the same of those infinitesimal movements by which neighboring particles of a like substance draw near to one another and refuse to be separated—to which we give the name cohesion? Are we to imagine external influences, hidden vises of some sort, pressing them together, or is it their own attractions that are at work? What, too, of the delicate movements that result in the formation of crystals—the wondrous little pyramids, for instance, which a solution of common salt may run into as it evaporates, and which almost seem, Tyndall said, a mimicry of the architecture of Egypt? Are not these movements, too, spontaneous? Is there any external force to which we can attribute them? Surely no one will say, to use an explanation which Tyndall only cited to dismiss, that there are invisible workmen in between the molecules piling them up in the order they assume. All we can say is, that there is this tendency, this architectural instinct (so to speak), this wonderful living movement, in the particles themselves. They are not dead particles that have to be put together by a hand out-

side them, but are instinct with a life and motion of their own, and with this very definite and beautiful type of life and motion—at least with one having these beautiful results.

We have been dealing with masses and little masses (or molecules); but the same considerations apply to the union of the atoms themselves,—the union called chemical. When two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen rush into one another's arms, as it were, and form a molecule of water, no one thinks of any outside force pushing or compelling them. The force, the spring of the movement, is in themselves; they have a positive affinity, one might almost say a craving, for one another, and, when circumstances allow, their mutual movement and union are inevitable. In other words the processes of chemical union are, equally with the other types of movement I have referred to, in a sense, living processes.

All about us then, even in the lower inorganic world, are store-houses, springs, fountains of life. They are store-houses that never grow old, springs that never weary, fountains that are ever fresh. A chemical element never loses its specific attractions, its inherent power of movement, any more than a particle of earth ever loses gravity. It may combine a hundred times, a thousand times, ten thousand times,—each time as readily, as powerfully, as exactly as the last; its energy is an unfading, undying, immortal thing.

Yet there is somewhat more wonderful in the world still. In the broad sense of spontaneous movement, life is everywhere in the world—and really in the last analysis, all derived movements rest on original, native, movements. But there are more wondrous potencies than those we have described. These are life, but there is a more-life—a deepening and multiplying of inward potency, and this is what we call life in the narrower, specific sense.

I have spoken of atoms uniting in a chemical compound. But suppose there were a compound which on being broken up to any extent tended to restore itself, which somehow managed to get new atoms to replace those that are lost, and thus preserved its form though its substance was altering and kept its identity in the midst of change, that would be a wonderful compound indeed, and its potencies far higher than those involved in the mere formation of a compound in the first place. Yet that is essentially the meaning of life, in the specific sense. Suppose water, on suffering any loss of its oxygen or hydrogen, at once reached after fresh oxygen or hydrogen to make good the loss, suppose the molecules were somehow bent on keeping themselves whole, and became thus a seat of

alternate destructive and constructive activities, I make bold to say that in the essence of the matter water would be as truly a living thing as a plant or an animal is. It happens, however, that the only compound that has this marvellous inner potency is that exceedingly complex compound made up of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, to which the name protein is sometimes given. It is the substance of protoplasm—that semi-fluid matter which is in every plant and every animal, which Professor Huxley styled the “physical basis of life.” This compound is ever suffering loss and yet it ever seeks to make good the loss—and this is the essential process of life.¹ We may suppose that, in the course of time, it has adapted itself and organised itself² better and better to serve the purpose of keeping itself whole. The outcome of the process has been to make it a sort of machine, with various parts working together for an end. Our bodies are a kind of machine, and those infinitesimal structures of which our bodies are composed, that we call cells, are machines.³ The difference from ordinary machines is, as I explained last Sunday, that they are self-feeding machines, self-repairing machines, and, within limits, self-reproducing machines. That is, they are *living* machines, in contradistinction to those which man makes, which are in every case dead machines—having to be operated by something or somebody outside themselves.

The single cell from which every living thing starts, and from which man's bodily organism starts as well,—the seed or germ as more familiarly called—is a machine, i. e., a contrivance for an end, the end being to maintain itself—and, perhaps it should be added, to grow and reproduce itself.⁴ I need not go into details—though they make a fascinating study. The simplest cells are made up of parts—nucleus and nucleolus, cell-substance and centrosome, are some of the technical names—and students of the subject are gradually learning or divining their respective functions, just as we learn the functions of the organ of the body as a whole. From start to finish in the living or organic world there is mechanical contrivance—only it is inwardly, not outwardly, produced, or, as we might

¹This is beautifully brought out in an article “To Be Alive, What Is It?” by Dr. Edmund Montgomery, in *The Monist*, Vol. V., pp. 166 ff.

²Or made use of and perpetuated “accidental” variations arising within it that were favorable to this end.

³See *The Story of the Living Machine* by H. W. Conn (New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1899—a remarkably lucid little book).

⁴Is growth a sort of surplus maintenance, or is there an instinct of growth in addition to the instinct of maintenance? Reproduction would appear to be simply an incident of growth.

say, it is begotten, not made. The living machine itself grows—that is the wonder of it; it has grown; it has made itself,¹ led, forced, driven from within. There is nothing like it in the world—a parallel would be if a locomotive engine got its own fuel, grew and increased in size, made its own repairs and detached from itself parts of its structure, that grew into new locomotives.² There are architectural forces in nature; there are machine-making forces in nature. The impossible, the inconceivable to man, nature accomplishes.

"Not human art, but living gods alone
Can fashion beauties that by changing live."

Our energy comes from the food we eat. But the deeper mystery of life consists in this,—that by our voluntary action we appropriate food, that we have an elaborate mechanism for doing so. The question of life is the question of the origin of this mechanism. The food that passes into it comes from the environment; but the mechanism itself does not come from the environment; it is fashioned from within, it is the outcome of specific chemical attractions, appetencies, impulses, demands. When you can account for the attractions of the chemical elements by their environment, when you can account for the gravity of bodies by their environment, then may you hope to account for the essential phenomena of life by surrounding forces. The truth is, there are, as there must be, original factors in the world, *Bausteine*, and life (or chemical activity and appetency) is like gravity, one of them. If we wish to account for *them*, we have to go back to the maker of all things (if there be a Maker), not to any of the other things that are made.

I have spoken of the life man has in common with animals and plants. We can hardly understand ourselves, save as we perceive the large essential outlines of this common life, in which the humblest *amœba* and the humblest speck of vegetable protoplasm share as well. Yet man is more than vegetable protoplasm, more than an *amœba*. How? In that the inner springs of his life are deeper, wider, richer. Man differs from the lower orders, because to their sensibility he adds more sensibility, because to the dim, groping instincts of the plant and the half-conscious processes of the animal, he adds a fuller consciousness—adds reason and knowledge and moral perception. These give man an additional independ-

¹ Not excluding a taking advantage of "accidental" variations.

² Cf. *General Biology*, by Sedgwick & Wilson, p. 4.

ence with respect to the outside world—they make him still more a living being. In a sense, the downward motion of a ball is a living motion, because it comes from the ball's own nature and is not caused from without. For all that, a ball may be kicked and thrown and tossed, and be practically unable to resist. How different a man! Where the ball has only gravity with which to counteract disturbing influences, man has a host of powers—by his perception and intelligence he may outwit them or escape them, by his muscular energies he may even attack them, and by concert with his fellows he may win a victory where he would fail by himself. If man were merely the passive creature of his environment, if he had no will or energy of his own, he would not really be a living thing. The very meaning of life is a more or less original, independent attitude towards surrounding influences. The only things in the world that may be entirely shaped by circumstances are dead things—if indeed there are any absolutely dead things. Life, as I have shown, is, from beginning to end in the scale of ascent, self-movement, reaction from a store of energy within. The exciting stimulus may no more of itself account for the effect, than a spark accounts for the explosion of a magazine of gunpowder. Even inanimate things are store-houses of independent energy; much more so man.

Hence we see what progress of life means for man. It is in becoming more and more a self-centered being. It is in getting more and more a fund of thought, of will, of principle, by which he may, within limits, shape forces about him instead of being shaped by them. Life is action from within, and more life means more "within" to act from. It is the feeble, unvitalised man who does simply as others want to have him do, or who goes with the crowd and cannot stand alone, or who swears by his party or his Church or his newspaper and does not examine into things, or who is the victim of his last book or the last set of circumstances in which he finds himself. If I want an example of strong self-sustained life, I think of Goethe who though lapped in luxury, the favorite of a court, and the idol of his countrymen, remained, as Huxley has remarked, through all the length of his honored years, a scholar in art, in science, and in life. I think of Huxley himself, ardent, devoted, unworldly, in his constant pursuit of scientific truth. I think of Herbert Spencer, turning neither to the right nor to the left, but finishing at eighty the work he set out to do at forty. Yes, I think of that pagan saint Marcus Aurelius, who though an emperor and tempted to all vanity, could write the "Med-

itations," and who could meekly say "Even in a palace life may be led well." The power of the inward over the outward—that is the power of life. And it is shown in humble men, in men we never heard of, as well as in men like these.

And yet life starts in desire, and progress begins with vague, hovering ideals. Who can tell what an *amœba* is after when it sticks out its pseudo-podia or feelers, and draws neighboring objects into its jelly-like, filmy mass? We can only say it has a rude, dim instinct to live. Who can tell what slumbering, vague desires are in the protoplasm of a plant with its unceasing motion, with its firm determined bent to make up for every loss in its substance—even to increase and grow? Dissatisfaction, want are the parent of every achievement. But if so, why should we human beings discredit the vague, ill-defined hopes and yearnings that may be in our hearts now? The dreams of one age may gradually become the realities of the next. The vague hopes of humanity now may be prophetic of what humanity shall sometime be. First, desires, wants, dumb inarticulate strivings, afterwards thoughts, clear perceptions, firm will—this marks the ascent of plant to man and of man to the higher man. More and higher life means more desires, greater thoughts, more and more determined will. This is the vital method of progress, as opposed to those mechanical devices on which men sometimes lay such stress. Institutions, says Huxley, do not make men, any more than organisation makes life.¹ The only firm institutions are those which men make, as the only stable combinations of matter are those arising from inner, vital attractions. When the will and thought and energy of a people go into an institution, then it is there to stay. The only salvation for society as for the individual, is from within—it is more life.

Will life end with our planet? In a sense, yes; but if the energies that make for life really belong to nature and are inherent in it, strange would it be if they should never again assert themselves. In new worlds it is reasonable to believe that there will be new life. There may be different forms of life, there may be other chemical compounds than those with which we are familiar, but they will be alive in the same sense that ours are, in case they move from inner springs, lose their substance only to restore it, and perpetuate themselves in a series if they cannot in an individual. It is not a special set of elements that make life; life is rather a kind of union, of organisation of elements, a kind of process among them, whatever the elements be—namely, a kind resulting

¹ *Science and Culture*, etc., p. 72.

from inner forces, from the spontaneous and native attraction of the elements themselves. And the future forms of life may develop consciousness,—feeling, thought, and will,—as truly as those with which we are familiar now do. If feeling, thought, and will really belong to nature, if they are as truly, though not as universally, a part of its living energy, as chemical attraction or gravity is, then must they, when the occasion arises, appear again.

But how about *our* consciousness,—does it live on or, at least, rise again? I take for granted that it is interrupted at death. It sometimes lapses during life, and it surely does or may at death. Some day the consciousness of the race will end, and every day and every second some individual consciousness is ending. But is it an absolute end? There would be no meaning to such a question, if consciousness were born of the elements through which it expresses itself, and which it more or less controls. But the truth seems to be that it is a fresh expression of nature's inner resources. Chemical attraction is not derived from gravity, it is a new form of living energy; and consciousness is not derived from chemical attraction,—it is a fresh and independent expression of the forces lying at nature's heart. The unity our minds crave is not in the various forms of energy that appear, but, if there be unity, in the hidden well from which all alike stream.

If so, it does not follow that our consciousness stops absolutely, because our physical life ceases. It may, but it may not,—there is no inherent necessity for its cessation as there would be if it were but a form of physical or chemical energy. If one is bent on treating consciousness as some sort of physical or chemical activity, he may be led to doubt whether it exists outside himself, for in all the minutest processes of the body or brain of other persons he never discovers it,—and he may with entire rationality conclude that they are automata (without consciousness).¹ He might doubt its existence in himself, did he not directly experience it. Consciousness is *sui-generis* and unlike all in the world beside, unlike even the most delicate tissues and movements of man's own bodily substance. Science, exact science—and the more exact the better—discovers nothing inconsistent with the possibility of a resurrection of our consciousness after death. This added spring of life may be a spring for other forms of life as well as for that which has its ending here.

But why *should* our consciousness go on? The answer lies, so

¹ How well such a position may be argued, readers of Huxley are aware. See his "On the Hypothesis that Animals are Automata, and its History," in *Science and Culture*, pp. 206 ff.

far as an answer can be given, in the unfinished nature of our present state. Man is an uncompleted being. It is quite possible that the whole race will come to an end before it, or any part of it, reaches the perfection which it is possible to think of, and the potencies of which really exist. Cohesion may be perfect at once. Chemical attraction may be perfect at once—the first time hydrogen and oxygen come together they may form as perfect a molecule of water as they can ever form. But a human soul is never perfect. When we know the world as it has been imagined God knows it,—know it in all its infinite sweep, in all its hidden depths and measureless possibilities,—when we attain in life and character all we should like to attain, when we have come to the end of our ideal, then indeed we may come to the end of ourselves,—but not till then.

Why *should* we live again? What a question! Is life then as we know it enough to us? Is there nothing we are trying for and cannot reach? Is there nothing we crave to see and do not see? Have we no visions, no haunting ideals? Are we not homesick at times for a beauty, a perfection we do not find on earth? Or are we afraid to let these slumbering ideals awaken in us, do we stifle them and deaden them! Oh, I say to you, trust your soul, open the windows of your heart and look away to the unattained!

And if you wish something that would seem like a positive reason or ground for expectancy, I point you to the world itself. I point you to what it has itself brought forth, since the earth parting from the sun began to "spin its way through the awful depths of space." I point you to the teeming energy of the world, to its ascending scale of life, to all that is fair and beautiful already here. Who would have dreamed it in those dim days of long ago? If not, the future may surpass all the dreams we can have now. These thinking, feeling, aspiring selves of ours belong to the world—they are not strangers in it, but are born out of it—their aspirations and all the essential ideals they conceive are an outgrowth of their essential being—and who will say that we cannot reach our end and be satisfied, that human society, spiritually conceived and taken in its essential sympathies and loves, cannot rise to the ideal that is prefigured in its nature and become elsewhere if not here (though it can become more and more so here) a veritable "Kingdom of God"? It is our sense of the infinity of the world that gives us hope. When we see that it is really a question of whether the universe is big enough to give satisfaction to our souls, then every sense of what is generous and vast in nature seems to encourage

us. The very capaciousness of space, the very boundlessness of time, give us large and tranquil thoughts.

It is an old saying that in the midst of life we are in death,—indeed, the truth of science is that it is by daily dying that we live. Our life substance is being continually destroyed; only because this is so are the constructive activities of life called in play. Destruction makes way for construction; death is a kind of call on life. Who knows but that that greater death which sooner or later overtakes us all, is another gracious minister and starts energies into play deeper than we had known before,—that it is the death of the body, and freedom, new birth to the soul?

"Some parturition rather, some solemn immortal birth;
On the frontiers to eyes impenetrable
Some soul is passing over."

THE CHINESE PROBLEM.

BY THE EDITOR.

WESTERN people, even those who have visited China, find it hard to understand the present crisis, not only because the Chinese are a nation that in its habits, history, language, literature, tradition, and religion differs widely from any one of the Eu-



A CHINESE TEA MERCHANT.

ropean races in the Old World as well as in America and Australia, but also because the question is complicated and presents various aspects.

The contrast between rich and poor, literate and illiterate, the powerful and the wretched, is mild in Europe and even more so in



A MANDARIN'S HOUSEHOLD.



A MANDARIN BANQUET.

America when compared to the social differences of China. How grand is life in the imperial household, and what a display of wealth is exhibited by the mandarins and rich merchants, while the multitudes are as mere dregs, unworthy of consideration or even sympathy, except when they become dangerous by being seized with a revolutionary spirit and threaten the overthrow of the dynasty! This contrast produces interior troubles which are great, and thus China is not unlike a witches' cauldron, seething and boiling with rebellion and problems.

The ruling dynasty is not indigenous, not Chinese, but barbarian. In 1644, the Tartars took possession of Peking, and placed

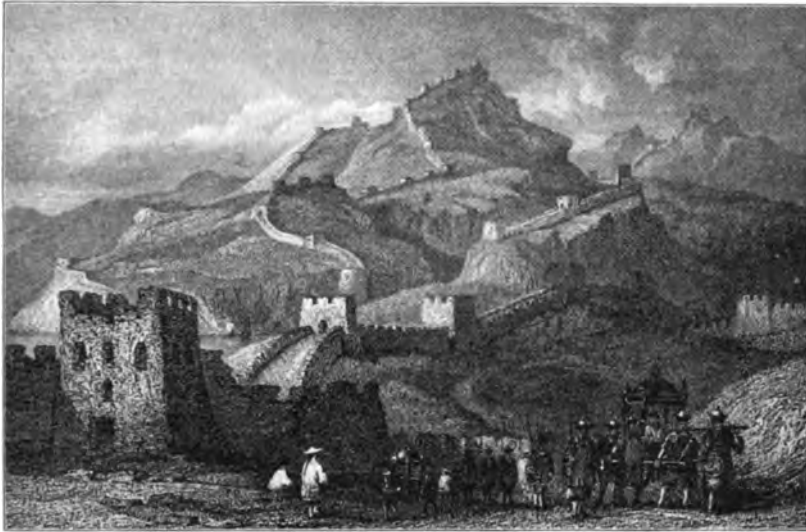


THE HOME OF A WEALTHY CHINESE MERCHANT.

Shun-Shih upon the throne of the Empire of the Middle, whose family adopted the name of the Tai Tsing, i. e., the Great Pure Ones. Tsung Ching, the last emperor of the Ming, an indigenous Chinese dynasty, fled and after wandering about for some days in misery threw himself into the Yang Tse Kiang and was drowned. The Tartar dynasty forced upon the Chinese nation their ugly hair dress, the cue on a shaven head, and the Tartar tunic, but it adopted without reserve the whole Chinese civilisation. And yet although the mass of the Chinese people wear the Tartar cue, and the Tai Tsing dynasty is as Chinese in customs, tendencies, and

perhaps even in blood, as any former dynasty has been, the Chinese continue to hate the Tartars as foreigners, barbarians, and tyrants.

The Chinese are a people that respects culture, and they are ruled by a literary aristocracy called the Mandarins, viz., literati who have passed the state examinations, which are very severe, and have



THE GREAT WALL.¹

received appointments by the government. The large masses of the population are very poor, and there are everywhere innumer-

¹ Shi Hwang Ti, the first emperor who united (in 221 B. C.) the whole of China under his scepter, and ruled from 237 till 210 B. C., was a warlike monarch and a despiser of literature. He persecuted the literati and issued an edict that on penalty of death all the canonical books should be burned (213 B. C.). For the protection of the country against the inroads of the Tartars, whose territory forms now a part of the Chinese empire, he had the Great Wall erected through his General Meng T'ien; this is a colossal work worthy to be compared to the pyramids of Gizeh. Though more than 2000 years old, it still stands as a monument to its builders.

A Chinese historian says that one third of the population of the empire had to be pressed into service for the completion of the work, and more than 400,000 of the laborers died from maltreatment, overexertion, and lack of proper food.

General Meng T'ien is supposed to be the inventor of the writing-brush which replaced the cruder methods of scratching the letters on bamboo sticks with a knife. When the tyrant Shi Hwang Ti died, on the downfall of the Ts'in dynasty, Meng T'ien ended his life by suicide.

Tradition relates that the Great Wall was built by Shi Hwang Ti as the result of a prophecy that his empire was endangered by Hu, which is the name of the Tartar tribes in the North. The prophecy was unexpectedly fulfilled to the letter through the ruin which befell his house when his second and unworthy son Hu Hai usurped the throne.

Fu Su, the rightful heir, died in banishment, but the usurper was soon murdered (in 207 B.C.) by Chao Kao, the ambitious eunuch who had helped him to ascend the throne.

The Ts'in dynasty was succeeded by the house of Han, whose first sovereign, Liu Pang, received universal recognition in 202 B. C.

able individuals who are almost constantly on the point of starvation. It is a condition produced by the lack of system prevailing in China, for there are no high roads in the country, no means of an easy exchange of commodities, no good money of intrinsic value, etc. The hungry proletarians do not know how to seek relief from their troubles, and so they band themselves together in secret societies whose avowed aim consists in the restitution of the good old times as they are supposed to have been under the Ming dynasty.

While the standard of morality is comparatively high, while there is a great respect for learning, for authority, for ideals of all noble ambitions, education is not so much low as one-sided.



KUNG YUEN, THE COURT OF EXAMINATIONS AT PEKING.¹

Knowledge of natural forces or of any practical kind is almost absolutely absent, and the study of the literature of ancient China, the only knowledge that is deemed worthy and great, costs much time and renders the mandarins unfit for practical business.

The religions of China are noble in their purity and might have become a factor for good. But the uncritical state of mind which is produced by a one-sided education—it is not a lack of education but rather an over-education—renders the Chinese extremely superstitious, so as to make Buddhist and Taoist priests vie in their efforts to promote the general credulity. The literati as a rule are simply followers of Confucius, whose doctrines are a system of morality based upon the principle of authority, otherwise

¹ This and the last two pictures are reproduced from Wells Williams's *Middle Kingdom*.

neither affirming nor denying any religious truths as to God, the soul, and an after-life.

The Western foreigners with their practical science might have come to the rescue of the Chinese, and for a while it seemed as if they would become the leaven that should leaven the dough of this stagnant civilisation. Adam Schaal, a German Jesuit, gained the ear of Shun-chih, and Kang Hi, his glorious son and successor, introduced many important reforms at the instigation of Father Ricci and others. But an unlucky star rose over the Jesuit missions. Jealousies between the Dominicans and the Jesuits led



THE TEMPLE OF CONFUCIUS IN SHANGHAI.

to quarrels on subjects concerning the Jesuit policy of yielding to the Chinese the right to regulate their mundane affairs according to their own notions. The Jesuits did not condemn Confucius as a pagan and infidel but suffered him to be regarded as a great moral teacher. They further translated the word God according to the ancient Chinese fashion by "Shang Ti," "the Lord on High," thus indicating that the ancient Chinese authorities had not been absolutely bare of divine grace. The pope decided against the Jesuits, but the Dominicans had little reason to enjoy their victory, for the Chinese authorities, little relishing the Dominican spirit, proscribed Christianity and drove even the Jesuit converts into exile.

Among the Protestant missionaries we must mention Gützlaff, a native Pomeranian, as specially successful. He was not an educated man, not a scholar, and scarcely a European. His books betray a gross ignorance in many respects but show a great zeal for the cause of Christianity. In spite of his shortcomings he must have been a remarkable man, a missionary genius, for the traces of his activity can be recognised in the Tai Ping¹ rebellion. He understood how to render Christianity palatable to the Chinese, and if we can trust the reports of MM. Callery and Yvan he was a Chinese half-breed, and thus Christianity naturally assumed in him a Chinese character.

Dwelling on the similarity of language used by the Christian Tai Ping rebels and Gützlaff's sermons, this remarkable missionary is thus characterised by MM. Callery and Yvan :

" M. Gutzlaff had the art of inspiring the Chinese people with the greatest confidence. He was of a middle stature, and tolerably stout; his prominent eyes sparkled beneath thick lashes, which were overshadowed by long black and bushy eye-brows. His face, with features the reverse of angular, and its light olive complexion, seemed to belong to that variety of the human race which we call the Mongol. In his Chinese dress, he was so exactly like a native, that he could have gone through the streets of the walled city of Canton without being recognised.

" One evening, during our stay in China, we spoke of him to the mandarin Pan-se-tchèn, who was much attached to him, and one of us expressed his astonishment at finding in a European the characteristics of the Chinese race. The mandarin quietly replied :

" ' Nothing can be more natural. Gutzlaff's father was a native of the Fo-Kien settled in Germany. '

" This fact appears to us so extraordinary, that we should hesitate to relate it if Pan had not assured us that M. Gutzlaff himself was his authority.

" At all events, whether his origin was Chinese or not, M. Gutzlaff perfectly knew how to adapt himself to the ideas of a people who are at once sensual and mystical. He founded in China a sort of secret society called the " Chinese Union," the object of which was the conversion of the Chinese to Christianity by the Chinese themselves."

The Chinese are not naturally averse to Christianity. If either the Jesuit fathers or men like Gützlaff had had their way, China might by this time have become in the former case Roman Catholic, in the latter Protestant Christian. Christianity in China has become entangled with politics, and the Christian religion is regarded by the Chinese as the religion of the red-haired devils, the barbarians, the immoral foreigners who import opium and ridicule

¹ Tai Ping has become the name by which the rebellion of 1850-1867 is known among Western people. The leader of the Tai Ping rebels, Hung Hsiu Ch'üan, designated his rule the Ping Chao, or Peace Dynasty, because the final end of his mission was "to bring peace upon earth," and he was frequently called the *Tai Ping Wung*, or Great Pacifier.

the most sacred traditions of the nation. Christianity as commonly presented to the Chinese is not the Christianity of Jesus, but Western Christianity of some sort or other, and to all outer appearance the rupture with Chinese tradition is more important than the morality of the Christian faith. A great number of Western missionaries seem to think that they must change the Chinese into Europeans, otherwise their conversion would not be complete, and thus they fail in their efforts toward Christianising the country. As an instance of the wrong methods of missionarising I quote a passage from the Rev. Hampden C. DuBose's book *The Dragon, Image, and Demon*, where he describes the Chinese institution of preserving the family traditions in Ancestral Halls, forming sacred centers of family life, and though family traditions are sacred to us, our Christian missionaries proposed to destroy them as pagan in China and request converts to renounce them. DuBose says¹:

"These buildings are not so conspicuous as the idol temples, but they are very numerous, as any family or clan may have its temple, generally marked by the funereal cedar. Here the 'spirit tablets' of departed forefathers are kept, 'containing the simple legend of the two ancestral names carved on a board,' and 'to the child the family tablet is a reality, the abode of a personal being who exerts an influence over him that cannot be evaded, and is far more to him as an individual than any of the popular gods. The gods are to be feared and their wrath deprecated, but ancestors represent love, care, and kindly interest.' If the clan do not own an ancestral hall, there is 'in every household a shrine, a tablet, an oratory, or a domestic temple, according to the position of the family. It is a grand and solemn occasion when all the males of a tribe in their dress robes gather at the temple, perhaps a great 'country seat,' of the dead, and the patriarch of the line, as a chief priest of the family, offers sacrifice.

"In these halls the genealogical tables are kept, and many of the Chinese can trace their ancestry to ten, twenty, thirty, and sometimes even to sixty generations. These registers are kept with great care, and may be considered reliable.

"Much property is entailed upon these ancestral halls to keep up the worship, but as this expense is not great, all the family have shares in the joint capital, and the head of the clan sometimes comes in for a good living. At baptism converts to the Christian faith renounce their claim to a share in this family estate because of its idolatrous connexions.

"Should a man become a Christian and repudiate ancestral worship, all his ancestors would by that act be consigned to a state of perpetual beggary. Imagine, too, the moral courage required for an only or the eldest son to become a Christian, and call down upon himself the anathemas not only of his own family and friends, but of the spirits of all his ancestors."

"When we preach against this form of paganism it seems as heathenish to the Chinese, as if at home we taught a child to disobey his father and despise his mother. 'It forms one of the subtlest phases of idolatry—essentially evil with the guise of goodness—ever established among men.'"

¹ Pp. 81 ff.

If Christian missionaries cannot find a way in which they can make it possible for converts to continue to honor their ancestors, if they are bent on destroying everything properly Chinese and attempt to change their converts into imitations of European culture and habit, they do not deserve success and we cannot blame the Chinese Government for regarding them as a public nuisance.

The writer of this article is not opposed to missions, nor does he believe that all the missionaries of China are guilty of the errors here censured. He knows several missionaries and cherishes the highest respect for them. He has corresponded with some of them, who he believes are a credit to their country and to the faith which they promulgate. The fact remains nevertheless that there



PROCESSION OF THE LADIES TO AN ANCESTRAL HALL.

are great numbers of missionaries who are not moved by the right spirit and among them those who are pious Christians, yet lacking in tact, lacking in education, lacking in wisdom, exercise perhaps the most injurious influence and hurt both the cause of their religion and of the country whence they came.

The missionary problem is perhaps the gravest complication in China, but the hatred of the Chinese is not directed against Christianity as such but against the religion of the Western foreigners. It is true there are passages in the New Testament that are extremely offensive to the Chinese, for instance Luke xiv. 26:

"If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."

A CHINESE COURT SCENE.¹

¹It is not an unusual occurrence that the sons of criminals beg the judge to be allowed to take upon themselves the punishment that is to be inflicted upon their fathers.

A broad interpretation of these words might surmount the difficulty, but Christianity as commonly preached to the Chinese implies a contempt for Confucius and the institutions of the sages of yore together with the national character of the Chinese. Thus, only the lowest dregs of the nation are converted and most of them for sinister purposes. Sometimes (as Dr. Hirth, a well-known German sinologue, told me) these converts are criminals who thereby seek to shield themselves against the severity of the law; as many missionaries in pious innocence accept the statements of their converts in good faith, it happens that burglars and thieves are baptised and then protected by the interference of European consuls against the prosecution of the Chinese authorities which are ingenuously assumed to be instituted on account of their faith.

In addition to the missionary problem, there is the commercial problem which serves to render the social conditions still more intolerable to the poor. The Western trader is exempt from Chinese jurisdiction, and although this is a necessity both in the interest of Western residents and in consideration of the barbaric methods of punishment as well as the summary ways of dispensing justice in China, it increases the hatred of foreigners in a high degree. Think of it: a Chinaman cannot defraud a foreigner without being liable to be severely punished; but if a Chinaman be cheated by a European or perhaps an American trader, he has no redress whatever. The wronged Chinaman can go to the ambassador or minister of the nation to whom the man who beat him or cheated him, belongs, but the ambassador has been sent to protect his countrymen, not to sit in court over them and punish them. He is apt to hear and accept the statement of his countryman and cares very little whether or not the plaintiff goes away satisfied.

The Chinese are upon the whole very reliable in business; even the coolie laborer keeps his word, and Chinese merchants stick to their contract though it may be merely oral, even when by an unforeseen change of circumstances they should be the losers.

Maltreatment of the Chinese at the hands of Europeans is very common. A captain who in a German port had whipped a Chinese deckhand so mercilessly that the latter tore himself loose, and jumping overboard drowned himself, declared before court that Chinese hands must receive the barbarous punishments to which they are accustomed in China, otherwise they would have no respect for their superiors. No investigation would be held if similar accidents or deaths on account of cruel treatment occurred in Chinese waters. A young bank employee whom the writer met in

travelling endorsed these views most emphatically. He said: "If a Chinaman does not at once make room for me in the street I would strike him forcibly with my cane in the face." "And that goes unpunished?" I ventured to ask him. "Should I break his nose or kill him, the worst that can happen would be that he or his people would make complaints to the Consul, who might impose the fine of a dollar for the misdemeanor, but I could always prove that I had just cause to beat him."

The Chinese are possessed of extraordinary patience, but if their patience is exhausted, their rage knows no limits. The indignation of the Chinese against foreigners has been smouldering for a long time and the ambassadors at Peking received many warnings, but they could not believe that the meek Pekingese would ever dare to attack them.

Under such conditions it is all but impossible that the Chinese people should have any respect, let alone love or admiration, for Western civilisation; and yet on the other hand it is quite natural that a great rebellion should break out which was at the same time a national Chinese reaction against the Tartar tyrants and a Christian movement such as was the Tai Ping rebellion.

The rebellion in China, which broke out in 1850 and was finally suppressed in 1864 by General Gordon, was the product of all the factors that oppose the present Chinese Government. It was national Chinese as opposed to the Tartar usurpers; it was Christian, but it was a Chinese Christianity after the fashion of Gutzlaff, not dressed in European broadcloth, and using the terms of the Protestant translation of the New Testament. There were several leaders at the head of the movement, but two were of special prominence, Tien Teh (Heavenly Virtue), a person who claimed to be a descendant of the ancient Ming dynasty, and Hung Hsiu Ch'üan, a Christian who called himself Tien Wang, or Heavenly King. The former was nominally the emperor-elect of the rebels, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head, and after his death even the latter, the real soul of the rebellion, became the acknowledged head of all.

The Tai Ping rebellion might have succeeded had not the English Government, trying to ingratiate itself with the Chinese authorities, offered their best general to help them to suppress the Tai Ping. The fact seems strange at first sight that a Christian nation should suppress a Christian movement in China with bayonets and guns; but we must bear in mind that the Christianity of the Tai Ping rebels, not being the Europeanised Christianity of the

English missionaries, was regarded as spurious, and thus the English government cherished grave doubts as to the advantages which she would reap if in the place of the hated Tartar dynasty the Chinese would be governed by a Christian, but none the less a Chinese ruler. An indigenous dynasty would probably pursue a policy that would be more hostile to foreign traders than the Tartar dynasty was, who on this occasion might be taught how useful to them an English alliance would be. On the other hand, Christian China



德天

T'EN TEH, THE PRETENDER OF THE TAI PING REBELLION.

would have a claim to considerations such as no one thinks of granting to old pagan China.

Sir George Bonham visited the rebels and gave an account of their character which seems to have had much weight with the British Government. He says:

"I found the insurgents had established a kind of government at Nankin, consisting, in the first place, of Taeping, the Sovereign Ruler, who is supposed by the believers of the new sect (if such do really exist) to hold the position or rank, either spiritually or in a corporeal sense, of younger brother of Our Saviour. There was little attempt at mystery as to Taeping's origin on the part of the insurgents,—it was admitted by several parties that he was a literary graduate of the Canton

province, who, being disappointed in his literary honors, took to what the Chinese are in the habit of calling 'strange doctrine,' that is, he studied the missionary tracts, copies of which were procured, there can be little doubt, from the late Dr. Gutzlaff's Union. Taeping and his small nucleus of adherents then embarked in this insurrection, and, after three years' perseverance and general success, they ended by capturing Nankin and Chin-Keang, where we found them in full force. Under this Sovereign Ruler are the five princes above alluded to, first and second ministers, and a host of so-called mandarins—most of whom are Cantonese. I should not estimate their force of real fighting men at less than 25,000; though I believe that of the original number who started from Kouang-Si, not more than 7,000 are now with Taeping."

Sir George Bonham translates also the answer which the leader of the Tai Ping rebels gives to the English embassy sent to him, and this answer, though full of benevolence for the English, leaves no doubt that according to the ancient Chinese tradition he, the Tai Ping Emperor, regards all nations as his subjects.

"The Heavenly Father, the Supreme Lord, the Great God, in the beginning created heaven and earth, land and sea, men and things, in six days; from that time to this the whole world has been one family, and all within the four seas brethren; how can there exist, then, any difference between man and man; or how any distinction between principal and secondary birth? But from the time that the human race has been influenced by the demoniacal agency which has entered into the heart of man, they have ceased to acknowledge the great benevolence of God the Heavenly Father in giving and sustaining life, and ceased to appreciate the infinite merit of the expiatory sacrifice made by Jesus, our Celestial Elder Brother, and have, with lumps of clay, wood, and stone, practised perversity in the world. Hence it is that the Tartar hordes and Elfin Huns so fraudulently robbed us of our Celestial territory (China). But, happily, Our Heavenly Father and Celestial Elder Brother have from an early date displayed their miraculous power amongst you English, and you have long acknowledged the duty of worshipping God the Heavenly Father and Jesus our Celestial Brother, so that the truth has been preserved entire, and the Gospel maintained.

"But now that you distant English 'have not deemed myriads of miles too far to come,' and acknowledge our sovereignty, not only are the soldiers and officers of our Celestial dynasty delighted and gratified thereby, but even in high heaven itself our Celestial Father and Elder Brother will also admire this manifestation of your fidelity and truth. We therefore issue this special decree, permitting you, the English chief, to lead your brethren out or in, backwards or forwards, in full accordance with your own will or wish, whether to aid us in exterminating our impish foes, or to carry on your commercial operations as usual; and it is our earnest hope that you will, with us, earn the merit of diligently serving our royal master, and, with us, recompense the goodness of the Father of Spirits.

"Wherefore we promulgate this new decree of (our Sovereign) Taeping for the information of you English, so that all the human race may learn to worship our Heavenly Father and Celestial Elder Brother, and that all may know that, wherever our royal master is, there men unite in congratulating him on having obtained the decree to rule.

"A special decree, for the information of all men, given (under our seals) this

26th day of the 3d month of the year Kweihaou (1st May, 1853), under the reign of the Celestial dynasty of Taeping."

If the British diplomatists expected to earn the gratitude of the Tartar dynasty, they were greatly mistaken. The assistance which General Gordon gave them in the suppression of the Tai Ping rebellion, was regarded as the service of vassalage and a temporary return on the part of the British to the consciousness of their duties toward the Son of Heaven, to whom all the nations of the earth owe allegiance. But the friendship of the Chinese authorities with the British Government soon began to subvert the confidence of the Chinese in their rulers, and the secret societies again increased in power, finding supporters even among the highest mandarins and princes of imperial blood. The present Emperor was suspected of being a friend of Western civilisation, while the Empress Dowager favored the partisans of national traditions.

According to the rules of filial piety so deeply engraved on the hearts of the Chinese people, the highest virtue is obedience to parents. Thus it happens that the Emperor's first duty is respect for the wishes of his mother, or of her who stands in the relation of mother to him. This is the reason why the Empress Dowager is *de facto* ruler of China.

The Empress knows that the dangers which threaten the throne of the Tartar dynasty through the secret societies at home are more serious than the threats and attacks of the Western powers. She seems to have saved the throne by allying herself with the secret societies against the Powers and thus demonstrating to her subjects that the Tartars are solidary with the Chinese against the foreign devils. An alliance with the Powers, or merely a friendly *entente* with them, might have roused the slumbering lion and made a quick end of the Tai Tsing dynasty.

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The history of the relations between Europe and China exhibits a series of blunders both on the side of the Chinese and the European governments; and the root of the evil on either side is haughtiness.

It is reported that Emperor Charles V. in his old days used to say:

"*Quantula sapientia mundus regitur!*"

[With what little wisdom the world is governed!]

How true that is! If the men that fill the leading positions of the world would only use a little discretion, if it were merely the

common sense of a pious farmer or peasant who has religion enough to be afraid to do wrong, how much better would the world fare than now when diplomats claim that nations are not bound by the moral maxims which individuals are bound to respect. Think what wrongdoing might have been avoided by a little dose of prudence in modern history! Think of the Opium War with China; think of the Boer War, think of the War of Secession in our own country. As to the latter, the money it cost would have sufficed to buy off all the slaves of the South several times over. But the trouble is that both parties as a rule are impervious to reason, and their conflict becomes inevitable, each side having the advantage to declare that though they themselves be wrong in many respects, their adversaries are not less blameworthy.

So far, the best argument of a belligerent party has commonly been the street-boy's answer to his antagonist: "You are another!"

THE LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE MANCHU DYNASTY.¹

BY THE REV. R. MORRISON.

THE Tai Tsing family (the present ruling dynasty of China) claim a supernatural sanction for their occupation of the imperial throne. It is stated in their ancient traditions that the first intimation of the subsequent glory of the family was given at "the Long White Mountain, which was upwards of 250 li, or 60 miles, high. On the top of it, was a lake, 80 li in circumference, from which sprung three rivers. It was there declared by a supernatural voice, 'This land will produce a Holy Man who shall unite in one all nations.'

