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~~ANNEX A~~

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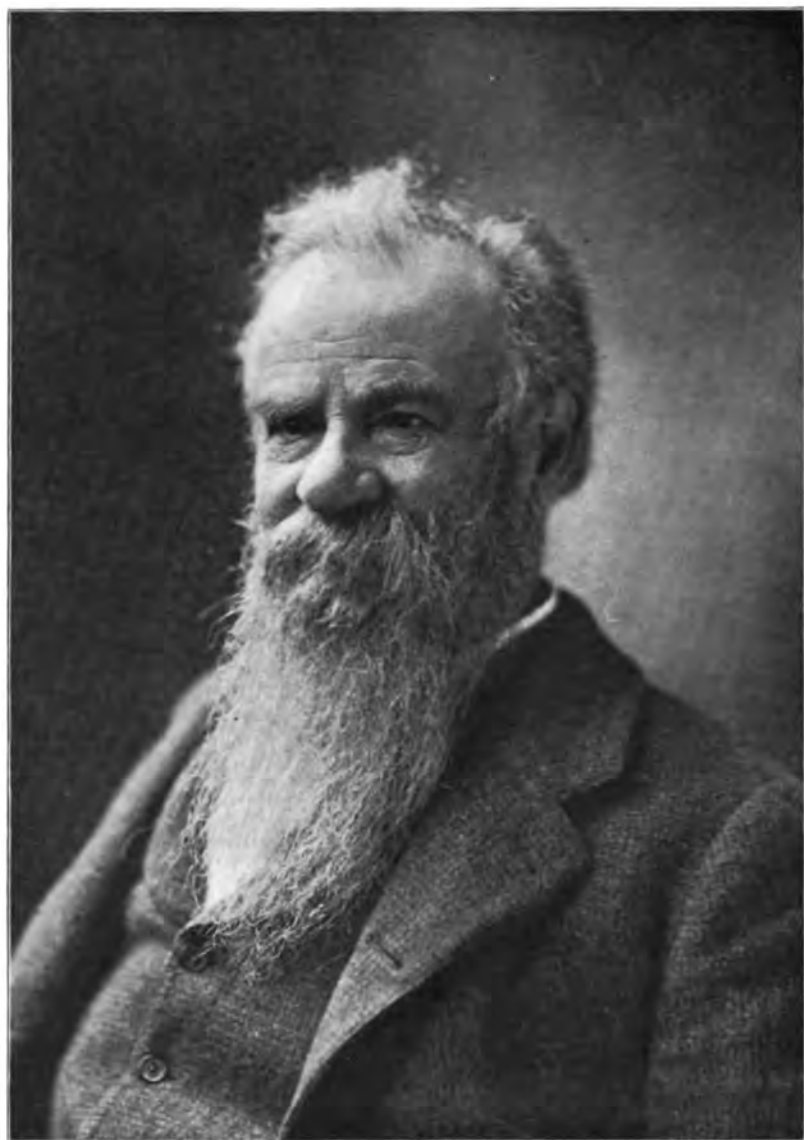
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MAJOR JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

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MITHRAIC ART.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

THE monuments of Mithraism, which have been found in considerable numbers in the provinces of the Occident and even in the Orient, constitute a homogeneous group, of which it is desirable to characterise the importance for the history of Roman art. In point of fact, their artistic merit is far below that of their value as historical documents, and their chief worth is not æsthetic but religious. The late epoch in which these works were produced destroys the least hope of finding in them any expression of true creative power or of following in them the progress of any original development. But it would be unjust if, inspired by a narrow-minded Atticism, we should cast upon them all a like degree of reproach. In the absence of inventive genius, their cleverness in the adaptation of ancient *motifs* and the manual skill shown in their execution,—all technical qualities of which they give evidence,—would alone be sufficient to claim our attention. Some of the groups in high and low relief,—for the paintings and mosaics which have been preserved are so few and mediocre as to dispense us from speaking of them,—hold a very honorable place in the multitude of sculptured works which the imperial period has left us, and are deserving of some consideration.

It can be proved² that all our representations of the tauroctonus Mithra, the hieratic figure of which was fixed before the propagation of the Mysteries in the Occident, are more or less faithful replicas of a type created by a sculptor of the school of Pergamos,

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

² Compare my large work *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, Vol. II., pp. 180 et seq.

in imitation of the sacrificing Victory which adorned the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis. Certain marbles discovered at Rome and at Ostium (see Fig. 1), which unquestionably go back to the beginning of the second century, still reflect the splendor of the powerful compositions of the Hellenistic epoch. After an ardent pursuit, the god captures the bull, which has fallen to the earth; with one knee on its croup and his foot on one of its hoofs, he bears down upon it, pressing it against the earth; and grasping it by the nostrils with one hand, with the other he plunges a knife into its flank. The impetuosity of this animated scene throws in high relief the agility and strength of the invincible hero. On the other hand, the suffering of the moribund victim gasping



Fig. 1. TAUROCTONOUS MITHRA.
Marble Group in the British Museum.

its last, with its limbs contracted in the spasms of death, the singular mixture of exaltation and remorse depicted in the countenance of its slayer, give prominence to the pathetic side of this sacred drama, and even to-day inspire in the heart of the spectator an emotion which the faithful of old experienced in all its living power.

The traditional type of torch-bearers, or *dadophori*, was not susceptible of a similar impassioned treatment. But one remarks, nevertheless, in the best specimens the advantageous effect which the artist has produced by the ample Phrygian garments and by emphasising the different emotions of hope and sadness portrayed

on the countenances of the two young men. We possess a remarkable reproduction of this divine couple in the two statues discovered near the Tiber, which Zoëga attributed to the epoch of Hadrian and which were possibly imported from the Orient to Italy.¹ It will be seen how their author succeeded in offsetting the defec-

Fig. 2. BAS-RELIEF OF AQUILAID.



tive symmetry resulting from the fact that the two figures, which are intended as counterparts, have both their mantles fastened at the right shoulder and falling down at the right side.

The solicitous concern for details which characterises the

¹ *T et M*, Mon. 27, Plate II, opposite page 209, Vol. II.

works of the Antonine epoch was also bestowed with more or less felicity upon the monuments of a slightly more recent date. Consider the group of Ostia, which dates from the reign of Commodus, or the bas-relief of the Villa Albani, which appears to be contemporaneous with the first.¹ The artist delighted in multiplying the folds of the garments and in increasing the undulations of the hair merely to show his skill in conquering the difficulties which he had himself created; yet even this *bizarre* mannerism does not atone for the coldness of the total impression. The success of this minute execution of details is more felicitous in fragments of smaller dimensions. A small marble recently discovered in Aquileia, and here reproduced in Fig. 2, is distinguished in this respect by a "bewildering cleverness of technique." The delicately carved figures are almost entirely severed from their massive base, to which they are attached only by the thinnest supports. It is a piece of artistic braggadocio in which the sculptor parades his virtuosity in producing with a brittle material the same effects that are obtained by workers in ductile metals.²

But these comparatively perfect compositions are rare in Italy and especially so in the provinces, and it has to be acknowledged that the great mass of the Mithraic monuments is of discouraging mediocrity. The hewers and cutters of stone—they deserve no other name—who are responsible for these productions, were often content with roughly outlining by a few strokes of the chisel the scene which they pretended to reproduce. A garish coloring then emphasised certain details. The work is sometimes so hastily executed that the contours alone are distinctly marked, as in the hieroglyphics. It sufficed, it is true, merely to outline representations, the meaning of which every faithful devotee knew and which he completed in imagination; and it is our ignorance that feels so vividly the imperfections of these awkward and vague compositions. Still, some of the smaller bas-reliefs could never have been more than downright caricatures bordering on the grotesque, and their deformities strongly remind us of the little toy gingerbread men which are sold at our fairs.

¹ *T et M. Mon.* 79, Fig. 67; and *Mon.* 38, Fig. 45.

² M. von Schneider, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 488, who sees in this composition "*ein verblüffendes technisches Geschick*," compares it with the relief on the base of the Antonine column (Brunn, *Denkmäler gr. u. röm. Skulptur*, Pl. 2106), and a bas-relief of the Campo Santo of Pisa (Dütschke, *Bildwerke in Ober-Italien*, I., No. 60), and the bust of Commodus in the Palais des Conservateurs (Helbig, *Pharos*, second ed., No. 524). The same application of the technique of metal-working to marble may be noticed in two admirably preserved busts which were discovered at Smyrna and are to-day to be found in the Museum at Brussels (*Catal. des antiquités acquises par les musées royaux depuis le 1^{er} janvier 1900*, Bruxelles, 1901, Nos. 110-111).

The carelessness with which these tablets were executed is excused by their places of destination. The mystics of Mithra were wont not only to consecrate them in their temples, but also to adorn with them their modest dwelling-houses. This domestic consumption explains the enormous quantity of these monuments, which have been found wherever the cult penetrated. To satisfy the incessant demand of the faithful for these figures, the workshops in which they were carved must have produced them rapidly and in quantities. The manufacturers of this brummagem sculpture had no other thought than that of cheaply satisfying their clientage of devotees, whose artistic tastes were far from exacting. The ancient manufacturers turned out hundreds of smaller tauroctonous Mithras,¹ just as our image-makers multiply in profusion the very same crucifixes and the very same Virgin Mary. It was the religious imagery of the epoch, and it was not more æsthetic than is ours to-day.

These manufacturers did not restrict themselves to the unceasing production of replicas of the same traditional type; they sought to diversify their wares, in order to recommend them to all tastes and purses. Look only at the series of ex-votos found in the Mithræum of Sarmizegetusa in Dacia.² We find here specimens of all the models that the workshops of the place reproduced. High reliefs, which are difficult and costly, are avoided. At most, the marble was perforated in places, so as to show forth the group of the tauroctonous god. But what a wondrous variety in the small bas-reliefs which were affixed to the walls of the sanctuaries! For a mere bagatelle square tablets could be obtained bearing only the immolation of the bull. Sometimes its value is enhanced by the addition of a sort of predella, divided into three or four smaller scenes. Again, its composition is complicated by an upper panel decorated with accessory scenes. These, finally, also occupy the borders of the monuments, and encompass on four sides the principal representation. Again, the fancy of the workman taking flight, the tauroctonous god has been enclosed in a circle ornamented with the signs of the zodiac, or in a crown of foliage. Frames were added or omitted. Considerable ingenuity was exercised to give new forms to the sculptured plaques. They were indiscriminately square, oblong, semicircular, trapezoidal, or even round. There are no two of these pieces which are exactly alike.

¹ The absence of machinery naturally excluded any absolute resemblance, but some of our bas-reliefs are certainly from the same hand or at least from the same workshop. Cp. *T et M*, Vol. II., Mon. 45 and 46; 93, Fig. 85 and 95. Fig. 87; 192 and 192 bis; 194 and 195.

² *T et M*, Vol. II., Nos. 138 to 183.

If these commercial products of labor for hire have only the remotest relationship with art, they nevertheless furnish a valuable commentary upon the stone hewing industry of antiquity. We have many proofs that a goodly portion of the sculptures intended for the provincial cities were executed during the imperial epoch at Rome.¹ This is probably the case with some of the monuments discovered in Gaul, and also for those which adorned a Mithræum in London.² On the other hand, certain statues discovered in the capital were presumably imported from Asia Minor.³ The beautiful bas-reliefs of Virunum were likewise brought from abroad, probably by way of Aquileia. We know by the passion of the Four Crowned Ones the importance of the quarries of Pannonia in the third century,⁴ where marble was not only quarried but worked. These stone-yards appear to have been an important center for the manufacture of Mithraic votive offerings. In any event, there are several of them, exhumed in the temples of Germany, which were unquestionably sculptured on the banks of the Danube. These facts cast an interesting light on the traffic in church ornaments during the days of paganism.

Yet the majority of the Mithraic monuments were undoubtedly executed on the spot. The matter is clear for those which were sculptured on the walls of natural rocks smoothed for the purpose,—they are unfortunately all greatly damaged,—but the proof of local manufacture for many others is also forcibly forthcoming from the nature of the stone employed. The construction of these fragments likewise clearly reveals that they are not the handiwork of foreign masters and of some great center of art, nor even of those nomadic sculptors who traversed the land in quest of lucrative or honorific employment, but of the modest stone-cutters of some neighboring town.

The local origin of the largest monuments is best established, since their transportation would have involved both numerous risks and extravagant expenditures. Our collection of large Mithraic bas-reliefs thus constitutes a highly interesting group for the study of the provincial art of the empire. Like the mass of votive tablets that have come down to us, these sculptures, which were exhibited

¹ Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, Vol. III, p. 280.

² *T et M*, Vol. II., Mon. 267 and the note on p. 390.

³ *T et M*, Vol. II., Mon. 235 and the note on p. 338. Cf. *The Open Court* for September, 1902, p. 530.

⁴ Wattenbach, *Passio sancti, quatuor coronati*, with the notes of Benndorf and Max Büdinger, 1870; cf. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 282. A new text has been published by Wattenbach, *Sitzungsb. Akad., Berlin*, XLVII., 1896, p. 1281 et seq. There still exists of this work an unpublished Greek translation; cf. *Analecta Bollandiana*, XVI., 1897, p. 337.

in the apse of the temples for the adoration of the faithful, are also far from being masterpieces of art. But they were nevertheless not executed with the same carelessness, and we feel in their presence that their authors bestowed upon them their best energies. If the artists afforded no proof of originality in the invention of subjects, they nevertheless give evidence of ingenuity in the arrangement of their figures and of their skill in handling the material.

It must not be forgotten, further, in judging of these fragments, that the painter came to the aid of the sculptor and that the brush completed what the chisel had only sketched. On the naked marble or on stone coated with plaster, flaring colors were laid: green, blue, yellow, black, and all shades of red were wantonly intermingled. This glaring contrast of tones accentuated the main contours of the figures, and made prominent their secondary parts. In many cases the details were only indicated with the brush. Gilding, finally, emphasised certain subsidiary features. In the penumbral darkness of the subterranean crypts, the reliefs of these sculptured compositions would have been almost invisible without this brilliant polychromatic vesture. Vivid variety of coloring, moreover, was one of the traditions of Oriental art, and Lucian had already contrasted the simple and graceful forms of the Hellenic deities with the ostentatious gaudery of the gods imported from Asia.¹

The most remarkable of these sculptures have been brought to light in the north of Gaul, or, more precisely, on the Rhenish frontier. It appears that we must attribute this entire group of monuments to that interesting school of sculpture which flourished in Belgium in the second and third centuries, the productions of which unquestionably surpass those of the workshops of the south. One cannot contemplate the bas-reliefs of Osterburken, which are the most complete of the series, without being impressed with the wealth and the general harmony of this vast composition. The confused impression resulting from the accumulation of personages and groups,—a defect which the Mithraic monuments show with many others of their epoch, and especially with the sarcophagi, the composition of which is generally intricate,—is here tempered by the judicious use of separating bands and frames. If we were anxious to criticise the details of these works, it would be easy to point out the disproportion of certain of their figures, the awkwardness of certain of their movements, and sometimes the stiffness of

¹ Lucian, *Yap. frag.*, § 8.

their attitudes and vestments. But these defects should not render us oblivious to the delicacy of the work here performed with a crumbling material, and especially to the praiseworthy success with which a conception of real grandeur has been realised. To attempt to represent on stone not only the gods but the cosmogony of the Mysteries and the episodes of the legend of Mithra, even to the final immolation of the bull, was an undertaking attended with great perils and is a meritorious achievement even in partial success. Even prior to this date, and particularly on the sarcophagi,



GRAND BORGHESI BAS-RELIEF. (Louvre.)

instances occur where the successive moments of the drama are depicted on superposed or parallel plates, but we cannot, nevertheless, cite a single monument of Roman paganism which can be compared in this respect to our grand bas-reliefs, and for similar productions we must wait for the lengthy compositions with which the Christian mosaicists decorated the walls of their churches.

We shall not inquire here into the origin of each one of the different representations which are portrayed upon our monuments; we shall merely observe that in spite of their variety two or even

three clearly marked classes may be distinguished. Some of the figures have been borrowed outright from the traditional types of Græco-Roman art. Ahura Mazda destroying the monsters that had risen against him is a Hellenic Zeus annihilating the giants with his bolts; Verethragna is transformed into a Hercules; Helios is



Fig. 3. MITHRAIC KRONOS, OR PERSONIFICATION OF INFINITE TIME.

Here represented without the head of a lion, which appears on the breast of the figure. This is a Roman beautification of the horrific features of the Oriental God. (Bas-Relief of Modena.)

a young man with long flowing hair, mounted on the usual quadriga; Neptune, Venus, Diana, Mercury, Mars, Pluto, Saturn, are

shown to us in their ordinary aspect with the garb and attributes which are known from time immemorial to have been theirs. Similarly, the Winds, the Seasons, and the Planets had been personified long before the propagation of Mithraism, and the latter cult had only to reproduce in its temples the models that had long since been made popular.

On the other hand, one personage at least is a transformation of an Asiatic archetype; this is the leontocephalic, or lion-headed, Kronos (see Fig. 3). Like the majority of his compeers, this animal-headed monster is a creation of the Oriental imagination. His genealogy would doubtless carry us back to the period of Assyrian sculpture. But the artists of the Occident, having to represent a deity entirely strange to the Greek Pantheon, and being un-



Fig. 4. MITHRA BORN FROM THE ROCK.
Bas-Relief found in the Crypt of St. Clements at Rome.

trammelled by the traditions of any school, gave free rein to their fancy. The various transformations to which they subjected his figure were in part influenced by religious considerations, which tended to complicate the symbolism of this deified abstraction and to multiply more and more his attributes, and in part by an æsthetic solicitude to soften as much as possible the monstrous character of this barbaric personage, and thus gradually to humanise it. Ultimately they suppressed the lion's head, and contented themselves with representing this animal by its feet only, or with placing the head of the beast on the figure's breast.

The leontocephalic god of Eternity is the most original creation of Mithraic art, and if it is totally destitute of the charm of

grace, its unwonted aspect and the suggestive accumulation of its attributes awakened curiosity and provoked reflection. With the exception of this god of Time, we can establish the Oriental origin of certain emblems only, like the Phrygian bonnet topping a staff, or the sphere surmounted by an eagle representing the Heavens. As the Mithra immolating the bull, so also the other scenes in which this hero appears as actor, are unquestionably in greater part the transpositions of *motifs* popular in the Hellenistic epoch, although we are unable in every case to rediscover the original which the Roman marble-cutter imitated or the elements which he combined in his composition. As for the rest, the artistic value of these



Fig. 5. BIRTH OF ERICHTHONIOS.
From a Greek Vase.

adaptations is generally very slight. We have only to compare the lifeless group of Mithra issuing from the rock (Fig. 4) with the animated picture of the birth of Erichthonios as it is portrayed on Greek vases (see for example Fig. 5) to note the superior artistic effect which the ancient Hellenic ceramists could produce from a similar theme. The poverty of the innovations which the Mithraic iconography introduced contrasts painfully with the importance of the religious movement that provoked them. We have, in this, additional corroboration of the fact that in the epoch in which the Persian Mysteries spread throughout the empire, the ancient sculpture was doomed beyond recall. Whereas, during

the Hellenistic period, sculptors were still able to conceive new forms felicitously adapted to the character of the Egyptian divinities, under the empire, on the other hand, the majority of the Mazdean gods, despite their very peculiar nature, were compelled, whether or no, to take the form and the garb of the denizens of Olympus. And if for some of these strange subjects new types were actually invented, they were in every instance distressingly commonplace. The superabundant wealth inherited from the ancient generations had enervated the generative potencies of art, and, accustomed to draw from these rich stores, art had grown incapable of all individual productivity.

But we should be wrong in exacting from the adepts of Mithraism something which they never made the pretence of offering. The religion which they preached was not a cult of beauty, and love of plastic form would doubtless have appeared to them a vain, if not a condemnable, taste. Religious emotion alone was of consequence in their eyes, and to awaken it they addressed themselves mainly to the reason. In spite of the many appropriations which it made from the treasury of types created by Greek sculptors, Mithraic art rested at heart Asiatic, like the Mysteries of which it was the expression. Its predominating idea was not to provoke an æsthetic impression; it aimed not to fascinate, but to tell its mission and to instruct,—faithful in this also to the traditions of the ancient Orient. The jumbled mass of personages and groups which are presented on some of the bas-reliefs, the host of attributes with which it surcharged the eternal Kronos,¹ shows us that a new ideal was born with the new religion. These uncouth and unappealing symbols, the manifold use of which our monuments exhibit, did not allure by their elegance or nobility; they fascinated the mind by the disquieting attractions of the Unknown, and provoked in souls reverential fear for an august mystery.

Thus is explained why this art, extremely refined despite its imperfections, exercised a durable influence. It was united to Christian art by an affinity of nature, and the symbolism which it had popularised in the Occident did not perish with it. Even the allegorical figures of the cosmic cycle which the devotees of the Persian god had reproduced in great profusion (for all nature was for them divine throughout) were adopted by Christianity, although in essence they were diametrically opposed to its spirit. So with the images of the Heavens, the Earth, and the Ocean, of the Sun, the Moon, and the Planets, and of the signs of the zodiac, of the

¹ Cp. *The Open Court* for October, 1902, p. 605, and for September, 1902, p. 523.

Winds, the Seasons, and the Elements, so frequent on the Christian sarcophagi, the mosaics, and miniatures.

The mediocre compositions which the artists had conceived to represent the episodes of the legend of Mithra appeared also worthy of imitation to the Christian ages, which were even more powerless than their predecessors to shake off the traditions of the workshops. When, after the triumph of the Church, Christian sculptors were confronted with subjects hitherto unattempted, and found themselves under the embarrassing obligation of depicting on stone the personages and stories of the Bible, they were happy in the opportunity of being able to draw inspiration from the portrayals which the Persian Mysteries had popularised. A few alterations in costume and attitude transformed a pagan scene into a Christian picture. Mithra discharging his arrows against the rock became Moses causing the waters of the mountain of Horeb to gush forth; the Sun, raising his ally out of the Ocean, served to express the ascension of Elijah in the chariot of fire; and to the time of the Middle Ages the type of the tauroctonous god was perpetuated in the images of Samson rending the lion.

JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

BY MRS. M. D. LINCOLN (BESSIE BEECH).

[CONTINUED.]

II. THE SOLDIER.

IN the winter of 1860-1861, our devoted and successful young scientist was teaching school for the second year at Hennepin. Of fine physique, commanding respect everywhere by virtue of his mental acquirements and natural endowments, a sound, earnest thinker, it is not strange that when Abraham Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 troops, this stanch abolitionist should immediately organise a company of soldiers. Some days later a company at Granville was accepted by the Governor as one of the companies to constitute the twentieth regiment of Illinois Infantry. With the small party assembled at Hennepin John Powell went to Granville and joined the Granville Company as a private soldier.

Vividly the days of childhood came back to him, and the anti-slavery sentiments which he had inherited and which were fostered by his father's teaching and daring example, made him enlist for a purpose higher and greater than the glory of martial triumph. He enlisted with the avowed purpose of doing his part in the extinction of slavery in this country; and from the first day after the call was made for troops, he felt thoroughly convinced that American slavery was doomed. He found reasons later in life for enlarging his opinions regarding the importance of the issue at stake; for he says in a letter to a friend:

"It was a great thing to destroy slavery, but the integrity of the Union was of no less importance: and on and beyond it all, was to be counted the result of the war as an influence which should extend far into the history of the future, not only establishing in North America a great predominating nation, with a popular and powerful government; but also as securing the ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxon branch of the Aryan family, and the ultimate spread of Anglo-Saxon civilisation over the globe. Perhaps it is only a dreamer's vision wherein I see the English

language become the language of the world ; of the science, the institutions, and the arts of the world ; and the nations integrated as a congeries of republican states."

The eradication of slavery and the preservation of the Union, were, he believed, the important epochs in the course of history which would lead to these results ; and he carried the musket to help as best he could to secure the fruition of what he saw in prophetic vision. And thousands more saw the shadow of fulfilment as the scathing fire mowed them down.

When the Twentieth Illinois was organised at Joliet, our hero was made the Sergeant-Major of the regiment. At the end of the month, when it was mustered into the United States service, he was commissioned as Second Lieutenant. Before the regiment was mustered, and while he was still Sergeant-Major, he obtained permission of its Colonel to go to Chicago, which was only sixty miles distant, on a plea that he desired to purchase a uniform. His main object, however, was a desire to obtain some books on military science, and while in Chicago he obtained Mahan's and Vau-ban's works on military engineering. He returned to Joliet, where the regiment was still stationed. These books, together with a small volume of Tactics and the Army Regulations, furnished study for some weeks, and whenever possible he went some distance away from camp for the purpose of looking over and studying topographical features and planning military works for the defense. The Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment, who was subsequently killed at Donaldsonville, finding the Lieutenant studying military science, would sometimes join him, and they often had discussions about military works, such as entrenchments, fortifications, and bridges. Civil engineering and the construction of bridges had been previously studied by Lieutenant Powell.

When finally the regiment was ordered into the field at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, the Colonel of the regiment directed Lieutenant Powell to look over the ground, select a camp, and prepare a plan for the entrenchment of the camp ; and his orders were satisfactorily carried out. At Cape Girardeau there were four regiments commanded by C. C. Marsh, the Colonel of the Twentieth Illinois Infantry, to which Lieutenant Powell belonged. During the first week of the occupation of Cape Girardeau, he carefully studied the country about the camp and made a map of it, and prepared a plan of works for the defense of the town, should it be necessary ; but no work was done in the field to carry out this plan, until one day General Fremont arrived at Cape Girardeau with a

large retinue of foreign officers, and informed Colonel Marsh that he desired to have the city fortified. Colonel Marsh sent for Lieutenant Powell and asked him to submit the map and his plan to General Fremont and his staff. They approved his plan and Colonel Marsh was ordered to prosecute the work with the greatest possible vigor.

The summer, fall, and winter were occupied in carrying out his order. At one time a Prussian officer was sent by General Fremont to take charge of the work, but as he could not speak English and was a very old man, he occupied himself in the construction of a small fort which could perhaps cover three or four hundred men at most, and Lieutenant Powell went on with the construction of a system of works inclosing the city.

After a time, Captain (afterwards Colonel) Fladd, who had been engaged on the works at St. Louis, and was an accomplished engineer, came down and took charge, and he made Lieutenant Powell his assistant, a good school of engineering for the young lieutenant. Altogether the works were on an extensive scale, and many thousand men were employed. When General Grant took command, some time in the early winter, the operations of this character were limited to the completion of a part of the work already under way; and the entire plan was never fully executed.

One day General Grant came up from Cairo to inspect the works, and Lieutenant Powell rode with him two or three hours; and after the ride was over he invited the young soldier to take supper with him on his boat. After supper, Lieutenant Powell said to the General that he desired a leave of absence for one week, and frankly told him that he had been engaged to a young lady in Detroit for a long time, and that he wished to go home to get married, and would return in a week. The General gave him the leave of absence; he went to Detroit, arrived there about six o'clock in the evening, was immediately married to Miss Emma Dean of that city, and started on the train at eight o'clock with his bride on the return to Girardeau.

Their wedding journey was to the Seat of War in the southwest, a moveable grand division, with its "headquarters" as apt to be in the saddle as in the fields of Kentucky or Tennessee; it then being under the leadership of that great Captain of the culminating victory who in taking Fort Donaldson, introduced to the world the leaders of the waiting hosts east and west.

Not a very delightful situation this for a "honey-moon"—but Mrs. Powell had heroic blood in her veins, and she followed the

army without hesitation, bearing the inevitable inconveniences and privations of camp-life with womanly fortitude; one of the ways in which the sex stimulated the other half of the world to do their duty as men, and show their own valor through privations and waiting—sometimes harder to endure than being in the midst of the battle.

Lieutenant Powell was on General McPherson's staff; within a month after his marriage he lost his right arm at the battle of Pittsburgh Landing or Shiloh.

General Grant was again at Cape Girardeau and Lieutenant Powell, who then was on General McPherson's staff, begged that he might be relieved from duty at that point as engineer, and ordered back to his regiment, which was then at Bird's Point. To this the General would not consent, but shortly after sent him a commission as Captain of Artillery. It seems the General had written to Governor Yates, telling him he did not wish Lieutenant Powell to return to his regiment, and that as the State of Illinois was organising batteries of Artillery, he thought Lieutenant Powell could make up a battery with some Missouri soldiers that were there, and who had been enlisted without authority from Washington, under instructions from General Fremont, and that if Governor Yates could send a few men from Illinois, they would be put together in this battery.

When Lieutenant Powell received this commission, he was instructed to take the Missouri soldiers who were camped outside of the city of Cape Girardeau, together with some men sent by Governor Yates, and with them organise under his command as their captain the company which was afterwards known as "Battery F, Second Illinois Light Artillery."

While stationed at Cape Girardeau, the troops on two occasions were sent into the interior of Missouri to operate against Jeff. Thompson. On two occasions Captain Powell went with them as staff-officer, his principal duty being to study the country and give information of routes and to construct maps of the region to be travelled.

In the latter part of the month of March, 1862, he was ordered to the Tennessee River.

In his six weeks' experience with the Twentieth Illinois Infantry he paid close attention to the study of tactics, and as the Lieutenant of Company H of that regiment he became a good drill-master. When the battery was organised he manifested great interest in artillery tactics, and became proud of the performance of

his battery on drill and parade. Full of activity, with zeal not always characterised by the wisdom which more deliberate men would have advised, he was a severe and almost unreasonable disciplinarian, drilling his men on every possible opportunity. When the battery went up the Tennessee, it had 156 stalwart men; and a finer lot of horses was never, perhaps, attached to a battery. Although this company had been organised but a few weeks, it went into park on the bluffs above Pittsburgh Landing, a grand body of men, well drilled, and with an equipment complete and in the best possible condition.

A week later everything was sadly changed. It was within a month of the young captain's marriage that the battle of Shiloh or Pittsburgh Landing took place, and in it his battery played an important and heroic part. Most of the horses were lost, many of the men were killed, still more wounded, and Captain Powell had his right arm shot off.

[Capt. Powell was crippled for life, and the stump of his right arm was subject to incessant pain until in his advanced years, I believe in 1898, a successful operation on the terminating nerves gave him relief; and henceforth he felt as if he had been regenerated and had received back his original vigor.

In connection with the loss of his right arm, I wish to record an incident which is typical of American conditions. In the same battle of Shiloh, a Southern officer, Col. Charles E. Hooker, afterwards Member of Congress from Mississippi, lost his left arm, and after the war the warriors met and became friends. It happened that their hands were of the same size, and henceforward whenever either purchased a pair of gloves he sent the unnecessary one to his enemy; the two veterans ever after remained friends.]¹

The officer left in command probably could not muster more than half of the number that had gone up to Pittsburgh Landing. His [Captain Powell's] young wife was on the field—at headquarters—when he was wounded, and she then and there enlisted for the war, General Grant giving her a "perpetual pass" to follow the army and thus enable her to act as right arm for her husband. Otherwise he would have had to leave the service, and that would have been a great loss, as his skill as an engineer and artilleryman ranked high; and General McPherson relied upon his knowledge most implicitly; placing him always—with his dogs of war—in the most responsible positions.

Mrs. Powell nursed her husband back to life in the hospital;

¹ The passage in brackets was inserted by the editor, on the authority of Major Powell.

and he did not hesitate to say that he believed he "owed his life to his wife's presence, fortitude, and unwearied devotion, united to her skilful nursing."

In the summer of 1862 the captain returned to the command of his battery at Corinth, Mississippi. During the fall and early winter nothing of importance occurred at that point in the theatre of war in which his battery was engaged. Some short expeditions were made, each proving fruitless; they remained in camp during the greater part of the time until early in February, when they were ordered to Lake Providence. On arriving there with his command, the battery was parked in the lawn of one of those great southern mansions, and the house was occupied by the commander and his officers. For nearly a month he was principally occupied in drilling his battery and putting it in order for the spring campaign.

The ground on which the battery were parked was very beautiful. The roomy old mansion had probably been abandoned for a year or two. On every side rose-bushes had grown up and there were acres of them. In the early spring these burst forth into bloom, and the trees and shrubs were filled with mocking-birds, and here in this garden of loveliness, where one could almost forget the calamities of war, a month passed, remembered by Captain Powell as one of the most delightful periods of his life.

In the meantime General Grant's army had been attempting to make a cut-off across the peninsula opposite Vicksburg. This having failed, the army took up its line of march across the peninsula to Grand Gulf, encountering deep mud. Captain Powell was then acting as Chief of Artillery under General Ransom, who commanded the Fourth Division of the Seventeenth Corps. One or two regiments of the division were away at the time. Three batteries were under Capt. Powell's command, and to get these across the peninsula, through the mud and over bayous, was a somewhat difficult task. He had to build many bridges and corduroy many miles of road, a work necessary not only for the battery but for the whole division, and for trains that followed in the line of the troops. At last, when the division had reached Grand Gulf and pushed back into the interior of the State of Mississippi to Jackson, Johnson's army having been driven eastward from Jackson, General Grant turned back toward Vicksburg in order to meet General Pemberton. On the march toward Vicksburg, Captain Powell took part in the battle of Champion Hill and that of Black River Bridge.

An incident worthy of note occurred at the battle of Champion Hill. When Captain Powell enlisted in Company H of the Twentieth Illinois Infantry, he took with him some of the men who had agreed to join his company at Hennepin, to fill out the company organised at Granville. One of these men was a tall Scotchman by the name of Morgrave, brave and trustworthy as a soldier as he had been respected and valued as a private citizen. At the battle of Champion Hill, Morgrave who was then a non-commissioned officer in the Twentieth Illinois, was sent to the right of the Twentieth to reconnoiter. There was a body of troops on the right, and the colonel of the regiment was uncertain whether they were Union or Confederate soldiers. Morgrave went out and fell into the hands of the enemy. Fighting soon began. The soldier in whose charge Morgrave was placed told him to lie down under a log, and the guard lay down by him. Soon the enemy gave way, and the Union troops passed over the ground, driving the Confederates back. As they lay behind the fallen tree, the movements of the troops were uncertain to the hiding party; but finally Morgrave concluded that he had as much right to the position as his guard. Laying his hand upon the gun, he called upon the guard to surrender; and the guard surrendered. Neither party yet knew who were victorious, the Confederates or the Union troops. A few moments after this, Captain Powell chanced to be riding over the ground for the purpose of bringing up the battery that was in the rear, and he saw Morgrave and his man. They called to him, and Morgrave in great earnestness asked which of the two should be considered the prisoner. When informed of the result of the battle, he was much delighted.

After the battle of Champion Hill, General Pemberton's army was driven across Black River, and the bank of the river was occupied by the Union troops. About two o'clock in the afternoon the railroad bridge was burned by the enemy, and bridges had to be built immediately. During that afternoon and night they were constructed across the river, and by daylight two divisions had crossed on this bridge, including the batteries which he commanded.

For two days they fought their way toward Vicksburg and on the 21st of June invested the works that sheltered General Pemberton. During the night of the 21st Captain Powell was occupied in arranging the lines of the division to which he belonged (Ransom's division), and in getting the batteries into position under cover of rude and hastily constructed earthworks. On the 22nd a severe en-

gement occurred; and on the 23rd the siege operations fairly commenced, and he was engaged in them, day and night, from that time until the fourth of July. In no other forty days of his life had he ever worked so hard. It was his custom to lay out the works at night, and to direct the digging by the troops; and during the day he was engaged in preparing materials.

The work consisted chiefly in running parallels, and in constructing batteries and defensive works for the artillery. The ground was covered with fallen trees through which a dense jungle of cane was growing. This cane was cut and used in making fascines and other materials used in the construction of gabions to be employed for revetment. On the evening of the 22nd, while engaged in laying out work of this kind, one of his soldiers suggested that the telegraph wire could be used for binding the fascines, and at night nearly three hundred men were set to work making fascines and tying them with wire, the rude machinery for this being devised upon the spot. The telegraph wire ran towards Jackson from a point which was occupied by Ransom's division, and gradually this wire for many miles back was brought in to be used for this purpose.

The hills about Vicksburg are composed of loess, and this material was of a character well adapted to their purposes. They ran long galleries in it without any support, and they soon had a system of galleries extending quite under the enemy's guns, and their own troops were gradually brought up by a system of parallels to the very ditches of the enemy's main works. All the enemy's salients were abandoned quite early in the siege, and the Union guns were so arranged that they would enfilade every rod of his breastworks; and for several days before the surrender no man could safely show himself above the works of the enemy.

During all this work, Generals Grant, McPherson, and Ransom daily watched the siege operations immediately controlled by Captain Powell, and it was here that he first comprehended the genius of the great Commander. Often at night the General came to inspect the work in the darkness, and they walked together while Captain Powell explained what he was doing, the position of the enemy's guns, the topographic features, and other conditions which determined his plans. To all of these explanations General Grant lent a most intelligent hearing, rarely making suggestions, but when made, they were always of the most important character. Then during the day the Captain would further explain the work in his charge, and would find that General Grant had carried in his

mind a complete conception of the situation, and remembered all the details of the work.

He would often listen to explanations in silence, but when he asked a question it was pertinent. Captain Powell declared that never in his life had he associated with a general who so thoroughly understood the principles and details of military engineering.

On the third of July, General McPherson rode up near where Captain Powell was at work and sent for him, and soon after General Ransom came up, and General McPherson asked General Ransom if he thought the works could be successfully stormed from his (Ransom's) front; Ransom believed they could, and the details of the movement along that route were then explained and agreed upon; but just when it should take place was left uncertain. General McPherson thought it would probably be at daybreak on the morning of the fifth, but that circumstances might demand that it should be made sooner, and expressed a desire that General Ransom should be prepared to move at any time. After consultation the generals went away. A few minutes later General McPherson returned, and taking pen and ink from an orderly he wrote an order for Captain Powell to have the batteries open upon the enemy's line, with a national salute at daybreak on the morning of the fourth. At daybreak, however, the enemy had surrendered, and instead of firing a national salute the Union troops moved forward a few yards over the enemy's works and took possession of his lines.

Two or three days after, McPherson was informed that the enemy was crossing a large body of horses and cattle over the Mississippi at Natchez, and General Ransom was ordered to take boats, descend the river, and capture the cattle if possible. Natchez was soon reached, and on landing Ransom's division was hurriedly run into the country, and a large district including the city of Natchez was surrounded with troops. The line was gradually concentrated as it moved toward Natchez, and within the circle some hundreds, perhaps thousands, of cattle were enclosed. Some of these cattle were speedily sent to Vicksburg, and orders were soon received to take others to New Orleans and supply General Banks's army.

Captain Powell went down with the troops to New Orleans, and on returning to Natchez he obtained a leave of absence. During the siege of Vicksburg the excessive work had greatly reduced him in flesh, and in addition to this his arm had given almost incessant pain. After a consultation of the surgeons it was decided that he should have a resection, and for that operation he preferred to go home. During all the campaign up to that time his wife had been

with him, and they went together to Detroit, where the operation was performed.

He soon recovered, and in the fall returned to Natchez, where he found General Crocker of Iowa in command, General Ransom having been ordered to report to General Banks. General Crocker remained in Natchez a few weeks after Captain Powell's return, and then was ordered to Vicksburg, and finally back of Vicksburg to a little place called Hebron, where winter quarters were established. Captain Powell had their batteries parked on a beautiful piece of ground, barracks were constructed for the men, and stables erected for the horses, and the weeks were spent in recruiting men and horses and preparing for more active operations.

Then the expedition to Meridian was made by General Sherman, and the division to which Captain Powell was attached took part. The movement was one of destruction, its purpose being to attack a small body of troops which had occupied the country not far from Jackson, drive them across the State of Mississippi and back into Georgia, and destroy all railroad communication with Vicksburg, in order that the captured city might be garrisoned with a small force, and the main body of the army withdrawn to take part in operations elsewhere.

In the march to Meridian the army met with but little opposition; from day to day there was skirmishing, and some loss of life on both sides, but the railroads over a broad zone of country were torn up, and everything that could be utilised by an enemy in support of troops was destroyed. This destruction often involved the burning of farm-houses and barns, and many buildings were reduced to ashes. On the return a vast horde of negroes, men, women, and children, with horses, mules, and cattle, were brought back from Vicksburg, and once more General Crocker's division went into camp at Hebron.

Early in the spring his division was ordered to Chattanooga, but in the meantime a regiment of colored troops was partly organised at Vicksburg, and Captain Powell, upon the request of General Thomas, consented to take charge of them. He soon came to the conclusion that these troops were not likely to take an active part in the war, but would probably be held behind for garrison duty; so he determined not to be mustered in as colonel of the regiment, though a commission had been sent him, and he obtained permission to join the Fourth Division once more.

On his return to the Fourteenth Division he was made Chief of Artillery, of the Seventeenth Corps, having previously been com-

missioned as Major, and took part in the operations around Atlanta. Subsequently he was made Chief of Artillery of the Department of the Tennessee.

When General Hood turned back toward Nashville, Major Powell was with the pursuing army under Sherman, and was with him on Kenesaw mountain when General Corse was attacked at Altoona. Having driven Hood westward towards Rome, General Sherman turned back towards Atlanta once more, and went on beyond Jonesboro. A day or two before the railroad communication was broken with Nashville General Sherman concluded that the artillery could be moved across to Savannah. During the campaign there was great loss of horses, and the artillery was using old horses and mules to slowly drag the pieces over the country. Sherman deciding that all these animals were necessary for the quartermaster's train, Powell was ordered to take sixteen batteries of the Army of the Tennessee back to Nashville and ship them around to Savannah. He reached Nashville with the batteries just before the battle of Franklin was fought, and received instruction from Washington to report to General Thomas. Thus it happened that he participated in the battle of Nashville.

For some days before the battle, he was busily occupied in superintending the constructions of defense. On the morning of the battle, under General Thomas's instructions, he had the sixteen batteries under his command arranged in four divisions and distributed at as many different points along the rear of our army. From time to time, as the battle raged, these batteries were sent to the front under orders from General Thomas, and engaged in the conflict. Major Powell, riding from point to point, occasionally returning to General Thomas for further instructions, was for the first time during the war witness of an entire battle; that is, he was able to comprehend the operations on the various parts of the line, and to see the most important engagements on the first and second day.

When, on the morning of the first day, General Hatch's mounted infantry attacked the enemy on the extreme right with two of his batteries, the entire operation could be dimly seen in the mist from the hill where General Thomas stood, and by his side Major Powell watched the progress of the battle. When the Union troops fought their way to the top of the hill, and up to the enemy's works, for a few moments a cloud of mist obscured the scene; then the wind drove the clouds away, and with their glasses the two officers could see the stars and stripes waving over the enemy's

fort, four or five miles in the distance. When the facts were fully demonstrated, General Thomas expressed unmeasured delight, and affirmed that he had no more fear of the result; the only thing then necessary was to press General Hood so that he could not escape.

After the destruction of General Hood's army, Major Powell remained in Nashville some time until the sixteen batteries under his command were once more thoroughly equipped with horses and munitions.

Early in the spring of 1865 he asked for orders to report to the Commander of the Army of the Tennessee, General Howard, and receiving such orders, he was soon at his old post. In the meantime the Confederacy was gradually falling to pieces, and when Major Powell arrived at Louisville he was confident the end was near at hand. His term of enlistment had expired also, and general orders were issued permitting the troops to go home.

When the surrender finally came and the little white flags of capitulation began to flutter along the fortifications, such extravagant demonstrations of joy, such shouts, went like a wave through our lines and besiegers as "to have heard is never to be forgotten," says Mrs. Powell. To have been there and to have suffered some of the privations and anxieties of those days of "weary waiting" she considers to have been among her "greatest privileges."

Mrs. Powell had a hard life; her home was often a Sibley tent; her furniture of the rudest; her table service of tin; but her cheerful acceptance of the conditions so as to be able to serve the Major proved her soldiership; and she deserves a brevet of at least "ornamental aid" for having kept a most serviceable man at the front, when if she had been less heroic they would have made the circumstances an excuse for returning to the pursuits of private life.

They now went to Detroit to visit his wife's family for a few weeks, and then to Wheaton, Illinois, the home of his father.

(TO BE CONCLUDED.)

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THERMOMETRY.¹

BY DR. ERNST MACH.

[CONCLUDED.]

THE rapid increase of the expansive force (pressure) and density of saturated vapors suggested to Cagniard de la Tour² the idea that at high pressures and temperatures vapors could be produced the density of which varied only slightly from that of their liquids. He filled a portion of a musket-barrel nearly half full of alcohol, and inserting in it a bullet of flint closed it. As the barrel was raised to higher and higher temperatures, the sound which the bullet produced when shaken against the sides of the

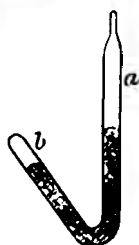


Fig. 21.

barrel suddenly changed. In a glass tube from which the air had been expelled a quantity of liquid alcohol nearly half filling the tube was rendered entirely invisible by heating. When the tube was cooled, it again made its appearance as a dense shower. The experiments were then continued with the tube shown in Fig. 21. Ether was introduced at *a* and separated from the air in *b* by mercury. The compression of the air gave the pressure of the liquid, the thermometer of the bath in which the tube was immersed gave

its temperature. Ether disappeared at 30 atmospheres and 160° C, alcohol at 119 atmospheres and 207° C, their vapors occupying something more than twice the space taken up by the liquid. Water disappeared at the temperature of melting zinc, and took up four times the space occupied by the liquid. Seeing that the tubes when too small for the expansion did not burst immediately, Latour correctly concluded that the liquids were extremely compressible in this state and had very large coefficients of expansion.

¹ Translated from Mach's *Prinzipien der Wärmelehre* by Thomas J. McCormack.

² *Ann. de chim.*, XXI., 1822, pp. 127, 178, XXII., 1823, p. 410.

Prompted by Davy, and perhaps also by the researches of Latour, Faraday¹ endeavored to liquefy chemically developed gases confined in closed spaces,—an undertaking in which he was in several instances successful. The idea of these experiments had, indeed, been clearly suggested by the proof which Gay-Lussac had furnished of the like deportment of *gases* and *non-saturated vapors*, as well as by Latour's experiment, showing that vapors at high pressures were liquefied by a slight diminution of temperature and re-vaporised by a slight increase of temperature. A simple example is that of the liquefaction of cyanogen, which occurs when mercuric cyanide is heated in one end *a* of a glass tube (Fig. 22), and the other end *b* of the tube is cooled in water. The generated gas is liquefied at *b*. These experiments were continued on a larger scale with carbonic acid gas by Thilorier and Natterer,² the latter of whom especially was successful in liquefying large quantities of carbonic acid gas by means of an appropriately constructed force-pump.

The experiments of Andrews³ first indicated the mode of procedure by which finally Cailletet and Pictet (1877) were enabled to liquefy all gases. Andrews compressed dried, deaerated carbonic acid gas by means of mercury forced with a screw into a glass tube *G* ending in a capillary prolongation *g* (Fig. 23). The phenomena occurring in *g*, which was plunged in baths

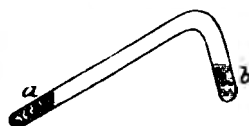


Fig. 22.

of varying temperatures, could thus be observed at leisure, whilst air confined in a similar tube and subjected to the same pressure served as a manometer. It was found that carbonic acid gas could not possibly be liquefied by any pressure at a temperature *above* $+30.92^{\circ}\text{C}$, whereas it was possible to liquefy it at temperatures *below* this point. Andrews called this temperature the *critical temperature*, and it was demonstrated that every vapor and every gas possessed such a critical point, the sole difference being that the point in question was *high* for the so-called vapors and easily condensable gases, and very low for the so-called permanent gases. Utilising the results of Andrews's researches and employing extreme degrees of cold, Cailletet and Pictet succeeded in liquefying all gases.

Aeriform bodies above the critical temperature are, accordingly, in Andrews's conception, *gases*, and those under the critical temperature *vapors*. The very rapidity of the augmentation of the

¹ *Ann. de chim.*, XXII., 1823, p. 323, XXIV., 1823, pp. 297, 401, 403.

² *Pogg. Ann.*, Bd. 67, 1844.

³ *Philosoph. Transact.*, 1869, p. 575.

curve of maximum pressures is suggestive of the idea that above a certain temperature this maximum pressure transcends all limits or becomes infinitely great. This limiting point actually exists; it is Andrews's critical temperature.



Fig. 23.

Mendelejeff calls the critical temperature the "absolute boiling point." As the pressure increases, the temperature of boiling rises until the maximum expansive force of the liquid equals the pressure to which it is subjected. But at the critical temperature the pressure that could prevent the liquid from boiling is infinitely great; it boils under every pressure. Mendelejeff also showed that the superficial tension of the liquid, which decreases as the temperature rises, *disappears* at the critical temperature.

The deportment of carbonic acid gas as thus revealed by Andrews, and its deviations from the law of Boyle and Gay-Lussac, are graphically represented in Fig. 24. The curves correspond to those of Fig. 18. The abscissæ represent the volumes. The curves of the figure extend from the second to the fourteenth thousandth part of the volume of carbonic acid gas at 1 atmosphere of pressure and 0° C. The dotted line bounds the region within which the carbonic acid gas can exist partly in a liquid and partly in a gaseous form.

Fig. 16 may by a slight modification be made to visualise the deportment of gases and vapors. This modification is shown in Fig. 25. The pressure of the vapor at a given temperature ascends by the curve mn ; but at n liquefaction begins. The pressure of the vapor at a higher temperature ascends by the curve pg to the greater maximum g ; and so with the rest. To the right of the curve $ngrs$, the vapors behave as gases; to the left, liquefaction sets in. Conceiving a distant light with rays parallel to VO to cast a shadow of the curve $ngrs$ on the plane POT , we should obtain Regnault's curve visualising the increase of the maximum pressure of the vapor with the temperature. The *lowest* temperature at which the curve ut , by which the rise of the pressure with diminishing volume is indicated, *no longer cuts the curve ngrs*, is the critical temperature. Accurately viewed, the sections of the surface of Fig. 25 parallel to POV are not exact hyperbolas for either gases or vapors. This is approximately true only of the sections to the right of $ngrs$ at some distance from this curve. In the vicinity of the curve and to the left of it, the forms appear which the graphs of Andrews in Fig. 24 show.

Although the investigation of liquids furnished no such general results as that of gases, yet a few observations in connection with them must be mentioned. Even the Accademia del Cimento is said to have been familiar with the fact that water heated from the freezing-point contracted at first and only later expanded.¹ Deluc²

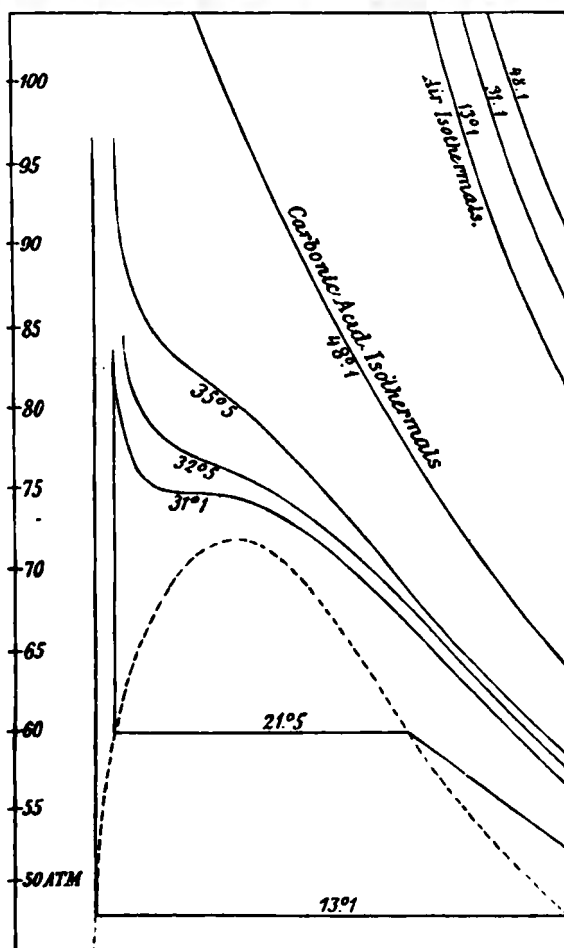


Fig. 24.

observed that the peculiar behavior of water-thermometers was attributable to an anomaly of the water itself, and, taking no account of the expansion of the glass walls, fixed its point of greatest

¹ I have been unable to satisfy myself of the correctness of this report.

² *Sur les modifications de l'atmosphère*, Paris, 1772.

density at $+50^{\circ}$ C. Hällstrom¹ was the first to examine more minutely into this phenomenon by determining the loss of weight of a glass body of known expansibility in water at different temperatures. Hagen and Matthiessen followed the same method. Despretz² observed the temperature of the different layers of water when cooled in a vessel. The water of least density formed the

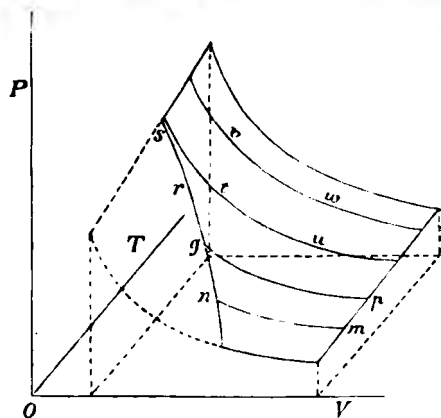


Fig. 25.

uppermost layer, and consequently when the water first began to cool had the highest temperature. On passing through the temperature of maximum density, this relation of things was reversed. F. Exner³ augmented the delicacy of this method by using thermo-elements instead of thermometers. Plücker and Geissler used a thermometer-shaped vessel partly filled with water. The most accurate determination

of the temperature of maximum density was in all probability that made by F. Exner, who found it to be $+3.945^{\circ}$ C. The investigations just mentioned are important in point of principle, as they overthrew the very natural belief in the uniform and parallel behavior of all bodies expanding under the action of heat.

There still remain to be mentioned, for the methods involved, the measurements of the expansion of solids which Lavoisier and Laplace jointly conducted, and which Roy completed after the manner of Ramsden. Lavoisier and Laplace⁴ added to the quadrant pyrometer of Musschenbroek, which was rotated by the expanding rod, a telescope set to a distant scale. The reading was considerably magnified, but every inaccuracy of the apparatus was also reproduced on an enlarged scale. Roy⁵ employs three bars, all in ice (Fig. 26). The first carries two illuminated cross-threads, F, F' ; the second, the one to be investigated, carries two microscopic objectives, A, A' ; the third two oculars with cross-threads, B and B' . The images of the cross-threads F, F' are aligned with the cross-threads of the oculars. If the bar in the middle is now plunged in a bath of higher temperature, the distance between A

¹ *Gillb. Ann.*, 1802.² *Ann. de chim.*, LXX., 1839, LXXIII., 1840.³ *Wiener Academ.*, 1873.⁴ Biot, *Traité de physique*, 1816.⁵ *Philos. Transact.*, 1785.

and A' will be increased. By moving the bar in the direction A , A' the image of F can again be aligned with the cross-threads of the ocular B , and by a micrometric displacement of A' along the bar the image of F' can also be aligned with the cross-threads of ocular B' . This last displacement measures the linear dilatation of the middle bar.

Dulong and Petit enriched the thermometric knowledge of their predecessors by a number of careful experiments, and set forth the entire thermometry of their time in a clas-

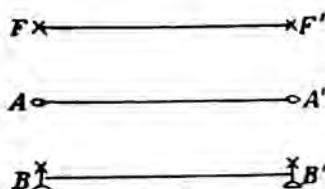


Fig. 26.

sical work honored with a prize by the Parisian Academy.¹ The labors of these physicists consist essentially in having made an *accurate* comparison of the different thermometric scales within *wide* ranges of temperature. The thermal conditions being the same, the comparative behavior of mercury-thermometers and air-thermometers corrected with regard to the expansion of the glass is as follows:

WHEN THE MERCURY-THERMOMETER INDICATES	THE AIR-THERMOMETER INDICATES
—36	—36
0	0
100	100
360	350

For reducing the indications of the mercury-thermometer to those of the air-thermometer, the foregoing table would be sufficient. But to compare the real dilatations of air and mercury, additional experiments must be made. A siphon tube AB (Fig. 27) was filled with mercury, and one of the arms B was plunged in a bath of melting ice, whilst the other A was immersed in a bath of oil at higher temperatures. The heights of the two columns of mercury, as measured by the cathetometer, were to each other directly as the volumes of the same mass of mercury at the two temperatures in question. The temperatures of the oil bath were determined by means of an air-thermometer and a mercurial weight-thermometer. This latter consisted of a vessel filled with mercury at 0° C and terminating in a bent capillary prolongation, from which quantities of mercury determinable by weight were expelled

¹ *Sur la mesure des températures et sur les lois de la communication de la chaleur*, Ann. de chim., VII., 1817, p. 113.

as the temperature rose. The amount of mercury expelled, like the *apparent* voluminal dilatation of the ordinary mercury-thermometer, was determined by the *difference of the dilatations* of the mercury and the glass. Column *A* of the following table gives the tempera-

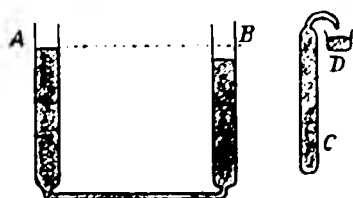


Fig. 27.

ture derived from the absolute dilatation of the air, *C* that derived from the apparent dilatation of the mercury (as determined by the weight-thermometer), and *B* the mean absolute coefficient of dilatation of the mercury between 0° and the temperature recorded.

<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>
0	0	0
100	1 5550	100
200	1 5425	204.61
300	1 5300	313.15

Designating the absolute voluminal dilatation of the mercury by α , that of the glass by β , and the apparent dilatation of the mercury in the glass vessel by γ , we have $\gamma = \alpha - \beta$. Accordingly, the dilatation of glass also is given by the table. Calling the temperature derived from the dilatation of air *A*, that derived from the dilatation of glass at the same thermal state *D*, and supposing the scales to be coincident at 0° and 100° , we obtain :

<i>A</i>	<i>D</i>
100	100
200	213.2
300	352.0

Knowing the dilatation of mercury and glass, there is nothing to prevent our inserting a small rod of iron in a glass-thermometer and filling the remainder of the tube with mercury. Treating this arrangement as a weight thermometer and rendering the surfaces of the enclosed substances proof against amalgamation by oxidising, we obtain in a perfectly obvious manner the voluminal dilatation of iron or of any other metal. If v is the volume of the glass

tube and v_1 the volume of the metallic rod at 0° C, and if α , β , γ be the coefficients of dilatation respectively of mercury, glass, and the metal between 0° and t , then the total volume of the mercury expelled at the temperature t will be $w = v\alpha - v\beta + v_1\gamma$, from which γ is determinable.

From experiments like the foregoing, Dulong and Petit reached the following conclusions:

1. Deriving the temperatures from the indications of the air-thermometers, the coefficients of dilatation of all other bodies are found to increase with the temperature.
2. Determining the temperatures by the indications of an iron thermometer, the coefficients of dilatation of all other bodies are found to diminish as the temperature increases.
3. Measuring the temperatures by the absolute voluminal dilatation of mercury, the coefficients of dilatation of iron and copper increase, while those of platinum and air decrease, as the temperature increases.

The dilatations of air, iron, copper, and platinum corresponding to the same thermal states are given by the following table:

AIR	IRON	COPPER	PLATINUM
100	100	100	100
300	372.6	328.8	311.6

Hence, if several different solids are subjected to the same thermal changes, their variations of volume are by no means proportional to *one another*, but each body exhibits an *individual* behavior peculiar to itself. The gases only, as Gay-Lussac showed, obey the same law of dilatation. This result of the labors of Dulong and Petit is, *in point of principle*, of great importance for the theory of thermometry.