"At the foot of the mountain was a pool of water, at which, tradition says, three Celestial females came to bathe. After bathing, a divine magpie holding in its bill a certain fruit, flew and placed it in the garments of one of the females named Ki. She swallowed it, and immediately brought forth a son, who could speak as soon as he was born, and whose person and figure were extraordinary. To him it was said, 'Heaven has born you to tranquillise disordered nations.' The name given him was Ai-hsin-chio-lo. After his birth, his mother disappeared, and the boy having placed himself in a bark, floated down the stream of a river to a certain shore, where having ascended the beach, he broke off willows and framed a seat on which he sat down, in the wilderness. There were in that land contending Chieftains, who fought and killed many. One who went forth to draw water, saw the boy, and was astonished at his extraordinary appearance. Having returned, and told the people of the Clan, they came out and questioned him respecting his name and surname. He said, 'I was born of the Celestial Female Fu-ku-lun, and am ordained by Heaven to

¹ We reproduce this timely article from the Rev. R. Morrison's *View of China*, pp. 10-11.—ED.

settle your disordered state.' All astonished said, 'Heaven has brought forth a Holy One,' and forthwith constituted him their Sovereign. They fixed their abode at the city Go-to-le, in the wilderness of Go-han-hwui, on the east of the Long White Mountain. They denominated their country Man-chow.

"It happened after this, that the people of the state rebelled and killed all the family except one boy, whose name was Fan-cha-kin, who ran into the wilderness, and escaped from a rook or magpie alighting on his head, and being seen by his pursuers at a distance, was mistaken for a rotten trunk of an old tree. From this, the family was preserved from becoming extinct.¹ The next person of eminence, who is now termed the Sixth Ancestor,² having revenged the murder of his family, and fixed himself in their former place of abode, he inherited the name of Ai-hsin-chio-lo; and his descendants still retain the two last syllables of the name, and wear a red girdle to distinguish them."

Tai-sung, the Manchu prince, when about to enter upon the subjugation of China, wrote down "seven grievances" which he laid before heaven in a solemn manner. His words are:³

"Ere my Grandfather had injured a blade of grass, or usurped an inch of ground that belonged to Ming, Ming causelessly commenced hostilities, and injured him.—This is the first thing to be revenged.

"Although Ming commenced hostilities, we, still desirous of peace, agreed to engrave it on a stone, and take a solemn oath in confirmation of it, that neither Manchow nor Chinese should pass the respective limits; whoever dared to do so, should, the moment he was seen, be destroyed; and that the party which connived at any violation of this treaty, should be exposed to the judgments of Heaven. Notwithstanding this oath, Ming again passed the frontier with troops in order to assist a People called the Ye-hih.—This is the second thing to be revenged.

"When a subject of Ming passed over the frontier and committed depredations in my territory, I, agreeably to the oath above stated, destroyed him. But Ming turned his back on the former

¹ From the preservation of Fan-cha-kin, the Tartars venerate the magpie, and prohibit its being shot. They have an annual ceremony at the spot where this deliverance took place in commemoration of it.

² The sixth Ancestor is denominated so the Miao-hao, Chao-tsou; the fifth, Hing-tsou; the fourth, King-tsou; the third, Hsien-tsou; the second, Tai-tsou; and the first, or Shun-che, Sbe-tsou. Tai-tsou waged his first war about A. D. 1600, with one hundred soldiers and thirty suits of armour.

³ Translated by Rev. R. Morrison, *ibid.*, p. 9.

treaty confirmed with an oath, complained of what I had done ; put to death an envoy of mine ; and having seized ten men on the borders, caused them to be slain.—This is the third thing to be revenged.

“Ming with troops, passed the frontier to assist the Ye hih, and caused my daughter, already betrothed, to have her destination changed, and be given to another person of the Mung-ku nation.—This is the fourth thing to be revenged.

“For many generations, I held as my frontier, the Chai-ho hill, and places adjacent ; my people cultivated it ; but Ming has refused to allow them to reap, and expelled them from thence.—This is the fifth thing to be revenged.

“The Ye-hih committed crimes against Heaven ; but Ming acted with partiality and gave entire credit to their statements, whilst he sent a special envoy to me bearing a letter, in which he vilified and insulted me.—This is the sixth thing to be revenged.

“Formerly the Ha-tah, assisting the Ye-hih, twice came and invaded me. I announced it to Heaven, and reduced the Ha-tah. Ming formed a conspiracy with him and others, to attack me and restore him his kingdom ; and in consequence, the Ye-hih several times invaded the Ha-tah territory.

“In the contentions of neighboring states, those who obey the will of Heaven conquer ; those who oppose the intentions of Heaven are defeated and destroyed. How can those who have died by the sword be restored to life ! or those who have obtained the people, return them again ! Heaven establishes the Prince of a great nation ! Why does Ming feel resentment against my country alone ?

“The Gih-lun, and other nations, united their forces against me, to invade me. Heaven rejected Gih-lun for commencing bloodshed ; but my nation flourished as the Spring. Ming is now assisting the Ye-hih, who are under severe reprehension and wrath ; and is thereby opposing the will of Heaven, reversing right and wrong, and acting in the most irregular manner.—This is the seventh thing to be revenged.”

MISCELLANEOUS.

ROBERT WILLIAM BUNSEN.

(1811-1899.)

The recent *Short History of the Progress of Scientific Chemistry in Our Own Times*,¹ by Dr. William A. Tilden, F. R. S., Professor of Chemistry in the Royal College of Science, London, which gives in concise compass a historical survey of that succession of wonderful events which led up to our present knowledge of chemistry, has suggested to us to offer to our readers a portraiture of one of the central and dominating figures of that development, one of the grandest that have adorned the annals of research, and one who by the simplicity and enormous compass of his work occupies a place by the side of Galileo and Faraday in the pantheon of Science,—Robert William Bunsen. The elementary student and reader may follow admirably in Dr. Tilden's little book the history of the development of theoretical chemistry, but of the numerous fascinating personalities of that development naturally nothing could be said. It remains, therefore, for the reader to seek this material in other places.

Robert William Bunsen, joint discoverer of spectrum analysis, was born at Göttingen, March 31st, 1811, and died at Heidelberg in 1899. His long life spanned thus the chemical achievements of the century, forming a magnificent arch that connected the great inquirers of the past with the workers of to-day. Berzelius was his most intimate friend; Gay-Lussac his instructor; Dumas, Liebig, Wöhler, Mitscherlich, Weber, Magnus,—all were his contemporaries and intimates. Living to the great age of eighty-eight, he was destined to witness the rise and death of most of the century's and his country's greatest inquirers,—many of whom had been his colleagues and pupils: Kirchhoff, Helmholtz, Kopp, Hofmann, Strecker, Kolbe, Kekulé, Pebal, Lothar Meyer, and lastly Victor Meyer, his successor in the chair of chemistry at Heidelberg. Outliving them all, there in his later years, says Sir Henry Roscoe, "Bunsen stood alone in his glory, like some strong oak in the forest which still holds firm root unmoved by the tempests which have smitten both young and old around it."

Twenty years ago, in the columns of *Nature*, Sir Henry Roscoe, one of Bunsen's most distinguished pupils and most intimate friends, gave this estimate of Bunsen's scientific work:

"The value of a life devoted to original scientific work is measured by the new paths and new fields which such work opens out. In this respect the labors of Robert William Bunsen stand second to those of no chemist of his time. Out-

¹ Longmans, Green, & Co., London, New York and Bombay. 1899. Pages, x, 276.

wardly, the existence of such a man, attached, as Bunsen had been from the first, exclusively to his science, seems to glide silently on without causes for excitement or stirring incident. His inward life however is, on the contrary, full of interests and of incidents of even a striking and exciting kind. The discovery of a fact which overthrows or remodels our ideas on a whole branch of science; the experimental proof of a general law hitherto unrecognised; the employment of a new and happy combination of known facts to effect an invention of general applicability and utility; these are the peaceful victories of the man of science which may well be thought to outweigh the high-sounding achievements of the more public professions."

Last year, in March, six months after his great master's death, Sir Henry Roscoe delivered a Bunsen memorial lecture before the Chemical Society of London.¹ This lecture teems with personal recollections, and gives us so vivid and rare a picture of the man, as he worked in his laboratory, lectured to his students, and enjoyed the simple yet refined intercourse of his friends, that we shall quote from it at length, after we have given some of the meagrest data of Bunsen's life.

Bunsen was successively teacher and professor in Göttingen, Cassel, Marburg, Breslau, and Heidelberg (1852-1889). His first classical research was one on the cacodyl compounds, which placed him in the front rank of experimentalists, and by which he incidentally lost the sight of his right eye, was nearly poisoned, and lay days between life and death. His next research was the investigation of the composition of the gases of iron furnaces for German and English manufacturers, of the modes of measuring gaseous volumes, and of the methods for separating the several gases. The results have been characterised as "a model of the application of the methods of scientific investigation to the elucidation of industrial problems," and Bunsen's direct proposals are estimated to have led to economies that must be "reckoned by millions rather than thousands of pounds." Bunsen collected the theoretical results of those researches in his work *Gasometric Methods* (the only book he ever published), which is epoch-making, and covers a field too vast to be even epitomised here.

One of Bunsen's best-known discoveries is the carbon-zinc battery which bears his name, and which rendered possible the more perfect electrolytic preparation of metals, the preparation of the metals of the alkaline earths, the electrolysis of acetic and valeric acids, etc., etc.

We must pass over a host of other important investigations, both chemical and physical, to the researches on spectrum analysis, which constitute one of the crowning glories of the nineteenth century. Bunsen writes (1859) to Roscoe of his and Kirchhoff's work as follows: "At the moment I am engaged in a research with Kirchhoff which gives us sleepless nights. Kirchhoff has made a most beautiful and most unexpected discovery; he has found out the cause of the dark lines in the solar spectrum, and has been able both to strengthen these lines artificially in the solar spectrum and to cause their appearance in a continuous spectrum of a flame, their positions being identical with those of the Fraunhofer lines. Thus the way is pointed out by which the material composition of the sun and fixed stars can be ascertained with the same degree of certainty as we can ascertain by means of our reagents the presence of SO_2 and Cl . By this method, too, the composition of terrestrial matter can be ascertained and the component parts distinguished with as great ease and delicacy as is the case with the matter contained in the sun. Thus I have been able to detect lithium in twenty grams of sea water. For the

¹*Transactions*, vol. 77, 513-554. Reprinted in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1899.

detection of many substances this method is to be preferred to any of our previously known processes. Thus, if you have a mixture of Li, Ka, Na, Ba, Sr, Ca, all you need to do is to bring a milligram of the mixture in our apparatus in order to be able to ascertain the presence of all the above substances by mere observation. Some of these reactions are wonderfully delicate. Thus it is possible to detect five one-thousandths of a milligram of lithium with the greatest ease and certainty, and I have discovered the presence of this metal in almost every sample of potashes."

Then followed the discoveries of caesium (1860) and rubidium (1861), leading to the separation by others of thallium (1861), indium (1863), germanium (1886), gallium (1875), scandium (1879), etc.

Celebrated, too, were Bunsen's researches on chemical geology, especially those concerning the volcanic phenomena of Iceland; on the metals of the platinum group; etc., etc. Of his famous burner, we will hear later. We now revert to Sir Henry Roscoe's recollections.

First let us take this picture of the master working in the laboratory: "When he first came to Heidelberg, in the summer of 1852, Bunsen found himself installed in Gmelin's old laboratory. This was situated in the buildings of an ancient monastery, and there we all worked. It was roomy enough; the old refectory was the main laboratory; the chapel was divided into two; one half became the lecture room and the other a storehouse and museum. Soon the number of students increased and further extensions were needed, so the cloisters were inclosed by windows and working benches placed below them. Beneath the stone floor at our feet slept the dead monks, and on their tombstones we threw our waste precipitates! There was no gas in Heidelberg in those days, nor any town's water supply. We worked with Berzelius's spirit lamps, made our combustions with charcoal, boiled down our waters from our silicate analyses in large glass globes over charcoal fires, and went for water to the pump in the yard. Nevertheless, with all these so-called drawbacks, we were able to work easily and accurately. To work with Bunsen was a real pleasure. Entirely devoted to his students, as they were to him, he spent all day in the laboratory, showing them with his own hands how best to carry out the various operations in which they were engaged. You would find him with one man showing the new method of washing precipitates, so as to save time and labor, or with another working out a calibration table of a eudiometer, or with a third pointing out that the ordinary method of separating iron from aluminum is unsatisfactory and carrying out a more perfect process before his eyes. Often you would find him seated at the table blowpipe—the flame in those days was fed with oil—making some new piece of glass apparatus, for he was an expert glass blower, and enjoyed showing the men how to seal platinum wires into the eudiometers, or to blow bulb tubes for his iodometric analyses. Maxwell Simpson, who worked with Bunsen in the fifties, tells me that one day he saw Bunsen blow a complicated piece of glass apparatus for a pupil, who quickly broke it; Bunsen then made him a second, which at once met with a similar fate; without a murmur Bunsen again sat down to the blowpipe and for the third time presented the student (who we will trust looked ashamed of himself) with the perfect apparatus. Then he would spend half the morning in the gas-analysis room, going through all the detailed manipulation of the exact measurement of gaseous volumes, and showing a couple of men how to estimate the various constituents of a sample of coal gas, and pointing out the methods of calculating the results, and then leaving them to repeat the processes from beginning to end for themselves.

"His manipulative ability was remarkable; his hands, though large and powerful, were supple and dexterous. He was amusingly proud of having a large thumb, by means of which he was able to close the open end of a long eudiometer filled with mercury and immerse it in the mercury bath without the least bubble of air, a feat which those endowed with smaller digits were unable to accomplish. Then he had a very salamanderlike power of handling hot glass tubes, and often at the blowpipe have I smelt burnt Bunsen, and seen his fingers smoke! Then he would quickly reduce their temperature by pressing the lobe of his right ear between his heated thumb and forefinger, turning his head to one with a smile as the 'agony abated,' while it used to be a joke among the students that the master never needed a pincette to take off the lid from a hot porcelain crucible.

"Accuracy of work was the first essential with him; most of us learned for the first time what this meant. Six weeks' work was spent on a single silicate analysis, but most of us contrived to keep two such analyses going at once, while an analysis of coal gas occupied a week or ten days. Not that he was averse to quick processes; indeed, many of his own investigations contain novel proposals for shortening chemical methods, but this was never done at the expense of accuracy.

"After having learned his methods of quantitative work, of silicate analysis, for example, and after having gone through a course of gas analysis, those of us who had already been more or less trained elsewhere were set upon some original investigation. Lothar Meyer, who worked at the next bench to myself, being a medical student, was set to pump out and analyse the blood gases; Pauli and Carius worked on gas absorption, employing for this purpose Bunsen's recently invented absorptiometer; Russell was set to work out a new method of sulphur determination in organic bodies; Matthiessen was put on to the electrolytic preparation of calcium and strontium; Schischkoff analysed the gaseous products of gunpowder fired under varying conditions; Landolt had to find out the composition of the gases in various portions of a flame, and I worked by myself in one of the monk's cells upstairs on the solubility in water of chlorine when mixed with hydrogen and carbonic acid, the object being to ascertain whether this gas obeys the law of Dalton and Henry.

"These are only some of the investigations on a variety of subjects carried on in the old monastery by Bunsen's pupils under his supervision, and they indicate only a tithe of his activity, for at the same time he was engaged in investigations of his own. He always had two or three on hand at once."

Here is the story of the invention of the famous Bunsen burner and the Bunsen battery: "Some short time before the opening of the new laboratory the town of Heidelberg was for the first time lighted with gas, and Bunsen had to consider what kind of gas-burner he would use for laboratory purposes. Returning from my Easter vacation in London, I brought back with me an Argand burner with copper chimney and wire-gauze top, which was the form commonly used in English laboratories at that time for working with a smokeless flame. This arrangement did not please Bunsen in the very least. The flame was flickering; it was too large, and the gas was so much diluted with air that the flame temperature was greatly depressed. He would make a burner in which the mixture of gas and air would burn at the top of the tube without any gauze whatsoever, giving a steady, small, and hot, nonluminous flame under conditions such that it not only would burn without striking down when the gas supply was turned on full, but also when the supply was diminished until only a minute flame was left. This was a difficult, some thought it an impossible, problem to solve, but after many fruitless attempts

and many tedious trials he succeeded, and the Bunsen burner came to light. So general, indeed so universal, has the use of this become that its name and value must be known to and appreciated by millions of the human race. Yet how few of these have any further ideas connected with the name of its author!

"Another discovery which early brought him prominently before the public was that of the Bunsen, or as he preferred to call it, the carbon-zinc battery. The manufacture of either the battery or the burner might, had the inventor wished, have been so guarded as to bring in a large fortune. But Bunsen had no monetary ambition, although he fully appreciated the importance of applied science; and this is a fine trait in his character. He not only disliked anything savoring of money-making out of pure science, but he could not understand how a man professing to follow science could allow his attention to be thus diverted from pure research. 'There are two distinct classes of men,' he used to say; 'first, those who work at enlarging the boundaries of knowledge, and, secondly, those who apply that knowledge to useful ends.' Bunsen chose the first—perhaps one may say the higher—part, and the notion of making money out of his discoveries, or of patenting any of them, never entered into his head. As illustrating this habit of mind, I remember that once we were talking about a former pupil of his, of whose scientific ability he entertained a high opinion. 'Do you know,' he remarked to me, 'I can not make that man out. He has certainly much scientific talent, and yet he thinks of nothing but money-making, and I am told that he has already amassed a large fortune. Is it not a singular case?' To which I replied that I did not find it so very remarkable."

When the new laboratory was built, the research-work which Bunsen had initiated and which his afterwards famous disciples carried on, was tremendous. But, in addition, "there were the beginners, to the number of sixty or seventy, all of whom were looked after by the professor, and with some of whom he would spend hours showing them how to detect traces of metals by aid of the 'flame reactions,' or how to estimate the percentage of dioxide in pyrolusite by his iodometric method. So from Bunsen all who had eyes to see and ears to hear might learn the important lesson that to found or to carry on successfully a school of chemistry the professor must work with and alongside of the pupil, and that for him to delegate that duty to an assistant, however able, is a grave error.

"How, it may be asked, could a man who thus devoted himself to supervising the work of others in the laboratory—and who, besides, had a lecture to deliver every day, and much university business to transact—how could he possibly find time to carry out experimental work of his own? For it is to be noted that Bunsen never kept an assistant to work at his researches, and unless co-operating with some one else, did all the new experimental work with his own hands.

"It is true that in certain instances he incorporated the results of analyses made by a student whom he could trust, into his own memoirs; notably this was the case with the silicate analyses which he used in his chemico-geological papers, and with many of the examples given in illustration of some of his new analytical methods. Then, spending the whole day in the laboratory, he was often able to find a spare hour to devote to his own work of devising and testing some new form of apparatus, of separating some of the rare earth metals, or of determining the crystalline form of a series of salts.

"Again the editing of the research, and the calculations, often complicated, which that involved, were carried on in the early morning hours. When, for four summers after the year 1857 I spent my vacations working at Heidelberg, I lived

in his house, and although I rose betimes, I always found him at his desk, having begun work often before dawn.

"Then, although he frequently travelled during the vacations at Easter and in the autumn, often, I am glad to remember, with myself as companion, he generally returned after a short absence to continue an unfinished, or to commence some new, research, and during these quiet days much work was done by both of us."

Then follows a description of Bunsen as a lecturer: "Bunsen lectured on general chemistry every morning in the week from 8 to 9 in the summer, and from 9 to 10 in the winter semester. The lectures were interesting and instructive, not from any striving after oratorical effect, or by any display of 'firework' experiments, but from the originality of both matter and illustration. His exposition was clear, and his delivery easy, and every point upon which he touched was treated in an original fashion; no book, of course, was used or referred to; indeed, he avoided much consultation of handbooks, the only two which I have seen him occasionally turn to for the purpose of looking up some facts about which he had doubts were Gmelin and Roscoe and Schorlemmer. When occasionally one of the practicanter consulted him about a passage in some manual which appeared defective, he would laughingly remark that most of what is written in books is wrong.

"The illustrative lecture experiments, which he invariably performed himself, were generally made on a small scale, were often new, always strictly relevant to the matter in hand, and never introduced for mere sensational effect. He paid much attention to these experiments, and after the table had been set in order for the particular lecture by the assistant, he would regularly spend half an hour, sometimes an hour, in convincing himself that all was in readiness and in rehearsing any experiment about the success of which he was not perfectly certain.

"He used few notes, but it was his habit to write up any numerical data in small figures on the blackboard, and to refresh his memory with these when needed. When I attended the lectures in the early fifties, Bunsen used the notation and nomenclature of Berzelius, writing water H, and alumina Al_2 . Later on, he still employed the dualistic notation, writing KOSO_3 , HOSO_3 , for K_2SO_4 and H_2SO_4 ; indeed, I believe that he never adopted our modern formulæ or used Cannizzaro's atomic weights, although his determination of the atomic heat of indium and his work on cesium and rubidium were amongst the most important contributions towards the settlement of those weights.

"Bunsen did not enlarge in his lectures on theoretical questions; indeed, to discuss points of theory was not his habit, and not much to his liking. His mind was eminently practical; he often used to say that one chemical fact properly established was worth more than all the theories one could invent. And yet he did much to establish the evidence upon which our modern theories rest."

It is interesting to note that Bunsen's constitution, having stood him in stead for eighty-eight years, was vigorous: "It carried him fairly well through a long life; still, continued exposure to the fumes and vitiated air of the laboratory induced bronchial troubles, from which in later life he suffered considerably. Beyond one sharp attack of peritonitis when travelling with Pagenstecher in the Balearic Islands, I do not think he ever had a serious illness. His habits were frugal, the only extravagance in which he indulged being his cigars. Of these he consumed a fairly large number, always having one or a part of one in his mouth; but as he generally allowed it to go out many times before he finished smoking it, the time it lasted was much above that of the average smoker."

At last the end came: "In 1889 Bunsen retired from active university life, resigning his professorship, and therefore his official residence, and retiring to a pretty little villa in Bunsenstrasse, which he had purchased, where he spent the remainder of his days in quiet repose. His chief relaxation and enjoyment throughout his life in Heidelberg was to wander with Kirchhoff or Helmholtz or some other of his intimate friends through the chestnut woods which cover the hills at the foot of which the town lies. As the infirmities of age increased and his walking powers diminished, he was obliged to take to driving through the woods along the charming roads which intersect the hills in all directions. Writing became a difficulty, and in his latter days the news of him came to me through our mutual friends Quincke and Königsberger.

"Almost up to the last Bunsen continued to take a vivid interest in the progress of scientific discovery, and, though suffering from pain and weakness, ever preserved the equanimity which was one of his lifelong characteristics. Three days before his death, so Quincke writes to me, he lay in a peaceful slumber, his countenance exhibiting the fine intellectual expression of his best and brightest days. Thus passed away, full of days, and full of honors, a man equally beloved for his great qualities of heart as he is honored for those of his fertile brain, the memory of whom will always remain green among all who were fortunate enough to number him among their friends."

μ.

DR. LEWIS G. JANES.

OBITUARY NOTICE.

It was with the profoundest regret that we learned of the death of Dr. Lewis G. Janes, lecturer and expositor of science, ethics, and religion, at Greenacre, Maine, on September 5th last. Dr. Janes was very prominent in the free religious and ethical circles of this country, and was an early contributor to *The Open Court*. He did a large amount of historical, sociological, and ethical writing, also, for other magazines (*Westminster Review*, *Popular Scientific Monthly*, *Unitarian Review*, *Boston Index*, etc.) and was an indefatigable lecturer.

Dr. Janes, on his father's side was a direct descendant in the seventh generation from Geo. William Bradford of Plymouth Colony; and, on his mother's side, also in the seventh generation, a descendant from Peregrine White, born on the Mayflower in Massachusetts Bay. "He was born," says a writer in the *Boston Evening Transcript* of September 9th, "in the city of Providence fifty-seven years ago, his parents being people of broad and liberal views in religion and all subjects affecting the well-being of society. What is more, they were enthusiastic Abolitionists, and . . . great friends of Frederick Douglass. He was a pupil in the grammar and high schools, from the latter of which he graduated. . . . Early in life, being of studious habits, Dr. Janes mapped out for himself a literary career, and into such a career he gradually settled. Having become a resident in the city of Brooklyn, he identified himself with Rev. J. W. Chadwick's church, and in the Sunday school there he took charge of an adult Bible class, which became so large and was attended by so many earnest seekers after truth that the class grew into the famous and successful Brooklyn Ethical Culture Association. Dr. Janes became president and his position afforded him splendid opportunities for preparing and presenting many addresses bearing on the religious, philosophical, sociological, and political life of the community. He was always a close and fearless student of the theory of evolution, so that when, during the holding of the Parliament of Re-

ligions in Chicago during the World's Fair, a course of meetings was held for the consideration of the subject of evolution, Dr. Janes was invited to preside at the meetings, which he did with rare tact and sound judgment. . . .

"For many years Dr. Janes was one of the most active members of the Free Religious Association, as were his parents before him, and on the retirement of Colonel T. W. Higginson from the presidential chair, Dr. Janes was appointed his successor. Nor was he less interested in the work of the Liberal Congress of Religion. During the past few years he has done much to make that congress a great power in the world, and has taken a prominent part in the meetings which have been held at the various expositions, including the Paris Exposition last year.

"Five years ago he took up his residence in Cambridge where he founded and directed the now well-known Cambridge conferences which were held through the winter months; while his splendid work as director of the Monsalvat Conference School of Comparative Religion at Greenacre, every summer during the same term of years, won for him a fine reputation and endeared him to all who have been privileged to attend those unique gatherings.

"Among the best-known works of which Dr. Janes was the author may be mentioned: *A Study of Primitive Christianity*; *A Life of Samuel Gaston, a Forgotten Founder of Our Liberties*; *Health and a Day*; *Life as a Fine Art*, etc."

We append to our notice the following tribute to his character and talents by Sister Sanghamitta, a Buddhist nun, and a friend and fellow lecturer at Greenacre:

"In life he was the dear husband, father, friend. To the poor in spirit he had always a ready ear. To the aspirant for spiritual knowledge and seeker after truth, he had a helping hand. When strangers to this country and its religion came from far distant lands, it was Dr. Janes who extended the helping hand of good fellowship, and that in his calm, unbiased way gently, but firmly showed that they *had* truths to give, and that the people of America would do well to listen to them.

"I must now lay my tribute to the feet of this noble life now past. Day after day I attended Dr. Janes's course of lectures, and in the spirit of the Buddha's teachings I must say that the way in which he conducted these lectures was marvellous. No matter what the subject was, or what religion, it was always carefully and unbiassedly treated.

"Dr. Janes was one of the few who has kept alive the spirit of the Congress of Religions held in Chicago in 1893. His was the mind prepared to receive it, and he has nobly continued planting the seed.

"The funeral service was held at Oaklea, the homestead of Mrs. Bangs, Greenacre. On the open green in front of the old home, assembled those who had been with him at the last. Here in the place he loved so well, among the sweet flowers of summer, a fitting tribute to his memory was rendered by the musicians of the Summer School, and words of praise were offered to the Eternal, by the Rev. M. Newton, pastor of the Orthodox Congregation, Eliot, as well as words of love and regret by other old-time friends. Dr. de Buy who had assisted in the conduct of the lectures, spoke these words of the Buddha Dr. Janes had loved so much, 'Behold, brethren, he said I exert you, saying, decay is inherent in all things, but the truth will remain forever. Work out your salvation with diligence.'

"This grand and noble man, possessed with high ideas of truth, feeling the world his country, peoples of all nations his brethren, all religions one in essence,

universal in his interests, must be a great loss to the present period. All true souls, men and women, who have come in contact with Dr. Janes and his work, have been made the better thereby, and thus the chain is welded that will bear fruit in ages to come. 'By his fruits ye shall know him.' "

AN IDEAL SERIES OF GEOGRAPHIES.

American publishers and text-book writers have at last succeeded in producing an ideal series of school geographies,—one peculiarly adapted to American needs,

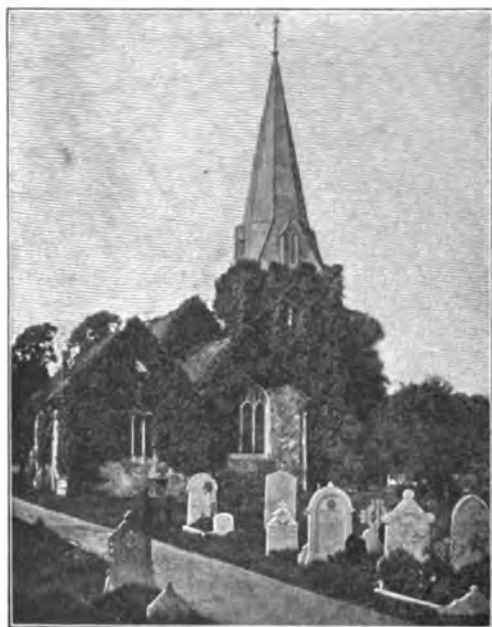


RELIEF MAP OF SOUTH AMERICA.

(From *Tarr and McMurry's Geography*. Third Book.)

and, in addition, combining the best scientific and educational features of European manuals with uncommon originality and breadth of treatment. It is a delight

to compare Tarr & McMurry's books¹ with the ordinary run of geographies. They are of convenient size, easily handled, durably bound, and of superior typography. The maps are small and graded, and never burdened by unnecessary detail. Their number and variety (political, physiographic, meteorologic, geologic, industrial, commercial, statistical, ethnologic, etc.) form a distinctive feature of the work, the political and physiographic maps being particularly beautiful, though the former do not, we think, approach to the artistic perfection of the best products of European map-making. The illustrations, which are admirably chosen and made, are mostly actual photographic scenes, in organic and logical connexion with the text, and set these books immeasurably above their competitors in this field. By the courtesy of the publishers we are enabled to reproduce here a specimen map and two illustrations from the work.



THE CHURCHYARD DESCRIBED IN GRAY'S ELEGY.
(From *Tarr and McMurry's Geography*.)

The authors being respectively a professional geologist and a professional educationist, it was to be expected that physiographic features and their relationship to the development of human civilisation and industry generally should be emphasised more than is ordinarily the case. Geography is thus lifted from its barren isolation in the curriculum, and made an integral part of instruction. The same is true of the authors' treatment in respect of climatology, ethnology, etc., and notably of their constant association of their subjects with the history of civilisation.

¹ *Tarr & McMurry's Geographies*. A Three-Volume Series of Text-books for Class Use. By Ralph S. Tarr, B. S., F. G. S. A., Cornell University, and Frank M. McMurry, Ph. D., Teachers College, Columbia University. Vol. I.—Home Geography and the Earth as a Whole (60 cents). Vol. II.—North America (75 cents). Vol. III.—Other Continents, and Review of the Whole (75 cents). New York: The Macmillan Co. 1900-1901.

If this were not so, the devotion of so large a part of the school course (the text of the three volumes covers over 1800 pages) to geography pure and simple would seem entirely unwarranted from an economic point of view, especially as mathematical geography is very sparingly treated in the books, and as the publishers have just announced a fourth, supplementary volume by another author on New England.



THE SISTINE CHAPEL IN THE VATICAN.
(From *Tarr and McMurry's Geography*.)

As it is, the work is a model compend of the combined physiographic, political, social, industrial, and general cultural conditions of the world. The statistical maps and tables are unexcelled for variety, and the marvellous cheapness of the books, (considering the vast expense that their preparation must have entailed,) is the culminating feature that renders consideration of them at the hands of the educational public imperative.

T. J. McC.

MR. W. M. SALTER ON THE SOUL.

Old-time readers of *The Open Court* may still remember a controversy which Mr. Salter had with the editor on causation and life; and we are glad to see that in many respects Mr. Salter has accepted some arguments as to the *vis viva* that must be assumed to be inherent even in inorganic matter. The stone that falls is not passively attracted by the earth, but possesses gravity which we take to be a quality of the stone, not a pressure exercised by some power outside, and thus the descent of the stone is an active action of its mass. We regard this quality, inherent in all matters, as being ultimately the same force which is noticed in the autonomous movements of life, for life in the narrow sense of the word is simply

organised life in contradistinction to the unorganised spontaneity of the manifestations of chemical and mechanical movements.

While thus we are glad to state that we can accede to Mr. Salter's views as to the way in which life builds itself up, we disagree with him in his suggestions as to the possible immortality of the form of life that is reached in consciousness. Mr. Salter believes that "there is no inherent necessity" for the cessation of consciousness in death. He does not controvert the position maintained by *The Open Court*, that the essential feature of a man's character is not the material of which it is built, nor the vitality which is indispensable for its manifestation, nor feeling nor consciousness in general; but the concrete and definite form of life, of vitality, and of feeling or consciousness. Form is not a nonentity, but it is the most important and the most real feature of reality. The immortality of man's soul is constituted by a preservation of its form, and we can definitely trace how the form of man's soul is preserved, not only in his own life but also in the development of the race. If consciousness is supposed to be an independently parallel factor, not a feature, an accompaniment of other features (viz., the physiological changes), of man's life, we have the old dualism in a new and only slightly modified conception, which would render the problem more intricate and more mysterious than ever. But our contention is that a very definite and very satisfactory theory of immortality can be established upon a purely monistic basis, with exact scientific arguments.

The main difficulty of the new view consists in the lack of a full comprehension as to the reality of form. Man is by nature so materialistic that he shrinks from the belief that purely spiritual facts are spiritual, viz., formal, and endeavors to attribute to them some kind of a sublimated substance; yet they are real enough without being material, but it takes time to appreciate the truth of it.

COLUMBUS AND TOSCANELLI.

The celebrated Florentine astronomer of the fifteenth century, Paolo Toscanelli, has always been considered as the first person to launch on the world the idea of the discovery of America. Every writer on the subject, without exception, awards him this merit, and for this it was that a monument has been raised to his memory in his native city. This universal opinion is based on the statement made by the early biographers of Columbus—his son Fernand and Las Casas—that the discoverer of America had been in correspondence with Toscanelli concerning the grand conception, that the learned Florentine had approved his project and that, in order to encourage and enlighten him, had sent him a copy of the letter and map said to have been addressed by the latter in 1474 to a monk named Fernam Martins, belonging to the Privy Council of King Affonso of Portugal. The purpose of this pretended letter and map was to show the monarch that the true route to the East Indies was West, across the Atlantic, and not East by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. The map, which no longer exists, traced this route, while the letter, which has been preserved by the Columbus family, expatiates on the advantages offered by the new over the old course, and labors to show how easy of accomplishment it is.

Mr. Henry Vignaud, the scholarly First Secretary of the United States Embassy at Paris, where he has been the invaluable lieutenant of our diplomatic representatives in France for more than thirty years, from the days of Minister Washburne down to those of the present incumbent, General Porter, has just completed, after many years of labor in the quietude of his superb collection of Americana

kept in his country-house near Paris, an important historical and critical volume,¹ which examines this whole subject in a most thorough and judicial manner.

The aim of Mr. Vignaud's work is to prove that the authenticity of Toscanelli's map, letter, and correspondence with Columbus, has been too readily accepted, and that there are many and very good reasons for believing that Toscanelli did not write the letter of 1474, that he did not make the map which accompanied it,—that both are forgeries,—and that he never had any intercourse with Columbus whatever. Mr. Vignaud goes still further and shows that Columbus's grand conception had quite another origin than the supposed suggestions and advice of this Italian savant, and that the real purpose of the document wrongfully attributed to him was to hide the true source of this conception.

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS, August, 1901.

BOOK NOTICES.

HYPOTHESIS FOR A CEPTACLE THEORY. By *Oren B. Taft*. Chicago: The Lakeside Press. 1900.

The problem of the soul is its unity, and Mr. Oren B. Taft has invented the new name "ceptacle" for it, meaning thereby that which is the "relationing of itself to itself within itself in anything." It stands for unity in plurality and produces the consciousness of identity in the ego. The ceptacle, it is claimed, and perhaps rightly so, is "a nature-fact," the question is only whether or not it exists as an entity in itself and without the relations which constitute it. The author seems to take the latter view: at least he describes the origin of ceptacles and their preservation in the development of life. The term "ceptacle" is subject to criticism, because it seems to imply the separate existence of a vessel (a receptacle) and its contents, and that the author does not seem to mean. Another term of doubtful usefulness is the word "intelligence-matter," but the application which is made of it goes far to justify its introduction. Mr. Taft says:

"The first eighteen verses of the chapter of the Gospel of St. John, we take it, is a fundamental statement, from the Christian point of view, of the Spiritual Idea—God in man. From this Ceptacle point of view it will accord equally well as a statement of Antecedent, realising Itself to Itself in its own expression where Idea is 'Flesh' as Intelligence-Matter in evolved human body. The Idea in both is that in Intelligence-Matter it realises its Being as its everlasting Self. Here it is embodied in the individuality of Jesus Christ. In the fulness of this development in this individual Ego-Identity, it knows its Being in an At-One-Ness with itself, as its own Antecedent or Father."

We add that the author is not a philosopher by profession but a business man, being the president of the Pearson-Taft Land Credit Co., which position involves great responsibility and circumspection. And the business world of Chicago knows that Mr. Taft fully deserves the confidence and credit which form the cornerstone of his flourishing business. Philosophers may not find in the book a

¹ *La lettre et la carte de Toscanelli sur la route des Indes par l'Ouest*. Adressées en 1474 au Portugais Fernam Martins et transmises plus tard à Christophe Colomb. Etude critique sur l'authenticité et la valeur de ces documents et sur les sources des idées cosmographiques de Colomb. Suivie des divers textes de la lettre de 1474 avec traductions, annotations et fac-simile. Par Henry Vignaud, premier secrétaire de l'ambassade des Etats-Unis, vice-président de la Société des Americanistes de Paris, vice-président du XII. Congrès des Americanistes, membre de la Société de Géographie de Paris, de la Société des Antiquaires de Worcester, de l'Association Historique de Washington, etc., etc. Paris: Ernest Leroux, éditeur, 28, Rue Bonaparte.

treatment of the psychological problem such as they are accustomed to, but they should not for that reason think less of it, for it is always interesting and instructive to know what a thoughtful man thinks of the soul, its origin, and destiny.

P. C.

A very readable and suggestive little book has recently appeared in the *Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology*, under the title of *Social Control, a Survey of the Foundations of Order*. It is by Edward Alsworth Ross, professor in the University of Nebraska. Its object is to determine "how far the order we see all about us is due to influences that reach men and women from without, that is, *social influences*. . . . Investigation appears to show that the personality freely unfolding under conditions of healthy fellowship may arrive at a goodness all its own, and that order is explained partly by this streak in human nature and partly by the influence of social surroundings." (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pp. 463. Price, \$1.20.)

We could wish that books of the type of Mr. T. N. Toller's *Outlines of the History of the English Language* were in the hands of every student of English. The interest, profit, and intellectual pleasure to be derived from a study of the history of a composite language like English can scarcely be paralleled in the realms of educational and purely literary pursuits, and the broadening effect on the individual of such a study is immeasurable. Mr. Toller's book is similar to that excellent little work on the same subject by Professor Lounsbury, which has long been a standard manual in our academies and colleges. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pp. 284. Price, \$1.10.)

Persons desirous of informing themselves thoroughly on the history of the great diplomatic questions which are now occupying the American public mind, will profit by consulting the recently published work of John B. Henderson, Jr., entitled *American Diplomatic Questions*. Mr. Henderson has thoroughly discussed the five great questions of American diplomacy, namely, "The Fur Seals and Bering Sea Award," "The Interoceanic Canal Problem," "The United States and Samoa," "The Monroe Doctrine," and "The Northeast Coast Fisheries." (New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pages, ix, 529. Price, 10s. 6d.)

Mr. James Wilford Garner's recent work *Reconstruction in Mississippi* gives a detailed study of the political, military, economic, educational, and legal phases attending the recovery of one of the Southern States from the effects of the Civil War. This period of Southern history, while exceedingly interesting and important, is greatly misunderstood in the North, and largely inaccessible. Mr. Garner's work, therefore, is opportune and of value. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pp. 442.)

Correa Moylan Walsh has written a very technical work on *The Measurement of General Exchange-Value*. He has explained and analysed, critically and mathematically, the four kinds of economic value; weighting; the question of means and averages; etc., etc. The volume is a ponderous one and contains an excellent bibliography. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pp. 580. Price, \$3.00.)



FRANCESCO CRISPI

(1819-1901)

Frontispiece to 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.**

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CARNERI, THE ETHICIST OF DARWINISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

AUSTRIA is a land of political dissensions, and its factions are divided by national not less than religious strifes. There are not only the Germans, the Hungarians, the Chechs, the Siebenbürgen Saxons, the Poles, the Servians, the Italians, but also the Roman Catholics, the Protestants, the Jews, the Greek Catholics, the unchurched, and large numbers of religiously indifferent or even fanatically antireligious and irreligious people. No one knows what the final destiny of the empire will be, and its history since the days of the Austro-Prussian war has been the most intricate play of contrary contentions, rendering it almost impossible to outsiders to form any opinion on the merits of the aims and aspirations of the contending parties. Among all this hopeless confusion of political turmoil Chevalier Carneri lived and did his best to fight the battle of justice without expectation of personal gain or party interest, but solely on behalf of a conservative progress along the lines of a scientific and rational conception of life; and now, approaching as he is on the third day of the present month his eightieth birthday, his countrymen and the friends of liberal thought have united in doing him honor by making the anniversary of the psalmist's four score years as man's greatest share of life, a day of rejoicing and congratulation. We join them in extending our sympathies to the noble octogenarian and in wishing that the evening of his life may be bright and cloudless like a glorious sunset, or like a harvest festival after the completion of a fruitful and prosperous year.

Bartholomew von Carneri, the descendent of an Italian aristocratic family with the title Chevalier or *Ritter*, is one of the pioneers

of the new world-conception which dawned upon mankind when the comprehension of the law of evolution spread and affected both religion and philosophy. Carneri was one of the very first authors who grasped at once the moral significance of Darwinism, giving a clear and prophetic expression to his faith in his first great work *Sittlichkeit und Darwinismus, drei Bücher Ethik*, which continued to form the programme of his literary and political career. Prior



BARTHOLOMÄUS VON CARNERI.

publications (such as *Modernes Faustrecht, Neu-Oesterreich, Demokratie, Nationalität und Napoleonismus, Pflug und Schwert*) breathe the same spirit and find their explanation and philosophical basis in his greater work, where he attacks the problem of ethics for the first time in its general and broadest significance. He followed up the solution of the moral problem in subsequent books discussing some of its phases and considerations, all of which received

due attention in the philosophical and scientific circles of Germany, bringing him into intimate relation with the foremost spirits of the age, all of whom cherish a high regard for the ethical teacher of the new world-conception which is based upon the unprecedented progress of the natural sciences. Carneri's later writings are *Gefühl, Bewusstsein und Wille*; *Der Mensch als Selbstzweck*; *Grundlegung der Ethik*; *Entwicklung und Glückseligkeit*; *Der moderne Mensch*; *Empfindung und Bewusstsein, monistische Bedenken*, and finally *Sechs Gesänge aus Dante's göttlicher Comödie*. To produce a good translation of the famous Italian poet, free from the harshness of the old versions, has been Carneri's ambition in his later years, and he is still engaged in the work.

Carneri's writings are serene and pervaded by a sentiment of harmony which is apt to make one believe that his lot in life must have been an extraordinarily happy one; and so it was. His spirit is as clear as a bright autumn morning; yet the materials out of which he built his life are not at all those of a man that has been favored by birth, talents, health, and other good conditions. Carneri's lot is wanting in the most essential element needed for happiness and serenity—viz., health. He was born a cripple and most of his days have been passed in great sufferings caused through physical pain. He had no joyous childhood, and the favors sometimes bestowed upon mortals by Fortune were in his case scanty enough, his inherited title being of little use to him under the circumstances; in fact he was not the man to take any pride in such externalities.

Carneri's life is a moral lesson worthy to be noted and appreciated. Having given up his belief in a heaven above us, he grasped the ideals of the living present and insisted upon man's moral duty of building a heaven here upon earth, in seeking a happiness based upon moral endeavor. And he clung to his conviction in spite of the continued and increased sufferings of his fate. He was married and then the sunshine of a paradise was a real presence with him for a few years when death separated him from his wife and left him a lonely widower with the care of his children and nothing else save the sweet recollection of the happy past and the melancholy contemplation of what his life might have been. Carneri bore his fate with fortitude and succeeded in his active career in setting an example to others; proving to them that in spite of great accidents and sufferings we can be happy, and it is our duty to spread the sunshine of happiness.

Carneri took an active part in the political life of his country,

and here, too, he remained faithful to his convictions, and though his struggles sometimes seemed hopeless, the figure of the courageous Chevalier with a strong mind but a weak and disabled body is one of the redeeming features of modern Austrian politics.

When the writer last year while on a tour through Europe passed through Austria he could not forbear visiting the venerable Chevalier in his home at Marburg on the Dur in the mountains of Styria. He found the hermit philosopher, though weak in body, in comparatively good health and cheerful—more so than many who have better reasons to be so.

¹ The photograph which accompanies this sketch is the only portrait that can be obtained, was taken about twenty years ago when Carneri was still in the prime of life.

FRANCESCO CRISPI.

BY THE EDITOR.

FRANCESCO CRISPI, one of the greatest Italian statesmen and an important factor in the unification of his country, would have completed in the present month, viz., on October 4th, his 82nd year; but he died almost two months ago, on August 11th. He was born at Ribera de Girgenti, Sicily, and thus it is probable that he was of Greek extraction. He studied law in Palermo and Naples, and became a lawyer. In Naples he belonged to the revolutionary committee, and took an active part in the revolution of 1848. He was a frequent contributor to the ultra-radical magazine, *L'Apostolato*. When in 1849 the revolution was suppressed, many of the revolutionists were granted an amnesty; he, however, was excluded and had to flee for his life, taking up his residence successively in Marseilles, Turin, Malta, Paris, and London. Being an ardent adherent of Mazzini, he opposed the policy of the government of Turin, and was in consequence banished by Cavour.

In 1859, Crispi returned to Sicily, and became the leader of the party of action, in which rôle he succeeded in inducing Garibaldi to carry out in company with Bixio and Bertani his famous raid in May, 1860. Having taken possession of the island, Crispi was made dictator, and now he surprised the world by issuing a plebiscite in favor of uniting Sicily to the kingdom of Italy. Crispi had learned to see the difficulties of establishing a democratic government, and being convinced above all of the necessity of national unity, he saw the realisation of his favorite plans in supporting a constitutional government, which on the one hand would procure national unity and on the other guarantee sufficient liberty for the citizens by a liberal constitution.

Crispi was chosen deputy in 1861, and his oratory, readiness, and grasp of the situation soon made him a prominent member of

the left wing of the House. In 1865, he justified the change in his political convictions in a pamphlet entitled: *Repubblica e Monarchia*, in which he insisted upon the necessity of national unity, and claimed that republican principles of government tend to division, but a monarchy will unite. In this way, he became the leader of the constitutional party, and when this faction grew in adherents Crispi became president of the House of Deputies. In 1877, he travelled through Europe, meeting Prince Bismarck in Gastein and visiting him again in Berlin. Thenceforth, he remained an admirer and supporter of Bismarck's policy, being convinced of the advisability of Italy's joining Germany and Austria in their efforts to maintain the peace of Europe. In 1877, he was made a member of the ministry Depretis, which position he gave up temporarily when implicated in an accusation of bigamy; but after his justification, he was re-established.

When Depretis died, Crispi was deemed his worthy successor. An attack on his life, which failed, only served to make him extremely popular all over Italy. In 1891, his adversaries succeeded in passing a vote of censure; he resigned and Rudini took his place; but the latter was soon succeeded by Giolitti. When in 1893 Giolitti too appeared incapable of holding the reins of government, the hope of all rested on Crispi as the only one capable of restoring civil peace. In December, 1893, he formed the new ministry, reformed the finances, suppressed socialistic revolts in Sicily and in Massa e Carrara. He escaped another attack on his life, which again served to show the strength of the sympathy of the people; and when his adversaries accused him of being implicated in bribery cases and corruption, he was not only exonerated, but received a vote of confidence in the House of Deputies, June 25, 1895. His ship of state foundered, however, when General Baratieri was beaten by Adua. He resigned, never again to become the leader of the destiny of his nation. He remained, however, a member of the Chamber of Deputies to the end of his life.

It is true that some of his enemies never ceased to suspect his integrity, but we ought to bear in mind that Italian politicians are bitter toward their antagonists, and the truth remains that Crispi has been one of the greatest, most influential, and sincerest of modern Italians.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF CRISPI.

BY SIGNOR RAQUENI.¹

FRANCESCO CRISPI, who has just disappeared forever from this world's stage, I knew in Florence, in 1867, at the moment when the cry, "Rome or death," was echoing from one end of the peninsula to the other, and was the devise of the aggressive Garibaldian party, which had taken a solemn oath to free Rome from papal domination. Crispi was then member of our committee at Florence, for the moment the temporary capital of Italy, which committee was made up of revolutionists collected from all Italian parties and eager to fight under the orders of Garibaldi. It was Crispi himself who brought me into the service and sent me to Terni where was being organised the brigade of the Hungarian Frigyesi, which participated in the fights at Monterando and Mentona. At the latter place our four thousand Garibaldians were crushed by the twelve thousand French whom Napoleon III. had sent to the succor of the Pope. From that moment Crispi never ceased to hate France and the Vatican.

When, at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, Victor Emmanuel wished, in return for what France did for Italy at Magenta and Solferino, to send one hundred thousand men to the aid of Napoleon III., Crispi convinced the king that by so doing he would endanger his crown, for, he declared, Italy would rise to a man against such a policy. I have this historic fact from the very highest authority.

It was also Crispi who, after the Sedan disaster, pushed the then Italian ministry, to occupy Rome by force, in spite of the expressed disapproval of the crumbling Second Empire. Crispi was

¹ Signor Raqueni is a well-known Italian publicist residing in Paris, where he is the founder and Honorary Secretary of the Franco-Italian League, whose chief aim is to draw more closely together France and Italy. During the long struggle for Italian unity Signor Raqueni was an ardent "Garibaldian," and risked his life in the patriotic cause more than once.—Ed.

then a brilliant journalist and in his powerful organ, *La Riforma*, carried on a violent editorial campaign against the policy of the moderate Italian party who hesitated to take advantage of the circumstances to complete the unification of Italy, and thus crown the work of Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, Garibaldi, and Mazzini. At that time the whole Italian democracy shared Crispi's feelings.

But when the Napoleonic Empire had fallen and the Third Republic had risen on its ruins, the democracy of Italy became Francophile, while Crispi remained Francophobe. Garibaldi offered his own life and that of his sons in defence of France against the invading Germans, generously forgetting Mentona. But Crispi could not and would not forget.

I had a long conversation with Crispi on this point in 1871 at Rome where I found him living in a plain hotel. Referring to Garibaldi's taking of arms for France at this moment, he said to me: "He would have done better if he remained at Caprera. I am not an enemy of France. I regret her misfortunes, but she brought them upon her own head. She should not have interfered in German affairs. They did not concern her. The fall of the Empire was a benefit to France and Italy. If Napoleon had won, Italy would not have obtained her historic capital and France would have fallen under the yoke of a despot. Italy has been free and independent only since the disaster of 1870. Until then, she was little else than a French Department. All our ministers had to be acceptable to the Tuilleries. Nothing was done without the consent of the Emperor who was our real master. The French Republicans ought to thank Prussia for having rid them of the Empire. Unfortunately they are *chauvins*. They will not abandon the *revanche* which is their dream. If, after Sedan, republican France had proposed a general disarmament, she would have rendered a good service to the cause of peace and civilisation."

Signor Bovio, the distinguished professor of Naples University, Deputy and one of the leaders of the Republican Party in Italy, told me recently how the threatened war was prevented between France and Italy, while Crispi was Prime Minister, apropos of a violation of the French Consulate at Florence. It well illustrates Crispi's tendency to exaggerate the importance of the Triple Alliance by giving it an aggressive character. Bovio said to me:

"As was his custom, Crispi, on this occasion, consulted Bismarck, of whose friendship he was so proud. The Iron Chancellor who at bottom did not like the ex-revolutionist, although the latter had become more conservative than he himself, sent him these

words by telegraph: '*Non est casus fœderis*,' which meant that this was not a case in which the treaty of the Triple Alliance called for German support of Italy. This caused Crispi to pull in his horns, and the trivial matter was arranged in a friendly manner."

In 1895 I had another interview with Crispi who said to me:

"I do not hate France as I am wrongfully represented as doing. I have always regarded a war between France and Italy as fratricide, but I wish Italy to be held in esteem and the treaties between us strictly observed. Furthermore, Italy, backed by her allies, can compel the keeping of the peace. I have been," he continued, "the friend of Gambetta and other French Republican leaders."

But he forgot to add that when he went over to Bismarck bag and baggage, he ceased to be their friend, and from that moment to the day of his death was rightfully classed among the enemies of France.

The terrible Italian defeat in Abyssinia a few years ago drove Crispi from power, and he never afterwards succeeded in becoming Prime Minister. General Baratieri who died just a few days before Crispi, and who was one of the bravest and most brilliant of Garibaldi's officers, commanding the Italian forces on that lamentable occasion, said to me on this subject, when he came to Paris last year to visit the Exposition:

"Crispi expected me to bring him to Rome as prisoner Mene-lik. If my orders had been obeyed, I would have won the day at Adana notwithstanding the inadequate strength of my army. Rest assured that history will severely condemn Crispi for the unjust accusations and absurd calumnies which he has heaped on my head apropos of this disaster. He always sought to make me the scape-goat of his political shortcomings."

Francesco Crispi, who did so much harm to his country during the last years of his political career, would have left a fine mark on history if he had died after the success of the Sicilian uprising, of which he was one of the heroes and which had such a powerful influence on Italian unity; or after Victor Emmanuel had entered Rome, to the accomplishment of which he had so powerfully contributed.

THE LEGENDS OF GENESIS.

BY H. GUNKEL.

[CONCLUDED.]

V. JAHVIST, ELOHIST, JEHOVIST, THE LATER COLLECTIONS.

THE collecting of legends began even in the state of oral tradition. In the preceding pages (*Open Court* for September, p. 526) we have shown how individual stories first attracted one another and greater complexes of legends were formed. Connecting portions were also composed by these collectors, such, notably, as the story of the birth of the sons of Jacob, which is not at all a popular legend but the invention of older story-tellers, and must have been in existence even before the work of J and E. And there are further additions, such as the note that Jacob bought a field at Shechem, and other similar matters. Those who first wrote down the legends continued this process of collection. The writing down of the popular traditions probably took place at a period which was generally disposed to authorship and when there was a fear that the oral traditions might die out if they were not reduced to writing. We may venture to conjecture that the guild of story-tellers had ceased to exist at that time, for reasons unknown to us. And in its turn the reduction to writing probably contributed to kill out the remaining remnants of oral tradition, just as the written law destroyed the institution of the priestly Thora, and the New Testament canon the primitive Christian Pneumatics.

The collection of the legends in writing was not done by one hand or at one period, but in the course of a very long process by several or many hands. We distinguish two stages in this process: the older, to which we owe the collections of the Jahvist designated by (J) and the Elohist designated by (E), and then a

later, thorough revision in what is known as the Priestly Codex (P). In the preceding pages as a rule only those legends have been used which we attribute to J and E. All these books of legends contain not only the primitive legends, of which we have been speaking, but also tell at the same time their additional stories; we may (with Wildeboer) characterise their theme as "the choice of Israel to be the People of Jahveh"; in the following remarks, however, they will be treated in general only so far as they have to do with Genesis.

"JAHVIST" AND "ELOHIST" COLLECTORS, NOT AUTHORS.

Previous writers have in large measure treated J and E as personal authors, assuming as a matter of course that their writings constitute at least to some extent units and originate in all essential features with their respective writers, and attempting to derive from the various data of these writings consistent pictures of their authors. But in a final phase criticism has recognised that these two collections do not constitute complete unities, and pursuing this line of knowledge still further has distinguished within these sources still other subordinate sources.¹

But in doing this there has been a neglect to raise with perfect clearness the primary question, how far these two groups of writings may be understood as literary unities in any sense or whether, on the contrary, they are not collections, codifications of oral traditions, and whether their composers are not to be called collectors rather than authors.

That the latter view is the correct one is shown (1) by the fact that they have adopted such heterogeneous materials. J contains separate legends and legend cycles, condensed and detailed stories, delicate and coarse elements, primitive and modern elements in morals and religion, stories with vivid antique colors along with those quite faded out. It is much the same with E, who has, for instance, the touching story of the sacrifice of Isaac and at the same time a variant of the very ancient legend of Jacob's wrestling with the angel. This variety shows that the legends of E, and still more decidedly those of J, do not bear the stamp of a single definite time and still less of a single personality, but that they were adopted by their collectors essentially as they were found.

Secondly, the same conclusion is suggested by an examination of the variants of J and of E. On the one hand they often agree

¹ Such is the outcome especially in Budde's *Urgeschichte*.

most characteristically: both, for instance, employ the most condensed style in the story of Penuel, and in the story of Joseph the most detailed. For this very reason, because they are so similar, it was possible for a later hand to combine them in such a way that they are often merged to a degree, such that it is impossible for us to distinguish them. On the other hand, they frequently differ, in which case J very often has the elder version, but often the reverse.

Thus the robust primitive version of the Hagar story in J (chap. xvi.) is older than the lachrymose version of E (xxi.); the story of Jacob and Laban is told more laconically and more naïvely by J than by E; in the narrative of the birth of the children of Jacob J speaks with perfect frankness of the magic effect of the mandrakes (xxx. 14 ff.), instead of which E substitutes the operations of divine favor (xxx. 17); in the story of Dinah, J, who depicts Jacob's horror at the act of his sons, is more just and more vigorous in his judgment than E, where God himself is compelled to protect Jacob's sons (xxxv. 5, see variant reading of RV); in the story of Joseph the Ishmaelites of J (xxxvii. 25) are older than the Midianites of E (xxxvii. 28) who afterwards vanish from the account; in the testament of Jacob his wish, according to E (xlviii. 7), to be buried beside his best loved wife is more tender and more sentimental than his request in J (xlvii. 29 ff.) to rest in the tomb with his ancestors; and other similar cases might be cited.

On the other hand, E does not yet know of the Philistines in Gerar of whom J speaks (xxi. 26); the deception of Jacob by means of the garb of skins in E is more naïve than that by means of the scent of the garments in J; the many divine beings whom, according to E, Jacob sees at Bethel are an older conception than that of the one Jahveh in the version of J; only in J, but not yet in E, do we suddenly meet a belated Israelitising of the legend of the covenant of Gilead (xxxi. 52); in the story of Joseph, Reuben, who had disappeared in historical times, occupies the same position as does in J the much better known Judah of later times; the vocabulary of E whereby he avoids the name of Jahveh throughout Genesis, is based, as shown above (in *The Open Court* for September, p. 533), upon an early reminiscence which is lacking in J; on the other hand, one cannot deny that this absolutely consistent avoidance of the name of Jahveh before the appearance of Moses shows the reflexion of theological influence, which is wholly absent in J.

These observations, which could easily be extended, show also that there is no literary connexion between J and E; J has not

copied from E, nor E from J. If both sources occasionally agree verbally the fact is to be explained on the basis of a common original source.

But, thirdly, the principal point is that we can see in the manner in which the legends are brought together in these books the evidence that we are dealing with collections which cannot have been completed at one given time, but developed in the course of history. The recognition of this fact can be derived especially from a careful observation of the manner of J, since J furnishes us the greatest amount of material in Genesis. The observation of the younger critics that several sources can be distinguished in J, and especially in the story of the beginnings, approves itself to us also; but we must push these investigations further and deeper by substituting for a predominantly critical examination which deals chiefly with individual books, an historical study based upon the examination of the literary method of J and aiming to give a history of the entire literary species.

THE JAHVIST'S SOURCES.

In J's story of the beginnings we distinguish three sources, two of which present what were originally independent parallel threads. It is particularly clear that J contained originally two parallel pedigrees of the race: beside the traditional Cainite genealogy, a Sethite line, of which v. 29 is a fragment. In combining the two earlier sources a third one was also introduced, from which comes the legend of Cain and Abel, which cannot originally belong to a primitive time. In the story of Abraham also we can recognise three hands: into a cycle of legends treating the destinies of Abraham and Lot have been introduced other elements, such as the legend of Abraham in Egypt and the flight of Hagar, probably from another book of legends; still a third hand has added certain details, such as the appeal of Abraham for Sodom. More complicated is the composition of the stories of Jacob: into the cycle of Jacob, Esau and Laban have been injected certain legends of worship; afterwards there were added legends of the various sons of Jacob; we are able to survey this process as a whole very well, but are no longer able to detect the individual hands.

While the individual stories of the creation merely stand in loose juxtaposition, some of the Abraham stories and especially the Jacob-Esau-Laban legends are woven into a closer unity. This union is still closer in the legend of Joseph. Here the legends of Joseph's experiences in Egypt and with his brothers constitute a

well-constructed composition; but here too the passage on Joseph's agrarian policy (xlvi. 13 ff.), which interrupts the connexion, shows that several different hands have been at work. Furthermore, it is quite plain that the legend of Tamar, which has no connexion with Joseph, and the "blessing of Jacob," which is a poem, not a legend, were not introduced until later.

From this survey we perceive that J is not a primary and definitive collection, but is based upon older collections and is the result of the collaboration of several hands.

The same condition is to be recognised in E, though only by slight evidences so far as Genesis is concerned, as in the present separation by the story of Ishmael (xxi. 8 ff.) of the two legends of Gerar (xx. xxi. 25 ff.) which belong together, or in the derivation of Beersheba from Abraham (xxi. 25 ff.) by the one line of narrative, from Isaac (xlvi. 1-3) by the other.

THE PROCESS OF COLLECTION.

The history of the literary collection presents, then, a very complex picture, and we may be sure that we are able to take in but a small portion of it. In olden times there may have been a whole literature of such collections, of which those preserved to us are but the fragments, just as the three synoptic gospels represent the remains of a whole gospel literature. The correctness of this view is supported by a reconstruction of the source of P, which is related to J in many respects (both containing, for instance, a story of the beginnings), but also corresponds with E at times (as in the name Paddan, attached to the characterisation of Laban as "the Aramæan"; cp. the *Commentary*, p. 349), and also contributes in details entirely new traditions (such as the item that Abraham set out from Ur-Kasdim, the narrative of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, and other matters).

But for the complete picture of the history of the formation of the collection the most important observation is that with which this section began: the whole process began in the stage of oral tradition. The first hands which wrote down legends probably recorded such connected stories; others then added new legends, and thus the whole body of material gradually accumulated. And thus, along with others, our collections J and E arose. J and E, then, are not individual authors, nor are they editors of older and consistent single writings, but rather they are schools of narrators. From this point of view it is a matter of comparative indifference what the individual hands contributed to the whole, because they

have very little distinction and individuality, and we shall probably never ascertain with certainty. Hence we feel constrained to abstain as a matter of principle from constructing a hypothesis on the subject.

RELATION OF THE COLLECTORS TO THEIR SOURCES.

These collectors, then, are not masters, but rather servants of their subjects. We may imagine them, filled with reverence for the beautiful ancient stories and endeavoring to reproduce them as well and faithfully as they could. Fidelity was their prime quality. This explains why they accepted so many things which they but half understood and which were alien to their own taste and feeling; and why they faithfully preserved many peculiarities of individual narratives,—thus the narrative of the wooing of Rebekah does not give the name of the city of Haran, while other passages in J are familiar with it (xxvii. 43; xxviii. 10; xxix. 4). On the other hand, we may imagine that they were secretly offended by many things in the tradition, here and there combined different versions (*Commentary*, p. 428), smoothing away the contradictions between them a little (*Commentary*, p. 332) and leaving out some older feature in order to introduce something new and different, perhaps the piece of a variant familiar to them (*Commentary*, p. 59); that they developed more clearly this motive and that, which happened to please them particularly, and even occasionally reshaped a sort of history by the combination of various traditions (*Commentary*, p. 343), and furthermore that they were influenced by the religious, ethical, and æsthetic opinions of their time to make changes here and there.

The process of remodeling the legends, which had been under way for so long, went farther in their hands. As to details, it is difficult, and for the most part impossible, to say what portion of these alterations belongs to the period of oral tradition and what portion to the collectors or to a later time. In the preceding pages many alterations have been discussed which belong to the period of written tradition. In general we are disposed to say that the oral tradition is responsible for a certain artistic inner modification, and the collectors for a more superficial alteration consisting merely of omissions and additions. Moreover, the chief point of interest is not found in this question; it will always remain the capital matter to understand the inner reasons for the modifications.

It is also probable that some portions of considerable size were

omitted or severely altered under the hands of the collectors; thus the legend of Hebron, as the promise (xviii. 10) clearly shows, presumes a continuation; some portions have been omitted from the tradition as we have it, probably by a collector; other considerable portions have been added after the whole was reduced to writing, for instance, those genealogies which are not remnants of legends, but mere outlines of ethnographic relationships; furthermore a piece such as the conversation of Abraham with God before Sodom, which by its style is of the very latest origin, and other cases of this sort. Moreover a great, primitive poem was added to the legends after they were complete (Genesis xlix).

We cannot get a complete general view of the changes made by these collections, but despite the fidelity of the collectors in details we may assume that the whole impression made by the legends has been very considerably altered by the collection and redaction they have undergone. Especially probable is it that the brilliant colors of the individual legends have been dulled in the process: what were originally prominent features of the legends lose their importance in the combination with other stories (*Commentary*, p. 161); the varying moods of the separate legends are reconciled and harmonised when they come into juxtaposition; jests, perhaps, now filled in with touches of emotion (p. 331), or combined with serious stories (*Commentary*, p. 158), cease to be recognised as mirthful; the ecclesiastical tone of certain legends becomes the all-pervading tone of the whole to the feeling of later times. Thus the legends now make the impression of an old and originally many-colored painting that has been many times retouched and has grown dark with age. Finally, it must be emphasised that this fidelity of the collectors is especially evident in Genesis; in the later legends, which had not such a firm hold upon the popular taste, the revision may have been more thorough-going.

RELATION OF JAHVIST TO ELOHIST.

The two schools of J and E are very closely related; their whole attitude marks them as belonging to essentially the same period. From the material which they have transmitted it is natural that the collectors should have treated with especial sympathy the latest elements, that is, particularly those which were nearest to their own time and taste. The difference between them is found first in their use of language, the most significant feature of which is that J says Jahveh before the time of Moses, while E says Elohim. Besides this there are other elements: the tribal patriarch

is called "Israel" by J after the episode of Penuel, but "Jacob" by E; J calls the maid-servant "sipha," E calls her "'ama," J calls the grainsack "saq," E calls it "'amtahat," and so on. But, as is often the case, such a use of language is not here an evidence of a single author, but rather the mark of a district or region.

In very many cases we are unable to distinguish the two sources by the vocabulary; then the only guide is, that the variants from the two sources present essentially the same stories which show individual differences in their contents. Thus in J Isaac is deceived by Jacob by means of the smell of Esau's garments, in E by the skins, a difference which runs through a great portion of both stories. Or we observe that different stories have certain pervading marks, such as, that Joseph is sold in J by Ishmaelites to an Egyptian householder, but in E is sold by Midianites to the eunuch Potiphar. Often evidences of this sort are far from conclusive; consequently we can give in such cases nothing but conjectures as to the separation of the sources. And where even such indications are lacking there is an end of all safe distinction.

In the account of the beginnings we cannot recognise the hand of E at all; it is probable that he did not undertake to give it, but began his book with the patriarch Abraham. Perhaps there is in this an expression of the opinion of the school that the history of the beginnings was too heathenish to deserve preservation. Often but not always the version of J has an older form than that of E. J has the most lively, objective narratives, while E, on the other hand, has a series of sentimental, tearful stories such as the sacrifice of Isaac, the expulsion of Ishmael, and Jacob's tenderness for his grandchildren.

Their difference is especially striking in their conceptions of the theophany: J is characterised by the most primitive theophanies, E, on the other hand, by dreams and the calling of an angel out of heaven, in a word by the least sensual sorts of revelation. The thought of divine Providence, which makes even sin contribute to good ends is expressly put forth by E in the story of Joseph, but not by J. Accordingly there is reason for regarding J as older than E, as is now frequently done. Their relation to the Prophetic authors is to be treated in subsequent pages.

Inasmuch as J in the story of Joseph puts Judah in the place of Reuben, since he gives a specifically Judean version in the case of the legend of Tamar, and because he has so much to say of Abraham, who, it seems, has his real seats in Hebron and in Negeb (southward of Judah), we may agree with many recent critics in

placing the home of this collection in Judah. It has been conjectured on the contrary that E has its home in Northern Israel; in fact this source speaks a great deal of Northern Israelitic localities, but yet, at the same time, much of Beersheba; furthermore, in the story of Joseph E hints once incidentally at the reign of Joseph (xxxvii. 8), though this too may be derived from the tradition. Certainly it cannot be claimed that the two collections have any strong partizan tendency in favor of the north and south kingdoms respectively.

Other characteristics of the collectors than these can scarcely be derived from Genesis. Of course, it would be easy to paint a concrete picture of J and E, if we venture to attribute to them whatever is to be found in their books. But this is forbidden by the very character of these men as collectors.¹

THE AGE OF THE JAHVIST AND ELOHIST SCHOOLS.

The question of the absolute age of J and E is exceedingly difficult. We, who believe that we have here to deal with a gradual codification of ancient traditions, are constrained to resolve this question into a number of subordinate questions: When did these traditions arise? When did they become known in Israel? When did they receive essentially their present form? When were they written down? That is to say, our task is not to fix a single definite date, but we are to make a chronological scale for a long process. But this is a very difficult problem, for intellectual processes are very difficult in general to fix chronologically; and there is the further difficulty that blocks us in general with all such questions about the Old Testament, that we know too little about ancient Israel in order to warrant positive conclusions in the present case. Very many of the chronological conjectures of literary criticism, in so far as they are based only upon the study of the history of religion, are more or less unsafe.

The origin of many of the legends lies in what is for Israel a prehistoric age. Even the laconic style of the legends is primitive; the stories of the "Judges" are already in a more detailed style. After the entrance of Israel into Canaan foreign themes come in in streams. Very many of the legends presuppose the possession of the land and a knowledge of its localities. Among the Israelitish subjects, the genealogy of the twelve sons of Jacob

¹ If the reader cannot be satisfied with the little that we have given, he must at least be very much more cautious than, for instance, such a writer as Holzinger on the Hexateuch.

does not correspond with the seats of the tribes in Canaan, and must, therefore, represent older relations. The latest of the Israelitish legends of Genesis that we know treat the retirement of Reuben, the origin of the families of Judah and the assault upon Shechem, that is, events from the earlier portion of the period of the "Judges." In the later portion of this period the poetic treatment of races as individuals was no longer current: by this time new legends of the patriarchs had ceased to be formed.

The period of the formation of legends of the patriarchs is, then, closed with this date (about 1200). The correctness of this estimate is confirmed by other considerations: the sanctuary at Jerusalem, so famous in the time of the kings, is not referred to in the legends of the patriarchs; on the contrary the establishment of this sanctuary is placed by the legends of worship in the time of David (2 Sam. xxiv). The reign of Saul, the conflict of Saul with David, the united kingdom under David and Solomon, the separation of the two kingdoms and the war between them,—we hear no echoes of all this in the older legends: a clear proof that no new legends of the patriarchs were being formed at that time. At what time the legends of Moses, Joshua and others originated is a question for discussion elsewhere.

RE-MODELING OF THE LEGENDS.

The period of the formation of the legends is followed by one of re-modeling. This is essentially the age of the earlier kings. That is probably the time, when Israel was again gathered together from its separation into different tribes and districts to one united people, the time when the various distinct traditions grew together into a common body of national legends. The great growth which Israel experienced under the first kings probably yielded it the moral force to lay claim to the foreign tales and give them a national application. At this time the Jacob-Esau legend received its interpretation referring to Israel and Edom: Israel has in the meantime subjected Edom, the event occurring under David, and Judah retaining her possession until about 840. Meanwhile Ephraim has outstripped Manasseh, probably in the beginning of the period of the kings. In the legend of Joseph there occurs an allusion to the dominion of Joseph (xxxvii. 8, E), which, however, found its way into the legend at some later time. The dreadful Syrian wars, which begin about the year 900, are not yet mentioned in the Jacob-Laban legend, but only occasional border forays. The city of Asshur, which was the capital until 1300, is passed from

the memory of the Hebrew tradition; but Nineveh (x. 11), the capital from about 1000 on, seems to be known to it. Accordingly we may at least assume that by 900 B. C. the legends were essentially, as far as the course of the narrative goes, as we now read them.

As for allusions to political occurrences later than 900, we have only a reference to the rebellion of Edom (about 840), which, however, is plainly an addition to the legend (xxvii. 40b). The other cases that are cited are inconclusive: the reference to the Assyrian cities (x. 11 ff.) does not prove that these passages come from the "Assyrian" period, for Assyria had certainly been known to the Israelites for a long time; just as little does the mention of Kelah warrant a conclusion, for the city was restored in 870, though it had been the capital since about 1300 (in both of these points I differ from the conclusions of Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*,³ p. 46). According to Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, III., p. 226 ff., the Egyptian names in Genesis xli. bring us down into the seventh century; but this is by no means positive, for the names which were frequently heard at that time had certainly been known in earlier times.

But even though no new political references crept into the legends after about 900, and though they have remained unchanged in their essentials from this time on, they may nevertheless have undergone many interior alterations. This suggests a comparison with a piece like Genesis xlix.: this piece, coming from the time of David, harmonises in tone with the oldest legends. Hence we may assume another considerable period during which the religious and moral changes in the legends above mentioned were taking place. This period lasts over into that of the collection of the legends and is closed by it.

RELATION OF THE COLLECTIONS TO THE PROPHETS.

When did the collection of the legends take place? This question is particularly difficult, for we have only internal data for its solution, and we can establish these in their turn only after establishing the date of the sources. So unfortunately we are moving here in the familiar circle, and with no present prospect of getting out of it. Investigators must consider this before making unqualified declarations on the subject. Furthermore it is to be borne in mind that not even these collections were completed all at once, but grew into shape through a process which lasted no one can say how many decades or centuries. The real question in

fixing the date of the sources is the relation of the two to the authors of the "Prophets." Now there are to be sure many things in Genesis that suggest a relation with these Prophets, but the assumption of many modern critics that this relation must be due to some direct influence of the Prophetic writers is very doubtful in many cases; we do not know the religion of Israel sufficiently well to be able to declare that certain thoughts and sentiments were first brought to light by the very Prophets whose writings we possess (all later than Amos): the earnestness with which the legend of the Deluge speaks of the universal sinfulness of mankind, and the glorification of the faith of Abraham are not specifically "Prophetic." The hostility of the collectors to the images of Jahveh and to the Asherim (sacred poles), of which they never speak, to the Massëbâh (groves), which J passes over but E still mentions, to the "golden calf" which is regarded by the legend according to E (Exodus xxxii.) as sinful, as well as to the teraphim, which the Jacob-Laban legend wittily ridicules (xxxi. 30 f.),—all of this may easily be independent of "Prophetic" influence. Sentiments of this nature may well have existed in Israel long before the "Prophets," indeed we must assume their existence in order to account for the appearance of the "Prophets."

True, E calls Abraham a "nabi" (prophet), xx. 7; that is to say, he lived at a time when "Prophet" and "man of God" were identical; but the guild of the N^{ebi}im was flourishing long before the time of Amos, and in Hosea also, xii. 14, Moses is called a "Prophet." Accordingly there is nothing in the way of regarding E and J both as on the whole "pre-Prophetic." This conclusion is supported by a number of considerations: the Prophetic authors are characterised by their predictions of the destruction of Israel, by their polemic against alien gods and against the high places of Israel, and by their rejection of sacrifices and ceremonials. These very characteristic features of the "Prophets" are absent in J and E: in Genesis J has no notion of other gods at all except Jahveh, and Jacob's abolition of alien gods for the sake of a sacred ceremony in honor of Jahveh, xxxv. 4 in the tradition of E, does not sound like a "Prophetic" utterance. Of an opposition to strange gods there is never any talk, at least not in Genesis.

And while these collections contain nothing that is characteristically Prophetic, they have on the other hand much that must needs have been exceedingly offensive to the Prophets: they have, for instance, an especially favorable attitude toward the sacred places which the Prophets assail so bitterly; they maintain toward

the primitive religion and morality an ingenuous leniency which is the very opposite of the fearful accusations of the Prophets.

We can see from the Prophetic redaction of the historical books what was the attitude of the legitimate pupils of the Prophets to ancient tradition: they would certainly not have cultivated the popular legends, which contained so much that was heathen, but rather have obliterated them.

In view of these considerations we must conclude that the collections took shape in all essentials before the period of great Prophetic writings, and that the touches of the spirit of this movement in J and E but show that the thoughts of the Prophets were in many a man's mind long before the time of Amos. This conclusion is supported by a number of other considerations: the legend of the exodus of Abraham, which glorifies his faith, presumes on the other hand the most flourishing prosperity of Israel, and accordingly comes most surely from the time before the great incursion of the Assyrians. And pieces which from the point of view of the history of legends are so late as chapter 15, or as the story of the birth of the sons of Jacob, contain, on the other hand, very ancient religious motives.

But this does not exclude the possibility that certain of the very latest portions of the collections are in the true sense "Prophetic." Thus Abraham's conversation with God before Sodom is in its content the treatment of a religious problem, but in form it is an imitation of the Prophetic "expostulation" with God. Joshua's farewell (Joshua xxiv.) with its unconcealed distrust of Israel's fidelity is also in form an imitation of the Prophetic sermon. In the succeeding books, especially the portions due to E, there is probably more of the same character, but in Genesis the instances are rare.

Accordingly we may locate both collections before the appearance of the great Prophets, J perhaps in the ninth century and E in the first half of the eighth; but it must be emphasised that such dates are after all very uncertain.

THE JEHOVIST REDACTOR.

The two collections were united later by an editor designated as R^{JE}, whom, following Wellhausen's example, we shall call the "Jehovist." This union of the two older sources took place before the addition of the later book of legends to be referred to as P. We may place this collector somewhere near the end of the kingdom of Judah. R^{JE} manifests in Genesis the most extraordinary

conservatism and reverence; he has expended a great amount of keenness in trying to retain both sources so far as possible and to establish the utmost possible harmony between them. In general he probably took the more detailed source for his basis, in the story of Abraham J. He himself appears with his own language very little in Genesis. We recognise his pen with certainty in a few brief additions which are intended to harmonise the variants of J and E, but of which there are relatively few: xvi. 9 f.; xxviii. 21_b, and further in xxxi. 49 ff.; xxxix. 1; xli. 50; xlv. 19; xlvii. 1; l. 11; and several points in xxxiv; but the most of these instances are trifles.

Furthermore, there are certain, mostly rather brief, additions, which we may locate in this period and probably attribute to this redactor or to his contemporaries. Some of them merely run over and deepen the delicate lines of the original text: xviii. 17-19; xx. 18; xxii. 15-18; some are priestly elaborations of profane narratives: xiii. 14-17; xxxii. 10-13; the most of them are speeches attributed to God: xiii. 14-17; xvi. 9 and 10; xviii. 17-19; xxii. 15-18; xxvi. 3_{b-s}, 24, 25_a; xxviii. 14; xlvii. 3_{bb} (xxxii. 10-13; l. 24_γ); which is characteristic for these latest additions, which profess only to give thoughts and not stories, speeches containing especially solemn promises for Israel: that it was to become a mighty nation and take possession of "all these lands." Incidentally all the people are enumerated which Israel is to conquer: xv. 19-21; x. 16-18. These additions come from the period when the great world crises were threatening the existence of Israel, and when the faith of the people was clinging to these promises, that is to say, probably from the Chaldæan period. Here and there we meet a trace of "Deuteronomistic" style: xviii. 17-19; xxvi. 3_{b-s}.