Deluc and Crawford early sought for a body the *dilatations* of which should be proportional to the *quantities of heat*¹ it absorbed. Dulong and Petit likewise granted the rationality of a scale of temperature the degrees of which should coincidently measure the quantities of heat absorbed by the thermometric substance; and the same idea occurred, as we have seen, in a slightly different form, to Renaldini.² But these inquirers very correctly remarked that such a scale would be of value only provided the same independent relationship as subsisted between capacity for heat and

¹ We are obliged by the context to anticipate here the definitions of quantity of heat, specific heat, and capacity of heat, which will be critically discussed in a later chapter.

² Cp. *The Open Court* for November, 1902, p. 650.

the scale of temperature here in question likewise obtained for all other bodies; or, what is tantamount to the same thing, only provided the variations of the thermal capacities of all bodies for the same variations of thermal state were *proportional to one another*. This question, accordingly, was attacked experimentally.

The capacities of bodies for heat were now investigated with greater accuracy and throughout wider ranges of temperature than ever before. *Boiling water* and *boiling mercury* were employed to raise the bodies to the required temperatures. Accurately weighed quantities of the different substances were then immersed in a like accurately determined large body of water, the ascent of the temperature of which determined the quantities of heat given off by the bodies. The following table gives the results of this experiment:

	MEAN CAPACITY BETWEEN 0° AND 100°	MEAN CAPACITY BETWEEN 0° AND 300°
Mercury.....	0.0330	0.0350
Zinc.....	0.0927	0.1015
Antimony.....	0.0507	0.0549
Silver.....	0.0557	0.0611
Copper.....	0.0949	0.1013
Platinum.....	0.0355	0.0355
Iron.....	0.1098	0.1218
Glass.....	0.177	0.190

As will be seen, not only do the capacities for heat increase with the temperature as recorded by the air-thermometer, but they also increase in different proportions with different substances, and would also increase in like manner were the temperature recorded by the mercury-thermometer. The law of the variation of capacity for heat is therefore *peculiar to each substance*.

Dalton imagined himself justified by the state of research of his time in formulating the following singular laws of temperature:

- "All pure homogeneous liquids, as water and mercury, expand from the point of their congelation, or greatest density, a quantity always as the square of the temperature from that point.
- "The force of steam from pure liquids, as water, ether, etc., constitutes a geometrical progression to increments of temperature in arithmetical progression.
- "The expansion of permanent elastic fluids is in geometrical progression to equal increments of temperature.

"The refrigeration of bodies is in geometrical progression in equal increments of time."¹

Consonantly with these views, Dalton proposed a new scale of temperature, the degrees of which increased in length with the temperature. The mean between freezing and boiling water, or 122° on the new scale, corresponds about to 110° on the Fahrenheit scale. If a quantity of air expands on being heated, in the ratio of 1 to 1.0179, Dalton adds 10° on his new scale; and when its volume diminishes in the ratio of 1.0179 to 1, he subtracts 10°. The points 32 and 212 are identical on Dalton's and Fahrenheit's scale.

Studying unbiassedly the portion of Dalton's treatise with which we are here concerned, one is struck with the wilful caprice with which he frames his assumptions and theories. The clearness and precision of his exposition has suffered so much by the introduction of superfluous hypothetical elements, that it is by no means easy at times to grasp clearly his meaning. He compares the heated body to a vessel, the heat it contains to the liquid the vessel holds, the temperature to the height at which the fluid stands. It is an indisputable fact for him that equal increments of heat in any body correspond to equal increments of temperature. Since, however, according to his conception, the capacity increases with the volume, this conception is again untenable. No precise definition of what he understands by temperature is found in the text. The properties of his new scale are determinable from his table alone.

The following is an illustration of the temerity with which Dalton embraced the most hazardous theories. The higher and more rarefied layers of the atmosphere are *colder*. On rarefaction, the air cools, and consequently gains, according to Dalton's conception, in capacity for heat. Dalton, in explanation of the coldness of the higher regions of the atmosphere, then calmly assumes that layers of air in contact tend, not towards equality of temperature, but towards equality of heat.²

As a matter of fact, Dulong and Petit,³ in consequence of their investigations, which showed the behavior of bodies to be in each case *peculiar to themselves*, and so subject to no general law, found themselves obliged to repudiate utterly the thermometric laws of Dalton. Even Dalton himself subsequently became convinced of the untenability of his laws.⁴

¹ *A New System of Chemical Philosophy*, London, 1808, p. 13. Compare also Henry, *Memoirs of the Life and Scientific Researches of Dalton*, London, 1854, p. 66.

² *A New System of Chemical Philosophy*, Part I., London, 1808, p. 126.

³ *Ann. de chim.*, VII., 1817, pp. 150 et seq.

⁴ Henry, *Life of Dalton*, p. 67.

The researches of Dulong and Petit thus indisputably demonstrated, as their authors in their conclusion claimed, that all thermometric scales were dependent on the particular thermometric substance selected. Universal comparability was, they found, the property of gas-thermometers only, and, without condemning all others, they recommended these thermometers as the best. We have now substantially reached the point of view which we shall assume in the following discussion. It is unnecessary for our purpose, which is entirely one of principle, nay, it would be quite inadmissible, to consider here in detail the recent and more refined investigations in thermometry which Pernet and others have conducted.

The development of thermometry from the employment of the first air-thermometer (probably in 1592) to the attainment of lucidity in points of principle in this domain (1817) covered an interval of some 225 years. Manifold were the paths entered upon, and again and again were they forsaken and re-trodden before the fragments of our knowledge were all gathered and united into a comprehensive view of the whole. The air-thermometer was invented. Its defects led to the employment of liquid thermometers, the insufficient comparability of which provoked new efforts and thus ultimately threw into full consciousness and light the quest for a *rational* scale of temperature. The determination of fixed points and the search for a rational scale required much time and experimentation, the upshot of which was the reinstatement of the air-thermometer as a normal instrument in its proper rights. We are now in a position to consider critically the results of our historical survey, which we shall next proceed to do.

MRS. LYDIA PRATT BONNEY.

BY THE EDITOR.

THAT the wife plays an important part in the life of a man is obvious, but the quiet assistance which she gives him in innumerable instances and the influence which she exercises in many significant but undefinable particulars is but little appreciated. If a man becomes famous and if his deeds and accomplishments are praised, the unostentatious help which he has received from his wife is mostly forgotten or passed over in silence; yet without her his life would have been incomplete. She belongs to him and he to her. Without her he would have been different; his whole career would have taken another course, and it is even possible that he would not have attained the same success in life.

It is the wife that comforts a man in tribulation. She buoys up his spirits when they flag and she encourages him in the most critical moments of his development. She makes him manly, for true manliness can scarcely be thought of without the compensating presence of a wife, and every man is best characterised by the wife that stands at his side.

These comments apply with special force to the late wife of our venerable friend, the Hon. Charles Carroll Bonney.

Mrs. Bonney's maiden name was Lydia Pratt. She was educated in Troy at the Seminary of Mrs. Emma Willard, the famous pioneer in the higher education of women, and she distinguished herself in many ways as a good scholar, but especially by her rare talent for painting. While Miss Pratt was still in the primary grade, it happened that the teacher of art fell ill, and she was at once chosen by Mrs. Willard as her assistant.

In 1852 Miss Pratt visited her brother, Mr. Benoni P. Pratt, at Peoria, Illinois, and there she met on Dec. 3rd a young lawyer who by his steadfast character and sound knowledge had already

gained the confidence of his fellow citizens. It was her future husband Charles Carroll Bonney. They were married in Troy, N. Y., on August 16th, 1855.

Mrs. Bonney died on January 30, 1900, from a stroke of apoplexy suffered on the 10th of that month.

It was my good fortune to make Mr. Bonney's acquaintance at the World's Fair Congress Auxiliary of which he was the inaugurator and president. I came into close contact with him on several occasions during that memorable event, and I found



THE MAIDEN.

After a faded Daguerreotype.



THE WIFE.

After a photograph.

opportunity to admire his extraordinary administrative ability and the tact which he displayed. The crown and glory of all the congresses was the Parliament of Religions which was an unprecedented event in history and which became possible only through the extraordinary discretion with which the delegates of the several creeds and sects were treated.

Mr. Bonney as president of the Congresses showed an impartial justice and at the same time an unstinted friendliness toward all. He gave every one of the delegates the same chance of rep-

resentation, so that a lack of success could only be due, wherever it happened, to their own mistakes. As a fact, almost every one of them returned home contented. Every one had had a hearing, and every faith had had a fair chance of having its tenets explained to the expectant crowds of the large and mixed audiences.

Difficulties frequently arose, for the speakers enjoyed untrammelled liberty, yet the arrangements were such and the spirit of



THE MATRON.

Mrs. Bonney's latest picture.

the meetings so lofty that there was very little abuse of liberty, and whenever a storm threatened to disturb the peace, Mr. Bonney poured oil on the troubled waters, and always remained master of the situation. There was no outburst of discord that was not settled quietly, and without doing any harm.

One might have noticed in the several halls in which Mr. Bonney, on special occasions, made his appearance, a stately lady whose hair was turning white, watching every movement of the venerable President of the World's Fair Congress Auxiliary; it was Mrs. Lydia Pratt Bonney. How often did Mr. Bonney's office boy, who served as aide-de-camp, travel to the platform and whisper a few words or carry a slip of paper containing suggestions which (however trivial they may have been at the moment, sometimes merely relating to the acoustics of the hall and the effect of the speaker's voice) were not without influence upon the man who was the spirit of all these congresses. They represented a spiritual contact with a companion mind who watched over his movements, ever ready to assist him with advice and to keep him informed about the trifles that might mar the effect of the whole.

Mrs. Bonney was possessed of a distinguished presence. No one could see her without being struck by her queen-like, yet affable deportment. She seemed providentially chosen and adapted to do the honors at the receptions of the World's Fair Congresses.

Mr. Bonney, as we have learned in former numbers, is a poet and his Muse takes the flight of the higher style, soaring into themes sublime, such as the patriotic anthem which appeared under the title of "America," in *The Open Court* for December, 1901, or into the realm of religio-philosophical topics such as the New Year vision which was published in *The Open Court* for January, 1900. Mr. Bonney being a lawyer and a man of practical affairs, was very reluctant to publish his poetry, and it is only now when he is enjoying the evening of his well-spent life in the well-deserved rest of retirement, that he has ventured to allow his poetical lines, so far known only to his most intimate friends, to find a general public.

Owing to the fact that I showed an interest in his Muse, Mr. Bonney handed me some time ago a collection of his poems, and I noticed in the Table of Contents of these manuscript leaves some marked with crosses with the remark: "Not for publication." And he added that they are in a lighter vein and might therefore detract from the dignity of the other poems in which he had struck the key-note of the sublime. Such was Mr. Bonney's impression, but the truth is they were more personal and for that reason perhaps more generally human and poetical.

Having enjoyed the perusal of the poem "America" and other lines of a similar strain, I felt tempted to see what kind of poetry Mr. Bonney would cut out from publication, and I found that most

of the poems were dedicated to his wife and extolled the woman of his choice. Upon seeing Mr. Bonney again, I openly avowed my special interest in the lines which he had proposed to discard, and I very soon noticed that after all they were dearer to him than I might have supposed from his first comments, not because he liked the lines better but because the influence of his companion was still powerful upon him. If he showed any discrimination against these verses it was because they did not seem to express the dignity of her to whom they were addressed.

Since we cannot better describe a wife than by showing the effect of her influence upon her husband, and since a public man belongs to the public and the public have a right to see and know him, I propose (with Mr. Bonney's kind permission) to publish some of his poems in order to portray the significance of his wife in his career. There is nothing extraordinary in these productions, nothing that is startling, but they are typical of an alliance between two noble souls whose fates have been locked into one.

We let the poems follow in their natural order without further comment.

TO MY WIFE.

THE IDEAL.

Man is not all an element of earth,
 A being whose existence hath no aim
 Beyond mere sleep and labor; and whose birth
 Is but the prelude to a life of shame :
 Which hath its dearest and its purest springs
 Of hope and joyment, in the world of sense ;
 Nor whose development of being, brings
 But chill and change upon sweet innocence.

But there is something from a higher sphere,
 Inblent with our mortality, which flings
 A glorious radiance o'er our pathway here,
 And lends its beautiful, its unseen wings,
 To all life's better moments, when the soul
 Thirsts for the waters of purer stream,
 And welcomes back the visions fair that stole
 From Eden-land, in youth's first blissful dream.

And in my inner being there doth dwell
 A pure Ideal of a sister heart ;
 A blending of each beauty whose sweet spell
 Hath been upon me, which can ne'er depart
 From out my memory—its lasting shrine.
 And it is with me ever ; and each hour

THE OPEN COURT.

It mingles its own essence with mine,
My idoled minister—Love's spirit flower.

It links me with all loveliness and truth,
And I have twined around it, and still twine,
A love whose fervor and whose dreamy ruth,
Are not more earthly than they are divine.
And I have dreamed, in some loved form to find
The real of the ideal I have known—
Dreamed of a union of our dual mind,
Which yet is desolate, since all alone.

DREAMS.

I have dreamed of a glorious being—
An angel in earthly shrine—
A radiant spirit of beauty—
With feelings attuned to mine.

Whose hopes, whose silent musings,
Would echo all my own,
And wake the pleasant music
Of the spirit's lute-like tone.

And I've dreamed that years would bring me
The real, whose vision dwells
In my heart's best fane, as sweetly
As flowers in wildwood dells.

I have dreamed of a rapturous meeting,
With the spirit I've loved so long,
With holy and passionate fervor—
A being of dream and song.

I have dreamed of an quiet dwelling—
A home where human flowers
Would bud and bloom, to gladden
Life's brighter, better hours.

And many a time, while dreaming,
I have thought—I have felt her near—
And my heart, too full for keeping,
Ran o'er in a silent tear.

And over my spirit stealing,
I have felt her holy smile,
And dreamed she came and kissed me,
And breathed a prayer the while.

And I know if I e'er should meet her,
I should know, and of her be known,

And my soul, having found its sister,
Would no longer be alone.

HER FACE.

Though crowds of faces be before mine eyes,
They only see but one :
As in the glories of the summer skies,
We only see the Sun.

All other faces are but stars to me ;
I see them in the night.
'Tis only when her own dear face I see,
My soul is filled with light.
To other eyes, she may not seem so fair,
May be 'tis only mine
That, in the picture framed by her soft hair,
See charms that are divine.

Through her sweet eyes, I look into her heart,
And there I do behold
Such blessed beauty as no cunning art
Hath e'er to mortal told.

It is as though you looked in a sweet spring,
And in its mirror bright,
Saw sky and landscape fondly trembling,
As if they felt delight.

Of words, my love and I have little need ;
For if I only look
Into her face, I there her thoughts can read,
As I would read a book.

I have her picture whereso'er I stray ;
I keep it in my heart.
The precious treasure nought can take away ;
Of me it is a part.

And if I seem to worship this dear face,
'Tis no idolatry ;
I only worship in it, God's sweet grace,
That shineth there on me.

It is my shield ; when evil thoughts assail,
It charms them all away :
Sooths passion's tempest to a summer gale,
And shows my feet the way.

So I am blest. Whatever may befall,
Whatever woes may come.

THE OPEN COURT.

Her calm, sweet face shall cheer my heart through all
Till it reach Heaven, her home.

HER VOICE.

From my first memories, my inmost heart
Hath hungered for sweet sounds,
And always, at the touch of music's art,
My soul with gladness bounds.

The thirsty garden doth not drink the rains
With any more delight,
Than doth my spirit, all melodious strains
That show'r it, in their flight.

The language of the soul is melody ;
Love's native tongue is song ;
And all the blessed things of harmony
To its domain belong.

The notes of birds that sing the hymns of morn—
The voices of the trees—
The low, sweet words of waters, mountain-born—
The hum of honey bees,

The tones of anthems, sung in temples grand—
The songs of Italy—
The household memories of every land—
All these are sweet to me.

But I have found a living treasury
Of all I ever heard,
Of charming music, whatsoe'er it be,
Of streamlet, breeze, or bird.

It bath all tender cadences that art,
By instrument, hath made ;
All tones of sympathy that move the heart.
And are by love obeyed.

All its exquisite harmonies abide
Forever in my brain ;
And with the ebb and flow of their sweet tide,
Soothe all my spirit's pain.

It comforts, chides, encourages, and cheers,
Consoles and strengthens me ;
Dispels my doubtings, and allays my fears,
With its sweet melody.

Above all other music ever heard,
It is my fond heart's choice,
To hear, in some low, sweet, delicious word,
Her Own Beloved Voice.

HER NAME.

There is no music heard in happy dream,
No luring song of fame,
That to my ear one half so sweet doth seem,
As Her beloved name.

I hear it always, like the murmur dear,
Of soft wind, o'er the sea ;
And my fond heart, with echo sweet and clear,
Repeats the symphony.

When I awake and see the morning star,
Shine on Aurora's breast ;
It seems to whisper from its heights afar,
Her name of love and rest.

When mid the struggles of my daily life,
My heart feels faint and sore ;
Her dear name strengthens to renew the strife,
And I am sad no more.

When day is over, and the blessed night,
Comes with its holy calm ;
Her sweet name soothes my senses with delight,
And fills my heart with balm.

And always when I lift my heart in prayer,
I breathe most tenderly
Her name, and ask that all things good and fair
About her life may be.

I pray that neither her dear heart, nor mine,
May keep one wish or thought,
On which the blessing of the Hand Divine
May not be truly sought.

Pray that through all my life, her love may warm
My soul to noble deeds ;
While I, through every trial, grief, and storm,
Protect her as she needs.

'Tis not mere letters, formed into a word,
That make her blessed name ;
But the sweet tones, by love pronounced and heard,
That kindle feeling's flame.

THE OPEN COURT.

Its charming mystery cannot be told
 By pen, nor by the voice;
 My heart alone the secret e'er will hold,
 And over it rejoice.

THE LIPS.

The lips are sacred. In the shining eyes
 The soul is only seen; but on the lips
 Its very breath and sweetness softly lie,
 And whoso touches them its essence sips.

A kiss is therefore sacred and to be
 Regarded as a rose from Love's sweet land;
 Not as an act of common courtesy,
 Like greeting of the voice or by the hand.

The heart, untaught, instinctively repels
 All common trade in kisses as profane,
 And 'gainst the sacrilege at once rebels
 With shameful feelings of indignant pain.

Then be the lips kept pure and beautiful,
 And kisses deemed the sweet reward of love;
 And be the heart kept good and dutiful,
 And blessings will reward it from above.

TO MY BELOVED.

I. PREMONITION.

The thought of you awakes my inmost heart
 With fondest longing to be where thou art.

II. COMING.

The tender fall of your approaching feet
 Fills me with expectations, hushed and sweet.

III. GREETING.

The warm close clasp of your delightful hand,
 Is better than the gold of Ophir's land.

IV. WELCOME.

Your ardent kiss, my hungry heart doth fill,
 With the sweet gladness of its tender thrill.

TO LYDIA.

I am coming, sings the tide,
 O'er the ocean great and wide;
 And I bear upon my breast
 All the wealth of peace and rest,

For which the weary soul so long hath sighed.
God grant it may be so
Ere the wintry breezes blow,
And that you and I, My Dear,
May enjoy the coming year
More than any since the day you were my bride.

SEMPER FIDELIS.

Forever faithful! not alone in ways
Of violet-bordered gladness, but as well
In sorrow's dreary, cypress-shaded paths.

Forever faithful! not alone when joy
Is singing anthems in the spirits' fane,
But when anxiety, fear, pain, and grief
Bear some dead hope to burial through its aisles.

Forever faithful! in the little things
Of life, as in the great, for in the least
Oft hide the mightiest. An eagle's egg
Is a small thing, and greatest battles turn
On seeming trifles. One unfaithful deed
May blight a life, or change a nation's course.

Forever faithful! if the earnest soul
That legend on its banner ever bears,
And on Fidelity, as on a rock,
Builds up the temple of a worthy life,
It will be blest. No outward adverse fate
Can take the treasures of the soul away.

Semper Fidelis! write upon my heart,
O sovereign Lord, these words, and give me strength
To live them fearlessly and prove them true.

THE HOME.

To God, whose goodness hath provided it,
And to the service of our fellow-men,
Without whose kind support and confidence
No one is blest with true prosperity,
With grateful hearts we dedicate this house.

Here let the social virtues all abide;
Here let domestic peace assert its sway;
Here let wise recreations be prepared;
Here let the arts and sciences find friends;
Here let the muses have their votaries;

THE OPEN COURT.

Here let all honest labor be approved ;
 Here let all sorrows meet with sympathy ;
 Here let all worthy effort meet with praise.

And here against all infidelity ;
 Against all selfishness and avarice ;
 Against all scandal, hatred, and ill-will ;
 Against all idleness and vanity ;
 And other foes of honor, faith, and peace,
 Be constant and successful warfare waged.

Here be the Prince of Peace acknowledged Lord ;
 Here be the Golden Rule acknowledged law.
 And when the poor and sorrowing see this house,
 May they ask God to bless it for their sake.

MY WIFE.

I pray for thee each night before I sleep,
 I pray for thee each morn when I awake,
 Asking the Lord in safety thee to keep
 And from thy dear heart every sorrow take.

Indeed my thoughts of thee are all a prayer,
 That thy dear breast from toil may find repose,
 And all the desert of thy daily care,
 Rejoice and bloom, like Sharon's lovely rose.

And I entreat the Lord to make me such
 A husband as I ought to be to thee ;
 Entreat him that I may not grieve thee much
 By anything that is amiss in me

PROMISE.

As in the bud the blossom's beauty lies,
 Till, in the fulness of the summer days,
 It opens to soft winds and shining skies,
 And all its fragrant loveliness displays :

So in the baby's arch and dimpled face,
 And all the sweet ways of her babyhood,
 Are blessed omens of a riper grace,
 Adding new beauty to each childish mood.

As in the verdure of the laughing spring
 We read the promise of autumnal store ;
 And when the baby birdling tries its wing
 We see it in the future rise and soar ;

So in the child we see the woman smile
And feel the charms of the approaching years;
So when her new-born dignities beguile
Our weary hearts, replacing care with cheer,

We think, with mingled faith and hope and fear,
Of all the future for the dear one keeps;
Then with firm heart repress the starting tear,
And trust in Him whose mercy never sleeps.

We pray that He will guide in peaceful ways
Her tender feet, and make her wise and strong,
Will comfort her in all life's winter days,
And keep her safe from every harm and wrong.

Try not too soon, dear bird, the sunny air,
Stay the unfolding of thy leaves, sweet flower,
Be as thou art, so happy and so fair,
We would not speed thy years a single hour.

HER BIRTHDAY.

(September 29, 1868.)

Her Birthday is dawning, shine softly, Oh sun,
Touch lightly her beautiful eyes;
She is lovelier now than the day she was won,
Bend tenderly o'er her fair skies.

Soft breeze from the billows, sweet wind from the plains,
Come, laden with melody's dreams,
Sing lullaby music, in tenderest strains,
Bring visions of valleys and streams.

Let all the bright angels that guarded her birth,
Return to caress her to-day;
To measure with gladness the wealth of her worth,
And guide her dear feet in thy way.

Rise, Children, to bless her and cherish her name,
Who never missed yours in her prayers;
She justly your love and your homage may claim,
Who gives you a Mother's fond care.

Sing hymns in her honor, wreath flowers in her hair,
For this is the day of her days,
And she who our sorrows and trials doth share
Hath right to our love and our praise.

Oh blessed and bounteous Heaven send down
Thy Gladness to bless her to-day;

THE OPEN COURT.

Thy Peace, to encircle her brow like a crown,
Thy Love, to sustain her away.

THE GOLDEN WEDDING.

Blessed are they who see the fiftieth year
Of wedded life dawn on their love, and hear
Each in the other's voice the sweet refrain
Of their betrothal vows come back again.

Blessed, who after half a century
Of mingled joys and sorrows still can see
It was the gracious Lord's benign command
That bade them meet life's trials, hand in hand.

Blessed are they whose children round them throng,
To celebrate with feast and cheer, and song,
Their Golden Wedding. Well may they upraise
Their voices in triumphant hymns of praise.

I DREAM OF THEE.

TO ONE IN HEAVEN.

When the last morn-stars are beaming
From the amethyst of heaven,
And away are slowly streaming
The shadows Night hath given,
When golden sunbeams falling
Upon the deep blue sea,
To life are ripples calling,
Dear One, I dream of thee.

When glad free birds are singing
Their orisons at morn,
And wild sweet blossoms springing,
And holy thoughts are born,
When brooklets bright are leaping
Along so merrily,
Through bloom-decked valleys sweeping,
I dream, I dream of thee.

When balmy breezes sighing
Make music mid green leaves,
Like low dear love-tones dying
When some fond spirit grieves;
When dew-stars bright are shining
On blushing bloom and tree,
And hope, bright love-wreaths twining,
I dream, dear one, of thee.

Where'er the glow of beauty
From eyelight, or from flower,
Or voice of truth-toned duty,
My heart thrills with its power ;
Whene'er a voice of gladness
Gives some dear tone to me,
Awakes perchance sweet sadness,
I dream, I dream of thee.

When twilight's blush is stealing
Sweet o'er the silent earth,
And purest, deepest feeling
Hath with the stars its birth,
When pure prayer heavenward goeth,
Like dew-drops from the lea,
My soul thine own soul knoweth,
Oh, do you dream of me ?

Whene'er the soft moon floateth
Up in the azure sky,
And every glad soul noteth
Bright angels floating by,
Whene'er the daylight fadeth
And slumber comes to me,
And sleep's dark pinion shadeth
My soul, it dreams of thee.

I dream, Oh beautiful spirit flower,
I dream, I dream of thee
In every place, at every hour,
Oh, dream you thus of me ?
At morn, at noon, at starry even,
I dream, dear one, of thee,
Oh glorious child of the spirit land,
Say, dreamest thou thus of me ?

FOUNDATION OF A LAY CHURCH.

A SUGGESTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHAT is the reason that so many people, and sometimes the very best ones, those who think, stay at home on Sunday and do not attend church? Is it because our clergymen preach antiquated dogmas and the people are tired of listening to them; or is it because the churches themselves are antiquated and their methods have become obsolete? To many these reasons may seem a sufficient explanation; but I believe there are other reasons, and even if in many places and for various reasons religious life is flagging, we ought to revive, and modernise, and sustain church life; we ought to favor the ideals of religious organisations; we ought to create opportunities for the busy world to ponder from time to time on the ultimate questions of life, the problems of death, of eternity, of the interrelation of all mankind, of the brotherhood of man, of international justice, of universal righteousness, and other matters of conscience, etc.

The churches have, at least to a great extent, ceased to be the guides of the people, and among many other reasons there is one quite obvious which has nothing to do with religion or dogma. In former times the clergyman was sometimes the only educated and scholarly person in his congregation, and he was naturally the leader of his flock. But education has spread. Thinking is no longer a clerical prerogative, and there are more men than our ministers worthy of hearing in matters of a religious import. In other words, formerly the pulpit was naturally the ruler in matters ecclesiastic, but now the pews begin to have rights too.

Wherever the churches prosper, let them continue their work; but for the sake of the people over whom the churches have lost

their influence the following proposition would be in order, which will best and most concisely be expressed in the shape of a ready-made

PROGRAM FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LAY CHURCH.

GENERAL PRINCIPLE.

It is proposed to form a congregation whose bond of union, instead of a fixed creed, shall be the common purpose of ascertaining religious truth, which shall be accomplished, not under the guidance of one and the same man in the pulpit, but by the communal effort of its members in the pews.

NAME AND FURTHER PARTICULARS.

This congregation shall be known by the name of The Lay Church, or whatever name may be deemed suitable in our different communities, and a characteristic feature of it shall be that it will have no minister, but the preaching will be done by its own members or invited speakers.

Far from antagonising the religious life of any Church, The Lay Church proposes to bring to life religious forces that now lie dormant. Religious aspirations have as many aspects as there are pursuits in life, and it is the object of The Lay Church to have representatives of the several professions, of business, the sciences, the arts, and the trades, express their religious convictions upon the moral, political, and social questions of the day.

The Lay Church will establish a free platform for diverse religious views, not excluding the faiths of the established Churches: provided the statements are made with sincerity and reverence.

Since The Lay Church as such will, on the one hand, not be held responsible for the opinions expressed by its speakers, and, on the other hand, not be indifferent to errors and aberrations, monthly meetings shall be held for a discussion of the current Sunday addresses.

The man of definite conviction will find in The Lay Church a platform for propaganda, provided it be carried on with propriety and with the necessary regard for the belief of others: while the searcher for truth will have the problems on which he has not yet been able to form an opinion of his own ventilated from different standpoints.

It is in the nature of this Church that its patrons may at the same time belong to other Churches or to no Church. Nor does

membership imply the severing of old ties or the surrendering of former beliefs.

The spirit of the organisation shall be the same as that which pervaded the Religious Parliament of 1893. Every one to whom the privilege of the platform is granted is expected to present the best he can offer, expounding his own views without disparaging others. And the common ground will be the usual methods of argument such as are vindicated by universal experience, normally applied to all enterprises in practical life, and approved of by the universal standards of truth—commonly called science.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE CHINESE CHAIR AT COLUMBIA.

The foundation of chairs of Chinese language and literature at our universities is a highly significant symptom of the broadening spirit of civilisation. It is to be hoped that the many mistakes made in former years by almost all governments of the white race in their dealings with our yellow brothers (in which of course the latter are by no means blameless either) will be more and more avoided the better we become acquainted with the peculiarities of their civilisation. If we wish them to accept our views and methods in matters of politics, science, ethics, and religion, we must first show them that we appreciate their good qualities. Happily we are making good advances, and the time will come when every great educational institution that makes any pretense of being abreast of the times will have to follow the example of Columbia University.

Professor Hirth proposes to open courses for beginners as well as for advanced students; he will have seminary exercises and also deliver lectures for university students and the general public who do not possess any knowledge of the language.

In his practical study of Chinese characters for beginners Professor Hirth will aim to impress upon the student's memory a stock of ideograms such as are of the most frequent occurrence in the written language. Selected characters collected and arranged according to the frequency of their occurrence will be written on cardboard tablets, on the back of which the sound and meaning of the character is to be noted. By the aid of these tablets the student will be able to practice until he is absolutely familiar with the shape, sound, and meaning of the characters. The structure of these characters, their hieroglyphic origin, grammatical bearing, and any peculiarity of meaning attaching to the words they represent, will be shown as examples occur. So soon as a couple of hundred are mastered, attempts to form short sentences will be made by placing certain tablets side by side, an opportunity being thus afforded to illustrate the rules of position in what may be termed Chinese grammar.

This study will be continued until students are in possession of say about 1,000 characters, after which they will be introduced to the use of Chinese and English dictionaries. Explanations regarding sound and tone will be given, followed by a review of the various systems of transcription. Numerous exercises in the use of the dictionary from every point of view will follow.

In the Seminary for the study of Chinese Government matters, special attention will be paid to the latest development of the Chinese Government in connection with its history since the year 1898. A foundation will also be laid towards

acquiring a good knowledge of the epistolary style and of the running handwriting in which familiar letters are penned.

Other seminary courses will be devoted to research work in the ancient and mediæval history of Central Asia in connection with the discoveries made by modern explorers in Eastern Turkestan, and also based on the Chinese literature regarding the various branches of Chinese culture such as bronzes, stone sculptures, porcelain, pictorial art, and objects of daily life in connection with certain exhibits in the ethnographical department of the American Museum of Natural History and objects borrowed from private collections.

A NEW FIELD FOR PHILOSOPHY.

To the Editor of The Open Court :

The following narrative, while it was in the making, seemed to express a criticism, an account of an experience, a confession of faith, "an insight and a plan of action." Now that it is cold it seems rather a grotesque conglomerate. Nevertheless it may suggest as well as anything I could say, an opportunity, which it seems to me the philosophical world strangely ignores, to do the American people an immense service. I do not see how else the professional world is to come out of its emotional "spree." The workingman naturally follows where the educated lead him. Nothing is to be hoped for from the press so long as advertising rates vary in proportion to circulation—and that condition may be expected to hold. Plenty of business men see plainly that our great new social problems have no real existence but are only a false appearance due to the fact that in recent years that public sentiment for law and order on which everything we have is based, has sadly degenerated. But they would not be listened to.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION.

A few years ago a friend prevailed upon me to cut business for a bit and make a little excursion with him into the region of philosophy. I learned there, to my surprise, that the traditional firing into the air, for which the inhabitants of that region have acquired some reputation, has had the effect of creating, at last, a small but apparently very promising rain belt. A very direct route, moreover, was open to this promised and promising land, and it came to pass that after my first visit I fell into the way of making little personally conducted excursions of my own into this interesting country. Even the especially arid districts came to have a certain attraction. The remains of the extreme prototype of our statisticians I found there in those deserts; also the limit of stock-jobbing—accounts of a world whose ultimate issue was nothing but water. Airy worlds too, and fiery worlds, had been begun and had ended there before ours of the earth earthy established its present supremacy.

Many an idle hour I spent in the "Bad Lands" of that wilderness, watching the antics and contortions of grave and spectacled gentlemen who endeavored to move things without motion, or construct things out of nothing. And always there was the joy of listening to the skinless and bootstrapless fraternity—those late fit dwellers in that barren land. "Place your hand upon my arm," one of these would say, "Skin? Sure, are you? Well, I'm not. Maybe I have a skin, maybe I haven't. Positive knowledge is impossible. Never thought of that, did you? Tell you how I know—don't know, I should say. It's this way, (here he swung his arms and jumped strenuously, squirmed and twisted). See? Can't jump out of

my skin, therefore I can't say for sure that I *have* a skin. No getting around *that*, is there? How am I *sure* I can't get outside of my skin? Why—why—Great Scot! a child might know that."

And off he would go railing at the perverted "common sense" of the "plain man," giving place to others who, failing to raise themselves by their bootstraps triumphantly declared that there was no certainty that they had any bootstraps.

Wearying of these amusing performances one could always pass the time sitting on the wall at the edge of the finite lot, kicking one's heels together, and observing the efforts of the *Ding-an-sich* and the Unknowable to avoid running into each other.

But these entertainments alone could not have drawn me again and again to that strange land. In that rain belt aforesaid, the barrenness of the soil was already overcome; oases had sprung up, fertile, pleasant places where men could be found who tried to use their eyes for the purpose of seeing; men who feared nothing in heaven nor hell nor in the world between, except only blindness. From these men I learned untechnically, and as a business man may, the outline and the drift of some large new notions about life. And the point that sunk deepest into the element of speculation in my make-up was this: "Life," said one of these men "is dynamic. It is a movement, an activity, a striving of some sort; and the end of life is death; cessation of striving, or call it Nirvāna, perfection, the millennium—any one of the dozen statical synonyms you please—connotes mere nothingness."

"So it would seem," I agreed, somewhat dubiously, for the landscape was behaving strangely and my attention wandered. Fogs lifted here and there and the horizon took up its bed and walked.

"I doubt," my friend continued, "whether you can have fully understood. Does it quite sink into your mind that this amounts to saying that our ideals are not conceivably attainable? For the conception of an attained ideal, of perfection realised, is a statical conception, and a statical conception is, again, a conception of inaction, Nirvāna, death, nothingness—or tries to be." "Yes," I replied, "I caught that vaguely. Just let me think. What you say sounds true enough, but—well, things are kaleidoscoping so my mind is confused. But now—now all seems to come to order again, and— See here my friend, am I dreaming or—what? Things have settled back just as they were before, all but my standpoint, and—man alive! the horizon is *gone*."

"Yes," said my friend calmly. "Never mind, you will not miss it."

"But look here," I broke out presently, when I had gathered my wits together, "there is no room in this world of yours for ideals, and you may say what you like, but I *have* some ideals."

"Who said there is no room left for ideals?"

"Why, you did—in effect—in your incantation."

"I did not."

"You—pardon me—you—"

"I said that our ideals of life are not envisagements of nothingness; i. e., of the *end* or *goal* of striving. And I might have added that in the due course of ages men will probably find this truth in kindergarten curricula.

"We *have* ideals—we know this as well as we know anything—and these ideals are ideals of that affair of striving which we call life. They cannot therefore envisage anything but the worthy *direction* of that striving. What we have upon our hands then is the inevitable and omnipresent *It is* of our actual situation, and also the ideal sense, the sense of the *Ought to be*. The problem of life is practical

and not theoretical. There is no thought of goals nor peace nor perfection. The problem is to move the *It is* in the direction mysteriously given by our sense of the *Ought to be*. *How* and *when* such movement can, in point of fact, be effected, no man can positively say. Likewise no man can refuse to follow the only guide he has, namely, his honest private judgment as to this *how* and *when*, and escape failure in life. Worthy life is a question of *doing*—not of doing whatever we *like*, but of doing what we honestly judge is productive, on the whole, here and now, of movement in the direction which our ideals mysteriously but indubitably envisage. The *It is* and its *Ought to be* are for our form of consciousness undetachable and unmergable. And I would have you note carefully that this is so whether or not *you* or *I* approve the plan. We know this if we know anything, i. e., we know it with all the certitude of any finite knowing. And the contention that our finite knowing is not *unfinite* or absolute knowing is a monumental platitude. The eternal truth and the practical inconsequence of the agnostic contention is worth observing. If, on the contrary, the agnostic contends that he meant to deny the possibility of *finite* knowledge, he deserves no answer. He can mean a platitude or he can mean nonsense—and there is no third way. Yet again, observe that if you speak of *justice*, or of *right*, and have in mind something other than legal sanction, you can only mean the *Ought to be*; you but voice your sense of the worthy direction of effort. Justice, right, the *ought to be*, the ideal, are synonymous symbols, and symbols, I repeat, of a sense of direction and not of a state attainable. Ponder these things."

So I did, and returned to the world of business.

Strange things I found there; not new things, but a confusion of old ones. Most excellent men were sitting at home or in their offices on the days of primary elections, bemoaning the laws passed by men who had taken up the governmental reins which the "most excellent men" had cast away. "The law is unjust," they declared. "What we want is justice, fairness, right. Give us these and *then* we will go to the primary polls. Meanwhile it is too unpleasant to mix in ward politics. Besides we are very busy, and then there is the question of the Filipino's capacity for self-government that we have to determine, and the great social problems that have fallen to us in these days of our intellectual insolvency. Under such circumstances it is really too inconsiderate to ask us to go to the polls and make the law more *just* if we think it unjust as it stands."

Uncritical minds, hearing these bemoanings, and all unaware of the declared bankruptcy of the intellect, had taken up the refrain and were working tooth and nail unwittingly for social suicide. "Fairness, fairness," was the cry. "I look forward to the time," one labor leader was saying, "when peace and justice and right shall *be secured* for those who toil." In the tumult of these cries it had come to pass that the law was ignored and the non-unionist's life was imperiled and,—here was the very center and essence of the trouble—the voice of vigorous general public sentiment was *not* raised in protest. The strong sound sense for law and order upon which we have so plumed ourselves and upon which we have so relied, had, in the emergency, turned up missing.

Back I hurried to the oasis. "For God's sake," I cried to the philosophers of the dynamical view of life, "come over to the every-day world and start some neighborhood settlements among our submerging, over-worked, down-treading educated!"

S. D. MERTON.

St. Louis, Mo.

CHRISTMAS.

Time hath not sundered every chain
 That holds us to the ruder thought,
 For many a link our fathers wrought
 Twists in and out our heart and brain.

We treasure still an ample store
 Of myth and fable, tale and song,
 That to the elder days belong,—
 Bloom that the race's childhood bore.

And be its vision ne'er so dim,
 Through all the strivings of our race
 Messiah-hopes we faintly trace,—
 Age after age hath looked for him.

He came, men dreamt, in Palestine ;
 Upon the holy Christmas night
 A mother gave a child to light,
 Whom longing hearts proclaimed divine.

And legend saith, a bright star led
 Earth's wisest to the cradled God ;
 While shepherds, who their night-watch trod,
 Heard angel-voices overhead.

The myth may fade, the dream may melt,
 God's truth within it never dies :
 Though sweeter visions bless our eyes,
 We read the word our fathers spelt.

To-day no star the wise men brings,
 The simplest soul can find the child ;
 O'er every cradle undefiled
 The mother-heart her Christ-child sings.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

CLARK UNIVERSITY, WORCESTER, MASS.

TOLSTOY AND FRAU SEURON.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Mr. Aylmer Maude's article "The Misinterpretation of Tolstoy" in *The Open Court* for October repeatedly calls attention to Mrs. Evans's transliteration of the distinguished Russian's name and graciously condescends to "correct her orthography"; he also adduces her "wrong spelling" as conclusive proof of her ignorance of Tolstoy's works, but only succeeds in revealing his own narrow-mindedness and petty pedantry. So far as the pronunciation is concerned it makes no

difference whether Tolstoy or Tolstoi is used, and although the former is the usual English orthography, the latter is by no means incorrect and is preferred by many good writers of the English language. Mr. Ernest Howard Crosby, a disciple of Tolstoy in the province of social reform, who forwarded Mr. Maude's article to the editor of *The Open Court*, informs us in the sketch of his own life that on his return home from Alexandria to New York he "visited Tolstoi in Russia"; and a book recently published by G. P. Putnam's Sons bears the title *Tolstoi as Man and Artist. With an Essay on Dostoievski. By Dmitri Merejkowski*. Of course it would be sufficient for Mr. Maude to read the title-page of this volume in order to be convinced that the author "knows nothing about Russia and nothing about Tolstoy."

Mr. Maude was formerly an English tradesman in Moscow and seems to show in his present occupation as an interpreter of Tolstoy a marked tendency to what the Germans call *Kleinräumeri*. It is a characteristic common to men who devote themselves to a specialty to imagine that no one else knows anything about it and Mr. Maude seems to furnish a striking illustration of this general truth. As regards Frau Seuron the very fact that she submitted the manuscript of her book to Tolstoy for correction shows that she was not animated by malice and that she wished to tell the truth. Tolstoy's remark that "he felt sure she would not write what should not be written" implies that he had confidence in her. This would not have been the case if she had been "dismissed for disgraceful conduct" as Mr. Maude affirms.

FAIR PLAY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

OUR BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM. By *W. J. Ghent*. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1902. Pages, vii, 202. Price, \$1.25 net.

This interesting book is a caustic criticism of recent industrial, social, and political tendencies in the United States. The irresistible movement toward great combinations in certain trades, toward coalescence of kindred industries and the consequent complete integration of capital, and the rise of the social, industrial, and political power of the captains and lieutenants of industry,—these are the dominating marks of the time. The state is growing stronger, so the author argues, in its relation to the propertyless citizen and weaker in its relation to the man of capital; subordination of classes and a tremendous increase in the numbers of the lower orders follow; the petty industries are eliminated; defenceless labor,—the labor of women and children,—increases both absolutely and relatively; men's wages decline or remain stationary, while the value of the product and the cost of living advance by steady steps; the old system of independent farming is being gradually done away with; in a word, says Mr. Ghent: "They who desire to live—whether farmers, workmen, middlemen, teachers, or ministers—must make their peace with those who have the disposition of the livings. The result is a renascent Feudalism, which, though it differs in many forms from that of the time of Edward I., is yet based upon the same status of lord, agent, and underling. It is a Feudalism somewhat graced by a sense of ethics and somewhat restrained by a fear of democracy. The new barons seek a public sanction through conspicuous giving, and they avoid a too obvious exercise of their power upon political institutions. Their beneficence, however, though large, is but rarely prodigal. It betokens, as in the case of the careful spouse of John Gilpin, a frugal mind. They

demand the full terms nominated in the bond ; they exact from the traffic all it will bear. Out of the tremendous revenues that flow to them some of them return a part in benefactions to the public ; and these benefactions, whether or not primarily devoted to the easement of conscience, are always shrewdly disposed with an eye to the allayment of pain and the quieting of discontent. They are given to hospitals ; to colleges and churches which teach reverence for the existing régime, and to libraries, wherein the enforced leisure of the unemployed may be whiled away in relative contentment. They are never given, even by accident, to any of the movements making for the correction of what reformers term injustice. But not to look too curiously into motives, our new Feudalism is at least considerate. It is a paternal, a Benevolent Feudalism."

In this strain, the author develops the details of his subject in chapters entitled : " Utopias and Other Forecasts ;" " Combination and Coalescence ;" " Our Magistrates ;" " Our Farmers and Wage-earners ;" " Our Makers of Law ;" " Our Interpreters of Law ;" " Our Moulders of Opinion ;" " General Social Changes ;" and " Transition and Fulfilment."

Lack of space prevents our epitomising the discussions in these chapters, and it only remains for us to say that the attention of persons desirous of considering a hostile but calmly presented view of the present industrial and consequent social difficulties, may well be directed to this work. μ.

DEMOCRACY AND THE ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES. By *M. Ostrogorski*. In Two Volumes. Translated from the French by Frederick Clarke, M A., formerly Taylorian Scholar in the University of Oxford. With a Preface by The Right Hon. James Bryce, M. P. New York : The Macmillan Company. London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1902. Pages, Vol. I., lviii, 627. Vol. II., xliii, 793. Price, \$6.00 net.

De Tocqueville and Mr. Bryce have found in the person of M. Ostrogorski a new follower in the study of democracy. In the two ponderous volumes which constitute the present work, M. Ostrogorski has given us perhaps the most learned and exhaustive criticism of democratic government that exists. He has been fortunate in having had a preface written for his work by Mr. Bryce, who lends the great weight of his authority in praise of M. Ostrogorski's labors. He says :

" The system of party organisation in America, and the incomparably simpler, ruder, and less effective system which the last thirty-five years have created in Great Britain, have now found in M. Ostrogorski a singularly painstaking and intelligent student. He is both scientific in method and philosophical in spirit. He has examined the facts with exemplary diligence. He has described them with a careful attention to the smallest details of the structure and working of the two systems, the English and the American. He has brought to the investigation of their phenomena a breadth of view which recognises the large historical causes by which institutions are moulded, as well as an impartiality which shows no more leniency to the faults of the Republicans than to those of the Democrats in the United States, to the errors of the Tories than to those of the Liberals in England."

But Mr. Bryce intermingles with his laudations a few mild words of criticism ; he continues :

" Leniency is indeed the last thing he shows to any party ; and it is only in respect to the Rhadamanthine attitude he preserves throughout that I feel bound to utter a note of mild dissent. It is for American readers rather than for an Eng-

lishman to say how far his picture of the party machinery of the United States is overcharged with gloom, for gloomy it unquestionably is. As regards Great Britain, I can hardly doubt that his description, a minute, and on the whole accurate, as well as fair description,—though here and there his generalisations seem to me open to question,—will make upon a reader in some other country an impression darker than the realities of the case warrant."

M. Ostrogorski has particularly investigated the *working* of democratic government,—its dynamic as distinguished from its static aspect. It is not institutions that is the object of his research; it is not only political forms, it is on *political forces* that he dwells; and in this respect his book is unique in character and distinctly marked off from the works of his predecessors. The great bulk of his investigations is naturally concerned with the United States of America and England, although other countries have not been neglected. As in England the organisation of parties founded on a popular basis is a very recent creation, M. Ostrogorski's book will be of special value to students in this regard. The work is the outcome of personal study made in both the United States and England, and of laborious investigations extending over many years. It has been admirably translated from the French by Mr. Frederick Clarke, and is apparently issued either before or simultaneously with the French edition.

The *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1901*, just issued, is perhaps the most valuable volume of the series that has yet appeared. One of the functions of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington is the diffusion of knowledge "understood of the people," and to this end it issues each year as an appendix to the report of the Board of Regents a popular summary of the most interesting events of the scientific year. The various essays and memoirs are reprints of the addresses of presidents of scientific associations, translations of similar foreign reports, reprints from the proceedings of societies like the Royal Institution of Great Britain, and reprints of important magazine articles. Wireless telegraphy, transatlantic navigation, forest destruction, irrigation, submarine boats, pictures of prehistoric caves in France, bodies smaller than atoms, solid hydrogen, the utilisation of the sun's energy, the greatest flying creatures, the fire-walk ceremony at Tahiti, are some of the subjects discussed, and indicate the wide range of scientific topics included in the Report. The staff of the Institution are deserving of great credit for the discrimination which they have exercised in the selection of these subjects. The Reports are distributed to libraries throughout the world, and may be obtained free of charge from the applicant's member of Congress, or they may be purchased at cost by sending to the superintendent of documents at Washington.

Mr. Alfred Ward Smith, of New Haven, Conn., offers a new contribution to the theory of evolution. His initial views of the subject and his material are largely limited to Spencer's works, the doctrines of which on universal evolution receive "emendation and improvement" by him. Unfortunately Mr. Spencer's theory of evolution is not all of evolution. Mr. Ward's thesis, now set forth in a work entitled *A New Theory of Evolution*, is that the "Principles of Economy, Efficiency, and Harmony are primary and essential traits of Universal Progress"; and that they are transcendent, primary, and paramount in the domains of ethics, æsthetics, economics, and politics. (London, New York, and Montreal: The Abbey Press. 1901. Pages, 256. Price, \$1.25.)

It will be interesting to our readers, especially to members of the Protestant Church, to learn that Prof. Paul Schwartzkopff has written a tragedy reflecting the life of the time of the Reformation, which has been performed on the stage in Halberstadt, Prussian Saxony. The title is *Bruder Gerhard*, and its main character is a knight who through some complications has for good cause slain a rival in a duel, and then renounces the world and his bride to become a monk. His disgust with Tetzel's sale of indulgences leads him to Luther, and his sympathy with the peasants involves him in a conflict with the authorities. A pious Catholic convinces him of the error of defending spiritual truths with the sword; and convicted as a rebel he dies at the hands of the executioner. The plot as well as the treatment reminds us of Goethe's "*Götz von Berlichingen*" and breathes the same spirit of the last flickering up of knighthood, only that Schwartzkopff introduces more of the religious element and the powerful character of Luther looms up in the background. (Halberstadt: Druck von Louis Koch. Pages, 80.)

Yucatan has found its bard in Alice Dixon Le Plongeon who, in the poem "*Queen Moo's Talisman*" has celebrated the legends of the great empire which once comprised the territory between the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and that of Darien, known collectively to-day as Central America. The argument of the poem is based upon the explorations of Dr. Le Plongeon in Yucatan, and upon the interpretation which he has given to his translations of the so-called Maya inscriptions. From the analogy of this Yucatanese word with the well-known homonyms of India, Europe, and Egypt, Dr. Le Plongeon has deduced some conclusions regarding the connection between the ancient civilisation of Central America and that of the Asiatic and European world, which to some minds will seem extremely conjectural. But the present poem is not an historical document, and the inherent romance of its measures has been heightened by elegant half-tone reproductions of antiquities with which the book has been adorned. (New York: Peter Eckler, 35 Fulton St. Pages, 82.)

The *Letters on Reasoning* of Mr. John M. Robertson is a book for which many people have been searching. It is concerned largely with reasoning in ethical and religious matters, and naturally emphasises in its expositions of these subjects the general point of view of the Rationalist Press Association for which it was issued. The development of the subject is conducted with reference to popular and practical ways of thinking, as distinguished from the artificial procedures of the logical "machinery" of the schools. Especially has Mr. Robertson dwelt upon the dangers of historical fallacies. The work is written for young people, but the discussions are in the main for mature minds. (London: Watts & Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E. C. 1902. Pages, xxviii, 248. Price, 3s. 6d. net.)

Among the recent publications of the University of Chicago Press, we note (1) "*Physical Characters of Indians of Southern Mexico*," a statistical and anthropological study carefully illustrated with photographs of rare human types, by Frederick Starr, Professor in the University of Chicago; and (2) a philosophical essay on "*The Functional Versus the Representational Theory of Knowledge in Locke's Essay*," by Addison Webster Moore, Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the University of Chicago. Professor Starr has also contributed notes upon the "*Ethnography of Southern Mexico*" to the *Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Sciences*, Davenport, Iowa. ❧

Dr. Friedrich Selle, in a pamphlet entitled *The Philosophy of World Power*, makes the attempt to reconcile Nietzsche and Herbert Spencer. His thoughts are a combination of the two; but he tries to discard the incompatible elements in a higher proposition which yet preserves the spirit of both. The pamphlet is a doctor's thesis, and the author wishes us to understand that it is a mere sketch of the philosophy in which he expects to supersede both the happiness-machinery of Spencer and the overman of Nietzsche, in an aggregate organisation in which every one would be a factor according to his own ability to assist in the work of civilisation. (Leipzig: Verlag von Johann Ambrosius Barth. 1902. Pages, vi, 74. Price, M. 2.40.)

Various Views, by William Morton Payne, Associate Editor of *The Dial*, is a companion volume to *Little Leaders* and *Editorial Echoes* of this author, which were noticed a short time ago in *The Open Court*. It consists of thirty leading articles on "the broader aspects of literary history and criticism," written for *The Dial* during recent years. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1902. Pages 280.)

NOTES.

An effort is being made by the Jewish Chautauqua Society for taking up the question of religious instruction systematically, and bringing it into full accord with the results of modern pedagogy. A committee consisting of some of the most prominent Jewish clergymen and educators has been selected. Their names are as follows: Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, Ex. Off., Philadelphia; Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Chairman, Chicago; Miss Julia Richman, New York; Rabbi Kaufman Kohler, New York; Rabbi Max Heller, New Orleans; Rabbi J. B. Grossman, Youngstown; Prof. Henry M. Leipziger, New York; Rabbi Moses J. Gries, Cleveland; Rabbi Jos. Stolz, Chicago; Rabbi David Philipsen, Cincinnati; Rabbi Leo M. Franklin, Detroit; Rabbi H. P. Mendes, New York; Rabbi Sigmund Hecht, San Francisco; Rabbi Maurice H. Harris, New York; Rabbi Wm. Rosenau, Baltimore; Rabbi Julius Greenstone, Philadelphia; Rabbi Louis Grossman, Cincinnati.

The committee will report at or before the next summer assembly of the Jewish Chautauqua Society.

With the paper on Mithraic art in the present *Open Court*, the series of articles on Mithraism by Prof. Franz Cumont is concluded. These articles have provoked wide-spread interest, and the readers of *The Open Court* will doubtless be pleased to learn that it is the intention of the publishers to issue them in book form. The book will be published in attractive style and will contain a valuable map of the Roman Empire especially executed for the purpose, and showing at a glance the extent of the diffusion of the Persian Mysteries and their consequent great power in the Roman Empire.

We regret to say that the Religious Congress which was announced to be held in Osaka, Japan, in April, 1903, will either not be held at all, or, to say the least, will not have the support of some of the main bodies of Buddhists. Japanese papers declare that its inaugurators and promulgators were not authorised by the representative religious leaders of Japan.

201 President William L. Harper
with the compliments of the con

THE LIBERATOR

ST. GAUDENS' LINCOLN, LINCOLN PARK, CHICAGO

Uprisen from his fascèd chair of state,
Above his riven people bending grave,
His heart upon the sorrow of the slave,
Stands simply strong the kindly man of fate.
By war's deep bitterness and brothers' hate
Untouched he stands, intent alone to save
What God himself and human justice gave,—
The right of men to freedom's fair estate.
In homely strength he towers almost divine,
His mighty shoulders bent with breaking care,
His thought-worn face with sympathies grown fine;
And as men gaze their hearts as oft declare
That this is he whom all their hearts enshrine,—
This man that saved a race from slow despair.

Chicago, 1899.

— HORACE SPENCER FISKE.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF ST. GAUDENS' STATUE OF LINCOLN
BY COURTESY OF MR. W. SCOTT THURBER, CHICAGO

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THE REMAINS OF A PHŒNICIAN TEMPLE.

BY PROF. CHARLES C. TORREY.

IT is surprising how few undoubted monuments of the old Phœnician civilisation have been preserved for us,—or, to speak more accurately, how few are now known to be in existence. For more than a thousand years the Phœnicians were in many respects the foremost people of Western Asia. They were great builders, and all along the line of magnificent cities with which they had bordered the Mediterranean shore, from Carmel two hundred miles northward to Laodicea, great temples, palaces, and other monuments must have been conspicuous far and wide, as are the towers of Naples and Genoa, or the mosques of Constantinople, at the present day. But all these buildings have disappeared, and so completely as to leave hardly a trace behind. At Rome, Pæstum, Agrigentum, Athens, Ephesus, Baalbek, and many other cities of the Mediterranean lands, stately ruins, sufficient to give us some idea of the ancient splendor, are still standing; but on no one of the old Phœnician sites has there been found, hitherto, anything to correspond to the remains just mentioned.

The explanation of this fact is not far to seek. It lies partly in the character of the building material—soft limestone—chiefly used on the Syrian coast; partly in the terrible devastation of war followed by wholesale demolition and conflagration, to which these cities have been subjected in a degree rarely paralleled, Sidon and Tyre especially being reduced again and again almost to mere rubbish heaps; and finally, to the lack, thus far, of any systematic and thorough excavation in these regions. There is undoubtedly to be found, beneath the surface, much that will help to supply our sore lack of knowledge of the civilisation of this remarkable people.

The recent discovery of the extensive ruins of a Phœnician temple—the first of the kind which has come to light—is therefore a matter of no small interest; especially since inscribed stones, found *in situ*, tell us both the name of the king who erected the building, and that of the god to whom it was dedicated.

Less than two miles north of the present city of Sidon, the Auwaly river runs through an opening in the mountains into the sea. This is the river mentioned by several of the ancient geographers under the name *Bostrenus*. This chief passage is the oft-quoted one in Dionysius Periegetes (third or fourth century A. D.),



THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE (THE ARROW POINTING TO THE UPPER WALL).

who, in naming the principal Phœnician cities, speaks of Sidon in the following terms:

... καὶ Σιδόνα ἀνθεμύεσσαν
Ναυομένην χαρίεντος ἐφ' ὕδασι Βοστρηνοῖο.

"And blooming Sidon, situated by the waters of the beautiful Bostrenus."¹

The phrase "situated *upon* the Bostrenus" has caused some difficulty, to be sure. No one would think of describing the present city of Sidon as lying on this stream, though it might well be said to lie near by it. But there can be no question that the limits of

¹ For the whole passage and the best-known Latin translations of it, see Roland's *Palastine*, p. 437.

the ancient city extended far beyond those of the modern village, and it is certain that no part of the adjoining territory would have been more likely to be thus occupied than this narrow strip of hill-side and plain running northward to the "Bostrenus." The discovery about to be described must be admitted to furnish strong evidence that the statement of the geographer Dionysius was literally correct.

At all events, and whatever the territory included in old Sidon, it has long been known that great buildings must have stood in this particular district, where the Auwaly river breaks through the hills at the edge of the plain, half a mile back from the shore. The



UPPER WALL, LOOKING WEST.

stone bridge over the stream is built in part of huge squared blocks which travellers have recognised as the building-units of old Phœnician edifices. Dr. Thomson, for example, in *The Land and the Book*, speaks of noticing that many of these stones bore "the mark of the Phœnician bevel." Such stones as these have been found on both sides of the river, and no one place in particular has been known as the source of the supply.

In the fall of the year 1900, a number of these stones were uncovered, on the hillside just above the south bank of the river. The owner of the land had his workmen dig away the surface of

the ground at this point, with the result that they soon uncovered part of a large wall, built of limestone blocks nearly cubical in shape, the edges generally measuring from three to four feet. These blocks he proceeded to remove and dispose of in the usual manner, cutting them up to be used as building stones. A second similar wall was found near by, and this one also he began to take to pieces.

While this was going on, a workman who was removing the blocks from one of the walls came upon one with an inscribed face. On removing this, another, similarly inscribed, was found; then others, until five in all had come to light. In that region, every



UPPER WALL, LOOKING EAST.

day-laborer, however ignorant, knows that a "*hajar biktibi*," or inscribed stone, is a valuable find, and also that it is a dangerous possession; so these were promptly disposed of, presumably to men who had had more experience in dealing with such contraband goods. The inscribed faces were sawn off and carried away by night on camel back. The price at which the workmen sold them, I was told, was a *mejidi* (less than a dollar) apiece.

Happening to be in Sidon not long after these events, I heard the news of the recent find, and lost no time in visiting the place. I had also the good fortune to get sight of one of the inscriptions.

As for the ruin which had been unearthed, it consisted, first, of a portion of a massive wall from which the earth had been partly cleared away on both sides. This was a double wall (and thus about seven feet in thickness), all of whose blocks were large, of about the same size, and nicely squared and fitted. It was found to run east and west. Then there was the second wall, about fifty yards further down the hill, in a garden, in which it formed the support of one terrace,—as it had probably served for generations past. This, being parallel with the other, and consisting of exactly similar blocks, was evidently a part of the same building, which



LOWER WALL (A CANE IS LEANING AGAINST ONE OF THE STONES).

must have had the form of a huge square, or rectangle.¹ This lower, or northern, wall was even more massive than its fellow, consisting apparently of three or more courses of stone throughout, and thus more than ten feet in thickness. It was in the core of this lower wall that the inscribed stones were found.

As for the inscription itself, it proved to be not the least important part of the find. Reduced to its simplest form, it runs as

¹ In the illustration which shows the whole hillside, the position of the upper wall is indicated by the arrow; the lower wall is some distance below the modern house. Some idea of the great size of the building can thus be gained.

follows: "*Bod-Ashtart*,¹ *King of Sidon, grandson of King Eshmun-azar, built this house for his god Eshmun.*" From the evidence of various kinds which I was able to collect, it appeared that all five of the stones above mentioned bore the same inscription, in somewhat varying form. That is, the King had caused a number of the stones of his new edifice to be suitably inscribed, and then had built them—like so many Babylonian stamped bricks, or the filled corner-stone of a modern public building—into one or more of the walls; not for men of his generation to read,—for the inscribed faces were all hidden from view, as I was repeatedly assured by



ONE OF THE INSCRIBED STONES.

those who found them,—but "for his god Eshmun" and for posterity.

This great building was a temple, then, and in its day it must have been an imposing edifice. It occupied an almost ideal site, standing just at the turn of the hill, in full view of the sea, and in the one spot near Sidon where a comparatively unobstructed outlook eastward is to be had. Just below, and in plain sight, is the rushing river; on the other side, perhaps two hundred yards away,

¹ Sometimes written "*Bod-Ashtart*," which is (probably) the original and more correct form of the name. We know, however, from the Greek transliteration that the pronunciation "*Bod*" was current. The meaning of the name is "Member (branch) of Astarte."

is a magnificent spring—a rarity in that region. The cape where the present city of Sidon stands is just hidden from sight by a spur of the mountain. The view toward the East is especially fine, including the deep and picturesque valley, which seems to run back nearly to the twin peaks of the Taumât.

It remains to ask who this King Bod-Ashtart was, and at what time he lived. A Sidonian king bearing this name is known to us from at least one other source, namely, an inscribed stone now preserved in the museum of the Louvre. The inscription, however, presents no features of especial interest, nor anything by which it could certainly be connected with the builder of the temple on the Auwaly river; and as it is not dated, it may be dismissed from further consideration here. Another occurrence of the name is possibly to be recognised in the Greek "Strato" (*Σπάτρων*), the name given by certain Greek historians to two different kings of Sidon; the one the well-known friend of the Athenians, who reigned in the first half of the fourth century, the other the monarch who was reigning in Sidon at the time when Alexander the Great invaded Phœnicia (333 B. C.). It can hardly be doubted that the Phœnician name of which "Strato" was the Greek representative was one which contained the name of the goddess Ashtart (Astarte); it may, however, have been "Abd-Ashtart" rather than "Bod-Ashtart;" in fact, there is evidence seeming to show that this was true in the case of the former of the two kings just mentioned. It must be remembered, furthermore, that the number of Sidonian kings bearing the one or the other of these two names was probably not small; it is useless to try to connect any one of them with our "Bod-Ashtart, grandson of Eshmunazar" without some further evidence.

By a piece of great good fortune, however, we are able to establish a sure connection between the inscription which our King put upon the stones of his temple and certain passages in the famous inscription of King Eshmunazar; and the result of the combination is to give us the information most needed, the lineage of this Bod-Ashtart, and the approximate date at which he lived.

The one Sidonian royal family with which students of Phœnician history feel somewhat acquainted is the "Eshmunazar dynasty," of which three successive members have heretofore been known. The first of these, Eshmunazar I., is known to us only through the inscriptions of his successors, who give nothing more than his name and title. His son Tabnit is a somewhat less shadowy figure, for his sarcophagus, discovered in the year 1887 and

now in the museum at Constantinople, bears an epitaph of considerable length, and when found contained the embalmed body of the King himself in a very good state of preservation. King Tabnit is styled a "priest of Ashtart," and appears to have married his own sister, or half-sister, who was a "priestess of Ashtart." His reign cannot have been a very long one, for the body found in the sarcophagus was plainly that of a man in the prime of life. Tabnit's son Eshmunazar II., the third in the series, inherited the kingdom in his youth—perhaps while yet a mere boy—and reigned fourteen years. The inscription on his sarcophagus, which was discovered in 1855 and is now in the Louvre, is the longest and most important of all the Phœnician inscriptions which have hitherto been found. The young King's mother, Em-Ashtart,¹ the wife of Tabnit and Priestess of Astarte above mentioned, seems to have composed this epitaph. She speaks of her son as "cut off before his time"; and in celebrating his deeds, and especially his building operations, she makes use of the first person plural, "*we* built," "*we* caused to dwell," "*we* added," etc. From these facts we may safely conclude that the queen-mother was the virtual ruler during the minority of her son.

Now it is in the record of the building operations ascribed in this epitaph to the reign of King Eshmunazar II. that the connection with the Bod-Ashtart inscription is to be found, in a series of striking coincidences. What comes to light as a result of the comparison is no less important a fact than this, that one of the buildings of which the queen-mother says, "*We* built it," was the temple on the Auwaly River which forms the subject of the present article. The identification is beyond question. In the Eshmunazar inscription, the building is described in the following terms: (1) It was a temple "to Eshmun, the Holy Lord." This striking phrase is exactly the one which is used in the Bod-Ashtart inscription, and it occurs nowhere else. (2) It was built "in the mountain." (3) It was by a "spring" (further designated by a Phœnician word whose meaning is uncertain). The fact has already been noticed, above, that the magnificent spring near the Bod-Ashtart ruin is the only one of any importance in all the mountain district immediately adjoining Sidon. (4) Still another coincidence lies in the use, in both inscriptions, of a certain peculiar expression which appears to be the designation of this same mountain district. The phrase is not

¹ The name means "Mother of Astarte." It may be that the first member of the compound should be pronounced *Am* (abbreviated from *Amat*), in which case the name would mean "Servant of Astarte."

exactly the same in the two inscriptions, to be sure; here the adjective "lofty" is used, there the adjective "mighty," the noun being the same in both cases; but it is sufficiently plain that the two forms cannot be separated from each other. Thus a slight addition is made to the already strong evidence tending to bring these two inscriptions very near together.¹

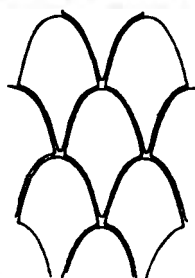
Having established the fact that the temple whose ruin has been described above was the "house of Eshmun" mentioned in the Eshmunazar inscription, some important conclusions follow. It is of course beyond question that Bod-Ashtart was the builder of the house; or at all events, that he began the work and carried it on for some time, whether he finished it or not. His reign therefore came between those of Tabnit and Eshmunazar II., and was probably the only reign in that interval. The time during which he occupied the throne must have been brief, probably only a few years; for, as has been said above, Eshmunazar was very young at the time of his accession. It is most likely that Bod-Ashtart was the elder brother of Eshmunazar, though he may have been his half-brother, and possibly was not the son of Tabnit at all. As for Em-Ashtart's assertion, "We built" the temple, it may be explained in more than one way. This daughter of Eshmunazar I. and priestess of Astarte may well have co-operated with the young King Bod-Ashtart in this undertaking, or even have been the moving spirit in it. More probably, however, Bod-Ashtart died before the work was finished, whereupon the queen-mother and her son completed the building and inducted the god Eshmun into his new abode.

It is thus an established fact that the date of our temple-ruin is that of the Eshmunazar dynasty. Unfortunately, the latter has not yet been accurately fixed, but scholars are divided between the fourth century and the third century B. C. It would be a great gain to science if this all-important date could be determined; and it is quite possible that something may yet be found in the extensive *débris* of this temple which will give the desired information.

Thus far, no thorough work of excavation has been attempted, but the things which have already been brought to the surface give interesting promise of further results. The native workmen who made the discovery of the inscriptions found also fragments of marble columns and other similar objects, mostly unimportant in

¹ For a full presentation of the argument at this point, as well as for an extended discussion of the inscription itself and of the problems which it introduces, I may refer to my article, "A Phœnician Royal Inscription," in Vol. XXIII. (1902) of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, pages 156-173.

themselves, but giving some hint of the former splendor. The one thing of more than ordinary importance which they unearthed from



THE GLASS PAVEMENTS.

the interior of the ruin, so far as I could learn, was a fragment of a mosaic pavement made of glass. The pieces (now in my possession) were of different colors, dark blue, light blue, green, orange, and all of the same arrow-head pattern formed by intersecting parabolas. Each single piece was about two inches long, an inch and a quarter wide, and three eighths of an inch thick; not cut, but cast in a mould of a rather elaborate form. The pavement must have been a beautiful one.

The ruin has, however, been partially excavated by experts. The news of the discovery soon reached Constantinople, and in the latter part of April, 1901, Macridy Bey, of the Imperial Ottoman Museum, who was overseeing the German excavations at Baalbek, came down to Sidon to investigate. He saw the importance of making some further examination of the site at once; moreover, the Government officials were anxious to skim the cream of the find as soon as possible, for they had very good reason to fear that it might otherwise be lost to them. So in the early part of the summer work was begun with a good force of men, under the direction of Macridy Bey himself. Unfortunately, he had but a small sum of money at his disposal, and was pressed for time into the bargain. What he accomplished was hardly more than a skilful preliminary examination. He laid bare the whole of the upper wall, and nearly all of the lower; and followed both of the end walls for a short distance. He also cut two deep trenches through the centre of the ruin, parallel with the walls. In the course of this investigation he found one more inscribed block, similar to those previously unearthed and bearing the same legend. He also found a small and imperfect inscription on marble; numerous statues and statuettes (none larger than half life-size, and all more or less fragmentary), mostly terra-cotta, but some of marble; many specimens of pottery—lamps, jars, vases, household utensils, and the like—for the most part not well preserved.

It is very much to be hoped that some report of the excavation, with a full description of these objects, may soon be published. Our knowledge of Phœnician pottery and statuary is still very meager and inexact, to be sure; yet the expectation is not unreasonable that even here something may be found to aid us in

solving that perplexing riddle, the date of the Eshmunazar dynasty, of which Bod-Ashtart, the builder of this temple, was a member.

Of course, a very important work of excavation remains to be done. The greater part of the ruin is still unexplored; many more antiquities, large and small, and among them doubtless some of considerable importance, await discovery; much is yet to be learned about the most interesting object of all, the temple itself. It would be no small gain for our knowledge of Old Phœnicia if this great ruin could be thoroughly and carefully excavated, and measures



PHœNICIAN ANTIQUES, FROM SIDON.

then be taken to preserve intact all that remains of this sole monument of its kind. Possibly our own recently established American School of Research in Palestine may have the good fortune ultimately to perform this task; in any case, and by whatever agency the work is undertaken, it is to be hoped that it may be done soon. In the meantime, a good deal of digging is likely to be done in a more quiet way. Many of the natives of modern Tyre and Sidon are excavators, by birth and by choice, and treasures must be buried deep to escape their hands.

THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

BY R. C. ROPER.

A Methodist minister once said that Abraham Lincoln was too great a man to belong to any Church. This sentiment is far more charitable than some of the printed speculations on the simple faith of our martyred president. But it is preeminently true. Lincoln was too great a man to belong to any sect whose creed would force a single soul outside its fold; too broad a man to confine his religious life within denominational barriers; too simple to enjoy the pomp and show of forms and ceremonies; too sympathetic to affiliate himself with any Church less inclusive than the brotherhood of all men.

No sooner had death sealed his lips, than Lincoln became the victim of a spirited religious controversy. While he said very little himself about his own beliefs, and wrote still less, some men have tried to meet the deficiency by manufacturing opinions for him.

Because Lincoln was the standard bearer in a great struggle involving questions of a moral and religious nature, in which orthodox Christians joined with all their hearts, some thought that he must have been a technical Christian himself. Because he believed with them on some great questions, Church people thought that he stood with them on other questions in which they were almost as vitally concerned. Because he believed that slavery was wrong, he must have believed that Christianity was right. Because he believed in God, he must have believed that Christ was God. Because, on grave occasions, when the nation seemed trembling in the balance and his very soul was wrought with fear, when, bowed down by gloom and despondency, he called upon the people for prayers to the "Divine Being who determines the destinies of the nations," Christians were satisfied that he was one with them in all their doctrinal beliefs. They longed to believe him a Christian

with them. They craved something to satisfy this desire—to know that he “believed.”

To some people, Christianity is always the cause, and not the result of a righteous life. To such it is difficult to account for the goodness and greatness of the great Lincoln in any other way than by proving him to have been a disciple of orthodoxy. There are those who believe that we cannot be good or great unless we are doctrinal Christians; that we cannot live an upright life unless we believe something; that to be something is to believe something; that character consists in believing, not in being; that a man is not what he is, but what he believes he is, and calls himself.

Lincoln's beliefs, therefore, have been greatly distorted, not only by Church zealots but by extreme liberals as well. The former have considered it their Christian duty to bring him within the gates of orthodoxy in order to secure his immortal reputation from the attacks of defaming heretics, while the latter have tried to build upon him a defense for their own opinions.

Some dogmatists declare that he believed everything; the atheists tell us that he believed nothing. A certain Rev. Dr. Smith asserts that he once converted him; Lincoln's two law partners, Stuart and Herndon, ridicule him for his failure. One Bateman states that Lincoln once said “Christ was God”; a personal friend of Lincoln affirms that he denied the very existence of God. Noah Brooks says that “any suggestion of Lincoln's skepticism is a monstrous fiction—a shocking perversion”; Mrs. Lincoln declares that Mr. Lincoln had “no faith and no hope in the usual acceptance of those words.”

What, then, did Lincoln believe?

When a boy—his biographers all agree—Lincoln was practically without faith or piety. It is stated that his closest friends at New Salem were freethinkers and he accepted Volney, Paine, and Voltaire as his text-books in the frequent religious discussions in which he engaged. Lincoln was then at that age in young manhood when reason is apt to run rampant; when the boy spirit will not tolerate persecution without at least making a bold fight in self-defense.

Lamon in his *Life* states that Lincoln when a boy had a very poor opinion of the “article”—religion; that, “when he went to church at all, he went to mock and came away to mimic” (p. 487).

Considering the narrowness of Church-life it is not strange that Lincoln, urged on and encouraged by his atheist associates, became so imbued with the spirit of antagonism that he too be-

came unreasonable when he thought he was reasonable, illiberal when he thought he was liberal, intolerant and scoffing to the sacred beliefs of others. We must excuse the boy and blame the environment for the extreme to which Lincoln was actually forced in self-defense.

It is interesting to know that Lincoln went so far as to write a book on the Bible. Mr. Herndon, in his biography, tells us that the purpose of this book was to demonstrate, first, that the Bible was not God's revelation, and, second, that Jesus was not the Son of God. The pamphlet was similar, in its treatment, to Paine's *Age of Reason*. One day while Lincoln and his usual friends were discussing its merits around the old wood stove, one Hull, who was just then more anxious to protect the future of the young Lincoln than Lincoln was himself, seized the manuscript and threw it into the stove. It had been Lincoln's intention to publish and circulate this pamphlet, which, fortunately, thus went up in a cloud of smoke.

Thomas Paine wrote the *Age of Reason* and the managers of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia refused to allow his bust to be placed among the heroes and patriots of the Revolution. Abraham Lincoln wrote a similar book and fate decreed that it should be destroyed and he should live in the hearts of his countrymen.

During his life, Lincoln's views, little as they were known, had some influence in his political career. The following extract is from a letter written by Lincoln to his friend Morris in 1843, when he was running for Congress:

"There was, too, the strangest combination of Church influence against me. Baker is a Campbellite; and therefore, as I suppose, with few exceptions, got all that Church. My wife had some relatives in the Presbyterian Churches, and some with the Episcopal Churches, and, therefore, wherever it would tell, I was put down as either the one or the other, while it was everywhere contended that no Christian ought to go for me, because I belonged to no Church, was suspected of being a deist, and had talked about fighting a duel." (*Works*, ed. by Nicolay & Hay, Vol. 1, 79.)

During the struggle of the Civil War, Lincoln placed great dependence upon the Churches, for they were heart and soul in the cause. Mr. Lamon in his *Life* says that Lincoln was a "wily politician," that, aspiring to lead Christian people in a cause, he was wise enough not to appear to be an enemy among them; that he even allowed himself to be misrepresented by some ministers with whom he came in touch. He was suspected of being an un-

believer in many of the prevailing dogmas and there were those who would turn this to his injury. Preachers frequently tried to convert him. Intriguing political enemies, seeking to discredit him with the people, tried to work out some expression from him that would aid them in their sinister work. But in vain. He refrained from expressing his inmost convictions to any curious seeker who applied. Yet to his friends he was frank and honest. But he grew more and more cautious as the responsibilities of the nation pressed harder and harder upon him. Hon. David Davis, a personal friend, is quoted by Herndon as follows :

"The idea that Mr. Lincoln talked to a stranger about his religion or his religious views, or made such speeches and remarks about it, is to me absurd. I knew the man so well ; he was the most reticent, secretive man I ever saw or expect to see. He had no faith in the Christian sense of the term."

Lincoln understood human nature well enough to know that it is not always best nor always right to tell what one believes. It is not courageous to place one's self in unnecessary danger when there is nothing to be gained by the risk. Lincoln was so situated that to give utterance to his religious views, in so far as they were unpopular, would have been a grave mistake. He improved every opportunity to express those views which he held in common with the Churches, but he kept to himself those opinions on which he and the Churches disagreed. It may have been mere policy on his part, but it was not wrong, and good policy under the circumstances.

And so Lincoln depended upon the Churches. In a response to a Methodist delegation, May 14, 1862, he said :

"Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the Churches, I would utter nothing which might appear invidious against any. Yet, without this, it may fairly be said, that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the rest, is by its greater numbers, the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospital, and more prayers to heaven, than any. God bless the Methodist Church. Bless all the Churches, and blessed be God, who, in this our great struggle, giveth us the Churches." (*Works*, II., 522.)

In a response to a delegation of Evangelical Lutherans, May 16, 1862, he used these words :

"You may all recollect that in taking up the sword thus forced into our hands, this government appealed to the prayers of the pious and the good, and declared that it placed its whole dependence upon the favor of God. I now humbly and reverently, in your presence, reiterate the acknowledgment of that dependence, not doubting that if it shall please the Divine Being, who determines the destinies of the nations, this shall remain a united people, and that they will, humbly seeking

the divine guidance, make their prolonged national existence a source of new benefits to themselves and their successors, and to all classes and conditions of mankind." (*Works*, II., 148.)

Lincoln was an extremely religious man, though not a technical Christian. He thought deeply, and his opinions were positive. His seriousness was a characteristic trait, showing itself even in his genuine good humor. His very jokes were a part of his seriousness. In all his native wit and humor we see some lasting good, and in his hours of gloom and despair we often find a vein of mirth and cheer. So changeable, so vacillating, so varied in all his moods,—he was above all things else a moody man. Now cheerful and hopeful, now gloomy and despairing; again, laughing off his cares and trials in good-natured jokes and jollity, only to return to that gloom which so often hung over him,—despondency. Such was his peculiar nature.

Lincoln was an extremely practical man. He believed not for belief's sake, but for his own sake. He made a practice of religion. He used it. His religion was his life, and his life was his religious service. It was his only public profession. Religion was a part of him. He accepted nothing unless he could use it. He believed in prayer because he found use for it, and when the fate of the Union seemed to waver, when doubt and despair hovered over the land and the future was uncertain, Lincoln often shut himself within his room and offered up his prayer to God. "So many times," he said, "I was forced upon my knees, not knowing where else to go." His faith in God was most implicit and real. Thus far he was truly orthodox. In fact, he held views of God which probably a majority of orthodox people to-day have outgrown. From his own statements it would seem that he believed in a real personal God, though this is denied by Mr. Herndon, his law partner and biographer:

"No man had a stronger or firmer faith in Providence—God—than Mr. Lincoln, but the continued use by him late in life of the word God must not be interpreted to mean that he believed in a personal God. In 1854, he asked me to erase the word God from a speech which I had written and read to him for criticism, because my language indicated a personal God, whereas he insisted no such personality ever existed." (*Herndon's Life*, II., 150.)

But, as we shall see later, Mr. Lincoln did believe in a directing Providence, if not, indeed, in a prayer-hearing God, and we have the best proof that he not only asked for prayers from the people but that he himself believed in and used prayer many times when the burdens of the nation were pressing hardest upon him.

His writings indicate that he believed in a God who actually controlled human affairs; a God who was working in the very struggle then being waged. There is much evidence in his letters, writings, responses, and addresses to bear out this conclusion.

His Thanksgiving proclamations, full of expressions of faith in God, show also his dependence upon a higher power in the struggle through which he passed. In a proclamation of May 9, 1864, he uses these words:

"Enough is known of the army operations within the last three years to claim an especial gratitude to God, while what remains undone demands our most sincere prayers to, and reliance upon, Him without whom all human effort is vain. I recommend that all patriots, at their homes, in their places of public worship, and wherever they may be, unite in common thanksgiving to Almighty God." (*Works*, II., 522.)

Again, October 3, 1863:

"No human counsel hath devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the most high God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy." (*Works*, II., 418.)

Writing to A. G. Hodges in 1864, Lincoln says:

"I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice of God." (*Works*, II., 418.)

Again he says:

"That the Almighty does make use of human agencies, and directly intervenes in human affairs, is one of the plainest statements of the Bible. I have had so many evidences of this, so many instances of being ordered by some supernatural power, that I cannot doubt this power is of God." (*Whitney's Life*, 267.)

Still again:

"I do not consider that I have ever accomplished anything without God, and if it be his will that I must die by the hand of an assassin, I must be resigned. I must do my duty as I see it and leave the rest to God." (*Whitney's Life*, 267.)

As to his beliefs concerning other points in the Christian faith, there is not as convincing authority. The best authority is his own words, and while there is considerable in his writings to indicate a strong faith in God and prayer, there is very little to indicate his beliefs regarding Christ, the Bible, etc. But the very absence of anything on these points is good evidence that he did not hold the views which some have attributed to him.

Lincoln accepted the practical teachings of the Bible, especially the New Testament, and was fond of the Sermon on the Mount. The best authorities seem to hold that Lincoln never substantially changed his earlier views regarding the inspiration of the Bible and the divinity of Christ, although there are some who claim he changed in later years.

In an article in *Scribner's Monthly* (Vol. VI, 333) Rev. J. A. Reed contends that Lincoln was converted in 1848 by the Rev. Dr. Smith, whom he styles "Mr. Lincoln's Pastor." He states in the same article that it was Mr. Lincoln's intention to make a "public profession" later and unite himself with the "visible Church on earth." "It does not appear," says Mr. Reed, "that he had ever seen, much less read, a work on the evidences of Christianity till his interview with Rev. Dr. Smith in 1848."

In a letter to Mr. Herndon written in 1867, the Rev. Dr. Smith states that it was his "honor to place before Mr. Lincoln arguments designed to prove the divine authority and inspiration of the Scriptures," and that Mr. Lincoln, after a careful examination, pronounced them "unanswerable."

But no explanation why he never joined a church.

Mr. Bateman, once superintendent of public instruction in Illinois, claims that Lincoln once used these words in a conversation: "I know I am right because I know that liberty is right, for Christ teaches it, and Christ is God."

Concerning this alleged statement of Lincoln Mr. Herndon says a word:

"Mr. Bateman if correctly represented in Holland's *Life of Lincoln*, is the only man, the sole and only man, who dares say that Mr. Lincoln believed in Jesus as the Christ of God, as the Christian world represents."

Mr. Reed, in his article before referred to, quotes Noah Brooks and others to prove that even if Lincoln was not "converted" in 1848, as claimed, he at least changed his views after he went to Washington. But Mr. Herndon in 1870 denied this, and Mr. J. G. Nicolay, Lincoln's private secretary at the White House, and later his biographer, who would probably have known of Mr. Lincoln's conversion, if true, states:

"Mr. Lincoln did not, to my knowledge, in any way change his religious views, opinions or beliefs from the time he left Springfield to the day of his death."

And now let us look at the words of his own wife. Mrs. Lincoln in 1866, in a letter to Mr. Herndon, stated:

"Mr. Lincoln had no faith and no hope in the usual acceptance of those words. He never joined a Church; but still, as I believe, he was a religious man

by nature. He first seemed to think about the subject when our boy Willie died, and then more than ever about the time he went to Gettysburg; but it was a kind of poetry to him, and he was never a technical Christian."

According to Mrs. Lincoln, he first began to "think about the subject" about the time his boy Willie died, and not, strange as it may seem, when the Rev. Dr. Smith "converted" him in 1848.

Why did Lincoln never join a Church? We find an answer in his own words:

"When any church will inscribe over its altar, as the sole qualification for membership, the Saviour's condensed statement of the substance of both law and Gospel, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself,' that church will I join with all my heart and with all my soul." (*Carpenter's Life*.)

I have examined quite carefully Lincoln's works in two volumes, and though I find many references which prove clearly and conclusively his abiding faith in God and prayer, yet I have failed to find one single instance where he ever used even the mere words "Jesus" or "Christ," a fact which I take to be quite significant. If he did entertain such views of Christ and the Bible as are attributed to him by some orthodox Christians, is it not reasonable to believe that he would have expressed those views as he did his beliefs of God and prayer? Mr. Herndon also states that he never once saw in print the words "Jesus" or "Christ" as used by Lincoln.

When his father was on his death-bed, Lincoln wrote a letter to his brother-in-law, J. D. Johnston, which contained the following words of hope and comfort:

"You already know that I desire that neither father nor mother shall be in want of comfort either in health or sickness, while they live. . . . I sincerely hope that father may recover his health, but at all events tell him to remember to call upon and confide in one great and good and merciful Maker, who will not turn away from him in any extremity. He notes the fall of a sparrow and numbers the hairs of our heads, and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him. Say to him that if we could meet now, it is doubtful whether it would be more painful than pleasant, but that if it be his lot to go now, he will soon have a joyous meeting with many loved ones gone before, where the rest of us, through the help of God, hope ere long to join them." (*Works*, I., 165.)

If Lincoln really did entertain such ideas of Christ as some would have us think, is it not reasonable to presume that he would have so expressed himself on this occasion and offered such comfort to his dying father who really did believe this way? But instead, as is characteristic of the man, Lincoln spoke honestly and said what he really did believe when he affirmed his confidence in

one "great and good and merciful Maker" and in the "joyous meeting with many loved ones gone before," but not even a hint that he believed Christ to be God.

There are many of Lincoln's best and closest friends, those who worked with him and knew his life, whose statements bear out this conclusion.

Mr. J. T. Stuart, once Lincoln's law partner, is quoted by at least two of Lincoln's biographers as follows:

"Lincoln always denied that Jesus was the Christ of God—denied that Jesus was the Son of God, as understood and maintained by the Christian Church." (Herndon's and Lamon's *Life*.)

Mr. Lamon says in his *Life*:

"Mr. Lincoln was never a member of any Church, nor did he believe in the divinity of Christ, or the inspiration of the Bible in the sense understood by Evangelical Churches. His theological opinions were substantially those expounded by Theodore Parker." (Lamon's *Life*, 486.)

Mr. J. W. Fell, a close friend in Illinois, is quoted by Lamon thus:

"If from my recollections on the subject, I was called upon to designate an author whose views most clearly represented Mr. Lincoln on this subject, I would say that author was Theodore Parker." (P. 490.)

It is interesting to note in connection with these statements of Lincoln's fondness for Theodore Parker's writings, that in one of Parker's lectures on "The Effect of Slavery on the American People," Lincoln found this sentence which pleased him:

"Democracy is direct self-government, over all the people, for all the people, by all the people."

And so to Theodore Parker is due the inspiration of that oft-quoted phrase first used by Lincoln in his Gettysburg address, "of the people, for the people, and by the people."

As to other opinions held by Lincoln, Mr. Herndon adds:

"He believed in no hell and no punishment in the future world.

"He held many of the Christian ideas in abhorrence, and among them was this one, that God would forgive the sinner for a violation of his laws. Lincoln maintained that God could not forgive; that punishment was to follow the sin; that Christianity was wrong in teaching forgiveness; that it tended to make man sin in the hope that God would excuse, and so forth. Lincoln contended that the minister should teach that God had affixed punishment to sin, and that no repentance could bribe him to remit it. In one sense of the word, Mr. Lincoln was a Universalist, and in another sense he was a Unitarian, but he was a Theist as we now understand that word."

In conclusion, then, we may sum up his beliefs about like this: He was a firm believer in the "great and good and merciful" God,

but not in a revengeful and cruel God who would consign men to an eternal hell when nothing good to those who suffered could possibly come from such punishment. He believed in and used prayer as a means to bring himself in closer relations with Right in everything. He did not believe that it is best or safe to rely upon death-bed repentance, but that every act will surely reward itself with good or evil. "He believed in universal inspiration and miracles under law," and that all things, both matter and mind, are governed by law. He believed that all creation is an evolution under law, not a special creation of the Supreme Being. He hoped for a joyous meeting in the world to come with many loved ones gone before. He believed that Christianity consists in being, not in believing, in loving the "Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself." He believed that the Bible is a book to be understood and appreciated as any other book, not merely to be accepted as a divine creation of infallibility. He believed in the man Christ, not in the God Christ. He believed that it is nobler to be a man and grow to be a God than it is to be a God and descend to be a man.

He was once an admirer of Volney, Paine, and Voltaire; later of Theodore Parker, Emerson, and Channing. He was once a scoffer of religion; later, a supporter.

Lincoln was a man. The stimulus which his life gives to us is greater because we know he was like us; because we know he had his faults and his virtues; because we can comprehend him. His sympathy, simplicity, and humor give us an insight into the secret of his greatness. We see in him some of the requisites and possibilities of human success.

"He knew to bide his time,
And can his fame abide,
Still patient in his simple faith sublime,
Till the wise years decide.
Great captains, with their guns and drums,
Disturb our judgment for the hour,
But at last silence comes;
These all are gone, and, standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame,
The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American."

Lowell, *Commemoration Ode*.

JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

BY MRS. M. D. LINCOLN (BESSIE BEECH).

[CONTINUED.]

III. THE PROFESSOR.

THE establishment of peace left the soldier without an occupation. He had willingly followed a life of toil and danger, when great national issues were at stake, but he could not be a soldier in time of peace. He therefore speedily sought some new occupation. After considering many different plans, he was prevailed upon to accept a nomination for the office of County Clerk of Du Page County, Illinois.

A few days later he received a letter from the President of the Illinois Wesleyan University, at Bloomington, offering him the professorship of geology in that institution. This he accepted at once, although the salary was but \$1,000 per annum, while that of the County Clerk was worth from \$5,000 to \$6,000. This university had previously given him the degree of A. B. and then of A. M., but the offer of the professorship was entirely unexpected. He left for Bloomington at once and entered upon his new duties.

The institution was more prosperous than had been supposed, and his salary, even for the first year, was better than had been promised. For three years he there led the quiet life of a professor of geology.

It was agreed when he accepted the position that a part of his time should be devoted to field geology and natural history, and that the greater part of his duties should be the organisation and building up of a museum.

During his life as a soldier, Major Powell did not forget the pursuits in which he had previously been so deeply interested, and often while in camp he applied himself to the study of natural history. During the more quiet pursuits of camp life, he found op-

portunities for studying the botany of the country in which he was sojourning. While in Kentucky and Tennessee, he made large collections of land and fresh-water shells. But the study in which he most interested himself was geology; and it was his custom to carry in his camp chest the geological reports of a district through which he travelled. There is now in the State Museum, at Normal, Illinois, a fine collection of fossils from Vicksburg and the region round about which he made while encamped in that region the winter after the fall of the city. In the same manner he made large collections of fossils in Tennessee, especially around Nashville, in the region made classic by Troost and Safford. Altogether, his notes on geology and natural history made during the war are quite voluminous.

On entering upon his duties at the Illinois Wesleyan University, his entire energies were directed to the development of methods of instruction in his favorite field of learning. It was his theory that the study of science should include much more than the text-book literature of the subject; that the student must be made familiar with the phenomena of nature; that the principles of any branch of natural science should be constructed by the pupil himself from observed facts; and that the function of the teacher should be chiefly that of guide. With this end in view, his time was largely devoted to the creation of a museum and the organisation of laboratories for instruction. In mineralogy his pupils were led to study the minerals themselves, and thus to become familiar with their characteristics; and many of them became skilful in blow-pipe analysis. His students in botany were at once introduced to the world of plants, and became collectors, and assisted him greatly in the gathering of plants for a fine herbarium. In zoölogy his pupils were taken to the woods and fields, and became collectors of mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes, and insects, and by the study of natural objects were trained in comparative anatomy.

He seems at this time to have found great difficulty in teaching geology, because it was almost impossible to introduce the students immediately into the presence of the facts, and he deeply lamented that they were so greatly dependent upon text-books. To correct this evil, even to a limited extent, he organised field excursions, and, as far as possible, adopted object-studies of rocks and fossils.

In this manner the days and years of professional life were passed, training students by research in field and laboratory and by courses of lectures; and it may be well understood that his classes rapidly increased in size, and that he gathered about him

a large number of young men who, inspired with his own enthusiasm, became earnest and successful scholars.

At the same time, the Professor took an earnest affirmative part in the public discussions of the importance of enlarging and perfecting the general college curriculum by the introduction of more science studies,—a question then fairly begun and not yet ended. In public lectures and addresses throughout the State, he did much toward creating a sentiment in favor of the opinions so earnestly embraced by himself.

During this time he was still secretary of the Illinois Natural History Society. This society was located in the hall of the Normal University at Normal, a suburb of Bloomington, and in that institution he delivered a course of lectures on geology. At the request of the officers of the institution, in the winter of 1866-1867, he went to Springfield and secured from the legislature a small endowment for the museum of the Normal University. On his return he was elected to the curatorship, with the understanding that he should be called upon to deliver a course of lectures on geology during each winter.

During the next spring, Professor Powell organised an expedition, from the members of the graduating class in the Wesleyan University and students in the Normal University, for the purpose of crossing the Great Plains and visiting the mountain regions of Colorado to make collections and studies in natural history and geology. This excursion was one of the earliest of its kind in this country, and inaugurated a practice of the highest value to science, for it has now come to be recognised that field-study is a necessary part of a course of instruction in any branch of natural science.

Early in May the Professor organised his party, on the Missouri River near Council Bluffs. It was composed of sixteen students and himself, and was outfitted with two waggons and the necessary teams, and also with a number of riding animals. The equipment for natural history collection was very thorough, especially for the collection of vertebrate animals, insects, and plants, and to each member of the party was assigned a specified share in the work for which the expedition was organised.

The journey across the plains was slowly made, the party occupying itself from day to day in the collection of natural history materials found along the route. Some were chasing wild animals, some capturing butterflies in nets, some gathering plants to be pressed; and the Professor himself, while directing all of these operations, was also engaged in making geological examinations

and collecting fossils. It was a busy merry party, and at night the camp was made hilarious with song and story.

At that time the Pacific railroads were not built, and in the wilderness of plains lurked Indian tribes, for which the party had to keep up a constant watch. As they moved by day, outriders guarded their little trail, and at night guards were established. Sometimes they camped on the same ground with other travellers pushing westward,—“pilgrims,” as they were called in those times,—and common guards were established over large camps. For much of the distance they travelled in sight of the Platte River, a broad stream of shallow, muddy water, on the banks of which, at rare intervals, cottonwood groves were seen. At last, in crossing the Bijou Basin, about fifty miles from Denver, the party came in sight of the Rocky Mountains, and were filled with enthusiasm as the highland to which they were destined came into view. Ten days later the whole party were engaged in crossing the Rampart Range, as it is now called, sixty miles south of Denver, taking with them their waggons and animals, by a route explored by themselves. The college boys were teamsters, cooks, and laborers, as well as students, and with good cheer and great skill they climbed the mountain range, opening their way through forests with the axe, and sometimes finding it necessary to take waggons to pieces in order to get them up the rocks.

But days of great labor, endured with the utmost good-will brought them into Bergen's Park, on the western side of the divide. This is a long valley, with a mountain range on either side, enclosed at the north by a group of lofty crags known as Devil's Head, and at the south by Pike's Peak.

In Bergen's Park they camped for nearly a month, and made a great variety of natural history collections. Thence the party moved to the foot of Pike's Peak, which they essayed to climb. At that time there was no Signal Service station at the summit, and no trail led up its steep sides as at present. The Professor explored a route up the north side. The ascent was at that time one of much adventure, and required great labor; but at last, about three o'clock one afternoon, the whole party reached the summit. Nobody in the party had ever before been above the timber line much less on a mountain's summit, among perpetual snows, and unfortunately, having had little experience, the descent was commenced too late in the afternoon; night came on with terrible cold, and in the darkness they had to make their way down rocks and over steep places, until they could reach the timber line. At last

this was accomplished, when a great fire was built and they camped for the remainder of the night, with no other shelter than rocks and logs, and preserved from perishing with cold by the huge fires which they built.

Mrs. Powell, the Professor's wife, was one of the party, and she spent eight happy summers in this way, enlivening the monotony of the life as only a woman's presence can. For six months at one time she never saw a white woman; and "she could ride all day on horse-back like a veteran," says the Major. Her dress on such occasions consisted of a plain water-proof cloth reaching to the top of stout boots, and an English felt hat with a blue or green veil completed a costume intended and adapted to service. They dwelt in tents or under shelving rocks; and the mess-kettle held savory "stews" that were eaten with appetites not too refined for even "squash sauce" on one occasion, without anything but salt to season it!

It took the party some six weeks to pass over ground that the screeching trains now fly over—on wings of steam, in three days.

But these latter-day travellers do not become acquainted with every grand or lovely spot; they do not study the "topography," the "geology," the "fauna," and the "ornithology" as did our explorers on horse-back, or by canoe. They sometimes saw Indians with birds and flowers of species unknown to modern scientists, and they then enjoyed all the joys of discovery.

The Major's policy towards the Indians was always conciliatory. He generally explained as best he could the object of his party, and they eventually smoked a pipe of peace, exchanged presents and dwelt together ever after on friendly terms.

Mrs. Powell is the first white woman known to have crossed Pike's Peak.

The next day they returned to their camp at the foot of the mountains. Altogether, three days had been filled with the ascent and descent of Pike's Peak, probably by a route never before and never since taken.

From Pike's Peak the party went round to South Park, and although it was midsummer, two days of the trip were through a blinding snow. They camped in South Park for two or three weeks, and from the rendezvous which was established many of the mountain regions round about were climbed. One of the most noteworthy excursions was the ascent of Mount Lincoln, a peak 14,297 feet above the level of the sea.

From South Park they went to Denver, where the party was

broken up, and a number of the young students returned to their homes in the East. But Professor Powell, with his wife and two or three young men and a couple of hardy mountaineers, went from Denver over into Middle Park, where another month was spent in exploring the mountains around that beautiful valley. One of the most interesting expeditions made from Middle Park was around the head of Grand Lake and up into the high Sierras to the east, in the region of Long's Peak, and from thence around Mount Sumner, on the divide between Middle and North Park. On this trip the Professor made some very interesting collections of bear, elk, wolverine, and other animals; but finally the snows came on and they were driven out of the mountains.

In going from Middle Park back to Denver, they had to cross the range once more, at Berthod's Pass, during the latter part of November, after the snows had accumulated several feet in depth.

On arriving at Denver the results of the expedition were gathered, to be shipped to the East, embracing the skins and skeletons of many mammals, and a collection of many hundreds of birds, many reptiles and fishes, and many bottles and boxes of insects, and especially a large collection of plants. The party had also gathered a great store of fossils, minerals, and volcanic rocks; all of which were taken East to enrich the museums at Normal, at Bloomington, and other institutions.

Professor Powell spent the winter of 1867-1868 in the arrangement and study of his collections and in lecturing. In the spring a new expedition was organised, designed primarily to enrich the museum at Normal, of which he was now in charge; but other institutions gave him assistance. A small grant was made by the Illinois State Agricultural College, but the most important assistance secured was the aid of the Smithsonian Institution, which furnished him the apparatus and outfit necessary for natural history collections and instruments required for geographical reconnaissance. Through the influence of General Grant, Congress authorised the Commissary General of the Army to furnish Professor Powell and his assistants with rations wherever they might call for them at military posts in the far West.

With all of these additions to his equipment, the Professor again organised a party, chiefly of students, for a natural history expedition into western Colorado, with the design of ultimately exploring the canyons of the Colorado. Early in the summer of 1868 with this newly organised party of naturalists he established a rendezvous camp in Middle Park, Colorado. To the party here he

added a number of hardy mountaineers who were expert trappers and travellers. For more than three months our naturalists were pursuing their studies and engaged in making collections in various departments through the region round about. At one time, Professor Powell, with a part of his men, crossed the Colorado or Front Range and ascended Long's Peak, which was thus climbed for the first time. During the whole period he was himself chiefly occupied with studies at high altitudes, and he traversed the entire Colorado Range from Long's Peak to the South Platte. While engaged in this part of the work they usually camped at the timber line, and the days were spent among the crags and peaks of the great Colorado Range. In this manner the study of the general structure of the mountains was made. Thence he went to Mount Lincoln and studied the great mountain masses at the head of Blue River, thence southward he passed to the Gore Mountains. In this region a longer delay was made and the whole system of mountains carefully explored.

The Gore Mountains are a group of wonderfully picturesque crags and peaks, and previous to this time had been entirely unexplored. The account of them published by the Professor greatly attracted the attention of travellers, and later his name was given to the highest peak of the group by the people of Colorado.

During the two summers of study the mountains extending about Middle Park, and the whole country within, had thus been carefully studied so that the general geology of the district was now well known by the Professor, and large collections of minerals, fossils, and rocks had been made. The naturalists of the party had also collected rich stores of plants and animals, and at the close of the season they found themselves well rewarded. The material thus gathered was sent to Denver and thence shipped east to the museum at Normal, from which it was to be distributed to the several institutions contributing to the expense of the expedition.

But Professor Powell did not return to the East himself. With a part of his scientific corps and a number of mountaineers he crossed the mountains to the westward of Middle Park and went down to the valley of the White River, where he established winter quarters. Here three small log houses were built on the margin of a great cottonwood grove not far from the banks of the river. Just before the train reached this camping-ground, the Professor with two men were riding in advance when two grizzly bears were seen. These were killed and besides obtaining two good robes for cold weather, sufficient oil was secured to light their cabins during the

long nights of the following winter. From the Inter's camp as a base all the region round about was explored.

It had been previously arranged that early in the winter some members of the party should leave, so in December while the main party remained behind at winter quarters he went with these persons who were to return to the East and with three or four hunters northwestward to where the Union Pacific railroad now crosses Green River. The whole journey was through a region at that time unknown and without roads and trails. When within about fifty miles of Green River they encountered a severe snow-storm and went into camp at the foot of Aspen mountain until the storm had subsided. This is a wild and desolate region and of great interest to scientific travellers, and the mountain was the center of a district of country which subsequently became the theater of an elaborate geologic study by the Professor, the results of which were published in his report on the Uintah mountains. On the third day the storm subsided, and the party toiling through deep snows soon found its way to Green River Station.

Professor Powell having parted with his friends who were coming east, loaded his pack animals with supplies at Green River to return to winter camp. His route back was down the valley of the Green to the Uintah mountains, thence eastward to what has since been called Brown's Park. From this beautiful valley in the heart of the mountains he explored the upper canyons of Green River and a large part of another canyon lying farther south, then passed eastward exploring the Yampa River where it canyons through the Uintah mountains, and from the Yampa river he passed southward to winter camp on White River, arriving there on New Year's day. During the late winter months the canyons of White River were explored and excursions were made far up and down Green River especially for the purpose of studying canyon geography. During the previous summer the Professor had explored the canyons of the Grand River where it passes through and out of Middle Park, having constructed small boats for this purpose. He had also made a careful study of some of the canyons of the Blue River. All of these examinations were made for the purpose of determining the best methods of exploring the canyons of the Colorado.

The winter spent on the White River was one of great interest to the Professor and his party, which again included Mrs. Powell. The entire winter was one of great activity in making explorations and collections. During the greater part of the time the Ute In-

dians were encamped in the same valley, and the Professor spent the long winter evenings in studying the Ute language and collecting the myths and noting the habits and customs of these interesting Indians, in which work Mrs. Powell took great interest. The presence of the Indians added greatly to the entertainment of the party, for all winter long they were engaged in festivities, and often at night were found performing their weird ceremonies of magic,—their "medicine rites." The hunters of the party abundantly supplied the camp with game; at one time they brought down twenty-three deer from a mountain about twenty miles from camp.

This valley, now known as Powell's Valley, is a beautiful stretch of meadow glade, about ten miles long and from one to two miles broad, inclosed by mountains and steep cliffs on every side. Here the horses and mules, about twenty in number, roamed through the winter, but were brought up to the camp every night by a herdsman, and from their number the animals necessary for next day's ride were caught each night.

During this winter, as during the previous summer, extensive scientific collections were made.

Late in March winter camp was broken up, and through deep snow, with great toil, the party found their way over the mountains into Brown's Park, in the heart of the Uintah Mountains. From Brown's Park they went to Fort Bridger. Arriving at Fort Bridger, new operations were to be inaugurated, for the Professor had determined to explore the canyons of the Colorado. He at once shipped all his collections to the East, and leaving his party encamped on Green River, with Mrs. Powell he went to Chicago, for the purpose of constructing boats to be used in the exploration of the Green and Colorado Rivers. It had been his plan to construct boats in the field, and for that purpose he had brought with him the necessary tools; but at that time a great rivalry had sprung up between the two great railroads, the Union Pacific, starting from Omaha and building westward, and the Central Pacific, starting in California and coming eastward. This rivalry resulted in the building of the transcontinental railroad with much rapidity, and already a track had been started as far westward as the Green River, and the Professor determined to take advantage of this fact and to have his boats built in Chicago, where the work could be more skilfully done, and have them shipped out by rail.

Having thus decided to enter upon extensive explorations, Powell's life as a college professor ended.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

CRITIQUE OF THE CONCEPT OF TEMPERATURE.¹

BY DR. ERNST MACH.

IT appears from what has preceded that the *volume* of a body may be employed as a *mark* or *index* of its *thermal state*, and that consequently change of volume may be looked upon as indicating a change of thermal state. It stands to reason that the changes of volume here involved are not such as are determined by alterations of pressure or electric force, or by any other circumstances inducing change of volume though known from experience to be independent of the thermal state. Concomitantly with the thermal sensation which a body provokes in us, other properties of the body also undergo alteration,—as, for example, its electric resistance, its dielectric constant, its thermoelectric motive force, its index of refraction, etc. And not only might these properties be employed as indices of the thermal state, but they actually have found such employment. In the preferment of volume, therefore, as a test of states of heat, there is involved, despite the manifest practical advantages of the choice, a certain *caprice*; and in the general adoption of this choice, a *convention*.

A body employed as a thermoscope initially indicates only its *own* state of heat. But observation informs us that two bodies, *A* and *B*, which at the start provoke in us unlike sensations of heat, after prolonged contact excite in us precisely the *same* sensations, that is, equalise the difference of their thermal states. Transferring this empirical discovery by analogy to volumes as indices of thermal states, we assume that a thermoscopic body indicates not only its own state but also that of any other body with which it has been sufficiently long in contact. But in so summarily proceeding we are acting without warrant. For sensation of heat and volume are two entirely disparate elements of observation. The

¹ Translated from Mach's *Prinzipien der Wärmelehre* by Thomas J. McCormack.

fact of their connection has been determined by experience; the manner and extent of their connection it also remains for experience to determine.

We may convince ourselves easily that volume and sensation of heat are indices of widely different *sensitiveness*, and generally of different *character*. By means of volume we can perceive changes of state that utterly escape our sensations of heat. And owing to the dissimilar properties of the thermoscope and the sensory organ of heat, these instruments may give not only different, but even diametrically opposed, indications. The instances adduced on page 643 of the November *Open Court* amply illustrate this fact. But the indications may also be different with respect to equalised thermal states. Two pieces of iron after sufficient contact give the *same* sensations of heat. A piece of wood and a piece of iron after contact also show on the thermoscope the same indications. But if both *feel warm*, the iron will feel the *warmer* of the two, no matter how long they have been in contact; and if both *feel cold*, it will feel the *colder*. This, as is well known, is due to the greater conductivity of the iron, which imparts its thermal state to the hand more rapidly than the wood.

Volume being a more sensitive index of the thermal state than sensations of heat, it is more advantageous and rational for us to resort for our empirical results to observations on volume, as it is also to base upon these our definitions. Observations based on sensations of heat may serve us for guidance, but to employ them outright and uncritically is, as we now know, inadmissible. We assume with this perception an entirely new point of view, and one which is essentially different from that occupied by the original founders of thermometry. The defective separation of these two points of view, which owing to the gradual transition of the one into the other was unavoidable, became, as we shall subsequently see, the occasion of many obscure speculations.

The fact that a thermoscope shows an increase of volume when in contact with a body that is perceptibly warmer, and a diminution of volume when in contact with one that is perceptibly colder, is indisputable. But it is without the power of our *sensations of heat* to inform us whether this continues so until the thermal states are completely equalised. On the other hand, we can, consonantly with our new point of view, arbitrarily lay down the following definition: *Those thermal states are to be regarded as the same in which bodies produce in one another no alterations of volume* (mechanical pressures, electric forces, etc., excluded). This definition may be

applied immediately to the thermoscope, which indicates the thermal state of the body it touches the moment mutual alteration of volume by contact ceases.

If two bodies *A* and *B* are, as the common phraseology goes, both as *warm* as, or, both provoke the same sensations of heat as, a third body *C*, then is *A*, in the same sense, *just as warm as* the body *B*. This is a logical necessity, and we are incapable of thinking it otherwise. The contrary would involve our holding two *sensations* to be at the same time *alike* and *different*. But we are not permitted by our definition to assume outright that if *A* and *B* both do not produce alterations of volume in *C*, *A* likewise will produce none in *B*. For this last result is an *experience*, the outcome of which we have to await, and which is not co-determined by the two first-mentioned experiences. This is a simple consequence of the position above assumed.

But experience shows that if there be a series of bodies *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, . . . each of which has been sufficiently long in contact with that which follows, the thermoscope will give the same indication for the one as for the other. And, furthermore, we should be led into singular contradictions with our daily thermal experience, were we to assume that the equality of the physical condition of *A* and *B*, and *B* and *C*, conformably to the above definition, did not likewise determine the equality of the physical condition of *A* and *C*. Inverting the order of the bodies, which now do not induce alterations of volume in one another, would result in new alterations. But as far as our thermoscopic experience extends, this nowhere occurs.

To my knowledge, Maxwell is the first who drew attention to this point, and it may not be amiss to mention that Maxwell's remarks are quite similar to those which I advanced respecting the concept of mass.¹ It is extremely important to note that whenever we foist a definition upon Nature, it is imperative to wait and observe whether it accords perfectly with her constitution. We may indeed frame our concepts as our caprice dictates, but with the exception of pure mathematics, we are bound, even in geometry, and far more so in physics, to investigate minutely the extent to which reality conforms to our concepts.

Any conception, therefore, of the *experiences* familiar to us, if

¹ Maxwell, *Theory of Heat*, 9th edition, London, 1888. I surmise that the remarks cited were contained in the first edition of 1871; but I am unable to verify my conjecture, as I have had access only to Auerbach's translation of the fourth edition (1877). My considerations on the concept of mass were published in 1868 in the fourth volume of *Carl's Repertorium*, again in 1872 in my tract *Erhaltung der Arbeit*, and finally in 1883 in my *Mechanics* (Eng. trans., Chicago, 2nd edition, 1902).

it is to be free from contradiction, demands the assumption that two bodies *A* and *B* which are in the same thermal state as regards a third body *C* are in the same thermal state as regards each other.

The stronger the thermal sensation, the greater the volume of the thermoscopic substance. Hence again, by analogy, the following arbitrary definition may be set up: *Those thermal states are to be regarded as the more intense in which bodies produce in the thermoscope greater augmentations of volume.* After the analogy of the thermal processes observable by sensation, we should then expect that of two bodies *A* and *B* that which produced in the thermoscope the greater augmentation of volume would on contact also induce in the other an augmentation of volume, but in itself a diminution. But while the analogy holds generally true, it may fail utterly in special cases. Water furnishes an example where the analogy is misleading. Two masses of water at $+3^{\circ}\text{C.}$ and $+5^{\circ}\text{C.}$ both show a diminution of volume on contact. Two masses of water at 10°C. and 15°C. present the normal case. Two masses at 1°C. and 3°C. present a case diametrically opposed to the analogy.

It will be seen from the foregoing that water as a thermoscope could, under certain circumstances, give the same indication for two thermal states for which other thermoscopes would give different indications. The use of water as a thermoscope, at least in the thermal field under consideration, is accordingly to be avoided.

Our *sensations of heat*, like the thermoscopic volumes, form a simple series, a *simple continuous manifold*; but it does not follow from this that *states of heat* form also such a manifold. The properties of the system of symbols we employ are not decisive of the properties of the states symbolised. If we were to take, for example, as our criterion of the state of a body *K* the pull exerted by *K* on an iron ball suspended from a balance, these pulls, the aggregate of which as symbols likewise constitute a *simple manifold*, could be determined indifferently by the electric, magnetic, and gravitational properties of *K*, and would be the symbolic corre-

spondent consequently of a *threefold manifold*. Inquiry must determine in each case whether the symbolic system chosen is the appropriate one.

Let *A, B, C, D, E* be a series of bodies, of which each exhibits

a more intense thermal state than that which follows. (Fig. 28.) As far as our experience goes, a body can be transported from the state of *A* to that of *E* only by way of the states *B, C, D* and

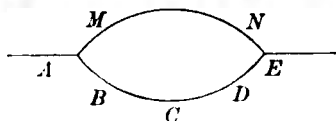


Fig. 28.

the states intermediate to them. There is nothing in the domain of experience to suggest that this could also be effected through a succession of conditions *MN* situate outside of the series *B, C, D*. The assumption of a *simple continuous manifold of thermal states* is sufficient.

It was remarked above that there was an *arbitrary convention* involved in the choice of *volume* as a thermoscopic index. There is a further arbitrary choice involved in the adoption of a thermoscopic *substance*. Yet if the substance selected were universally adopted, the resulting thermometer would substantially accomplish everything that could be demanded of it. The thermometer would be exposed to the greatest possible number of thermal states, established as invariable by cessation of change on the part of the thermometer, and these points of cessation would be distinguished by *marks and names*; such as the freezing-point of mercury, the melting-point of ice, the congealing-point of linseed-oil and aniseed-oil, the melting-point of butter, blood-heat, the boiling-point of water, the boiling-point of mercury, etc. *These marks would then enable us not only to recognise a recurring state of heat, but also to reproduce a state already known to us.* But in accomplishing this, the essential function of the thermometer is achieved.

The inconveniences of such a system, which as a matter of fact long prevailed, would soon be manifest. The more delicate the inquiry, the more fixed points of this sort would be necessary; and ultimately they would not be attainable. Furthermore, the number of the names to be remembered would be annoyingly augmented, and it would be impossible to discover from the character of these names the *order* in which the thermal states under consideration succeeded one another. This order would need be specially noted in each individual case.

But there exists a system of names which is *at the same time* a system of *ordinal symbols*, permitting of indefinite extension and refinement, viz., numbers. Substituting numbers for names as our designations of thermoscopic marks, the inconveniences in question are eliminated. Numbers may be continued into infinity without effort; between two numbers any number of other numbers may be mechanically interpolated; it is apparent immediately from the very nature of a number between what other numbers it lies. This could not have escaped the notice of the inventors of the early



Fig. 29.

thermoscopes; and the idea was actually applied, though to varying extent and with varying appropriateness.

For the introduction of this more appropriate system, a new convention was necessary,—a convention respecting the *manner* in which the numbers should be *coördinated* with the thermoscopic marks. And here new difficulties arose.

One of the methods proposed consisted in scratching on the capillary tube of the thermoscopic envelope *two* fixed points (the melting-point of ice and the boiling-point of water). The *apparent* voluminal increment of the thermometric substance (neglecting the dilatation of the vessel) was next divided into 100 parts (degrees), and *this* division was then *continued* beyond the boiling and melting-points. By means of these fixed points and the principle of co-ordination referred to, every number *appeared* to be *univocally* connected with a physically determined thermal state.

But this connection is immediately broken when some other thermoscopic substance or some other enveloping material is chosen. Laying off the volumes of any given substance as abscis-

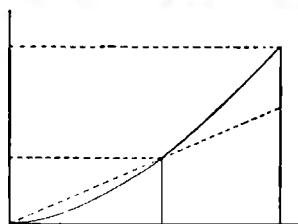


Fig 30.

as and erecting those of any other in the same thermal states as ordinates, we obtain, according to Dulong and Petit, by joining the extremities of the ordinates, not a straight line, but a *curve*, similar to that pictured in Figure 30, and differing for every two different substances. In point of fact, substances do not expand proportion-

ally to one another when subjected to the same thermal changes, as we have already learned. Hence, on the *same* principle of coördination, sensibly different numbers are assigned to the same thermal states for each and every thermoscopic substance.

Even adopting exclusively mercury as our thermal substance, the expansion of the glass of the containing vessel, which is not a vanishing quantity comparatively, exercises an appreciable influence upon the march of the apparent expansion, and this influence is peculiar to every different kind of glass. Therefore, even though the same principle of coördination be employed, strictly speaking the connection between numbers and thermal states is again peculiar to each thermometer.

When attention was directed to the like behavior of gases under the same thermal conditions, the choice of a *gas* as a standard thermoscopic substance was, by reason of this property, regarded

as *less conventional* and as having deeper roots in *Nature*. But while it will appear that this opinion is erroneous, yet there are other reasons which make for this choice, which was a felicitous one, though at the time it was made no one could have been aware of the fact.

One of the greatest advantages that gases offer is their remarkable expansibility and the consequent enhanced sensitiveness of the thermoscopes. Furthermore, the disturbing effect of the variable envelopes is very considerably reduced by this great expansibility. The expansion of mercury is only about seven times as great as that of glass. The expansion of the glass and the variation of this material find, therefore, very perceptible expression in the apparent expansion of the mercury. But the expansion of a gas is 146 times as great as that of glass.¹ The expansion of the glass, therefore, has only a very slight effect upon the apparent expansion of the gas, and a vanishing effect upon the variations in the different kinds of glass. In the case of gas-thermometers, therefore, when the fixed points and the principle of coördination have been determined upon, the connection between the numbers and the thermal states is far exacter than with any other thermoscope. The envelope selected, or more briefly, the individuality of the thermoscope, can have only a very inconsiderable influence upon this relationship; the thermoscopes are rendered in high degree *comparable*,—a point which confirms the critique of Dulong and Petit. We shall in the considerations to follow make tacit reference to an air-thermoscope.