VI. PRIESTLY CODEX AND FINAL REDACTION.

Besides those already treated we find evidence of another separate stream of tradition. This source is so distinct from the other sources both in style and spirit that in the great majority of cases it can be separated from them to the very letter. This collection also is not limited to Genesis, on the contrary, the legends of the beginnings and of the patriarchs are to it merely a brief preparation for the capital matter, which is the legislation of Moses. The Priestly Codex is of special importance for us because the entire discussion of the Old Testament has hitherto turned essentially upon its data. It is Wellhausen's immortal merit (*Prolegomena*⁴,

p. 299 ff.) to have recognised the true character of this source, which had previously been considered the oldest, to have demonstrated thus the incorrectness of the entire general view of the Old Testament, and thus to have prepared the field for a living and truly historical understanding of the history of the religion of Israel.

The style of P is extremely peculiar, exceedingly detailed and aiming at legal clearness and minuteness, having always the same expressions and formulæ, with precise definitions and monotonous set phrases, with consistently employed outlines which lack substance, with genealogies and with titles over every chapter. It is the tone of prosaic pedantry, often indeed the very style of the legal document (for instance xi. 11; and xxiii. 17, 18); occasionally, however, it is not without a certain solemn dignity (especially in Genesis i. and elsewhere also, cp. the scene xlvii. 7-11). One must really read the whole material of P consecutively in order to appreciate the dryness and monotony of this remarkable book. The author is evidently painfully exact and exemplary in his love of order, but appreciation of poetry was denied him as to many another scholar.

The selection of material both in large and in small matters is highly characteristic in P. The only stories of any length which he gives us are those of the Creation and the Deluge, of God's appearance to Abraham and of the purchase of the cave at Machpelah; all else is details and genealogies. From by far the greatest number of narratives he found use only for separate and disconnected observations. One has only to compare the ancient variegated and poetic legends and the scanty reports which P gives of them, in order to learn where his interests lie: he does not purpose to furnish a poetic narrative, as those of old had done, but only to arrive at the facts. This is why he was unable to use the many individual traits contained in the old legends, but merely took from them a very few facts. He ignored the sentiments of the legends, he did not see the personal life of the patriarchs; their figures once so concrete have become mere pale types when seen through his medium. In times of old many of these legends had been located in definite places, thereby gaining life and color; P has forgotten all but two places: the cave of Machpelah, where the patriarchs dwelt and lie buried, and Bethel, where God revealed himself to Jacob. On the other hand, he has a great predilection for genealogies, which, as we have seen, were the latest elements to be contributed to the accumulation of the legend, and which are

in their very nature unconcrete and unpoetical. A very large portion of P's share in Genesis is genealogy and nothing more.

Even those narratives which are told by P at length manifest this same lack of color. They are narratives that are not really stories. The account of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah might have been nothing but an incidental remark in one of the older story tellers; P has spun it out at length because he wanted to establish as beyond all doubt the fact that the cave really belonged to the patriarchs and was an ancestral sepulcher. But he had not the poetic power necessary to shape the account into a story. In the great affairs of state which P gives instead of the old stories, story-telling has ceased, there is only talking and negotiating (Wellhausen). Even the accounts of the Creation, the Deluge and the Covenant with Abraham manifest a wide contrast with the vivid colors of the older legends; they lack greatly in the concrete elements of a story. Instead of this P gives in them something else, something altogether alien to the spirit of the early legend, to wit, legal ordinances, and these in circumstantial detail. Another characteristic of P is his pronounced liking for outlines; this order-loving man has ensnared the gay legends of the olden time in his gray outlines, and there they have lost all their poetic freshness: take as an illustration the genealogy of Adam and Seth. Even the stories of the patriarchs have been caged by P in an outline.

IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO CHRONOLOGY.

Furthermore P attaches to the legends a detailed chronology, which plays a great rôle in his account, but is absolutely out of keeping with the simplicity of the old legends. Chronology belongs by its very nature to history, not to legend. Where historical narrative and legend exist as living literary species, they are recognised as distinct, even though unconsciously. This confusion of the two species in P shows that in his time the natural appreciation for both history and legend had been lost. Accordingly it is not strange that the chronology of P displays everywhere the most absurd oddities when injected into the old legends: as a result, Sarah is still at sixty-five a beautiful woman whom the Egyptians seek to capture, and Ishmael is carried on his mother's shoulder after he is a youth of sixteen.

There has been added a great division of the world's history into periods, which P forces upon the whole matter of his account. He recognises four periods: from the creation to Noah, from Noah

to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses, and from Moses on. Each of these periods begins with a theophany, and twice a new name for God is introduced. He who is Elohim at the creation is El Shaddai in connexion with Abraham and Jahveh to Moses. At the establishment of the Covenant certain divine ordinances are proclaimed: first, that men and beasts are to eat only herbs, and then, after the Deluge that flesh may be eaten but no men be slain, and then, especially for Abraham, that he and his descendants shall circumcise themselves; finally, the Mosaic law.

In connexion with these, certain definite divine promises are made and signs of the Covenant given. What we find in this is the product of a great and universal mind, the beginning of a universal history in the grand style, and indeed P shows a genuinely scientific mind in other points: consider, for instance, his precision in the order of creation in Genesis i. and his definitions there. But the material of the legends which this grandiose universal history uses stands in very strong contrast with the history itself: the signs of the Covenant are a rainbow, circumcision and the Sabbath, a very remarkable list! And how remote is this spirit of universal history, which even undertakes to estimate the duration of the entire age of the world, from the spirit of the old legend, which originally consists of only a single story and is never able to rise to the height of such general observations: in J, for instance, we hear nothing of the relation of Abraham's religion to that of his fathers and his tribal kinsmen.

THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS OF THE PRIESTLY CODEX.

Furthermore, we cannot deny that this reflexion of P's, that Jahveh first revealed himself in quite a general form as "God," and then in a concreter form as El Shaddai, and only at the last under his real name, is after all very childish: the real history of religion does not begin with the general and then pass to the concrete, but on the contrary, it begins with the very most concrete conceptions, and only slowly and gradually do men learn to comprehend what is abstract.

It is characteristic of the religion of the author P that he says almost nothing about the personal piety of the patriarchs; he regards only the objective as important in religion. For instance, he says nothing about Abraham's obedience on faith; indeed does not hesitate to report that Abraham laughed at God's promise (xvii. 17). The religion that he knows consists in the prescription of ceremonies; he regards it of importance that the Sabbath shall

be observed, that circumcision shall be practised, that certain things shall be eaten and others not. In such matters he is very scrupulous. He abstains, evidently with deliberation, from telling that the patriarchs offered sacrifice in any certain place, and this evidently for the reason that these places were regarded as heathenish in his time. Similarly, in his account of the Deluge he does not distinguish the clean and the unclean beasts. It is his opinion that established worship and the distinction of clean and unclean were not introduced until the time of Moses.

But in this we hear the voice of a priest of Jerusalem, whose theory is that the worship at his sanctuary is the only legitimate worship and the continuation of the worship instituted by Moses. The Israelitish theocracy—this, in modern phrase, is the foundation thought of his work—is the purpose of the world. God created the world in order that his ordinances and commandments might be observed in the temple at Jerusalem.

The theophanies of P are characterised by their inconcreteness: he tells only that God appeared, spoke, and again ascended, and leaves out everything else. In this then he follows the style of the latest additions to JE, which also contain such speeches attributed to God without any introduction. It is evident that in this there is expressed a religious hesitation on the part of P to involve the supermundane God with the things of this world; it seems as though he suspected the heathen origin of these theophanies. At the same time we perceive what his positive interest is: he cares for the content of the divine revelation, but not for its "How." Moreover, it is no accident that he conceives of these speeches of God as "covenant-making": evidently he has in mind this originally legal form. This union of the priest, the scholar, and the distinctive lawyer, which seems to us perhaps remarkable at first, is after all quite natural: among many ancient races the priesthood was the guardian of learning and especially of the law. And thus it surely was in Israel too, where from primitive times the priests were accustomed to settle difficult disputes. P developed his style in the writing of contracts—this is quite evident in many places.

But it is especially characteristic of P that he no longer refers to the sacred symbols, which had once possessed such great importance for the ancient religion, as may be seen particularly in the legends of the patriarchs; in him we no longer find a reference to the monuments, the trees and groves, and the springs at which, according to the ancient legends, the divinity appeared. P has

expunged all such matter from the legend, evidently because he considered it heathenish. Here we see plainly the after-effects of the fearful polemics of the Prophets: it is the same spirit which branded the ancient sacred place of Bethel as heathen (in the "reform" of Josiah) and which here rejects from the ancient legends everything that smacks of heathenism to these children of a later time.

This much, then, is certain, that the conceptions of God in P are loftier and more advanced than those of the old legends; and yet P is far below these older authors, who had not made the acquaintance of the sacerdotalism of Jerusalem, but who did know what piety is. Just as P purified the religion of the patriarchs, so did he also purge their morality. Here too P adds the last word to a development which we have followed up in J and E. The old legends of the patriarchs, being an expression of the most primitive life of the people, contained a great deal that those of a later time could not but regard as wrong and sinful, if they were quite honest about it.

And yet, the belief of the time was that the patriarchs were models of piety and virtue. What pains had been taken to eliminate at least the most offensive things in this line so far as possible! When it comes to P at last, he makes a clean sweep: he simply omits altogether what is offensive (for instance, the quarrel of the shepherds of Abraham and Lot, Lot's selfishness, the exile of Ishmael, Jacob's deceptions); he even goes to the length of maintaining the precise contrary of the tradition: Ishmael and Isaac together peacefully buried their father (xxv. 9), and so did Jacob and Esau (xxxv. 29). Facts which cannot be obliterated receive a different motivation: thus he explains Isaac's blessing of Jacob as a result of Esau's sinful mixed marriages (xxvi. 34 f.; xxviii. 1 ff.), and he lays the crime against Joseph at the door of the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah (xxxvii. 2).

From all of this it appears clear that P dealt very arbitrarily with the tradition as it came down to him. He dropped old versions or changed them at pleasure; mere incidents he spun out to complete stories, and from whole stories he adopted only incidents; he mingled the motives of various legends, declaring, for instance, that the blessing received by Jacob from Isaac was the blessing of Abraham, which had been entirely foreign to the thought of the old story tellers (xxviii. 4; other instances may be found pp. 237, 247, 350 of the *Commentary*); from the stories of the old tradition, which stood in loose juxtaposition, he formed a continuous narra-

tive with close connexion,—this, too, a mark of the latest period. In place of the legends he placed his chapters with regular headings!

This narrator, then, has no conception of the fidelity of the older authors; he probably had an impression that it was necessary to lay to vigorously in order to erect a structure worthy of God. The older authors, J and E, were really not authors, but merely collectors, while P is a genuine author; the former merely accumulated the stone left to them in a loose heap; but P erected a symmetrical structure in accordance with his own taste. And yet we should be wrong if we should assume that he deliberately invented his allegations in Genesis; tradition was too strong to permit even him to do this. On the contrary, he simply worked over the material, though very vigorously indeed; we can often recognise by details how he followed his source in the general outline of events when no personal interest of his own was involved (see p. 139 of the *Commentary*). But this source, at least for Genesis, was neither J nor E, but one related to them.

THE AGE OF THE PRIESTLY CODEX.

After this portrayal of the situation the age of P is evident. It belongs by every evidence at the close of the whole history of the tradition, and certainly separated by a great gap from J and E: the living stream of legend from which J and E the old collectors had dipped, must by that time have run dry, if it had become possible for P to abuse it in this fashion for the construction of his history. And in the meanwhile a great intellectual revolution must have taken place,—a revolution which had created something altogether new in the place of the old nationality represented in the legends.

P is the documentary witness of a time which was consciously moving away from the old traditions, and which believed it necessary to lay the foundations of religion in a way differing from that of the fathers. And in P we have revealed the nature of this new element which had then assumed sway,—it is the spirit of the learned priest that we here find expressed. Furthermore, this also is clear to us from the whole manner of P, and particularly from his formal language, that we have not here the work of an individual with a special tendency, but of a whole group whose convictions he expresses. P's work is nothing more nor less than an official utterance.

It is the priesthood of Jerusalem in which the document P originated. Hence the applicableness of the designation "Priestly

Codex." Wellhausen has revealed to us the time to which this spirit belonged. This is the epoch following the great catastrophe to the people and the state of Judah, when the people, overwhelmed by the tremendous impression of their measureless misfortune, recognised that their fathers had sinned, and that a great religious reformation was necessary. Only in connexion with this period can we comprehend P, with his grandiose want of respect for what had been the most sacred traditions of his people. We know also well enough that it was the priesthood alone in that day which held its own and kept the people together after all other authorities had worn themselves out or perished: after its restoration the congregation of Judah was under the dominion of priests.

In keeping with this period also is the remarkably developed historical scholarship of P. The older epoch had produced excellent story tellers, but no learned historians, while in this period of exile Judæan historiography had lost its naïve innocence. Under the powerful influence of the superior Babylonian civilisation Judaism also had acquired a taste for precise records of numbers and measures. It now grew accustomed to employ great care in statistical records: genealogical tables were copied, archives were searched for authentic documents, chronological computations were undertaken, and even universal history was cultivated after the Babylonian model. In Ezra and Nehemiah and Chronicles we see the same historical scholarship as in P, and in Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah the same high value placed upon exact chronology. The reckoning of the months also, which is found in P, was learned by the Jews at this time, and probably from Babylon. The progress represented by this learned spirit as compared with the simplicity of former times is undeniable, even though the products of this learning often fail to appeal to us. It is probably characteristic of the beginnings of "universal history" that such first great historical constructions as we have in P deal largely with mythical or legendary materials, and are consequently inadequate according to our modern notions. In this respect P may be compared to Berosus.

The emphasis laid by P upon the Sabbath, the prohibition of bloodshed, and circumcision, is also comprehensible to us in the light of this period: the epoch in which everything depended on the willingness of the individual emphasised the religious commandments which applied to the individual. Indeed it may be said, that the piety of the patriarchs, who are always represented as "gerim" (strangers), and who have to get along without sac-

rifices and formal ceremonies, is a reflexion of the piety of the exile, when those who lived in the foreign land had neither temples nor sacrifices.

P's religious criticism of mixed marriages also, especially those with Canaanitish women, whereby the blessing of Abraham was forfeited (xxviii. 1-9) connect with the same time, when the Jews, living in the Dispersion, had no more zealous desire than to keep their blood and their religion pure.

Much more characteristic than these evidences taken from Genesis are the others derived from the legal sections of the following books. Finally there is to be added to all these arguments the late origin of the style of P.¹ And in accordance with this the fixing of the date of P as coming from the time of the exile is one of the surest results of criticism.

We need not attempt to determine here in just what century P wrote; but this much may be said, that the Law-book of Ezra, in the opinion of many scholars, upon which the congregation took the oath in 444, and in the composition of which Ezra was in some way involved, was P. Hence we may place the composition of the book in the period from 500 to 444. P too was not completed all at once, though this is hardly a matter of importance so far as Genesis goes.

THE FINAL REDACTOR.

The final redactor, who combined the older work of JE and P, and designated as R^{JE}P, probably belongs, therefore, to the time after Ezra, and surely before the time of the separation of the Samaritan congregation, which carried the complete Pentateuch along with it—though we are unable, indeed, to give the exact date of this event. The fact that such a combination of the older and the later collections was necessary shows us that the old legends had been planted too deep in the popular heart to be supplanted by the new spirit.

Great historical storms had in the meantime desecrated the old sacred places; the whole past seemed to the men of the new time to be sinful. And yet the old legends which glorified these places and which gave such a naïve reflexion of the olden time, could not be destroyed. The attempt of P to supplant the older tradition had proven a failure; accordingly a reverent hand produced a combination of JE and P.

¹ Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 393 ff. Ryszel, *De eloquiis pentateuchici sermone*, 1878. Giesebrecht, *ZAW*, 1881, p. 177 ff. Driver, *Journal of Philology*, 1882, p. 201 ff.

This last collection was prepared with extraordinary fidelity, especially toward P; its author aimed if possible not to lose a single grain of P's work. We shall not blame him for preferring P to JE, for P never ceased to dominate Jewish taste. Especially notable is the fact that the redactor applied the chronology of P as a framework for the narratives of J and E. In Genesis there are a very few features which we can trace with more or less certainty to his hand: such are a few harmonising comments or elaborations like x. 24; xv. 7, 8, 15; xxvii. 46; xxxv. 13, 14; and further some retouching in vi. 7; vii. 7, 22, 23; and also vii. 3, 8, 9; and finally the distinction between Abram and Abraham, Sarai and Sarah, which is also found in J and E, and some other matters.

With this we have covered the activities of all the various redactors of Genesis. But in smaller details the work on the text (Diaskeuase) continues for a long time. Smaller alterations are to be found in xxxiv. and in the numbers of the genealogies, in which the Jewish and the Samaritan text, and the Greek translation differ. More considerable alterations were made in xxxvi. and xlvi. 8-27; while the last large interpolation is the narrative of Abraham's victory over the four kings, a legend from very late times, and of "midrash" character.

SUMMARY.

Thus Genesis has been compounded from very many sources. And in the last state we have described it has remained. In this form the old legends have exercised an incalculable influence upon all succeeding generations. We may perhaps regret that the last great genius who might have created out of the separate stories a great whole, a real "Israelitic national epic," never came. Israel produced no Homer. But this is fortunate for our investigation; for just because the individual portions have been left side by side and in the main unblended is it possible for us to make out the history of the entire process. For this reason students of the legend should apply themselves to the investigation of Genesis, which has not been customary hitherto; while theologians should learn that Genesis is not to be understood without the aid of the methods for the study of legends.

HOW GENESIS CAME TO BE ATTRIBUTED TO MOSES.

One word more, in closing, as to how Genesis has obtained the undeserved honor of being regarded as a work of Moses. From primitive times there existed a tradition in Israel that the divine

ordinances regarding worship, law and morality, as proclaimed by the mouth of the priests, were derived from Moses. When, then, these ordinances, which had originally circulated orally, were written down in larger or smaller works, it was natural that they passed under the name of Moses. Now our Pentateuch consists, in addition to the collections of legends, of such books of law from various periods and of very diverse spirit. And because the legends also, from the time of the Exodus, have to do chiefly with Moses, it was very easy to combine both legends and laws in one single book. Thus it happened that Genesis has become the first part of a work whose following parts tell chiefly of Moses and contain many laws that claim to come from Moses. But in its contents Genesis has no connexion with Moses. These narratives, among them so many of a humorous, an artistic or a sentimental character, are very remote from the spirit of such a strenuous and wrathful Titan as Moses, according to the tradition, must have been.

THE TAI-PING REBELLION.

[We reproduce here Prof. S. Wells Williams's report of the Tai-Ping rebellion from his voluminous work *The Middle Kingdom*, Vol. II., p. 581 ff. Professor Williams is one of the greatest authorities in the field of sinology and we have good reason to believe that he is impartial as a historian. He shows, however, a certain bias against Hung Siu-tsuen's Christianity as not being genuine, stating that "he (Hung Siu-tsuen) never called in the aid of foreign missionaries to teach his followers the truth as it is in Christ Jesus" (Vol. II., p. 592): he "entertained no new principle of government, for he knew nothing of other lands" (*ib.*, p. 623); and again: "Nor did they [the Tai-Ping Christians] ever take any practical measures to call in foreign aid to assist in developing even the Christianity they professed" (Vol. II., p. 622). All this proves that Hung Siu-tsuen, though he professed faith in Jesus Christ, was not Europeanised, but remained a Chinese at the bottom of his heart.]

IN giving an account of the rise and overthrow of the Tai-ping Rebellion, it will be necessary to limit the narrative to the most important religious, political, and military events connected with it up to its suppression in 1867. The phrase "Tai-ping Rebellion" is wholly of foreign manufacture; at Peking and everywhere among those loyal to the government the insurgents were styled *Chang-fah tseh*, or "Long-haired rebels," while on their side, by a whimsical resemblance to English slang, the imperialists were dubbed *imps*. When the chiefs assumed to be aiming at independence in 1850, in order to identify their followers with their cause they took the term *Ping Chao*, or "Peace Dynasty," as the style of their sway, to distinguish it from the *Tsing Chao*, or "Pure Dynasty," of the Manchus. Each of them prefixed the adjective *Ta* (or *Tai*, in Cantonese), "Great," as is the Chinese custom with regard to dynasties and nations; thus the name *Tai-ping* became known to foreigners. The leader took the style *Tien-teh*, "Heavenly Virtue," for his reign, thereby indicating his aim in seeking the throne. His own personal name, Hung Siu-tsuen, was regarded as too sacred to be used by his followers. The banners and edicts used at Nanking and in his army bore the inscription, *Tien-fu*, *Tien-hiung*, *Tien-wang*

Tai-ping Tien-kuoh, or "Heavenly Father, Heavenly Elder Brother, Heavenly King of the Great Peace [Dynasty] of the Heavenly Kingdom" (i. e., China).

HUNG SIU-TSUEN, THE LEADER OF THE TAI-PING.¹

Hung Siu-tsuen² was the youngest son of Hung Jang, a well-to-do farmer living in Hwa hien, a district situated on the North River, about thirty miles from Canton city, in a small village of which he was the headman. The family was from the Kia-ying prefecture, on the borders of Kiang-si, and the whole village was regarded as belonging to the Hakkas, or Squatters, and had little intercourse with the Pun-tis, or Indigenes, on that account.

Siu-tsuen was born in 1813, and at the usual age of seven entered school, where he showed remarkable aptitude for study. His family being too poor to spare his services long, he had to struggle and deny himself, as many a poor aspirant for fame in all lands has done, in order to fit himself to enter the regular examinations. In 1826 his name appeared on the list of candidates in Hwa hien, but Hung Jin says: "Though his name was always among the first upon the board at the district examinations, yet he never succeeded in attaining the degree of Siu-tsai."

In 1833 he was at Canton at the triennial examination, when he met with the native evangelist Liang A-fah, who was distributing and selling a number of his own writings near the Kung yuen to the candidates as they went in and out of the hall. Attracted by the venerable aspect of this man, he accepted a set of his tracts called *Kiuen Shi Liang Yen*, or "Good Words to Exhort the Age." He took them home with him, but threw them aside when he found that they advocated Christianity, then a proscribed doctrine.

In 1837 he was again in the provincial tripods, where his repeated disappointment and discontent aggravated an illness that seized him. On reaching his home he took to his bed and prepared for death, having had several visions fortokening his decease.

He called his parents to his bedside and thus addressed them: "My days are counted and my life will soon be closed. O my parents! how badly have I returned the favor of your love to me; I

¹This account of the life of the great leader of the Tai-Ping is based upon the report given by Hung Jin, a relative of Hung Siu-tsuen to the Rev. Theodore Hamberg. Cf. *Visions of Hung Siu-tsuen and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection*, Hongkong, 1854. Mr. W. Sargent in the *North American Review* for July, 1854, Vol. LXXIX., p. 158.

²Hung Tiu-tsuen is the proper name of the leader of the rebellion. He aspired to found a new Christian dynasty which he called Ping-Chao, the Peace Dynasty. He assumed the title Tien-Wang, i. e., Heavenly King.

shall never attain a name that shall reflect lustre on you." After uttering these words he shut his eyes and lost all strength and command over his body, and became unconscious of what was going on around him. His outward senses were inactive, his body ap-



PAVILION OF THE IMPERIAL PALACE AT PEKING.

(From Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*,
Vol. II., p. 320.)

peared as dead, but his soul was acted upon by a peculiar energy, seeing and remembering things of a very extraordinary nature.

At first, when his eyes were closed he saw a dragon, a tiger, and a cock enter the room; a great number of men playing upon

instruments then approached, bearing a beautiful sedan-chair in which they invited him to be seated. Not knowing what to make of this honor, he was carried away to a luminous and beautiful place wherein a multitude of fine men and women saluted him on arrival with expressions of joy. On leaving the sedan an old wo-

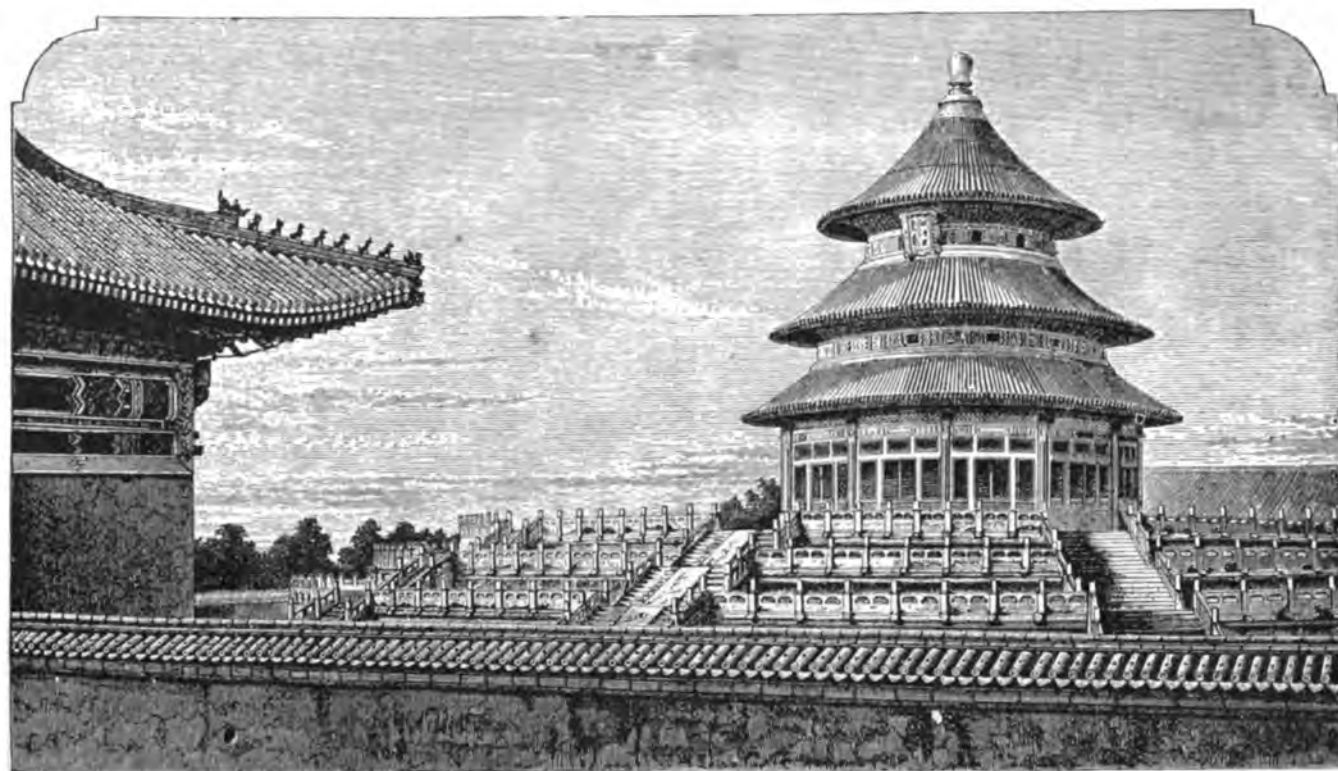


PAGODA IN THE IMPERIAL SUMMER PALACE, PEKING.

(Fergusson, p. 311.)

man took him down to a river, saying: "Thou dirty man, why hast thou kept company with yonder people and defiled thyself? I must now wash thee clean."

After the washing was over he entered a large building in company with a crowd of old and virtuous men, some of whom were the ancient sages. Here they opened his body, took out the heart



THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN, PEKING. (For description see footnote on next page.)

and other organs, and replaced them by new ones of a red color; this done, the wound closed without leaving a scar.

The whole assembly then went on to another larger hall, whose splendor was beyond description, in which an aged man, with a golden beard and dressed in black robes, sat on the highest place. Seeing Siu-tsuen, he began to shed tears and said: "All human beings in the world are produced and sustained by me; they eat my food and wear my clothing, but not one among them has a heart to remember and venerate me; what is worse, they take my gifts and therewith worship demons; they purposely rebel against me and arouse my anger. Do thou not imitate them." Hereupon he gave him a sword to destroy the demons, a seal to overcome the evil spirits, and a sweet yellow fruit to eat. Siu-tsuen received them, and straightway began to exhort his venerable companions to perform their duties to their master. After doing so even to tears, the high personage led him to a spot whence he could behold the world below, and discern the horrible depravity and vice of its inhabitants. The sight was too awful to be endured, and words were inadequate to describe it. So he awoke from his trance, and had vigor enough to rise and dress himself and go to his father.

Making a bow, Siu-tsuen said: "The venerable old man above has commanded that all men shalt turn to me, and that all treasures shall flow to me."

This sickness continued about forty days, and the visions were multiplied. He often met with a man in them whom he called his elder brother, who instructed him how to act and assisted him in going after and killing evil spirits. He became more and more possessed with the idea, as his health returned, that he had been commissioned to be Emperor of China; and one day his father found a slip on which was written "The Heavenly King of Great Reason, the Sovereign King Tsuen."

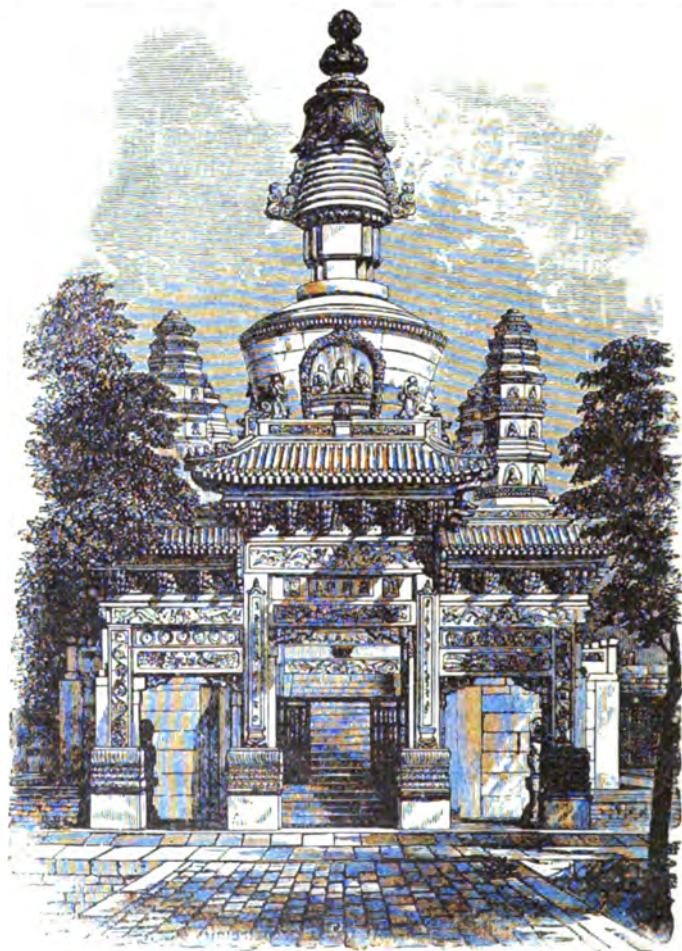
¹ Fergusson, from whom the cut on page 6;8 is taken, describes the temple thus: "It is situated close to the southern wall of the city in a square enclosure about a mile each way. From the outer gate a raised causeway leads to the temple, on either side of which are numerous buildings for the accommodation of the priests, which are approached by frequent flights of steps leading down to a park beautifully planted. At its inner extremity stands the temple itself, a circular building, three stories in height, with broad projecting roofs, the upper terminating in a gilt ball, directly under which stands the altar.

"The temple is raised on a circular pyramid, the three terraces of which are seen in the woodcut. There are several handsome gateways at intervals across the causeway, so arranged that from the entrance the circular temple itself can be seen through the long vista, framed as it were by them; and as the whole of the upper part is covered with blue tiles and gilding, the effect is said to be very pleasing.

"In the same enclosure is another temple called that of the Earth, where sacrifices of animals are annually offered to the gods, whoever they may be, to whom this temple is dedicated.

"These temples are said to have been erected about the year 1420, and, if so old, seem to be in a very fair state of preservation, considering the manner in which they are now neglected."

As time wore on, this lofty idea seems to have more and more developed his mind to a soberness and purity which overawed and attracted him. Nothing is said about his utterances while the war with England was progressing, but he must have known its progress and results. His cataleptic fits and visions seem not to have



GATEWAY OF BUDDHIST MONASTERY, PEKING.
(Fergusson, p. 308.)

returned, and he pursued his vocation as a school-teacher until about 1843, having meanwhile failed in another trial to obtain his degree at Canton. In that year his wife's brother asked to take away the nine tracts of Liang A-fah to see what they contained ;

when he returned them to Siu-tsuen he urged him to read them too.

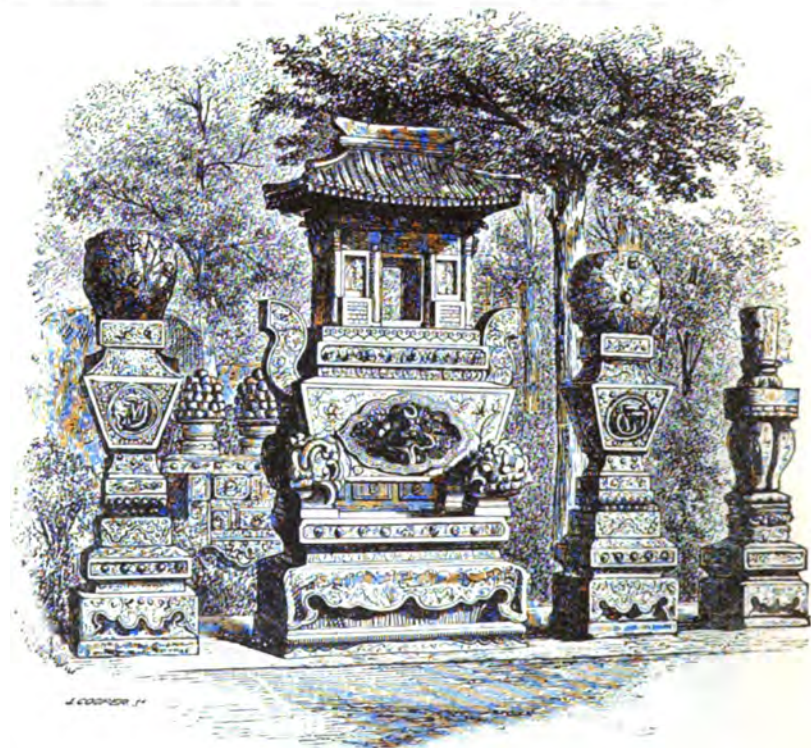
They consisted of sixty-eight short chapters upon common topics, selected from the Bible, and not exactly fitted to give him, in his excited state and total ignorance of Western books and religion, a fair notion of Christianity. As he read them he saw, as he thought, the true meaning of his visions. The venerable old man was no other than God the Father, and his guide was Jesus Christ, who had assisted him in slaying the demons. "These books are certainly sent purposely by heaven to me to confirm the truth of my former experience. If I had received them without having gone through the sickness, I should not have dared to believe in them, and by myself to oppose the customs of the whole world. If I had merely been sick, but not also received the books, I should have had no further evidence as to the truth of my visions, which might also have been considered as mere products of a diseased imagination."

This sounds reasonable, and commends itself as wholly unlike the ravings of a madman. Nevertheless, while it would be unwise for us to closely criticise this narrative in its details, and assert that Siu-tsuen's pretensions were all hypocritical, we must bear in mind the fact that he had certainly, neither at this time nor ever afterward, a clear conception of the true nature of Christianity, judging from his writings and edicts. The nature of sin, and the dominion of God's law upon the sinner; the need of atonement from the stain and effects of sin; Christ's mediatorial sacrifice; were subjects on which he could not possibly have received full instruction from these fragmentary essays.

In after days his conviction of his own divine calling to rule over China, seems to have blinded his understanding to the spiritual nature of the Christian Church. His individual penchant was insufficient to resist or mould the subordinates who accepted his mission for their own ends. But he was not a tool in their hands at any time, and his personal influence permeated the ignorant mass of reckless men around him to an extraordinary degree, while his skill in turning some of the doctrines and requirements of the Bible as the ground and proofs of his own authority indicated original genius, since the results were far beyond the reach of a cunning imposter. From first to last, beginning with poverty, obscurity, and weakness in Hwa, continuing with distinction, power, and royalty at Nanking and throughout its five adjacent provinces, and ending with defeat, desertion, and death in his own palace,

Hung never wavered or abated one jot of his claim to supreme rule on earth.

When his end was reported at Peking in August, 1864, thirty-one years after his receiving Liang A-fah's tracts, the imperial rescript sadly said: "Words cannot convey any idea of the misery and desolation he caused; the measure of his iniquity was full, and the wrath of both gods and men was roused against him."



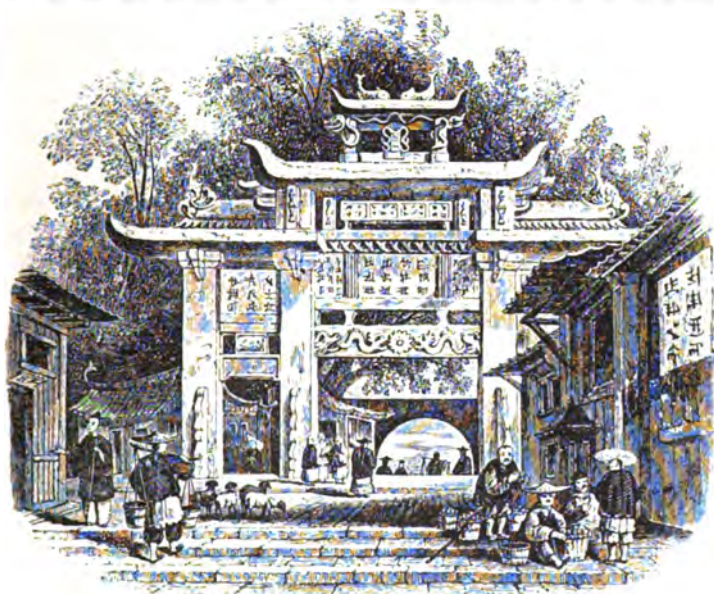
TOMBS IN A CEMETERY NEAR PEKING.

(Fergusson, p. 315.)

A career so full of exceptional interest and notable incidents cannot, of course, be minutely described in this sketch. After Hung's examination of the tracts which had lain unnoticed in his hands for ten years, followed by his conviction of the real meaning of his visions in 1837, he began to proclaim his mission and exhort those around him to accept Christianity. Hung Jin (who furnished Mr. Hamberg with his statements) and a fellow-student, Fung Yun-shan, were his first converts; they agreed to put away all idols and the Confucian tablet out of their schools, and then baptised or

washed themselves in a brook near by, as a sign of their purification and faith in Jesus. As they had no portion of the Sacred Scriptures to guide them, they were at a loss to understand many things spoken of by Liang A-fah, but his expositions of the events and doctrines occurring in them were deeply pondered and accepted. The Mosaic account of creation and the flood, destruction of Sodom, sermon on the Mount, and nature of the final judgment, were given in them, as well as a full relation of Christ's life and death; and these prepared the neophytes to receive the Bible when they got it.

But the same desire to find proof of his own calling led Siu-tuen to fix on fanciful renderings of certain texts, and, after the



PALOO AT AMOI.

A monument of reverence to ancestors. (From Fergusson, p. 317.)

manner of commentators in other lands, to extract meanings never intended. A favorite conceit, among others, was to assume that wherever the character *tsuen*, meaning "whole," "altogether," occurred in a verse, it meant himself, and as it forms a part of the Chinese phrase for *almighty*, he thus had strong reasons (as he thought) for his course. The phrase *Tien kwoh*, denoting the "Kingdom of Heaven" in Christ's preaching, they applied to China. With such preconceived views it is not wonderful that the brethren were all able to fortify themselves in their opinions by the strongest

arguments. All those discourses in the series relating to repentance, faith, and man's depravity were apparently entirely overlooked by them.

The strange notions, unaffected earnestness, moral conduct, and new ideas about God and happiness of these men soon began to attract people to them, some to dispute and cavil, others to accept and worship with them. Their scholars, one and all, deserted them as soon as the Confucian tablet was removed from the school-room, and they were left penniless and unemployed, sometimes subjected to beatings and obloquy for embracing an outlandish religion, and at other times ridiculed for forsaking their ancestral halls.