That number which, conformably to any chosen principle of coördination, is *uniquely coördinated with a voluminal indication of the thermoscope, and consequently with a state of heat, is called the temperature of that state*. It will be generally denoted in the following by t . The temperature-numbers are dependent on the principle of coördination, $t = f(v)$, where v is the thermoscopic volume, and, consequently, for the same state of heat they will vary greatly according to the principle adopted.

It is instructive to note that different principles of coördination actually have been propounded, although only one has proved of actual practical scientific value and hence remained in use. One of these principles may be termed the Galilean. It makes the temperature-numbers proportional to the real or apparent voluminal increments from a definite initial volume v_0 , corresponding to a definite thermal state.

¹ Cf. Pfundler, *Lehrbuch der Physik*, II., 2. See also *Open Court* for November, 1902, p. 651.

To the volume: $v_0, v_0(1 + \alpha), v_0(1 + 2\alpha), \dots v_0(1 + t\alpha)$,
corresponds

the temperature: 0, 1, 2, t ,

For a here we take the hundredth part of the coefficient of the voluminal increment from the melting-point of ice to the boiling-point of water (viz., $\frac{1}{273}$), the temperature-number 100 falling to the last-named point. The same principle admits of extension beyond the boiling and melting points, the temperature-numbers in the latter case being reckoned negatively.

An entirely different principle of coördination is that of Dalton. It is as follows:

To the volume: $\dots \frac{v_0}{(1.0179)^2}, \frac{v_0}{1.0179}, v_0, v_0 \times 1.0179, v_0 \times (1.0179)^2, \dots$
corresponds

the temperature... -20, -10, 0, +10, +20 ...

If we take with Amontons and Lambert the expansive force of a mass of gas of constant volume as our thermoscopic index, and make the numbers indicative of the temperatures *proportional* to the expansive force of the gas, we shall again have, strictly speaking, a different principle. But owing to the validity of the Law of Boyle and Gay-Lussac within wide limits, and the slight deviation of the coefficient of expansive force from the coefficient of expansion,—facts which at the time this scale was proposed were only imperfectly known,—it happens that the properties of Amontons's scale are not sensibly different from those of Galileo's.

Calling p the pressure of a mass of gas of constant volume, p_0 the pressure at the melting-point of ice, and k a constant, Amontons's principle of coördination is expressed by the equation $t = \frac{k p}{p_0}$. A second fundamental point is unnecessary on this scale.¹ Since p and p_0 depend in the same manner on the thermal states that v and v_0 do, the new scale has precisely the same properties as the old. For $p = 0, t = 0$. Putting $k = 273$, the degrees assume their customary magnitude: for the melting-point $t = 273$, for the boiling-point $t = 373$. The new scale coincides absolutely with the old scale, if the zero-point be placed on the melting-point, and the temperature-numbers downward be reckoned negatively.

The employment of the air-thermometer involves, whether volumes or pressures be taken as the thermoscopic indices, a *defini-*

¹ See *The Open Court* for November, 1902, p. 647.

tion of temperature. Starting from the equations $p = p_0(1 + \alpha t)$, or $v = v_0(1 + \alpha t)$, we *arbitrarily* posit, that the temperature t shall be given by the equation.

$$t = \frac{p - p_0}{\alpha p_0} \text{ or } t = \frac{v - v_0}{\alpha v_0}.$$

Amontons's temperature, which is designated by way of distinction the *absolute temperature*, and denoted by T , is defined by the equation

$$T = \frac{273p}{p_0};$$

its relation with that first defined is indicated above.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

MITHRAISM AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE EDITOR.

MAZDAISM, the religion of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster or Zerdusk), is distinguished by its purity and high moral tone. The word is derived from Mazda, which means wisdom or omniscience, and occurs mainly in connection with Ahura, the Lord. Ahura Mazda (abbreviated by the Greek into Ormuzd) is now commonly translated Lord Omniscient.

The sacred books of Mazdaism, especially the Avesta, breathe the spirit of a lofty monotheism, which in the course of its further development was supplemented by the belief in a divine mediator, Mithra, born of a virgin and destined to be the ruler of the kingdom of God on earth, for the coming of which all good worshippers of Ahura Mazda were praying.

Mazdaism has on several occasions powerfully influenced the religious life of the Western world, first in the days of Cyrus, then in the time when the Apocrypha of the Old Testament were written, furthermore in the beginning of the Christian era when Mithraism became a rival of Christianity, and finally in its sectarian revival as Manicheism, after the suppression of which the very names of Ahura Mazda, of Zarathushtra, and of Mithra were forgotten. Though Mazdaism (with the exception of the small sect of Parsees) has disappeared from the face of the earth, some of its traditions have been preserved in its greatest rival religion, Christianity, and some traces of it are left even in the canonical books of the Old and the New Testaments. Isaiah regards it so much as the religion of his own people that he calls Cyrus, the king of the Persians, the Anointed One (Messiah) of the Lord. God says of Cyrus:

"He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be rebuilt; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid."

In the Greek text of Ezra we read that Cyrus had the symbol of Mazdaism, the eternal fire, transferred to the temple of Jerusalem (Septuagint Ezra vi. 24).

In the second book of Maccabees (i. 20) we read that the priests were requested by the King (of the Persians) to search for the holy fire which their fathers had hidden in a dry pit, and they found no fire, but thick water; and he ordered them to dip it out and pour it over the altar and the sacrifice. When they had done so, and when the clouds had dispersed and the sun shone, a great fire was kindled and they marvelled greatly (i. 22), and Nehemiah prayed (i. 24-29) and the King had the place fenced in, and the followers of Nehemiah called the water Nephthar, which is "cleansing."

The Jewish priests were dressed like the Persian priests, in linen garments.

The influence of Persian views in the Apocrypha is universally recognised and in the religious life of the Jewish people it resulted in the formation of sects, especially the Essenes, whose institutions were so similar to the Nazarenes and the Ebionites (the sect of the Poor) that they may have been different names for the same institution.

We know that Jesus came from the ranks of the Nazarenes, for not only is he called a Nazarene himself, but St. Paul, too, is called a ringleader of the Nazarenes.

A trace of Mazdaism left in the canonical Gospels is the story of the Wise Men of the East (Matthew ii.) who, guided by a star, came to Bethlehem offering gold, frankincense, and myrrh to the new-born king of the Jews. One of the Apocryphal Gospels, viz., "the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy," directly mentions that they came in obedience to a prophecy of Zoroaster, the venerable founder of Mazdaism;¹ and the names of the Magi still in use in the Roman Catholic calendar of saints are Caspar, which means "Splendor," Melchior, meaning "Light of Melech,"² and Balthazar, which means "he whom Baal protects."³

The pagan significance of the names has been lost sight of in later centuries; otherwise, the Magi would not have proved worthy of canonisation.

Many rabbis adopted the Mazdean invocation for the coming of God's kingdom, and Jesus deemed it worthy to be incorporated as the prayer which he taught to his disciples.

¹ See The Apocryphal Gospels translated by B. Harris (London: Norgate, 1874) p. 176.

² Another form of *Melech*, which means "King."

³ *Baal*, or Babylonian, *Bel* means "Lord."

The similarity of the Lord's Supper to the sacrament of Mithra was so striking that Justinus Martyr speaks of it as "the same ritual," which had been introduced among the pagans by the intrigues of Satan.

Man is more conservative in religious practices than in the common walks of life. So the Jewish priests even to-day use flint knives in preference to steel blades, and unleavened bread has remained in many instances the sacramental food of various rituals. We may assume that the Persian sacrament consisted of wafers which were called in Persian *myasda* (or in Hebrew *massa*) and it seems probable that the very name of the Christian mass is nothing but a corruption of the Persian word that denoted the bread used in this mystical ceremony.

The last flickering up of the flame of Mazdaism under its own name is the revival of Manicheism—the religion of Mani, which spread from Persia and Mesopotamia over the whole East and penetrated even the Roman empire, where it gained its most numerous adherents in North Africa. The Manichees assert that the struggle between the two empires, that of light and that of darkness, is still going on, and that the duality of spirit and body enjoins a rigorous asceticism. They accepted Christ, but rejected the Church as a worldly institution. The main danger of Manicheism to Christianity lay in the moral earnestness of the Manichean movement, and yet it was the rigidity of its ethics that rendered it unacceptable as a universal religion. Manicheism was naturally limited to small numbers, and so it could easily be crushed. Pope Leo the Great took energetic State measures against it; Valentinian III. punished Manicheans with banishment and Justinian with death. In Africa the Vandals made an end of Manicheism.

Some Church historians, who see a doctrinary kinship in all heresies, regard them as the forerunners of the Albigenses, the Waldenses, the Hussites, and finally even the Reformers. And in a certain sense this may be granted. Though the Reformers, far from favoring asceticism, abolished monastic institutions, we cannot deny that Luther's conception of Satan (as represented in the famous battle-hymn of the Reformation) reminds one very much of Ahriman, the fiend, the enemy of God and man, and thus we may say that with certain modifications Luther may be regarded as Zaratrusthra *redivivus*.

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

BY H. W. THOMAS.

HISTORY and science have to deal with what has been, and is. Accepting the existential, philosophy and science essay the larger task of analysis and classification; of finding the nature and order of things; their places and relations, meanings, uses, and values.

The magnitude of such a task is immeasurable. Not strange that it has filled all the long past; nor strange that it has grown larger with each age, and never seemed so almost bewilderingly great as in these wonderful years of the present.

This does not mean that little if any progress has been made; the gains have been very great; but at each forward step the vision has expanded, the fields have grown larger, and are now seen as reaching on and out into the illimitable.

Such is man amidst his mighty surroundings. Man as a self-conscious being with improvable powers, conditioned in and related to the eternal order of the rational and the good. And what we call world-progress is the growth or progressive becoming of man in his power to know, to do, and to be.

In this slow process, the errors, mistakes, and prejudices have been many, and had to be eliminated; but beyond these has always been the reality of the real. The errors, mistakes of mankind have been about something, not about nothing. Beyond astrology were the stars; back of alchemy were the elements and forces of nature. Traditions, legends, and myths have a meaning; they did not rise up out of nothing. Cosmology and ontology are greater than mythology; the real transcends the imaginary; the laws of gravity and motion are greater than the mighty animals that stood beneath the earth.

Reason has come along and corrected the errors of the senses, and in this has immensely enlarged the vision of the soul. Science

has revealed the reign of law and the order of the heavens. The higher natural has taken the place of the old law-violating miraculous.

In all this, it would not be possible to write a history or a philosophy of our world and leave out the religious; and for the reason that religion has filled so large a place in the thinking and doing of mankind. In all lands and ages along with homes and industries, schools of learning and art and the temples of justice, are the temples of worship. Governments and religions, histories, literatures, and Bibles have moved along together; and philosophy has found the paths of thought leading on and up to the great questions of the soul and God. It is not possible to have a great literature or philosophy wholly apart from the thoughts and emotions of religion.

In the farther East, the Brahman, the Buddhist, and the Confucian religions were powerful factors in the civilisations of those lands. In the middle East, Judaism rose up and stood alone in its sublime conceptions of one God, of a religion of righteousness, and the brotherhood of man. Not perfect were these conceptions at first; but the germs were there, and the great prophets went forward and ethicised—put moral qualities into the very heart of the monotheistic idea. God was called the "Holy One of Israel"; "Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy."

These were the central ideas of Judaism; hence its power to make men holy; and in this is the explanation of the persistent life and power of this most wonderful of all the peoples of the world. And it was most natural that from such a race and religion the Christ should be born. And natural too, that Christianity should fill so large a place in the history of the later civilisations of Europe and America.

If what has been, had not been, we do not know what might have been; but we do know that Christianity has moved along as a mighty power in the affairs of our world. Romanism and the Holy Roman Empire; the long wars of the Crusades; the revival of learning, the Reformation of the sixteenth century; the growth of liberty and the rise of constitutional monarchies and republics, are epochs, events, and phases of our so-called Christian civilisation.

That Judaism was not perfect; and that in many things Christianity has been not only very imperfect, but in spirit and deed very unchristian, are not—cannot be denied. But the facts also remain, that these two forms of religion have lived and wrought

mightily through the long centuries of ancient and modern history. They have appealed to the deepest centres of thought and feeling ; to the spirit-side of man and the universe.

Religion is not an anachronism ; is not a survival of the slave-ries and superstitious fears of a dark past ; though it has been affected by them, and has not yet come into the full freedom and power of the divine truth and life. The foundations of religion are in the nature and needs of man and the answerings of his vast environments. In the last analysis it is the Soul and God ; the life of God in the soul of man.

It is only in very recent years that the study of comparative religions has come into the foreground of thought ; and the study of religion in the light of the universal has hardly yet found a place in the public mind. Ignorance and prejudice have held the field, have blinded and blocked the paths of progress. Great nations and peoples have been looked upon as pagans, and their religion denounced as little if any better than "devil-worship."

And not only this ; Judaism and Christianity have stood apart as strangers, and often been arrayed one against the other as enemies. History has no sadder pages than the persecution of the Jews by Christians ; and even to-day, outside of England and America, this ancient noble people must suffer the insults of race and religious prejudices and in many places are denied the common rights of citizenship. And this in spite of the fact that in all countries the Jews are generally among the most industrious, intelligent, economic, and law-abiding of all the people.

A most opportune, needed, and helpful work has just appeared from the pen of Harris Weinstock, entitled *Jesus the Jew*.¹

The wonder is that this book, or something like it, was so slow and late in coming ; that some one had not taken up the subject before. The explanation is that the time had not fully come. Many must "run to and fro and knowledge be increased" to prepare the way ; the old ignorance and prejudices must be at least partially overcome by the growth of a larger intelligence and a more generous catholicity.

All thoughtful minds will rejoice that the better day has dawned ; that the great subject of religion is finding its place and interpretation in the light of the universal. It means the beginning at least in our day of the end of doubt and negation ; of the too common negative attitude of indifference or denial of the Divine

¹ *Jesus the Jew, and Other Addresses*. By Harris Weinstock. Funk & Wagnalls Company. New York and London. Price, \$1.

in the life of man. It means that henceforth religion will be looked upon, not from the narrow standpoint of names and isms and sectarian dogmas, but from the larger vision and thought of the real; of the soul and God; of brotherhood and righteousness.

And it means, thank God, that these two great religions, Judaism and Christianity—mother and daughter—shall be seen as one in spirit, and in the great law and life of love shall dwell together as one family, as brothers and sisters in the one Father's home for all the children of earth.

Our author emphasises the fact that Jesus was a Jew; that he observed the ceremonial forms of worship, and taught the great spiritual truths of One God, of righteousness and brotherhood, holiness of heart and life, and that he lived and died in the Jewish Church.

The place and value of Paul are also fully recognised; his vision of the spiritual as the essential, and the emancipation of religion from the burdens of the ceremonial, and in this way making it universal. But for this larger interpretation and the inspirations of a new life, Christianity, or Christianised Judaism, could not have gone forth as a vast and world-conquering power; and in this sense Paul gave shaping and potency, and by removing the narrowing limitations universalised religion.

And, it may be said, but for the accretions of the Latin theology that made the larger acceptance of Christianity impossible to Judaism, there would have been no ground for the wide separation between the two. But with these accretions, and the union of Church and State, the fall of the Empire and the decline of learning, came the dark night of ignorance, superstition, and persecution.

When the scattered Jews were banished from their homes, their property confiscated, every civil right denied and the most dreadful cruelties inflicted in the name of Christianity, it was only natural that they should hate the very name Christianity. And coming ages will more and more admire the unconquerable courage and fidelity of this suffering people, and gladly confess their great service to humanity in standing for the religion of monotheism and righteousness.

The accretions of the old Latin orthodoxy are dropping out of present beliefs. This is no longer a *lost* world to be redeemed in some substitutional way; but an imperfect world in the process of higher becoming. Man is at centre, Divine; is to be filled with God, as God was in the Christ. Our age is returning to the earlier

Greek interpretation; and there is the glad coincidence that the Jews are coming to see Christianity in this its real meaning; and that progressive Judaism and the new theology are finding they are substantially at one on this common ground, and hence are joyfully worshipping together as occasion may offer.

This does not mean that Judaism will cease to have its temples and special forms of worship, nor that Christianity will be Judaised. It means that they will be more and more one in the great law and life of love and in the larger faith and fact of the life of God in the soul of man as the one and only real religion.

It is of interest to note that the author is a layman, a business man, and not a Rabbi. It means that the people are beginning to think for themselves, and that the preachers must go forward with the growth of truth, or be left behind. Mr. Weinstock discusses the questions of present practical interest, such as: "What is the modern Jewish idea of Jesus? Do the Jews look forward to the coming of a Messiah? Do they continue to look upon themselves as God's chosen people? Does the modern Jew approve of inter-marriage?" He makes no pretention to great learning, but it is apparent that he is easily at home in the wide field over which he travels. His vision is large and clear and his spirit most reverent and beautiful.

I most earnestly wish that this timely and helpful book could be read by every Jewish Rabbi and Christian preacher in this land, and by the people in all the Churches. It would be a help to the religious life of all; there would be less prejudice and vastly more love.

THE WATER OF LIFE.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE accompanying picture represents a piece of Chinese statuary which was imported to this country by Japanese traders. It was courteously sent me as a present by Mr. Joseph M. Wade, of Boston, Mass., the same gentleman who was recently honored by the Emperor of Japan with the decoration of the "Order of the Double Light Rising Sun," in recognition of the interest he has shown in Japanese art and manufacture. Mr. Wade took special interest in this piece of statuary, because when he saw it in the store, the little Oriental tradesman, who could scarcely speak English, explained to him the meaning of the group by saying: "It is the wise man who tells the youth going to the well to fetch water, that if he will listen to his words he will give him the water of life." Since the little pagan knew nothing of Christ's words addressed to the Samaritan woman at the well, we must assume that the nations of Eastern Asia possess a legend quite similar to our own tradition. Being interested in Oriental lore, Mr. Wade bought the piece and called my attention to this curious coincidence.

The porcelain group before us is indeed interesting on account of the idea incorporated in it; and I see in the sage seated near the well a Taoist philosopher. This is indicated by the garb of the venerable gentleman, which is Chinese in style, but late enough to show the Mongolian queue, which, however, is not visible in the reproduction here given. He is certainly not a Buddhist priest, and the subject of conversation renders it unlikely that we have a Confucianist before us.

Taoism is the oldest religion of China, and it has incorporated into its fabric all kinds of most ancient superstitions, a prominent place among which is hold by the idea of the elixir of life. This notion is by no means limited to the Chinese, but may be regarded as an ancient heirloom from prehistoric ages. That the elixir of

life was originally considered as the water of life is more than probable, for we know that the Babylonians too, in their ancient religious poetry, speak not only of the tree of life and the fruits of the tree of life but also of the water of life.¹

To us of the West, who are accustomed to the sayings of the New Testament, the term "water of life," at once reminds us of Christ, and to find the same or a similar expression used in the in-



"I WILL GIVE THEE WATER OF LIFE."
(Chinese porcelain.)

terior of China seems to us perplexing; but it is only natural that these thoughts should be preserved and purified, here as well as there, into more or less philosophical or moral ideas. While the original conception of the water of life is to be understood as an actual well that would confer immortality, and while the foun-

¹ These traditions have been discussed in a special article in *The Monist*, Vol. X., Nos. 2 and 3, under the title: "The Food of Life and the Sacrament."

tain of youth, even at the time of the discovery of America, was still believed to be possible in the literal sense of the word, the thought was frequently understood allegorically, and this is obviously the significance in which the term is used in the New Testament. Jesus apparently alludes to the popular notion of the water of life, but he interprets the legend and merely utilises the myth to impress upon his hearer the blessing of his teachings.

The Taoist sage in Mr. Wade's porcelain group exhibits a similar stage in the development of the ancient myth. The Taoist sage is ready to impart to the youth the higher doctrines of a nobler life, and his method of addressing him, if not the same as, is yet analogous to, the words recorded in the Gospel of St. John, iv. 14. While the myths of "the water of life" and also "the elixir of life," "the fountain of youth," etc., both in China and in Europe, may have very easily been derived from one and the same ancient tradition, we need not assume that the artist who fashioned the present group ever heard of the story of Christ and the Samaritan woman. The parallelism, although surprising, is quite natural.

MISCELLANEOUS.

DR. RADAU'S CREATION-STORY OF GENESIS.¹

Dr. Radau has written a stimulating little book. It is also a book which contains much information for the Assyriological specialist; indeed it may be feared that the long lists of divine names given in it with the copious references to cuneiform literature will terrify the "general reader." The latter, however, will find much to interest and instruct him in the main subject-matter of the book.

Briefly put, Dr. Radau's contention is that in the Creation-Story of Genesis I. we have a Hebrew adaptation of the Babylonian story of the Creation which unconsciously approaches very nearly the Sumerian original of the latter by representing the Creation as the result, not of a contest between the powers of light and darkness, but of a natural process of generation and perpetuation. The seven days into which the work of creation is divided he believes to be due to the Biblical writer, who also dealt "critically" with his authority, rejecting whatever in the Babylonian legend was inconsistent with his conceptions whether theological or otherwise. That in one important point the Hebrew and Babylonian stories differ entirely from one another has been recognised by all scholars; while the Babylonian account is polytheistic, the Hebrew is aggressively monotheistic. It is, in fact, the emphatic way in which certain polytheistic aspects of the Babylonian story are negatived that seems to me the best proof of the dependence of the one upon the other. The Biblical author must have had the Babylonian version of the story before him when he made the Creator exist from all eternity like *Tehom* or Chaos itself, when *Tehom*, the demon-dragon of Babylonian belief was transformed into merely dead and formless matter, and when, as Dr. Radau points out, the names of the Sun and Moon were avoided in the history of the work of the fourth day on account of their polytheistic associations. Samas, Sin and Istar have become for him the "two great lights" and the "stars" of heaven.

I agree, therefore, with Dr. Radau in believing that the writer of Genesis I. had a Babylonian account of the Creation before him. Whether, however, it is the Assyrianised epic which we have recovered from the library of Nineveh, and which is really a pæan in honor of Merodach, is quite another matter. The author of the Epic drew his materials from older compositions, and it may have been one of these that was used by the Hebrew writer. On the other hand, the Creator in the Babylonian story was already Merodach; Ea of Eridu and El-lil of Nippur had already been dethroned in favor of the younger god of Babylon. Dr. Radau

¹*The Creation-Story of Genesis I. A Sumerian Theogony and Cosmogony.* By Dr. Hugo Radau. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 1902. Pages, vi, 70. Price, Boards, 75 cents net (3s. 6d. net).

is clearly right in holding that the creation of the light on the first day in the Biblical narrative is the monotheistic rendering of the birth of Merodach the god of light at the beginning of the creation. But I am not so sure that he is equally right in saying that the creation of light was thus made to antedate that of the sun and moon in order to "make out" the requisite number of seven days. The vegetation which was created on the third day needed light, and the very fact that the creation of light is separated from that of the heavenly luminaries shows that in the author's mind light was independent of either sun or moon. Indeed such a belief would be natural to an Oriental familiar with the afterglow.

There will doubtless be plenty of discussion over the details in Dr. Radau's volume. I do not think, for instance, that the Hebrew word *arets* is used in different senses in Gen. i. 1, 2. The verb in verse two is a pluperfect and the translation is: "Now the earth had been"—not as yet the earth of the present creation, but—"chohā and bohā," whatever these words mean. Consequently it is not certain that the Tehom or "chaos" and "the breath of Elohim" are convertible. In the words "darkness upon the face of Tehom" we have the Babylonian conception; in the addition, which is a supplement rather than a parallel clause, "the breath of Elohim ever brooding upon the face of the waters"—we must see the Hebrew gloss. The "breath of Elohim" was the vital principle which when combined with the creative voice brought life and order into the world; the darkness, on the contrary, was devoid both of light and of creative power. In the Assyro-Babylonian Epic of the creation the "word" of Merodach creates and destroys; perhaps if we knew more about Babylonian cosmologies we should find that, in some schools at least, the animate creation was believed to have received its life from the inspiration of the divine breath.

Limits of space prevent me from entering into further details, and I can only add that Dr. Radau's book should be read by the theologian as well as by the Assyriologist. Both will find in it food for thought. And to the Assyriologist the pages in it devoted to Sumerian mythology will be especially acceptable.

CAIRO, EGYPT.

A. H. SAYCE.

MAURICE MAETERLINCK.

Le Temple Enseveli, by Maurice Maeterlinck, contains six essays on the hidden foundations of the Temple of Life. Descending into the heart of existence, he returns to point out the deep meanings hidden in common beliefs, common phrases. Throwing the search-light of his genius on these household words, of which, to paraphrase a famous line, it may be said, "custom makes stale their infinite variety," he flashes through the fog of environment and illumines once more the jewel obscured by its dull and time-worn setting.

The first essay is on that Justice, believed in by most men, but which, apart from the law and order maintaining the equilibrium of the world, conveys to the ordinary mind at best a vague greatness—something which must exist somewhere or somehow, unless all ancient faiths are to fall on the head of the believer. But on closer examination, where can this exterior Justice be found? "Ni la terre, ni le ciel, ni la nature, ni la matière, ni l'éther, ni aucun des forces nous connaissons, hors celles qui sont en nous, ne se préoccupe de justice, n'a la moindre rapport avec notre morale, avec nos pensées, nos intentions;" there is only the relation of cause to effect. The ignorant and unthinking mind may consider the catastrophes of nature—earthquakes, eruptions, and so forth—as the judgments of a ter-

rible, yet just, God : continuing to bring down this idea of deity to its own level, it may still endeavor to see His chastisements in those calamities which touch human life still more nearly, in the mysterious workings of heredity, of disease, or suffering, where the sins of guilty parents are visited on innocent children, where the good suffer equally with the guilty. But a vaster idea of nature, and of divinity in nature, is beginning to dawn on human intelligence, as we realise more and more our own littleness with regard to the great elemental forces which surround us. Blindly—and without any thought of involved responsibility—we sweep a fly off a window, nevertheless we are blind instruments in the fate of that fly : and does the thought never occur, that we, in our turn, may suffer in the power of forces as blind to, and ignorant of, our systems of morality, as we are to that of the fly ?

We shall not therefore find the justice comprehensible to our limited intellects in the vast cycle of creation, in which we human creatures can be compared to the insects which we carelessly crush ; both insect and man may be ascending through life and through death to perfection, but neither can form any conception of the justice involved in this vast evolution. And turning from any conceivable idea of justice in the physical world, Maeterlinck points unerringly to the true centre of human equity—the soul of man.

There may be other systems of justice above and below our comprehension, but this alone concerns our individual and collective life, and it therefore behooves us to make this "Eye of Justice," this "light of the body" increasingly clear-sighted and pure. "Il est diminué de tout ce que nous n'apercevons pas, de tout ce que nous regardons incomplètement, de tout à ce que nous n'interrogeons pas assez profondément" : its point of vantage appears continually changing beneath the lens of our interior clairvoyance, "à mesure que l'intelligence élève et s'éclaire, elle parvient à dominer et éclairer, à transformer nos sentiments et nos instincts ;" and at the same time, is menaced by curious distortion and oblivion, "nous ne croyions pas être injuste—et peut-être n'apercevons-nous à notre droite ou notre gauche, une injustice sans limite, qui couvre les trois quarts de notre vie."

For Maeterlinck would assure us that, not in the world around us, either physical or moral, but at the foundations of the interior life of every soul, is to be found the image of this incorruptible, invisible justice, which we have so long vainly sought in heaven, the universe, and humanity ; and there can be no justice without punishment, as those who have sinned before the tribunal of their own conscience, can very well testify !

* * *

In "L'Évolution du Mystère" Maeterlinck endeavors to arouse us to an increased consciousness of that vast ocean of the unknown engirdling all human existence : its desolate waters stretch out to silent horizons, the human boats rock on its surface ; when the sun shines and the winds blow softly all is forgotten but the beauty and charm of the present ; but suddenly the waves rise, the storm sweeps down on the frail vessels, and the blind unreasoning souls are flung out to battle with the mysterious forces of life, death, and fatality ; what wonder that the wrecks in those waters are many ?

But there is always less terror in realised danger, and Maeterlinck would have us explore this mysterious ocean and awake to the presence of its invisible forces before they engulf us : "C'est la conscience de l'inconnu dans lequel nous vivons, qui confère à notre vie une signification qu'elle n'aurait point, si nous renfermions dans ce que nous savons, ou si nous croyions trop facilement que ce que nous savons est de beaucoup plus important que ce que nous ignorons encore." We

must confront this immense, irresistible, unknowable mystery, which surrounds us as the air we breathe, with sincerity, for it is worthy of a "patient, minute, and calm interrogation," and again Maeterlinck suggests the workings of blind forces, unconscious according to our consciousness, as a factor in our existence and fate: "Il est probable que l'invisible et l'infini interviennent à chaque instant de notre vie, mais à titre d'éléments indifférents, énormes et aveugles, qui passent sur nous, et en nous, nous pénètrent, nous façonnent, et nous animent, sans se douter de notre existence, comme le font l'eau, l'air, le feu et la lumière." In the midst of this impalpable, imponderable mystery is set the soul of man, beset by the problems and terrors of life and of death, surrounded sometimes with shut doors, sometimes with illimitable spaces more terrifying still.

All interpreters of humanity, its philosophers, its poets, and its artists, have endeavored to discover a motive power in this chaos, a dominant idea, frequently as mysterious as the influences it desires to control: the figure of fatality haunts the Greek tragedies; a faith as undefinable as its object, illumines the poems of Dante, the dramas of Calderon. But the goddess of destiny and her attendant fates have flitted like shadows as the will-power of the individual asserts itself more and more, and the old simple faiths have also faded in the twilight of doubt. In this century we witness the "death of the old gods;" shall we see the dawn of greater spiritual light break on the horizon of the future, in the ever-increasing consciousness of the ultimate perfection and divinity of the soul of man, slow—yet attainable through the ages, and ever calling up higher like a bell sounding clear through the fog? The tide of evolution sweeps onward and upward, bearing on its current an infinity of life systems, inconceivable the one to the other, though their workings seem to be inextricably interwoven. May not the blind interventions of these incognisable forces and elements account for much of the inexplicable tragedy of human life? which is thus not alone in its ascent towards divinity.

* * *

We live in a material age, and what Maeterlinck terms "*la règne de la matière*," is even more dominant in England than elsewhere. It is in the literature and art of a nation that its soul should be reflected, and if we turn to the pictures of the last Royal Academy, or review, mentally, the latest play or novel, what shall we see in the mirror? "*De beaux corps. . . de l'or des pierres, un palais, un grand parc. . . des ornements et des bijoux bizarres, qui représentent les rêves de la vanité, et formant le gros tas. . . des bons repas, des tables somptueuses, des appartements magnifiques*:" but that inner mystery of things which, to the ancient Greek, was "the beautiful soul in the beautiful body," and of which Shelley sang with such ardent longing, is, alas! seldom to be found in modern English art, drama, or literature; the torch is reversed, the wings of the Psyche are broken! And if this spiritual oblivion is painfully noticeable in English art, and in the upper strata of English society, the same can be said in a greater degree of the mass of the people. As Maeterlinck clearly demonstrates, the condition of the one reacts upon that of the other, "*aucune idée ne s'allume sur les sommets, si les innombrables et uniformes petites idées de la plaine n'atteignent un certain niveau*." The mental attitude of the uneducated mass creates undoubtedly an atmosphere, hostile or encouraging, which only very powerful intellects can afford to dispense with.

And here Maeterlinck lays his hand on a grave and increasing problem with regard to the laboring classes, a far more difficult problem, in some ways, in Eng-

land, than on the continent, where in many countries, the climate and mode of life offer greater facilities for innocent pleasures.

In spite of the increased rush and hurry of modern life among certain sections of the community, it is nevertheless true that for the people existence is becoming more comfortable and less laborious, "grâce à une égalité moins illusoire, grâce aux machines, à la chimie agricole, à la médecine. . . le travail sera moins âpre, moins incessant, moins matériel, moins tyrannique." The discovery and control of the forces of matter have brought the human race a wider life, greater education, an increased leisure; and the powers contained in this development can be used for evil as well as for good: knowledge is power, and it is in the pleasures of a people that their mental and moral attitude can be ascertained. We approach "la première plaine des loisirs," and how to teach the people to enjoy their newly acquired leisure will be a future question with statesmen; for, as Maeterlinck rightly declares, it is the noble or ignoble use of this very leisure, "qui épuise ou récomforte, dégrade ou ennoblit."

* * *

In "Le Passé," Maeterlinck places the present in a new and consoling attitude to the past, contending that, if the present is a consequence of the past, the past no less depends on the present in the everlasting circle of being. The past assuredly lays its heavy hand on the present, and who amongst us has not felt shamed—terror-stricken—confounded, beneath the touch of those cold ghostly fingers, pointing to that city of the dead, which we hoped lay in oblivion behind us, but which nevertheless is not dead but living! We must retrace our steps: "et selon l'esprit qui les y ramène, les uns en tirent toutes leurs richesses, les autres les y engloutissent."

According to the Eastern doctrine of Karma, the present is but a sequel to the past, "as a man sows, he must reap;" but Maeterlinck, although acquiescing to a certain extent in this inexorable law, contends that the past is in our hands to mould and to fashion as much as the present: for the importance of the past consists not in its exterior events, but in the moral reactions produced by those events. The past of every human soul contains crimes, errors, failures, the outward consequences of which it is impossible to efface, "ils ne sont pas pardonnés au dehors, car peu de choses s'oublient et se pardonnent dans le sphère extérieure," but whatever their effect on our material existence, their effect for good or for evil on our interior life depends on ourselves and our present attitude towards them: "une action malfaisante que nous regardons de plus haut que le lien ou il fut hasardée, est une action qui n'existe plus, que pour nous rendre la descente plus difficile."

For those whose past weighs heavily on their present, who, having by slow and painful degrees, risen to nobler planes of thought, are daily confronted by the consequence of errors and weaknesses, now foreign to their whole nature, this philosophy is the most consoling imaginable. Those sins and mistakes—those dead faiths and dead hatreds—those apparently wasted affections and deceived hopes—which "haunt the darkness of fate" like ghosts, may be transformed at our will from spectres into beneficent spirits, bringing to us with outstretched hands "counsels of perfection," "et au lieu des idées de révolte, de désespoir, de haine, au lieu de châtimens qui dégradent ou qui tuent, elles verseront dans notre cœur des pensées et des peines, qui ennoblissent, purifient, et consolent."

Maeterlinck declares we created our past, by ourselves, and for ourselves, in fact our past is ourselves—a spiritual garment woven in sorrow or joy, in shame or in glory, in misery or abundance, and it depends on the manner of wearing,

whether the tissue is magnificent or mean, brilliant or dull: "il n'y a point de passé vide ou pauvre, il n'y a point d'événements misérables, il n'y a que des événements misérablement accueillis." The same adventure, the same experience, which probes one soul to the depths of its being, revealing possibilities of greatness unknown before, may scarcely stir another, inferior and less sensitive: for again, it is the moral consequence, and not the event, which is of importance. From the heights of a nobler consciousness let us throw the light of the present on the gloom of the past, and thus find in that city of memories treasures of experience and wisdom for the future.

* * *

Although on closer investigation much of what people term good or bad luck, chance, destiny, fate, fortune, etc., is in a measure the result of their own moral tendencies, the sphinx of destiny still crouches at the gates of all life, as apparently inscrutable to-day as it was yesterday, as it will be to-morrow! Nevertheless it is the riddle of the sphinx that the writer of this essay on "La Chance" dares to examine, and he finds the key to the enigma in the soul of man: "il y a en nous, sous notre existence consciente, soumise à la raison et à la volonté, une existence plus profonde, qui plonge d'une part dans un passé que l'histoire n'atteint pas, et de l'autre dans un avenir, que des milliers d'années n'épuisent jamais, . . . c'est dans notre vie inconsciente—énorme—inépuisable—insondable et divine—qu'il faut chercher l'explication de nos chances heureuses, ou contraires." Maeterlinck has thus reached the point to which all the great thinkers of East and West alike attain, that behind the earthly body of man, behind the forces of his material life, behind human intelligence, exists the true individual man, the self, "cognisable only imperfectly through the intellect"; "cet être inconscient vit sur un autre plan et un autre monde que notre intelligence. Il ignore le temps et l'espace, ces deux murailles formidables et illusives. . . Pour lui, il n'y a ni proximité, ni éloignement, ni passé, ni avenir, ni résistance de la matière. Il sait tout, il peut tout." This spiritual force in man, which Maeterlinck designates as "ce véritable moi," communicates with the intelligence in a greater or lesser degree, subject to no conceivable laws; in some men it is indeed a "buried temple," unknown, undiscovered; in others it is the dominant force of life, permeating all things with its mysterious beauty.

And when those vast inscrutable powers within man are met by equally enormous imponderable forces without, also obscure to human intelligence, and it may be blind to, and unconscious of, our human systems, what we call chance, fate, destiny, luck, may only be the working out of immutable laws above the present conception of human intellect, but with which, what Maeterlinck terms "notre inconscient," or "le véritable moi," is in harmonious unity. "Parcourons donc, sans nous lasser, tous les chemins qui mènent de notre conscience à notre inconscience, "à mesure que nous avançons, nous découvrons que beaucoup des forces qui nous dominaient, et nous émerveillaient, ne sont que des portions mal connues de notre propre puissance;" and in setting our will and our intellect steadfastly towards the development of those delicate, intangible, undefinable, yet vast spiritual forces existing within us, we are only pursuing the path followed by the initiates of the oldest religions of the world. The inscription on the Temple of Delphi was "Know thyself and thou wilt know the universe and the gods!"

* * *

In his essay on "L'Avenir," Maeterlinck reminds us that in ancient days the science of the future made part of the public and religious life of nations. We

have but to recall the Hebrew prophets, the Chaldean astrologers, the Greek pythonesses, the Roman sibyls, with their prophecies, their interpretations of dreams and of planetary influences, their divinations and auguries, to understand how intimately the future was connected with the present, in the life of ancient civilisations.

But in these days the present and the past are sufficient for most people : " absorbés par ce qui est, ou ce qui fut, nous n'avons à peu près renoncé à interroger ce qui pourrait être, ou ce qui sera." Nevertheless this venerable science still exists, though fallen into disrepute, and practised for the most part by ignorant and untrained practitioners. But, " s'il ne faut admettre aveuglement aucun miracle, il est pire d'aveuglement en rire," and M. Maeterlinck gives us an interesting account of the results of his researches among the astrologers, the palmists, the somnambulists, the clairvoyants, the mediums, who crowd the obscure quarters of Paris. He tells us that, in spite of much quackery and cheating, he yet had the opportunity of studying phenomena, at once curious and incontestable, and that these phenomena, although they do not solve the question, whether the human mind can or cannot under certain conditions probe the future, may, in their more conscious development, throw strange lights on the inner life of the soul and its mysterious spiritual forces. In fact Maeterlinck considers that clairvoyant intuition may reach, and does even now attain, a certain connection with " ce véritable Moi, l'être inconscient, le temple enseveli," translating, through a more delicate medium, the latent knowledge and comprehension of the subconscious self, which may be unable to reveal this knowledge through the coarser organisation of its own material principles.

The present writer once visited a *clairvoyante* of remarkable gifts, who was consciously endeavoring to develop her powers for the help of her fellow-men ; this *clairvoyante* translated into words the highest aspirations of her visitor, pointing out a new and loftier road than that as yet traversed, and to the slow development of powers as yet dimly guessed at ; according to M. Maeterlinck's hypotheses she was simply revealing, by her clairvoyant faculty, the latent knowledge of the subconscious self of the other soul, with which her greater sensitiveness had established a communication.

" En serait-il ainsi de toutes les predictions ? Que chacun accepte la réponse ou l'hypothèse que lui suggère sa propre expérience."

It does not appear to make much material difference whether the clairvoyant faculty reflects or translates its own subconscious intuition or that of another soul : the fact remains that there is undoubtedly a remarkable development of these psychic powers in the present century, and it is presumable that in the future they will become a power for good or for evil, which will have to be reckoned with.

M. SYLVESTER.

ETHICAL IDEAS OF JAPANESE GIRLS.

INTERESTING INQUIRIES IN OSAKA.

(From *The Japan Times*.)

Mr. Shimizutani, Director of the Osaka Girls' High School, has brought together some interesting facts bearing upon the trend of the ethical ideas held by schoolgirls ranging from twelve to sixteen. Certain queries were formulated to elicit replies from the girls. These were eleven in all, some of them touching the following points: (1) The most womanly virtue and its reverse ; (2) the greatest

merit in women and its reverse : (3) the most fortunate situation for women and the reverse ; (4) the most praiseworthy act of woman and its reverse, and so on.

To the query, what constitutes the most womanly virtue? the first-year girls and the fourth, that is the graduating class, made the following replies, given in percentage :

	FIRST YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	AVERAGE OF FOUR CLASSES.
Chastity	18.0	63.8	36.5
Manners	32.0	16.7	21.0
Obedience	9.0	7.6	17.0
Thrift	31.0	4.5	13.0
Benevolence	1.6	1.4	2.9
Sundry and unknown	9.4	6.0	9.6

The most unwomanly virtue was voted on as follows :

	FIRST YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	AVERAGE OF FOUR CLASSES.
Unchastity	15.5	48.5	25.2
Jealousy	17.2	23.5	24.6
Rude behavior	25.4	10.3	15.2
Arrogance	5.7	10.3	10.0
Talkativeness	10.0	4.7	8.5
Sundry and unknown	37.2	23.7	16.5

The most notable merit in woman's character elicited the following figures :

	FIRST YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	AVERAGE OF FOUR CLASSES.
Faithfulness	42.6	51.5	41.0
Carefulness	7.5	31.2	22.5
Benevolence	4.1	12.1	11.5
Grace	13.1	1.5	6.6
Household management	9.8	3.0	6.8
Sundry and unknown	22.9	10.7	22.6

As to the greatest defect of a woman's character the voting was :

	FIRST YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	AVERAGE OF FOUR CLASSES.
Jealousy	16.4	28.8	22.1
Narrow-mindedness	6.5	21.2	21.0
Physical weakness	15.6	19.7	18.2
Talkativeness	10.4	9.1	7.6
Sundry and unknown	53.1	31.2	31.1

The query "What profession is most suited to woman?" evoked replies as follows :

	FIRST YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	AVERAGE OF FOUR CLASSES.
Sewing	50.0	12.2	36.6
Household management	18.9	40.9	34.8
Sick nursing	4.1	24.2	11.4
Child nursing	5.7	10.6	5.3
Sundry and unknown	41.3	14.1	12.1

Women are believed to be placed in the most fortunate position when they are under any of the following conditions, according to the Osaka girls :

	FIRST YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	AVERAGE OF FOUR CLASSES.
Happy home life	13.9	45.5	28.7
Literary attainments	25.4	15.7	18.0
Happy marriage	18.9	4.5	11.0
Good children	4.9	18.2	9.0
Longevity of parents	9.8	1.5	5.9
Sundry	27.1	14.6	27.4

The query as to the most praiseworthy act gave the following results :

	FIRST YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	AVERAGE OF FOUR CLASSES.
Loyalty to sovereign and parents	32.8	36.4	36.6
Patriotism	13.1	21.2	15.7
Benevolence	5.7	7.6	10.0
Modesty	12.3	3.0	8.0
Public usefulness	0.8	4.5	4.0
Sundry	25.3	28.3	25.7

Lastly, we come to religious ideas, and as to these the girls gave interesting replies. First, as to their beliefs :

	FIRST YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	AVERAGE OF FOUR CLASSES.
Buddhism	56.0	25.0	44.5
Shintoism	2.6	21.9	7.4
Christianity	2.6	9.4	6.5
No religion	2.6	11.0	8.0
Unknown	36.2	32.7	33.6

The query "What becomes of one after one dies?" elicited these replies :

	FIRST YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	AVERAGE OF FOUR CLASSES.
We die with the body	16.4	31.30	24.9
We go to heaven	31.0	20.30	25.2
We undergo transmigration	13.8	9.41	3.8
We remain somewhere	16.4	21.90	19.8
We remain at home or in the graveyard	12.1	1.60	6.7
Sundry	10.3	34.49	9.6

The last query was this, "Is deity omnipotent?" and the replies were as follows :

	FIRST YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	AVERAGE OF FOUR CLASSES.
Omnipotent	75.8	73.4	74.0
Not omnipotent	16.4	25.0	20.8
Unknown	7.8	1.6	5.2

It will be seen from the above how far the old ideas of loyalty and obedience still hold in the minds of Japanese girls.

THE LAY CHURCH.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I am greatly interested in your suggestion in the January *Open Court* for the "Foundation of a Lay Church." It seems to me that now is the time for

something to be done, in the way of missionary effort, for the thinkers. There are a great many men and women who bear the reputation of being irreligious, simply on account of scrupulous intellectual honesty. They do not attend church and are in danger of being entirely lost to religion. At the bottom man is a religious being, and the intellectual are not less religious than the ignorant. The ignorant and vicious classes have their missionaries, their mission halls and their "Gospel Meetings," and a great many Christian people are nobly devoting themselves, in increasing numbers, to the study of the problems which these classes present. But the thinkers, those who *seem* to repudiate religion, or repudiate the point of view of the "orthodox" Churches in whole or in part, are the subjects of no organised special effort at clarifying the religious problem. Here is a great field, demanding real piety and trained intellect.

Since you have originated the idea, the credit of it belongs, of course, to you. The work begun by the Parliament of Religions ought not to stop. Cannot some sort of systematised effort be set on foot? I would like to see at least one Lay Church established in every large city of the country. I doubt if anything can be done in the rural districts, at least, for a long time, but if the movement is set on foot in the centers of population, the thought will get into the air, and cannot but be beneficial to all who are interested in the betterment of the people. No higher theme than Religion can engage human thought, and I find, in my pastoral works, a great many men who never go to church, and yet are guided to some extent by religious ideas. And it is a mistake to assume that only the "cultured" members of society think profoundly on these themes. I have seen evidences of real interest in high matters among rough laboring men. The refusal of a worker in a lumbering camp to accept what is fondly called "the plan of salvation" is not always due to depravity of heart but often to a partially awakened intellect.

The foundation of lay churches will in my opinion not only serve the needs of those who are dissatisfied with religion and will quicken their interest in the deepest problems of life, but will also prove beneficial to the churches themselves.

OLIVER H. P. SMITH.

TOLSTOY'S NAME.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I have read Mr. Aylmer Maude's admirable criticism on Frau Seuron and Mrs. Evans with interest and appreciation. He shows himself to be animated by the genuine love of Truth—fair and impartial—just as I should have expected from him.

He makes one statement, however, which is not strictly accurate. In the first paragraph he asserts that the spelling Tolstoi is wrong. "Wrong" is not the appropriate adjective. The last letter of the novelist's name in Russian is a "soft semi-vowel" forming a diphthong with the vowel which precedes it: transliterated into English it is fairly represented by *i* or *y* or *ï*. The *ï* with the diæresis most nearly corresponds with *i* s *kratkoï* as it is called in Russian; you find the same in *troïka*, and several other words that have been anglicised. As the public of France and England and America had become familiarised with the perfectly correct form Tolstoi, it seems to me unfortunate to have introduced the *y*, which will not be elsewhere used to represent the same Russian letter. The rules for transliteration recommended by the American Library Association are a safe guide.

NATHAN HASKELL DOLE.

THE MANY BUDDHAS.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I beg leave to crave indulgence of space in *The Open Court* for a few brief Notes *in re* "Buddha" and apropos of your very interesting article in your September issue called "Comments on the Story of Amitábha."

In six instances, on p. 565, on pp. 566, 573, and 574-575 the Manuchi Buddha (human or earth-born) Sakya is termed "Buddha" without any qualifying title to distinguish him from the other Buddhas. This is common to most of the books on Buddhism, by missionaries and some others, in writing about the Buddhism of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, etc., where "Gautama" (variously spelled "Godama," "Gotama," etc.) is the usual designation. In Japan this name is not in general use, Sakya (or Shaka) Muni—the Sakya Sage—being the current style. What I venture to presume to call special attention to is, that in the present state of information made accessible to the world's general reading public now, the perpetuation of this use of the term is obsolete and inaccurate, as well as misleading. There are other Buddhas; some sects have lists of hundreds; and in the diagrams—or charts—called Mandala, these, together with the attendant Bodhisattvas, are arranged systematically. Sakya Gautama Buddha is placed in the North, Amitábha Buddha in the West, as Lord of his paradise in that quarter; other Buddhas in the several directions, including the zenith and the nadir. In the Shingon system Maha Vairochana is the central Buddha, as the personification of the essential Bodhi and of absolute purity. Sakya is revered, but not worshipped, or invoked as a saving help, as Amitábha is, and certain Bodhisattvas, e. g., Avalokitesvara, the Chinese (so called) Goddess of Mercy. Sakya is considered the Preacher of the Buddhist Gospel, who voiced the doctrines, and thus most of the material of the Sutra Pitaka of the Tri-Pitaka (three baskets—or collections—of sacred texts) is attributed to him.

The Taima Mandala—regarding which I wrote to you some time ago—is the illustration of Sakya's sermon on Amitábha and the Western Paradise, preached to Queen Vaidehik (after the assassination of the king at Rajagriha) when Sakya was more than seventy years of age. This Sutra is No. 198 of the Catalogue of Tripitaka, and the title is, in Sanskrit, Amitayur dhyana Sutra,—in Japanese, Kwan mu ryo-jiu Kyo, and is one of the series of Sukavati—Paradise—texts.

The picture reproduced on p. 565 as "A Typical Representation of the Mahâyâna Faith" appears to me to be a not very ancient work, and bears evidence of being either a copy or an original by an artist who in either case has not followed the strict rules of the true "Butzu-gwa" canon. It is undoubtedly intended to represent Gautama Sakya Muni, as the Bodhisattvas and disciples are those usually grouped with him, and with him only, and not with other Buddhas; Amitayus and Sakyo usually being grouped thus:

AMITAYUS (Amida)

Mahasthana prapta (Seishi)

Avalokitesvara (Kwan ze on)

SAKYA (Gautama)

Samanta bhadra (Engen)

Mandjusri (Monjiu)

The left hand of Sakyo is hidden by Manjusri; but the Mudra (Sign Manual or Seal) of the right hand fingers indicates the same sign as that of the ninth and last of the three times three series of signs and postures of Amitayus. This picture was probably intended to indicate Sakya preaching the Mahâyâna doctrine of sal-

vation and spiritual rebirth—not reincarnation (of Theosophists or others)—by the saving power of Amitayusu, as written in the Sukhavati vyuha class of Sutra.

Buddha is revered by all sects; but the Shin Shiu, who call themselves "The true Sect," do not enshrine his image or picture. Effigies and pictures of their founder, a Japanese courtier's son and son-in-law, receive the most respectful attention; and the Mon-shiu or Pope is treated like the Lama Grand Abbot as a living Buddha, not bound to observe any of the strict ascetic rules of Sakyas' Buddhist discipline, etc.

The other sects call the Shin Shiu by the original title of Sin Jo-do (New Pure Land); the Chinese original ideograph for New has in recent years been replaced by the sect by that for Shin translating true.

As a contrast, the Hokke (Saddharma pundarika sect, which claims as many adherents as the Shin Shiu) do not recognise Amitayus, and revile the idolatry of the Shin and other sects; at the same time they have superstitious practices which the Shin has not, which latter does not offer any consolation or help in mundane affairs.

The Jodo make Amida the chief, but not the sole, object of worship.

The Zen-shiu (Sanskrit Dhyana) quietist contemplative sects place Sakya and the trinity or five figures of your illustration in the highest place.

The Tendai and Shingon recognise Amida; but there are others as well as Sakya which share the honors, Maha Vairochana being the Supreme Buddha. Fudo, the Buddhist policeman (probably a composite personification of a group of Hindu old deities), represented by Akchobhya, etc. The ruddy-faced personification of Trichna, pure love, in Japan called Aizen Mio O. is an alter ego of the terrible Fudo; and they are not Buddhas: A bodhisattvas Kshiti gharba (Japanese Jizo) earth repository is to be seen at cemeteries, with shaven pate in the garb of a Bonze, holding a pilgrim's staff and the Jewel emblem of the soul, or human spirit.

The numerous groups of which the principal Buddhas are centres would occupy too much space to attempt to describe here and now.

C. PFOUNDERS.

BOOK NOTICES.

ESSAYS IN MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY. By *Elizabeth Blackwell*, M. D. London: Ernest Bell, York St., Covent Garden. 1902. Pages, Vol. I., 309; Vol. II., 251.

Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell has gathered together in the present work the various scattered essays and addresses which she has contributed in past years to the ethics of medicine and hygiene. There is a good deal of sound common sense and noble thought embodied in these papers, which deal largely with the problems of human sexuality, in their individual, sociological, and legislative aspect. The point of view of the author is that of the Christian physiologist, which holds that there is a wise and beneficent purpose in the human structure and "seeks to find out the laws and methods of action by means of which human function may accomplish its highest use." We concur with the author in the expression of the hope that her literary labors "may prove helpful to the younger generation of workers," with whom she is in hearty sympathy.

A Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education has been compiled by Ellwood P. Cubberley, Associate Professor of Education in the Leland Stanford Junior University, and is with its exhaustive bibliographies and statistics an im-

portant work of reference. The illustrations, of which there are a goodly number and which are a real adornment to the book, have been culled from the pictorial art and literature of both ancient and modern times. The maps exhibit the geographical and historical conditions of educational development and constitute a very helpful feature of the work, as do likewise the graphical charts. The titles of some of the maps are as follows: "Europe in the Fourth Century," "Europe in the Time of Charlemagne," "A Mediæval Map of the World," "Church Centers in the Time of Charlemagne," "The Mediæval University Towns," "Result of the Protestant Revolt," and "The Spread of Jesuit Schools in German Territory by the Year 1725." Large pictorial collections representing the history of the national civilisation and literature have been published in Germany, and a work of the same character containing such illustrated material as is here scantily given by Professor Cubberley would be very desirable. But even the little that our author has offered is inspiring, and it only remains for us to say that in the skeleton of subjects for study, dates, etc., the present work supplies with its complete bibliographies the fullest materials for the study of the history of education. (New York: The Macmillan Company. Pages, xii, 302. Price, \$2.25.)

The University Library of Princeton, N. J. announces the publication of a new edition and translation of the Berlin Manuscript of *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia* by Enno Littmann, Ph. D. Part I., containing the Amharic Text, is now ready; Part II. will give an English translation and commentary. The name of King Theodore of Abyssinia became known to the world chiefly through his conflict with England in the year 1868. When, in consequence of this conflict, he had to face the alternatives of submission or death, he did not hesitate to choose the latter; the history of this English expedition to Abyssinia is well known. The manuscript is an Amharic version of the history of Abyssinia previous to the reign of Theodore, from the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is a valuable document for the history of Abyssinia, and of great importance for the study of the Amharic language, being one of the very few pieces of natural Amharic prose known, and one of the earliest documents of the modern Amharic, which is now rapidly differentiating its literature from the older Ethiopic. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pages, 57. Price, \$1.00.)

A translation of the second edition of Dr. Arthur Pfungst's biographical sketch of *A German Buddhist* (Oberpräsidialrat Theodor Schultze) has just reached our table. The success of the first edition is itself sufficient evidence of the timeliness of Dr. Pfungst's little book. Oberpräsidialrat Theodor Schultze was a unique character, and standing aloof from the quarrels of the day he solved decisively, Dr. Pfungst thinks, the religious problems which have grown out of the relations of the Orient and the Occident to-day. (London: Luzac & Co. 1902. Pages, 79. Price, 2 shillings net.)

One of the decennial publications of the University of Chicago, issued in commemoration of the first ten years of the University's existence, is *The Life and Repentance of Marie Magdalene*, by Lewis Wager, a morality play of 1566-1567. The play is edited with introduction, notes, and glossary by Frederic Ives Carpenter of the Department of English, and presents one of the few sixteenth century English dramas still inaccessible in modern type. It has a purely historical interest. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1902. Pages, xxxv, 91.)

Longmans, Green & Co. publish in two elegant volumes *The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Müller*. In view of the fact that Prof. Max Müller himself wrote two delightful works on his own life, viz., his *Autobiography* and his *Auld Lang Syne*, it would naturally seem that the present two volumes are redundant. But the present work has been published with a view of showing "the inmost character of the real man," and is made up of the letters of Max Müller and those of his friends arranged in chronological order and interspersed with explanatory comments. The whole thus furnishes a continuous record of the career of this great philological writer and a pleasing and enlightened series of comments upon contemporary history. The work of editing the book was done by Max Müller's wife. (Vol. I., pp. xiii, 534; Vol. II., pp. ix, 521. Price, 2 Vols., \$6.00 net.)

Selections from Shelley, Tennyson, Longfellow, Mrs. Hemans, Hogg, Helen Hunt Jackson, George Macdonald, and numerous other living writers, together with brief biographies of great artists and lessons on nature study, constitute the material by means of which H. Avis Perdue and Miss Sarah E. Griswold, of the Chicago Normal School, have endeavored to teach language and correct expression to young children. The book, which is entitled *Language Through Nature, Literature, and Art*, is an attractive one, printed in large type, and adequately illustrated. It is mainly in external features and in the selection of its material that the work differs from those now generally in vogue. (Chicago, New York, and London: Rand, McNally & Co. 1902. Pages, 238.)

Jacob A. Riis has supplied an introduction to a little book called *Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy*, by Joseph Lee, Vice-President of the Massachusetts Civic League. "Mr. Lee has written a good and useful book," says Mr. Riis, "though not half as good and useful as he is himself; and he has shown the faith that is in him by prophesying that school and playground will yet be drawn together." The author deals in an engaging and practical way with the problems involved in the moral and economic upbuilding of the submerged strata of human society, devoting his main attention to children. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1902. Pages, x, 242. Price, \$1.00 net.)

Watts & Co. issue a cheap edition of the translation of Dr. Ernst Haeckel's very successful and widely circulated work, *The Riddle of the Universe* (price, 6d.). We are also glad to note that the same firm have published an English edition of Mr. Mangasarian's *Catechism*, which was originally issued for the Independent Religious Society of Chicago by The Open Court Publishing Company.

The Child of Light Publishing Company issue a useful little book on *Child Culture*, by Newton N. Riddell. Its method of dealing with children is mainly that of mental suggestion. While we cannot agree with the author in all the positions that he takes, many parents and teachers will find valuable hints in this booklet. (Pages, 129. Price, 65 cents.)

The November issue of *The Bibelot* is *The New Mysticism*, by Ernest Rhys, an appreciation of Fiona Macleod, the greatest exponent of the Celtic movement. The December number is: *Ballads and Lyrics*, by William Makepeace Thackeray. Price, 5 cents each.



DR. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.

German Assyriologist.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR BABEL AND BIBLE.

BY THOMAS J. MCCORMACK.

CORDIAL as the reception extended by the American public to Delitzsch's book *Babel and Bible* has been, it is only remotely comparable to the favor bestowed upon it by the reading public of Germany. Edition after edition of the book has been issued; every month polemical tracts have appeared in confutation of it,¹ and now the climax has been reached by the publication of a letter by the German Emperor himself, expressly denying his supposed acquiescence in Delitzsch's views, attacking the critical attitude of Assyriologists generally toward purely religious doctrines, and saying, for his government and the Oriental Society, "we carry on excavations and publish the results in behalf of science and history, but not to confirm or attack religious hypotheses with Professor Delitzsch, the theologian, who has run away with the historian."

This letter, which was written after long and earnest solicitation "in order to restore the confidence of the clergy and laity," is "the sensation of the hour" in Germany, and the cable report of its appearance just reaches us as we go to press. We shall quote the Emperor's views in full at the end of the present article.