The number of their adherents was too few to detain them at home, and in May, 1844, Siu-tseun, Yun-shan, and two associates resolved to visit a distant relative who lived near the Miaotsz' in Kwangsí, and get their living along the road by peddling ink-stones and pencils. They reached the adjoining district, Tsingyuen, where they preached two months and baptised several persons; some time after Hung Jin took a school there, and remained several years, baptising over fifty converts. Siu-tsuen and Yun-shan came to the confines of the Miaotsz' in Sinchau fu in three months, preaching the existence of the true God and of redemption by his Son, and after many vicissitudes reached their relative's house in Kwei hien among the mountains. Here they tarried all summer, and their earnest zeal in spreading the doctrines which they evidently had found so cheering to their own hearts, arrested the attention of these rude mountaineers, and many of them professed their faith in Christ.

Siu-tsuen returned home in the winter, and was disappointed at not finding his colleague Yun-shan there as well as the other two, nor could he give any account of his course. It appeared afterward that Yun-shan had met some acquaintances on his road, and became so much interested in preaching to them at Thistle-mountain that he remained there two years, teaching school and establishing churches.

Siu-tsuen continued to teach and preach the truth as he had learned it from the books in his hands. In 1846 he heard of I. J. Roberts, the American missionary, living at Canton, and the next spring received an invitation to come there and study. He and Hung Jin did so; the former remained with Mr. Roberts about two months, giving him a narrative of his own visions, conversion, and preaching, at the same time learning the nature and extent of

foreign mission work in that city. He made a visit home with two native Christians, who had been sent to Hwa to learn more about him. They seem to have obtained good reports of his character; but others in Mr. Roberts's employ were afraid of his influence if he should enter their church, and therefore intrigued to have him refused admission just then. Mr. Roberts appears to have acted



ANCESTRAL WORSHIP IN CHINA.
A conical mound. (Fergusson, p. 314.)

discreetly according to the light he had respecting the applicant's integrity, and would no doubt have baptised him had not the latter soon after left Canton, where he had no means of support.



ANCESTRAL WORSHIP IN CHINA.
Grave with a horseshoe-shaped platform. (Fergusson, p. 314.)

At this time the political disturbances in Kwangtung seem to have greatly influenced Siu-tsuen's course, and when he reached home he made a second visit to his relative, and thence went to Thistle-mountain to rejoin Fung Yun-shan. Hung Jin states that before this date he had expressed disloyal sentiments against the Manchus, but these are so common among the Cantonese that they

attracted no notice. On seeing Yun-shan and meeting the two thousand converts he had gathered, it is pretty certain that hopes of a successful resistance must have revived in his breast. A woman among them also began to relate some visions she had seen ten years before, foretelling the advent of a man who should teach them how to worship God.

The number of converts rapidly increased in three prefectures



ARCHWAY OF THE GREAT WALL IN THE NANKAU PASS.
(From Fergusson, p. 324.)

adjacent to the River Yuh in the eastern part of Kwangsi, and no serious hindrance was met with from the officials, though there were not wanting enemies, by one of whom Yun-shan was accused and then thrown into prison. However, the prefect and district magistrate to whom the case was referred, finding no sufficient cause for punishment, liberated him; though the new sectaries had made themselves somewhat obnoxious to the idolaters by their

iconoclasm—so hard is it to learn patience and toleration in any country.

In many villages in that region the *Shangti hwui*, or "Associations for worshipping God," began to be recognised, but they do not seem to have quoted the toleration edict obtained in 1844 in favor of Christianity, as that only spoke of the *Tien-chu kiao*, or Catholics. The worship of Shangti is a peculiar function of the Emperor, and it is not surprising to be told by Hung Jin that the new sect was regarded as treasonable.

In 1848 Siu-tsuen's father died trusting in the new faith and directing that no Buddhist services be held at his funeral; the whole



SCENE ON THE YANG-TZE-KIANG.

Title-piece to *China: Land und Volk* (Stuttgart: Scheitlin).

family had by this time become its followers, and when the son and Yun-shan met them soon after, they began to discuss their future. The believers in Kwangsí were left to take care of themselves during the whole winter, and appear to have gone on with their usual meetings without hindrance.

In June, 1849, the two leaders left Hwa for Kwangsí, assisted by the faithful, and found much to encourage them in their secret plans in the general unity which pervaded the association. Some members had been favored with visions, others had become ex-

horters, denouncing those who behaved contrary to the doctrines; others essayed to cure diseases. Siu-tsuen was immediately acknowledged by all as their leader; he set himself to introduce and maintain a rigid discipline, forbade the use of opium and spirits, introduced the observance of the Sabbath, and regulated the worship of God. No hint of calling in the aid of a foreign teacher to direct them in their new services appears to have been suggested by any member, nor even of sending to Canton to engage the services of a native convert, though Liang A-fah was still living then. The whole year was thus passed at Thistle-mountain, and the nucleus



IMPERIAL PALACE IN THE TIGER MOUNTAINS, HU KIU SHAN.

Famous for its romantic scenery and many historical and legendary traditions.

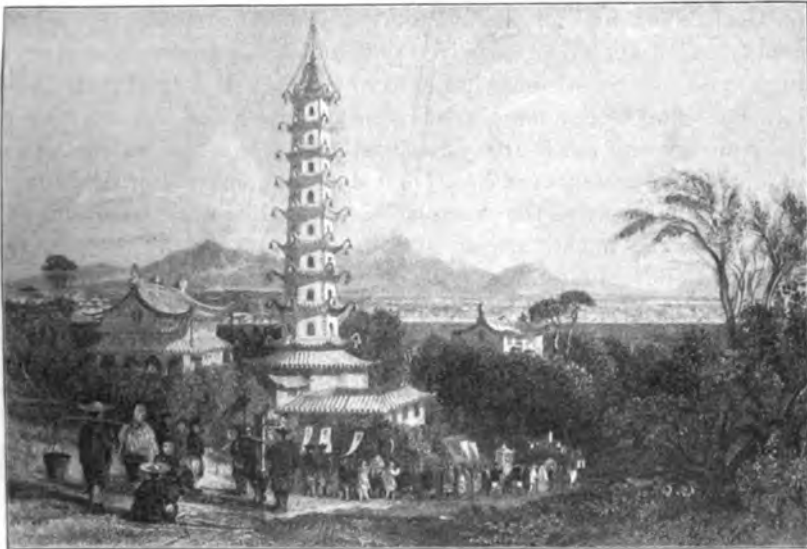
(From Scheitlin, p. 107.)

of the future force thoroughly imbued with the ideas of their leader, who had, by June, 1850, gathered around him his own relatives and chosen his lieutenants.¹

In 1850 the conflict had been begun by the followers of Siu-tsuen. In their zeal against idolatry they had destroyed temples and irritated the people, which ere long aroused a spirit of distrust and enmity; this was further increased by the long-standing feud

¹ The insurgents cut off the queue, allowed the hair to grow, and decided that all who joined the insurrectional movement should leave off the *chang* and the Tartar tunic, and should wear the robe open in the front, which their ancestors had worn in the time of the Mings.—Callery and Yvan, *History of the Insurrection in China*, translated by John Oxenford, page 61. London, 1853.

and mutual hatred between the *pun-tis* and *hakkas* (natives and squatters) which ran through society. Siu-tsuen and his chiefs were mostly of the latter class, and whenever villages were attacked and the hakkas worsted, they moved over to Thistle-mountain and professed to worship Shangti with Siu-tsuen. In this way the whole population had become more or less split up into parties. When a body of imperial soldiers sent to arrest him and Yun-shan were driven off, they availed themselves of the enthusiasm of their followers to gather them and occupy Lienchu, a large market-town in Kwei hien.



THE PORCELAIN TOWER AT NANKING.¹

(Dedicated to Yu Wang, i. e., the Venerable Father, viz., Buddha.)

This proceeding attracted to their banner all the needy and discontented spirits in that region, but their own partisans were now able to regulate and employ all who came, requiring a close adherence to their religious tenets and worship. This town of

¹ The Porcelain tower is one of the most remarkable monuments of religious devotion, of a picturesque and yet grand and dignified appearance, the beauty of which is praised by all those who saw it as the most perfect and richest creation of Chinese architecture. The numerous lanterns that hung from its eaves were carved of thin oyster shells which gave to their lights a surprising iridescence, when illuminated on a festive occasion. Twenty-eight pounds of oil were needed for the purpose.

The tower was destroyed by the fanaticism of the Tai Ping rebels who in their misguided, though truly Puritanic, hatred of idolatry recognised in it a symbol of paganism. Fergusson says of it that "the porcelain produced a brilliancy of effect which is totally lost in all the representa-

Lienchu was soon fortified, and the order of a camp began to appear among its possessors, who, however, spared the townspeople. The drilling of the force, now increased to many thousands, commenced; its vitality was soon tested when it was deemed best to cross the river and advance on Taitsun in order to obtain more room.

The imperialists were hoodwinked by a simple device, and when they found their enemy had marched off, their attack on the rear was repulsed with much loss. Like all their class, they turned their wrath on the peaceful inhabitants of Lienchu, killing and burning till almost nothing was left. This needless cruelty recoiled on themselves, and all the members of the *Shangti hwui*, loyal and disaffected alike, felt that their very name carried sedition in it, and they must join Siu-tsuen's standard or give up their faith. He had induced some recent comers belonging to the Triad Society to put their money into the military chest and to submit to his rules. One of his religious teachers had been detected embezzling the funds while on their way to the commissariat, but the public trial and execution of the man had served both as a warning and encouragement to the different classes who witnessed the affair. Most of the Triad chiefs, however, were afraid of such discipline, and drew off to the imperialists with the greater number of their followers. The

tions of it yet published," and the 144 bells "when tinkling in harmony to the evening breeze must have produced an effect as singular as pleasing."

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* describes it as follows:

"Beyond comparison the most conspicuous public building at Nanking was the famous porcelain tower, which was designed by the emperor Yung-lo (1403-1428) to commemorate the virtues of his mother. Twelve centuries previously an Indian priest deposited on the spot where this monument afterwards stood a relic of Buddha, and raised over the sacred object a small pagoda of three stories in height. During the disturbed times which heralded the close of the Yuen dynasty (1368) this pagoda shared the fate of the surrounding buildings, and was utterly destroyed. It was doubtless out of respect to the relic which then perished that Yung-lo chose this site for the erection of his "token-of-gratitude" pagoda. At noon on the fifteenth day of the sixth month of the tenth year of the reign of this monarch (1413) the building was begun. But before it was finished Yung-lo had passed away, and it was reserved for his successor to see the final pinnacle fixed in its place, after nineteen years had been consumed in carrying out the designs of the imperial architect. In shape the pagoda was an octagon, and was about 260 feet in height, or, as the Chinese say, with that extraordinary love for inaccurate accuracy which is peculiar to them, 32 chang (a chang equals about 120 inches) 9 feet 4 inches and .9 of an inch. The outer walls were cased with bricks of the finest white porcelain, and each of the nine stories into which the building was divided was marked by overhanging eaves composed of green glazed tiles of the same material. The summit was crowned with a gilt ball fixed on the top of an iron rod, which in its turn was encircled by nine iron rings. Hung on chains which stretched from this apex to the eaves of the roof were five large pearls of good augury for the safety of the city. One was supposed to avert floods, another to prevent fires, a third to keep dust-storms at a distance, a fourth to allay tempests, and a fifth to guard the city against disturbances. From the eaves of the several stories there hung one hundred and fifty-two bells, and countless lanterns adorned the same coigns of vantage. The strange form and beauty of the edifice, which might have been expected to have preserved it from destruction, were, however, no arguments in its favor in the eyes of the Taiping rebels, who razed it to the ground when they made themselves masters of Nanking."

defection furnished Siu-tsuen an opportunity to make known his settled opposition to this fraternity, and that every man joining his party must leave it. At this time the discipline and good order exhibited in the encampment at Taitsun must have struck the people around it with surprise and admiration, if the meagre accounts we have received are at all trustworthy.

About one year elapsed between the conflict near Lienchu and the capture of Yung-ngan chau, a city on the River Mei in Pingloh prefecture. During this period Siu-tsuen had become more and more possessed with the idea of his divine mission from the *Tien-fu*, or "Heavenly Father," as God was now commonly called, and the



PUNISHMENT OF SUSPECTED SYMPATHISERS WITH THE TAI-PING REBELS.

(From Scheitlin, p. 86.)

Tien-hiung, or "Heavenly Elder Brother," as he termed Jesus Christ. He began to seclude himself from the gaze of his followers, and deliver to them such revelations as he received for the management of the force committed to him to clear the land of all idolatry and oppression, and cheer the hearts of those pledged to the glorious cause.

In so large an army, composed of the most heterogeneous elements, it cannot be expected that there would be at any time much knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, on which its leaders based their assumed powers derived from the "Heavenly Father and Elder Brother"; but there certainly was a remarkable degree of

sobriety and discipline among them during the first few years of their existence. A most perplexing question, which increased in its urgency and difficulty as soon as opposition drove the rebel general to intrench himself at Lienchu, was temporarily arranged by forming a separate encampment for the women, and placing over them officers of their own sex to see that discipline was maintained. In doing this he allowed the married people as great facilities for the care of their children as was possible under the conditions of army life; but during their progress through the land in 1852 and 1853, much suffering must have been endured.

In 1852 the state and size of the army in Yung-ngan fully authorised the leaders of the revolt to march northward. Several engagements had given their men confidence in each other as they saw the imperialists put to flight; defeats had furthermore shown that their persevering enemy entertained no idea of sparing even one of them if captured. The want of provisions during their five month's siege within its walls further trained them to a certain degree of patient endurance; when, therefore, they broke through the besieging force in three divisions on the night of April 7, 1852, they were animated by success and hope to possess themselves of the Empire. . . . Nothing seemed able to resist the advance of the insurgents, and on March 8, 1853, they encamped before Nanking. It was garrisoned by Manchus and Chinese, who, however, made no better defence than their comrades in other cities; in ten days its walls were breached, and all the defenders found inside put to death, including Luh, the governor-general of the province. Chinkiang and Yangchau soon were dragged to the same fate, thus depriving the imperialists of their control of the Grand Canal.

When in possession of Nanking, Hung Siu-tsuen was formally proclaimed by his army to be Emperor of China, and assumed the style and insignia of royalty. Five leading chiefs were appointed to their several corps as South, East, West, North, and Assistant Kings; Fung Yun-shan was the Southern King.

The possession of Nanking, Chinkiang, and Kwachau, with the large flotilla along the Yangtsz' River west to Ichang in Hupeh, a distance of over six hundred miles, had entirely sundered the Emperor's authority over the seven southeastern provinces.

This rapid progress through the land since leaving Yung-ngan eleven months previously had spread consternation among the demoralised officers and soldiers of the Emperor, who, on his part, was as weak and ignorant as any of his subordinates. The sufferings of the people, except in a few large cities, were really owing

to the savage imperialists rather than to the Tai-pings. The latter grew in strength as they advanced, owing to indiscriminate slaughter on the part of their enemies of unoffending natives, and at last reached their goal with not much less than eighty thousand men.

Their position was now accessible to foreigners—who had been watching their rise and progress under great disadvantages in arriving at the truth—and they were soon visited by them in steamers. The first to do so was Governor Bonham in *H. M. S. Hermes*, accompanied by T. T. Meadows, one of the most competent linguists in China, who published the result of his inquiries. The visitors were at first received with incredulity, but this soon gave way to eager curiosity to learn the real nature of their religious views and practices. The insurgents themselves were even more ignorant of the foreigners than were these of the rebels, so that the interest could not fail to be reciprocal, nor could either party desire to come into collision with the other.

About two months after the cities of Nanking, Chinkiang, and Yangchau had been taken, garrisoned, and put in a state of defence by their inhabitants, working under the direction of Tai-ping officers, the leaders felt so much confidence in their cause, their troops, and their ability, that they despatched a division to capture Peking. Peking and the Great Pure dynasty were saved, however; while the failure of Hung Siu-tsuen to risk all on such an enterprise proved his ignorance of the real point of this contest. He never was able to undertake a second campaign, and his followers soon degenerated into banditti.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

APOSTLES OF ANNIHILATION.

BY FELIX L. OSWALD.

A CRITIC of Baron Herzen's *Memoirs* calls Nihilism the "Portent of the Nineteenth Century," and the phenomenon of a society for the promotion of reform by assassination has, indeed, only few precedents in the authentic history of the human race.

Human life is protected by the double safeguard of pity and fear. Strong passions may force their way through those barriers, but soon recoil, as from an abuse of their strength, and in its chronic sway over large numbers of our fellowmen the instinct of destruction indicates the influence of altogether abnormal circumstances.

"It would be a mistake," says Hippolyte Taine, "to suppose that the penchant for committing acts of physical violence is a characteristic of the ordinary soldier. The instigators of war are actuated by considerations of political expedience, its conductors by ambition, their subordinates mostly by compulsion, including that of poverty, or by the love of adventure and change."

An ill-paid army can be kept together only by extraordinary appeals to the instinct of approbateness, as in times of national peril, when a country's defenders become its idols; and men who brave the perils of homicide, aggravated by the risk of exile and ostracism, may well be considered exceptional beings of our species.

Like our political pessimists, the followers of the Sheik-ul-Jebel, the "old chief of the mountains," were subject to frenzies of antagonism against the established government of their country, and yet it would be a libel on human nature to doubt that their fury of destruction was a result, rather than a cause, of their anti-social tendencies. The secret of its strength must have a moral significance and was perhaps only partly revealed in the remark ascribed to Aristides at the "Council of the Fleet," that the "re-

sentment of a cruel wrong is apt to inspire even the weak with passions of portentous power." An explanation of that fact is foreshadowed in the physiological curiosum that the bite of tortured creatures tends to become venomous.

It is nature's expedient for protecting the vanquished and limiting the abuse of a victor's power. Subjugated nations, reduced apparently almost to *caput mortuum*, have more than once rallied with a vengeance, in the extreme dynamic sense of the word. But it should be added that devotion to imperilled social and religious causes has occasionally resulted in similar revolts. The Hussites, in the paroxysms of their religious excitement, hurled back armies in a manner that made monarchs tremble on their thrones. The fanatic leader of the Carmanite rebels had religious grievances to avenge, and the contempt of death evinced by his followers, appears to have reached a *ne-plus-ultra* rarely approached even in the fever of the French Revolution.

"What threats do you suppose could avail to intimidate such men as mine?" he asked the envoy of the Chalif; then summoning two of the sentries: "Stab thyself," he said, "and thou throw thyself from this tower-wall," and was instantly obeyed in both cases.

Thomas Muentzer, the apostle of the Peasants' War, was a religious, as well as political, enthusiast, and the chief of the remorseless Taiping insurgents used to harrangue his men in the style of a Mahdi, rallying the Jehade against the enemies of Heaven.

The remorseless brotherhood known as the Society of Thugs was at first inspired by similar motives. Their founder, the Rishi Aharvadya, was a native of southern Nepaul, at the foot of the Himalayas, where the creed of their ancestors had been worsted in competition with Brahmin and Mohammedan sects, and could avoid suppression only by shifts similar to those of the persecuted Waldenses. Hunted from mountain to mountain, the outlaws tried to conceal the secret of their survival, but were given no breathing-spell and finally evolved that doctrine of homicidal vendetta that made their name a terror to all Hindostan. The avengers soon declared war against the property, as well as the lives, of their oppressors. The temples of their goddess Kâli had been despoiled, and to redress her wrongs, bands of trained man-hunters roamed the country, throttling and burying their victims with the co-operative skill of well-drilled soldiers, and rifling their pockets to recover a portion of what the priests of the serpent-haired deity aught them to consider perverted wealth.

With squadrons of Mohammedan regulators at their heels, the murderous fanatics eventually crossed the border and transferred the scene of their activity to southern India, where they had at first been hospitably received as martyrs of religious persecution.

The tolerance of their new neighbors gave them a fatal advantage in pursuit of their practices. Buddhist pilgrims, Parsee merchants, and European travellers had to expiate the sins of Mussulman bigots, and for many years the British Government stood aloof, trusting to its maxim of letting the numberless sects of the great peninsula settle their own quarrels.

As a consequence, Thuggism became defiant; informers were threatened with death, and the highpriests of the redhanded brotherhood openly celebrated every successful raid of the "avengers," as they called their gangs of masked highway robbers. Mahâkâli ("Kâli the Great") inspired her devotees with oracles, demanding vengeance upon the despisers of her name. The peaceful re-establishment of her worship had, indeed, become more hopeless than ever. It implied sacrifices akin to those of the Moloch temples, and as obnoxious to the champions of civilisation as the practice of cremating widows and assisting religious suicide by the procession of the Juggernaut. The tendencies of the age were offensive to Kâli, and her frowns stimulated the campaign of retribution.

Even thus the "Assassins," or hashish-fuddled followers of the Sheik-ul-Jebel, became enemies of law and order, though their revolt had at first been a measure of self-defence, a protest against intolerable and unremitting persecution. Their vendetta, originally inspired by the cruelty of Mussulman sectarians, was ultimately directed against all dissenters whatever, as well as against all sorts of secular adversaries.

Jennar Pasha, the governor of the Lebanon, finally deputed a hundred dervishes to arouse the natives to a sense of their danger, having found by experience that "the madness of the assassins was arrow-proof," meaning that a campaign of extermination could not be conducted with physical weapons alone.

The managers of the crusade against Thuggism came to a similar conclusion. Sir William Jones, indeed, was obliged to admit that the epidemic of assassination could no longer be mistaken for a self-limited disorder; but, on the other hand, the truculence of such native chiefs as the Sultan of Hydrabad proved to defeat its own purpose. The friends of roasted and skewered bandits posed as martyrs, and often contrived to conciliate the favor of the anti-Mohammedan country-population. Banishment was found a mere

palliative. Emissaries of the exiled leaders returned to rekindle the smouldering embers of fanaticism.

But a remedy was at last found in the persistent agitation against the principles of Kâli-worship and the restless pursuit of actual criminals.

The masses of the country population were induced to join in the hue and cry, and the scattered remnants of the Nepaul refugees before long decided to return to the land of their fathers. The climate of the south provinces had become too hot for them.

And history may have to repeat itself in the campaign for the suppression of Nihilism, as it unmistakably repeated itself in the evolution of the strange doctrine that has defied ordinary methods of exorcism. It is a suggestive fact that the European seed-plots of anarchic fanaticism were for centuries the scenes of feudal practices tending to drive discontent to the extreme of a protest against all organised government whatever. A combination of political, social, and religious despotism had turned the scales against the dread of chaos, and made the lot of primitive savages seem a comparatively enviable one.

The regicide mania, too, was encouraged by the peculiar abuses of monarchical institutions and the vulnerable points of their autocratic forms. A mediæval potentate was something more than the figurehead of his state, something more important than a statue on top of a triumphal arch. He was often the very keystone of the structure and his removal could be warranted to result in far-sounding and far-rolling consequences.

"I'm the state," he could say with Louis XIV., in a sense illustrated at his death by a complete change of national politics. The removal of Philip II. would have established the independence of the Netherlands. The death of Frederick Barbarossa gave all southern Europe a breathing spell. The cause of the Servian patriots went under with the hero-chief Skanderbeg. As late as 1760 the removal, by death or capture, of King Frederick would have crushed the budding power of the Prussian monarchy.

Hence one of the two fundamental anachronisms of Nihilism,—its second fallacy being the hopelessness of an attempt to enforce primitive institutions upon our complex social conditions.

For the days of the One-Man power are gone to return no more, and the fall of a political housetop ornament may hardly be felt in the lower stories of the building. The policy of constitutional monarchies can survive an entire dynasty of monarchs.

The chief motive of regicide has, in fact, been largely elim-

inated. One might as well try to stop a steamer by target-practice at a flag that can be re-hoisted at short notice.

But the strange fact remains that the frequency of political assassinations has enormously increased within the last hundred years.

Has representative government missed its purpose? The truth seems to be that the manifestations of hereditary influences cannot be abrogated at short notice. King-murder, though restrained by the dread of barbarous penalties, had become a passion of the latter Middle Ages, and the partial removal of the restraint now brings deep-rooted tendencies to the surface.

Modern rulers, in fact, are expiating the sins of their predecessors. And the epidemic of regicide will perhaps continue to spread; but conspirators, who would refuse to admit the immorality of their plan, may at least consent to recognise its ineffectiveness.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE FAMOUS EGYPTIAN "BOOK OF THE DEAD."

The various compositions which the Egyptians inscribed upon the walls of their tombs and sarcophagi, their coffins and funeral shafts, their papyri and amulets, for the purpose of insuring the well-being of their dead in the world beyond the grave, are known to the world as *The Book of the Dead*, a complete translation of which by the great Egyptologist Dr. E. A. Wallace Budge has just been issued by the Open Court Publishing Co. The origin of this great collection of religious texts is shrouded in the mists of remote antiquity. The very title, *Book of the Dead*, is unsatisfactory, as it does not in any way describe the contents of the mass of religious texts, hymns, litanies, etc., which are now best known by that name; and it is no rendering whatever of their ancient Egyptian title: "Rꜥu nꜥu pꜥrt ꜥm hrꜥ," which means literally "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day." The name, however, is more satisfactory than that of "Ritual of the Dead," or "Funeral Ritual," as it has been called, for the compositions certainly do refer to the dead and what happens to the dead in the world beyond. The ideas and beliefs embodied in its texts are coeval with Egyptian civilisation; some of them are known to have existed in the fifth and sixth dynasties, or about 3500 B. C.; others date from the pre-dynastic period, and are the expression of the religious views of that prehistoric Northeast African race which formed the main indigenous substratum of the dynastic Egyptians. The book was old even in the reign of Semti, a king of the first dynasty, and was copied and recopied and added to by one generation after another, for a period of nearly 5000 years. It is the great national religious composition of Egypt, the embodiment of the history of its religious literature. Every pious Egyptian, whether king or plowman, queen or maid-servant, lived with the teaching of *The Book of the Dead* before his eyes, was buried according to its directions, and based his hope of everlasting life and happiness upon the efficacy of its hymns and prayers and words of power. It was to him the all-powerful guide along the road which, passing through death and the grave, led into the realms of light and life and into the presence of the divine being Osiris, the conqueror of death, who made men and women "to be born again."

The story of the decipherment of the Egyptian papyri and the Egyptian hieroglyphic script, while an exceedingly fascinating one, is too long to be told in this place; suffice it to say that scholars long ago succeeded in translating the Egyptian writings, and that the problems which remain are largely of a technical character and similar to those which confront students of the early forms of all historic languages. Several translations of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* have already ap-

peared in German, French, and Italian. A monumental edition of the hieroglyphic text, with English translation, hieroglyphic vocabulary, colored plates, and full critical and historical apparatus, by E. A. Wallace Budge, keeper of the Egyptian-Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, was also published four years ago by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. of London, and was favorably received by the learned world. The work was a bulky and expensive one, and beyond the reach of the general reading public. After its appearance frequent requests were made that Mr. Budge's English translation might be issued in a smaller and handier form. The complete English translation of *The Book of the Dead*, with introductory historical and critical matter, index, etc., was accordingly put up on the market, and the sale of the work in America placed in the hands of The Open Court Publishing Co., of Chicago, as sole agents. (Three Vols., Crown 8vo. Pages, 702. Price, \$3.75 net.) The collection of religious compositions here translated is generally known as the Theban Recension or edition of *The Book of the Dead*, that is to say, that edition of the great national funeral work which was copied by the Egyptian scribes for themselves and for Egyptian kings and queens, princes and nobles, gentle and simple, rich and poor, from about B. C. 1600 to B. C. 900.

The translation in the volumes under review is no mere reprint, but has been carefully revised and compared with the original texts, with the addition of many explanatory notes. To make the edition as complete as possible, more than 400 vignettes, head-pieces, tail-pieces, and marginal pictures taken from the best papyri have been reproduced. These vignettes are the pictures which the Egyptian scribes and artists made to illustrate the general contents of their chapters. They have been specially drawn for the books now published by the Open Court Publishing Company, and faithfully represent the originals in form and outline. The translations belong to the group to which, as we have noted above, the Egyptians gave the name "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," and contain also many introductory hymns and supplementary abstracts from ancient cognate works, rubrics, etc., which were intended to be used as words of power by the deceased in the underworld. Mr. Budge, who is one of the greatest living Egyptologists, has added to his translation popular chapters on the literary history of *The Book of the Dead*, on the doctrines of Osiris, and the Judgment and Resurrection, and on the general contents of *The Book of the Dead*. Everything, in fact, has been done to place within the reach of the student of history, philosophy, and religion, the material necessary to gain a thorough comprehension of the theory of life and immortality held by one of the greatest and most ancient races of the world.

AN INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Mr. Edward P. Cheyney, Professor of European History in the University of Pennsylvania, has given us a pleasant and readable book in his recently published *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*.¹ The work of correlating the intellectual, social, economic, and industrial phases of a nation's development with its political and military history, while distinctly indicated by Voltaire, remained the work of the last half of the present century, and has only lately found full recognition in the elementary educational field. Professor Cheyney's book, which is of this character and is especially intended for high schools and colleges, meets in a commendable manner the requirements which should be

¹ New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pp., x, 317.

exacted of such a manual. To bring the economic and social aspects of England's life into correlation with the other features of its historical development, he has added an introductory chapter on the general history of the nation from the beginning to the middle of the fourteenth century, speaking of its geography and natural resources (illustrated by a physiographic map), of the prehistoric, the Roman, the early Saxon, the Danish, and the late Saxon periods, the Norman Conquest, and the early Angevin Kings. For the same purpose, introductory narrative paragraphs have been prefixed to each chapter. Chapters II., III., and IV., consider "Rural Life and Organisation," "Town Life and Organisation," and "Mediæval Trade and Commerce." Here are treated the mediæval village and agricultural system, the life of the manor and the manor courts, town government, the gild merchants, the craft gilds, the non-industrial gilds, the markets and fairs, the trade of England with Italy, Flanders, and the Hanseatic league,—all illustrated

TABLE OF ASSIZE OF BREAD IN RECORD BOOK OF CITY OF HULL.

(From Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History of England*. After Lambert.)

by pictures of manor houses, agricultural scenes, mural architecture, charters of boroughs, gild rolls, maps of the location of the principal English fairs of the thirteenth century, of the trade routes between England and the continent, etc., etc. One of the illustrations of these chapters, viz., a table of assize of bread in the record book of the city of Hull, has been reproduced to accompany the present notice.

One of the most interesting chapters is that devoted to the Black Death and the Peasants' Rebellion (later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries). By the Black Death, one half of the population of England was destroyed, and the economic results of this great diminution of the population were very great: much land escheated to the great landlords on the extinction of families of free tenants and of villains and cotters; while, on the other hand, rents were greatly reduced, and the commutation of services, or the substitution of money payments for labor, became

general, as consequently did the manumission of service also. This chapter also is illustrated.

Chapters VI., VII., VIII., IX., and X. are devoted respectively to the following subjects: "The Breaking up of the Mediæval System," involving the economic changes of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as exhibited in the decay of the gilds, the growth of commerce, and of the great English trading corporations; "The Economic Expansion of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," where such topics as the extension of agriculture and the domestic system of manufactures are considered; "The Industrial Revolution of the Later Eighteenth and the Early Nineteenth Centuries," the age of the great mechanical inventions, of the factory system, of iron and coal transportation, of the decay of domestic manufacture, and of individualism run rampant; "The Extension of Government Control" in the shape of factory legislation, the modification of land ownership, sanitary regulations, etc.; and lastly, "The Extension of Voluntary Association," as seen in the history of trade unions, trusts, and co-operative enterprises. All these chapters are illustrated with reproductions of specimens of domestic, municipal, and trade architecture, maps of trade routes, of the distribution of population, pictures of inventions and inventors and of scenes in labor districts, etc., etc.

The quantity of instructive material offered in these illustrations and in the simple text accompanying them is great, while the materials for a more detailed study of the matters in question are indicated by bibliographies of the literature and sources, appended to each chapter.

ANARCHISM AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES.

Anarchism is as old as and indeed older than human civilisation. Primitive man was so weak that he could not face the surrounding dangers of life alone, and so he had to apply for mutual help to his fellowmen. Thus an association of all the members of the tribe became a necessity; but property was communistic, because it belonged to everybody and to every one alike. The anarchic state of mankind lasted for a long time, and underwent a change only when the institution of private ownership of property was established.

There are, however, still a number of peoples living to-day whose social conditions are anarchic in the true sense of the word.

A few extracts from the writings of prominent ethnologists will prove the truth of this contention.

Schoolcraft says of the Chippewayans: "Though they have no regular government, as every man is lord in his own family, they are influenced more or less by certain principles which conduce to their general benefit."

Of the unorganised Shoshones, Bancroft writes: "Every man does as he likes. Private revenge, of course, occasionally overtakes the murderer, or, if the sympathies of the tribe be with the murdered man, he may possibly be publicly executed, but there are no fixed laws for such cases."

From the Nagas of India we learn that they acknowledge no king among themselves, and deride the idea of such a personage among others; their "villages are continually at feud." . . . "Every man being his own master, his passions and inclinations are ruled by his share of brute force." And then we read that "petty disputes and disagreements about property are settled by a council of elders, the litigants voluntarily submitting to their arbitration. But correctly speaking, there

is not the shadow of a constituted authority in the Naga community, and, wonderful as it may seem, this want of government does not lead to any marked degree of anarchy." That is to say, anarchy is well at hand, but not in the form of a state of disorder.

The Greenland Esquimaux too are entirely without political control; having nothing which represents it more clearly than the deference paid to the opinion of some old man skilled in seal-catching and the signs of the weather. But an Esquimaux who is offended by another has his remedy in what is called a singing-combat. He composes a satirical poem and challenges his antagonist to a satirical duel in face of the tribe: "He who has the last word wins the trial." Indeed, a very simple and harmless way to settle quarrels!

Of one of the tribes of the northwest coast we read that "the Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government," a fact that has been confirmed by Professor Boas of New York.

Besides that form of "government," which indeed reminds us of "anarchistic principles, we find among primitive peoples another form of "law," which stands in a certain connexion to the facts mentioned. After the death of a tribal chief it is customary among many West African peoples that for quite a while a state of lawlessness and liberty prevails in such a way that everybody does as he pleases until a new chief is elected, who re-establishes the old order. It was the same in the Middle Ages, when after the death of the pope people were allowed to sack the papal palace, the Lateran. A similar outburst we may also recognise in the right given in Africa to young men who are to be circumcised, to steal and to plunder for a couple of weeks.

Among the natives of New Zealand, called Muru, people are in the habit of plundering everything in the house of a family where a crime has been committed or an unhappy event has occurred. This curious fact can, however, not be considered as a "punishment" or "revenge," because nobody sees any harm in it, nor does the house-owner conceal the names of the plunderers. The pillage reaches also sometimes those who had nothing to do with the crime, as it is reported by Captain Brown, who says that the home of a chief was sacked because his wife had committed adultery.

In Japan the legalised "sacking" is called "Harai." It was formerly practised in the houses of those who had lost a friend or a relative, until the custom was suppressed by an imperial edict.

These examples, which can be multiplied by many others, may suffice to show that a certain form of anarchism existed all over the world and still exists among many peoples.

There is but one way of dealing with the anarchism of a propaganda by action, viz., by means of an open and fearless discussion of the social problem, and not by violent measures and speeches, or by a suppression of free speech.

CHARLES L. HENNING.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

DOMESTIC SERVICE. By *Lucy Maynard Salmon*. Second Edition. With an Additional Chapter on Domestic Service in Europe. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pages, xxvii, 338. Price, \$2.00.

The perplexing problems of household labor in America have received exhaustive treatment in this large work. Miss Salmon's investigations rest upon informa-

tion obtained through a series of blanks sent out to employers and employees, mainly through Vassar alumnae and on the returns of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor. Almost every kind of information, historical as well as economic, is contained in the work, and the social and industrial advantages and disadvantages of domestic service, both from the standpoint of the employer and the employee, are thoroughly considered. The remedies which have already been advanced for the amelioration of conditions in this field, as well as the possible remedies which have not yet been tried, also are ventilated.

We learn from Miss Salmon's discussions that household service does not occupy an isolated position; through inventions and social changes it also has suffered its revolutions during the past hundred years, the main difference being that it has not yet been adapted to the changed conditions and has not been regarded as subject to the same general economic laws as other fields of labor. The main directions in which the solution of the difficulties of household employments lies are as follows: (1) The recognition of domestic service as a part of the great industrial questions of the day; (2) The removal from domestic service of the social stigma which attaches to it, and which formerly attached to physicians, lawyers, clergymen, and traders generally; (3) The institution of ways and means for taking both work and worker out of the house of the employer,—rendering necessary a simplification of household management and a greater flexibility in household employments, all of which are at present cumbersome and antiquated in character; (4) The putting of domestic employment on a purely business basis, which would render impossible the payment by the rich of high wages for unskilled labor, and also some agreement between employers as to standards of work and wages before classing domestic service as skilled labor; and (5) The introduction of profit-sharing, for the purpose of placing household employment on a business basis.

We have not the space to do more than indicate the nature of Miss Salmon's inquiries; it will be apparent, however, from the little said that the consideration of domestic service in the light of her researches would in time do much to ameliorate one of the greatest of existing evils. μ.

The fourth volume of M. E. de Roberty's series of works on ethics considered as elementary sociology has appeared. M. de Roberty is professor in the New University of Brussels and has written much on philosophical questions. His books are not easy to read, and it would be difficult to sketch his ideas in a few words. The reader may be referred, therefore, to M. Arréat's *Correspondence in The Monist* for July, 1901, where the system is outlined. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1900. Pages, 223. Price, 2 francs 50.)

We shall publish in a future number of *The Open Court* a translation of the Tai-Ping Canon, viz., the canonical poem of the Tai-Ping rebels, which was designed to replace and imitate the style of the canon of the Three Classics, the main educational book of Chinese schools, a translation of which has appeared in *The Open Court*, Vol. IX., No. 29. The Tai-Ping Canon is decidedly a Christian document, and will go far to disprove the assumption that the Christianity of the Tai-Pings was spurious.



PAGODA OF PEKING.

Characteristic of China, as exhibiting the state of decay into which public buildings are suffered to fall. (After a photograph.)

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AMERICA.

BY THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

I.

The age we live in is an island, grand
And beautiful and wonderful! Its clouds
Are pierced by mountain monuments of great
Immortal deeds. Its sunny hills are crowned
With Arts' proud temples, and the church-spires tell
Of golden vales where God hath worshippers.

Science is everywhere at work, and while
She buildeth wonders, upward to the stars
Goes a triumphal anthem evermore
From earth's green gardens and the ocean's shore.
With awe-filled souls we stand and look away,
Out on the deep, blue, limitless expanse
Of moving waters: backward to the past
The spirit turns, seeking some island fair
In the far-off horizon, upon which
The soul may rest its vision: looking down,
It sees the precious fragments that remain—
The splendid ruins of antiquity,
Beneath its feet. The searchers after truth,
Who find their joy in seeking hidden things,
Have sought them out with all the eagerness
Of children gathering the early flowers,
And from the dark waves drifting them away
Toward oblivion's midnight-mantled gulf,

Have rescued the rich treasures, and have learned
To read from them, as from a well-writ book,
The marvellous story of the continent,—
The birth and infancy of the New World,
And its advance through prehistoric times
Till it became adapted to the needs,
And fitted to supply the wants of man.

II.

Unnumbered ages have been borne away
To the great sepulchre, the mighty past,—
That glorious mausoleum where the years,
With all their good and glory, wrong and shame,
Lie down at last to the untroubled sleep,
When they have given back their life and bloom
And beauty to the Father from whose hand
They took them in the morning of their day,—
Since from the ocean's untold depths, and gloom
And grandeur, rose a New World. Strangely came,
From out the wondering waves, Atlantic born,
The new and mighty continents. All wild
And desolate at first, the billows came,
And sung their anthems grand along its shores.

III.