INTRODUCTORY.

Delitzsch's *Babel and Bible* was originally a lecture on the significance of Assyriological research for our knowledge of the Old Testament; it was twice delivered before the German emperor, then published in pamphlet form, and subsequently translated into English, appearing first in *The Open Court* and afterwards separately as

¹ The most pretentious of these, a book by Prof. Eduard König of Bonn, with the counter-title *Bible and Babel*, reached in last December its sixth edition.

a book.¹ If we except reprints of strictures made in Germany, there was little adverse criticism of the book. The American and English press generally welcomed it as "giving exactly what was wanted." But not so in Germany. While the daily press was almost fulsome in its praise, the theological showed unmistakable signs of irritation,—nay, even grew lachrymose in its expressions of pain and regret at Delitzsch's deliverances. It was only too apparent from their attitude that the theologians were vividly conscious of the fact that, in thus presenting in popular form the splendid results of Assyriological research, Dr. Delitzsch had, so to speak, let the Old Testament cat out of the bag. Not that substantially the same material had not been published before in more ponderous form, and so was not absolutely inaccessible to the public; but it had never before been presented so popularly by so prominent an exponent and under so favorable auspices. It appeared at the right time, took the public by storm, and became part of the common knowledge of the great general educated public of Germany. It was no longer reserved for theologians to dole out in homœopathic doses and in properly colored glasses the knowledge which the excavations in Mesopotamia furnished of the early religious development of the near Orient. The interest in the subject being aroused by Delitzsch's book, that knowledge will now be sought by every inquiring person.

It is remarkable that the attitude of many Protestant theologians towards the new light shed on the Old Testament by Assyriological inquiry is very similar to that taken from time immemorial by the Catholic Church with regard to the interpretation of the Bible generally. The latter Church holds that the history and composition of the Bible are of so intricate and delicate a nature, that no uneducated layman can possibly be competent to interpret it; this is the peculiar privilege of the educated and inspired Church, which if it is to dispatch its task well must be *a priori* infallible. And so certain Protestant theologians would now have it with us, as regards our ability to interpret the Bible in the light of Assyriology: these are matters that do not appertain to the "lay" province; the "lay" judgment is unfortunately ignorant of what constitutes the religious essence of the Old Testament and hence of what at all hazards must be saved.

But the attitude invariably follows the need. Alfred Jeremias, in a recently published and interesting pamphlet bearing the same

¹ *Babel and Bible*. By Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch. Translated from the German by Thomas J. McCormack. Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co. Pp. 66. Price, boards, 50 cents net (2s. 6d. net).

title as our present article, viz., *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel*,¹ thoroughly reviews the situation and calls attention from another point of view to this very topic. Confuting the expressions of fear that Assyriological science is shaking the foundations of the sanctuary of Holy Scriptures, he remarks that it is strange the situation has been so completely reversed with years. In the first periods of Assyriological research, the inscriptions on the excavated monuments were stridently adduced as evidence in corroboration of the traditional views of the Bible. It was triumphantly proclaimed that now (Luke xix. 40) the very bricks of Babylon cried out in confirmation of the Holy Scriptures, and the world should hold its peace. Exact copies of the writings of Moses and the children of Israel during their sojourn in the desert were supposedly recovered from Nabatean inscriptions; the historical existence of Abraham was confirmed by a brick; and the wall was actually discovered on which Belshazzar saw written the fateful words, *Mene mene tekel upharsin!*

But in Herr Jeremias's opinion the use of Assyriology as a weapon of destructive criticism for the overthrow of the traditional Bible is just as wicked as the preceding specimens of its application are stupid. One very advanced critic, cited by Jeremias, goes so far even as to wish for the time when the bricks of Babylon shall *compel* a more truthful view of the Old Testament, shall shatter in shards the doctrine of inspiration, and pave the way for a deeper, more spiritual and more "pious" conception. Verily, Babel *has* "laid her mailed fist on the Old Testament."

But we need have no fear. Orthodoxy and piety may yet lie down in harmonious union with Assyriology; and Herr Jeremias, who takes both the strictly religious and the strictly scientific view, well expresses the terms of the compromise as follows: "In so far as the Old Testament as a document of God's education of the human race may lay claim to being a *fides divina*, it stands in no need of corroboration by any auxiliary science. Here Babel can never promote the comprehension of the Old Testament, nor put it to hazard in any way, be the philological and scientific imbroglio what it may. Any ten of the marked passages of Luther's Bible are sufficient to demonstrate² how superior the spirit of the Old Testament is to that of Babylon. But the Old Testament has also its human side,—a side so stupendously interesting that no literature

¹ Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1903. Pp., 38.

² The most significant passages of the Bible are printed in Luther's translation in bold-faced type.

of antiquity can be mentioned with it in the same breath. Much of this remained obscure so long as the historical and cultural framework in which the life of Israel was enacted was veiled. But now the world around about Canaan is flooded with light; we can contemplate the people of the Old Testament in their relationship with the political and cultural conditions out of which it evolved and which have exerted a determining influence upon its destinies. In this domain cuneiform research can perform important services for the comprehension of the Bible. But the imperishable jewel which Israel possesses will shine only more brilliantly under this illumination, and likewise the *fides humana* upon which this unique book of literature rests its claims will stand triumphantly the ordeal of fire to which it has been subjected."

There has been little criticism of Delitzsch's book from the side of the Assyriologists proper. There are many points on which all Assyriological inquirers do not agree, and the few of these moot topics which are made to figure to advantage in Delitzsch's lecture are discussed in the extracts from current criticisms which we shall give below. Upon the whole, it is the universal verdict of the Assyriologists that Delitzsch's lecture "gives, so far as the monuments are concerned, those facts that may be regarded as indubitably established results of cuneiform inquiry." And the advantage in the bout will doubtless also remain with Delitzsch. For in purely technical and Assyriological matters, it is with him, as opposed to most of his theological critics, a case of Krupp guns against "halberds and blunderbusses."

EDUARD KOENIG.

The preceding remark leads us to the mention of the most prominent of all the anti-Delitzsch productions,—the *Bible and Babel* of Prof. Eduard Koenig of Bonn, referred to above. The title is a felicitous one, and from the great reputation of its author and the favor accorded it by the public, it certainly ranks as the accredited expression of the opposition and is a work of much merit. But the criticism which Jeremias advances against it, as against most of the other works of the theologians, is that it discusses technical Assyriological questions which only special students of this field are competent to handle, and so fails to establish the very points on which it stands. For example, König quotes as one of his main authorities the late C. P. Tiele, of Leyden, a celebrated Biblical scholar, and author of a widely-known history of

Babylon. But, says Jeremias, Tiele was himself not an Assyriologist, and, besides, his history having been written sixteen years ago cannot be used to refute opinions concerning inscriptions discovered and deciphered since then. The same stricture is in a measure also applicable to the case of E. A. Wallis Budge, likewise cited by König as a great Assyriologist.

We cannot enter into the details of Jeremias's discussion of König's technical philological mistakes, but we must in justice say that Jeremias sides with König on theological points, especially in the rejection of Delitzsch's broad assertion that "entire cycles of Biblical stories have been brought to light in the Babylonian texts, in much purer and more primitive form than they exist in the Bible itself?"

* * *

We shall now proceed to give a few extracts from reviews and letters showing the points about which the battle is raging.

A PROMINENT THEOLOGIAN'S VIEW.

A very prominent German theologian writes to us personally in connection with our publication of Dr. Delitzsch's *Babel and Bible*.

Our correspondent says: "You are to be commended for having made the American public acquainted with Delitzsch's *Babel and Bible*, for the little book contains an extraordinary amount of stimulating and instructive matter, and it has been cleverly constructed, so as to appeal at once to the great reading public. Yet while there is no direct polemical attack made in it against the Bible, you will nevertheless understand that we theologians have witnessed the appearance of this essay and the great sensation which it has made with solicitude, nay even with distress; for the impression which it is inevitably destined to make on the unprepared reader is one that we could never wish to see."

M. HALÉVY'S OPINION.

M. Halévy, the French coryphæus of oriental research, is unstinted in his praise of the general character and excellence of Dr. Delitzsch's lecture, but he is unable to refrain from a few gentle, ironical remarks regarding the strained piety which marks its concluding words, the Chauvinism which exalts the German explorations and slurs those made by other countries, and lastly, the patent purpose for which the lecture was said to have been

written, namely, to obtain subsidies from the German government for the further prosecution of the Mesopotamian excavations by German scholars. He adds: "Sincerity nevertheless compels me to point out certain inept, inaccurate, and redundant statements which disfigure this otherwise beautiful lecture. The meaning of Numbers vi. 26 (page 29 *Babel and Bible*), is perfectly clear in itself and parallel to the passage in Job xxii. 26. The Babylonian form of expression adds absolutely nothing new. There is not a vestige of a proof that the Ur of Kasdīm, the home of Abraham, is identical with the city of Ur of Babylonia (page 4); the appellation Kasdīm designates in the Pentateuch 'territory which is exclusively Aramean'; Babylonia is called there 'the land of Sincār.' To make a princess of Aryan blood and blond complexion out of the wife of Sardanapalus, of whom we have only an old and hastily executed sketch; to call the converted Jew Jean Astruc 'zealously orthodox' (page 41); to attribute to the Koran the beautiful legends of the Talmud, and to pass over almost in silence the magnificent results of the French excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, is carrying cleverness to an unjustified extreme. The picture (page 48) of the First Sin, borrowed from Ménant, and the comparison of the destruction of Rahab, a name for Egypt (Psalms lxxiv. 13, lxxxix. 11; Job xxvi. 12), with the splitting in twain of the body of the chaotic goddess Tiamat by Marduk, who made of it the earth and the heavens, will not stand before examination. In the first picture, the man and the woman who are seated opposite each other on the two sides of the tree are extending toward each other their hands and are not gathering the fruit that hangs upon the lower branches of the tree near their feet. And furthermore, the undulating line behind the woman is not beyond all doubt a serpent. The same predisposition to rest content with superficial appearances shows itself in the interpretation which is put upon Figure 58, page 64, which has no points of resemblance with the chariot of Ezekiel.

"Must it be repeated for the tenth time that the institution of Sunday rest is nowhere mentioned in cuneiform literature? The abstinences prescribed for the 7th, 14th, 19th (an awkward date omitted by the lecturer), 21st, and 28th days of the second Elud, which is an exceptional month, have nothing whatever to do with the Jewish Sabbath?

"Absolutely fantastical also is the attribution of the head of a *patesi* or priest-king preserved in the Berlin Museum to the imaginary and undiscoverable race of Sumerians who, although the

originators of the great Babylonian civilisation, are said to have been unable to count beyond 60! This error is an old one; the number 6 could never have formed a primitive multiple; the first series obtained by actual counting, which is based on the fingers of the hand, finds its natural termination at the number 5; Delitzsch has confounded instinctive *counting* with the *artificial or scientific mode of computation* by 60's, which has its advantages. We must deplore indeed the sad lot of these great allophylian creators of the most ancient civilisation who have left as a witness of their vanished glory only a single head of stone, fac-similes of which can be found by the hundreds in real flesh and blood in the ghettos of Podolia and Morocco.

"But the acme is reached in the following. Delitzsch affirmed in his *Paradise* that the name Yahveh came from the Sumerian *Y* and the consonants *hvh*. He now declares,—and this is the culmination of his lecture,—that he has found on three Babylonian tablets names belonging to *Canaanites established in Babylon*, and composed of the element Yahveh (page 61). Now, the spelling of the second form, *ya-u-um-il* (written *an*), signifies in good Babylonian 'Yaum [with mimmation for *iau* = *iam-mu*, Okeanos, god of the sea] is god.' The first form, written *ia-ah-pi-il*, exhibits a general Semitic name *Yahpēl* (Êl covers, protects, אֱלֹהִים analogous to אֱלֹהִים). The possible reading *Yahveh-ill* would be equivalent to the Aramean אֱלֹהִים, 'God exists,' and would not necessarily signify 'Yahveh is god.' In no case could a name like Yahveh-êl be Canaanite-Phœnician; for these people express the verb *to be* by כִּן and not by הָיָה.

"With so alluring a subject and before an audience chosen from among the highest intellects of the nation, it would have been more prudent to limit oneself to established facts, and not to offer ephemeral conjectures which can serve no other purpose than to dazzle superficial and inquisitive minds."

A ROMAN CATHOLIC VERDICT.

The Catholic News of New York, a journal "recommended by the Catholic hierarchy and the clergy as a model family paper," takes a very disimpassioned view of the situation. Imperturbably calm and restful in the consciousness of the Church's wary attitude toward the Bible and Biblical inspiration, it sees in the researches of the Assyriologists merely a powerful dissolvent of the Protestant faith, in no wise endangering the only true Christianity. The

Protestants based their faith on a "free Bible," and they are now having, against their will, their own medicine thrust down their heretical gullets. *The Catholic News* can scarcely conceal its delight. It says: "The school of which Professor Delitzsch is a distinguished member is by no means preoccupied about establishing the veracity of the Bible. The general purport of this lecture is to indicate that the Bible has borrowed almost all its religious and moral elements from the pagan Assyrians and Babylonians, and that it is a merely human compilation. The success which has attended the propagation of this view is to be seen in the total disintegration of all Protestant belief. It is the climax of irony that the sects which broke away from the Catholic Church with the cry, 'A free Bible; the Bible is the sole rule of faith,' are to-day giving up all supernatural belief because they have lost faith in the inspiration of the Bible, consequent upon the attacks of the higher criticism. Meanwhile the Catholic Church stands undisturbed on her old platform. The Catholic repeats the profession of St. Augustine: 'I would not accept the Bible except on the authority of the Church.' He is confident that in the long run, when all facts have been garnered and after hasty theories shall have been tried and found wanting, the light thrown by science on all the complications of the Biblical question will serve to corroborate the authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church, whose more than human prudence is nowhere more conspicuous than in her few guarded but comprehensive declarations concerning the fact and the nature of inspiration. Students who may not have time to study larger volumes dealing with Assyriology will find this little book a handy one to consult for the interpretation given to many archæological discoveries by the representatives of the higher criticism."

CORNILL ON "BABEL AND BIBLE."

Dr. Carl Heinrich Cornill, Professor of Old Testament History in the University of Breslau, and well-known to the English-reading public through his *History of the People of Israel* and *The Prophets of Israel*, devoted nearly three pages of the *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung* to an examination of Dr. Delitzsch's position. As Dr. Cornill is himself one of the leading higher critics of the Old Testament, his view of the controversy will be read with interest. He remarks in the opening lines of his review that Dr. Delitzsch belongs to the standard-bearers of German Assyriology and that he would not have been the son of his celebrated father had he not in

his Assyriological researches devoted his main attention to the Old Testament. He calls attention, however, to the statement made by Nöldeke in an old review of one of Delitzsch's books, that his labors "but too frequently gave the impression of an *ex parte* advocacy of Assyrian studies the importance of which for the Hebrew language Delitzsch altogether overrates, whilst disproportionately minimising other aids to this study, especially Arabic"; that persons unacquainted with Assyriology, therefore, were not warranted in "accepting as definitively established all the interpretations which Delitzsch put forward, especially since other Assyriologists frequently differed from him," and also because Delitzsch "often propounded untenable views" on non-Assyriological problems.

Taking the strictures of Nöldeke as the basis of his remarks, Cornill says that Delitzsch's last book is an "extravagant glorification of Babel at the cost of Bible," against which professional theological scholars must make emphatic protest. He continues:

"*Babel and Bible* offers nothing essentially new to Old Testament scholars. There is doubtless not a single professor of Old Testament research in any German university that has not already told all these things to his students in his lectures on Genesis. And Delitzsch does not gainsay this. He maintains only that the world at large has as yet heard very little of the silent labors of the Assyriologists and that it is now time for this knowledge to burst the barriers of the scholars' study and enter the broad path of life.

"If this is to be interpreted as an aspersion upon us scholars, it may be answered that we have never treated this knowledge as an esoteric doctrine, and that any one who desired any information about it had ample opportunity to obtain such, and further that there are matters and problems in science concerning which excessive discretion is the lesser evil. Now, in the exercise of this necessary discretion Delitzsch has been extremely chary. The impression that the lecture is apt to make on unprofessional readers is that the Bible and its religion is to a certain extent a mere offshoot of Babylonian heathendom which we have 'in purer and more original form' in Babel; and this impression is intensified by the fact that Delitzsch by his own statements actually expects from the results of the Assyrio-Babylonian excavations the advent of a new epoch in the *interpretation* as well as in the understanding of the Old Testament. I shall consider Delitzsch's statements under this point of view.

"The Babylonians also had their *shabattu*, he says, and 'there can therefore be scarcely the shadow of a doubt that in the last re-

sort we are indebted to this ancient nation on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris for the plenitude of blessings that flows from our day of Sabbath or Sunday rest.' What now was this Babylonian *shabbattu*? Not the seventh day of each week, for the Babylonians regarded the seventh, fourteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth calendar days of every month as days in which no work could be done; and for what reason? For fear of the wrath of the gods. These were the days that the Romans called *dies atri*, and are we now to believe that these *dies atri* of the Babylonians, which were inseparably linked with the dates of the calendar, are our Biblical Sabbath? Never! The Sabbath as the 'day of the Lord,' the view that on one day in every week we should cast aside all the trials and tribulations of our earthly life and live for God alone and be happy in communion with Him, is exclusively the property of the Bible, and for the 'plenitude of blessings' contained in it the world is indebted, not to Babel, but to Bible.

"We have long known that the Biblical story of the Creation (Genesis i.) reposed on a Babylonian foundation; but the only genuinely religious and imperishable fact of this history the almighty God, creator of heaven and earth, who speaks and it comes to pass, who commands and it is so, the holy personal God who created man in his own image and entrusted him with the duties attendant upon morality and a religious life, was given to the world, not by Babel, but by Bible.

"And how is it with the story of Paradise and the Fall of Man (Genesis ii. and iii.)? Delitzsch reproduces on page 48 the well-known ancient Babylonian clay cylinder which is said to contain a pictorial representation of this story. Assyriologists of the standing of Oppert, Ménant, Halévy, and Tiele vigorously contest this interpretation, even explaining the figures on the cylinder as two men, and are absolutely unable to recognise a serpent in the undulatory line in this picture. No Babylonian text corresponding to Genesis iii. has yet been discovered, and if the reader of page 38 of Delitzsch's book imagines that the clay tablet there mentioned containing 'the Babylonian legend of how it came to pass that the first man forfeited the boon of immortality' is the Biblical story of Genesis iii., 'in much purer and more primitive form,' I have only to say that he is sorely mistaken. But even granting that such is the case and that it has been proved that the Babylonians had a story according to which the first woman, tempted by the serpent, ate of the forbidden fruit and thereby brought sin and death into

the world, it will be distinctly seen from the picture that, leaving everything else out of account, the Babylonian pair are *clothed*, and that therefore what is perhaps the profoundest and most significant feature of the story of Genesis iii. belongs to Bible, and not to Babel.

"The conception of angels is without doubt 'characteristically Babylonian.' But whether they are also such in the Biblical sense as so grandly expressed in Psalms xci, verses 11 and 12, and in the utterance of Jesus, Matthew xviii. 10, is another question. In the Biblical representations Babylonian angels and eunuchs surround only the throne of the great king. And before Delitzsch wrote (page 55) his remarks concerning the demons and the devils which he says were possible only for the ancient Persian dualism, and were so destined to be committed forever and aye to the obscurity of the Babylonian hills from which they rose, he should have recalled to mind the important rôle which these concepts played in the religious life of Jesus, so that we might be justified in saying that there are 'still many Babylonian traits clinging even to the religious thoughts' of Jesus. But these concepts in the Bible are no Parsee importation; for the Bible can think of Satan and his angels under no other form than that of creatures of God who had fallen through their own sins and who stand thus on the most essential point in the sharpest imaginable contrast with the afore-mentioned Persian dualism. And does Delitzsch mean to say, when he affirms that the 5th, 6th, and 7th commandments occur 'in precisely the same order' in the Babylonian records, that Moses, or whoever else composed the Decalogue, sought advice from Babel, in the face of the fact that the order of the treasures which man seeks to protect, namely, life, family, and property, could not possibly be more natural and obvious, and that the humane Babylonian commandments have also their parallel in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*?

"And how do matters stand with the Biblical problems concerning which we are led to believe that Babel only can explain Bible? Delitzsch sees in the Bible Amraphel of Genesis xiv, the great Babylonian king Hammurabi, the founder of the old Babylonian kingdom. I shall not gainsay that this identification is possible; and since Amraphel was 'the contemporary of Abraham' we shall certainly be glad to reckon the period of Abraham by that of Hammurabi. But if we consult the Assyriologists we shall find that in fixing the chronological place of the fifty-five years of the reign of this king they vary between 2394-2339 B. C. and 1923-

1868 B. C., with all the intermediate possibilities. From the point of view of method, therefore, is it not better to follow the plan of the Assyriologist Hommel, who, convinced of the correctness of the equation Amraphel = Hammurabi, as of the historical authenticity of the events narrated in Genesis xiv., starts, contrariwise, from the Bible and moulds the Babylonian chronology until it accords with the Biblical?

"Delitzsch's statements (page 61) concerning the three clay tablets containing the name of Yahveh are quite new. I cannot revive here, much less resolve, the question of the original monotheism of the Semites, or at least of 'the old Canaanite races which settled in Babylonia 2500 years before Christ, and to whom Hammurabi himself belonged'; but I have to confess that I cherish the gravest doubts concerning the correctness of the meaning of these tablets, or at any rate of the interpretation of the names *Ya-ah-ve-ilu* and *Ya-hu-um-ilu*. Of names containing the proper names of a god, and asserting additionally that this god is God, there are no instances whatever among the thousands of Semitic proper names which we know. Even the well-known Biblical *Joel* does not mean 'Yahveh is God.' But even granting that these old 'Canaanites' did possess the theophorous name *Yahu*, is this any proof that they also possessed the Biblical concept of Yahveh? How does it happen that of these 'monotheistic' kings one is called *Sinmu-ballit*, which means 'Sin gives life,' and another is *Samsu-iluna*, which means 'the sun is our god.'

"There are also other evidences in *Babel and Bible* that Delitzsch's statements must be accepted with reserve. We read on page 50: 'In the Book of Job (xxiv. 18), which appears to be extremely conversant with Babylonian modes of thought, we find comparisons drawn (xxiv. 18 et seq.) between the arid, waterless desert which is reserved for those that have sinned, and the garden with fresh, clear water which is reserved for the pious.' I believe that I also am tolerably well acquainted with the Book of Job, and I was consequently not a little astonished at reading these words, for as a matter of fact there is absolutely nothing of the kind in Job xxiv. 18, and if Delitzsch possibly introduced this meaning into the passage conjecturally, it was entirely inadmissible on his part to deal with it as with something that had been absolutely established.

"Again, the passage on pages 51-52 concerning Mahomet's Paradise,—namely: 'Two and seventy of these Paradisian maidens may every god-fearing man choose unto himself, in addition to the

wives that he possessed on earth, provided he cares to have them (and the good man will always cherish desire for the good),’ — is not to be found at all in the Koran, but has been taken from E. W. Lane’s *Customs and Manners*, part I., page 59, of the German translation.

“We are delighted and proud that Germany also is at last taking an independent part in the excavations in the valley of the Euphrates. But in entering upon this undertaking it is only fulfilling a national obligation of honor toward the educated world, and no one could entertain greater sympathy with these labors or wish them greater success than we theological investigators of the Old Testament, for we know the light which will be shed from that source upon the object of our studies. But we are far from believing that a *new interpretation* of the Old Testament will ever be brought to pass by these investigations, nay we are firmly convinced that in the struggle between Babel and Bible the Bible will ultimately come out victorious. Gunkel spoke for us all when he said :

“ ‘How incomparably superior the Hebrew legend is to the Babylonian! Should we not really be delighted at having found in this Babylonian parallel a criterion for estimating the real sublimity of the conception of God in Israel,—a conception of so much intrinsic power that it can purge and recast in such a manner material so repellent and outlandish? And this also we may say, that the Babylonian legend strongly impresses us by its barbaric character, whereas the Hebrew legend is far nearer and more human to us. Even granting that we have been accustomed from childhood to the Hebrew legends, we yet learn from this example that in our whole world of ideas we owe far more to these Hebrews than to the Babylonians.’ ”

THE GERMAN EMPEROR IN HIS NEW RÔLE AS A THEOLOGIAN.

From the foregoing review of the comment aroused by Delitzsch’s *Babel and Bible* it may be vividly imagined that the doubts in Germany grew exceedingly rife concerning the Emperor’s orthodoxy. The Emperor personally assisted Dr. Delitzsch in showing his stereopticon views to the court, and he also subscribed to the funds for sending Dr. Delitzsch again to Assyria. The situation appeared tottering, but it did not reach its appalling stage until on Dr. Delitzsch’s return, when the Emperor invited him not only to discuss in private his new discoveries, but also to lecture pub-

licly before him on the New Testament. It was then at the instance of the influential churchman Dr. Dryander that the Emperor was persuaded, as guardian of State and Church, to restore the shaken equilibrium of the German Faith, and to write a public declaration of his personal creed. This he has delivered in the form of a pastoral letter on the real ways of conducting research in science and religion, and has incidentally put in a word for his own messianic function as Emperor of Germany, himself forming the end of a long line of divine incarnations beginning with Hammurabi and Moses, and running through Charlemagne, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Kant, and finding its apogee in his grandfather, Emperor William the Great, who was only an "instrument in the Lord's hand."

Being versatile almost to the danger-point, the Emperor will be excused if the reader finds his utterances at times incoherent, —though some of the inexactitude of his remarks may doubtless be due to the translation, which was evidently hurriedly made. But the Emperor is after all an old hand at theology, and our readers will remember the sermons with which Sunday after Sunday he punished the crew of the imperial yacht Hohenzollern when cruising in the Northern waters some summers ago.

We print below extracts from the Emperor's letter, as cabled to this country. The extracts are from the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Herald*.

THE EMPEROR'S LETTER.

"During an evening's entertainment with us Professor Delitzsch had the opportunity to fully confer and debate with her majesty, the empress, and Dr. Dryander, while I listened and remained passive. Unfortunately he abandoned the standpoints of the strict historian and Assyriologist, going into religious and theological conclusions which were quite nebulous or bold.

"When he came to speak of the New Testament, it became clear at once that he developed such quite divergent views regarding the person of our Saviour that I had to express the diametrically opposite view. He does not recognise the divinity of Christ as a deduction therefrom and asserts that the Old Testament contains no revelation about him as the Messiah.

"Here the Assyriologist and the historical investigator ceases and the theologian begins, with all his light and shadow sides. In this province I can only urgently advise him to proceed cautiously,

step by step, and at any rate to ventilate his theses only in the theological books and in the circle of his colleagues. Spare us, the laymen, and, above all, the Oriental society, from hearing of them.

"We carry on excavations and publish the results in behalf of science and history, but not to confirm or attack religious hypotheses with Professor Delitzsch, the theologian, who has run away with the historian."

CRITICISM FOR DR. DELITZSCH.

The Emperor then goes on to express regret at the fact that Professor Delitzsch did not adhere to his original purpose of translating and interpreting the inscriptions excavated by the society, as illustrating the relations between Babylonian customs, morals, historical events, and traditions, etc., and the Israelites, "which would have been in the highest degree interesting for laymen," and adds:

"He approached the question of revelation in a polemical tone, more or less denying it or reducing it to purely human matters. That was a grave error, for thereby he touched on the innermost, holiest possession of many of his hearers, which shook and even shattered the foundations of their faith. It is a deed that only the greatest genius should venture to attempt and for which the mere study of Assyriology did not justify him."

KAISER'S IDEA OF REVELATION.

The Emperor then gives his personal views regarding the revelation, saying:

"I distinguish between two different kinds of revelation,—one progressive, and, as it were, historical; the other purely religious, as preparing the way for the future Messiah.

"Regarding the former, it must be said for me, it does not admit of a doubt, not even the slightest, that God reveals himself continuously in the race of man created by him. He breathed into man the breath of his life and follows with fatherly love and interest the development of the human race. In order to lead it forward and develop it, he reveals himself in this or that great sage, whether priest or king, whether among the heathen, the Jews, or the Christians. Hammurabi was one. So was Moses, Abraham, Homer, Charlemagne, Luther, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kant, and Emperor William the Great. These he sought out and endowed with his grace to accomplish splendid, imperishable results for

their people, in their intellectual and physical provinces, according to his will. How often my grandfather pointed out that he was only an instrument in the Lord's hands.

REVELATION AND THE JEWS.

"The second form of revelation, the more religious, is that which leads to the manifestation of our Lord. It was introduced with Abraham, slow but forward looking and omniscient, for humanity was lost without it. Now begins the most astonishing activity of God's revelation. Abraham's race and the peoples developing from it regard faith in one God as their holiest possession, and, it follows, hold fast to it with ironlike consistency. Split up during their Egyptian captivity, the divided elements were again welded together by Moses, ever trying to hold fast to their monotheism. It was the direct intervention of God that caused the rejuvenation of this people, thus proved through centuries, till the Messiah, heralded by prophets and psalmists, finally appeared, the greatest revelation of God in the world, for he appeared in the son himself. Christ is God, God in human form. He redeemed us and inspires, entices us to follow him. We feel his fire burning in us. His sympathy strengthens us. His discontent destroys us. But also his intercession saves us. Conscious of victory, building solely upon his world, we go through labor, ridicule, sorrow, misery, and death, for we have in him God's revealed word, and he never lies.

OLD TESTAMENT PARTLY HUMAN.

"That is my view of these matters. It is to me self-evident that the Old Testament contains many sections which are of a purely human and historical nature, and are not God's revealed word. These are merely historical descriptions of incidents of all kinds which happen in the political, religious, moral, and intellectual life of this people.

"The legislative act on Sinai, for example, can be only regarded as symbolically inspired by God. When Moses had to re-burnish well known paragraphs of the law, perhaps derived from the code of Hammurabi, in order to incorporate and bind them into the loose, weak fabric of his people, here the historian can perhaps construe from the sense or wording a connection with the laws of Hammurabi, the friend of Abraham. That is perhaps logically correct. But that will never disguise the fact that God in-

cited Moses thereto and in so far revealed himself to the people of Israel.

"I believe in the one and only God. We may need a form in order to teach his existence, especially for our children. This has hitherto been the Old Testament. The present version of this will be possibly and substantially modified under the influence of research through inscriptions and excavations. That does not matter. Neither does it matter that much of the nimbus of the chosen people will thereby disappear. The kernel of the contents of the Old Testament will remain always the same,—God and his works. Religion has never been the result of science, but the pouring out of the heart and being of man from intercourse with God."

THE EMPEROR'S ORTHODOXY.

BY THE EDITOR.

EMPEROR William criticises Delitzsch for "abandoning the standpoint of the strict historian" and "straying into religious and historical conclusions and hypotheses which are quite nebulous and bold." He says that "the theologian has run away with the historian."

Probably the case is just the reverse. Professor Delitzsch, the son of an equally famous Hebrew scholar and a pious Christian, was from the start an orthodox theologian, but his theology was modified under the influence of his historical investigations. To the Emperor, who naturally clings to the old conception, Delitzsch seems to have twisted the results of his historical investigations (at least in the New Testament) to suit his theology. The Emperor concedes that "the Old Testament contains many sections which are of a purely human and historical nature," and goes even so far as to add that they "are *not* God's revealed word." He declares "that the legislative act on Sinai, for example, can only be symbolically regarded as inspired of God." Apparently the Emperor makes a difference between the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures, and in this sense he says: "Neither does it matter that much of the nimbus of the chosen people will thereby disappear."

This attitude of the Emperor is characteristic, and he being a pronounced upholder of militant and pious Protestantism, his views may be regarded as typical for large classes of all Protestant denominations.

The Emperor's letter is an important document in the evolution of religion: it opens to the Christian laity a period of discussion concerning the nature of the New Testament. The battle concerning the Old Testament is as good as ended. No one who has investigated the subject denies that the Old Testament is the product of an historical evolution. Of course, it is Jewish, not

Babylonian; nevertheless, the Babylonian civilisation forms the background, and many things which were formerly believed to have been dictated by the Holy Ghost are now seen to be the natural outcome of historical conditions. But on that account the nimbus of the chosen people will no more disappear than the glory of Homer, and Phidias, and Pericles, and Socrates can be dimmed because we can trace their greatness to conditions and understand how they naturally grew and rose into being.

The old narrow view is not abandoned at once, and many intermediate steps are taken which attempt compromises. So we read for instance in the interesting pamphlet of Alfred Jeremias that we must grant the prevalence of a monotheism among the pagan nations long before the rise of Israel as a nation. Hammurabi, for instance, a contemporary of Abraham who lived more than half a millennium before Moses, introduces his code of laws with the invocation, "Thus speaketh ILU SIRU, i. e., God the Supreme." "But," adds Professor Jeremias, "there is this difference between the pagan monotheism which can be traced among all the nations, and Hebrew monotheism, that "God himself filled the latter with his own revelation." In other words, when Plato speaks of God, we have to deal with a purely human speculation, but when David danced before the ark of the Lord we may be sure that then God was personally present.

The truth is, we are familiar with the Hebrew view, for our own belief has developed out of it. We are not so familiar with pagan views. Therefore when Zarathustra speaks of Ahura Mazda, the Lord Omniscient, we admire his wisdom, but fail to find any connection with our own belief. The term sounds strange to our ears because it remains unassociated with our prayers and has no relation to the traditions that have become sacred to us. It appears as the natural product of human thought, while the Hebrew names Jehovah, Zebaoth, Elohim, even when the context betrays a pagan or even polytheistic conception, are filled with a sanctity and a religious awe that is to us the evidence of a supernatural revelation.

How true this is appears from the fact that the original and correct form Yahveh, which is not used in our churches, does not possess the same sacred ring to our ears as the corrupted form Jehovah. The name Yahveh is written in our brains, not in our hearts. Yahveh is the name of a deity with which we have become acquainted through the study of Hebrew literature, and we would deem it all but a sacrilege, a kind of paganism, to pray to Yahveh

or to sing hymns to him. The word Jehovah, an unmeaning combination of the consonants of the word "Jahveh," with the vowels of another, "Adonai," was invented in the days of Luther. It was unknown before the year 1519; but having slipped into our prayers, we still sing the triumphal strain, "Jehovah is King."

When we become acquainted with the monotheism of Hammurabi, we put him down as a philosopher, but the God of Moses is the same God to whom Christians bend the knee. That makes a difference. The associations with our own religious life, our forms of worship, our prayers, are important for obvious psychological reasons.

Through Delitzsch, the Emperor became familiar with the religion of ancient Babylon, and he took a liking to the Assyrians. The Assyrian guards were so much like the Prussian grenadiers; their kings were generals enjoying the display of armies; they believed in the religion of the mailed fist and bestowed much attention upon military attire, even as to the minute details of hair-dressing. While the Emperor's court barber patented the fashion of an up-turned mustache under the name *Es ist erreicht*, Delitzsch speaks of the official style of the Assyrian beard as *Noch nicht erreicht*. The similarities were so many and so striking that the Emperor felt the thrill of kinship and showed himself willing to transfer the nimbus from the chosen people to the rulers of ancient Babylon.

Truly, the Emperor is right when he says that "God reveals himself continuously in the race of men." It is a good old doctrine, and orthodox too, that "God spoke not to Moses alone," and St. John the Evangelist says that "that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

But it is natural that Christians raised in the traditional dogmatism should shrink from the idea that the New Testament (as well as the Old) should be conceded to be the product of historical conditions. "Here," they argue, "Christ speaks himself," and (to use the Emperor's own words) "Christ is God, God in human form We have in Him God's revealed word, and He never lies."

Certainly, God never lies. But do we have in the New Testament Christ's own words? We have reports about Jesus, and these reports are as human as are the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Christianity would be in a sad plight if the New Testament had indeed to be regarded as inspired *verbatim* by God. We cannot enter here into details but would suggest only that the mere contradictions in the Gospels alone force us to look upon them as human compositions.

The difficulties of regarding the Bible as literally the word of God are almost greater in the New Testament than in the Old. Any one who has studied the Scriptures knows that the problem is grave and cannot be easily disposed of.

The great question back of all these discussions is simply this: "Shall we, or shall we not, grant Science the right to modify Religion?" And the question need not be answered. Men of science know that whether or not we grant science the right to modify religion, science is shedding her light upon religious problems, and she is constantly and continuously modifying religion. Science (represented in physics, astronomy, physiology, psychology, history, text-criticism, etc., etc.) has enlarged our views of the world and deepened our conception of God. The scientific spirit of the age has begotten a new theology, a truly scientific treatment of the problems of God, inspiration, and revelation, which we call *theonomy*, for it ranges as high above the antiquated theology as astronomy is superior to astrology.¹

After all, Christians are not pledged to dogmas, but to the truth. Orthodoxy means the right doctrine, and the right doctrine is that which can stand the test of critique. Orthodoxy so called is a misnomer and ought to be called dogmatism. The truth can be found only by searching, and the methods of an exact search are called science.

Science is not human; science is divine, and the development of science is the coming of the spirit of God,—of the true God, of the God of Truth, who is "the light that lighteth every man."

The dogmas of Christianity are formulations of the Truth as interpreted by our forefathers. Let not Athanasius with his limited knowledge bind the conscience of a Delitzsch. Had he lived in the days of the Alexandrian church-father, he would most likely have acquiesced in the Nicene formulation of the Christian creed; but new issues have arisen and some of the traditional beliefs have become untenable. Dogmas may be venerable on account of their antiquity, but they cannot stand against Truth. Truth alone is holy, and the Truth of Science will finally win the day.

Delitzsch sums up his position in these words: "Do not let us blindly cling to dogmas which science has shown to be superannuated, merely for fear of abandoning them. Faith in God and the true religion may thereby be injured."

Whatever the final result of the present discussion shall be,

¹ Cf. the writer's articles "Theology as a Science" in *The Monist*, Vol. XII., No. 4. and Vol. XIII., No. 1.

we may rest assured that the modification of our religious faith will not be for the worse. Christianity has again and again adapted itself to a more scientific conception of the world. How strong was the opposition of the so-called orthodox to the Copernican system, how fierce were their attacks on the doctrine of evolution! But that is now a matter of the past, and religion has certainly been broadened as well as deepened by a broader and deeper insight into the constitution of nature. Therefore let us have faith in the Truth.

Says Esdras: "As for the truth, it endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore.

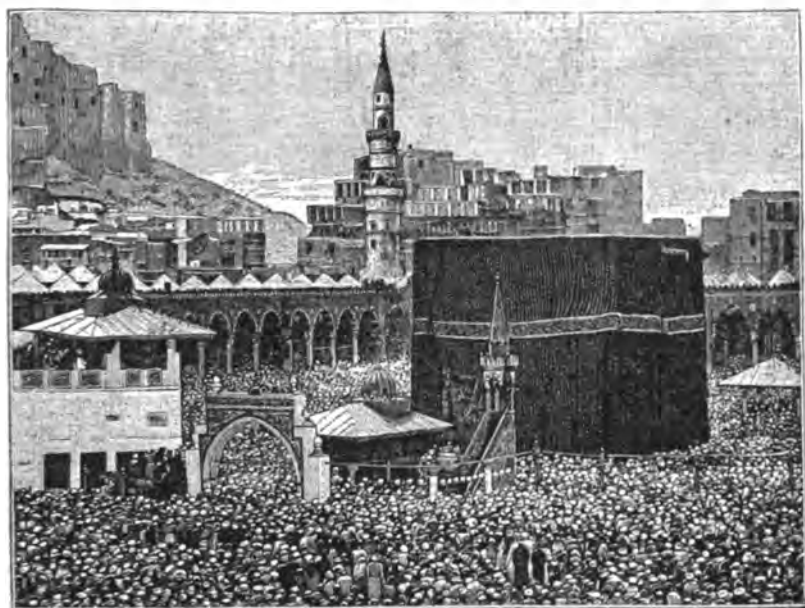
"With her there is no accepting of persons or rewards; but she doeth the things that are just, and refraineth from all unjust and wicked things; and all men do well like of her works.

"Neither in her judgment is any unrighteousness; and she is the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty of all ages. Blessed be the God of Truth." (1 Esdras iv. 38-40.)

THE CAABA.

BY THE EDITOR.

ISLAM, which means surrender, viz., to God, is the strictest monotheism; we commonly call it Mohammedanism, but pious Mussulmans shrink from the idea of designating their religion after



THE CAABA SURROUNDED BY PILGRIMS.

After Le Bon, *La civilisation des Arabes*, p. 119. Cf. Lenormant, *L'histoire de l'Orient*, Vol. VI., p. 447.

the name of a man. The object of their devotion is Allah, who is neither begetter nor begotten, but the eternal and omnipotent God. Mohammed is the prophet of Allah, and the religion of Mohammed's adherents ought to be called Islam.



VIEW OF MECCA WITH THE CAABA.

After Dr. Le Bon, *La civilisation des Arabes*, p. 117 (Paris, Didot). Cf. Lenormant, *L'histoire de l'Orient*, Vol. VI., p. 446.

Mohammed has never been painted or portrayed in any way by any Moslem artist, and all pictures of him that exist are made by *giaours* who either have no knowledge of the principles of Islam, or purposely ignore them; for the Mussulmans have inherited the Semitic hatred of idols, and obey literally the rule of the Mosaic Law that forbids the making of likenesses or images. Even nowadays it is dangerous for foreign artists to paint pious Mohammedans, and travellers are warned not to take photographs of natives in the Orient, because they might meet with unpleasant experiences.

Although Mohammed succeeded in forcing his religion on his people only after great struggle, Islam, that is the typically Arabic monotheism, is nevertheless the natural outcome of the religious development of Arabia. The change had to come sooner or later, and Mohammed made himself the prophet of an inevitable movement which, in spite of its radical denunciations of idolatry even in its mildest forms, retained many features of the ancient pagan traditions. The most noteworthy of these is a remnant of Sabaism the worship shown to the Caaba, which is a meteorite of enormous size lying in the holy city of Mecca. It is shrouded from sight by a veil, and is surrounded by a quadrangle after the style of a Mohammedan mosque. One of our illustrations shows the city of Mecca with the Caaba in its midst, while the other shows the Caaba at the time of its annual festival, surrounded by pilgrims.

The incongruence of this relic of ancient Sabaism is of course not at all felt by any pious Mussulman. It is an interesting example of the fact that old traditions cling to people and ancient ceremonies are observed, even though their sense becomes lost in the progress of the age and through a reformation of the underlying religious ideas.

CRITIQUE OF THE CONCEPT OF TEMPERATURE.¹

BY DR. ERNST MACH.

[CONCLUDED.]

IT is remarkable how long a period elapsed before it definitively dawned upon inquirers that the designation of *thermal states* by *numbers* reposed on a *convention*. Thermal states exist in nature, but the concept of temperature exists only by virtue of our arbitrary *definition*, which could very well have taken another form. Yet until very recently inquirers in this field appear more or less unconsciously to have sought after a *natural* measure of temperature, a real temperature, a sort of Platonic Idea of temperature, of which the temperatures read from the thermometric scales were only the imperfect and inexact expression.

The concepts temperature and quantity of heat were never kept clearly apart by Black and Lambert, and for both these ideas, between which we now distinguish, Richmann uses the same word, *calor*. At this stage, therefore, we are unwarranted in expecting clearness. But the obscurity extends farther than we should have thought. Let us look at the facts.

Lambert² well characterises the state of opinion of his time when he says: "Inquirers doubted whether the *actual* degrees of heat were in reality proportional to the degrees of the expansion. And even granting that this were so, the further question arose, at what degree the counting should begin." He then discusses Renaldini's proposition to graduate thermometers by means of water-mixtures, and he appears to have regarded this last scale as a natural one.

Dalton has the following passage:³ "Liquids have been tried, and found to expand unequally, all of them expanding more in the

¹ Translated from Mach's *Prinzipien der Wärmelehre* by Thomas J. McCormack.

² Lambert, *Pyrometrie*, p. 52.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 9.

higher temperatures than in the lower, but no two exactly alike. Mercury has appeared to have the least variation, or approach nearest to uniform expansion."

Gay-Lussac says: "The thermometer, as it exists to-day, cannot indicate the exact relationships of *heat*, for we are not yet cognisant of the connection obtaining between the degrees of the thermometer and the *quantities* of heat which these degrees possibly indicate. It is generally believed, indeed, that the equal divisions of this scale represent equal *tensions* [expansive forces] of the caloric; but this opinion is based on no very positive fact."¹ Manifestly Gay-Lussac was in a fair way to overcome the obscurity of his contemporaries on this point, but he was nevertheless unsuccessful.

It is very singular that inquirers of the exactness of Dulong and Petit, who were the first to introduce clearness into this field, continually lapse, in their expressions at least, to the old points of view. We read in one place:² "It will be seen, from the deviation that occurs at so low a temperature as 300°, how greatly glass departs from *uniformity*." We ask in astonishment: "By what criterion is the 'uniformity' or 'lack of uniformity' of glass to be estimated and measured?" The following passage is also characteristic:³ "We are constrained to say, nevertheless, that the well-known uniformity in the principal physical properties of all gases, and especially the identity of their laws of dilatation, render it very *probable* that in this class of bodies the *disturbing* causes do not produce the same effects as in solids and liquids; and that consequently the changes of volume produced by the action of the heat are in the present instance *more immediately dependent on the force that produces them*."⁴

This vacillation between a physical and a metaphysical point of view has not been entirely overcome, even to-day. In an excellent modern text-book by a distinguished inquirer in this field, we

¹ *Ann. de chim.*, XLIII., 1802, p. 139: "Le thermomètre, tel qu'il est aujourd'hui ne peut servir à indiquer des rapports exacts de la *chaleur*, parce que l'on ne sait pas encore quel rapport il y a entre les degrés du thermomètre et les quantités de chaleur qu'ils peuvent indiquer. On croit, il est vrai, généralement, que des divisions égales de son échelle représentent des tensions égales de calorique; mais cette opinion n'est fondée sur aucun fait bien positif."

² *Ann. de chim.*, VII., 1817, p. 139.

³ *Ann. de chim.*, VII., 1817, p. 153.

⁴ "Nous devons dire cependant que l'uniformité bien connue dans les principales propriétés physiques de tous les gaz, et surtout l'identité parfaite de leurs lois de dilatation, rendent très-vraisemblable que, dans cette classe de corps, les causes perturbatrices n'ont plus la même influence que dans les solides et liquides; et que par conséquent les changements de volume produits par l'action de la chaleur y sont dans une dépendance plus immédiate de la force qui les produit."

read: "The indications of the air-thermometer are comparable. But it by no means follows from this that the air-thermometer actually measures that which we *conceive as temperature*; it has, in fact, never been proved that the increase of the pressure of gases is *proportional to the increase of the temperature*, for hitherto we have only *assumed* this."

No less a man than Clausius has similarly expressed himself: "We may infer from certain properties of gases that the mutual attraction of their molecules is very weak at their average distances and hence offers a very slight resistance to the expansion of the gases, so that it is the walls of the containing vessel that have to offset by their resistance nearly the entire effect of the action of the heat. The outward, sensible pressure of the gas, accordingly, forms an *approximate* measure of the repellent force of the heat contained in the gas, and, therefore, conformably to the preceding law, this pressure must be *approximately* proportional to the absolute temperature. The correctness of this inference has, indeed, so much intrinsic probability that many physicists since Gay-Lussac and Dalton have assumed it outright, and based upon it their calculations (!) of the absolute temperature."¹

In a valuable treatise on pyrometry we find the following:² "In view of Gay-Lussac's discovery, made as early as 1802, that all gases suffer, under the action of heat, like expansions for like increases of temperature, the *hypothesis* is doubtless justified that the expansion in question is *uniform* for all *degrees of temperature*, inasmuch as it is *more probable* that the expansion should be uniform than that all gases should exhibit *the same variations*."

On the other hand, it is to be particularly noted, that W. Thomson, as early as 1848, in propounding his absolute thermodynamic scale of temperature, was very clear on this matter and went critically to the bottom of it, as we shall see in a later chapter in detail.

After what has just been adduced, the preceding exposition, however obvious it may appear to individual physicists, will not, I trust, be regarded as altogether redundant. We repeat, the question is always one of a scale of temperature that shall be *universally comparable and that can be constructed with accuracy and certainty*, and never one of a "real" or "natural" scale.

It could be easily shown, by analogous examples from other departments of physics, that men generally are inclined to hypostatise their abstract ideas, and to ascribe to them a reality outside

¹ *Mechanische Wärmetheorie*, 1864, I., p. 248.

² Boltz, *Die Pyrometer*, Berlin, 1888, p. 38.

of consciousness. Plato, in his doctrine of Ideas, merely exploited this tendency. Even inquirers of the rank of Newton, despite their precepts, were not always discreet enough in this respect; it will therefore repay the trouble to inquire in what the difficulty in the present case consists. We start in our investigations from the *sensation of heat*, and find ourselves later obliged to substitute for this original criterion of the behavior of bodies *other criteria*. But between these criteria, which may be quite distinct, *no exact parallelism* obtains. For this reason, latently and unconsciously, the original sensation of heat, which was replaced by these non-conforming criteria, remains the *nucleus* about which our ideas cluster. Then, on our theoretically discovering that this sensation of heat is in its turn nothing but a symbol for the collective behavior of the body, which we already know and shall later know better,¹ our thinking compels us to group these varying phases of collective behavior under some *single* head and to designate them by a *single* symbol called *state of heat*. Scrutinising our procedure closely, we again discover this same *sensation of heat*, which is the initial and the most natural *representative* of the group in its entirety, as the indistinct nucleus of the symbol last reached. And to this symbol, which is after all not entirely our arbitrary creation, we appear to be forced to attribute reality. Thus, the impression arises of a "real temperature," of which that read from the thermoscope is only a more or less inexact expression.

Newton's conceptions of "absolute time," "absolute space," etc., which I have discussed in another place,² originated in a quite similar manner. In our conceptions of time the *sensation of duration* plays the same part with regard to the various measures of time as the sensation of heat played in the instance just adduced.³ The situation is similar with respect to our conceptions of space.

Once we have clearly comprehended that by the adoption of a new, arbitrarily fixed, more sensitive and more delicate criterion of the thermal state an entirely *new* point of view has been assumed, and that henceforward the new criterion alone is the basis of our investigations, the entire illusion will be dispelled. This new criterion, or *indicium*, of the thermal state is the *temperature-number*, or more briefly, the *temperature*, which reposes on an arbitrary convention in three respects,—first with regard to the selection of vol-

¹ Compare Mach, *Analysis of the Sensations*, Eng. trans., Chicago, 1897, pp. 18 et seq. Also Popper, *Elektrische Kraftübertragung*, Vienna, 1884, p. 16.

² *Science of Mechanics*, Eng. trans., 2nd ed., pp. 222-238 and 541.

³ *Analysis of the Sensations*, Eng. trans., pp. 109 et seq.

ume as the index, secondly with regard to the thermoscopic substance employed, and thirdly with regard to the principle by which the numbers are coördinated with the volume.

An illusion of another sort is involved in a peculiar, almost universally accepted, process of reasoning which we shall now discuss. Taking the numbers indicative of the temperatures as proportional to the pressures exerted by a mass of gas at constant volume, it will be seen that while the pressures and the temperatures may increase without limit, they can never fall below zero. The equation

$$p = p_0(1 + \alpha t)$$

asserts that for every degree increase of temperature the pressure increases by $\frac{1}{273}$ of its amount at the point of melting ice; or rather, contrariwise, that when the pressure increases $\frac{1}{273}$, we reckon the temperature one degree higher. For temperatures below the point of melting ice we should have

$$p = p_0(1 - \alpha t),$$

from which it will be apparent that if $\frac{1}{273}$ of the pressure p_0 be deducted 273 times, and the temperature -273° C. attained, the pressure will be zero. The favorite mode of conception now is, that when a gas has been cooled off to this point it no longer contains any "heat"; that consequently any further cooling below this temperature is impossible; that, in other words, the thermal states have apparently *no upper* limit, but possess a *lower* limit at -273° C.

The principle of coördination employed by Dalton¹ did not remain in use, but not the slightest objection can be made to its admissibility. On this principle, when the pressure of the gas increases by 1.0179, the temperature increases ten Daltonian degrees. When the pressure diminishes by 1.0179, the temperature sinks ten degrees. We can repeat this last operation as often as we wish without ever reaching a pressure zero. If Dalton's scale were used, the idea need never have occurred to us that a thermal state could exist having the gaseous pressure zero,—that the series of thermal states had a lower limit. The possibility of a gaseous pressure zero would not, indeed, have been affected by this fact, because Dalton does not reach the lower limit for the reason that he moves toward it, like Achilles toward his tortoise in the famous paradox, with steps of diminishing magnitude. The essential point to be empha-

¹ See *The Open Court* for February, p. 102.

sised here is the precariousness of regarding outright the properties of a *system of symbols* as the properties of the *things symbolised* by them.

Amontons, in propounding his scale of temperature, starts from the idea that the pressure of a gas is produced by "heat." But this absolute zero-point is not the only one that has been proposed, nor is it the only one that could be proposed on the ground of equally sound ideas. Taking the coefficient of expansion of mercury, and pursuing the same train of reasoning as with air, we should obtain -5000°C. as our absolute zero. As with air and with every other body, so likewise here with mercury, the coefficient of *expansive force* might be employed instead of the coefficient of expansion, in order to eliminate the distressing idea of a body losing its volume when it loses its heat.

Dalton's¹ conception is that a body contains a certain quantity of caloric. Increasing the caloric raises the temperature; withdrawing it altogether reduces the body to the absolute zero-point. This idea of heat as a substance (caloric) was derived from Black, although the latter inquirer was no friend of speculations of the stripe we are now discussing. If ice at 0°C. is converted into water at 0°C. , and for every kilogramme in this process eighty kilogramme-calories are absorbed, Gadolin² and Dalton contend that owing to the doubling of the capacity for heat by the liquefaction of the water, the entire loss of caloric from the absolute zero-point to 0°C. is compensated for by the eighty thermal units in question. Whence it follows that the absolute zero-point lies at $2 \times 80 = 160^{\circ}\text{C.}$ below the melting-point of ice. The same zero-point is on the same premises obtained for many other bodies. But for mercury, which has a low fusing-point and which exhibits a very slight difference of specific heat in its solid and liquid conditions, 2021°C. below the melting-point of ice is obtained as the absolute zero. If two bodies, *A* and *B*, of like temperature, be mixed together, and the mixture $A + B$ shows an alteration of temperature, we can in an analogous manner, after determining the specific heats of *A* and *B* and $A + B$, deduce the absolute zero-point from the change in the temperature. By mixing water and sulphuric acid Gadolin found the absolute zero-point to lie between -830°C. and -1720°C. Other mixtures, and also chemical combinations, have been similarly treated, and have again yielded different results.

We have thus a multitude of different absolute zeros. To-day

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² Cited by Dalton in another work.

only one of these is in use, that of Amontons, which, conformably to the dynamic theory of gases, has been connected with the destruction of the velocity of the moving gaseous molecules. But all these deductions alike rest on hypotheses regarding the processes by which we conceive the phenomena of heat to be produced. Whatever value we may attribute to these hypothetical constructions, we must yet admit that they are unproved and unprovable, and cannot antecedently determine facts which may at some time be rendered amenable to observation.

We now revert to the point which we were discussing. The pressures of gases are *indices* or *symbols* of the thermal states. When the pressures vanish, the symbols likewise vanish; our gas is rendered unserviceable as a thermoscope; we must seek another. That the thing symbolised also disappears, does not at all follow. For example, if a thermoelectromotive force on approaching a certain high temperature should diminish, or become zero, it would doubtless be thought extremely rash were this temperature to be regarded as indicating an *upper* limit to the states of heat.

The temperature-numbers again are symbols of the symbols. From the fact that our fortuitously chosen system of symbols has a limit, nothing whatever follows as to the limits of the thing symbolised. I may represent *sensations of tone* by *rates of vibration*. These latter, as positive numbers, have a lower limit at zero, but no upper limit. I may also represent sensations of tone by the *logarithms* of the rates of vibration, and obtain a much better view of the musical intervals. In which case, my system of symbols (running, as they do, from $-\infty$ to $+\infty$) has neither a lower *nor* an upper limit. But the system of tone-sensations is not a whit disturbed by this; it has *both* an upper and a lower limit. I may *define* an infinitely high or an infinitely low tone by my system of symbols, but it in no wise follows from this that such a tone *exists*.

The entire train of reasoning reminds one vividly of the so-called ontological proof of the existence of God; it is scholastic to a degree. The concept is defined, and existence is predicated of its *attributes*; whence follows forthwith the existence of what has been defined. It will scarcely be gainsaid that a similar logical looseness is unpermissible in modern physics.

We may accordingly assert, that even granting it were possible by cooling a gas to reduce its pressure to zero, this result would simply prove the unfitness of gases as thermoscopic substances from this point downward. But that the thermal states have or have not a lower limit, would in no wise follow from it.

And, similarly, nothing follows as to an *upper* limit for thermal states from the fact that the pressure of a gas may be *conceived* to increase without limit, or from the fact that the numbers expressing the temperatures have no upper limit. A body melts and boils at certain temperatures. And the question naturally arises whether a gas can attain indefinitely high temperatures without suffering important alterations of character.

Experience alone can determine whether the series of thermal states has a lower or an upper limit. Given a body of definite thermal conditions and supposing no other can be produced that is hotter or colder than it, then and then only can such a limit be established.

The view here taken does not exclude our conceding to Amon-ton's zero the rôle of a *fiction*, or our investing the Law of Boyle and Gay-Lussac with the simple form before referred to,¹ whereby many discussions to be later developed are very materially simplified.

From the foregoing it will be readily seen that *temperature* is nothing but the *specification* or *designation* of a thermal state by a *number*. This temperature-number has exclusively the properties of an *inventorial number*, by means of which the same thermal state can again be recognised, and, if necessary, sought for and reproduced. This number likewise informs us in what *order* the designated thermal states succeed one another and *between* what other states a given state is situated. In the investigations to follow it will appear that the temperature-numbers fulfil still other, and indeed extremely comprehensive, functions. But this was not due to the acumen of the physicists that propounded the system of temperature-numbers, but was the outcome of several fortunate circumstances, which no one could foresee and no one control.

The *concept of temperature* is a *concept of level*, like the height of a heavy body, the velocity of a moving mass, electric and magnetic potential, and chemical difference. Thermal action takes place between bodies of different temperature, as electric action does between bodies of different potential. But whilst the concept of potential was deliberately framed in perfect consciousness of its advantages, in the case of the concept of temperature these advantages were a matter of good luck and accident.

In most departments of physics the *differences* alone of the *level values* play a determinative part. But temperature appears to share in common with chemical level the property that its level values are *per se* determinative. The fixed fusing-points, melting-points, boiling-points, critical temperatures, temperatures of combustion and dissociation, are obvious instances.

¹ See *The Open Court* for December, p. 738.

JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

IV. THE EXPLORER.

BY MRS. M. D. LINCOLN (BESSIE BEECH.)

[CONTINUED.]

PROFESSOR Powell saw in the parks and canyons of Colorado more than a mere training-school for students. Vast unexplored regions, hitherto represented on all maps by an utter blank, astonished and attracted him. He knew that through this unexplored territory must flow that great river, the Colorado of the West, unknown for much of its course to civilised man.

He had heard many wonderful stories from the Indians concerning the stupendous canyon. The Indians warned him not to enter this dreadful gorge; they considered it disobedience to the gods, and contempt for their authority, and declared that it would surely bring wrath and ruin on any who attempted it. The mysteries of the canyon were woven into the strange myths of their religion.