Ages of glorious seasons glided by,
And living sunbeams came, God's messengers,
To bid the sleeping elements arise
In wondrous forms of majesty and power,
On the prolific breast of the New World.
Forms followed ever by still higher forms,
In an ascending order built on law,
Forms which should be upbuilt through the lapse
Of countless generations by the power
And glory of Jehovah's love, to form
A marvellous pyramid of being, crowned
By an immortal soul, called man, endowed
With power to bend the lightnings to his will,
And make the wild waves and the waterfalls
The servants of his reason; and the stars,
And relics of existences whose births
Are lost in untold cycles, yield up truths

Hid in the tombs of time so long that naught
But an immortal soul could wrest them thence.

IV.

In the o'er-arching sky enthroned, sat one
Who guided ever the high destiny
Of earth and man, to keep them in the way
Of God's appointment. His inspiring name
Is victory's anthem to the aspiring soul—
Our language hath no more triumphal word,
The mind can grasp no more exalted thought,
Than Everlasting Progress !
Under his care and guidance, in his smile,
The vast and wonderful development
Of universe and system, earth and man,
With an unfailing movement has gone on,
And with increasing glory shall go on
Forever, rising ever in the scale
Of life and beauty, toward the great divine,
Eternal, perfect Parent of the Suns.

V.

The vales were carpeted with shining grass,
And larger verdure, and the hills were crowned
With most majestic forests.

Races rose,
Of strange-shaped beings, rudimental forms,
Leading the way like prophecies, to more
Exalted phases of existences, which
Would manifest more perfectly the love
And wisdom of their Maker.

Ages passed :
Those races flourished ; went from youth to age ;
Wrought out the work they were designed to do,
Then went to their great sepulchre, and left
In its vast solemn chambers all that now
Tells their amazing story to mankind.

Races rose o'er their ruins : earth and air,
And the blue moving waters were the homes
Of active life, in forms more wonderful
Than those which in his marvel-making dreams

Come to the poet. Every passing race
 Hath morning, mid-day, evening, and at last
 Its awe-inspiring burial and night.
 Each hath its special mission to perform :—
 He who created them makes naught in vain :—
 And each, when it hath played its destiny
 In Time's grand drama, goeth mournfully
 Down into Death's deep shadow and still vale.

VI.

Anon the Monarch of the Under-world,—
 Fierce King of Lava's realm of surging flame,—
 Roused from his slumber and in torturing rage
 Lifted great islands from the storm-tossed sea :
 Buildd majestic mountain ranges, wild,
 And high and marvellous. Filled lakes with fire :
 Wrecked life and loveliness. Hurled high in air
 Huge burning rocks as children play with toys,
 Shaking the mighty continents till all
 That on them lived were paralysed with fear,
 Or in dread chaos yielded up sweet life
 To the fierce demon !

Prince of awful powers,
 His name is Earthquake. In mid-world he dwells,
 And in his rock-bound prison feeds on fire,
 And dreams such dreams as none can ever know
 But he who dreams them.

But in all these dark
 And fearful episodes we still behold
 An over-ruling, guiding providence
 Of wondrous love and beauty. Oh ! think not
 That even here is aught unmerciful.
 Do not our sorrows herald in the dawn
 Of brighter mornings more replete with joy?
 So did the earthquake but entomb the life
 Which dwelt on earth, that in more perfect forms
 A glorious resurrection it might know,
 Into a world renewed and beautified
 By storm and darkness.

VII.

Look backward to its source : the solemn flow
 Of the mysterious mighty river, Life,

Whose Alpha, or Omega, or expanse,
No wizard hath pretended to unfold,
Is sweeping onward with the lapse of years,
And centuries and ages, to the deep
Unbounded ocean of a glorious
And indescribably grand destiny.
And we are portions of that Amazon
Of being: and each individual,
One of the living water-drops that form
Its never-resting billows: each great wave
A generation, sweeping grandly on
To Life's vast ocean.
Forever ebb and flow its mighty tides,
Bearing the fleets of progress on their breasts
To new achievements and discoveries.
Years are but moments in such histories.
But howsoever humble we may be,
As atoms in the universe of God,
Ours is the highest station in the grade
Of animate existence, and to us
He has assigned a mission to fulfil,
Of mightiest import.
There are sublime responsibilities
And solemn duties resting on us here;
Claiming fulfilment, and rewarding it
By clothing in habiliments of light
The Soul, and giving it a shining crown
Of everlasting glory, and a strength
And beauty, fitting it at last to be
Companion of the angels in their work
Of gracious ministry to human need.
To our own keeping priceless gifts are given,
In mental mines of gold and precious gems,
Exhaustless through eternity, though wrought
With utmost diligence, but yielding more
And more abundantly the rich rewards
Of the immortal treasures which they hold.

VIII.

The New World seemed abandoned to the sport
Of chance and chaos: changes vast and dread,
And mighty in the ruin which they wrought,

Swept o'er the land whose vales are now our homes,
 O'erwhelming growth and progress: changing back
 To dust the clay that life made animate
 With bloom and beauty.

Whole generations of old moss-grown trees,
 Children of ages of deep solitude
 And solemn grandeur, that had clothed their forms
 Of lofty majesty with leafy robes
 Of brightness and of beauty, years on years
 Whose story is unwritten, save by Him
 Who writes His record on the enduring rocks,
 Bowed to the winds and waters and went down
 To the long sleep of ages 'neath the hills
 Torn up and piled upon them, that should change
 The forests into coal-fields which would light
 In the far future, many a happy scene
 Of home and fireside, in a hundred lands
 Through coming life-times.

Birds of giant forms,
 And powerful pinions, and death-dealing beaks;
 And towering ferns and grasses with them went
 To the same mighty sepulchre and sleep.
 Fishes of varied colors and strange forms,
 Which played in clear bright streamlets and fair lakes,
 Or dwelt in secret caverns, lone and deep,
 O'erwhelmed and shrouded in their coffin clay,
 Lay down to slumber with the untold dead
 Of sea, and plain and mountain: wondrous forms,
 Whose fearful strength like the wild tempests owned
 No master but the King of Kings alone.

Vast lakes that mirrored all the gorgeous
 Cloud-palaces and mighty giant shapes
 That sylphs build on the azure plains of heaven,
 Broke through their mountain barriers and rushed on
 To mingle with the ocean, giving fields
 Of untold richness to the sun's warm smile.
 Those lakes are now the prairies. Little dream
 They who tread daily o'er them what they were
 In those time-hallowed centuries.

Yet now,

In this our own age the same work goes on
In the great inland seas: slowly, yet none
The less unceasingly and certainly.
And though in its brief life-time, human eye,
Unaided by the instruments which art
Hath blest the soul with, in its thirst to know,
Could note no change in their vast magnitude,
Still, with the lapse of unknown centuries,
They shall go back, to mingle once again
With ocean's waters. From its depths they came,
And to them they shall all at last return.

They too are emblems. When the child grows old,
How yearns the heart to find and feel once more,
The tender love of infancy's dear home,

IX.

Years followed years, and age succeeded age
Of mightiest changes, fitting this New World
To be the dwelling of a loftier race
Than yet had been upon its vales and hills.

And now the Earthquake, in his prison home,
Was fettered for a thousand centuries,
Striving from time to time to break his chains,
And showing that though bound he is not slain,
But lives and dreams of liberty and war,
While Man, the last and God-like one of all
The wondrous line from monad up to mind,
Makes here his empire.

To the New World came,
From lost Atlantis, and more distant climes,
And island habitations now unknown,
Invading hosts who made the land their own,
And turned it to the uses of mankind.
Builded huge castles; fortified great towns;
Reared monuments and temples; gathered gold
And gems from mountains; shells and pearls from sea:
And fruits and flowers, and fields of golden grain,
From the fair hillsides and the sunny plains.

X.

The peopled bosom of the New World smiled
In palmiest prosperity, nor dreamed
Of dread catastrophe impending near,
And waiting the appointed hour to fall
And overwhelm the continent.
But it was so: the cycle was complete,
The era closed. The equinoctial year,
Vast and mysterious, had reached its height,
And stood a moment, mid the watching stars,
Looking with pitying eye upon the world,
Then voiced the order to the waiting seas,
Of the far north to take their mighty way
Of deluge and destruction, toward the pole
O'er which the Southern constellations shine.

The New World woke as ever. The great sun
Rose as serenely from the gorgeous east,
Kissing the dew-drops from the blossoms fair
That in the soft grass nestled bashfully,
As he had done for ages. Leaping brooks,
Whose crystal waters, ever murmuring
Low dreamy melodies, to silver changed,
With every gush of sunlight that streamed down
Through whispering leaves and blossom-laden boughs:
And joyous choirs of bright-plumed singing-birds
Sang Eden orisons. The active world
Woke with its olden hum. The student bent
O'er the strange cypher and hieroglyph,
Seeking in science something to allay
The thirst that burned his spirit. He who tilled
The soil for his subsistence, went that morn
To his loved labor with the same free heart
And jocund carol that bemark him now.
And radiant maidens, singing joyous songs
Gathered wild blossoms and sat down to dream
Enchanting visions of swift-coming years,
Gazing away into the clear blue heaven,
Till they forgot the green world and drooped down
Amid the sweet-breath blossoms and dreamed on
In vision-lighted sleep of that bright world

Whose radiant beauty and exquisite joy
Steal o'er the spirit in its holier hours,
Filling the heart with heavenly happiness,
And such sweet melodies of love and faith
As make it feel the nearness of the realm
Of the immortal life: the kinship close
Of those who there delight to do God's will.

XI.

Such was the New World ere the mighty change
That now succeeded in its history.
Then the Storm-Demon spread his sable wings,
Hiding the blue sky and the awe-struck earth
With masses of impenetrable gloom.
His angry torches glimmered fitfully
Amid the thunder of the mighty guns
That heralded destruction. Then the rain
Fell on the earth's warm bosom. Day passed day,
Week followed week, and still the waters poured
In torrents from the windows of the sky.
Brooks swelled to roaring rivers and rushed on,
Strewn with the fragments of the total wreck
They left behind. At last, the mighty deep,
Rising to meet the fury of the storm,
O'erleaped its boundaries, and made the earth
Another mighty sea—a sepulchre!
The great waves in their madness fiercely tore
From their foundations the majestic hills,
And planted them o'er cities, hushing all
Of life, and joy and sorrow, hope and fear,
In the dark dread immensity of death.
The unbound ocean brooded o'er the earth
Like Night o'er Chaos, solemn and alone.

XII.

Years glided into years. The waters went
On to the Southern ocean, and once more
The New World felt the sun's life-waking smile.
The rainbow shone in heaven, God's great seal
Of glowing beauty. How we love to look
Upon its splendid glories when a storm
Is passing from the blue and beaming sky!

Over the graves of that primeval race,
Trode a new people. From the mountain lands
Whose heights o'er-topped the deluge and its woes,
In the more favored countries of the world,
Came when the love of conquest led them forth,
Adventurous men, and once more peopled o'er
This glorious New World; builded new towns:
Founded great empires: reared high monuments
That looked with silent majesty toward heaven,
As it did seem forever. Laws were made,
And gifted orators and poets stirred
The deepest passions of the human soul,
Rousing high aspirations and sweet dreams
Of coming glory. Lovely maidens twined
Wreaths of love's amaranth and myrtle bloom
Around strong manhood's warm and generous heart,
Which yielded gladly to the thralldom sweet,
While the enchanting, joyous melody
Of perfect happiness stirred all the strings
Of the heart's golden lyre.
Whene'er two spirits of like temper meet,
Love's angel, swift descending from the skies,
Ripples the waters of the heart's pure spring,
By delicate touches of his shining wings,
And soul responds to soul with songs of joy.
And fair-haired children played on mossy knolls
With clear sweet ringing laughter and glad hearts
All ignorant that life hath nights of tears.
So dreams man ever in prosperity,
And in the future sees but brighter hours,
And dearer pleasures than the present yields.
And there were gushes of child-warbled song,
And tales of thrilling interest, that waked,
And stirred to action bold aspiring thoughts,
And proud ambitions purposes to win
By persevering industry and zeal,
A place in Fame's immortal galaxy
Of gifted souls, which would outlast the years
Allotted to the spirit for its work.

Along the wilderness-shored Oregon—
In the Missouri's clime, and in the land

Of the Cordilleras—in the golden vales
Of California, and where lived and reigned
The unknown builders of Chi Chen—along
The lofty Andes, those majestic thrones
Of giant Condor and of mountain storm—
In the rich country of the Amazon—
Along La Plata, and on Chili's shore,
Nations sprang up and flourished.

XIII.

The generations followed as of old,
And peace and power seemed builded on the rock
Of perpetuity. The years passed on,
Till finally the clear and starry north
Was shadowed by a dark and threatening cloud,
Which moved with ceaseless march toward the south.
The savage Indian in fierce war-tribes came
From Boreal Asia, o'er the ice-paved sea,
As poured the mighty hordes of Goth and Hun
Into eternal Rome, and swept away
From their fair homes and happy villages,
The people who had built them : save amid
The vales of Mexico, where still remained
The Montezumas, great and powerful,
Waiting a future conqueror : and save
That garden of the Southern continent,
Where still the Incas reigned in strength and power.
The North was desolate ; its vast expanse
Was but a hunting-ground for roving tribes.
In Yucatan had perished a great race,
A gifted people ; yet their temples still
Survive decay : like old Cholula tell
The mournful story of those long-gone years.
And many an ancient relic tells its tale,—
Some touching legend of that earlier race.
And we have found in many a sacred place
Throughout the Western Hemisphere, the graves
Of those forgotten peoples, and have torn
Their mouldering bodies from the halls of death,
To learn their story from their crumbling bones.
We tread upon their tombs. The dust that formed
The mortal dwellings of their spirits here,

Into our forms is moulded : and the same
Atoms that blossomed in the past, bloom now
In other forms, in other creatures shine.
The mind, the bright Immortal Soul alone,
Is reproduced and multiplied in time.
Dust moulders back to dust. The spirit knows
No dissolution. It but recreates
Its human being and goes home to heaven.

XIV.

Again the march of centuries went on,
And hunter nations flourished and grew strong.
Then the wild warrior in his forest home,
Woody the fond dark-tressed maiden and looked up
Through the dim glory that fell on his soul,
To the Great Spirit's throne beyond the stars,
And uttered unto Him his simple prayer.
And council-fires were lighted, and young braves
Chased the free bison and the bounding deer
O'er hill and prairie : and the wigwam's smoke
Curled lightly upward to the smiling sky,
Beyond whose bright horizon they did dream
Of waking from death's sleep, to find a home
That never would be visited by pain,
Celestial hunting-grounds,—the Spirit Land.

And while the years went on, bold Northmen came
O'er the Atlantic from their far-off homes,
And traded with the Red Man, and bore back
The wealth the New World gave them for their toil.

XV.

Years glided into years, and 'mong the thrones
Of the stern empires of the elder world,
Wandered a glorious spirit. He had seen,
With the clear vision of philosophy,
Across the Western ocean, a New Path,
Undreamed of by the sages : they did mock
At what they deemed his worse than foolish dreams.
But his high spirit knew its destiny,
And, mastering every obstacle, revealed
To Europe's wondering princes the deep truth
Of his grand vision, realised at last.

Oh! there is something God-like in the dreams,
And toil, and tears, and suffering, and renown
Of the far-seeing, gifted souls who come
Like angel visitants from Paradise,
And walk among us. Ah! how oft unknown
In their habiliments of human clay:
How often wronged and tortured: trodden down,
Finding no rest but in a martyr's grave.
But they rest sweetly now. The world has done
Its worst: and soon in tears, repentance comes,
With gold and marble, and funereal hymns,
And mournful music, and dark waving plumes,
To make atonement for long years of wrong.
Death is the greatest blessing of the good.
The high, the gifted: when the star goes back
To its divine Creator, then the world
First learns how great a spirit it has scorned.
We mourn their loss, and yet for them rejoice,
For they are in a far more peaceful clime,
From which in life's serener hours they come,
And whisper to the spirit yet again,
The olden love they erst did give to us:
Warn us of evil: counsel us of good,
And bid us live and strive so worthily,
That we may join them when our work is done.
Time glorifies the past; and each year adds
Brightness and purity to all that we
Have loved, and still do love, though life's swift stream
Hath borne them from our worship, far away.
The sunlight tinges every cloud that made
Our spirits sad, and the sweet roses hide
Each thorn that wounded.

XVI.

Then from Europe came
To the New World Columbus had revealed,—
This wondrous land of promise and of hope,—
The White Man with his cultivated soul,
Learning and science, eloquence and art
To find new homes where with a freeman's hand,
And an unfettered conscience he might live
In larger liberty, a higher life.

But then as if to prove that savagery,—
The lust of conquest, and the greed for gain,
Defile all races of our human-kind,
Alike barbarian and civilised,
The men to whom Columbus showed the way,
Filled Mexico with carnage, woe and wrong ;
Peru with outrage, robbery, and grief,
And wrought destruction not to be described
In human language. Ah ! how terrible
Is murderous war, in all its murderous forms !

XVII.

Thousands of years ago, Humanity,
On eastern plains began her grand career,
Her march triumphal, westward round the world,
Each year, each century she has gone on,
Developing some new sublime idea :
Ascending in the scale of thought and truth :
Ennobling and untrammelling herself,
With each advance towards the setting sun.

Such was its destiny. The pale-faced race
Has driven the red warrior as he drove
From home and burial-place those who, ere him,
Peopled the lands of free America.
Fair is the White Man's future, but the race
Of the stern Indian bows to destiny,
And in its wasting desolation e'er
Moves slowly onward toward the deep abyss
Beyond the horizon where the Red Man's sun
Still lingers, shedding a faint radiance
Over the country he once called his home.

XVIII.

Filled with funereal gloom the aching heart
Lifts up its eyes with longings for the light,
And turns again toward the morning's gates,
Then smiles to see the glory of the dawn
Descending to the valleys. Now the soul
Ascends the mountains for a larger view,
And soars above them till the continent
Before its vision like a picture shines.

How marvellous and beautiful the scene !
Fields, farms and gardens, cities, villages,
Imperial States, and Nations still more vast !
And in the heart of North America,
The Great Republic. Elsewhere on the earth,
Each people dwells apart, in its own land,
And holds its rights by arms and fortresses,
And strategy and battle. Not so here :
But in this wondrous land all races seem
To find a common ground of harmony,
And dwell together as should brethren dwell,
In unity and peace, with equal rights.

What means this miracle? How was it wrought?
The marvellous mystery is quickly told.
This is the Palestine of the New Age !
To its fair fields the voice of God hath called
From all the leading nations of the earth
The brightest of their children, here to build
A living temple of Free Government,
The last and greatest wonder of the world.
Here Liberty abides. Here Law and Faith,
And Equal Rights, and Justice hold their sway,
Except so far as some invading wrong
Breaks in and baffles them till put to flight
By the roused people whose resistless power,
The common welfare ever may invoke.
For in America the people rule,
And choose their Kings to serve them, not to reign.
Thus they who in their native lands had feared
Their neighbors as their foes still meet them here
As equals, and become their warmest friends.

XIX.

Yet here in Freedom's Garden had been sown
The dragon's teeth of human slavery,
Breeding vast ills and bringing on at length
A trial of Free Government so fierce,
Prolonged and terrible that it was proof
To all the world that more than kingly power
May by self-government be held and used.
And thus has been assured throughout the earth

The final reign of Law and Liberty,
 With sovereign Justice and Equality:
 And by Coöperation, finally,
 Such bounteous prosperity that all
 May find supply of every righteous need,
 By honest industry.

Then will the dream
 Of Paradise Regained have been fulfilled!
 Then, learning wisdom from the Prince of Peace,
 The Nations will in Arbitration find
 A better safeguard of their rights, than war;
 And wealth and power their highest glory seek
 In the most faithful service of mankind.

XX.

Thus do the hopes of human liberty—
 Free State, Free Church, free conscience and free thought;
 And equal rights, protection and defence;
 Laws mightier than armies, order firm
 And well-maintained without the bayonet:
 Rest on the Great Republic, and depend
 Upon the future of America.
 And this high claim involves no disrespect
 Of elder nations, though their treasures
 Hold glories gathered through a thousand years,
 For the Republic is God's minister
 For human service, not a new device
 Of man for conquest and aggrandisement.
 So when the empires of the older world
 Salute the Great Republic, they confess
 Not the supremacy of other men,
 But the transcendent providence of God.

The eagle symbols His all-conquering Truth,
 The stars a knowledge of His sacred Laws,
 The bands the bonds of Human Brotherhood:
 And the fair hues the banner's folds display,
 The light and love of Unity and Peace!

Where'er these emblems tell of Liberty,
 And Law, and Justice, and Fraternity,
 And he who rev'rences, would name them all,
 He speaks the one grand word—America!

AN EVENING WITH THE SPIRITUALISTS.

BY LT.-COL. W. H. GARDNER.

I WAS sitting one Sunday evening in the smoking-room of the Parker House, in Boston, with my friend Judge G—. Having nothing better to do, we concluded to attend one of the Spiritual Circles which we knew met on this evening in that city.

We sent out and procured *The Banner of Light*—a paper entirely devoted to Spiritualism and kindred subjects—and from among its many *peculiar* advertisements selected at random a meeting which we thought might serve at least to pass away an hour or two agreeably.

A few minutes' walk brought us to the house where the meeting was to take place, and after ringing the door-bell we were admitted into a small, plainly furnished drawing-room connected with another room of the same size by large folding-doors. There were several persons seated about the two rooms when we went in, but the one who most attracted our attention was the "Medium."

This important personage in the proceedings was a delicately formed woman apparently about twenty-five years of age; she had light brown hair, very light blue eyes, and her skin was so waxy and anæmic that she looked almost like a corpse. Her features were classical in their regularity, but her emaciation and care-worn expression plainly showed that she had long been an invalid; her dress was of light blue silk that hung in wrinkles and folds about her wasted form and increased, if possible, the death-like pallor of her face. She was sitting in a large arm-chair near the folding-doors and had at her side a small table on which were placed a couple of bouquets and a glass of water. The Judge and I seated ourselves as near her as was convenient and awaited in silent expectation the commencement of the ceremonies.

People came dropping in by twos and threes, some giving each other tokens of recognition; others, like ourselves, evidently stran-

gers to all present. After the rooms were filled and a small admission fee had been collected from each person, the bright glaring gas was toned down to "a dim religious light," and a lady seated at a parlor organ in the back room commenced playing very softly some plaintive hymn in a minor key; gradually the trembling tones hushed to a murmur so faint that the listening ear could scarcely detect the slightest sound, when the "musical silence" was broken by a deep sighing inspiration from the "Medium," which was repeated at intervals of a few seconds, until she sank back in her chair with her arms outspread, in an apparently cataleptic condition; her extended arms gradually fell, until they rested motionless upon the arms of the chair, and her vacant staring eyes were covered by the lids for a short time as in sleep; when suddenly she started from her reclining attitude and sat upright, her face assumed an animated expression, she looked around the room with her eyes full of intelligence, and with a voice apparently belonging to a child ten or twelve years of age she said:

"How do you do everybody? Willie is glad to see you all here to-night, and so are those who are with him; they say it pleases them to know that even amid the cares of earth their relatives and friends think of the Spirit land and the dear ones who have gone there before them.

"One comes with Willie to-night who says he came to see *that* lady"—pointing to a young woman dressed in deep mourning who sat near. "He says that he has often come here to tell her that she must stop grieving because he went to the Spirit land and left her alone; he says he is very happy and she must try and be happy too, and very soon they will meet again when there will be no more parting, no more sickness, and no more sorrow; he says that in life he was her husband."

From remarks made by persons near this lady we learned that her husband had recently died, that he was a Spiritualist and had formerly attended this circle, but that his widow could never be persuaded to attend their meetings until to-night. The poor creature appeared crushed to earth, her swollen eyes seemed—

"To weep a loss forever new,"

and her agonised face and heaving bosom told truer than words could tell the story of her bitter sorrow.

The "Medium"—Willie, as she called herself—then turned toward an old man who stood near the door and said: "There is a little tiny boy here only so high"—indicating his supposed height

from the floor with her hand—"he says he came to see Grandpa and tell him to be a good boy," to which the old man replied, while tears filled his eyes: "Yes, I knew his spirit was here, for I have felt his little hands drumming on my shirt front as he used to do in life every time I took him in my arms."

The "Medium" then spoke to other persons in the two rooms delivering so-called messages from friends in the Spirit world, the most of them of the same general character as those already detailed; some of them however appeared to be of a more personal or specific nature, for in two or three instances she called the person to her and gave the communication in a low whisper: one of those whispered messages was given to a gentleman who sat next to the Judge. The "Medium" said: "There is a spirit here who wishes to speak to *that* man"—indicating the person addressed with her finger.—"He says that you have the care of a stoopy old man with white hair who was his father; he says the old man will soon come to the Spirit land, and he says he has something more to tell you that he wishes no one else to hear;" to which the gentleman quickly replied: "Tell it aloud, I have nothing to keep secret."

The "Medium" then said: "He says it is about the burning of Mr. Coffin's store," whereupon the gentlemen cried out, "Hold on!" and quickly made his way to the medium who gave him the remainder of the message in a low whisper. When he returned to his seat, he turned to my friend and said: "I am almost an entire stranger in this city, and in this house I do not see one person whom I know, or who I believe knows me; to-night is the first time I ever visited this Spiritual circle, or any other meeting of Spiritualists; and yet this woman has not only told me truly of the dead and buried past, but I think she has accurately predicted the future, for"—he continued—"I have been appointed guardian to my wife's father, on account of his great age and infirmities, and he now lies at my house so ill that he cannot possibly recover."

The "Medium" then turned toward us and said: "There is a spirit here to speak to that man,"—pointing toward the Judge. "He is a tall man with blue eyes, light hair, and long reddish beard. He says his name is L——," slowly spelling out the name letter by letter. "He says he is glad to see that you have been led to seek for the light; don't be weary in the search, and soon your doubts will vanish, and the truth will be manifested to you; he says you are now threatened by a great calamity, but do not fear, as it will eventually turn out to your advantage."

The "Medium" then delivered an address or sermon to an elderly lady in the room, purporting to come from a daughter in the Spirit land, which seemed to be a conspectus of the creed of the Spiritualists of the present day, after which she dropped into a deep sleep—apparently of exhaustion—and the meeting broke up.

As we were walking homeward, the Judge said that L——, who was supposed to have dictated the communication to him to-night, and himself had been intimate friends from their boyhood up to the time of L's. death, a few weeks ago. L. was a man of extensive reading and of considerable scientific attainments, and he had been thinking of him nearly all the evening, for they had often conversed upon Spiritualism, though L—— was more inclined to believe in Materialism than in the doctrine of the Spiritualists. "Though"—he continued—"this evening's experience is so extraordinary as almost to seem miraculous, yet there are two or three circumstances in my life that I regard as more wonderful still; and I will relate them to you with the hope that you may be able to explain them without calling in any other *Deus ex machina* than the well-known mental powers.

"After I left College"—continued the Judge—"I was book-keeper in my father's store in the town of Lynn, and though we had a large fire-proof safe in the office yet it was one of the old-fashioned kind, without the combination lock, and so I used to take out the money and valuable papers and deposit them in the bank every evening before it closed.

"One Saturday night I found I could not balance my books by just ten dollars, and though I spent the whole of the next day—Sunday—going carefully over all the transactions of the week, it was all in vain; what had become of the ten dollars was a riddle that I was not Oedipus enough to read; at length tired out and disgusted with the matter, I went home late at night and went to bed, but I had scarcely lain down when my actual surroundings disappeared and I plainly saw *myself* standing at the bank counter giving into the teller's hands my moneys, notes, and bank book; the amounts of deposit were written upon a little abstract, showing first the amount of specie deposited, then the amount in bank notes, and lastly the amount in private notes, and there on that abstract given in by my actual self the Thursday before, I plainly saw the total amount of "paper" carried out *ten dollars less* than the sum of the notes actually footed up. My dream, or whatever you may please to call it, made such an impression upon my mind that on Monday morning as soon as the bank was opened, I went to the

teller and told him where the mistake was, and upon an examination of the notes deposited, it was found that my dream was correct: the teller had counted the specie and bank notes but had not taken the trouble to verify my statement of the total amount of private "paper" deposited.

"The next occurrence is more singular still. I had always carried one key of the safe, the other being deposited in the bank for security: One afternoon before the money had been taken to the bank my father came in and got the safe key from me and took out the books to examine them, and whilst he was looking over them I went out of the store; when I returned, a half an hour or so afterward, father was gone; the books were on the desk, but the safe door was locked and the key was not in it. I speedily hunted him up and asked him for the key, but he neither had it nor could he give me any account of it; this was very vexatious as it involved the necessity of carrying all the books and valuables to the bank each night, for there was no knowing into whose hands the missing key had fallen. The affair was at once placed in the hands of a skilful detective but each time he met me it was with the same blank report, that not the slightest clue had been obtained as to who had the missing key.

"Nearly two weeks had passed since the key was lost, when one night I went to bed more than usually worried about the matter, for it had now become necessary either to get a new safe or have the lock so altered that the old key would not fit it. I am conscious of lying awake a few minutes puzzling my brains over the mysterious disappearance of the key and then, as in the former instance, my surroundings vanished and *I distinctly saw myself* standing at the desk in the counting-room and my father come in and ask me for the safe key, as he did on the day it was lost; I saw him unlock the safe, take out the books and examine them, and while he was doing this I saw myself go through the store and start down street; then I saw my father shut and lock the safe door and with the key in his hand go down into the basement and examine some goods which were piled up on shelves on either side of the gas-jets. The basement was not lathed and plastered, and across from one flooring joist to another some boards had been nailed at intervals, forming shelves. After father had examined the goods, I plainly saw him stand abstractedly a few moments gazing upwards and then suddenly reach up and place the safe key upon one of those dusty unused shelves, and immediately afterwards come up from the basement and pass through the store into the street. This

vision could have occupied but a very few minutes, as the town clock was striking the hour of eleven when my consciousness returned, which was less than ten minutes from the time I had gone to bed.

"The next morning I was nearly wild with impatience to see if my vision had told me correctly, and as soon as father came into the store I said to him, 'I think I know what you did with the lost safe-key'; and without further words I asked him to come with me down into the basement and said: 'After you had looked over the books and left them on the desk you locked the safe-door and took the key in your hand and came down to examine the goods on those shelves, standing here;' 'You are right,' said he; 'And now,' said I, 'can you recall where you placed the key?' After reflecting a moment, 'Yes!' he said, *and reaching up he took the key from the very spot where I had seen him place it in my vision.*

"Both of the circumstances I have just related occurred years ago, when I was a much younger man, and I thought that my hard experience during the civil war and since, had broken up the habit of 'seeing visions and dreaming dreams,' when on the first of September, 1871, I had revealed to me in a dream or vision all the horrors of the great fire in Chicago, and that too, more than a month before it occurred. The date is accurately fixed in my mind by a letter from my brother, which was written in Chicago and dated August 29th, and was received by me on the morning of the first of September. The letter contained a draft and a request for me to renew the fire insurance policy on his property in Chicago. Pressure of other business caused me to neglect his request during the day, and I went to bed with the neglected duty on my mind. I had rooms then in Mt. Vernon street back of the State House; it was a still, sultry night, and I tossed around a long time before getting to sleep; after I did, I seemed to be awakened at once by an alarm of fire. Dressing hurriedly, I went from the house into the street, where for a time I was bewildered by the strangeness of my surroundings; by and by I recognised that I was in *Chicago* standing in front of my brother's store on N. Clark, between Indiana and Illinois streets. Looking southward the whole city in that direction seemed to be burning; tongues of flame leaped over the tops of the highest buildings and were absorbed in the inky clouds of smoke rolling above. A motley throng of people filled the streets, a few in carriages, but the most on foot; many of them were only partially clothed and some were barefooted and in their night-dresses, all having in their arms or hands some little me-

mento, or article of value, hastily snatched from the destroying element; the lurid light of the burning city lit up the terror-stricken faces of the multitude, and above all the noise and confusion I could plainly hear the roaring and crackling of the flames as they were swiftly borne along by the fierce wind. After a short time my brother came up N. Clark street, his hands and face soiled with smoke and soot, and looking at the poor wretches who had lost their all I distinctly heard him say: 'My God this is terrible!' He unlocked the store and went inside, but shortly came out again and hurried down the street; some time elapsed and the roaring grew nearer and louder, and ever and anon I could hear the crash of a falling wall; the light grew brighter and brighter and I could plainly see showers of sparks and burning fragments borne aloft by the gale to add to the destruction. The crowd of people still increased and the panic seemed to grow greater every moment; when along towards morning, as it appeared to me, my brother again entered the store and said excitedly to the clerks and porters—who had come in while he was gone—'Save what you can men, the fire has crossed the river and Chicago has gone up.' At this time my distress and anxiety were so great that I awoke, but the horrible realness of the vision made such an impression upon me that I at once wrote to my brother about it and of course got laughed at for my trouble, though I assure you I lost no time in having his fire insurance policy renewed.

"Now before you attempt to explain any one of these cases, I wish to assure you, that just as I have related them they are *literally* and *circumstantially true in every respect*: and moreover I will inform you that at the times of their occurrence, I was in sound and vigorous health; I have never suffered from dyspepsia and am not as far as I know a somnambulist or given to fancies or hallucinations."

"Well Judge," I said, "the cases which you have related as having occurred in your previous experience are certainly more remarkable than anything we have seen or heard to-night; they are cases which the Spiritualists would magnify, mystify, and render inexplicable under the wonderful term "Clairvoyance," but if you will bear with me while I try to explain to you a little of the physiology of the brain and nervous system I think you will readily see that all of these cases are explicable by well-known laws of cerebral action."

"The nervous system is a highly complex machine consisting chiefly of cells, tubules and blood-vessels joined in groups or gan-

glia by connective tissue: Some of these groups of cells, ganglia, or nerve centres *originate*, or at least *preside* over muscular contractility, some over tactile sensation, and some are highly differentiated into complex apparatuses which take cognizance of special excitants such as light, sound, odors, and taste; the nerve-centres are all connected to each other and to every part of the body by the nerve-tubules which correlate and combine the various portions of the nervous system into one composite organ. At no one time is the *whole* nervous system, or the *whole* brain, in a condition of general activity; but periods of rest and activity alternate, the duration of activity and of rest varying with the peculiar structure of each particular ganglion and the special *habit* in each individual case: the term *habit* here being limited to mean, the preferable exhibition of vital activity through one particular channel or set of organs *from frequent repetition*. The state of activity or rest of any particular nerve-centre, ganglion, or cell, depends very greatly on the quantity and quality of the blood furnished; the blood supply being to a large extent governed by the force and frequency of the heart's contractions, and the calibre and patency of the vessels carrying the blood to and from the part; both of these factors being largely under the control of the sympathetic system of nerves, and varying not only with the conditions of the organs themselves, but also from stimuli or irritants reflected to them from contiguous or even remote organs.

"The brain, as well as every other part of the nervous system and indeed every organ and tissue of the whole body, requires for the proper performance of its functions, a plentiful supply of oxygenated blood. In sleep there is a diminished blood supply to the brain, and the functions of its various parts are more or less in abeyance, but while most of the brain may be locked in sound sleep, from receiving a *diminished* supply of blood, one or other ganglion may receive its *regular* supply or a *larger* supply, and be as active and vigorous or even *more* active than if the whole organism were fully awake; if therefore the sensorium and the nerve-centres that preside over muscular motion receive a *diminished* blood supply, while the comparing and ideational centres receive a larger supply, the function of reasoning might be properly carried on, though the individual would be totally unconscious of it. This is not an unusual mental condition and many remarkable cases of it are on record: I recall one very similar to the first 'dream' you have related, which is cited in Dr. Abercrombie's work on the *Intellectual Powers*, and is quoted from there in 'De Boisement's

Rational History of Hallucinations; as near as I can recollect it now, it is as follows :

“The cashier of one of the banks in Glasgow was at his desk one busy day, when a man came in and presented a bill for six pounds, upon which he demanded immediate payment: he made so much noise and *stuttered* so horribly that the cashier at once paid him, to get rid of him, but being hurried did not note the transaction on the day-book; at the close of the year, some months afterwards, the books would not balance by exactly that amount. The cashier spent several days trying to find the missing six pounds, but without success. At length one night he went home and went to bed and then dreamed that he was at his desk, that the *stuttering* man came in and demanded payment of six pounds and that he quickly paid him *and did not enter the transaction on the day-book*; the next morning it was discovered that the transaction had not been entered on the day-book, though the circumstance was recollected by all, when associated with the *stutterer*.”

“This is an instance almost identical with your first ‘dream’ and the explanation is the same in both cases. The attention had been painfully concentrated on one subject for so long a time that even in partial sleep the active ideational centres still dwelt upon it, and at length when the sensorium was benumbed and did not present external impressions to divert the thoughts, some associated idea arose, which recalled the whole transaction.

“The explanation of your second ‘dream’ is not materially different, and though it seems very mysterious as you have related it, there are undoubtedly circumstances which would throw light upon it, if you could remember them in detail; for instance: On the day the safe key was lost, and you had searched in all the places it was most likely to be found without discovering it, you had probably requested your father to recount minutely where he went, and what he did, from the time he left the counting-room until you met him again; he or some of the employees of the establishment would recollect that he went down into the basement; his or your knowledge that goods kept on certain shelves in the basement were getting low or needing inspection at the time would lead you to think that your father went down into the basement to attend to this business; and from where he stood it is probable that the shelves nailed to the flooring joists came into plain view. In your fruitless searches after the missing key, you had no doubt gone down into the basement with your father more than once, had stood where he stood and looked over the stock, had

seen the shelves overhead, and indeed acted over all the circumstances except placing the key on the shelf.

"In the mental condition which we have spoken of, if the mind is under the influence of a *dominant idea* it is often more vigorous when the body is inactive than at other times—the famous musical composition called 'The Devil's Sonata' was composed by Tartini when asleep, after trying for hours when awake to write a composition for the evening's performance; and Coleridge's 'Kublai Khan' he said, was the recollected fragment of a long poem which he composed in his sleep after he had been reading Marco Polo's account of this *crème* of Tartars: Your mind, when you went to sleep, was in a very similar condition to theirs, and it is probable you would have dreamed something about the key; sleep only supplied the missing link in your chain of reasoning, which would in all probability have been united the next day when awake.

"Your dream about the fire in Chicago is what our Spiritual circle to-night would call a wonderful case of *prevision* or *prophecy*; yet I do not think there is anything wonderful or supernatural about it. When you went to bed the night after receiving your brother's letter your mind was occupied with this neglected business, which concerned insurance against fire for him in Chicago; and nothing is more natural, under the circumstances, than that you should dream of fire; the items of your brother's letter, together with your personal acquaintance with the topography of the city of Chicago and a vivid imagination, undoubtedly supplied the details of the dream, for having been for some years a resident in Chicago you knew that a great fire had been predicted by many people in that city, who had long looked upon the shanties around De Coven and Jefferson streets and the rookeries known as 'Conley's patch' as tinder boxes which were some day to set the city on fire; moreover it is more than probable that with your recollection of the 'dream' you have *assimilated* some of the details which were so graphically described in the newspaper accounts of the fire, for it is a law of mental action that similar events or impressions registered in the memory, especially if contiguous in time or locality, are so constantly associated that they frequently become identified.

"The so-called 'Communications from the Spirit Land' given by this 'Medium' to-night we do not know enough about to judge accurately how largely they are due to intentional deception, and how largely to that species of cerebral activity called 'mind reading,' or more scientifically 'thought transference'; for if we rid our minds of all ideas of sentiment, and eliminate from the ques-

tion the adjuncts of the darkened room, the low plaintive music, and the seeming (or actual) trance as having no necessary connexion with the matter, it will then seem only natural that a person living in the same community should be cognisant of the death of a man so well known as Mr. L——, and it is highly probable that as you and Mr. L—— were intimate friends, she had seen you and L—— together more than once, and recognising your face, L—— was at once recalled to her mind; or possibly the conception of the personality of Mr. L—— having been formed in *your* mind, might have been transferred to the mind of the medium, on the principle of "thought-transference" before mentioned. Of the other messages, or the *whispered* message concerning the fire in Mr. Coffin's store, we have no means of determining whether there was any secret to be told, whether those people were *confederates* of the medium, or whether, as I have before said, her mind was in sympathy (*en rapport*) with theirs, and she was thus enabled to tell the thoughts in their minds on the principle of 'thought transference'; but surely either supposition is more consonant with experience and reason, than calling in the aid of departed spirits, which gives as a so-called explanation only an improbable and extravagant supposition, and a supposition that does not explain anything, but only makes the occurrence more of a mystery.