After finding that he understood their language and was a good friend to them, they persisted in their warning, and with much solemnity told him the following legend of a Numa chief:

"Long ago there was a great and wise chief who mourned the death of his wife, and would not be comforted until Ta-vwoats, one of the Indian gods, came to him and told him she was in a happier land, and offered to take him there that he might see for himself, if upon his return he would cease to mourn. The great chief promised. Then Ta-vwoats made a trail through the mountains that intervene between that beautiful land, the balmy region in the great West, and this the desert home of the poor Numa. The trail was the gorge of the Colorado. Through it he led him, and when they returned the deity exacted from the chief a promise that he would tell no one of the joys of that land, lest through discontent with the circumstances of this world, they should desire to go to

heaven. Then he rolled a river into the gorge, a mad raging stream that should engulf any who might attempt to enter thereby."

Despite all the warnings of the red men, on the 24th of May, 1869, the party of explorers launched their boats in the Green River, one of the largest tributaries of the Colorado. The boats were four in number; three were built of oak, staunch and firm, double-ribbed, with double stem- and stern-posts, and further strengthened by bulk-heads, dividing each into three compartments. Two of these were decked fore and aft, forming water-tight cabins which it was expected would buoy the boats should the waves roll over them in rough water. The little vessels were twenty-one feet long, and without cargo each could be carried by four men. The fourth boat was made of pine, very light, sixteen feet in length, with a sharp cut-water; this was built for fast rowing, and was divided into compartments like the others. They were fitted out with rations for ten months, all kinds of implements needed on a voyage, plenty of ammunition, and many scientific instruments.

Of that memorable expedition of four months in the canyons of the Colorado I can only give a glimpse.

The hero was never daunted. He had a fixed purpose, and was willing, if need be, to face death to accomplish something for science. Let us follow him and hear in his own words how the expedition was manned.

"J. C. Sumner and William H. Dunn are my boatmen in the 'Emma Dean'; then follows 'Kitty Clyde's Sister,' manned by W. H. Powell and G. T. Bradley; next the 'No Name,' with O. G. Howland, Seneca Howland, and Frank Goodman; and last comes the 'Maid of the Canyon' with W. R. Hawkins and Andrew Hall."¹

The general course of the river is southward, and to the south is a great upland, the Uinta Mountains, lying athwart its course. Through this upland the river burrows in a series of deep canyons; and in these canyons the excitement and danger of the voyage begin.

"May 30.—This morning we are ready to enter the mysterious canyon, and start with some anxiety. The old mountaineers tell us that it cannot be run; the Indians say, 'Water heap catch 'em,' but all are eager for the trial, and off we go.

"Entering Flaming Gorge, we quickly run through it on a

¹ The full narrative of the voyage through the Colorado Canyons, from which these passages are extracted, is contained in *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West*, by J. W. Powell, Washington, 1875. A popular account of the voyage, likewise by Powell, appeared in *Scribner's Monthly* for January, February and March, 1875.

swift current and emerge into a little park. Half a mile below, the river wheels sharply to the left, and we turned into another canyon cut into the mountain. We enter the narrow passage. On either side the walls rapidly increase in altitude. On the left are overhanging ledges and cliffs five hundred—a thousand—fifteen hundred feet high.

"On the right, the rocks are broken and ragged, and the water fills the channel from cliff to cliff. Now the river turns abruptly around a point to the right, and the waters plunge swiftly down among great rocks; and here we have our first experience with canyon rapids. I stand up on the deck of my boat to seek a way among the wave-beaten rocks. All untried as we are with such waters, the moments are filled with intense anxiety. Soon our boats reach the swift current; a stroke or two, now on this side, now on that, and we thread the narrow passage with exhilarating velocity, mounting the high waves, whose foaming crests dash over us, and plunging into the troughs, until we reach the quiet water below; and then comes a feeling of great relief. Our first rapid is run. Another mile, and we come into the valley again.

"Let me explain this canyon. Where the river turns to the left above, it takes a course directly into the mountain, penetrating to its very heart, then wheels back upon itself, and runs out into the valley from which it started only half a mile below the point at which it entered; so the canyon is in the form of an elongated letter U, with the apex in the center of the mountain. We name it Horseshoe Canyon."

For a week their course winds among foothills, with minor gorges and minor rapids, which prepare and train them for the grandeur and the danger that await them. At last they enter the heart of the mountain through the "Gate of Lodore."

"*June 8.*—We enter the canyon, and, until noon, find a succession of rapids, over which our boats have to be taken.

"Here I must explain our method of proceeding at such places. The 'Emma Dean' goes in advance; the other boats follow, in obedience to signals. When we approach a rapid, or what on other rivers would often be called a fall, I stand on deck to examine it, while the oarsmen back water, and we drift on as slowly as possible. If I can see a clear chute between the rocks, away we go; but if the channel is beset entirely across, we signal the other boats, pull to land, and I walk along the shore for closer examination. If this reveals no clear channel, hard work begins. We drop the boats to the very head of the dangerous place, and let them

over by lines, or make a portage, frequently carrying both boats and cargoes over the rocks, or, perhaps, only the cargoes, if it is safe to let the boats down.



MAJOR POWELL IN HIS OFFICE AT THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.¹

“The waves caused by such falls in a river differ much from the waves of the sea. The water of an ocean wave merely rises and falls; the form only passes on, and form chases form unceasingly. A body floating on such waves merely rises and sinks—does

¹ After a photograph by Mr. De Lancey Gill.

not progress unless impelled by wind or some other power. But here, the water of the wave passes on, while the form remains. The waters plunge down ten or twenty feet, to the foot of a fall; spring up again in a great wave; then down and up, in a series of billows, that gradually disappear in the more quiet waters below; but these waves are always there, and you can stand above and count them.

"A boat riding such, leaps and plunges along with great velocity. Now, the difficulty in riding over these falls, when the rocks are out of the way, is in the first wave at the foot. This will sometimes gather for a moment, heaping up higher and higher, until it breaks back. If the boat strikes it the instant after it breaks, she cuts through, and the mad breaker dashes its spray over the boat, and would wash us overboard did we not cling tight. If the boat, in going over the falls, chances to get caught in some side current, and is turned from its course, so as to strike the wave 'broadside on,' and the wave breaks at the same instant, the boat is capsised. Still, we must cling to her, for, the water-tight compartments acting as buoys, she cannot sink; and so we go, dragged through the waves, until still waters are reached. We then right the boat, and climb aboard. We have several such experiences to-day.

"At night, we camp on the right bank, on a little shelving rock, between the river and the foot of the cliff; and with night comes gloom into these great depths.

"After supper, we sit by our camp fire, made of driftwood caught by the rocks, and tell stories of wild life; for the men have seen such in the mountains, or on the plains, and on the battle-fields of the South. It is late before we spread our blankets on the beach."

In another rapid the 'No Name' is wrecked, much of her cargo is lost, and her crew for a time are in great peril.

"During the afternoon [June 15] we run down, three-quarters of a mile, on quiet water, and land at the head of another fall. On examination, we find that there is an abrupt plunge of a few feet, and then the river tumbles, for half a mile, with a descent of a hundred feet, in a channel beset with great numbers of huge boulders. This stretch of the river is named Hell's Half-Mile.

"The remaining portion of the day is occupied in making a trail among the rocks to the foot of the rapid.

"*June 16.*—Our first work this morning is to carry our cargoes to the foot of the falls. Then we commence letting down the boats. We take two of them down in safety, but not without great

difficulty; for, where such a vast body of water, rolling down an inclined plane, is broken into eddies and cross currents by rocks projecting from the cliffs and piles of boulders in the channel, it requires excessive labor and much care to prevent their being dashed against the rocks or breaking away. Sometimes we are



MAJOR POWELL WITH HIS HORSE ON AN OUTING IN THE SURROUNDINGS OF
WASHINGTON, D. C.

compelled to hold the boat against a rock, above a chute, until a second line, attached to the stem, is carried to some point below, and, when all is ready, the first line is detached, and the boat given to the current, when she shoots down, and the men below swing her into some eddy.

"At such a place, we are letting down the last boat, and, as she is set free, a wave turns her broadside down the stream, with the stem, to which the line is attached, from shore and a little up. They haul on the line to bring the boat in, but the power of the current, striking obliquely against her, shoots her out into the middle of the river. The men have their hands burned with the friction of the passing line; the boat breaks away, and speeds, with great velocity, down the stream.

"The 'Maid of the Canyon' is lost, so it seems; but she drifts some distance and swings into an eddy, in which she spins about, until we arrive with the small boat and rescue her."

Ten days of hard work bring them to the south base of the Uinta Mountains, but they are still among canyons, and the river is still swift and difficult. They are in the Plateau Province, where the uplands are tables, flat or sloping, bounded by cliffs, and adorned by buttresses and pinnacles. Among these the Green River is joined by the Grand, to make the Colorado. The whole narrative is a tale of adventure; each successive canyon gives a new type of scenery; each climbing of a canyon wall reveals a new wonderland; each roaring rapid yields a new problem in navigation. At last, near the middle of August, the Grand Canyon is reached, and all phases of the journey—the labor and peril, the beauty and grandeur, and the scientific interest—find their superlative expression.

"About eleven o'clock [August 14] we hear a great roar ahead, and approach it very cautiously. The sound grows louder and louder as we run, and at last we find ourselves above a long, broken fall, with ledges and pinnacles of rock obstructing the river. There is a descent of, perhaps, seventy-five or eighty feet in a third of a mile, and the rushing waters break into great waves on the rocks, and lash themselves into a mad, white foam. We can land just above, but there is no foot-hold on either side by which we can make a portage. It is nearly a thousand feet to the top of the granite, so it will be impossible to carry our boats around, though we can climb to the summit up a side gulch, and, passing along a mile or two, can descend to the river. This we find on examination; but such a portage would be impracticable for us, and we must run the rapid, or abandon the river. There is no hesitation. We step into our boats, push off and away we go, first on smooth but swift water, then we strike a glassy wave, and ride to its top, down again into the trough, up again on a higher wave, and down and up on waves higher and still higher, until we strike one just as it curls

back, and a breaker rolls over our little boat. Still, on we speed, shooting past projecting rocks, till the little boat is caught in a whirlpool, and spun around several times. At last we pull out again into the stream, and now the other boats have passed us. The open compartment of the 'Emma Dean' is filled with water, and every breaker rolls over us. Hurlled back from a rock, now on this side, now on that, we are carried into an eddy, in which we struggle for a few minutes, and are then out again, the breakers still rolling over us. Our boat is unmanageable, but she cannot sink, and we drift down another hundred yards, through breakers; how, we scarcely know. We find the other boats have turned into an eddy at the foot of the fall, and are waiting to catch us as we come, for the men have seen that our boat is swamped. They push out as we come near, and pull us in against the wall. We bail our boat, and on we go again.

"The walls, now, are more than a mile in height—a vertical distance difficult to appreciate. Stand on the south steps of the Treasury building, in Washington, and look down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol Park, and measure this distance overhead, and imagine cliffs to extend to that altitude, and you will understand what I mean; or, stand at Canal street, in New York, and look up Broadway to Grace Church, and you have about the distance; or, stand at Lake street bridge, in Chicago, and look down to the Central Depot, and you have it again.

"A thousand feet of this is up through granite crags, then steep slopes and perpendicular cliffs rise, one above another, to the summit. The gorge is black and narrow below, red and gray and flaring above, with crags and angular projections on the walls, which, cut in many places by side canyons, seem to be a vast wilderness of rocks. Down in these grand, gloomy depths we glide, ever listening, for the mad waters keep up their roar; ever watching, ever peering ahead, for the narrow canyon is winding, and the river is closed in so that we can see but a few hundred yards, and what there may be below we know not; but we listen for falls, and watch for rocks, or stop now and then, in the bay of a recess, to admire the gigantic scenery. And ever, as we go, there is some new pinnacle or tower, some crag or peak, some distant view of the upper plateau, some strange shaped rock, or some deep, narrow side canyon."

After some days a rapid is reached of such formidable character that nearly a day is spent in climbing the walls to study it.

"I decide that it is possible to let down over the first fall, then

run near the right cliff to a point just above the second, where we can pull out into a little chute, and, having run over that in safety, we must pull with all our power across the stream, to avoid the



THE LATE MAJOR POWELL.¹

great rock below. On my return to the boat, I announce to the men that we are to run it in the morning.

“After supper Captain Howland asks to have a talk with me.

¹A recent portrait taken by Mr. De Lancey Gill, the Art Photographer of the Smithsonian Institution.

We walk up the little creek a short distance, and I soon find that his object is to remonstrate against my determination to proceed. He thinks that we had better abandon the river here. Talking with him, I learn that his brother, William Dunn, and himself have determined to go no farther in the boats. So we return to camp. Nothing is said to the other men.

"For the last two days, our course has not been plotted. I sit down and do this now, for the purpose of finding where we are by dead reckoning. It is a clear night, and I take out the sextant to make observation for latitude, and find that the astronomic determination agrees very nearly with that of the plot—quite as closely as might be expected, from a meridian observation on a planet. In a direct line, we must be about forty-five miles from the mouth of the Rio Virgen. If we can reach that point, we know that there are settlements up that river about twenty miles. This forty-five miles, in a direct line, will probably be eighty or ninety in the meandering line of the river. But then we know that there is comparatively open country for many miles above the mouth of the Virgen, which is our point of destination.

"As soon as I determine all this, I spread my plot on the sand, and wake Howland, who is sleeping down by the river, and show him where I suppose we are, and where several Mormon settlements are situated.

"We have another short talk about the morrow, and he lies down again; but for me there is no sleep. All night long, I pace up and down a little path, on a few yards of sand beach, along by the river. Is it wise to go on? I go to the boats again, to look at our rations. I feel satisfied that we can get over the danger immediately before us; what there may be below I know not. From our outlook yesterday, on the cliffs, the canyon seemed to make another great bend to the south, and this, from our experience heretofore, means more and higher granite walls. I am not sure that we can climb out of the canyon here, and, when at the top of the wall, I know enough of the country to be certain that it is a desert of rock and sand, between this and the nearest Mormon town, which, on the most direct line, must be seventy-five miles away. True, the late rains have been favorable to us, should we go out, for the probabilities are that we shall find water still standing in holes, and, at one time, I almost conclude to leave the river. But for years I have been contemplating this trip. To leave the exploration unfinished, to say that there is a part of the canyon

which I cannot explore, having already almost accomplished it, is more than I am willing to acknowledge, and I determine to go on.

"I wake my brother, and tell him of Howland's determination, and he promises to stay with me; then I call up Hawkins, the cook, and he makes a like promise; then Sumner, and Bradley, and Hall, and they all agree to go on.

"*August 28.*—At last daylight comes, and we have breakfast, without a word being said about the future. The meal is as solemn as a funeral. After breakfast, I ask the three men if they still think it best to leave us. The elder Howland thinks it is, and Dunn agrees with him. The younger Howland tries to persuade them to go with the party, failing in which, he decides to go with his brother."

So the party is divided. Powell leaves a boat behind, for use of the three men if they fail to scale the cliff, and then successfully runs the rapid. Fortunately no other serious difficulty is encountered, and in the forenoon of the following day the two boats glide at last from between the gloomy walls into the broad daylight of an open valley. The weary river, as though sharing the joy and relief of the explorers, spreads out its unhampered waters, to bask and loiter in the sun.

The adventurous voyage is ended.

* *

The three men who climbed the canyon wall and thus escaped the dangers of the river, ran unwittingly into still greater peril and never reached the settlements. Their story was not fully known until the autumn of the following year, when Professor Powell encamped with a band of Plateau Indians, the Kai'-vav-its, was visited by Indians of another band, the Shi'-vwitz.

"This evening, the Shi'-vwitz, for whom we have sent, come in, and, after supper, we hold a long council. A blazing fire is built, and around this we sit—the Indians living here, the Shi'-vwitzs, Jacob Hamblin, and myself. Hamblin speaks their language well, and has a great influence over all the Indians in the region round about. He is a silent, reserved man, and when he speaks it is in a low, quiet way that inspires great awe. His talk is so low that they must listen attentively to hear, and they sit around him in deathlike silence. When he finishes a measured sentence, the chief repeats it, and they all give a solemn grunt. But, first, I fill my pipe, light it, and take a few whiffs, then pass it to Hamblin; he smokes, and gives it to the man next, and so it goes around. When it has passed the chief, he takes out his own pipe,

fills, and lights it, and passes it around after mine. I can smoke my own pipe in turn, but when the Indian pipe comes around I am nonplussed. It has a large stem, which has, at some time, been broken, and now there is a buckskin rag wound around it, and tied with sinew, so that the end of the stem is a huge mouthful, and looks like the burying ground of old dead spittle, venerable for a century. To gain time, I refill it, then engage in very earnest conversation, and, all unawares, I pass it to my neighbor unlighted.

"I tell the Indians that I wish to spend some months in their country during the coming year, and that I would like them to treat me as a friend. I do not wish to trade; do not want their lands. Heretofore I have found it very difficult to make the natives understand my object, but the gravity of the Mormon missionary helps me much. I tell them that all the great and good white men are anxious to know very many things; that they spend much time in learning, and that the greatest man is he who knows the most. They want to know all about the mountains and the valleys, the rivers and the canyons, the beasts, and birds, and snakes. Then I tell them of many Indian tribes, and where they live; of the European nations; of the Chinese, of Africans, and all the strange things about them that come to my mind. I tell them of the ocean, of great rivers and high mountains, of strange beasts and birds. At last I tell them I wish to learn about their canyons and mountains, and about themselves, to tell other men at home; and that I want to take pictures of everything, and show them to my friends. All this occupied much time, and the matter and manner made a deep impression.

"Then their chief replies: 'Your talk is good, and we believe what you say. We believe in Jacob, and look upon you as a father. When you are hungry, you may have our game. You may gather our sweet fruits. We will give you food when you come to our land. We will show you the springs, and you may drink; the water is good. We will be friends, and when you come we will be glad. We will tell the Indians who live on the other side of the great river that we have seen you, and you are the Indians' friend. We will tell them you are Jacob's friend. We are very poor. Look at our women and children; they are naked. We have no horses; we climb the rocks, and our feet are sore. We live among rocks, and they yield little food and many thorns. When the cold moons come, our children are hungry. We have not much to give; you must not think us mean. You are wise; we have heard you tell strange things. We are ignorant. Last year we killed three white

men. Bad men said they were our enemies. They told great lies. We thought them true. We were mad; it made us big fools. We are very sorry. Do not think of them, it is done; let us be friends. We are ignorant—like little children in understanding compared with you. When we do wrong, do not get mad, and be like children too.

“ ‘When white men kill our people, we kill them. Then they kill more of us. It is not good. We hear that the white men are a great number. When they stop killing us, there will be no Indian left to bury the dead. We love our country; we know not other lands. We hear that other lands are better; we do not know. The pines sing, and we are glad. Our children play in the warm sand; we hear them sing, and are glad. The seeds ripen, and we have to eat, and we are glad. We do not want their good lands; we want our rocks, and the great mountains where our fathers lived. We are very poor; we are very ignorant; but we are very honest. You have horses and many things. You are very wise; you have a good heart. We will be friends. Nothing more have I to say.’ ”

“ Mr. Hamblin fell into conversation with one of them, and held him until the others had left, and then learned more of the particulars of the death of the three men. They came upon the Indian village almost starved and exhausted with fatigue. They were supplied with food, and put on their way to the settlements. Shortly after they had left, an Indian from the east side of the Colorado arrived at their village, and told them about a number of miners having killed a squaw in a drunken brawl, and no doubt these were the men. No person had ever come down the canyon; that was impossible; they were trying to hide their guilt. In this way he worked them into a great rage. They followed, surrounded the men in ambush, and filled them full of arrows.”

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE FRENCH COLONIES IN CHINA.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I am just arrived from Hanoi, in Tonkin, French Indo-China, where I have been attending the exhibition and the Congrès International des Orientalistes. I went there ignorant of what the French have been doing of late years. When I was in command on the coast of China, etc., just forty years ago, I avoided the near approach to the land on account of pirates, being under sail alone. The "Flying Fish" had guns, but I could not depend upon the native crew and passengers, when under the Siamese flag.

Everything I saw and learned came as a surprise to me. Considering the difficulties encountered during the past twenty years, since the French determined to force open the Red River, and that it has only been quite recently determined upon to make Hanoi the seat of government, it is simply astonishing what has been achieved. A magnificent capital for the Franco-Indo-China Colonial Empire in the extreme Orient has been raised up; and no half measures. Everything is "up to date." Electric trams to the suburbs, and on the principle thoroughfares. Electric lighting, water works, sanitation, drainage, wide boulevards well macadamised (steam rollers used). Shade trees along the sidewalks. Clean and tidy everywhere. No unsavory smells or unpleasant sights. All natives well clad and clean, evidently prospering, contented and happy under the régime of the conquering race.

The Chinese were persistent in encouraging opposition to the French occupation, and hordes of ruffians were sent into Tonkin from the southern frontiers of China. The subjection of the country was only achieved after hard fighting; and severe reverses showed the seriousness and magnitude of the task. Then the restoration of law and order and the suppression of piracy and brigandage had to be undertaken.

The French recognise the bravery of the enemy; and having—by their valor—made themselves masters of the country, they exhibit their magnanimity by treating the natives and all comers, indigenous and Chinese, with consideration, eye and with courtesy. It is a contrast to Yankee and Japanese conduct, and the French are giving others also, including the British and Dutch, object lessons in governing Asiatics that they have conquered.

The Exhibition is doing what it was intended to. The buildings are very solid, and are to be permanently utilised as headquarters for the education of military and civil officials to govern the natives, to exploit the natural resources of the coun-

try. At one colliery on the coast three hundred thousand tons of briquets were shipped. Mines, plantations, and industries are working.

The indigenes are employed everywhere; and a large number of the pick of the natives are troops, police, railway station-masters and employees. In the public offices the natives hold responsible positions. The value of native labor has become enhanced, as well as prices for products; and new productions are being developed. The indigenes are protected from outlaws; life and property are safe, and justice ably administered. In the excursions, we visitors had cause to be satisfied that the French had "Come to stay."

The native head-men came to meet us, and all the denizens of the country side flocked to gaze upon the visitors. Festive flags were displayed by the peasantry and town folk, and we were served with refreshments in the large temples and village assembly halls.

I visited a number of the temples, and the bonzes performed ceremonies and read the Buddhist scriptures. I took with me some of the vestments given me by the Japanese Cathedrals (Dai Hon Zan). Thus there were opportunities for my seeing the natives. Early every morning I went to the markets—of which there are a number—and purchased fruits and flowers. The cafés not being opened until late, I had a morning meal of fruit, bread, and light wine; then took the electric tram and visited the temples, returning in time for the Congress meetings. The exhibits at the Exhibition illustrated what is being done, and the past efforts as well as future projects to exploit the Colonies. It was altogether a delightful trip.

Kobe, Japan, Jan. 8, 1903.

C. PROUNDES.

NEW BOOKS ON SHAKESPEARE.

Three important books on the greatest figure of English literature have come to our notice within the last year. They are: (1) *William Shakespeare, Poet, Man, and Dramatist*, by Mr. Hamilton Wright Mabie;¹ (2) *What is Shakespeare? An Introduction to the Great Plays*,² by L. A. Sherman, Professor in the University of Nebraska; and (3) *Shakespeare's Portrayal of the Moral Life*,³ by Frank Chapman Sharp, Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the University of Wisconsin.

The last-named work will receive more detailed consideration in *The Monist*, as it is rather of a scientific than a literary character, laying special emphasis on its treatment of Shakespeare's criminals,—a subject which it presents in the light of modern criminal psychology.

Professor Sherman's work is a practical book written "in order to aid those who would be glad to read Shakespeare and like authors more confidently and completely." And he approaches his task, in our opinion, in the right spirit and with the right method, giving a running analysis of several plays of the type of *Cymbeline* (supposed to accompany the reading of the play) and studying in later chapters more general topics. It is a book for persons taking up Shakespeare with the serious purpose of learning to read his works with enjoyment, and of deriving from them the full intellectual and literary profit which they are capable of imparting. Vast as the sale and distribution of Shakespeare's works are, knowledge

¹ With One Hundred Illustrations, including Nine Photogravures. New York: The Macmillan Co. Pp., 421. Price, \$3.50 net.

² New York: The Macmillan Co. Pp., 414. Price, \$1.50, net.

³ New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp., 232. Price, \$1.25, net.

of him lags, and one of the reasons for this is, in Professor Sherman's opinion, the fact that the great public is not educated to his level or is perhaps largely unconscious of being so educated. To help bring about this consummation is his desire.



THE "BLACK BUST" OF SHAKESPEARE.

From a plaster cast of the original terra-cotta bust owned by the Garrick Club, London. (Mabie's *Shakespeare*.)

Mr. Mabie's book is one of distinct literary merit, great sympathy with his subject, and wide intellectual compass. It is truly the book for the lover of Shakespeare. It makes his life and times stand out for us with a vividness that could

hardly be rivalled. Shakespeare's moral, literary, and political environment; the England and Europe of his day; his Stratford-on-Avon and his London; his friends and his great contemporaries,—all are portrayed with rare charm and fidelity. The illustrations, which include the delicate photogravures of Shakespeare's home by A. W. Elson & Co. of Boston, are one hundred in number and very complete in scope. Everything pertaining to Shakespeare and the life of the England



THE GLOBE THEATRE, SOUTHWARK. THE SCENE OF SHAKESPEARE'S
GREATEST TRIUMPHS.

From a drawing in the illustrated edition of *Pennant's London*,
in the British Museum (Mabie's *Shakespeare*).

of his time is represented, making this feature of the volume a rare possession in itself; three of these illustrations we are able by the courtesy of the publishers to reproduce. But the pictorial and descriptive side of Mr. Mabie's performance is not its sole merit. He has also furnished us with much that is valuable in criticism and appreciation, thus rendering admirers of the bard of Avon doubly indebted to him.

The precise nature of Mr. Mabie's work is best characterised in his own words. It was prepared, he says, "with the hope that it may bring the greatest



FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST FOLIO EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S "TEMPEST." (Mabie's *Shakespeare*.)

of English poets more distinctly before the minds of some of his readers, and widen the interest in a body of poetry rich beyond most literature in the qualities

which not only give deep and fresh interest to life, but which make for the liberation and enrichment of the human spirit. As the Spokesman of a race to which has fallen a large share of the government of the modern world, and as the chief exponent in literature of the fundamental conception of life held by the Western world at a time when the thought of the East and the West are being brought into searching comparison, Shakespeare must be studied in the near future with a deeper recognition of the significance of his work and its value as a source of spiritual culture. In these chapters the endeavor has been made to present the man as he is disclosed by the results of the long and loving study of a group of scholars, chiefly English, German, and American, who have searched the whole field of contemporary literature, records, and history with infinite patience and with keen intelligence, by the history of his time, and by a study of his work. The plays have been presented in those aspects which throw light on the dramatist's life, thought, and art; the many and interesting questions which have been discussed with great ingenuity and at great length by Shakespearian scholars have been touched upon only as they directly affect the history, thought, or art of the poet." μ.

A POMPEIIAN MOSAIC.

THE OLDEST RELIC OF THE ORIGINAL CHRIST-MYSTERIES.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

This mosaic which many years ago was found in "the tanner's house" in Pompeii is now in the Museo Nazionale at Naples, under the name of *Cratino Umano* (No. 109982); accordingly, it dates back *nearly to the time of Christ*—Pompeii was destroyed in the year 79 of our era. The ideas that may be expressed by the figures of this mosaic are, consequently, also from the time of Christ—which must be considered interesting at all events. (See accompanying cut.)

The central and dominating figure of the mosaic is a skull in which two peculiarities are noticeable: a large left ear, and indications of eyes in the dark eye-holes. To the right of the skull are a ragged mantle, a staff and scrip; to the left there are a knight's mantle, a lance and scarp. Above the skull is a level and under it a butterfly above the wheel of time (an Egyptian symbol).

These figures appear to be a "key of life," since they give a clear description of the way to the goal of early life (which goal is called, incorrectly, "salvation"),—a true statement of the development that alone can carry man to the next step of the ladder of evolution. Here let us consider some of the ideas that can be found in our mosaic.

The *wander* symbols say: If man is to reach the goal of life, then he must turn away from the animal, sensual life, leaving the ways of the low life. The symbol of *Death*: during this wandering the low attributes of his nature—the animal remnants—will lose life. The *knight's* symbols: as, by and by, the animal nature disappears, so a new nature, that of the "God-Man," will appear; and as a "knight"—i. e., as a ruler of the animal!—this man will, aided by divine powers, conquer "the land of the fathers," i. e., *realise the union with God*. The *building* symbol indicates that this development is a slow process, as the placing of stone upon stone when a house is erected. The symbol of *new life* (the butterfly) means that this process is a natural process, as natural as the resurrection of the butterfly in its "fullness of time." Finally, the symbol of *time* is interpreted to

mean that this development *is to be realised here*, while the wheel of time is rolling on, and before the death of the physical body.

These ideas of wandering, of building, of knights' contests, of new life through death, are entirely Christian, and it seems strange that this was not understood long ago; the reason may be that the "Christianism" which, principally, tries to



POMPEIIAN MOSAIC.

avoid the punishment of sins (i. e., to *avoid being educated by the perfect Father*)—that "Christianism" cannot maintain the old ideal: "Be ye perfect, as your Father in the heavens is perfect," Matth. v. 48.

Behold! According to the Gospels the Christian is a *wanderer*: he wanders from earth to heaven, from darkness to light—from Egypt to Canaan (compare

St. Paul). Following after the Christ, upon *via dolorosa*, does he seek Death for "the old man who is corrupted by delusive lusts." He is *building*, working at the inner temple of God (St. Paul), and "he builds his house upon a rock." He is a *knight*: doubly powerful, as he is the ruler of the animal, does he struggle incessantly with the enemies that would prevent him from living in "the land of the fathers";—and you remember how St. Paul (in Eph. vi.) describes the "full panoply of God" in which the Christos-knight is to be invested. He seeks *the new life*, that of regeneration, the resurrection of the butterfly¹ from the chrysalis state. And behold, how *the Gospels explain to us the left ear and the eyes of the skull*: Man wandering upon the way of Death, will hear the voice of truth, "and understand by the heart" (the *left ear*, therefore), and he will see the perfect light. The *wheel of time*, finally, is also, in the spiritual meaning, an essential symbol of original Christianity:

"I must work . . . while it is day. Night cometh, when no man can work." John ix. 4.

But, some one may say, the mosaic contains no *allusion to Jesus Christ*. It does—it has two! The level has the shape of an A—which shape was not necessary at all!—, and the wheel contains an O. Should not this be A and O, "*Alpha and Omega*," which is one of the names of the Christ (Revelation i. 8 and xxii. 13)? And in the wheel of time we find the figure * which is the *very oldest sign for "Jesus Christ,"* i. e., the Latin I, and the Greek X; and this combination of Latin and Greek is even characteristic for the time of transition called "the time of Christ."

At the excavation of Pompeii, we have been told, there was found upon a wall the following inscription:

"Rejoice in the fire, Christians."

This inscription has been taken as mockery at the Christians; but the meaning may very well be quite another. For the primitive Christians were struggling for perfection "like that of the heavenly Father"; therefore they rejoiced in the fire, in *the fire of purification*—this may be the reason why the background of our mosaic has the green color of hope.

* * *

The possible meaning of *the colors* of the mosaic may also be worth considering. Several utterances of the Revelation (for instance, iii. 4, ii. 17, vi. 6, xii. 3) together with the extensive color-symbolism, still to be found—although often misshapen and misunderstood—in the Roman Church, make it evident also that *the primitive Christ-Mysteries used colors as signs for certain ideas*. And this must be considered quite natural; for *light* is the only medium of messages from heaven to earth and it is, therefore, the natural symbol of *perfect truth*, coming from God; and the various modifications of the light, called *colors*, which are produced by its "refraction" by earthly things, correspond naturally with *the modifications of perfect truth*, produced through its "refraction" by terrestrial matters.

The white light can be decomposed, you know, into *Red, Yellow, and Blue*. This can also be taken spiritually: man cannot comprehend the divine "uncolored," truth; and she modifies herself for his sake as *Love, Wisdom, and Strength*—or however we are to name this divine trinity and unity. Possibly the key of color symbolism of our fathers might be this:

¹ The Greek word *Psyche* (used, for instance, in Job. xii. 25) means "soul" and—"butterfly"!

Red is the symbol of *Love*.

Yellow is the symbol of *Wisdom*.

Blue is the symbol of *Strength*.

Probably our fathers, who were "guileless as doves," have thought as follows: man's blood is *red*, because his life emanated from divine love. The red sky of morning and evening tells us that the love of God is the beginning and end of all things—and when young folks use a red pink to say: "I love thee!" then that is most profound, indeed! The gold is *yellow*, because it is the symbol of perfect wisdom, which "rust cannot devour"; and when the sky is *blue*, it is to tell man about the almighty God who "made the expanse in the midst of the waters," with its numberless dwellings.

Certainly there is a deep meaning in the tale of the *rainbow* that was set in the clouds as a sign of God's covenant with man: according to his love, wisdom, and power, He will no more destroy man by flood, but lead him to the goal—even if the way be long. Also in accordance with this the *High Priest* (Num. viii. 7) seems to be invested. The inner dress was "fine linen," which indicates: white; the outer garments and ornaments were "gold, blue, purple, and scarlet," accordingly the three primary colors. When we assume that the high priest represents the perfect ego in man, the *God-Man*, then we shall easily comprehend why he was to be dressed in that manner.

The three primitive colors produce three mixed colors: *Reddish-yellow*, *Green*, *Violet*. Also these colors have, apparently, a natural-symbolical signification. The flame of the altar of sacrifice is *reddish-yellow*: it is love and wisdom that, united, teach man to sacrifice the animal, i. e., his own animal nature, upon the altar. The *green* color (union of blue and yellow) is the color of hope: when man has wisdom to see the activity in the universe of the divine power, then hope is born in him. "Friendship is *violet*," they say, and that is quite correct; for as red and blue make violet, so is true friendship the union of love and strength. How significantly did necessity put in order the colors of the rainbow: red, orange, yellow, green, blue, violet, i. e., love, sacrifice, wisdom, hope, strength, friendship; for love causes sacrifice, sacrifice will bear wisdom, from wisdom hope emanates, hope gives strength—and strength will lift man into "*the friendship of God, which will take man to the highest summit of blessedness*" (Philo) and is, therefore, the *last aim of life*. How do we wish men to understand this simple truth: *man's eye can sense only a few of the violet rays!*

Nearly so our good fathers may have conceived the basis of color-symbolism; and we dare not forget that men long before "the time of Christ" knew this truth: "As below, so above" (Hermes Trismegistus), which says that the cause of all that *is* and *happens* in the physical world is something that *is* and *happens* in the psychical world.

And now we return to our mosaic, whose colors it will not be difficult to explain.

The *Skull* is gray: a mixture of the colors of Perfection and Death. This is quite right; for man's wandering through the desert of purification has only one purpose: to separate that which is eternal from the imperfect and transitory with which it has been mixed. The *wandering* symbols are grayish; for they belong to him that is upon the way of death. The mantle, however, is more red, the staff more yellow, and the scrip bluish,—which is all as it should be! For he who is wandering unto death must conceal his nakedness with the mantle of love, must lean upon the staff of wisdom—and in the strength of God is the food which will

keep up his life during his wandering in the desert. The *building* symbol has also the three primary colors: the wood is nearly red, the nails are yellow, the *plumb* is blue; for love, even if it be imperfect, is the substance of temple work, wisdom *determines* its form (as the nails of the level make firm its shape)—but the divine strength is that which enables man to build so that the produce does not fall to the earth spontaneously. The *knight's* symbols are, of course, also red (the mantle), yellow (the lance), and blue (the blade of the lance)—for God's strength will strike down the enemies who will prevent the building warrior from living in the land of the fathers. The butterfly, symbol of *regeneration*, has—also of course—the three primitive colors that we now have mentioned so very often: for she is the representative of the High Priest! The *wheel of time*, finally, is reddish-yellow; for it must be a flaming wheel of fire: "The chaff is to be burned with inextinguishable fire"—and this our life is destined for the separation and annihilation of "the chaff."

On the mosaic are, as far as we can see, two *white* figures: the string of the level, and the scarp of the knight. The string in man which points towards the center of the earth, and towards the highest point of the sky—you may call this string "conscience," or something else—this string is white: it is the Divine in man. But in the warrior it will grow until, like a scarp, it will twine round his whole being. Maybe there is (it was there about twenty years ago) on the upper part of the blue blade of the lance a *white square* like this:



Probably this figure is explained by the mystic words of Rev. ii. 17:

"To him that overcometh will I give . . . a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written."

CARL MICHELSEN.

St. John's day, 1902.

MR. MICHELSEN'S POMPEIIAN MOSAIC.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS.

Mr. Michelsen's "Pompeian Mosaic" is very interesting, and its reproduction will be welcome to the readers of *The Open Court*, although we cannot accept his interpretation that we are here confronted with Christian symbolism. The truth is that the ideas which permeated Christianity, viz., that life is transient, that all living beings are wanderers to a goal that can be reached only in the consummation of death, and that we have to struggle for the attainment of the eternal, were quite common all over the Roman empire during the first century of the Christian era. The Stoic philosophers are imbued with the same spirit; the life and teachings of Apollonius of Tyana reflect the same views; and the Mithraic religion is so similar to Christianity in all these and in a few other points, that for a long time it was a powerful rival, contending for supremacy in the Western world.

Mr. Michelsen's interpretation of the level as *A* and the wheel as *O* is rather bold. The wheel, in addition, is a symbol frequently used by other religions, especially Buddhism. The spokes of the wheel, it is true, form a six-rayed star, but there is not the slightest reason to interpret it as the symbol of *I* and *X* (the Greek *CH*), to mean *Jesus Christ*. The same six-rayed star served as the symbol of Julius Cæsar, and in many other ways.

The butterfly has been a symbol of the human soul among the Greeks since time immemorial, so much so that the words *soul* and *butterfly* are both called *psyche* in Greek. The presence of the butterfly proves that the owner of the house in which the mosaic was found not only believed in the transiency of life, but also in immortality.

Though the color interpretations of Mr. Michelsen are ingenious, we have not the slightest reason to believe that his ideas prevailed among the early Christians.

Summa summarum, the Pompeiian Mosaic is interesting as proving the prevalence of religious meditation on the vanity of life and the hope that after his journey's end man will reach an eternal goal. But we may be sure that the man who put it up in his house knew nothing as yet of Christ or Christian doctrines. Had he been a Christian, he would certainly have given expression to his faith by some definite Christian symbol,—the fish or the $\Lambda\omega$, or the Christogram. P. C.

FROM THE ADI GRANTH.

I.

Say not that this or that distasteful is,
In all the dear Lord dwells,—they all are his.

Grieve not the humblest heart; all hearts that are,
Are priceless jewels, all are rubies rare.

Ah! If thou long'st for thy Beloved, restrain
One angry word that gives thy brother pain.

II.

All creatures, Lord, are thine, and thou art theirs,
One bond Creator with created shares;

To whom, O Maker! must they turn and weep
If not to thee, their Lord, who dost all keep?

All living creatures, Lord, were made by thee,
Where thou hast fixed their station, there they be.

For them thou dost prepare their daily bread,
Out of thy lovingkindness they are fed;

On each the bounties of thy mercy fall,
And thy compassion reaches to them all.

III.

One understanding to all flesh He gives,
Without that understanding nothing lives;

As is their understanding,—they are so;
The Reckoning is the same. They come and go.

The faithful watch-dog that does all he can,
Is better far than the unprayerful man.

Birds in their purse of silver have no store
But them the almighty Father watches o'er.

They say who kill, they do but what they may,
Lawful they deem the bleating lamb to slay ;

When God takes down the eternal Book of Fate,
Oh, tell me what, what then will be their state ?

He who towards every living thing is kind,
Ah ! he, indeed, shall true religion find !

IV.

Great is the warrior who has killed within
Self,—Self which is still root and branch of sin.

"I, I," still cries the World, and gads about,
Reft of the Word which Self has driven out.

V.

Thou, Lord, the cage,—the parrot, see ! 'Tis I !
Yama the cat : he looks and passes by.

By Yama bound my mind can never be,
I call on Him who Yama made and me.

The Lord eternal is : what should I fear ?
However low I fall, he still will hear.

He tends his creatures as a mother mild
Tends with untiring love her little child.

VI.

I do not die : the world within me dies :
Now, now, the Vivifier vivifies ;

Sweet is the world,—ah ! very sweet it is,
But through its sweets we lose the eternal bliss !

Perpetual joy, the inviolate mansion, where
There is no grief, woe, error, sin, nor care ;

Coming and going and death, enter not in ;
The changeless only there an entrance win.

Whosoe'er dieth, born again must be,
Die thou whilst living, and thou wilt be free !

VII.

He, the Supreme, no limit has nor end,
And what ~~he~~ is how can *we* comprehend ?

Once did a wise man say: "He only knows
God's nature to whom God his mercy shows."

E. MARTINENGO-CESARESCO.

ARTICLES ON THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY.

It is natural that Emperor William asked himself what effect on Christianity an application of the Higher Criticism to the New Testament would have, and we prophesy that the problem of the origin of Christianity will now come more and more to the front. We have long prepared our readers for a better comprehension of the subject by publishing in both *The Monist* and *The Open Court* series of articles intended to shed light on the religious conditions in the age of Christ. We call special attention to the following titles: "The Birth of Christianity," by Prof. H. Grätz, published in *The Open Court* for November, 1899; "Apollonius of Tyana," by T. Whittaker, published in *The Monist* for January, 1903; a series of articles on Mithraism, by Prof. Franz Cumont, which appeared in *The Open Court* during the year 1902; a series of articles on the relation of Buddhism to Christianity, by Albert J. Edmunds, which appeared in *The Open Court* for the past two years; "Gnosticism in its Relation to Christianity" (*Monist*, July, 1898), an essay which proves that Gnosticism existed prior to Christianity, and that Christianity itself was a Gnostic movement which by its superiority remained victorious according to the law of the survival of the fittest; "The Food of Life and the Sacrament" (*Monist*, January, 1900, and April, 1900), a discussion of the sacrament showing its relations to the ceremonies of sacramental God-eating and religious cannibalism in general; "The Personality of Jesus and His Historical Relation to Christianity" (*Monist*, July, 1900), including an allusion to the Resurrection problem; "The Greek Mysteries, A Preparation for Christianity" (*Monist*, 1900); "The Fairy-Tale Element in the Bible" (*Monist*, April, 1900, and July, 1900), containing translations of the Babylonian Creation and Deluge tablets; "Yahveh and Manitou" (*Monist*, April, 1899), comparing the beliefs of the nomadic Israelites and the American Indians, both being characteristic of a certain phase of man's religious evolution; "Jew and Gentile in Early Christianity" (*Monist*, January, 1901); "The Nativity" (*Open Court*, December, 1899), showing similarities in religious art; "The Lord's Prayer" (*Open Court*, August, 1898); "Babylonian and Hebrew Views of Man's Fate After Death" (*Open Court*, June, 1901); "Seven" (*Open Court*, June, 1901, and July, 1901), showing the Babylonian origin of the sacredness of the number seven; "Pagan Elements of Christianity and the Significance of Jesus" (*Monist*, April, 1902); "Alpha and Omega" (*Open Court*, October, 1902); "Zarathushtra" (*Open Court*, June, 1900); "Mithraism and Its Influence on Christianity" (*Open Court*, February, 1903).

The climax is capped by an article, to appear in the next or the following *Monist*, by Hermann Gunkel, Professor of Old Testament Theology in the University of Berlin, and the well-known author of *The Legends of Genesis, Commentary on Genesis, Creation and Chaos*, and other productions of remarkable scholarship. He has written an article entitled "The Religio-Historical Interpretation of the New Testament," which is as bold and radical in outlining the nature of the New Testament as is Dr. Delitzsch's article concerning the composition of the Old Testament.

While we were preparing the present number of *The Open Court*, a pamphlet

under the name *The Age of Christ* has been printed, and will be ready for the market within a few days. It discusses in brief outline the problem of the origin of Christianity, touching upon several of the problems discussed in the articles mentioned above.

P. C.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

BEITRÄGE ZUR KRITIK DES PSYCHOPHYSISCHEN PARALLELISMUS VOM STANDPUNKTE DER ENERGETIK. Von *Edward Gleason Spaulding*. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1900. Pages, vii, 109.

This essay was worked out in the psychological seminary of Prof. B. Erdmann of Bonn, and the Professor warns us in a prefatory remark attached generally to the labors of his scholars, that since they enjoy full liberty of investigation, he must not be considered responsible for their results. Spaulding criticises the theory of parallelism, although he grants that everything depends upon definition, for the word is utilised in various ways, sometimes as a correlation of two factors and sometimes as an extension of the law of energy. He accepts the main characteristics of parallelism according to the interpretation of Mach, Hering, and Müller. He opposes both Wundt and Sigwart,—the former an opponent of the theory of parallelism, the latter its main advocate and supporter; and finally comes to the conclusion that "not the psychical, the ego, the free will, or any Copernican standpoint, but the physical, energy, plays the main part in cosmic processes. Consciousness originates and passes away; matter persists. 'Within the individual,' we can say with Fechner, 'physical conditions are active underneath the threshold and condition the causal connection.' Ganglia, the ends of nerve fibres, are physiological elements; they are subject to the law of energy, of conservation, of unequivocality, and the law of entropy. Moreover, the fate of consciousness, the soul of man, is irredeemably tied to the moral course of the universe, which takes no account of man."

K.

ELEMENTI DI ETICA. Di *Giovanni Vidari*, Professor all' Università di Palermo, Milan: Ulrico Hoepli. 1902. Pages, 334.

The mention of this work, *The Elements of Ethics*, by Giovanni Vidari, of the University of Palermo, affords opportunity of commenting upon the great publishing activity of Italy, which, according to the statistics of the year just passed, produced more books than the United States. The series "Manuali Hoepli," of which Professor Vidari's book forms a volume, was begun in November, 1901, and now counts some 700 volumes,—manuals of small format, running from 100 to 400 pages, and treating of every branch of science from mathematics and astronomy to agriculture, and of every branch of literature, law, history, language, education, art, industry, commerce, and sports. The series is intended for independent students and the general public, and is international in its character to the extent of containing many translations from the other languages of Europe. Professor Vidari's work, here mentioned, is a simple and popular exposition of the conception of ethics laid down in a larger work by him, and forms a compendium of the subject intended for young men in academies, high schools, and colleges, as well as for all educated persons desirous of obtaining an idea of the direction which the modern study of ethics is assuming.

A new revised and popular edition of *Supernatural Religion; An Inquiry Into the Reality of Divine Revelation*, originally issued for the Rationalist Press Association, has just been published by Watts & Co., of London. It is a thorough-going examination of the evidence on which the miraculous and supernatural elements of Christianity repose, conducted from the rationalist point of view, and is by its large bulk of some 900 odd pages a full synopsis of the arguments of liberal thought on the tenability of historical Christianity. (Price, 6 shillings net.) The same house has also just issued a critical examination of *Mr. Balfour's Apologetics*. It will be remembered that Mr. Balfour in his books of some years ago, especially in his *Foundations of Belief*, undertook to show that it was not only reasonable and consistent with a scientific attitude of mind to believe in the Christian religion in a modified form, but that in addition "the great body of our beliefs, scientific, ethical, theological, form a more coherent and satisfactory whole if we consider them in a Christian setting than if we consider them in a naturalistic one." The author of the work under consideration takes up "the gauntlet thus thrown down," confident that the truth will prevail and that all Mr. Balfour's main positions "will yield to a determined assault,"—an assault which has been vigorously and skilfully conducted. (Price, 3s. 6d. net.) Both these books are typographically well got up.

The Temples of the Orient and Their Message in the Light of Holy Scripture, Dante's Vision, and Bunyan's Allegory is the title of a collection of notes by the author of *Clear Round!* "offered as a solution of the perplexing thoughts and questions summed up in the five words, *What does it all mean?*" As "the New Testament lies concealed in the Old," so the Old cannot "be fully enjoyed without using the key to its meaning which Orientalists and archæologists offer." The purpose of the disconnected comments of this volume, culled from the religious lore of the ages, is to show that the god of the Christian scriptures is the god to whom all religious souls in all ages have prayed. A map of the ancient temples, as here interpreted in the light they cast upon the Holy Scriptures, is prefixed to the volume. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1902. Pages, viii, 442.)

Animism and Law is the title of a pamphlet of eighteen pages by Ananda Maitriya, published by a Buddhist missionary society of Rangoon, Burma, and is an exposition of the significance of Buddhism. Thus the title is misleading, and we might substitute for law, religion. Law in the present case is a translation of *Dhamma*, that is doctrine, especially the doctrine of the Buddhist religion. The author, perhaps at present, next to Dharmapāla, the most active propagandist of the Buddhist religion, claims that all prior religions are animistic, that Buddhism is the higher view which abolishes the superstitions of savage animism, and teaches a religion in harmony with pure views, thus constituting a religion that would not come into conflict even with the science to-day. (Price, four annas.)

The success of the recent revivals of classical and romantic themes has induced Mr. Charles S. Elgutter, of Omaha, to dramatise the story of *Iphigenia at Aulis*. It is a theme of universal and intensely pathetic interest, and in the hands of Euripides became one of the most widely known stories of antiquity. Mr. Elgutter has drawn up his play on entirely modern lines. (Omaha: Press of Clement Chase. Printed for private circulation. Pages, 100.)

In *The Life of Jesus of Nazareth*, Professor Rush Rhees of the Newton Theological Institution has attempted rather "to bring the Man Jesus before the mind in the reading of the gospels" than to discuss questions of geography, archæology, and doctrine. In our study of Christ, he would have us begin as the apostles and evangelists began, whose "recognition of the divine nature of Jesus was a conclusion from their acquaintance with him. . . . Their knowledge of him progressed in the natural way from the human to the divine." And it is because God chose "to reveal the divine through a human life rather than through a series of propositions which formulate truth," that our author has initially approached his subject from its purely human side. The work is written from a purely orthodox point of view, but is the result of the study of the most recent and best theological literature. So far as historical matters are concerned, it is only on minor points of detail in the portrayal of the secular environment in which Jesus was placed that we should be constrained to differ from the author. But in some more essential matters the case is different. For example, the author, in acknowledging the great difficulties offered by miracles to modern thought, remarks by way of justification that it is nevertheless "fair to insist that the question is one of evidence, not of metaphysical possibility." Again, in stating that the idea of a miraculous birth is very foreign to modern thought, the author adds that "it becomes credible only as the transcendent nature of Jesus is recognised on other grounds;" and while intimating that the Incarnation did not require miraculous conception, he says: "It may be acknowledged that a miraculous conception is a most suitable method for a divine Incarnation." Here again it is a question, not of "metaphysical possibility," but of "evidence!" We hardly think that these solutions answer the question from a purely scientific point of view, but in any event they exhibit very distinctly both the strength and the weakness of the situation. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1900. Pages, xvii, 320. Price, \$1.25.)

A book that we can recommend to all aspiring students is Mr. Frank Cramer's *Talks to Students on the Art of Study*. Mr. Cramer has many sound and practical ideas on methods of study, and has made it his purpose not to supply a manual of psychology, logic, or pedagogy, but "to furnish effective suggestion to the student who is passing through the critical period of his intellectual life, while the mental powers are plastic but on the point of setting. The writer believes that with helpful suggestion, youth can in a measure be its own instructor in the matter of the right training of its powers. The first essential to this end is that it shall see clearly what is wanted." (San Francisco: The Hoffman-Edwards Company. 1902. Pages, vi, 309.)

Mr. Ernest Crosby's *Swords and Plowshares*, issued last year by the Funk & Wagnalls Company, is a collection of poetic utterances against warfare, oppression, and cruelty in every form. Sometimes rhapsodic and Waltwhitmannian in form, they are also again very impressive, and give a vivid picture of the Tolstoyan philosophy of which Mr. Crosby is an enthusiastic disciple. (Pp., 126. Price, cloth, \$1.00 net.)

We acknowledge the receipt from the Dürsch'schen Buchhandlung, of Leipsic, of a pamphlet by Stephan Waetzoldt containing three lectures of philological and literary interest on (1) "The Early Language of Goethe;" (2) "Goethe and Romanticism;" (3) "Goethe's Ballads." (Pp. 76. Price, M. 1.60.)

Dr. C. E. Linebarger is doing valuable service in his publication of reprints of Science Classics, "Selections from the writings of the pioneers of science," so edited as to be within the comprehension of the beginner in science. This is a work that has long been needed and is a departure from the well-known Ostwald series in German by its being adapted to the purpose of elementary instruction in science. The first of the series is Lavoisier's famous *Analysis of Air and Water*, and a transcript of the original papers of Joule on the *Mechanical Equivalent of Heat* is promised. We also desire to call attention in this connection to Dr. Linebarger's little magazine, *School Science*, a journal of science-teaching in secondary schools, which no teacher of science should be without. It is certainly fulfilling a significant purpose, and appears to be very effectively conducted. A mathematical supplement to the journal is promised, which shall be devoted to the problems of secondary mathematical teaching and will aim to render instruction in this science more practical and more organic.

The number of the really good manuals for teachers is increasing so rapidly that no ambitious instructor can very well excuse himself for being ignorant of the most advanced methods of instruction in his department, and we have now to note with pleasure the appearance of an admirable work on *The Teaching of Chemistry and Physics in the Secondary School* by Dr. Alexander Smith of the University of Chicago and Dr. Edwin H. Hall, of Harvard. In point of completeness and practicability the volume leaves little to be desired; the bibliography is very comprehensive; the modes and needs of instruction are considered in all their aspects; and the laboratory equipment amply discussed. The authors have taken a plain, common-sense view of the problems presented in their respective fields, and instructors in chemistry and physics will do well to seek counsel with them. (New York, London, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. Pages, 377. Price, cloth, \$1.50.)

Dr. S. S. Laurie, Professor of the Institutes and History of Education in the University of Edinburgh, has made a selection of the more permanent of his essays and addresses on educational topics and offered them to the educational public in an attractive volume entitled *The Training of Teachers and Methods of Instruction*. The lectures are stimulating and important for the insight they give into British theories of education. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1901. Pp., 295. Price, \$1.50.)

Instructors in physics will derive considerable historical and methodological information from Dr. Nikolaus Bödige's little German pamphlet *The Principle of Archimedes as a Basis of Experiments in Practical Physics*, published by Meinders & Elstermann, Osnabrück. The book is illustrated with some old prints of aerometers of the time of Robert Boyle, Roberval, and Fahrenheit. The illustrations are twenty-nine in all.

The Fonic Publishing House of Ringos, N. J., sends us a copy of a book apparently written in Icelandic and entitled *Hvot iz the Sol? Haz the Dog a Sol?* by Dr. C. W. Larisun. We await with interest the translation of this interesting "sicologic" study of canine life into English.

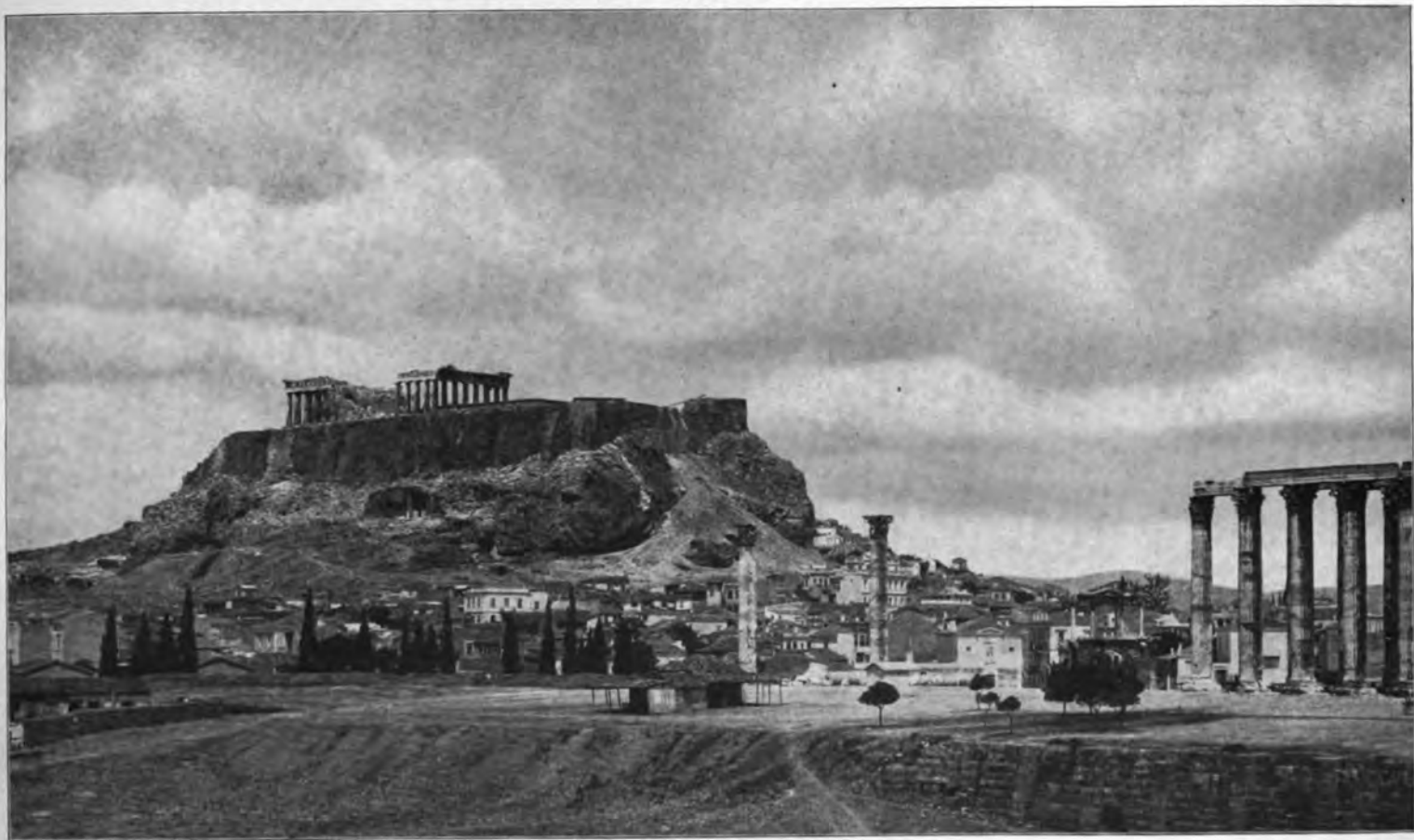
Watts & Co., 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, have published a cheap edition (6d.) of Spencer's *Essays on Education*.

It is difficult to conjecture the purpose which inspired Mr. James V. Fernald, we shall not say in compiling, but in publishing, his work *Scientific Sidelights*, which illustrates "thousands of topics by selections from standard works of the masters of science throughout the world." The redeeming feature of the work is its splendid indexes, but there seems to have been no leading idea as to the selection of the topics nor any just measure of proportion exhibited in the assignment of space. With a predilection the lack of which would render any of Funk & Wagnall's publications intensely uninteresting, alcohol has been accorded more extended mention than agriculture or art. And when one comes across such entries as "Beauty of Nature Secondary in Greek Poetry," or "Science adds Glory to the Vision of Redemption," or "Thirst of Alpine Climbers—Milk a Perfect Refreshment,"—one wonders what one will not find in the work. It is a collection of scraps the majority of which are valuable enough in themselves, as being original quotations from great inquirers and writers of prominence; and in running through the pages of the work one will find much that is instructive. (Pages, viii, 917. Price, \$5.00 net.)

M. Fr. Paulhan, the French psychologist, continues his studies of intellectual types in a new work *Analystes et esprits synthétiques*. All the processes of the mind are but the variations or the results of the two opposed factors of analysis and synthesis, and consequently the division of mental types into those that analyse and those that synthesise too much. M. Paulhan's former work on *Logical Minds and Illogical Minds* attracted much attention. (Paris: F. Alcan. Pages, 196. Price, 2 fr. 50.)