"One great fault with even scientific men is the habit they have inherited from their ancestors, of looking at all phenomena they cannot readily explain as *mysterious* or *supernatural*. And this fault is especially prominent in regard to those intricate chemico-vital phenomena in animal bodies about which philosophers from Thales down to Herbert Spencer have puzzled their brains for explanations and built up systems only to be demolished by the more extended observations and larger generalisations of later generations.

* * *

"If we go to either the most bigoted theologian, or the most advanced materialist, and ask them the question, 'What do you mean by "Spirit" or a "Spiritual Body"?' if they attempt to answer the question at all, they must both say that *spirit* is either an attenuated form of *matter* or some peculiar manifestation of *force*. It must of necessity be either one or the other. The whole universe as far as we now know of it concerns only *matter* and *force* in some of their varied forms or relations, every phenomenon of which is governed by natural laws, and when we speak of *natural laws* we limit the term to mean only that sequence of events that human

experience has shown to be universal and unvarying. We yet know but little more of the true essence of *matter* than we do of the actual nature of *spirit*: if we try to explain the intrinsic nature of either, we find ourselves involved in a hopeless tissue of contradictions. Still we know something of the laws that govern *matter* and *force*: we know that some form of *force* inheres in every atom of *matter*, that *matter* does not exist without exhibiting some of these inhering *forces*, and that *force* does not exist, *as far as we know, without matter in some of its varied forms*. Of *spirit* all we can say is that it is either a form of *matter* or *force*, or else a cant term to hide ignorance. If any scientific person knows anything about it, or knows how to find anything about it, let him tell the world how to find out.

"In the earlier ages of the world all of the varied functions of the human body, such as alimentation, digestion, secretion, assimilation, thought and volition seemed so mysterious that it was considered necessary to introduce an *ἄρχων*, *dæmon* or *spirit*, to preside over every separate one of these processes; as time passed on and the human race grew in knowledge, the rationale of most of these processes became better understood, and the *dæmons* or *spirits* that have been dislodged from one viscus of the body after another now have their residence only in the *brain*. But the march of intellect still goes on; the calm, cold, clear-eyed Goddess of Wisdom knows no reverence and no fear, and she will as ruthlessly exorcise the *dæmons* or *spirits* that yet haunt the brain as she has already chased them away from the other viscera of the human body."

"Let us therefore set aside the hypothesis of *Spirits*, *Dæmons*, and *Ghosts* of which we know nothing, and see if we cannot explain these so-called spiritual phenomena by less ambiguous means. And for this purpose we will divide all of these so-called mysterious occurrences into two general classes:

"The *First*,—comprising all of those cases in which a purposed deception, trick, or cheat is practised.

"The *Second*,—comprising all of those unusual processes of the brain and nervous system, such as *Somnambulism*, *Hypnotism*, *Catalepsy*, *Trance*, *Ecstasy*, etc.

"The *first* class comprises by far the largest portion of all these phenomena that are presented for our study. The origin of these practices is lost in the remotest antiquity; but in the fragments of the earliest nations 'that have survived the wreck of time' and come down to our day, we read of *Chaldæans* and *Soothsayers*,

Priests and Magi working wonders and performing miracles, to impose upon the ignorant and credulous masses and thus gain power and ascendancy over them; and that they had attained no mean skill even in remote ages we can readily see from the descriptions given in the Sacred Chronicle of the contest between Moses and the Egyptian Priests; and the Witch of Endor who it is stated raised the spirit of Samuel at the request of Saul. In the Middle Ages well authenticated records tell us that the power of these adepts was almost omnipotent. Langlet du Fresnoy in his *History of the Hermetic Philosophy* and Mackay in his *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions* give detailed accounts of the miraculous powers of Gebir, Albertus Magnus, Raymond Lully, Roger Bacon, the Maréchal de Rays, Cornelius-Agrippa, Paracelsus, Cagliostro, and a host of others, who were believed by their contemporaries to possess the power of transmuting the baser metals into gold, making the spirits of the dead to appear, reanimating dead bodies, and all such *tricks* as their congeners—the Spiritual Mediums of the present day—entertain and mystify their believers with. Albertus Magnus was said to have made a bräzen statue which under a favorable aspect of the planets he endowed with life and speech, and made it perform the duties of a household servant. Paracelsus boasted that he had discovered the *elixir vita*, and was not only able to prolong life for hundreds of years, but actually had power to reanimate the dead. Pirnetti was said to be able to render himself invisible, change his shape at will and multiply himself indefinitely; it is even related on credible authority that he was seen by the assembled inhabitants of St. Petersburg to pass out of every one of the fifteen gates of the city at the same instant of time.

“At the present day every improvement in the arts, and every discovery in science, has been appropriated by the charlatans and made subservient to their purposes, and now there is scarcely a trick or deception of the senses the mind can conceive of, that they have not available means of performing, and that too with but slight risk of detection.

“The cases comprised in our *second* class cannot be disposed of so summarily: first, from the fact, that for ages past they were looked upon as something akin to ‘Demoniac Possession’ and only to be legitimately treated by priest with ‘bell, book, and candle’; and therefore it is only within the latter half of the present century that they have been considered a subject of scientific investigation. Second, their causation, depending as it does upon imperfectly known chemico-vital processes, makes the study not

only intricate and perplexing, but often inexact, since the *personal equation* is never a *constant*, but varies in every case. Besides which, intricate and involved as these questions are *per se*, they are made much more obscure and inexact for the reason, that along with the abnormal condition of mental action which we wish to study there is always so great a tendency to *self-deception* and to deceive others, that it actually amounts to a ruling principle.

"But excluding all egoistic, personal, or subjective testimony, and as far as we can, every possibility of deception, there is still enough known about these cases to make the subject one of great interest to every one.

"Let us commence with SOMNAMBULISM. The name is derived from one single phenomenon occasionally presented in this condition, sleep-walking, though this is by no means an essential, nor is it one of the most commonly observed, phenomena of this state the condition of the body in somnambulism is similar to what it is in dreaming, except that the somnambulist acts out the ideas presented by his dream; those ganglia of the brain originating the ideas and impulses only, being active, whilst other portions are at rest. As in all other variations from the norm or standard of health in animal bodies, this abnormal nervous action is of varying grades of intensity in various subjects. The sucking action of the lips and cheeks frequently observed in the sleep of nursing infants is as truly somnambulistic as the more complicated psychical and physical actions of those less numerous cases, who climb dizzy heights, perform long journeys, compose music, or write logical treatises in a state of profound slumber.

"Not widely different from somnambulism and depending upon somewhat similar causes is that condition called HYPNOTISM, either automatic, or induced by the will of another, which has caused so much wonder under the mystifying titles of *Animal Magnetism*, *Mesmerism*, and *Clairvoyance*. This state may be produced in various ways, the most common plan being to fix the attention of the subject upon some small, bright object held near the eyes until tiring takes place and sleep occurs. The period required to produce this effect depends greatly upon the susceptibility of the individual: in children, and nervous hysterical women, and in men whose nervous conditions resemble theirs either from weakness, mental over-work, or original conformation of the nervous system, a few minutes may suffice; in those whose nervous organisation is fixed on a more stable equipoise, a longer period is required; and in some rare cases, whose vigorous wills never lose their controlling pow-

ers, hypnotism is impossible. In every case however induced, the only one essential cause required to bring on this condition is to produce temporary exhaustion of the sensori-volitional nerve-centres, and render them dormant. When this occurs, we have an animal automaton, which may be made to perform all the varied and complex acts that it has acquired from its peculiar organisation, environment, and education, but only by means of external suggestions. A woman in this state, if seated at the piano, would play and sing as well as she could in her normal state of consciousness, or if an infant were placed in her arms, would care for it as tenderly as if every maternal instinct were awake and active; a man, if placed in proper attitudes and started with leading suggestions, would make a speech, fight a duel, or run a foot-race; or, if paper and tobacco were placed in his hands, he would make a cigarette, light and smoke it; but, the sensorium being dormant, the woman would play a dummy piano with as much *empressement* as if it were a perfect instrument, and would nurse a doll or a pillow placed in her arms, as carefully as if it were a real child; and similarly the man would fight an imaginary foe as vigorously as if it were a real enemy; or make a cigarette of saw-dust as carefully and smoke it as readily as if it were made of real tobacco.

“Cases of Catalepsy, Trance, and Ecstasy are exceedingly rare. They are all of a somewhat similar nature, and are all caused by allowing the attention to dwell for a long time upon one idea, or set of ideas, to the exclusion of all else; until the one idea dominates and controls the whole organism. Almost invariably the ideas are of a religious nature; and the visions seen are of heaven, hell, and purgatory, the thoughts taking the particular cast of the previous reading or teaching upon these subjects. In these conditions the patient usually lies or sits perfectly still and composed, with the eyes open and staring, the facial muscles relaxed and calm, and the skin smooth and shiny, giving the condition known to physiologists as transfiguration. The breathing is scarcely perceptible, and the heart-beat often cannot be distinguished, even by the most careful auscultation; this condition is very similar to hibernation in animals, and is so liable to be mistaken for death that cases are on record of persons being buried alive while in this state. Consciousness—while in this condition—is usually in abeyance, or, if present at all, takes cognisance only of those impressions that relate to or are *en rapport* with the dominant idea. In impressible subjects the body is wholly in sympathy and dominated by the ruling idea. In the wonderful case of Marie de Moerl,

'The scarred maiden of Tyrol,' if we can believe the report of Doctor Goerres, there appeared in a short time bleeding ulcers around her brow, on her hands and feet, and over her heart, as the result of directing her attention so often to the localities of the wounds upon the body of Christ.

"These cases are all closely related to that protean disease called Hysteria, and like that disease are all marked by a more or less complete loss or suspension of volition or directive will-power: and by *will-power* I wish to be understood to mean the ability of determining a preponderating activity to one or more ganglia or group of nerve-cells, and so causing nervous force to be directed or expended through *one* channel, or to *one* organ, rather than to another. This lack of will-power not only leaves these cases little or no control over their own thoughts or actions, but also allows their thoughts and actions to be easily determined and controlled by persons of stronger wills. It is of course this class of people that are always selected as *Impressibles* or *Mediums*.

"The average adult human brain weighs about fifty ounces in the male and a few ounces less in the female: and as I have before said is a highly complex organ consisting chiefly of gray cells aggregated into masses called ganglia, white tubules or nerves, and blood-vessels: the whole apparatus combined and held together by a frame-work of connective tissue. The grey cells originate nerve-force, while the nerves transmit it to and from the various organs of the body. What is the intrinsic nature of this subtle force generated in the nerve-cells that, emitted through one channel, gives us the sensation of touch; through another, sound; through another, light, etc., *we do not know*; any more than we know the intrinsic nature of electricity, galvanism, or the chemical force. But there are many facts which lead us to believe that it is analogous to or not materially different from those forces last named, and like those forces is generated by the attraction and repulsion of atoms of matter having opposite polarities. Nor need we look upon this theory as one too meagre or too materialistic to explain all the recondite processes of cerebral action, including even thought; for when we recall the wonderful force evolved by the simple attraction of atoms of zinc for atoms of oxygen in the galvanic battery and the complicated uses it has subserved in the arts—in one place to drive an engine, in another to carry our messages through thousands of leagues of ocean, in another form to give heat, and in yet another light; we can readily discern how a varied and complicated extension of the same or a similar force acting

between the atoms of that most complex fluid, the blood, and the organic molecules of the animal body, can only be limited in its manifestations by the special mechanisms through which it must act."

"My dear Colonel," said the Judge, "it would not be very hard for me to accept your conclusion if I could accept your premises, which I can not, since they assume that dead brute matter is capable of self-consciousness, thought, volition and memory. You give me atoms of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, carbon, phosphorus, and other elementary forms of matter, acted upon by the blind force of chemical affinity; and expect me to construct out of these meagre details all the varied and complicated forms of life from its lowest manifestations up to man, with all the wonderful potentialities of the human brain. Can an atom of phosphorus think, has an atom of nitrogen volition, is there any consciousness in carbon, or memory in hydrogen? It is almost preposterous even to ask such questions."

"Not quite so preposterous as it seems, my dear Judge, though I acknowledge that it requires a careful study of the lower forms of life and a vivid, but still scientific, imagination to arrive at such a conclusion. If we go back link by link in the chain of life from the highest type of the *Homo Sapiens* down to the lowest microscopic speck of 'protoplasm' in which can be recognised the principle of vitality, we cannot fail to see that every higher type has been evolved from some lower type by some favorable variation or by a more favorable 'environment.' Every link in the chain is connected and shows that the highest powers of the human brain are potential in the amoeba. And if we critically examine the manifestations of life displayed by these lowest forms of vitality we will find that if their manifestations differ at all from chemical affinity, it is not in kind but only in degree. These vital molecules—somehow—recognise in their environment what kinds of matter are necessary to their being, they appropriate it, assimilate it, and when their affinities are satisfied the residue is eliminated as excreta.

"Now let us turn to inorganic chemistry. An atom of oxygen if brought into contact with different atoms of matter will select one kind and refuse all the others; or if in combination with one kind of matter will leave that one, and unite with another if it has a stronger affinity for it. Every single atom of what you call 'dead brute matter' evinces this selective power.

"When atoms unite to form molecules their affinities are more

complicated: the more simple the molecule, the more limited is its range of affinities; while in those more complex molecules that form the basis of animal life, the more highly differentiated are their affinities, and the more wide their range of attraction; since every atom composing the molecule has not only its atomic (personal) affinities to be satisfied but its molecular (family) affinities to be satisfied also.

"The whole science of chemistry is but little more than a 'table of affinities,' and the great fundamental law that underlies the science is the fact that all kinds of matter have the power to select what combinations they shall enter into. If we bring together baryta and nitric acid, the acid and baryta unite and form barium nitrate; now if we add to the mixture a little sulphuric acid, the barium leaves the nitric acid and combines with the sulphuric, forming barium sulphate; if now we vary the experiment and to the solution of barium nitrate add the sulphuric acid in combination with a salt of potassium, a new element is introduced with its individual affinities, and a mutual divorce takes place: the sulphuric acid leaves the potassium and unites with the barium, and the nitric acid leaving the barium combines with the potassium. Now, I do not attempt to explain *why* atoms of matter behave in this manner; we must, for the present at least, be satisfied to know that this is 'an ultimate scientific fact'; but I *do* say that in this discriminatory electing power possessed by all atoms of matter may be found the rudimentary germ which in the more highly differentiated and complex atoms that form the nervous system of animals, evolves those wonderful forces which we designate as consciousness, thought, and volition.

"Nearly six centuries before the birth of Christ, the Greek philosopher Thales of Miletus enunciated the rudiments of such a doctrine, and with all due deference to the philosophers and sages who have lived since his time I do not think they have improved much upon his fundamental ideas.

"All of the varied manifestations of life are now being carefully studied by cool clear-headed scientific men, who bring to their work minds purged from dogmas and preconceived systems, and trained to careful observation of facts and to logical deductions from them. They have already determined the chemical elements that compose the brain and nervous system, and in great part their molecular arrangement and peculiar construction. They have carefully mapped out the topographical anatomy of the brain and shown what special ganglia preside over the different parts of the

organism, and I am confident that in a short time it will be as possible to make accurate diagnoses of those deviations from normal cerebral action as it is now to detect any deviation from health in most of the other organs of the body."

After the Judge and I arrived at the Hotel, we had a little further discussion upon Spiritualism and analogous topics suggested by the evening's experience; and before parting each gave the other his sacred pledge:

That, if there is a *future* state of existence, with consciousness of personal identity, the first one of us who entered into that state would appear to the survivor and give him some unmistakable token of his continued existence, if such evidence was consonant with the laws that govern that state.

We then bade each other good-bye and parted. A few months after this meeting my dear old friend "went over to the great silent majority," and often since, when I have stood by his tomb, or visited the home his presence had made so dear, I have remembered the pledge we gave each other on that summer Sunday evening years ago and have watched and waited and *hoped* for the promised token—

"But alas Death's adamantine portal
Holds fast its secrets evermore;
And when we pass through that dread door,
It shuts the light from every mortal.
And though with aching brain we learn
The mystic lore of every age,
And knowledge taught by seer and sage,
The secret ne'er can we discern."

THE TAI-PING REBELLION.¹

[CONCLUDED.]

THE DECLINE OF HUNG SIU TSUEN'S CAUSE.

ONE inherent defect in the rebellion, viewed in its political bearing, soon showed itself. Hung Siu-tsuen's conviction of his divine mission had been most cordially received by his generals and the entire body of followers which left Yung-ngan in 1852; but their faith was not accepted by the enormous additions made to the Tai-pings as they advanced to Nanking, and gradually the original force became so diluted that it was inadequate to restrain and inspirit their auxiliaries. Moreover, the Tien-wang had never seriously worked out any conception of the radical changes in his system of government, which it would be absolutely necessary to inaugurate under a Christian code of laws. Having had no knowledge of any Western kingdom, he probably regarded them all as conformed to the rules and examples given in the Bible; perhaps, too, he trusted that the "Heavenly Father and Elder Brother" would reveal the proper course of action when the time came. The great body of literati would naturally be indisposed to even examine the claims of a Western religion which placed Shangti above all other gods, and allowed no images in worship, no ritual in temples, and no adoration to ancestors, to Confucius, or to the heavenly bodies. But if this patriotic call to throw off the Manchu yoke had been fortified by a well-devised system of public examinations for office,—modified to suit the new order of things by introducing more practical subjects than those found in the classics and put into practice,—it is hard to suppose that the intellectual classes would not gradually have ranged themselves on the side of this rising power.

Incentives addressed to the patriotic feelings of the Chinese were mixed with their obligations to worship Shangti, now made

¹From S. Wells Williams's *Middle Kingdom*. See note in the November *Open Court*.

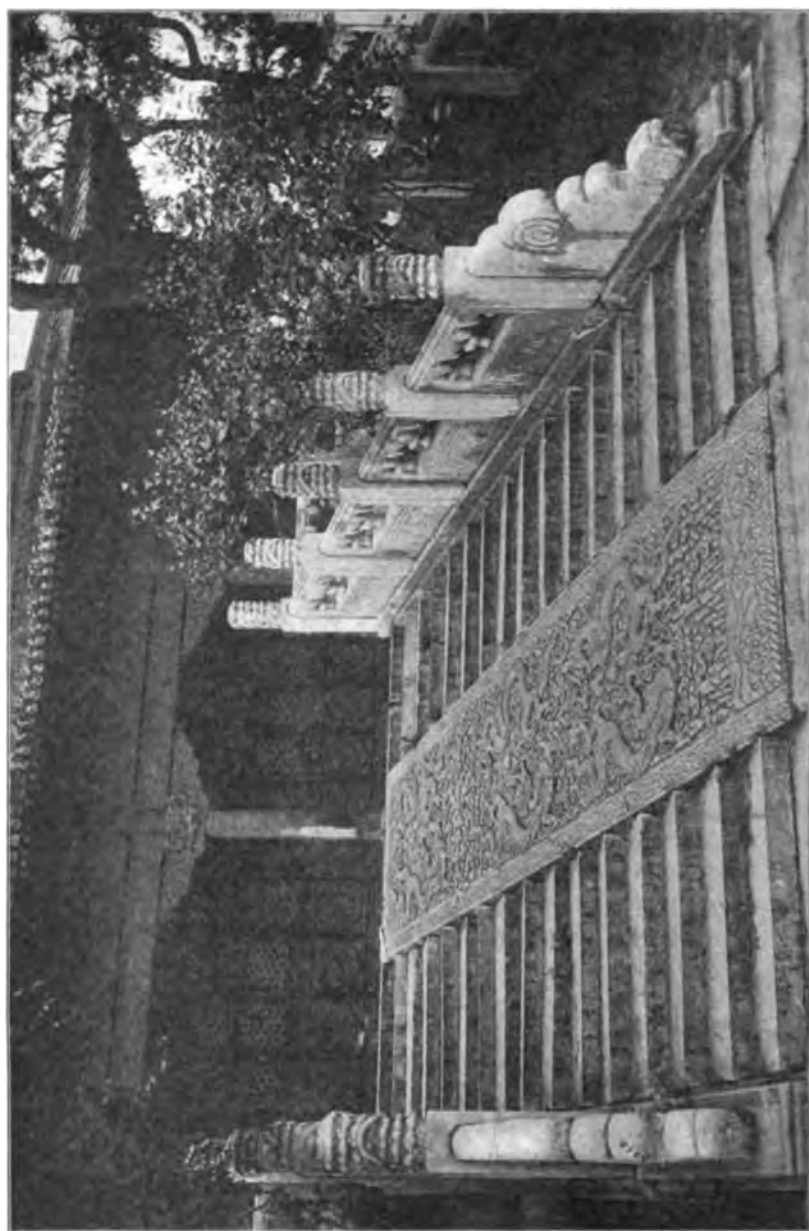
known to them as the Great God, our Heavenly Father, and security was promised to all who submitted.

In 1855 dissensions sprang up among the leaders themselves inside of Nanking, which ended in the execution of Yang, the Eastern King, the next year; a fierce struggle maintained by Wei, the Northern King, on behalf of the Tien-wang, upheld his supremacy, but at a loss of his best general. Another man of note, Shih Ta-kai, the Assistant King, losing faith in the whole undertaking, managed to withdraw with a large following westward and reached Sz'chuen. The early friend of Hung Siu-tsuen, Fung Yun-shan, known as the Southern King, disappeared about the same time.

It had become a life struggle with Siu-tsuen, and his removal of the four kings resulted in leaving him without any real military chief on whose loyalty he could depend. The rumors which reached Shanghai in 1856 of the fierce conflict in the city were probably exaggerated by the desire prevalent in that region that the parties would go on, like the Midianites in Gideon's time, beating each other down till they ended the matter.

The success of the Tai-pings had encouraged discontented leaders in other parts of China to set up their standards of revolt. The progress of Shih Ta-kai in Sz'chuen and Kweichau engaged the utmost efforts of the provincial rulers to restore peace. In Kwangtung a powerful band invested the city, but the operations of Governor Yeh, after the departure of Sū Kwang-tsun in 1854, were well supported by the gentry. By the middle of 1855 the rising was quenched in blood. A band of Cantonese desperadoes seized the city of Shanghai in September, 1853, killing the district magistrate and some other officials. They retained possession till the Chinese New Year, January 27, 1854, leaving the city amid flames and carnage, when many of the leaders escaped in foreign vessels. None of these men were affiliated with the Tai pings.

By 1857 the imperialists had begun to draw close lines about the rebels, when they were nearly restricted to the river banks between Nganking and Nanking, both of which cities were blockaded. Two years later the insurgent capital was beleaguered, but in its siege the loyalists trusted almost wholly to the effects of want and disease, which at last reached such an extreme degree (up to 1860) that it was said that human flesh was sold in the butchers' stalls of Nanking. Their ammunition was nearly expended, their numbers were reduced, and their men apparently desirous to disperse; but the indomitable spirit of the leader never quailed. He had appointed eleven other *wang* or generals, called *Chung Wang*



ENTRANCE TO THE TEMPLE OF CONFUCIUS, PEKING.

("Loyal King"), *Ying Wang* ("Heroic King"), *Kan Wang* ("Shield King"), *Ting Wang* ("Listening King"), etc., whose abilities were quite equal to the old ones.

A small body of Tai-pings managed to get out toward the north of Kiangsu, near the Yellow River. Another body had already (in March) carried Hangchau by assault by springing a mine; as many as seventy thousand inhabitants, including the Manchu garrison, perished here during the week the city remained in possession of the rebels. On their return to Nanking the joint force carried all before it, and the needed guns and ammunition fell into their hands. The loyalist soldiers also turned against their old officers, but the larger part had been killed or dispersed. Chinkiang and Changchau were captured, and Ho Kwei-tsing, the governor-general, fled in the most dastardly manner to Suchau, without an effort to retrieve his overthrow. Some resistance was made at Wusih on the Grand Canal, but Ho Chun was so paralysed by the onslaught that he killed himself, and Suchau fell into the hands of Chung Wang with no resistance whatever. It was, nevertheless, burned and pillaged by the cowardly imperialists before they left it, Ho Kwei-tsing setting the large suburbs on fire to uncover the solid walls. This destruction was so unnecessary that the citizens welcomed the Tai-pings, for they would at least leave them their houses. With Suchau and Hangchau in their hands, the Kan Wang and Chung Wang had control of the great water-courses in the two provinces, and their desire now was to obtain foreign steamers to use in regaining mastery of the Yangtsz' River. The loss of their first leaders was by this time admirably supplied to the insurgents by these two men, who had had a wider experience than the Tien wang himself, while their extraordinary success in dispersing their enemies had been to them all an assurance of divine protection and approval.

The populous and fertile region of Kiangnan and Chehkiang was wholly in their hands by June, 1860, so far as any organised Manchu force could resist them. The destruction of life, property, and industry within the three months since their sally from Nanking had been unparalleled probably since the Conquest, more than two centuries before, and revived the stories told of the ruthless acts of Attila and Tamerlane. Shanghai was threatened in August by a force of less than twenty thousand men led by the Chung Wang, and it would have been captured if it had not been protected by British and French troops.



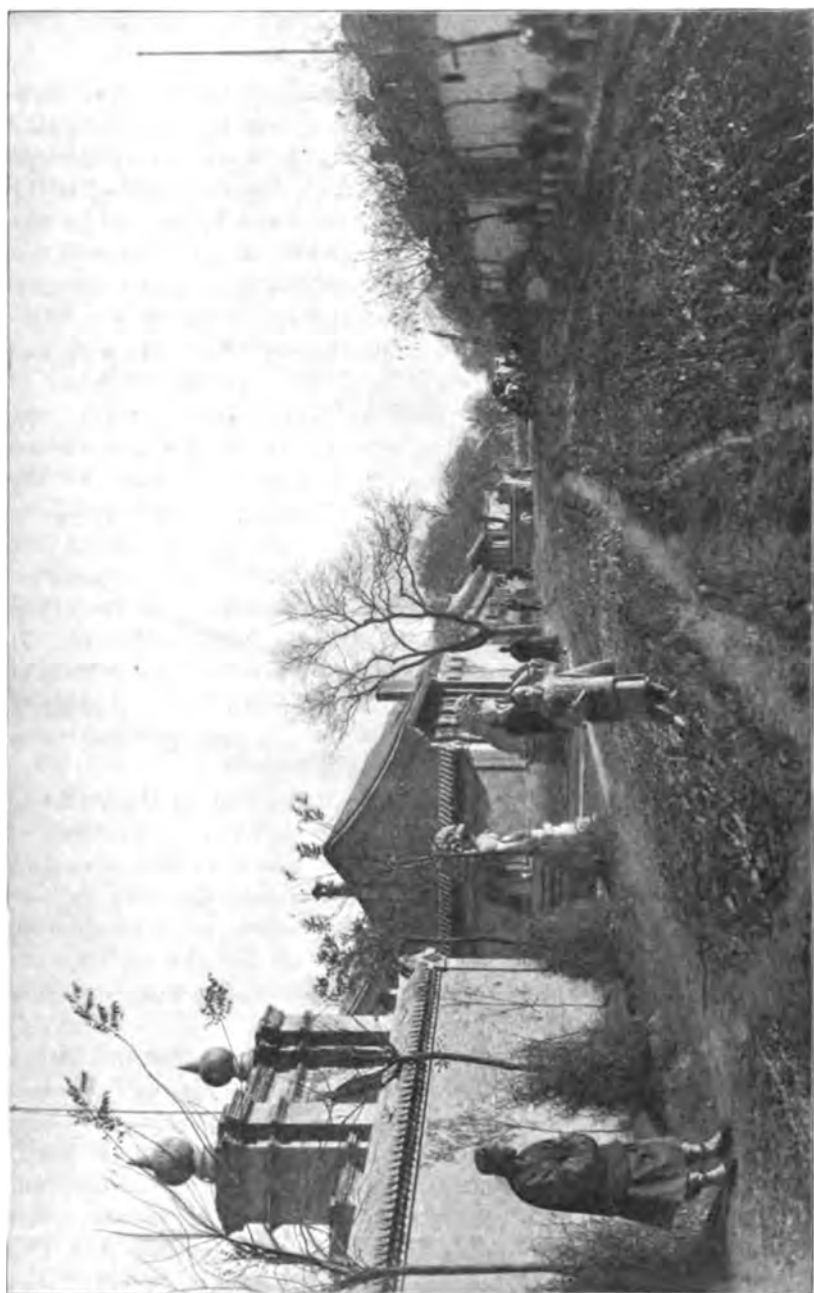
CHRISTIAN MISSIONS ON THE YANGTSE' RIVER.

THE EVER-VICTORIOUS FORCE AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION.

At this juncture the imperialists began to look toward foreigners for aid in restoring their prestige and power by employing skill and weapons not to be found among themselves. An American adventurer, Frederick G. Ward, of Salem, Mass., proposed to the Intendant Wu to recapture Sungkiang from the Tai-pings; he was repulsed in his first attempt at the head of about a hundred foreigners, but succeeded in the second, and the imperialists straightway occupied the city. This success, added to the high pay, stimulated many others to join him, and General Ward ere long was able to organise a larger body of soldiers, to which the name of *Chang-shing kiun*, or "Ever-victorious force," was given by the Chinese; it ultimately proved to be well applied. Its composition was heterogeneous, but the energy, tact, and discipline of the leader, under the impulse of an actual struggle with a powerful foe, soon moulded it into something like a manageable corps, able to serve as a nucleus for training a native army. Foreigners generally looked down upon the undertaking, and many of the allied naval and military officers regarded it with doubt and dislike. It had to prove its character by works, but the successive defeats of the insurgents during the year 1862 in Kiangsu and Chehkiang clearly demonstrated the might of its trained men over ten times their number of undisciplined braves.

In September the Tai-pings were driven out of the valley of the Yung river, but the death of General Ward at Tsz'ki deprived the imperialists of an able leader. The career of this man had been a strange one, but his success in training his men was endorsed by honorable dealing with the mandarins, who had reported well of him at Peking. He was buried at Sungkiang, where a shrine was erected to his memory, and incense is burned before him to this day.

It was difficult to find a successor, but the command rather devolved on his second, an American named Burgevine, who was confirmed by the Chinese, but proved to be incapable. He was superseded by Holland and Cooke, Englishmen, and in April, 1863, the entire command was placed under Colonel Peter Gordon, of the British army. During the interval between May, 1860, when Ward took Sungkiang, and April 6, 1863, when Gordon took Fushan, the best manner of combining native and foreign troops was gradually developed as they became more and more acquainted



STREET OF THE FOREIGN AMBASSADORS AT PEKING.

with each other and learned to respect discipline as an earnest of success. Such a motley force has seldom if ever been seen, and the enormous preponderance of Chinese troops would have perhaps been an element of danger had they been left idle for a long time.

There were five or six infantry regiments of about five hundred men each, and a battery of artillery; at times it numbered five thousand men. The commissioned officers were all foreigners, and their national rivalries were sometimes a source of trouble; the non-commissioned officers were Chinese, many of them repentant rebels or seafaring men from Canton and Fuhkien, promoted for good conduct. The uniform was a mixture of native and foreign dress, which at first led to the men being ridiculed as "Imitation Foreign Devils"; after victory, however, had elevated their *esprit du corps*, they became quite proud of the costume. In respect to camp equipage, arms, commissariat and ordnance departments, and means of transport, the natives soon made themselves familiar with all details; while necessity helped their foreign officers rapidly to pick up their language. It is recorded, to the credit of this motley force, that "there was very little crime and consequently very little punishment; . . . as drunkenness was unknown, the services of the provost-marshal rarely came into use, except after a capture, when the desire for loot was a temptation to absence from the ranks."¹

In addition, the force had a flotilla of four small steamers, aided by a variety of native boats to the number of fifty to seventy-five. The plain is so intersected by canals that the troops could be easier moved by water than land, and these boats enabled it to carry out surprises which disconcerted the rebels. Wilson well remarks concerning Gordon's force: "Its success was owing to its compactness, its completeness, the quickness of its movements, its possession of steamers and good artillery, the bravery of its officers, the confidence of its men, the inability of the rebels to move large bodies of troops with rapidity, the nature of the country, the almost intuitive perception of the leader in adapting his operations to the nature of the country, and his untiring energy in carrying them out."²

After Fushan, Chanzu, Taitsang fu, and Kiunshan had been occupied, Colonel Gordon found his position beset with so many unexpected annoyances, both from his rather turbulent and incongruous troops and from the Chinese authorities, that he went

¹ A. Wilson, *The "Ever-Victorious Army,"* p. 132.

² *Ibid.*, p. 138.



OBSERVATORY OF PEKING.



GENERAL VIEW.¹ (See footnote on page 749.)

to Shanghai on August 8th for the purpose of resigning the command. Arriving here, however, he ascertained that Burgevine had just gone over to the Tai-pings with about three hundred foreigners, and was then in Suchau. The power of moral principle, which guided the career of the one, was then seen in luminous contrast to its lack as shown in the other of these soldiers of fortune. To his lasting credit Colonel Gordon decided to return at once to Kiunshan, and, in face of the ingratitude of the Chinese and jealousy of his officers, to stand by the imperialist cause. He gradually restored his influence over officers and men, ascertained that Burgevine's position in the Tai-ping army did not allow him freedom enough to render his presence dangerous to their foes, and began to act aggressively against Suchau by taking Patachiau on its southern side in September.

Emissaries from the foreigners in the city now reported considerable dissatisfaction with their position, and Colonel Gordon was able to arrange in a short time their withdrawal without much danger to themselves. It is said that Burgevine even then proposed to him to join their forces, seize Suchau, and as soon as possible march on Peking with a large army, and do to the Manchus what the Manchus had done, two hundred and twenty years before, to the Mings. Colonel Gordon's own loyalty was somewhat suspected by the imperialist leaders, but his integrity carried him safely through all these temptations to swerve from his duty.

As soon as these mercenaries among the rebels were out of the way, operations against Suchau were prosecuted with vigor, so that by November 19th the entire city was invested and carefully cut off from communication with the north. The city being now hard pushed, the besieging force prepared for a night attack upon a breach previously made in the stockade near the north-east gate. It was well planned, but the Muh Wang, *facile princeps* among the Tai-ping chiefs in courage and devotion, having been informed of it, opened such a destructive fire that the Ever-victorious force was defeated with a loss of about two hundred officers and men killed and wounded. On the next morning, however (November 28th), it was reported that the cowardly leaders in the city were plotting against the Muh Wang—the only loyal one among their number—and were talking of capitulating, using the British chief as their intermediary.

¹The following cuts show the astronomical instruments of the old Peking observatory as they were before their removal to Germany. Says S. Wells Williams: "They are beautiful pieces of bronze, though now antiquated and useless for practical purposes."

This rumor proved, indeed, to be so far true, that after some further successful operations on the part of Gordon's division, the



THE GREAT CELESTIAL GLOBE OF THE PEKING OBSERVATORY.

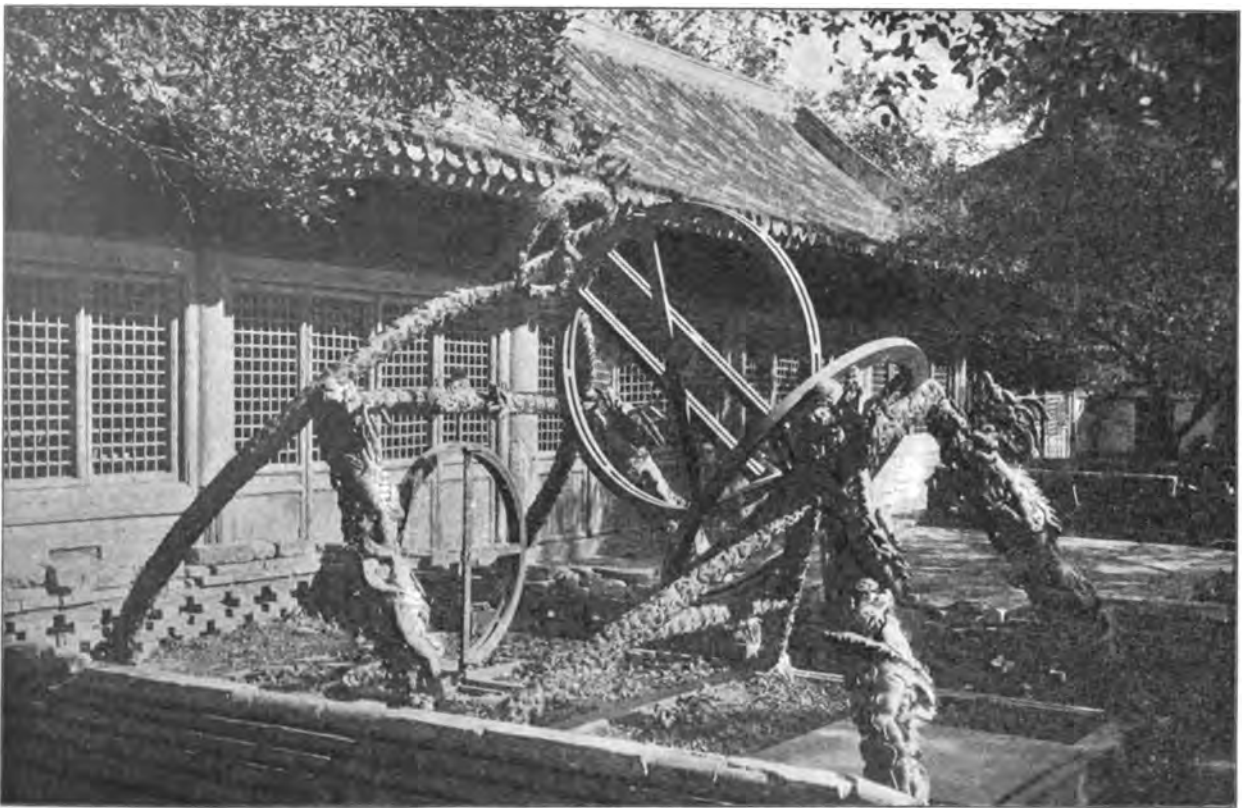
Wangs made overtures to General Ching, himself a former rebel commander, but long since returned to the imperial cause and

now the chief over its forces in Kiangsu. The Muh Wang was publicly assassinated on December 2d by his comrades, and on the 5th the negotiations had proceeded so far that interviews were held.

Colonel Gordon had withdrawn his troops a short distance to save the city from pillage, but did not succeed in obtaining a donation of two months' pay for their late bravery from the parsimonious Li. He therefore proposed to lay down his command at three o'clock P. M., and meanwhile went into the city to interview the Na Wang, who told him that everything was proceeding in a satisfactory manner. Upon learning this he repaired to the house of the murdered Muh Wang in order to get his corpse decently buried, but failed, as no one in the place would lend him the smallest assistance. While he was thus occupied, the rebel wangs and officers had settled as to the terms they would accept; and on reaching his own force, Gordon found General Ching there with a donation of one month's pay, which his men refused.

The next morning he returned to the city and was told by Ching that the rebel leaders had all been pardoned, and would deliver up the city at noon; they were preparing then to go out. Colonel Gordon shortly after started to return to his own camp and met the imperialists coming into the east gate in a tumultuous manner, prepared for slaughter and pillage. He therefore went back to the Na Wang's house to guard it, but found the establishment already quite gutted; he, however, met the Wang's uncle and went with him to protect the females of the family at the latter's residence. Here he was detained by several hundred armed rebels, who would neither let him go nor send a message by his interpreter till the next morning (December 7th), when they permitted him to leave for his boat, then waiting at the south gate; narrowly escaping, on his way thither, an attack from the imperialists, he reached his bodyguard at daybreak, and with them was able to prevent any more soldiers entering the city. His preservation amid such conflicting forces was providential, but his indignation was great when he learned that Governor Li had beheaded the eight rebel leaders the day before.¹ It seems that they had demanded conditions quite inadmissible in respect to the control of the thirty thousand men under their orders, and were cut off for their insolent contumacy. Another account, published at Shanghai in 1871, states that nearly twenty chiefs were executed, and about two thousand privates.