The false report that the Japanese Buddhists would convene a Religious Parliament caused a poor Hindu priest and one of his disciples to travel to Japan, only to be disappointed at learning that the leading Buddhist priests had nothing to do with the project. Being without means, he became at once an object of charity. Accounts of his sorrowful story and incidents connected with the rumor of the Congress fill the columns of both the foreign and native papers of Japan.

A correspondent writes us *a propos* of the article "Lay Church" in the January *Open Court* as follows: "I see in this Lay Church plan one of the greatest movements of modern times. We are evidently on the verge, if I may so express it, of a restatement of the religious problem, and a vent should be afforded the ferment of thought. This may be the real problem of the twentieth century."



THE ACROPOLIS FROM THE SOUTHEAST.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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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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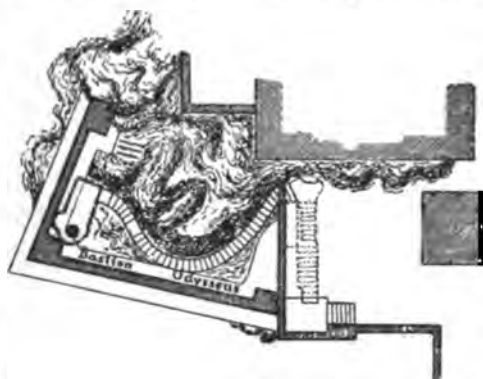
THE ACROPOLIS.¹

BY THE EDITOR.

THE stronghold of Athens, or as the Athenians called it, the Acropolis, i. e., "the town on the mountain top," is an historical spot of most extraordinary significance. It is the site of the first settlement which was made in prehistoric times by the Pelasgian inhabitants of Attica. The steep hill could be easily defended, and a spring of good water (called Clepsydra) issued from its western slope, which (presumably at a very ancient date) had been made accessible from the plateau by a staircase hewn in the rock.

Apparently the Acropolis was very well fortified from the earliest days, and the enemy had to force three walls before its inhabitants

would surrender. The base of the Acropolis was surrounded by the Pelargicon which is referred to as Enneapylon, i. e., as having nine gates. The second line of defence was the natural declivity of the rock which, however, had to be strengthened in several places by artificial means. It was fortified with special care in historical

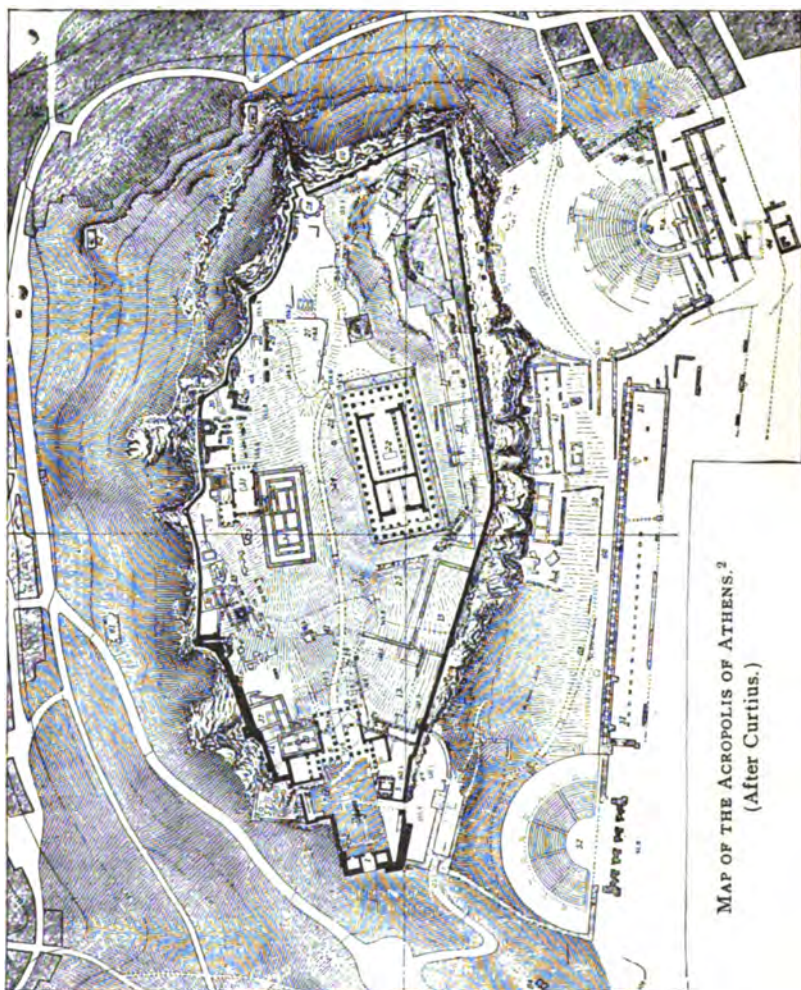


THE WINDING STAIRCASE IN THE BASTION OF
ODYSSEUS LEADING DOWN TO THE FORTI-
FIED SPRING CLEPSYDRA.²

¹ The numbers in brackets refer to the map of the Acropolis.

² The Bastion built by Odysseus Andronikos during the war of independence has recently been removed.

times by Cimon; hence this wall is called after him "the Cimonian wall." The western slope shows remnants of the foundation



of Cyclopian¹ walls so called [3]. The highest part of the plateau

¹ Remnants of large Pelasgian works were frequently credited to the Cyclops.

² LEGEND OF THE MAP OF THE ACROPOLIS. 1. Gate with square towers, built by Christian emperors. 2. Ancient altar, recently excavated. 3. Fragments of a prehistoric wall, recently excavated. 4. Modern entrance. 4a. Niche in the rock (sacred to Ge Kourotrophos). 5. Fane of Athene Nike, as Goddess of Victory. 6. Propylaea, the main entrance, built by Phidias under Pericles. 7. Monument of Agrippa. 8. Passage to the well. 9. Fane of Athene Hygieia. 10. Cistern. 11. Water conduit. 12, 13, 12. Pelasgian walls. 13. Brauroneion. 14. Steps in the rock. 15. Armory. 16. Staircase in the Pelasgian wall. 17. Buttress of the Pelasgian wall. 18. An ancient building. 19. Votive monument of Attalos. 20. Modern museum. 21. Small museum, built

was again secured by a wall, the stones of which indicate a Pelasgian¹ origin [12].

This inner courtyard contained the habitations [35] of the prehistoric residents, especially the Basileion, or royal palace [29] of their chief, the King of Attica, an emergency well [39], and a meeting-place [32].



THE CIMONIAN WALL ON THE NORTHERN DECLIVITY OF THE ACROPOLIS.

Exterior view. Capitals of the columns of the Hecatompèdon and other fragments are visible in several places. (Compare the illustration on page 204.)

The Acropolis is the nucleus of Athens; it was, even as late as the Persian Wars, the last refuge of the citizens, and formed the religious center of public worship. Here stood the shrines of

upon remnants of the Pelasgian wall. 22. Parthenon. 23. Broad steps leading to the western terrace of the Parthenon. 24. Statue of Ge Karpophoros (the Fruit-bearing Earth). 25. Cistern. 26. Temple of Roma. 27. A terrace, forming the highest place of the Acropolis. 28. A modern structure. 29. Remnants of the Pelasgian palace. 30. An ancient staircase. 31. Erechtheion. 32. Pelasgian terrace. 33. Rock-formation. 34. Hecatompèdon. 35. Foundation-stones of Pelasgian habitations. 36. A square building without any significance. 37. A hall, and within, a cistern. 38. Staircase at the Agrauleion. 39. An ancient well. 40. Statue of Athene Promachos. 41. Postament. 42. Theater of Dionysos. 43. The orchestra of the theater. 44. Two temples of Dionysos, the smaller one is the older sanctuary and was the nucleus from which the theater with its stage-performances developed. 45. Monument of Thrasyllus, an agonistic victor; erected in the Hellenistic era simultaneously with the Nikias monument (latter part of the fourth century B. C.). 46. Columns with tripods, erected in honor of Dionysos. 47. Asclepieion, sacred to the god of Healing. 48. Grotto with spring. 49. Well. 50. Wall of terrace. 51, 51. Hall of Eumenes. 52. Music hall (Odeion). 53. The spring Clepsydra. 54. Grotto of Apollon. 55. Grotto of Pan. 56. Exit of a subterraneous passage which started from a place forty meters west of the Erechtheion and led into a rent in the rock [57] downward through a tunnel to the spot almost opposite the chapel of the Seraphim [61]. 57. A rent in the rock with staircase, presumably an ancient emergency passage. 58. Inscription of Peripatos. 59, 59, 59. Votive niches in the rock. 60, 60, 60. Caves in the northern and western slope of the rock. 61. Chapel of the Seraphim. 62. Chapel of St. Simeon. 63. Chapel of St. George. 64. Remnants of the Pelargicon in the southwest. 65. Remnants of the Pelargicon facing the ancient armory. 66. Ancient road.

¹ The oldest inhabitants of Greece are called, the Pelasgians, i. e., the ancient ones, and they are frequently regarded as a special race in contrast to the Ionians, the Dorians, and other Greek tribes. The name Pelargicon may be a corruption of Pelasgicon.

the aborigines, the Erechtheion¹ [31], supposedly founded by Attica's mythical King, Erechtheus, and dedicated to Athene Polias, i. e., the patron of the city. Here rose the Parthenon [22], i. e., the virgin's temple, dedicated to Pallas Athene Parthenos, the virgin goddess. The latter, built in the days of Pericles, served as the state treasury of the Athenian confederacy, for many temples were then used as banking institutions. We know through Herodotos



THE CARYATIDS OF THE ERECHTHEION.²

that deposits were made in temples, and Delphi was probably the largest international bank of the age.

On the southern slope of the Acropolis are the great theater

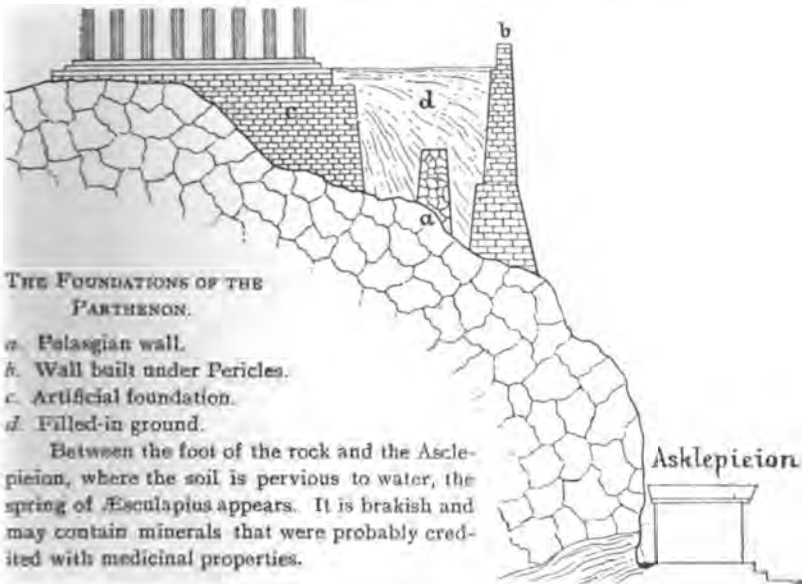
¹ In the transliteration of Greek names we prefer to adhere as closely as possible to their original forms. Thus, we say *Erechtheion*, not *Erechtheum*. The transcription of the Greek *h* to *c* has become so inveterate that we prefer to leave it whenever usage has sanctioned it.

² This beautiful balcony is called the Hall of Cora (i. e., the Virgin), viz., Proserpina, the daughter of Demeter. A step on the west side led down to a court, once walled round, in which was the Pandroseion, a shrine sacred to Pandrosos, i. e., the All-bedewer, a daughter of Cecrops and first priestess of Athene. Here stood also the sacred olive-tree of Athene and an altar of Zeus Herkelos.

sacred to Dionysos [42] and the music hall or Odeion [52]. Between them lies the Asclepieion [47], the physician's hall, sacred to the god of medicine and the art of healing.

Round this venerable rock grew up the city of Athens, the home of liberty and republican institutions, the seat of learning and a center of civilisation. Heroic deeds of patriotism at Marathon and Salamis laid the cornerstone of Athens's independence, and prosperity followed in the wake of trade and commerce. A noble ideal of statesmanship was actualised in Pericles. Art and oratory flourished. Wealth brought corruption, but philosophy offered correctives in the moral injunctions of Socrates and the

Parthenon



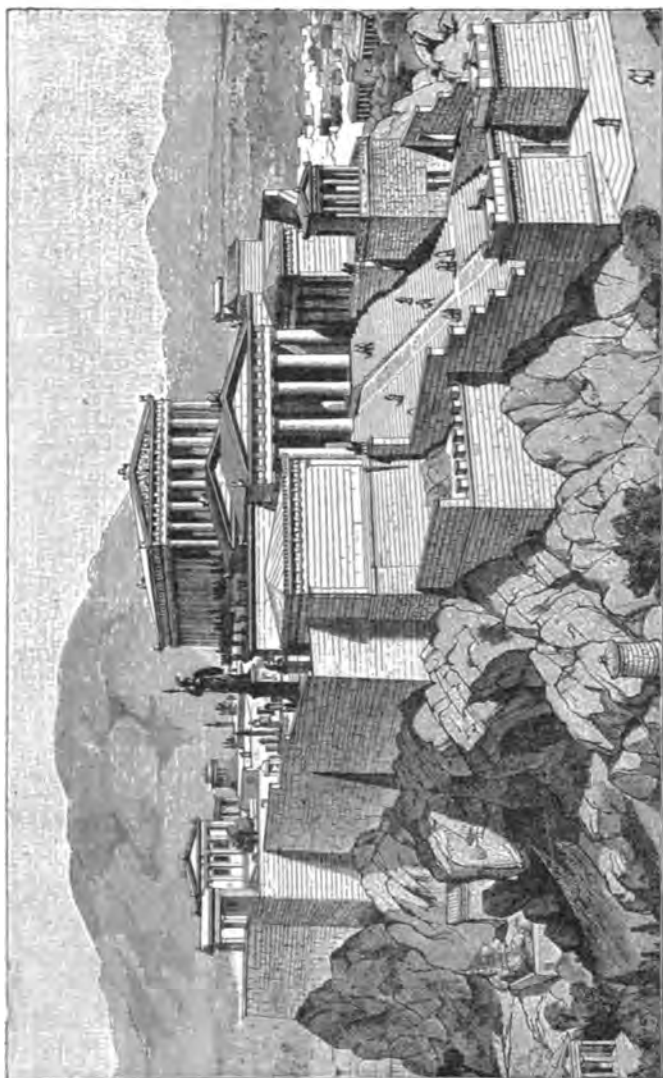
Between the foot of the rock and the Asclepieion, where the soil is pervious to water, the spring of Æsculapius appears. It is brackish and may contain minerals that were probably credited with medicinal properties.

various schools that flourished after him. Here Apollonius of Tyana preached against the barbarism of bloody sacrifices and also of the circus with its brutal gladiatorial fights, admonishing the citizens to practice mercy, referring them to the altar of Eleos¹ on the Kerameikos, the potter's field, with the injunctions of which the cruel customs of the age were incompatible. Here finally Paul preached the Gospel of the Crucified, and he too, speaking of the Athenians as deeply religious, endeavored to connect the new religion with the old traditions of the city, claiming that he

¹ Eleos means "mercy."

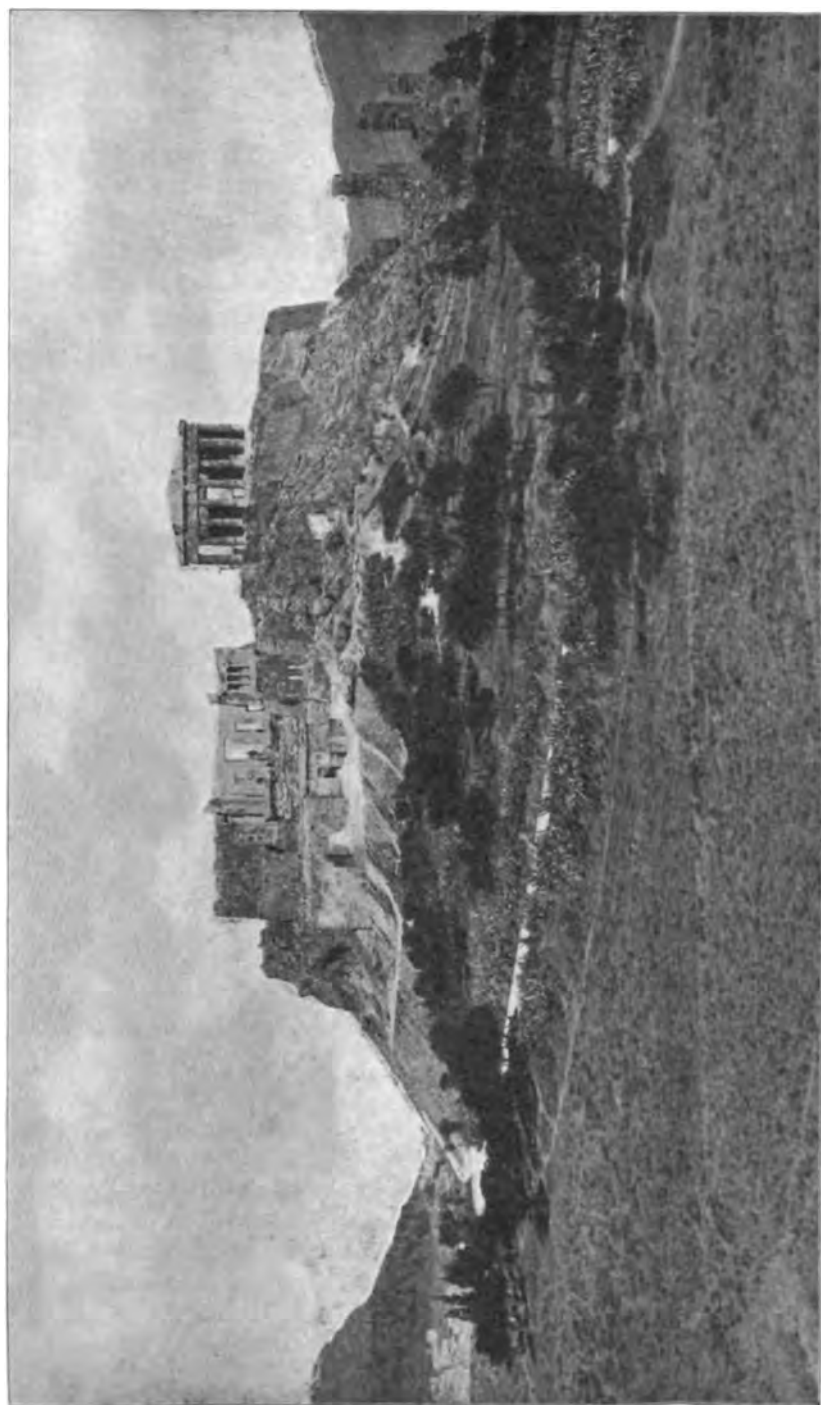
had come to reveal to them the true God whom they unwittingly adored at the altar of the Unknown God.

We propose now to walk over the ground and briefly describe the topography of the Acropolis.



THE ACROPOLIS RESTORED.
[The square towers at the foot of the staircase ought to have been omitted from this sketch.]

One side only of the Acropolis allows of easy access: it is its narrow western slope, at the foot of which lies a narrow gate [1] guarded by two ugly mediæval-looking square towers. It was



THE ACROPOLIS FROM THE AREOPAGOS.

built by East Roman emperors in the times when the last vestiges of paganism were suppressed and the authorities deemed it wise to stop the annual festivals, the Panathenæa, by military interference.

In our days the visitor enters through a small gate [4] north of the Odeion [52]. He passes through a small courtyard with a niche [4a] sacred to the all-nourishing goddess Demeter, Ge Kourotrophos, i. e., the Earth Feeder of her children,¹ and reaches the place where formerly the grand monumental staircases, described by Pausanias, led up to the main entrance called Propylæa [6].



THE TEMPLE OF NIKE APTERYX.²

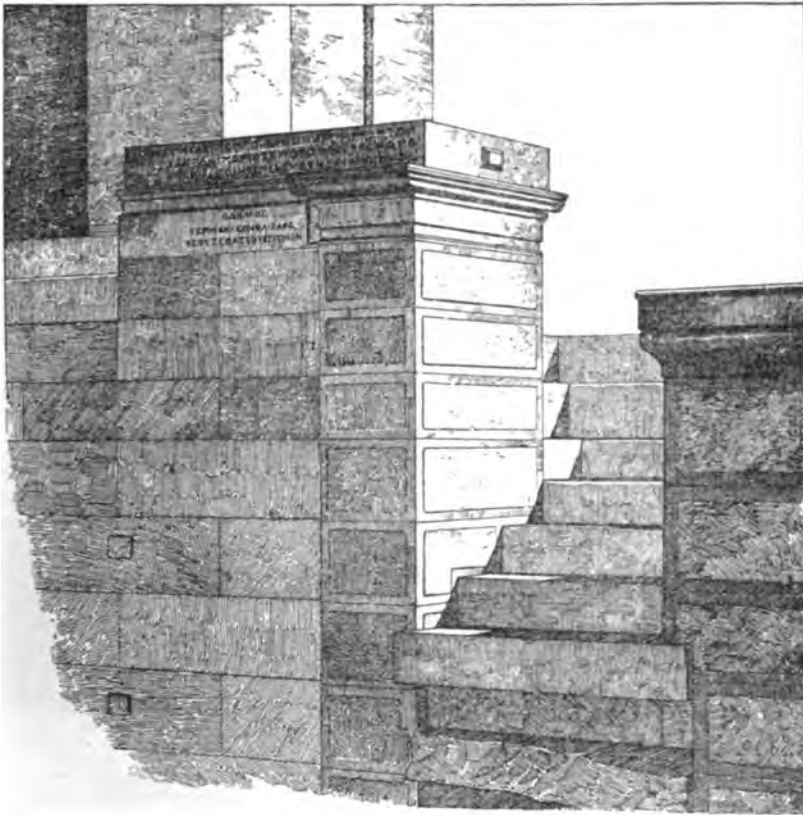
We notice here an ancient altar [2], and the Agrippa monument [7] erected by the grateful Athenians between 12 and 17 A. D. in honor of Agrippa for his love of Attic culture. Directly south of the Agrippeion a marble staircase leads up on the right hand to the little temple of Athene Nike, the unwinged goddess of victory [5], and here we find on the left-hand wall of the staircase an inscription commemorating the visit of Germanicus (the great and

¹ This is on the authority of Curtius; Lolling believes the grotto was sacred to *Ægeus*.

² This temple was built for Athene as Nike Apteryx (i. e., the Wingless Victory) to indicate that here the goddess would take her abiding home.

noble grandson of Augustus) who visited Athens in reverent respect for its historical traditions.

North of the Agrippeion we discover the gate which leads down over the memorable rude staircase to the well Clepsydra [53]. The water gathers in a hole which is situated in a chamber cut out of the rock. A niche [60] close by may have served as a votive shrine.



INSCRIPTION IN HONOR OF GERMANICUS ON THE STAIRCASE OPPOSITE THE AGRIPPA MONUMENT.

The well is protected against enemies by a strong wall, and we may assume that even the primitive inhabitants employed all their skill in the fortification of this important spot.

Recent excavations have brought to light primitive stones that lay underneath the grand staircase, and we cannot doubt that they belong to the very oldest fortifications of the Acropolis. They be-



REMNANTS OF THE ANCIENT PELASGIAN DWELLINGS EAST OF THE ERECHTHEION.¹



PELASGIAN WALLS OF THE ANCIENT PALACE NORTHEAST OF THE PARTHENON.²

¹ No. 35 of our map.

² This illustrates No. 39 of our map.

long to the same period in which the strongholds of Mycenæ and Tiryns (excavated by Schliemann) were built and served to defend the ascent to the ancient city, of which the foundations of the royal palace [29] and of the habitations of the people [35] are still extant. The structure of these walls is polygonal, consisting of blocks of one to one and a half meters in diameter.

Having entered through the Propylæa, we have to the right a small fane sacred to Athene Hygieia, i. e., the health-giver [9]. Here stood her bronze statue and also the bronze statue of a boy holding a holy water font. On the left lies a spacious cistern [10]



THE PROPYLÆA FROM THE WEST.

and a little farther north a water conduit [11]. Passing along the Cimonian wall of the northern slope, we walk over the ancient foundation stones of the primitive and prehistoric city. On a projecting ledge, where we can still find the remnants of an ancient staircase [38], we stand on the site of the Agraulion, sacred to the memory of Agraulos, the daughter of the mythical King Cekrops, who was here changed by Hermes to a stone, because she attempted to prevent Erichthonios, the earth-born harvest deity, to visit his sweetheart Herse, sister of Agraulos.

Another legend relates that during a war Agraulos threw her-

self down from the Acropolis, because an oracle had declared that the Athenians would conquer if some one would sacrifice himself for his country. The Athenians in gratitude dedicated to her a precinct on the Acropolis called the Agraulion, in which the young Athenians, on receiving their first suit of armour, took an oath that they would always defend their country to the last.

On the southern slope of the Acropolis lay the Brauroneion, a precinct sacred to Artemis of Brauron, one of the rural districts of Attica, where the cult of Dionysos and Artemis was held in special reverence.



THE CIMONIAN WALL.

Interior view. Fragments of the mighty columns of the Hecatompodon form the foundation.

In Brauron Orestes and Iphigenia are related as having left the Taurian statue of Artemis, and the girls of Attica, dressed in crocus-colored garments, celebrated the Brauronian festivals every five years. Aside from the usual propitiatory rites, one striking feature of the Brauronian festival consisted in the imitation of bears playfully enacted by the girls, a custom which Suidas explains as follows :

"In the Attic town of Phanidæ a bear was kept, which was so tame that it was allowed to go about quite freely, and received its food from and among men. One day a girl ventured to play with it, and, on treating the animal rather harshly,

it turned round and tore her to pieces. Her brothers, enraged at this, went out and killed the bear. The Athenians thereupon were visited by a plague; and when they consulted the oracle, the answer was given that they would rid themselves of the evil which had befallen them if they would compel some of their citizens to make their daughters propitiate Artemis by a rite called *ἀρκτελευν* ("to play the bear") for the crime committed against the animal sacred to the goddess. The command was more than obeyed; for the Athenians decreed that from thenceforth all women, before they could marry, should have once taken part in this festival, and have been consecrated to the goddess."¹

The bear was probably the totem of the prehistoric Brauronians.



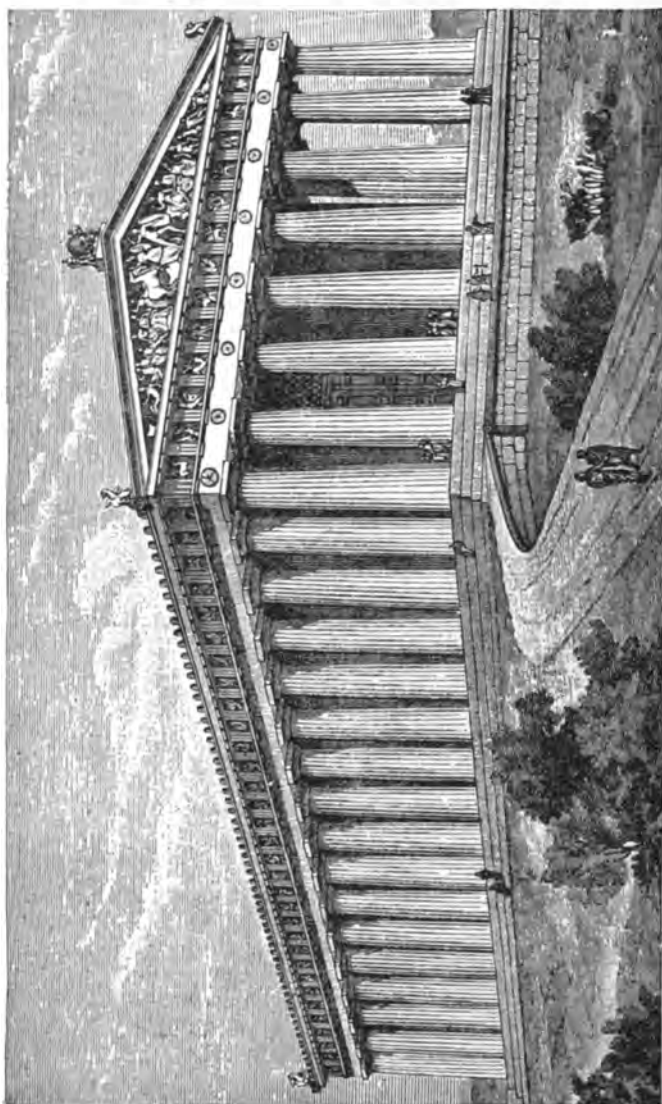
ANCIENT STAIRCASE INTERCONNECTING THE SEVERAL WALLS ON THE TOP OF THE ACROPOLIS.

Farther east on the southern slope lies the armory or Chalkotheke [15], the existence of which is mentioned in the age of Pericles.

In the neighborhood of the armory the Pelasgian walls continue [12]. They are cut in one part by a well-preserved ancient stairway [16], which seems to have connected the higher portion of the plateau with its lower surroundings.

¹From *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, *sub voce*.

The path to the Parthenon leads over a few steps [14]. We pass the statue of Ge Karpophoros, i. e., the Fruit-Bearer Earth [24] and a cistern [25], and reach the eastern entrance of the tem-



THE PARTHENON, RESTORED. (After F. Thiersch.)

ple [22]. In front lies the Roma temple [26], probably built under the rule of Emperor Augustus.

In the south-east corner of the Acropolis the government of Greece has erected two modern museums [20 and 21], and between



THE PARTHENON IN ITS PRESENT STATE.

them we find on the Cimonian wall the votive gift of Attalus, King of Pergamum (241-197 B. C.), on a spot from which the visitor has a good view of the Dionysos theater [42] below.

North of the Parthenon we behold the noble structure of the

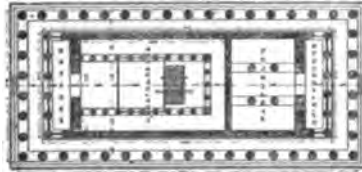


THE ARTIFICIAL FOUNDATION OF THE PARTHENON LAID BARE.
FURTHER DOWN THE PELASGIAN WALL.

Erechtheion [31], and the foundations of the old Hecatompelon, a temple erected in the time of Peisistratos, called "the hundred-footed" on account of the many columns on which its roof rested.

It is probable that the Hecatompelon superseded an older

temple of less magnificence, and we know that here the temple treasures were guarded and the Panathenaea, the greatest Athenian festivals, were celebrated by the Erechthids, the priests of the Erechtheion, under Peisistratos and his successors. It was de-



GROUND-PLAN OF THE PARTHENON.

stroyed in the Persian wars, and in the age of Pericles the Parthenon and the Erechtheion were erected in its stead.

EASTERN PORTICO OF THE ERECOTHEION.¹

The myth of Erichthonios (also called Erechtheus)² is obviously Pelasgian and indicates the peaceful institution of the wor-

¹ The eastern room of the Erechtheion contained the ancient statue of Athene Polias, the town-protector, before which stood a lamp that was always kept burning. The western division of the building which was the Erechtheion proper, had one altar devoted to Poseidon and Erechtheus, another to Hephestus and a third one to Butes, the ancestor of the priestly family (the Butadae).

² Later mythologists distinguish Erechtheus from Erichthonios, regarding the latter as the serpent-shaped god, and making of the former his grandson, and a king of Athens.

ship of the Ionian goddess Pallas Athene by the Erichtid family, the hereditary priests of the Acropolis. The birth of Erichthonios was celebrated in Athens with great rejoicing and formed a favorite subject of Athenian art.

"Erichthonios was the son of Earth by Hephaestus and was reared by Athena. Like that of Cecrops, half of his form was that of a snake,—a sign that he was one of the aborigines. Athene put the child in a chest, which she gave to the daughters of Cecrops—Agraulos, Herse, and Pandrosos—to take care of, forbidding them at the same time to open it (Hygin. *Poet. Astr.* ii. 13). The first two disobeyed, and in terror at the serpent-shaped child (or, according to another version, the snake that surrounded the child), they went mad and threw themselves from the rocks of



VIEW OF THE ACROPOLIS FROM THE OLYMPIEION.

the Acropolis. Another account made the serpent kill them. Erechtheus drove out Amphictyon, and got possession of the kingdom. He then established the worship of Athene, and built to her, as goddess of the city (Πολιάς), a temple, named after him the Erechtheum. Here he was afterwards himself worshipped with Athene and Poseidon. He was also the founder of the Panathenaic festival. He was said to have invented the four-wheeled chariot, and to have been taken up to heaven for this by Zeus, and set in the sky as the constellation of the Charioteer."¹

In Athens paganism held out longest, and while in other parts of the empire the temples were destroyed or desecrated and the

¹From *Harper's Dictionary*.

statues of the gods smashed to pieces, the sanctuaries on the Acropolis remained undisturbed. The celebration of the festivals was at last forbidden, and when the ancient gods had faded away from the memory of the Athenians the Parthenon was transformed into a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

When the Turks conquered the East Roman Empire, the Parthenon became a Mohammedan mosque, but remained in good preservation,—practically the only pagan temple that by good chance had escaped destruction in the period of transition. It remained in good preservation till 1687 when the Venetians tried to wrest the city from the Turks. A bomb thrown into the Parthenon exploded the powder magazine that had been stored in one of its vaults, and utterly destroyed the central portion of the building.

Worse havoc than the war between Turk and Christian was wrought on the glorious temple by the greed and carelessness of modern connoisseurs who appreciated the money value of antique art. The front and the rear of the temple with their beautiful friezes were still standing when Lord Elgin conceived the idea of selling these invaluable art treasures to the English government; but he had them handled so roughly by ignorant workmen that they suffered greatly in the transportation. A great part was lost at sea and the remainder found at last, after some bickering over the price, an asylum in the British Museum. There they are counted, even in their present dilapidated condition, among the most memorable treasures of that greatest of all collections of antiquities in the world.

THE CONDEMNATION OF CHRIST.

BY ADOLPHE DANZIGER.

THE nature of the relations between the founder of Christianity and the class of Jewish teachers known in history as Pharisees, has been a subject of reverent study to the writer for several years. It appears to him that some opinions, widely current, on the character of the class in question, and especially its connection with the iniquitous trial and execution of Christ, are neither authorised by the Gospel narratives, nor the facts as recorded in Jewish history. These opinions are that the Jewish people of the time, as a body, were responsible for the crucifixion, and that the Pharisees among the Jews were the special enemies of Christ. Thus as among the old Romans "Punic faith" was synonymous with treachery, so in the modern Christian world "Pharisaic" has come to mean a hypocritical claim to righteousness. That such a character is not really applicable to the whole body of men known through Jewish history as Pharisees, may be judged from the description of them from both Christian and Jewish history, which I shall endeavor to give, with strict adherence to the sources of information at my command.

During the last centuries of the existence of the Jewish people in Palestine as a nation, two principal schools or sects divided its religious teachers. Under the Asmonean Kings, or perhaps earlier, a portion of the Rabbis, or authorised teachers of the Law, adopted the theory that the Canonical Scriptures were the only rule of faith. The common belief from the oldest times was that the body of doctrine handed down orally was equally a part of Divine Revelation with the written word.¹ The new school of Sadducees, or Godly Ones (from *Zodac* = righteous), rejected absolutely this belief and taught that the Scriptures alone contained all that was to be believed by Jews. Thus they rejected even the belief in a future

¹ *Babli Abodah Zara*, 38; *Yebamoth*, 46; *Megillah*, 19.

life, because it is not expressly mentioned in the Pentateuch. While thus retrenching the articles of religious belief, the Sadducean teachers made the practice of the law in matters of daily life much strict for the people. The observance of the Sabbath and similar obligations they made more minute and onerous than formerly. They increased the penalties for breaches of points of the law, especially among the poorer classes. The teaching of the common people they regarded as of little importance, provided external observances of the law were rigidly enforced. They cared little for proselytism, and exaggerated the value of Jewish race, and especially of connection with the Holy Land, in determining the worth of individuals. They attached themselves to the kings of the Asmonean race, and afterwards to their successors, and their Roman Masters as a matter of policy, notwithstanding their bigoted nationalism in religious matters. At their instigation John Hyrcan persecuted the Rabbis who adhered to the old beliefs in tradition. Ishmael Phabi, a Sadducee, purchased from the Roman Governor Gratus the office of High Priest as an inheritance. His successors, to the number of eight, all Sadducees, used the office for the purpose of gain, in a hitherto unheard-of fashion. They established bazaars on Mount Olivet for the sale of the tithes, which were seized by their proctors, and enhanced their revenues by the sale of doves and cattle, for use as sacrificial offerings and fines. By their influence in the Sanhedrin, they multiplied the number of breaches of the Law to be atoned for by fines of such animals, and, by their wealth as merchants, they monopolised the supply and raised the price of the same to exorbitant amounts. Shortly before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus the extortion of the Sadducean High Priests rose to such a pitch that Simeon, the President of the Sanhedrin, a Pharisee, had a decree passed reducing the price of doves for offerings from a gold Denar to the fourth of a silver one. Finally, three years before the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jewish population rose in revolt, destroyed the bazaars of Anas, the same High Priest who had brought about the execution of James and other Christians. The mob slew Anas himself and cast his body to the dogs. Such were the Sadducees in theory and in practice, as we find them in Jewish history.

To the larger body of Rabbis or teachers, who retained their belief in the traditional, as well as the written law, the name of Pharisees belongs. It signifies "separate" and is of somewhat uncertain origin. From historical personages bearing the same

¹ Babli Kiddushin, 66.

name, there is reason to think it a term implying a less close connection with the Holy Land itself, than was claimed by the Sadducees. Many of the most eminent Rabbis, of the Pharisees, were either Jews who had come from foreign lands, or actual converts. Hillel, the greatest name in rabbinical history, was born in Babylonia. Shemaiah and Abtalion, his teachers, were of non-Hebrew descent.¹ The name would thus seem to indicate that the dominant Sadducees regarded the Pharisees as strangers in the land and so not entitled to equal rank in the Jewish people with themselves, the pure Palestinians by birth and long descent.²

The Jewish nation, at the time of Christ, was thus divided in a religious point of view into Sadducees and Pharisees. Those two classes embraced the whole nation, or at least all its teachers of religion. A third class which is mentioned in history, the Essenes or Healers, was not distinguished from the others by doctrines, but by more austere practices of life. They were analogous to the religious orders in the Catholic Church, rather than to a distinct denomination. The Jews were divided doctrinally into Pharisees and Sadducees; much as Christian Europe is divided into Catholics and Protestants. The first maintained the doctrines of tradition and scripture as the rule of belief and practice. The latter only acknowledged the Pentateuch, as interpreted by themselves. The distinction has been perpetuated under different names down to our own day. The orthodox Rabbis to-day recognise the Pharisee Doctors of the time of Christ as religious guides. The rabbinical literature owes its origin to a Pharisee Rabbi, Juda the Prince. The Sadducees, as a distinct body, melted out of existence many centuries ago, like the Arians in Christian history. As the latter have had successors in various sects opposed to doctrines held by the Catholics, so in Judaism sects have continued the tradition of the Sadducees by rejecting different points of the Orthodox traditional Jewish Law, in theory or practice.

The facts stated may put the strictures on the Pharisees recorded in the Gospel in a new light. The name was confined to Rabbis exclusively; thus the Pharisees spoken of by Christ may be regarded as the orthodox clergy of Jewish religion. It may be well to add that in the religious organisation of Israel the priests, properly so called, were only employed in offering sacrifice and the

¹ B. Gittin 57 gives their descent from the Assyrian King Sanherib.

² We incline to the idea that Parush or Parushim = Pharisees is identical with Partheans or Persians and refers particularly to the Jews who came from Babylonia,—hence strangers or aliens nationally, analogous to the native American and the naturalised American.

service of the temple. They were neither teachers nor interpreters of the Law. The Rabbis or Masters of the Law handed down its interpretations from generation to generation. They decided its applications and judged offences against it. They taught the people in the synagogues and the disciples or clerical students in their schools. A Rabbi conferred the degree of Rabbi by the imposition of hands on such of his disciples as had shown competent knowledge of the law.¹ In after-times the right of conferring this ordination was reserved to the President of the Sanhedrin, but in all cases knowledge of the Law was required for it. No such test was required for the priest's office, though an ignorant priest was not held in reverence.²

Thus, in the Jewish system two distinct classes represent what is called the clergy in Christian communities. The Rabbi presided in the synagogue, the synod, and the ecclesiastical courts. The Priest was supreme in the service of the Temple alone.

Knowing that the Pharisees were, then, the teachers of orthodox Jewish religion, it is easy to understand that the reproaches addressed to them in the Gospels are directed rather against their imperfect fulfilment of the duty imposed on them by their station, than their absolute moral inferiority to others among the nation. Zealous preachers, when denouncing evil amongst their co-religionists, frequently use a similar line of reproof. The Saducees are but slightly mentioned in the New Testament, because the field of labor of Christ lay not among them, the courtiers and wealthy members of the Sanhedrin, but among the Pharisees, the teachers of the people at large. On the point of doctrine, his testimony is emphatic in favor of the Pharisee Rabbis.

"The Scribes and Pharisees have sat on the chair of Moses. All then whatever they shall say to you, observe and do, but according to their works do not, for they say and do not."³

Compare this with the words addressed to the Sadducean teachers, who did not believe in the resurrection of the dead, when they brought their creed to him.

"But Jesus answered, and said unto them, Do you not then err, not understanding the Scriptures nor the power of God? . . . He is not the God of the dead, but of the living. You do therefore greatly err."⁴

The conclusion seems inevitable, that Christ regarded the Pharisaic doctrines as the true interpretation of the Law of Moses.

¹ Babli Sanhedrin 13.

² Mishnah Gittin, 5, 8.

³ Matthew xxiii, 2.

⁴ Mark xii. 24, 27. Compare Babli Sanhedrin.

That Law He came not to destroy, but to fulfil. Then the Pharisees of his time must have been teachers of truth, whatever their practice.

The manner in which the Jews used theological terms differs so widely from modern usage that it needs special attention. The difference between two bodies of men, one of whom believed in the resurrection, while the other denied it, would be called to-day sectarian. The name of the sect, as Sadducee or Pharisee, would certainly be applied to all who adhered to either doctrine, be they laymen or religious teachers. Jewish usage, however, gave the distinctive name to the teachers exclusively. It was much as Catholics to-day apply the distinctive names drawn from different theological schools to their clergy exclusively. Men speak of Thomist or Molinist priests or theologians; they never speak of a whole population as Thomist or Molinist. Thus, among the Jews, those who adhered to the Pharisaic doctrines, that is the mass of the people, were never styled Pharisees. The strictures addressed to the Pharisees then were applied only to the Rabbis or preachers of the Pharisaic doctrines. The contrast between practice and preaching in preachers is a theme which finds endless development throughout the human race. In the case of the Pharisees, mentioned in the New Testament, this distinction should not be forgotten.

Among the Jews themselves, both before and after the time of Christ, we find many illustrations of the contrast between precept and practice in a part of the Pharisees, though the class itself was regarded as the teachers of orthodox Judaism. King Alexander Jannai, though himself a patron of the Sadducee faction, in his dying advice to his wife gave the charge:

"You need not fear the Pharisees (i. e., the mass of them), they will not return the evil I have done them to you nor your children. You need not fear the Sadducees, for they are my partisans. But fear those dyed Pharisees who do the deeds of Zimri, and ask the reward of Phineas.¹

The Talmud enumerates seven classes among the Pharisees,² five of which are condemned as hypocrites of various kinds. It does not mean that the majority belonged to those five classes, but that the ways of error in practice are many, while the way of truth is one. It is much as when Bossuet enumerates the endless sects

¹ Babli Sotah, 22. Numbers xli. 11, Zimri committed unspeakable crimes in public and was slain by Phineas, the grandson of Aaron, the High Priest. These skin-deep Pharisees are the hypocrites of the New Testament. The Hebrew term is צִרְעִים (*Tsernim*), "dyed in the wool."

² Jerusalemi Berachoth, 9, 5; *ibid.*, Sotah, 5, 5.

of Protestantism in contrast to the unity of belief among Catholics, he does not imply any numerical superiority of Protestants in the Christian world.

With regard to the body of Jews who followed the teachings of the Pharisee Rabbis, and even many, if not the majority, of those Rabbis themselves, it seems certain that from among them Christ drew his disciples and followers. There is no evidence that they were drawn from the ranks of the Sadducees, certainly. When Paul of Tarsus describes his own former creed, he describes himself emphatically as a Pharisee of the strictest kind, in terms that show he held Pharisaism to be the purest form of orthodoxy in the Law of Moses.

Another point of difference in the use of language between the Jews of Christ's time and modern Christians is the meaning of the terms Priest and Priesthood. In modern parlance, priesthood and clergy are synonymous. In the Jewish Law, the distinction was very broadly marked between the priests and the teaching clergy or preachers. A base born scholar—*Talmid Haham*—is better than an ignorant priest—*Cohan Am ha-Aretz*—is an ancient rabbinical axiom. The priesthood, so called, was hereditary in the family of Aaron. Its duties were almost entirely sacrificial and ceremonial. The Law itself was taught, and its purity guarded by another body, the Rabbis or Masters. The Rabbis were chiefly Pharisees, while the High Priest and his family were Sadducees from the time of Ishmael Phabi to the death of Annas II. before the fall of the Temple. The Sanhedrin, which was both the authorised teaching body and the Supreme Court of the Jewish Law, was presided over by the Nasi or Prince, who, under the Law, was the highest power in religious affairs. High Priests, like Simon the Just (330 B. C.) and Ishmael ben Elisha (first century A. C.), had seats in the Sanhedrin, but not in virtue of their office, but of their learning. Neither king nor priest were members of the Sanhedrin under the Law. They might appear as public Prosecutors, but they were not Judges. The High Priests, who had obtained their office by the favor of the Roman Governors, however, arrogated to themselves something like supreme power in religious matters at the time of Christ. The Sanhedrin, though presided over by a Pharisee in doctrine, was packed with the adherents of the High Priest, and the interference, when asked, of the Roman Governors, enabled them to control that body almost at will. This usurpation of powers, not lawfully attached to the office of High Priest, has aided in confusing the ideas of moderns on the distinction between

the rabbinical and the priestly classes among the Jewish ministers of religion.

The Pharisees then of the New Testament meant the orthodox Rabbis who taught the Law of Moses to the people. It was amongst their adherents that the mission of Christ was almost exclusively laid. The Sadducees appear in it not more than once or twice, and then they came with spies sent from the High Priest who sought to entrap him into a political declaration against Roman power. He preached in the synagogues, which were controlled by the Pharisee Rabbis, not by the priests of the Temple. He was invited to the houses of the principal Rabbis; they warned him of plots against his life and in other ways testified a friendly spirit, very different from that ascribed to the Sadducee Chief Priests. At times they emphatically approved his precepts, as when he answered the Sadducees. At others, their silence may fairly be taken for assent on the part of the majority of his hearers.

In truth, the teachings of Jesus were not opposed to the true spirit of the Jewish religion, as taught by the most distinguished Rabbis. He did not seek to take away all ceremonial, but to reform its abuses. Hillel the Babylonian and his successors all followed a similar course, with the approval of their contemporaries. To love God, to be humble and just to others, was the rule of life laid down by the disciples of Hillel. His axiom, "Do not to another what, if done to thee, thou wouldst hate, this is the law, and the rest is but comment," was widely current among the orthodox Rabbis, both before and after Christ. Akibah, the leader of the revolt against Rome under Hadrian, taught:

"'Love thy neighbor as thyself,' is the fundamental law of the Mosaic dispensation."

Ben Azzai, his friend and pupil, said: "'Man was created to the likeness of God,' is a greater text than 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.'"

By this he meant that the tie of brotherhood, derived from the Fatherhood of God, is stronger than any purely human bond. Such, indeed, is the similarity between the moral teachings of Christ and those of the orthodox Rabbis from Hillel to the present time, that when a learned and believing Jew reads—without prejudice—the maxims and teachings of Jesus in the Gospels, he feels, so to say, at home. He meets there nothing strange or heterogeneous; on the contrary, he finds much that is literally analogous and homogeneous to that which from childhood he has been taught to revere as sacred. Every Jew brought up strictly orthodox, that is, with

Pharisaic tendencies and according to the spirit of rabbinical Judaism, feels this. To him there is nothing in the utterances of Jesus of Nazareth that might possibly offend his religious feelings or principles. If these utterances were gathered in separate form and presented to such a Jew, he, not being aware of their origin, would regard them as a most beautiful contribution to rabbinic literature as embodied in the Talmud or Midrash.¹ Not only was the moral teaching of Christ in harmony with orthodox Jewish principles, but his acts also were in conformity with the ceremonial of the law as practised by the most learned Rabbis. He ate the Passover lamb in the prescribed time and form; he broke the bread and repeated the blessing; he took the cup of wine which, having blessed, he gave to his disciples; lastly, he recited the offertory almost exactly as the orthodox among the Jews do every year at the present time. He did not break the law of the Sabbath, he only told how it should properly be observed. He did not say that the act of his disciples in plucking ears of corn was not an infringement of the legal ordinance, but he excused it on the ground of necessity and justified his disciples by the example of David and the priests in the Temple. That his critics made no reply would show they accepted his reason as satisfactory to them. Indeed, similar dispensations from legal observance were recognised as lawful by the Rabbis. The famous answer, "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," accords with the rule laid down in the Talmud, by the school of Shemaiah and Abtalion (63 B. C.). "The Sabbath may be broken to save life, as the Law is the guide of life not of death."²

The healing of the man with a withered hand on the Sabbath day is another instance of an act apparently opposed to the letter of the Law, but warranted nevertheless by rabbinical usage. The orthodox Rabbis taught that work of any kind was not merely permissible but commanded on the Sabbath if required to save human life. They extended this principle to cases where life was in jeopardy through sickness. They called one who hesitated to do work in such cases, a blood-spiller,—*Shofech Dam*. Others added by way of enforcing the weight of this obligation: "If the Sabbath ordinance may lawfully be broken for the service of the Temple, much more may it when human life is in danger." Two eminent Rabbis, Ben Menasia and Jonathan ben Joseph add: "The Sabbath is given to you, but you are not given to the Sabbath." The

¹ See Chroison's "Das letzte Abendmahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes."

² Babli Yoma, 35.

analogy between these maxims of Pharisee teaching and those of Christ himself are noteworthy.

On the question of divorce the absolute prohibition laid down by Christ was certainly contrary to the practice of the Rabbis of Hillel's school. Yet Rabbi Yochanan says, "None shall divorce the wife of his youth [i. e., his first wife], unless she be guilty of grievous sin," and it was a rabbinical saying that "the Altar of the Lord weeps when such divorce is granted."

The tendency of the Pharisaic legislation, from Hillel at least, was entirely towards lessening the minute observances which had gradually become a part of Jewish religious life. The objection made then by Pharisees to the disciples of Christ eating with unwashed hands needs explanation. The washing of hands before eating Sacred Food, or that which had been offered to the Temple, was an old religious practice for all Jews. The priests alone were held bound to practise it before eating any food over which the "blessing" was said. In the time of Hillel, however, this observance was made of obligation for all the people. There was much animosity at the time between the Temple priests and the Rabbis, and it is possible that the object of this rabbinical law was to assert an equality between the people and the priests. It may thus have had a party character that incurred the reproof of Christ. The Talmud tells of a celebrated Rabbi, Eliezer ben Hanoch, who was put under excommunication by the Sanhedrin for persistent neglect or defiance of this law.

The foregoing examples show that there was no reason for animosity against the person of Christ among the Rabbis or teachers of orthodox Judaism. His teaching was in harmony with that of the best of their own class; he broke no part of the Law. That he was loved by the people at large cannot be questioned, and that his denunciations of the hypocrisy and crimes of many among the class of Rabbis had raised up enemies against him is also evident. Still it was not the rabbinical or Pharisee element that was responsible for his death. That supreme iniquity rests with Caiphas and his partisans, the High Priest of the Jewish Temple, by Roman favor, bought with bribes, and the head and patron of the Sadducees in doctrine. The President of the Sanhedrin, Gamaliel, was by strict law the head of the religious teachers, and also of the Judges of the people. He, the chief Rabbi, the grandson of Hillel and a Pharisee of the strictest kind, gave his views on the work of Christ after his death in a session of the Sanhedrin recorded in the Acts v. 38-39. The question was debated of the persecution of the fol-

lowers of Christ. Gamaliel rose and told the assembled members: "And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this council or this work be of men, it will be overthrown; but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them, lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God." This utterance of the chief of the Pharisees shows the spirit which must have actuated the class at large in relation to the mission of Christ immediately after his execution. It seems hardly consistent with the general hostility before that event.

The relations between the early Christians and their fellow-Jews who remained under rabbinical guidance is worth recalling in this connection. According to Sulpicius Severus the majority of the Christians of Palestine still observed the Jewish ceremonial of the Law, while professing belief in Christ as the Messiah. A large number of the orthodox Rabbis found little to offend their conscience in the latter tenet. The Christian converts attended the synagogues, wrote scrolls of the Law, read it in public, practised circumcision and ate and drank in the mode prescribed for Jews. A famous Rabbi, Eliezer ben Hyrkanos, brother-in-law of the President of the Sanhedrin, was on very friendly terms with James and when asked authoritatively to pronounce whether a "Certain One" (Jesus) would share in heaven, he declined to answer. Even long after this time, Rabbi Juda the Prince received Christians at his table, and asked one to recite the Jewish blessing after eating. Indeed, all through the first century and a half after the death of Christ the mass of orthodox Jews regarded the followers of Christ as a part of their nation and not an outside or excommunicated body. From this it may, we think, be fairly inferred that there was little bitter feeling among the Jewish people to the person of Christ when he was seized by the emissaries of Caiphas. The Gospels tell how the High Priest and his colleagues arrested Jesus by night, "because they feared the people," and the triumphant popular reception given to him on his entry to Jerusalem is further evidence of the admiring regard of the body of the Jewish people for him. That people then was not his executioner nor the cause of his execution.

Neither was the Mosaic Law, nor its lawful ministers. In the whole career of Christ he did no act that called for punishment according to the rabbinical code. The laws of the Pharisees were singularly mild in the infliction of punishments, especially the death penalty. The crimes for which it might be inflicted were very few. Murder, incest, idolatry, and blasphemy were capital

offences, but extenuating circumstances were admitted by rabbinical practice to such an extent that the death penalty was hardly ever inflicted on a Jew by their courts. A maxim of the most celebrated Rabbis was, "A court which dooms to death more than once in seventy years is a court of blood shedders."¹ The sentence was only to be given in the day time, and not on the day when the trial began. Two sessions, on separate days, were required by rabbinical procedure in all capital cases. Even when a criminal was condemned to die, and led to execution, he had the legal right to a new trial if he claimed that he had any new point to allege in his own favor. This privilege he might exercise five times before death could be legally inflicted. While a criminal was being led to execution, the rabbinical law prescribed that a bailiff should remain at the door of the court room to receive any testimony that might, even then, be offered in favor of the culprit. A crier went before him and called on any one who knew anything in his favor to carry it at once to the bailiff. If any such evidence was offered, the execution could not be carried out till a new trial had been held. Moreover, the crucifixion of men was strictly prohibited by the Mosaic Law. It cannot be said certainly that such a law was responsible for the iniquitous condemnation carried out in absolute defiance of its provisions.

It should be added that the charge of blasphemy, worked up by Annas and Caiphas from the fact that Christ called himself the Son of God, could not be maintained in any rabbinical Court. Blasphemy was certainly a capital offence, but the Law declared expressly, "Death shall be inflicted on those only who couple the Ineffable Name of God with a curse." To apply the term "Son of God" to an individual was certainly not such blasphemy. Indeed, it is common in the mouths of religious Jews. In the prayers used daily by orthodox Jews the words "Our Father who art in Heaven" are employed. The people of Israel are frequently described as Sons of God in the Scriptures itself. To call the use of the same term by Christ blasphemy was an absurdity to every intelligent Jew. Moreover, it is even doubtful whether Christ's assertion of Divine Sonship was made directly. Two of the Gospels describe him as replying answering the question, "Art thou the son of God?" by simply, "So thou sayest." This was a common form for declining to give a formally direct answer, for any good cause. A person charged in Court who knew that a direct answer to a prosecutor's question might be twisted unfairly, would use this

¹ Comp. Mishnah Maccoth, I., 10.

form of reply. An anecdote recorded in the Midrash Rabba (Koheleth, Chapter VII., 7-11) may illustrate the meaning of this form of reply.

The people of Sephoris were so attached to Rabbi Juda the Prince, that they made a vow to kill the man who should first announce his death. The Prince died, and Bar Kappra, a disciple of his, undertook to make known the fatal news. He came into the street with covered head and rent garment and cried aloud:

"The angels have taken the records of the Law (figuratively the learning of the deceased), and borne them away."

When the people heard, they cried out:

"Woe is us, the Prince is dead," and they surrounded Bar Kappra to kill him. But Bar Kappra was quick of wit and he said to them, "It is you have said it, not I,"—*Alon kamrithun ana le kamina*.

Whether the reply of Christ to the High Priest was framed in similar fashion or not, his answer could not be regarded as blasphemy by any religious Jew.

That, in fact, the charge was a flimsy pretext to obtain a sham Jewish condemnation, is shown by the form in which the High Priest put it to Pilate. According to Luke, he charged Christ with "stirring up the people," i. e., sedition, not blasphemy, and it was only when driven to extremity by the sharp questioning of the Roman Governor that he suggested the Mosaic Law as calling for Christ's execution. "We have a law, and according to it he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." He had previously tried to cover up the weakness of his own cause by an appeal to his own position. "If he were not a criminal, we would not have brought him to you." Finally, when neither Roman jurisprudence nor Mosaic law could find any fault in the illustrious prisoner, his death warrant was extorted from the reluctant Roman Governor by the violence of a hired mob and a base appeal to the Governor's personal interests, "If thou release this man, thou art not the friend of Cæsar," while a crowd, alleged to be aflame with fanatic zeal for Jewish nationality and religion, yelled in chorus, "Crucify him, the king of the Jews. We have no king but Cæsar."

On whom then rests the responsibility of the judicial murder of Christ? We answer unhesitatingly: On the High Priest and his faction, Sadducees in belief, the venal sycophants of the foreign rulers of Palestine in policy. The name of High Priest carries to most minds, as it did to Pilate's, the idea of Chief of the Jewish religion. Caiphas was not such by the Mosaic Law. Apart from

the fact that his office had been obtained by bribery, from the predecessor of Pilate, the High Priest had no lawful power either to teach the Law or to judge offences against it. Those functions belonged to the Sanhedrin, the assembly of great Doctors, and its Vice-President was the lawful Supreme Judge. Strange as it is, the High Priests of the family of Caiphas were not even believers in the Law in an orthodox sense, they were Sadducees, who believed not even in a future life. The origin of this combination of heterodoxy in belief with the priestly office dates from the first Asmonean king, John Hyrkan. He was a priest by race, and, when in power, added the office of High Priest to his political functions. It is not unlikely that the Sadducean rejection of the traditional law had more a political than a theological origin. The new priest-kings were jealous of the power of the teachers or Rabbis who gave the law and judged the people. He persecuted the orthodox Rabbis bitterly. It was natural that a theory, which rejected the whole traditional law of Judæa, should find favor with an ambitious and unscrupulous ruler, who combined, in himself, kingly and priestly rank, by family descent. Certain it is, that Hyrkan and his successors made Sadduceeism the creed of the Court, and of the priests of the Temple. It continued to be so until both the king and High Priest ceased to exist. The President of the Sanhedrin then became the undisputed religious head of the people.