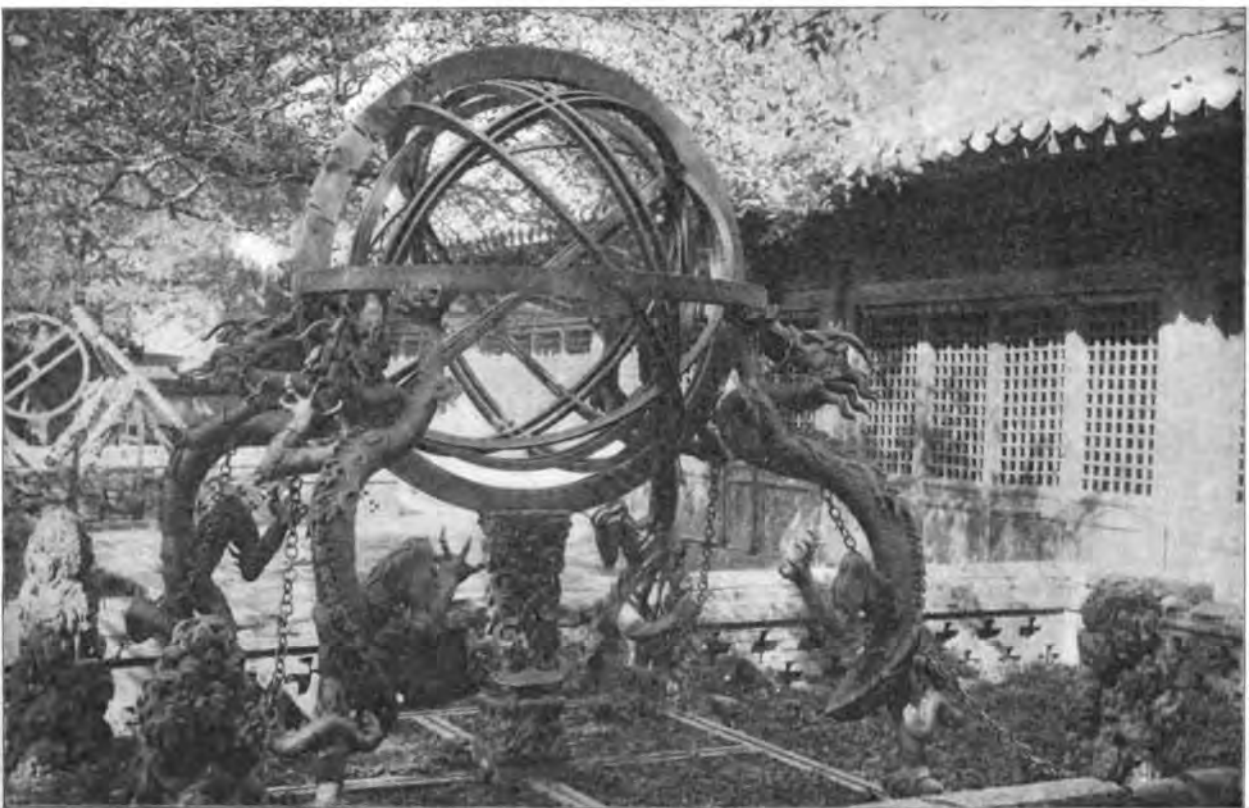
¹ This was done in violation of the conditions under which the rebel chiefs had surrendered.



SPHERICAL ASTROLABE OF THE PEKING OBSERVATORY.

As Colonel Gordon felt that his good name was compromised by this cruelty, he threw up his command until he could confer with his superiors. On the 29th a reply came to Li Hung-chang from Prince Kung, highly praising all who had been engaged in taking Suchau, and ordering him to send the leader of the Ever-victorious force a medal and ten thousand taels—both of which he declined. The posture of affairs soon became embarrassing to all parties. The rebellion was not suppressed; the cities in rebel hands would soon gather the desperate men escaped from Suchau; Colonel Gordon alone could lead his troops to victory; and all his past bravery and skill might be lost. He therefore resumed his command, and presently recommenced operations by leading his men against Ihing hien, west of Suchau.

On reaching Ihing, the dreadful effects of the struggle going on around Gordon's force were seen, and more than reconciled him to do all he could to bring it to an end. Utter destitution prevailed in and out of the town; people were feeding on dead bodies, and ready to perish from exposure while waiting for a comrade to die. The town of Liyang was surrendered on his approach, and its inhabitants, twenty thousand in number, supplied with a little food. From this place to Kintan proved to be a slow and irksome march, owing to the shallow water in the canal and the bad weather. On March 21st an attack was made on this strong post by breaching the walls; but it resulted in a defeat, the loss of more than a hundred officers and men, and a severe wound which Colonel Gordon received in his leg—oddly enough the only injury he sustained, though frequently compelled to lead his men in person to a charge. Next day he retired, in order, to Liyang, but hearing that the son of the Chung Wang had retaken Fushan he started with a thousand men and some artillery for Wusih, which the rebels had left. The operations in this region during the next few weeks conclusively proved the desperate condition of the rebels, but a hopeless cause seemed often but to increase their bravery in defending what strongholds were left them. At the same time a body of Franco-Chinese was operating, in connexion with General Ching on the south of Suchau, against Kiahing fu, a large city on the Grand Canal, held by the Ting Wang. This position was taken and its defenders put to the sword on March 20th, but with the very serious loss of General Ching, one of the ablest generals in the Chinese army. Hangchau, the capital of Chehkiang, capitulated the next day, and this was soon followed by the reduction of the entire province and dispersion of the rebels among the hills.



THE ARMILLARY SPHERE OF THE PEKING OBSERVATORY.

With this capture ended the operations of the Ever-victorious force and its brave leader. Nanking was now the only strong place held by the Tai-pings, and there was nothing for that army to do there, as Tsang Kwoh-fan, the generalissimo of the imperial armies, had ample means for its capture. Colonel Gordon, therefore, in conjunction with Governor Li, dissolved this notable division; the latter rewarded its officers and men with liberal gratuities, and sent the natives home. During its existence of about four years down to June 1, 1864, nearly fifty places had been taken (twenty-three of them by Gordon), and its higher discipline had served to elevate the *morale* of the imperialists who operated with them. It perhaps owed its greatest triumph to the high-toned uprightness of its Christian chief, which impressed all who served with him. The Emperor conferred on him the highest military rank of *ti-tuh*, or "Captain-General," and a yellow jacket (*ma kwa*) and other uniforms, to indicate the sense of his achievements. Sir Frederick Bruce admirably summed up his character in a letter to Earl Russell when sending the imperial rescript:

HONGKONG, July 12, 1864.

MY LORD,

I enclose a translation of a despatch from Prince Kung containing the decree published by the Emperor, acknowledging the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, R. E., and requesting that Her Majesty's government be pleased to recognise them. This step has been spontaneously taken. Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon well deserves Her Majesty's favor; for, independently of the skill and courage he has shown, his disinterestedness has elevated our national character in the eyes of the Chinese. Not only has he refused any pecuniary reward, but he has spent more than his pay in contributing to the comfort of the officers who served under him, and in assuaging the distress of the starving population whom he relieved from the yoke of their oppressors. Indeed, the feeling that impelled him to resume operations after the fall of Suchow was one of the purest humanity. He sought to save the people of the districts that had been recovered from a repetition of the misery entailed upon them by this cruel civil war.

I have, etc.,

F. W. A. BRUCE.

The foreign merchants of Shanghai expressed their sense of his conduct in a letter dated November 24th, written on the eve of his return to England, in which they truly remark: "In a position of unequalled difficulty, and surrounded by complications of every possible nature, you have succeeded in offering to the eyes of the Chinese nation, no less by your loyal and disinterested line of action than by your conspicuous gallantry and talent for organisation and command, the example of a foreign officer serving the govern-

ment of this country with honorable fidelity and undeviating self-respect."¹

Little remains to be said about Nanking. All egress from the doomed city was stopped by July 1st, when the explosion of mines and bursting of shells forewarned its deluded defenders of their fate. Of the last days of their leader no authentic account has been given, and the declaration of the Chung Wang in his autobiography, that he poisoned himself on June 30th, "owing to his anxiety and trouble of mind," is probably true. His body was buried behind his palace by one of his wives, and afterward dug up by the imperialists.

On July 19, 1864, the wall was breached by the explosion of forty thousand pounds of powder in a mine, and the Chung Wang, faithful to the last, defended until midnight the Tien Wang's family from the imperialists. He and the Kan Wang then escorted Hung Fu-tien—a lad of sixteen, who had succeeded to the throne of Great Peace three weeks before—with a thousand followers, a short distance beyond the city. The three leaders now became separated, but all were ultimately captured and executed. The Chung Wang, during his captivity before death, wrote an account of his own life, which fully maintains the high estimate previously formed of his character from his public acts.² He was the solitary ornament of the whole movement during the fourteen years of its independent existence, and his enemies would have done well to have spared him. More than seven thousand Tai-pings were put to death in Nanking, the total number found there being hardly over twenty thousand, of whom probably very few were southern Chinese—this element having gradually disappeared.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

In concluding this series of articles on China, we hope to have offered our readers some materials which will help them to understand the difficulties of the present situation. The deep-seated dissatisfaction of the large masses with existing conditions, and their rebellious spirit, are important factors that must be taken into consideration. It is highly regrettable that when Christianity—a Chinese Christianity rooted in the native soil—had in the Tai-Ping Rebellion taken the lead of the anti-Tartar movement, it was crushed, not by the Tartar government, but through the assistance of Christian England, who sent her best strategist to subdue

¹ "The rapidity with which the long-descended hostility of the Chinese government became exchanged for relations of at least outward friendship, must be ascribed altogether to the existence of the Tai-ping Rebellion, without whose pressure as an auxiliary we might have crushed, but never conciliated the distrustful statesmen at Peking."—*Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. LXXI., p. 145, February, 1865.

² *The Autobiography of the Chung Wang*, translated from the Chinese by W. T. Lay, Shanghai, 1865.

the Christian rebels. General Gordon, though a man of noble character and a good Christian, did not know what he was about. He saved a rotten dynasty, but ruined China's chances of building up upon native traditions a new China which would have been a better soil than is the present China for receiving the seeds of civilisations imported from the Western nations.

We are aware of all the shortcomings of the Tai-Pings. They were not Christians of the type of Christ, but like Cromwell, with a prayer-book in one hand and a sword in the other. They were fanatics, like the idol-smashing monks of the second and third centuries. As the mobs of Alexandria and Athens broke to pieces the most beautiful statues of ancient Greece, so the Tai-Pings destroyed the famous Porcelain Tower of Nanking. Further, the Christianity of the Tai-Pings was not our Christianity; it was neither European nor American, it savored of China, and like that of many Christian sects was full of odd notions of its own. Nevertheless, it was a Christianity, and we repeat it is to be regretted that the Tai-Ping movement was suppressed with the aid of Christians.

The English Government did not gain what it hoped to gain. The attitude of the Tartar dynasty of China toward the English has not changed, and foreigners are as much distrusted, feared, and despised as ever. This is proved by the late Boxer movement which in its original tendency was directed as much against the Tartar rulers of China as against the foreigners. The Empress of China for very good reasons was more afraid of the Boxers than of the Western governments. The result proves the wisdom of her policy. She still holds the reigns of government, while if she had dared to side with the foreign powers the dynasty would have lost control, and she might have become a fugitive living on the charity of her Western enemies.

At present conditions are lamentable. The Boxer movement has widened the gulf between China and the Western world. The most warlike nation of Europe has tried to hold China by the power of guns and canons, but Waldersee, who is as good a diplomat as a soldier, deemed it wise to retire; and the Chinese will not think better of Western civilisation after the occupation than before. The ruins of the Imperial Palace, the depredations committed by the invaders, remain mementos which will bear evil fruit.

Certain it is that China has not as yet seen the better side of Western civilisation; the Chinese know Europeans as the Germans up to 1870 knew the French mainly through Turenne and Napoleon. Atrocities of all kinds marked the wake of their invading armies; art treasures disappeared, and palaces were laid in ruins; but history teaches us a lesson. He who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind.

There is no doubt that on account of its stubborn haughtiness the Chinese Government has pursued a policy that will lead China into confusion and dissolution; but the mistakes of the Chinese government are no excuse for European Governments to do likewise. Instead of trying to humiliate the Chinese, it would be much better to study their national character, to appreciate their virtues, to gain their good-will, to teach them nobler and better views by setting them a good example in higher morality as well as wisdom. We have failed to gain their confidence. Perhaps we have never tried, but whatever the intentions of the foreign powers toward China may have been, the result is that they are at once hated and feared, as if they actually were what outlanders are called in China—foreign fiends.

DELUGE LEGENDS OF AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY THE EDITOR.

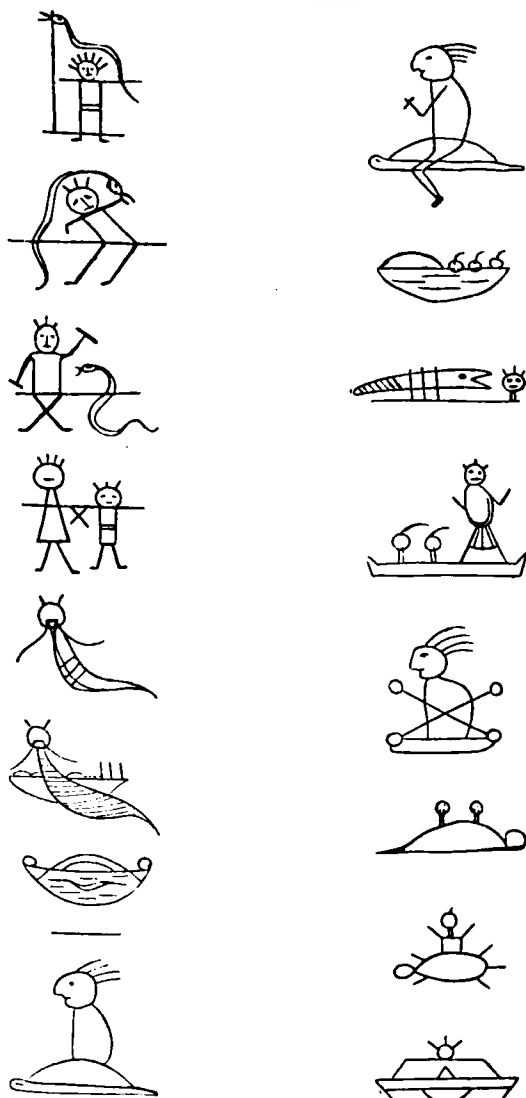
RICHARD ANDRÉ, the well-known anthropologist and editor of the *Globus*, has collected under the title *Die Flutsagen* a great number of Deluge legends and has endeavored in his concluding chapters to point out the natural causes of their origin. Among them he mentions a tradition of the Algonquins, a tribe of North American Indians, recorded in pictures on bark and preserved by A. G. Squier.¹ The pictures are merely a mnemotechnical method of remembering the story, but Mr. Squier publishes the explanation as given by the Indians in their own language, together with an English translation, and the meaning of it is in brief as follows:

"Long ago, there originated a powerful snake when people had turned bad. (First picture.) The strong snake was hostile to all creatures, and troublesome. (Second picture.) So they fought, and there was no peace. (Third picture.) Then the weak race of human beings suffered much from the keeper of the dead. (Fourth picture, where the cross between the small man and the larger figure indicates hostility.) Then the strong snake decided to destroy the whole human race and all creatures. (Fifth picture.) So he brought up the black snake, monsters, and rushing waters. (Sixth picture.) The rushing waters spread and covered all the mountains, destroying everything. (Seventh picture.) Upon the island of the tortoises (Tula) there was Nanaboush (Manabozho), the ancestor of human beings and all creatures. (Eighth picture.) He dwelt on turtle land (Tula) and made himself ready to move. (Ninth picture.) Human beings and creatures floating all about were searching for the back of the turtle. (Tenth picture.) There were many monsters of the sea who swallowed some of the people. (Eleventh picture.) The daughter of the great spirit (Manito-dasin) assisted them to reach a boat, and they shouted for help. (Twelfth picture.) Thereupon Nanaboush (Manabozho), the ancestor of human beings, the ancestor of all creatures, the ancestor of turtles, came. (Thirteenth picture.) He placed the men on the back of the turtle (fourteenth picture) and commanded the turtle with threats to save the lives of the people. (Fifteenth picture.) Then the waters subsided, the plain and the mountains

¹ *Historical and Mythological Traditions of the Algonquins*. With a translation of the *valsum olum*, or bark record of the Linné Lenape, a paper read before the New York Historical Society.

became dry again, and the bad being walked his way to another place." (Sixteenth picture.)

André believes that this story is genuinely Indian and cannot be considered as a mutilated account of the Biblical deluge story.



BARK MANUSCRIPT OF THE ALGONQUINS.

The same seems to be true of an old Quiché legend, of the natives of Guatemala, which is preserved in the *Popol Vuh*.

The *Popol Vuh* means the "Book of the People," and was written in the original Quiché language at about the time when the first white people reached the New World. It was translated into Spanish in the eighteenth century by Ximenes, a Dominican monk, and published in that language by Karl Scherzer at Vienna, 1857, under the title *Las historias del origen de los Indios de esta provincia de Guatemala, etc.* The original Quiché text was published, together with a French translation, in 1861 at Paris, by Brasseur de Bourbourg, under the title *Popol Vuh, Le Livre sacré et les mythes . . . des Quichés*. A critical report of it is given in D. Stoll's book, *Zur Ethnographie der Republik Guatemala*, published in Zurich, 1884.

According to the *Popol Vuh* the gods were dissatisfied with the animals whom they had created first, because they were mute and could not worship. So they made men of clay, but they too were imperfect, for though they could speak they were dull and could not move their neck; therefore the gods destroyed them in a flood. Then the gods created a new race, making the man of wood and the woman of resin. They were superior to the clay people but not as yet satisfactory, for their speech was crude and they showed no gratitude. Therefore Hurakan (the heart of the heavens) rained burning resin and caused an earthquake to come which destroyed all but a few who were changed into monkeys. Finally, the gods made men of white and yellow maize, and they were so perfect that the gods became afraid, and they took away some of their powers, reducing them to human beings such as they are now, and the Quichés are their direct descendants.

Among the Deluge legends of South America the idea is prominent that the people who saved their lives fled unto a big mountain, and that when the floods rose the mountain floated on the waters. In this way, the Incas of Peru declare that a shepherd was saved with his family, and the Araukens add that the people on the floating mountain covered their heads with wooden dishes in order to protect themselves against the heat of the sun, in case the mountain should be raised to the heavens.

MISCELLANEOUS.

JUDGE WAITE ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

Judge Waite, of Chicago, President of the Secular Union, and well known as a radical thinker, is the author of a thick-volumed and learned book entitled: *History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred*. The work has lately reached its fifth edition, and deserves the special attention of scholars in so far as it not only gives the results of the author's investigation, but adduces all the main evidences which he has collected and upon the basis of which he formulates his opinions. We cannot be expected to enter into details or criticise his views, for it is natural that as to the documentary evidence of church history covering so vast a period as two centuries there should be difference of opinion, and many of the mooted points are even beyond the possibility of a final settlement. For instance, Judge Waite speaks in the beginning of his book of the Gospel of Paul, to which the Apostle himself alludes in his Epistles (ii. 16-25; 2 Thessalonians ii. 14), and believes that Paul had actually written a gospel; while in our opinion Paul refers simply to the burden of his message, the doctrine of salvation through the death of the crucified Saviour.

Judge Waite divides the first two centuries of the Christian era into six periods: First, the apostolic age, 30-80, the time of Jesus, Paul, Peter, the Jameses, and other apostles; Secondly, the apostolic fathers, 80-120,—Clement of Rome, Ignatius Polycarp, including such men as Apollonius of Tyana and Simon Magus (we would have placed Simon Magus in the apostolic age as being a contemporary of Peter). Judge Waite thinks that this second period is the age of miracles, claiming that the older documents are comparatively free from the belief in the supernatural. The third period is the age of the Apocryphal gospels, the Protevangelion, the Gospel of Infancy, Acts of Pilate, etc., 120-130. The fourth period comprises the time of Marcion, Justin Martyr, and other authors of less importance, from 130-170. Judge Waite insists that so far in all this mass of Christian literature, there is not to be found a single mention of any of the canonical gospels; not one of all the writers down to the fourth period in any work which has been preserved has mentioned Luke, Mark, John, or Matthew as the author of a gospel. He claims that there is not sufficient evidence that Tatian's *Diatessaron* was a harmony of the four gospels. Eusebius's testimony as to the gospels is so skilfully thrown together as to create the impression that they existed during the time of which he was writing. But in every instance the assertion is by implication merely, and his intent to deceive, our author claims, is manifest.

The fifth period (170-185) is the time in which the four gospels received a defi-

nite shape. It is the time in which the Christian doctrine became settled and the church established as a powerful institution.

The sixth period, from 185-200, is characterised by the formation of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Here we have such authors as Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian.

With the establishment of the Church a deterioration in its character is noticeable. Says our author :

"As from a few bones the scientist can reconstruct the entire anatomy, so from these fragments can the historian arrive at the frame-work of the orthodox religion of the second century. But the complete and living form of Christianity is wanting.

"With the exception of the epistle of Clement of Rome, written near the close of the first century, and a few scattering writings afterward, there is but little in the fathers of that day to remind one of the teachings of Jesus, or the fervid utterances of the apostle to the Gentiles. The fathers of the second century were, with united energies, engaged in the work of suppressing heresy. Justin Martyr was writing against the Jews, Tertullian against Marcion, and Irenæus against all the heretics. This raid against those who differed from the established faith, left but little time to cultivate the more kindly Christian graces, and finally culminated in the establishment of a power which should be competent for the suppression of heresy by force. The teachings of Paul concerning heresy and his bitter denunciation of heretics contributed largely to this result.

"Another thing that strikes the attention in a comprehensive review of the period is the ignorance and superstition, even of the most enlightened and best educated of the fathers. Their bigotry has been noticed,—their ignorance and superstition were no less.

"With rare exceptions, they were men who utterly despised that learning of the heathen which consisted in attempting to ascertain the laws of the material universe. Construing in the narrowest and strictest sense the maxim, that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, they confined themselves almost exclusively to an exposition of the Jewish scriptures, and of the sayings of Christ, construed in the light of those scriptures; drawing oftentimes, in the application of the prophecies, the most fanciful and whimsical analogies."

The subject is so vast that even this thick volume, consisting of over 500 pages, merely touches upon a number of problems, without exhausting them. Whatever the value be of the results, the book has one advantage which even the author's adversaries ought to concede: the author proceeds like a judge by introducing evidence. His training in the juridical profession redounds to the advantage of the reader, who is thus confronted with a great part of the evidences themselves. The book bristles with quotations from the Church fathers, from Latin and Greek authors, and condensed statements of such books as the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, etc., etc. Accordingly, those who do not agree with the author find here the material collected which they can utilise for their own investigations. There can be no doubt that the material has been collected with great diligence and circumspection, and if we consider that the bulk of it was done many years ago, at the time when the first edition appeared, we may be astonished that the collection is so well done. The author has upon the whole taken into consideration the results of modern research, which have been more rapid in this field than perhaps in any other line of historical inquiry. There are some exceptions, however; e. g., we are astonished that Judge Waite nowhere mentions the discovery of the frag-

ments of the Gospel According to St. Peter, which are very important in determining our opinion concerning that lost document.

While Judge Waite tries to be as impartial as a historian as he was in his capacity as United States Judge of Utah, we see plainly that the tendency of his book is to reveal the worthlessness of the ancient Christian writers, their lack of education as well as their dishonesty.

Judge Waite says: "Their credulity was unbounded. They had a sublime disregard for truth; not so much from perversity, as from carelessness, and indifference to its sacred character. Their unscrupulousness when seeking for arguments to enforce their positions, is notorious; as well as the prevalence among them of what are known as pious frauds. Jones, himself a zealous Christian writer, says that Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Lactantius made use of testimonies out of forgeries and spurious books, to prove the very foundation of the Christian Revelation; and it is believed, on good grounds, that Irenæus was no better. This father, while engaged in the introduction of gospels which show that the ministry of Christ lasted from one to three years, not longer than three and a half, himself declares that it lasted about twenty years, and that he had the tradition from the elders of Asia who had obtained it from John and the other apostles.

"In conclusion, as the result of this investigation, it may be repeated that no evidence is found of the existence, in the first century, of either of the following doctrines: the immaculate conception—the miracles of Christ—his material resurrection. No one of these doctrines is to be found in the epistles of the New Testament, nor have we been able to find them in any other writings of the first century.

"As to the four gospels, in coming to the conclusion that they were not written in the first century, we have but recorded the conviction of the more advanced scholars of the present day, irrespective of their religious views in other respects.

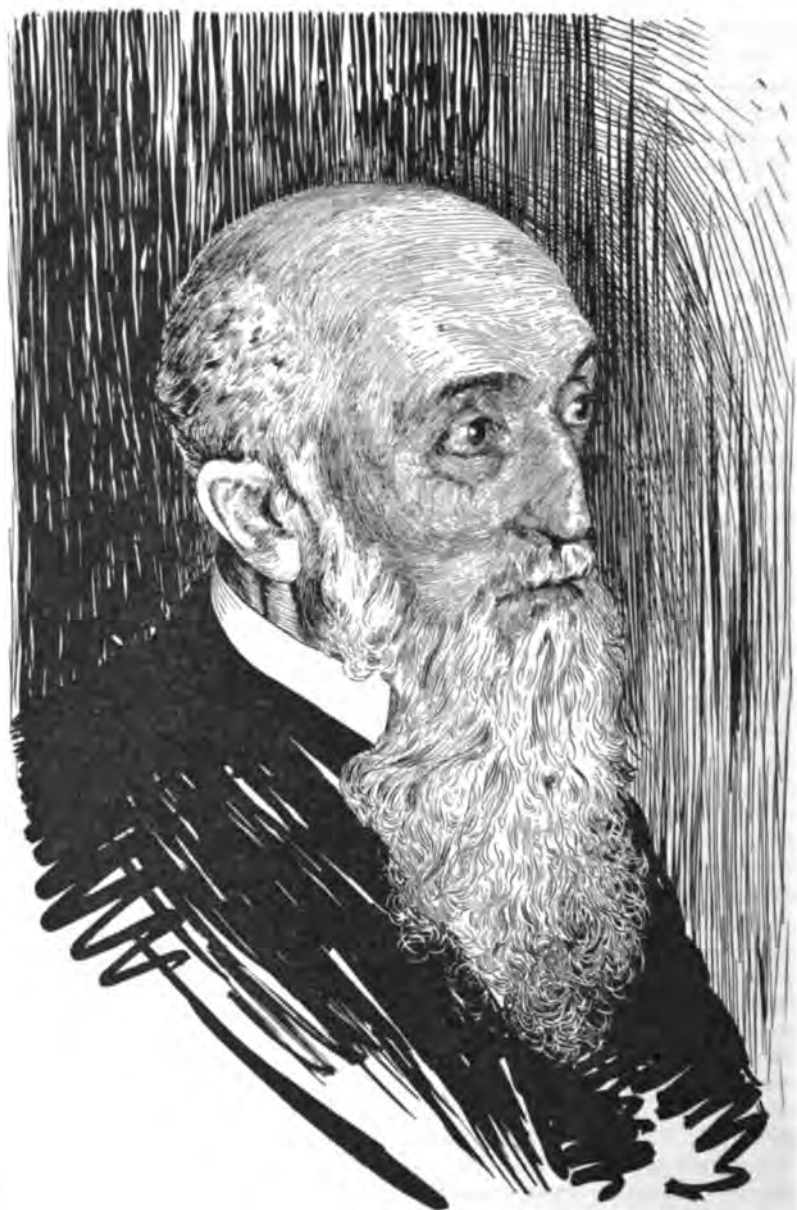
"All that is of any value—all that is in harmony with the immutable laws of the universe—all that is in accord with the eternal principles of right and justice, still remains. All else is fast passing away, and is destined to pass away forever."

P. C.

THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

Though a lawyer by profession, the well-known President of the Word's Fair Auxiliary Congresses of 1893, the Hon. C. C. Bonney, is a poet of more than average ability. It was a happy event that when the last vacancy in the Chief Justiceship of the U. S. Supreme Court was filled, Judge Fuller was preferred to Mr. Bonney, the names of both being presented in the last choice; for Mr. Bonney was thus spared for other work, not less important than even the paramount influence which is wielded by the members of the highest court in the country, viz., the realisation of his life's dream—of a great scheme of World's Congresses, culminating in the marvellous achievement of a successful Religious Parliament. Mr. Bonney partakes of the nature of a prophet, and a prophet is naturally possessed of a poetic vein. We publish in the present number of *The Open Court* a poem by Mr. Bonney which characterises the high strain of his Muse and gives expression to the noble sentiments which ensoul his patriotism. Some of the lines, especially those in the end, summarising the whole, breathe the true Miltonian spirit. It is to be expected that in some of the passages in the middle of the poem the reader is apt to flag; but even they are not without significance, for they convey the author's

convictions concerning the geological periods of the formation of the continent and the prehistoric development of the Indians, which may not be shared by many,



but which could not be omitted without doing violence to the underlying conception of the whole.

The poem was written some time ago; but so far it has circulated in type-written form only among the most intimate friends of the author, and is here published for the first time. The pen and ink drawing of Mr. Bonney which accompanies this note was made by Eduard Biedermann, the same artist who illustrated *The Chief's Daughter* and *The Crown of Thorns*.

Mr. Bonney has deposited in the Chicago Public Library his collection of World's Congress papers and publications embracing nearly a hundred printed volumes relating to the proceeding and including such historic works as Appleton's *History of the World's Fair* and Dr. Barrows's *History of the Parliament of Religions*.

TOLSTOI ON INDIA.

Mr. A. Ramaseshan publishes in a late number of the *Arya* of Madras (Vol. I., No. 5, August 1901) a monthly magazine of India devoted to "Aryan religion," exhibiting a tendency toward Theosophy and kindred subjects, a letter from Count Leo Tolstoi, written by the great Russian author in reply to a letter of sympathy and expressing his opinion on the evils of India as well as recommending a cure for them. Tolstoi's letter is characteristic of his deepest religious convictions, and we republish it without any further comment:

"DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your very interesting letter. I quite agree with you that your nation cannot accept the solution of the social problem which is proposed by Europe, and which is no solution at all. A society or community kept together by force is not only in a provisory state, but in a very dangerous one. The bonds that keep together such a society are always in danger of being broken, and the society itself liable to experience the greatest evils. In such a position are all the European States. The only solution of the social problem for reasonable beings endowed with the capacity of love is the abolition of violence and the organisation of society based on mutual love and reasonable principles voluntarily accepted by all. Such a state can be attained only by the development of true religion. By the words 'true religion' I mean the fundamental principles of all religions, which are:

"1. The consciousness of the divine essence of the human soul, and

"Respect for its manifestation,—human life.

"Your religion is very old and very profound in its metaphysical definition of the relation of man to the Spiritual All,—to the Atman; but I think it was maimed in its moral, i. e., practical application by the existence of caste. This practical application, so far as Lucknow, has been made only by Jainism, Buddhism, and some of your sect, such as Kabir Panthis, in which the fundamental principle is the sacredness of life and consequently the prohibition to take the life of any living being, especially of man.

"All the evils that you experience—the famine, and what is still more important, the depravement of your people by factory-life—will last as long as your people consent to kill their fellow-men and to be soldiers (Sepoys). Parasites feed only on unclean bodies. Your people must try to be morally clean.

"I quite agree with you that you ought to be thankful for all that has been done by the English for your well-being, and should help them in all things tending to the civilisation of your people.

"I think the duty of all civilised Indians is:

"1. To try to destroy all old superstitions which hide from the masses the

principle of true religion, i. e., consciousness of the divine essence of human soul and respect for the life of every human being without any exception, and

"2. To spread them as far as possible.

"I think these principles are virtually, if not actually, contained in your ancient and profound religion and need only be developed and cleared from the veil that covers them. I think only such a mode of action can liberate the Indians from all the evils which now beset them and will be the most efficacious means to attain the goal which you are now looking for.

"Excuse me for stating my opinion in such a straightforward way, as likewise for my bad English, and believe me

Yours truly,

LEO TOLSTOI.

"14th July, 1901.

"P. S.—This letter is not written in my handwriting, because I am bed-ridden at the present moment."

MAHA BODHI SOCIETY OF INDIA.

The Maha-Bodhi Society of Calcutta has decided to open a Literary Section, the object of which will be: (1) To transliterate the Pāli Buddhist works into Devanagari and the other vernaculars of India, together with their translations; (2) To bring out popular editions of important Buddhist texts, with copious notes and explanations so that they may be read and understood by the Hindu people; and (3) To open a class for the study of Pāli Literature (which will be converted into a regular institution afterwards) at 2, Creek Row, where regular instructions will be given to the students who are willing to join. Pāli is one of the classical languages of India, whose history can be traced so far back as six hundred years B. C. The Buddhists of the Maha-Bodhi Society claim that while every attempt has been made to revive and spread the Sanskrit language both by the people and the Government, we have up to the present neglected Pāli, which for centuries together flourished in the whole of Upper India as the principal dialect, bequeathing to posterity a rich and valuable literature that dates back to the times of the Buddhist period when the ancient Universities of Nālanda, Takḥhasila, Udanta-pu-ri and Vikramsila were flourishing.

Thanks to the exertions of the noble band of Orientalists, the subject has been fully appreciated and is being studied in the Universities of England, France, Germany, Russia, and America. To India, however, Pāli literature has been almost a sealed literature; yet a knowledge of the history of India is not at all complete without the knowledge of Pāli. For brilliant records of the achievements of kings and princes, the interesting history of the manners and customs of the people, and a faithful account of the internal government, are all to be met in this venerable and beautiful literature. The language is important alike to the student of comparative religion, history, and philosophy. Its study will at once reveal the glory of ancient Indian wisdom. The Society has undertaken the publication in Devanagari of Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar by Pandit Satish Chandra Vidhyabhusan, M. A., and Dhammapada and Suttanipata by Babu Charu Chandra Bose.

The Secretary of the Maha-Bodhi Society says in a circular:

"To carry out the foregoing objects, viz., undertaking the translation of important Pāli works and bringing out popular editions of rare Buddhist books, and also establishing an institution where every facility may be given for the study of

this classical language, would require at least two thousand rupees annually. The work will be purely of an unsectarian character. The chief aim of the Maha-Bodhi Literary Section is to give the educated public an opportunity to come in contact with this splendid literature which is an inexhaustible mine of knowledge and an immortal legacy handed down to us by the sages of old. We ask for the help and co-operation of all who are interested in this work both in this country and in the foreign lands. Donations for the furtherance of the cause will be gratefully received and acknowledged in the Maha-Bodhi Journal."

All communications on the subject should be addressed to Ras Bibari Mukharji (Uttarpara), Bengal, Honorary Secretary, Maha-Bodhi Literary Section, 2, Creek Row, Calcutta.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

DIE DEBORAH. Eine deutsch-amerikanische Monatsschrift zur Förderung jüdischer Interessen in Gemeinde, Schule und Haus. Als Wochenschrift begründet 1855, von Isaac M. Wise. Cincinnati: Druck von The Razall Co. September, 1901. Heft 9.

Deborah, a German Jewish monthly, contains in its September number some theses by Rabbi B. Felsenthal, in which he explains the significance of Judaism, first in its wider sense as denoting the national community of Jews as a nation, and secondly in the sense of Jewish religion. Judaism, says Rabbi Felsenthal, is a universal religion; it is properly speaking a national religion, for without Jews there would be no Judaism. Nevertheless, Judaism, that is to say, the Jewish faith, contains universal elements, and reveals to mankind certain absolute and eternal verities. The historical task of the Jewish nation consisted in revealing certain metaphysical and ethical principles, and making them the common possession of mankind. The typically Jewish features, consisting in definite national symbols and ceremonies, such as the choice of the seventh day as the day of rest and edification, the Jewish calendar, etc., are merely national institutions and have no universal character. But they served as a basis by which the universal ideas manifested themselves and assumed a definite shape. He concludes that the ultimate triumph of Judaism would not consist in the consummation that all men should become Jews, but that the eternal truths of theism and the moral demand of a sanctification of life should be universally recognised as ideal powers, determining and dominating our entire life.

P. C.

The April, May, and June issues of *The Biblot* series were: (1) "Lyrics from 'Ionica,'" by William Cory; (2) "Clifton and a Lad's Love," by John Addington Symonds; and (3) "Dear Love, and Other Inedited Pieces," by Algernon Charles Swinburne. The titles for July, August, and September are: "A Minor Poet and Lyries," by Anny Levy; "A Painter of the Last Century," by John Addington Symonds; and "Proverbs in Porcelain," by Austin Dobson. These dainty booklets cost but five cents apiece, and not infrequently are accompanied with some illustrated supplement. (Thomas B. Mosher, Publisher, 45 Exchange St., Portland, Me.)

The eighth volume of the International Library of Social Sciences issued by Schleicher Frères, of Paris, is devoted to the life of the working classes of France, and treats of such subjects as the length of the working day, wages, the work of women, professional morality, modes of life, alcoholism, etc. (*La vie ouvrière en*

France. By Fernand Pelloutier and Maurice Pelloutier. 1900. Pages, 344. Price, 5 francs.)

Mari Ruef Hofer, the able editor of *The Kindergarten Magazine* of Chicago and a kindergarten teacher of wide experience, publishes a number of *Children's Singing Games, Old and New* (price, 50 cents), for the use of kindergartens. There are running and other games, representations of trades and domestic life, and social themes,—an extension of our kindergarten work which is much needed and which will no doubt be appreciated by kindergarten teachers.

It will be interesting to our readers to learn that the story in the present *Open Court*, "An Evening with the Spiritualists," by Lt.-Col. W. H. Gardner, is based on facts. In a private letter, from which he has permitted us to make a few extracts, Col. Gardner writes as follows:

"There is little to tell of the story save that it is an actual fact except for obvious reasons I have changed names and places. But the *facts* are the same, and whether it was Judge *** of ***, who told me the story, or Judge *** of Boston, it can be no detriment to the *facts* in the case, upon which my theory is founded. I have been a careful student of history, chemistry, ethnology and biologic science. I believe I have read all of the works of Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall and other advanced thinkers on the subject of evolution, and when a few years ago I was stationed at Fort Independence, Boston Harbor, I went to every spiritual *séance* that my title as an M. D. and graduate of a university and moreover as a medical officer of the army allowed me to attend. I had some very funny evenings: rope-tying feats, horn-blowing, etc., but I think it is not worth telling about them, as it was all too ridiculous to invite attention to. But at the *séance* I refer to, Judge *** went with me to the house I have spoken of and then he got the supposititious message from his deceased friend ***. Well, all I can say is what I have said in my manuscript. The dear old Judge was the colonel of a Massachusetts regiment of cavalry during the Civil War, and a few months after our meeting at the hotel, his sister sent me word of his death, with a pair of cuff-buttons that he had sent to me. I see them every day and think of my dear old friend and of our compact to come back and tell each other of the future life, if there is one. But the dear old judge has not yet given me any sign."

We have one comment to make in connexion with the terminology of Lt.-Col. Gardner's exposition. The word "thought-transference" is a dangerous term in psychology, and our author had best avoided it in his explanation of the phenomena described. Thought-transference of course is possible, but not in the sense in which the word is commonly understood. Thought-transference is carried on daily in our intercourse with each other by language, spoken as well as written and printed. Symbols of thought are created which are generally, or to certain persons, intelligible. They are given and received, and deciphered by the recipient. Every sentence spoken and listened to, written and read, telegraphed and delivered to the addressee of the message, is a thought-transference; and there is no thought-transference except by the transmission of some symbol. Mr. Courtland's mind-reading is based upon a close observation of involuntary muscle-motions; and suggestions or warnings given in visions which turn out to be justified may sometimes find a proper explanation in the correct interpretation of certain indications, which are easily overlooked in the bustle of life but assert themselves in the hush of night, taking shape in dreams.