The High Priests who filled the office, from Ishmael Phabi to Annas the Second, were not only heterodox in faith and devoid of legitimate title, but they were eminently greedy, and oppressive to the people. They bribed the Roman Governors to uphold them in usurping control of the Sanhedrin or national Assembly of the Jewish community. The legitimate Presidents of that body, after Hillel, were practically powerless. The large body of Pharisee Rabbis, known as Sopherim or Scribes, who found profitable employment in transcribing legal records, were subservient to the High Priests in practice. By the people, these Scribes were held something between Pharisees and Sadducees. A recent writer has described a number of the English Catholics under Henry VIII. as "Church Papists." The Scribes in Judæa, under the High Priests, were a somewhat similar class. As the High Priests could not aspire to political sway under the Roman rule, they used their power in the Sanhedrin to enrich themselves by levying heavy fines for breaches of the Law on the people. Their Bazzars on Mount Olivet, connected with the Temple itself by a bridge, were stocked with merchandise which found sale among the numerous pilgrims.

It is most probable that the money changers, driven from the Temple by Jesus, were servants or employes of these merchant High Priests.

The animosity of these unworthy successors of Aaron to Christ had, then, not so much a theological as a mercenary origin. They feared that the excitement produced by his teaching would excite Roman jealousy and result in the destruction of their own profitable dignities. This must be clear to all readers of the New Testament from its direct statements. They desired above all things to prevent any popular commotion, which might interfere with their gains, while, as Sadducees, they also despised and disliked any awakening of the religious spirit of the people which might bring their own practices into popular odium. There were no scruples as to the means by which the desired ends were to be attained. When the report of the raising of Lazarus to life, was spread, it was a blow to the Sadducean theory, and Caiphas the High Priest decided that "one man should die for the people." To murder a man, however innocent, was in his eyes perfectly justifiable, if it secured his own power against risk. His Sadducean adherents and their subservient Pharisee Rabbis approved the vile counsel and proceeded to carry it into execution.

To accomplish the death of Jesus, legally, the High Priest had two agencies, one, his influence with the Roman Governor by his own wealth and position, the other, his power in the Jewish tribunal of Sanhedrin. The Romans left their Jewish subjects a good deal to their own laws, and Caiphas had succeeded in getting Pilate to regard him as the recognised head of the Jewish people. "Am I a Jew? Thy people and the High Priest have given thee over to me," was his reply to Christ during his trial. But the range of powers, left to the Jewish tribunals, did not extend to capital punishments. Hence the plan, adopted by Caiphas, was to seize the person of Jesus suddenly, bring him before a meeting of members of his own faction as a Court, charge him with some offence which would appear capital under Jewish law, and then apply to the Governor to have the sentence carried out, as a necessity for preserving the public tranquillity. The High Priest had already tried, unsuccessfully, to get up a charge of sedition against Christ by sending emissaries to ask his decision on the question of paying tribute to the foreign rulers. He now took another course.

By his office, Caiphas had control of the large body of servants attached to the Temple service, and he had no difficulty in getting a company of Roman soldiers to aid in seizing the person of Christ.

That effected, a semblance of trial and condemnation under the Mosaic Law was needed to accomplish his ends. What followed was not merely not a trial according to that Law, but a direct violation of all its rules. Christ was not brought to the judgment hall of the Sanhedrin, but to the private house of Annas the father-in-law of Caiphas. He was not tried by the lawful judge but by the High Priest whose only function in Mosaic procedure might have been that of accuser. He was not tried by day, nor was the second session strictly required by law for trying any capital charge held. No charge was made as required. The High Priest, after unsuccessfully bringing hirelings to lay accusations of seditious conduct against the prisoner, finally declares, the words used in answer to a question of his own to be blasphemy, and his accomplices proclaim that it was so and further worthy of death. It has already been shown how contrary this was to the Mosaic Law on the subject, but it was enough to serve as a pretext for an outburst of mock religious zeal in the Sadducean High Priest. It is noticeable that Caiphas did not charge Christ with claiming to be the Messiah. The fact was that almost alone among the Jewish people the Sadducees rejected all belief in a Messiah. Caiphas attached the name of blasphemy to the utterance of Christ in defiance alike of reason and justice and then he brought him before Pilate with the brand of condemnation by the Jewish Law upon his name.

In the Roman prætorium the hypocritical accuser brings another charge. He accuses Christ of sedition, of stirring up the Galileans, who were noted as a specially independent population. He urges on Pilate that the word of a High Priest should be warrant enough for a Roman Governor to send a mere Jew to execution. "If he were not an evil doer I would not have brought him to thee." His argument had little effect on the cold judgment of the Roman official. He asks for definite charges, and declares he finds none. The Jewish Law and the Roman alike proclaimed the innocence of Jesus of Nazareth.

But Caiphas was not to be balked of his victim by law. The mob of his dependents raised a tumult and filled the hall of the Roman prætorium with angry cries. There seems no warrant for supposing that the crowd who filled the air with cries of "Crucify him, crucify him," were the same Jews who a few days before had called, "Hosanna to the son of David." There is every reason to believe that they were the band of servitors of the Temple, who had only dared to lay hands on Jesus by night through fear of the people, and who had insulted and buffeted him through the hours

of waiting in the hall of Annas. Their cry, "We have no king but Cæsar," was surely not an expression of Jewish popular feeling, nor of the Rabbis who hoped for redemption from Heathen sovereignty. Neither was the brutal yell, "Crucify him." Crucifixion was not only abhorrent to all orthodox Jews, but was, as already stated, strictly prohibited as an abomination before God. The population of Jerusalem was not all Jewish, and those cries sound like the voices of a bought rabble of foreign origin. It was as easy for the wealthy Chief Priest to buy such voices as it had been to secure the services of the Roman cohort that seized Christ in the Garden of Olives.

The clamor, however, prevailed over the scruples of Pilate. He gave the innocent victim to the will of his persecutors, the Sadducee priests and they led him away to die on the cross. Of the enormity of the wickedness done then there is no question amongst right thinking men, but I would ask Christians in fair human justice not to lay the guilt where it does not belong. It rests not with the Mosaic Law, nor with the body of the Jewish people who had so eagerly crowded around Christ on his entry to Jerusalem, nor with the Pharisees, who readily approved his teachings, and taught in the same spirit afterwards. It rests on the men who had bought for money from strangers the sacred office of priests under the Mosaic law, who degraded that office by their crimes, and who too had openly rejected its leading doctrines.

If these remarks shall clear up to fair minds some difficulties in understanding the true character of the proceedings against Christ, and shall dispose them to a juster estimate of the Jewish people and the Mosaic Law, it seems an object well worth the labor spent in their preparation.

JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

V. THE INVESTIGATOR.

BY G. K. GILBERT.

THE last chapter leaves Major Powell at the mouth of the Rio Virgen in the autumn of 1869. The remainder of his life is to be reckoned in results, and the order of events is less important, but it is fitting to complement the preceding narrative in a few paragraphs before attempting to outline his scientific researches.

Although the adventurous voyage of the Colorado solved a geographic problem and added a volume of knowledge to the common stock, its results were far from exhaustive, for among its discoveries were a host of new and attractive problems to be attacked. Each river that came to the Colorado issued from a canyon of its own and invited exploration. Each climbing of a canyon wall gave a glimpse of a sculptured and tinted plateau land such as traveller had never described.

In no other part of the earth had there been revealed to the geologist a great desert so bare of vegetation and soil as to expose the naked rock, and at the same time so dissected by a ramifying system of trenches as to reveal its deep-lying anatomy. The idea of expanding the line of exploration into a belt of exploration was immediately conceived and this soon grew into a plan for the survey of the broad area of the Colorado Plateaus. It was first determined to repeat the voyage of the river in a more deliberate way, bringing supplies by land to various points demonstrated by the exploration to be accessible from the shore, making many excursions from the river, and complementing the river work by independent exploration on land. Up to this point Powell had depended on personal resources and those of private institutions, but his plans now outgrew these slender means and he appealed to the

General Government for aid. He was granted a first appropriation of twelve thousand dollars.

The line of the river was retraversed by boat in 1871 and 1872; and a survey of adjacent country was carried forward, with gradually expanding scope and organisation, until the reconstitution of western surveys in 1879.

Powell's personal work was in geology and ethnology. In 1873 he accepted a temporary commission from the Indian Bureau, because his duties as commissioner would require him to visit many tribes in Utah, Nevada, California, and Idaho, and thus enable him to extend his acquaintance with Indian languages, mythologies, and social institutions. In 1874 and 1875 he made a special study of the eastern Uinta Mountains and adjacent portions of the Green River basin. In later years the field work of the Survey was largely delegated to his colleagues, and his own attention was given to the publication of results and to new undertakings.

The most important new undertaking referred to the public lands. His many journeys in the states and territories of the Great Plains and beyond, gave him exceptional opportunity to observe the manner of development of the new country, and he was profoundly impressed with the vicious results of ill-adjusted land laws. Our laws, framed for the well-watered East, are not adapted to the needs of the arid West. In a dry country the soil yields crops only when artificially watered, and the ownership of the scant water of the streams should go with the ownership of the best farming land to which it can be conveyed by canals; but the common law gives the use of the stream to the adjacent land, whether it is suitable for farming or not. The arid land that cannot be watered is useful chiefly for grazing, but its herbage is so scant that a single stock raiser requires a large tract—much larger than our laws allow an individual to homestead or purchase. So there is no private title to the grazing lands, and there is no incentive to the improvement of their natural resources. The laws under which title is given to mineral lands assume that ores lie in regular sheets, dipping down into the earth, and as few ores are so disposed titles are uncertain and the mining industry is burdened with excessive litigation. Powell's attempt to procure the enactment of better laws has proved, up to the present time, the least successful of all his undertakings, but it is still possible that through the slow action of public opinion his endeavors may bear fruit.

In 1877 his corps prepared an economic map of Utah, showing

the distribution of irrigable timber and grazing lands, and this was published in conjunction with a volume by Powell in which he discussed the Western land problem so far as irrigation and pasturage are concerned. The book is entitled *The Lands of the Arid Region*. Subsequently Congress authorised the appointment of a "Public Lands Commission" to investigate the whole subject of the land laws, and Powell, being made a member of it, devoted much time in 1879 and 1880 to its work. Its report, in four thick volumes, is a monument to its industry, but the reforms it advocated have only in small part been made.

The survey developed as a sequel to the exploration of the Colorado canyons came eventually to be called the Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. From similar small beginnings Dr. F. V. Hayden, likewise an explorer and geologist, developed the Survey of the Territories, and Captain George M. Wheeler, an engineer officer of the regular army, developed the Survey West of the 100th Meridian. All these were sustained by Congressional appropriations, their lines of investigation were largely the same, and they were rivals. The evils resulting from rivalry were many and were fully recognised, but for many years no reduction was made in the number of organisations because Congress could not agree which one to select for preservation. It was finally proposed to abolish all three and create instead a Geological Survey whose chief should be appointed by the President of the United States, and of this proposition Powell was the most active advocate. It was adopted by Congress in March, 1879, and the direction of the new-born United States Geological Survey was given to Mr. Clarence King, a geologist who had already won distinction as chief of the Fortieth Parallel Survey.

Zoölogic and ethnologic researches, which had been conducted by the Surveys just abolished, were not included among the functions of the new organisation, but Congress made a special provision for ethnologic work by establishing a Bureau of Ethnology. Major Powell was made the Director of this Bureau and he was thus enabled to continue one of the most important lines of investigation of the survey he had been willing to have abolished.

The direction of the Geological Survey was held by Mr. King less than two years; he resigned in March, 1881. President Garfield immediately named Major Powell as his successor, sending the nomination to the Senate. It is the custom of that body to refer each nomination to an appropriate committee and take action only after the committee has made its report; but when the nom-

inee is a senator his confirmation is considered immediately without asking the advice of a committee. It is one of the open secrets of the executive session of the Senate that Major Powell's nomination was paid the exceptional compliment of immediate consideration and confirmation.

He directed the work of both bureaus until 1894. During this period the appropriations for the work of the Geological Survey were greatly increased, and its functions were from time to time enlarged, especially by the addition of investigations and surveys connected with the utilisation of the waters of the arid region for irrigation. In 1888 the Survey was instructed to classify the lands of the public domain, and especially to set apart as agricultural those which might be redeemed by irrigation. The provisions of the law were such that the Secretary of the Interior felt compelled to withdraw all public lands from sale pending their classification by the Geological Survey. This withdrawal aroused a storm of indignation, leading to the repeal of the new law and the reduction also of the appropriations for other work of the Survey. The disaster indicated diminished confidence on the part of Congress in the Director of the Survey, and led him to resign his office as soon as he could be sure of the appointment of a properly qualified successor. He retired gladly, as impaired health had for several years made heavy executive responsibilities an onerous burden, and he afterward watched with great pleasure the successful administration of his successor, Mr. Walcott.

Immediately after his resignation he submitted to a third operation on his wounded arm, which had given him much trouble, and thereafter sedulously husbanded his physical resources, devoting the remainder of his life to the elaboration and publication of a system of philosophy to which he had already given much thought. He retained the directorship of the Bureau of Ethnology, but delegated the chief labor of administration to another. This work was carried on despite a complication of bodily ailments, and his health steadily declined until his death, which occurred on the 23d of September, 1902.

The study of nature falls logically into three categories: observation, classification, and explanation. One great part consists in the observation and description of phenomena, another in their classification and generalisation, the putting of like phenomena together and the substitution of summary statements for the enumeration of details. A third part furnishes the explanation of groups of phenomena, or constructs theories. The three interlock and in-

teract. Most good observation is guided by antecedent classification or theory; the observer either gathers facts within a specific category, or he seeks crucial facts to test an hypothesis. Before the discovery of satisfactory theories, classifications are artificial and tentative.

These interdependencies and others that might be named render it impossible always to discriminate the three kinds of scientific work, and it is still less possible to classify scientific workers under three corresponding heads; but it is nevertheless true that a large body of workers devote their lives to observation on selected subjects and generalise but little; and that others deal chiefly with generalisation and theory. The best observers are acquainted with competing hypotheses as to the phenomena under observation; and the observations of those ignorant of hypotheses are comparatively worthless. The best theorists are personally familiar with observation; and the theories of those who are not also observers are unsuccessful.

It results that the great investigators, those who contribute classifications and theories which are at once comprehensive and stable, are not merely men with great power of generalisation and analysis, they are also men whose training as observers enables them to sort the good from the bad in the recorded observations of others. The greatest investigators have begun with mere observation, or with the collection of specimens, have then discussed their own observations, and finally in full maturity have reared noble structures of philosophy on foundations far broader than the observation of an individual could compass.

Powell's early scientific work made no important literary record. He collected the mammals, reptiles, shells, plants, fossils, and minerals of his region, ascertained their names, and prepared faunal and floral lists, but in this he did little more than follow the tracks of others. Whether consciously or unconsciously, he was training his mind to habits of close observation and establishing an all-important respect for the facts of nature. His contributions to the world's knowledge and the world's philosophy began in later life and pertain to other fields of research. As an explorer he contributed to geography, geology, and ethnology; ethnologic study led him to the broader science of anthropology; and the evening of his life was given to the broadest of all generalisations and the most comprehensive of all theories,—a system of philosophy.

His contributions to physical geography and geology are chiefly contained in three treatises. In his volume on the *Exploration of*

the Colorado River the first part is a narrative of the voyage—the narrative quoted in the preceding chapter,—and the second part is a systematic account of the physical features of the river valley. The second treatise makes a volume by itself, and has for its theme the *Geology of the Eastern Portion of the Uinta Mountains*. In these works the details of observation are not recited. The features of the country and the geologic structure are set forth in comprehensive statements, and are treated as texts for the discussion of the departments of geologic philosophy to which their explanation belongs. The principal generalisations are: (1) a definition of the "plateau province," (2) a classification of mountain types, (3) a classification of valleys, and (4) a classification of the forms of displacement of the plateau province, with a demonstration of the equivalence of the fault and the monoclinical flexure. The chief additions to geologic theory appear in discussions of the physics of erosion and of the production of topographic forms by the joint action of upheaval and erosion. The term "base-level of erosion," first used in these discussions and now current wherever the forms of the land are studied, carries with it an idea of apparent simplicity but of far-reaching importance. A stream cannot wear down below its base-level, and the rate and manner of degradation of a region depend on the relation of the region to the base-levels of its streams.

It was shown that the degradation of mountains is many times more rapid than that of lowlands, and that mountains are therefore temporary elevations unless continuously renewed by uplift. All great mountains are young.

When the strata deposited by the sea are lifted into land, rivers begin to flow over them. The initial direction of the rivers is down the slope, and this is also the direction of the dip. It is found, however, that many drainage systems are quite independent of the direction of the dip, and, still more strange, that rivers often cut their way through mountain ranges instead of going around them. A generation of geologists observed this and wondered at it without finding an adequate explanation, but the present generation has discovered three different ways in which "inconsequent" drainage may arise and has arisen. Two of these ways were discovered by Powell, and to characterise them he introduced the terms "superimposed drainage" and "antecedent drainage."

When a region of disturbed strata has in long ages been degraded nearly to base-level, then sinks below water level and receives a coating of sediments, and then is lifted into land, its new

drainage conforms to the overlying strata. With continued uplift and continued degradation the newer deposits are destroyed and the drainage system sinks into the underlying disturbed strata. The drainage is independent of the system of dips into which it is lowered and on which it is "superimposed."

If a mountain range is slowly uplifted athwart the course of a large river, the river wears its channel deeper and maintains its course. When the uplift is completed, the mountain stands in two parts, divided by the river. The direction of the stream's flow is independent of the dips of the rocks in the mountain, because the drainage is "antecedent" to the uplift.

His third important treatise on physical geography constitutes the first three chapters of a monograph by the National Geographic Society on the physiography of the United States. It sets forth the broader processes by which the surface of the earth is modified, characterises the features to which these processes give rise, and classifies the land of the United States into physiographic regions or provinces.

Anthropology is Powell's favorite science, and to it his greatest contributions have been made. Nor need his preference occasion surprise. Geology is young, and being young has had the advantage of modern inductive methods from its birth. Its growth has been so rapid that its great generalisations have been attained, and present progress is by slow stages, adding here a little and there a little. Great indeed must be the future geologist who can earn the reputation of Lyell. But the study of man was begun in the far distant past, and it accumulated by early methods so large a body of theory that when better methods became known it was at first unable to accept and use them. It has resulted that inductive anthropology is a less developed science than geology. Moreover, anthropology is the great science of the future, for its results are to guide the development of human institutions. It has barely discovered its high destiny, and is beginning to train its powers for serious work.

The days that Powell has spent in intercourse with Indians for the purpose of studying their languages, their modes of thought, their institutions, their arts and their philosophies, aggregate several years of time. On the material thus gathered many printed volumes of description might be based. But the time necessary to arrange and edit this material was never given because his energies were consumed by more important work. A small portion only was published. A sketch of the *Ancient Province of Tusayan*

appeared in *Scribner's Monthly* in 1875; an address read at the Boston meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was devoted to the *Political System of the Wyandots*; a few myths of the Utes were recited in the first annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology; and the material has been frequently drawn on for purposes of illustration; but as a body the observations are recorded only in note-books. And yet the time devoted to them was neither lost nor misspent, for it gave him the foundation of personal observation necessary to sound generalisation. It rendered him a rare critic of ethnologic material,—able by what seemed an intuition to select the grain for use and reject the chaff. More than this, it gave him the breadth of view for which he was distinguished. The American differ so widely—in many respects so radically—from the Aryan races that their comparative study yielded him generalisations he could never have derived from a comparison of Aryan peoples with one another. With the aid of books he brought yet other ethnic stocks within his view, testing and extending his generalisations and developing a system of anthropologic philosophy.

The framework of this system of philosophy was mentally arranged before any of it was given to the world, but the different parts have been elaborated and published in a somewhat fragmentary way and without strict adherence to their logical order. A few have appeared in the annual reports of the Bureau of Ethnology; the greater number have been prepared and read as addresses to various scientific societies and printed with their proceedings. They are thus widely scattered, and their plan and order, though ever in the mind of their author, and frequently communicated in conversation, have never appeared in print. The central essay is entitled *Human Evolution*, and was read to the Anthropological Society of Washington in 1883. It begins by characterising the geologic, archæologic, historic, and ethnologic data through which the history of man's evolution is discovered. It then treats of the general character of that evolution. Human activities are then divided into five categories, and a brief sketch is given of the line of evolution within each category. The categories are: first, esthetic arts; second, industrial arts; third, institutions; fourth, languages; fifth, philosophy. Of the remaining essays of the series, two logically precede this, in that they treat of the relation of human evolution to other evolution and the relation of the science of man to other sciences; eight logically follow it and develop the philosophy in detail.

An address to the Philosophical Society of Washington, likewise in 1883, is entitled *Three Methods of Evolution*, and in this Powell characterises the processes of inorganic, biotic, and anthropic evolution as radically distinct. He gives special attention to the distinction between biotic and anthropic evolution, because he regards the prevalent theory that they are identical as one of the most insidious impediments to anthropologic progress. The following extract from the concluding portion of the address includes some of the fundamental elements of his philosophy :

"It has thus been shown that there are three stages in the combination of matter and motion, and that each stage is characterised by a clearly distinct method of evolution. These may be defined as follows :

"First, physical evolution is the result of direct adaptation to environment, under the law that motion is in the direction of least resistance.

"Second, biotic evolution is the result of indirect adaptation to the environment by the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence.

"Third, anthropic evolution is the result of the exercise of human faculties in activities designed to increase happiness, and through which the environment is adapted to man.

"These may be briefly denominated : evolution by adaptation, evolution by survival of the fittest, and evolution by endeavor.

"Civilised men have always recognised to some extent the laws of human evolution,—that activities are teleologically developed, and that happiness is increased thereby. In the early history of mankind the nature of teleologic endeavor was so strongly impressed upon the mind that the theory was carried far beyond the truth, so that all biotic function and physical motion were interpreted as teleologic activity. When this error was discovered, and the laws of physical and biotic evolution established, vast realms of phenomena were found to have been entirely misunderstood and falsely explained, and teleologic postulates have finally fallen into disrepute. Men say there is progress in the universe by reason of the very laws of nature, and we must let them alone. Thus, reaction from the ancient false philosophy of teleology has carried men beyond the truth, until they have lost faith in all human endeavor; and they teach the doctrine that man can do nothing for himself, that he owes what he is to physical and biotic agencies, and that his interests are committed to powers over which he has no control.

"Such a philosophy is gradually gaining ground among thinkers and writers, and should it prevail to such an extent as to control the actions of mankind, modern civilisation would lapse into a condition no whit superior to that of the millions of India, who for many centuries have been buried in the metaphysical speculations of the philosophy of ontology. When a man loses faith in himself, and worships nature, and subjects himself to the government of the laws of physical nature, he lapses into stagnation, where mental and moral miasma is bred. All that makes man superior to the beast is the result of his own endeavor to secure happiness.

"Man, so far as he is superior to the beast, is the master of his own destiny, and not the creature of the environment. He adapts the natural environment to his wants, and thus creates an environment for himself."¹

The three methods of evolution correspond to a classification of the sciences in three groups: the sciences of matter, the sciences of life, and the science of man as a thinking animal. The individual sciences composing these groups, and their order among themselves, are set forth in an address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1888.

The essays devoted to the amplification of the outline of human evolution constitute two series. The first series is based upon the recognition of three stages of progress—savagery, barbarism, and civilisation. One address to the Anthropological Society is entitled *From Savagery to Barbarism* (1885); a second is entitled *From Barbarism to Civilisation* (1888); a third *Evolution in Civilised Man* (1887).

"By the division of labor men have become interdependent, so that every man works for some other man. To the extent that culture has progressed beyond the plane occupied by the brute, man has ceased to work directly for himself and come to work directly for others and indirectly for himself. He struggles directly to benefit others, that he may indirectly but ultimately benefit himself. This principle of political economy is so thoroughly established that it needs no explication here; but it must be fully appreciated before we can thoroughly understand the vast extent to which interdependence has been established. For the glasses which I wear, mines were worked in California, and railroads constructed across the continent to transport the product of those mines to the manufactories in the East. For the bits of steel on the bow, mines were worked in Michigan, smelting-works were erected in Chicago,

¹ *Bull. Philosoph. Soc.*, Washington, Vol. VI., pp. li-iii.

manufactories built in New Jersey, and railroads constructed to transport the material from one point to the other. Merchant-houses and banking-houses were rendered necessary. Many men were employed in producing and bringing that little instrument to me. As I sit in my library to read a book, I open the pages with a paper-cutter, the ivory of which was obtained through the employment of a tribe of African elephant-hunters. The paper on which my book is printed was made of the rags saved by the beggars of Italy. A watchman stands on guard in Hoosac Tunnel that I may some time ride through it in safety. If all the men who have worked for me, directly and indirectly, for the past ten years, and who are now scattered through the four quarters of the earth, were marshaled on the plain outside of the city, organised and equipped for war, I could march to the proudest capital of the world and the armies of Europe could not withstand me. I am the master of all the world. But during all my life I have worked for other men, and thus I am every man's servant; so are we all—servants to many masters and masters of many servants. It is thus that men are gradually becoming organised into one vast body-politic, every one is striving to serve his fellow-man and all working for the common welfare. Thus the enmity of man to man is appeased, and men live and labor for one another; individualism is transmuted into socialism, egoism into altruism, and man is lifted above the brute to an immeasurable height. Man inherited the body, instincts, and passions of the brute; the nature thus inherited has survived in his constitution and is exhibited along all the course of his history. Injustice, fraud, and cruelty stain the pathway of culture from the earliest to the latest days. But man has not risen in culture by reason of his brutal nature. His method of evolution has not been the same as that of the lower animals; the evolution of man has been through the evolution of the humanities, the evolution of those things which distinguish him from the brute. The doctrines of evolution which biologists have clearly shown to apply to animals *do not apply to man*. Man has evolved because he has been emancipated from the cruel laws of brutality."¹

In another place he shows that, though competition of plant with plant and brute with brute is the means of biotic progress, civilised man does not compete with plant or brute, but destroys what are hurtful to him and improves what are beneficial. When man competes with man in the struggle for existence no step in evolution results.

¹ *Trans. Anthropological Soc. of Washington*, Vol. III., pp. 195-196.

"Vestiges of brutal competition still exist in the highest civilisation, but they are called crimes; and, to prevent this struggle for existence, penal codes are enacted, prisons are built, and gallows are erected. Competition in the struggle for existence is the agency by which progress is secured in plant and animal life, but competition in the struggle for existence among men is *crime* most degrading. Brute struggles with brute for life, and in the æons of time this struggle has wrought that marvellous transformation which we call the evolution of animals; but man struggles with man for existence, and murder runs riot: no step in human progress is made.

"That struggle for existence between man and man which we have considered and called crime is a struggle of one individual with another. But there is an organised struggle of bodies of men with bodies of men, which is not characterised as murder, but is designated as warfare. Here, then, we have man struggling with man on a large scale, and here it is where some of our modern writers on evolution discover the natural law of selection,—'the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence.' The strongest army survives in the grand average of the wars of the world.

"When armies are organised in modern civilisation, the very strongest and best are selected, and the soldiers of the world are gathered from their homes in the prime of manhood and in lusty health. If there is one deformed, if there is one maimed, if there is one weaker of intellect, he is left at home to continue the stock, while the strong and the courageous are selected to be destroyed. In organised warfare the processes of natural selection are reversed: the fittest to live are killed, the fittest to die are preserved; and in the grand average the weak, physically, mentally, and morally, are selected to become the propagators of the race."¹

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

¹ *Science*, Vol. XI., p. 113.

BUDDHA'S LAST MEAL AND THE CHRISTIAN EUCHARIST.

THEIR PRESERVATION OF EARLIER RITES.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

WHILE we would draw no parallel between Buddha's Last Meal and the Christian Eucharist such as we should draw between the Angelic Heralds of Luke and those of the Sutta-Nipâto, yet these meals have something in common. It is this: they both preserve primeval sacred ideas about eating and drinking. Henry Clay Trumbull's monograph *The Blood Covenant* has set forth the ancient practice underlying the Christian sacrament, viz., the exchange of blood to cement friendship,—the blood, by a later refinement of the race, being represented by wine. The text of Mark, which is the oldest, has for the memorial words:

"And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body. And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my *blood of the covenant*,¹ which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God." (Mark xiv. 22-25.)

But Paul was not content with this simple form, and a vision from the risen Christ informed him that the memorial words commanded a perpetuity for the rite:

"I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body which is for you: this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord." (1 Cor. xi. 23-27.)

¹ The words in italics are from Exodus xxiv. 8.

This new formula, with its mysterious threat, affiliated the Sacred Meal to those of Eleusis and of Mithra, much to the scandal of Justin Martyr, who saw in the latter a diabolic travesty. Thus did Christianity perpetuate a primeval rite, inherited by several of the book-religions from the prehistoric past. But Gospel authority was wanting until Paul's new words were inserted into the text of Luke :

"And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer : for I say unto you, I will not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves : for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come. And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body [*which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you*]. But behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. For the Son of man indeed goeth, as it hath been determined : but woe unto that man through whom he is betrayed ! And they began to question among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing." (Luke xxii. 14-23.)

The Revised Version of 1881 (which I always use) notes in the margin that the words italicised and in brackets are not in certain manuscripts. The best critics consider them an addition made from Paul. Luke was reckoned by the early Christians as Paul's Gospel. Tertullian gives us their literary standard when he says that the works of disciples are counted those of their masters.

Just as the Christian Eucharist preserves the covenant blood of Exodus, derived from a remoter past, so does the Buddhist final meal preserve an equally ancient practice. In the Book of the Great Decease we read :

"Now the Lord addressed Cundo the smith and said : 'Whatever dried boar's flesh remains to thee, Cundo, that bury in a hole. I see no one, Cundo, upon earth nor in the heavens of Máro or Brahmá, no one among philosophers and Brahmins, princes and peoples, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be assimilated, save by the Tathágato.'

"'Even so, Master !' said Cundo the smith in assent unto the Lord. And whatever dried boar's flesh remained over, that he buried in a hole." (Book of the Great Decease, Chap. IV.)

Now James G. Frazer, in his remarkable book *The Golden Bough*, tells us this :

"No one may touch the food which the King of Loango leaves upon his plate: it is buried in a hole in the ground." (*Golden Bough*, second edition. London, 1900, Vol. I., p. 318.)

This is done to prevent the scraps being used by a sorcerer, but it is also part and parcel of the whole system of royal and priestly taboos, such as seen in the former seclusion of the Mikado. As is well known to students of historical religion, the offices of priest and king were once identical, as in the case of Melchizedek. The primitive royal hierarch was a deity on earth, and the spiritual ancestor of

"That divinity which doth hedge a king."

The supreme example of the divine or priestly king is the God-Man; and the race-consciousness of both the great historic Masters led them to identify themselves with this mythic Divine-Human. Greater than any parallels in their conduct from an alleged connection between their stories is the older and more venerable one which has its roots in the hero-legends of primeval man.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A NEW BOOK ON ANCIENT ATHENS.

Prof. Ernest Arthur Gardner of London is one of the foremost living authorities on classical archæology, and, having studied the topography of Athens on the spot, has condensed his own results as well as those of his predecessors—Curtius, Wachsmuth, Michaelis, Milchhöfer, F. C. Penrose, etc.—in a stately volume of 579 pages (Macmillan). The book is a pleasure to the eye. The cover shows a restoration of the Propylæa and the Parthenon in gilt outlines, and wherever we open the book we find instructive pictures. The frontispiece is a most artistic photogravure of a view of the Acropolis, and many other full-page illustrations are not less well executed. With the assistance of maps and diagrams we can study the several sites of interest almost as easily as if we were transported to the spot.

Professor Gardner reviews in the introductory chapter the geography of Athens, its climate, and other advantages, which must be regarded as a part of the characteristic features of the city. The bulk of the book (Chapters II.—VIII.) is devoted to the Acropolis, the construction of its walls, its status before the Persian wars, and to the buildings erected during the Periclean age. The Parthenon and Erechtheum, as might be expected, receive special attention. The remaining six chapters unroll before our eyes a picture of Athens during the fifth and fourth centuries (Chap. IX.). Then we have a survey of the most important buildings scattered over the town, the Theseum, Asclepieum, and the theater (Chap. X.), the potter's field or Ceramicus (Chap. XI.), which is the famous burial-place of Athens, with its many monuments and tombs of famous men, compared by our author to England's Westminster Abbey (p. 457); further, a description of the city in Hellenistic and Roman times (Chap. XII.), a review of Pausanias's visit to Athens, elucidated by a good map on tissue paper superimposed upon a map of modern Athens, and finally a chapter on the Piræus, which concludes the work.

The book is obviously written for the general public, and will be serviceable to the student of Athenian history and art. All controversial matter is therefore wisely excluded from the main text. Mooted points are either entirely omitted or, wherever this procedure did not seem advisable, relegated to notes. In consideration of the author's unmistakable intention, it would not be fair for a reviewer to enter into details and turn critic, especially as all moot points are of minor interest, and moreover as the author, besides being an authority on the subject, proves remarkably careful not to venture on the slippery ground of new-fangled theories or hypotheses. His views are upon the whole based upon the traditional and well-founded interpretation of the facts. But we may be permitted to state our divergence from his opinion in one case, viz., in his explanation of

the adjective "enneapylon," i. e., the nine-gated, which is used by Greek authors with reference to the prehistoric wall, the Pelargicon, that surrounded the ancient city. Here, we venture to think, Professor Gardner is too conservative when he follows those former archaeologists who studied the topography of Athens in their own homes from descriptions in Pausanias and other classical authors. He says "the most probable conjecture is that they were set one within another in a series of bastions or terraces." So far as we remember, Curtius was the first to suggest that the Pelargicon surrounded the foot of the Acropolis, not the crest of the plateau, and thus it is probable that the nine gates are distributed over its entire circumference. There must have been two fortified gates, one in the Pelargicon, another on top, and there is not room enough for nine successive gates between these two points. Moreover, a series of nine gates could by the complexity of this unusual mode of fortification only have added to the difficulties of the defence. We might further add that Professor Gardner speaks up for the honor of his countryman Lord Elgin, commonly censured for the barbarous spoliation of the Parthenon sculptures, claiming that he only transferred them to a place of safety. But these points are of minor importance, and assuming Professor Gardner now and then to be misguided, his incidental mistakes do not detract from the many excellencies of the book.

As a specimen of Professor Gardner's treatment of this subject, we reproduce some extracts from his chapter on the Ceramicus. Upon the whole there is among artistic monuments a striking absence of symbols giving us information concerning the beliefs of the Athenians as to the fate of the soul after death. Having discussed some of the numerous representations on the tombs which allude to the departure of the deceased or to events or habits of his life, he distinguishes on the oil decanters (on the *lecythi*) three different kinds of pictures: first, actual or ideal representations of the funeral; secondly, subsequent visits to the tomb with food and drink offerings; and thirdly, scenes of the journey to Hades. He continues:

"From the funeral two scenes are commonly selected: the lying in state of the deceased on a bed or bier, among mourning relatives, who do not always show in their grief the restraint which we see on the reliefs; and the deposition in the grave,—sometimes represented as it actually happened, but more often in an ideal scene, where two winged genii, Sleep and Death, lay in the grave a figure of the deceased with none of the stiffness of death, but seated or recumbent as if asleep. The tomb itself often appears in the background. The representation of the visit to the tomb is again, in some respects, like what actually happened: the relatives of the deceased, especially women, bring sashes and wreaths and other offerings in broad, flat baskets to decorate the tomb; but often the deceased himself appears, a figure quite like the rest, seated or standing on the steps of the tomb to receive what is brought, or to welcome the visit of his friends. In this case we may perhaps recognise an allusion to the representation of the deceased that existed upon his stela; but the vase painter, rather than copy another work of art, prefers to give his own direct version of the presence of the deceased. Sometimes, however, the deceased is represented as actually painted or sculptured upon the tomb. Yet another form in which he may appear in these scenes on the vases is that of an *eidolon*, a little butterfly-like figure of human form with wings. In the journey to Hades, Charon and his boat are constant features, and he is evidently a realistic study in many cases from a rustic ferryman; sometimes the marshy bank of the Styx is represented by a group of rushes; and often Hermes appears as the guide and herald of the dead. The deceased often carries with him some of his funeral

gifts to the ferry-boat; and sometimes, by a curious confusion of place, Charon and his skiff actually approach the tomb itself to fetch its occupant.

"From the lecythi and the sculptured tombs together, we may gather some notion of how the Greeks thought of death and of the life beyond it. It is evident that there was some confusion, both in belief and in ritual, between various inconsistent views. The most prevalent notion seems to be of the continued existence of the dead in the neighborhood of the place where his body lies, of his presence to receive the visits of his relatives and their offerings, of his appearing to them as he had been in life, or sometimes hovering as a diminutive ghost about them and their gifts. It is impossible not to recall in this connection the description of Plato in the *Phædo*, how those souls that had allowed themselves to be too much mixed up and contaminated with the body in their earthly life, found it impossible to free themselves from it entirely at death, but still hovered about the cemeteries. Side by side with this conception of the actual presence of the deceased at his tomb, and sometimes inextricably confused with it, we find some allusions to the myth of Charon, but not to any other incidents of the life beyond the grave. The myths of Hades, of judgment and punishment or reward, that we read of in poets and philosophers, find no reflection in the popular feeling, so far as it is recorded for us by these monuments. In fact, it is not only for the beliefs of the people about death, but also for the representation of their life, that the sculptured tombs of the Athenians are valuable to us; for they supplement and correct in a remarkable way the impressions given by literature. Especially notable are the prominence of women on the tombs and the constant representations of husband and wife, of parents and children, in the intimacy of family life. This is a side of the Greeks that we might well overlook but for these monuments; yet we can hardly believe that what they turned to in moments of sorrow and therefore of the deepest feeling had not also, though not superficially conspicuous, a real influence on their life and character."

P. C.

EXPLORATIONS IN BIBLE LANDS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, commonly considered the leading Assyriologist of America, presents in his latest work, *Explorations in Bible Lands During the 19th Century*,¹ the results of the excavations which have been made in Babylonia, Assyria, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, and the country of the Hittites, so called, during the century just passed. Professor Hilprecht is the editor of, and the main contributor to, this stately volume, his department being Assyria and Babylonia. For a statement of the results of excavations in Palestine, he has engaged Dr. J. Benzinger; in Egypt, Prof. Georg Steindorff; for Arabia, Prof. Fritz Hommel; and for the Hittite inscriptions, Prof. P. Jensen. The territory on the Euphrates near Babylon having yielded so much interesting and valuable material, it is but natural that the department of Assyria and Babylonia is the bulkiest in the book, consisting alone of 622 pages. Professor Hilprecht narrates here the long story of the rediscovery of Nineveh and Babylon, beginning with the earliest explorers, without forgetting to summarise the reports which Mediæval travellers brought home of the sites of the lost cities. We become acquainted with all the important details of the excavations made by Claudius

¹ With nearly two hundred illustrations and four maps. Philadelphia: A. J. Holman and Company. 1903. Pages, xxiv, 809.

James Rich (a Frenchman educated at Bristol, England), J. S. Buckingham, Sir Robert Ker Porter, Capt. Robert Mignan, G. Baille Fraser, Col. Chesney, James Felix Jones, Lynch, Selby, Collingwood, Bewsher, etc., etc. The discoveries of these men were only the beginning; they were taken up more systematically by Botta, who, supported by Flandin and Place, discovered at Khorsabâd, near the ancient site of Nineveh, an extensive Assyrian palace fortress which proved to be the castle of the famous conqueror of Samaria, King Sargon, which was called Dûr-Sharrukên, or "Sargon's Castle." For the first time the importance of these excavations now dawned upon the world, and our historians saw themselves necessitated to concede the extraordinary civilisation of the ancient Assyrians.

Of special interest are the excavations undertaken by Layard, an English Huguenot who, with comparatively small means, accomplished greater results than all his predecessors. He was followed by Rassam and Loftus. The works of Layard are too well known to need further explanation. The French government, anxious not to stand behind other nations, sent out an expedition under Fresnel, Oppert (a naturalised German), and Thomas. Sir Henry Rawlinson is the next to be named. Among his discoveries may be mentioned the first successful restoration of a Babylonian *ziggurat*, viz., "The Temple of the Seven Spheres of Heaven and Earth," which he unearthed at Borsippa. The conception which, on the basis of his investigations, he established concerning these peculiar Babylonian pyramids proved to be true in all essential points, they consisting of several platforms, one raised upon another, in successive stories, becoming smaller and smaller to the top. About the same time fall the labors of George Smith and Hormuzd Rassam. The French scored great successes at Tellô under De Sarzec, especially in the discovery of the important relics of the priest-king Gudea, a sovereign who must have possessed both great power and wisdom. Under his rule, about 2700 B. C., a period when Sumerian was still a spoken language, the country must have enjoyed extraordinary prosperity and a comparatively peaceful development. His capital, the city of Lagash, was the center of trade and commerce. Gudea fought victorious battles against Elam, and his agents reached the Mediterranean. His cedars were cut in northern Syria; his dolerite he obtained from the quarries of Magan, in eastern Arabia; his caravans brought copper from the mines of Kimash, and his ships carried gold and precious wood from the mountains of Medina and the rocky shores of the Sinaitic peninsula. What a powerful influence Sumeria must have exercised over the whole Orient, including Palestine, long before Abraham left his ancestral home on the banks of the Euphrates! De Sarzec discovered innumerable statues representing this powerful priest-king and also vases decorated with the coat-of-arms of Lagash,—a lion-headed eagle holding a lion in its talons.

The German excavations under Moritz and Koldewey are briefly summarised in a special chapter; but naturally the conclusion of this interesting chapter in history, the American expeditions, partly directed by Professor Hilprecht himself will claim our special interest. The first expedition may be considered a failure. It so happened that one of the Moravian Arabs was killed by a Turkish policeman while defending the property of the expedition, and this aroused the hostility of the half-civilised inhabitants of the desert, which finally led to the utter abandonment of the project. A new campaign started in 1889, this time with more success. The Americans tried their best to remain on a good footing with the Arabs; the difficulties, however, were still very great. The rivalry among the different chiefs and the greed of the poor "Afej" caused much embarrassment. The Arabs believed that the Americans possessed great treasures; every box of their provi-

sions was suspected to contain gold. The mere sight of a gold crown on the tooth of one of the explorers strengthened their conviction and excited their lust for plunder. Fortunately, however, there was one circumstance which proved of priceless value to the members of the expedition and may have helped to save their lives. We here insert verbatim the report of Professor Hilprecht:

"The notion was spread among the 'Afej and their neighboring tribes that the foreigners were armed with great magical power, and that, in punishment of the firing and plundering of their camp, they had brought upon their enemies the cholera, which was not quite extinct even in the year following. Several successful treatments of light ailments, and exceedingly bitter concoctions wisely administered to various healthy chiefs, who were curious to see and to taste the truth of all that was constantly reported, served only to assure and confirm this belief; and Peters, on his part, seized every opportunity to encourage and to develop such sentiment among the credulous 'Afej. He intimated to them that nothing was hidden from his knowledge, and that the accursed money which had been stolen would find its way back to him; he made mysterious threats of sore affliction and loss by death which would cause consternation among them; and to demonstrate his superior power and to indicate some of the terrible things which might happen at any moment, he finally gave them a drastic exhibition of his cunning art, which had a tremendous effect upon all who saw it. We will quote the story in his own language: 'Just before sunset, when the men were all in camp and at leisure, so that I was sure they would notice what we did, Noorian and I ascended a high point of the mound near by, he solemnly bearing a compass before me on an improvised black cushion. There, by the side of an old trench, we went through a complicated hocus-pocus with the compass, a Turkish dictionary, a spring tape-measure, and a pair of field glasses, the whole camp watching us in puzzled wonder. Immediately after our dinner, while most of the men were still busy eating, we stole up the hill, having left to Haynes the duty of preventing any one from leaving the camp. Our fireworks were somewhat primitive and slightly dangerous, so that the trench which we had chosen for our operations proved rather close quarters. The first rocket had scarcely gone off when we could hear a buzz of excited voices below us. When the second and third followed, the cry arose that we were making the stars fall from heaven. The women screamed and hid themselves in the huts, and the more timid among the men followed suit. As Roman candles and Bengal lights followed, the excitement grew more intense. At last we came to our *pièce de résistance*, the tomato-can firework. At first this fizzled and bade fair to ruin our whole performance. Then, just as we despaired of success, it exploded with a great noise, knocking us over backward in the trench, behind a wall in which we were hidden, and filling the air with fiery serpents hissing and sputtering in every direction. The effect was indescribably diabolical, and every man, woman, and child, guards included, fled screaming, to seek for hiding-places, overcome with terror.'"

Comical as this incident is, we find that the history of the rediscovery of ancient Babylonia also contains tragic features. On page 318 we learn that while Professor Hilprecht sojourned in the Orient his wife, concealing a serious illness, wrote cheerful and encouraging letters so as not to prevent her husband from pursuing his work; and when he finally returned to Germany in perfect ignorance of her condition, she was beyond human aid and died soon afterward (March, 1902).

The great results achieved by these expeditions have been discussed in books by various scholars, and they are sufficiently indicated in Professor Hilprecht's

work; but it will be impossible to recapitulate them in the present review. Suffice it to say that Professor Hilprecht has published three volumes of Assyrian monuments, and is still busily engaged in continuing the work of decipherment. In addition to him there are many American, French, and German scholars engaged in the same field.

The report of the explorations in Palestine, by Professor Benzinger, is comparatively short, and naturally so, for Palestine is very poor in antiquities. The Jews are by their very religion enjoined to abstain from making themselves graven images, and thus it happens that the Jewish race have never cultivated plastic arts. The monuments discovered in Palestine are mainly the inscription of Siloa recording the erection of a water conduit, the stone of King Mesha of Moab, the wrongly so-called sarcophagus of Alexander, the tomb of Absalom so called, and the cuneiform correspondence between the Egyptian viceroy and his sovereign. A whole Jewish city, Sandahanna, has been unearthed, but no further monuments of importance have been discovered. No doubt there are still invaluable treasures hidden in the bosom of the earth, but we must bide the time and the good luck to discover them.

Professor Steindorff surveys in brief outlines the history of the exploration of Egypt, beginning with the French expedition under Napoleon, the discovery of the "Rosetta Stone," Champollion's decipherment of the hieroglyphs (strange to say, he entirely omits to mention Young), following up the results of the more recent excavations under Lepsius, Maspero, Petri, Naville, etc., etc. He settles some mooted questions concerning the site of the ancient Lake Mœris, and touches lightly upon the most significant monuments.

While the excavations in Egypt and Assyria have commanded general interest and are comparatively well known, the explorations in Arabia are more remote. Arabia is a country of enormous size, and although most of it is desert land it is not quite so bare of civilisation as is generally assumed. The interior is practically independent. The Sultan exercises supremacy only over the outskirts, while the Bedouins roaming in the interior are practically independent. Under these conditions it is very dangerous to travel through the country; nevertheless, some bold explorers have ventured into the interior and have brought back invaluable treasures, not only accounts as to the nature of the country, which in some parts is extraordinarily grand and beautiful, but also of inscriptions in Nabatean, Minean, and Sabean. They prove the intercourse between the Arabian capitals and Babylonia and other countries; in fact, it was an Arabian dynasty which succeeded in gaining supremacy over northern Babylonia, the sixth king being Hammurabi, the Biblical Amraphel, and a contemporary of Abraham. Babylonian inscriptions tally with the records found in Arabia, and we find that later on under Tiglath-Pileser Sargon, and Esarhaddon the Arabians were again tributary to Babylonia.

The last installment of the book before us is on a subject almost unknown,—the so-called Hittites and their inscriptions, in which Professor Jensen, who may be regarded as the most successful decipherer of this ancient writing, gives a short account of about forty pages. His conclusions are that these inscriptions, generally credited to the Hittites, were made in the years between 1300 and 600 B. C. Most of them preceded the Assyrian period when Nineveh was the capital of Asia. The script was hieroglyphic, and it is not impossible that it was made in imitation of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Egyptians came in contact with the Hittites (the inhabitants of Khate) about the year 1200; there are signs which must be regarded as ideographic, others as phonetic, similar to Egyptian writing. Fur-

ther, the nouns preceding the ideogram of *son* indicate the same ending as the plural nouns, and the grammatical construction of the words gives sufficient proof that it is a language built up after the pattern of the Aryan tongues. It is not Semitic, nor is it Iranian; thus, Professor Jensen identifies the Hittites with the Armenians and Indo-Germanic race, who are still living in the same districts of Hither Asia. Accordingly, we have here the most ancient monuments of a branch of the family group of our ancestors; and although in history the knowledge of their deeds has been almost blotted out, we now recover some important and interesting data as to the extent and nature of their civilisation. F. C.

DREAMS AND GHOSTS.

Mr. Andrew Lang is one of the most interesting of all the authors who have written on the subject of ghosts. While in the main occupying a critical attitude in his well-known book of *Dreams and Ghosts*,¹ he has aimed rather to entertain than to investigate; but the tone of the remarks he has interpolated among his recitals leaves little doubt as to his real inclinations. His book, he says, "does not pretend to be a convincing, but merely an illustrative, collection of evidence." He adopts the modern theory that every ghost is an hallucination, but that also an hallucination is a perception, to quote Professor James, "as good and true a sensation as if there were a real object there. The object happens *not* to be there, that is all." As to telepathy, he remarks with strained open-mindedness: "I do believe, with all students of human nature, in hallucinations of one, or of several, or even of all the senses. But as to whether such hallucinations, among the sane, are ever caused by psychical influences from the minds of others, alive or dead, not communicated through the ordinary channels of sense, my mind is in a balance of doubt. It is a question of evidence."

Mr. Lang tells, besides modern stories, many from remote times. "The ancient legends are given, not as evidence, but for three reasons: first, because of their merit as mere stories; next, because several of them are now perhaps for the first time offered with a critical discussion of their historical sources; lastly, because the old legends seem to show how the fancy of periods less critical than ours dealt with such facts as are now reported in a dull undramatic manner." The classical ghost-stories are all here, and even some from the Gaelic and Icelandic, which "have peculiar literary merit as simple dramatic narratives." There is also the famous Wesley ghost, Sir George Villier's spectre, Lord Lyttleton's ghost, the Beresford ghost, etc., etc. We shall reproduce but one, as a specimen of Mr. Lang's art. It is one on Professor Hilprecht.

THE ASSYRIAN PRIEST.

Herr H. V. Hilprecht is Professor of Assyriology in the University of Pennsylvania. That university had despatched an expedition to explore the ruins of Babylon, and sketches of the objects discovered had been sent home. Among these were drawings of two small fragments of agate, inscribed with characters. One Saturday night in March, 1893, Professor Hilprecht had wearied himself with puzzling over these two fragments, which were supposed to be broken pieces of finger-rings. He was inclined, from the nature of the characters, to date them about 1700-1140 B. C.; and as the first character of the third line of the first frag-

¹ Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, and Bombay. Pages, 301.

ment seemed to read KU, he guessed that it might stand for Kurigalzu, a king of that name.

About midnight the Professor went, weary and perplexed, to bed.

"Then I dreamed the following remarkable dream. A tall, thin priest of the old pre-Christian Nippur, about forty years of age, and clad in a simple *abba*, led me to the treasure-chamber of the temple, on its south-east side. He went with me into a small low-ceiled room without windows, in which there was a large wooden chest, while scraps of agate and *lapis lazuli* lay scattered on the floor. Here he addressed me as follows:

"The two fragments, which you have published separately upon pages 22 and 26, belong together [this amazing Assyrian priest spoke American!].¹ They are not finger-rings, and their history is as follows:

"King Kurigalzu (about 1300 B. C.) once sent to the temple of Bel, among other articles of agate and *lapis lazuli*, an inscribed votive cylinder of agate. Then the priests suddenly received the command to make for the statue of the god Nibib a pair of ear-rings of agate. We were in great dismay, since there was no agate as raw material at hand. In order to execute the command, there was nothing for us to do but cut the votive cylinder in three parts, thus making three rings, each of which contained a portion of the original inscription. The first two rings served as ear-rings for the statue of the god; the two fragments which have given you so much trouble are parts of them. If you will put the two together, you will have confirmation of my words. But the third ring you have not found yet, and you never will find it."

The professor awoke, bounded out of bed, as Mrs. Hilprecht testifies, and was heard crying from his study, "It is so, it is so!" Mrs. Hilprecht followed her lord, "and satisfied herself in the midnight hour as to the outcome of his most interesting dream."

The Professor, however, says that he awoke, told his wife the dream and verified it next day. Both statements are correct. There were two sets of drawings, one in the study (used that night) one used next day in the University Library.

The inscription ran thus, the missing fragment being restored, "by analogy from many similar inscriptions":

To the god Nibib, child
Of the god Bel,
His Lord
Kurigalzu,
Pontifex of the god Bel
Has presented it.

But in the drawings the fragments were of different colors, so that a student working on the drawings would not guess them to be parts of one cylinder. Professor Hilprecht, however, examined the two actual fragments in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. They lay in two distinct cases, but, when put together, fitted. When cut asunder of old, in Babylon, the white vein of the stone showed on one fragment, the grey surface on the other.

Professor Romaine Newbold, who publishes this dream, explains that the Professor had unconsciously reasoned out his facts, the difference of color in the two pieces of agate disappearing in the dream. The Professor had heard from Dr. Peters of the expedition, that a room had been discovered with fragments of a

¹ The Professor is not sure whether he spoke English or German.

wooden box and chips of agate and *lapis lazuli*. The sleeping mind "combined its information," reasoned rightly from it, and threw its own conclusions into a dramatic form, receiving the information from the lips of a priest of Nippur.

Probably we do a good deal of reasoning in sleep. Professor Hilprecht, in 1882-1883, was working at a translation of an inscription wherein came *Naba-Kudarru-usur*, rendered by Professor Delitzsch "Nebo protect my mortar-board." Professor Hilprecht accepted this, but woke one morning with his mind full of the thought that the words should be rendered "Nebo protect my boundary," which "sounds a deal likelier," and is now accepted.

EASTER.

In every age the world has known
Some bard felt moved to sing
Earth's pæan over winter gone,
Her welcome to the spring.

The mysteries of the Easter-thought
To all mankind belong;
No time the perfect light hath brought,
No race the final song.

Yet art thou blessed, Palestine,
Among the lands of earth!
For thee a holy light did shine,
A glorious song find birth.

He is the world's, that martyr-soul,
Divine as heroes are!
A beacon, when death's waves shall roll,
The Galilean's star!

We deem not that the flesh o'ercame
The grave's obscurity;
We trust the soul's immortal flame
Hath touched on deity.

We will not hail the Christ alone,
The solitary way;
God doth a thousand prophets own
This happy Easter day.

We feel their all-pervading power
Around us and above;
We learn from spring-time bird and flower
The truths of life and love.

One with the Christ who conquereth,
One in the Hope they bring,
One in their Victory over death,
The first wild flowers of spring.

One with the Sermon on the Mount
The birds' sweet melody,
Clear-flowing from the eternal fount
Of God's own charity.

Then, sing we, for all Nature sings!
Sing Christ, and bird, and flower!
Sing! for the world with gladness rings,
And life and love have power!

CLARK UNIVERSITY, WORCESTER, MASS. ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

COMMENTS ON MR. ALBERT J. EDMUNDS'S ARTICLE.

The Lord's Supper is an Easter institution, for it is mystically connected with the beliefs in immortality and Resurrection, and in fact Christianity itself is an Easter-religion, for all its doctrines center in the hope of immortality as evidenced in the resurrection of Jesus.

Christianity is the "Pleroma"¹ of the ages; that is to say, it contains the fulfilment of the expectations of its time. It embodies many elements of primitive religious aspirations and beliefs, but it transfigures their meaning and renders them subservient to moral purposes.² One of these institutions is the Lord's Supper. It is connected with the venerable rite of the Haoma offering of Zarathustra, the grand advocate of monotheism and the prophet of the Lord Omniscient, for that is the translation of the name Abura Mazda or Ormazd. But the Lord's Supper is connected with institutions more ancient than Mazdaism, viz., the covenant of blood and the ceremony of sanctification by means of eating the God to be worshipped.

Mr. Albert J. Edmunds, a prominent Páli scholar and no mean authority on New Testament exegesis, contributes in the present number an article in which he points out the Primitive Survivals in the texts relating to both Buddha's last meal and the Christian Eucharist, and we may add here that in many Christian churches even at the present day the practice survives of allowing none of the consecrated bread and wine to be left over. Moreover, the theory (now commonly accepted by theological scholars) that St. Paul is the inaugurator of the Christian Eucharist is further supported by the fact that no mention of its institution by Christ when he took his last meal is made in the Fourth Gospel, while the passage in Luke is an apparent interpolation.³

P. C.

BOOK NOTICES.

HEBRAISMS IN THE AUTHORISED VERSION OF THE BIBLE. By William Rosenau, Ph. D. Baltimore: The Friedenwald Company. 1903. Pages, 283.

Mr. Rosenau has taken up in this book an interesting and neglected subject. It is an examination of the Hebrew influence on the language of the Authorised

¹ *Pleroma* is the Greek word for "fulfilment" so much used in the New Testament.

² The Open Court Pub. Co. is just publishing a small pamphlet on *The Age of Christ* containing a short exposition of the problems connected with the origin of Christianity.

³ For a detailed exposition of this much mooted question see Spitta's and Harnack's essays on the subject, and also the editorials in *The Monist*, Vol. X., No. 2, pp. 246 ff., and No. 3, pp. 341 ff.

Version of the Bible. Familiar as the English of the King James Bible has become, and much as it has influenced and moulded English speech, no one on first reading can fail to be impressed with the outlandishness and uncouthness of many of its phrases; and while we ordinarily attribute the strangeness of its linguistic garb to the fact that it was written in the now antiquated vernacular of the early years of the seventeenth century, one may be not a little surprised to learn that the impression which the book made in this regard upon the contemporary public was even more pronounced than that which it makes upon us. Let us read only the passage from Selden's *Table Talk*, which has been quoted by Professor Cheyne in a recent review of the Polychrome Bible; it is as follows:

"There is no book translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a French book into English, I turn it into English phrase, and not into French English. I say, 'Tis cold,' not 'It makes cold'; but the Bible is rather translated into English words than into English phrase. The Hebraisms are kept and the phrase of that language is kept." After citing an example, Selden remarks: "It is well enough so long as scholars have to do with it; but when it comes among the common people, Lord, what gear do they make of it?"

Mr. Rosenau has a brief chapter on the growth of English and the influence of translated literature. He then gives a history of the English Bible, a list of proverbial Biblical passages in use, and of current Biblical expressions in English literature. He next discusses the difference between Hebraisms and English Archaisms, then Hebraisms in the New Testament, Lexicographical Hebraisms, Syntactical Hebraisms, and finally, in an appendix, he gives a full list of the Hebraisms in the Authorised Version, as established by his researches. μ.

GESU CRISTO NELLA LETTERATURA CONTEMPORANEA STRANIERA E ITALIANA. Studio storico-scientifico. Di *Baldassare Labanca*. Illustrato con 16 incisioni. Torino: Fratelli Bocca. 3 Via Carlo Alberto. Pp., 435. Price, 4 francs.

Professor Labanca's book on Jesus Christ in contemporary foreign and Italian literature is one of the latest numbers of the "Little Library of Modern Science" issued serially by the enterprising publishers Fratelli Bocca, of Turin. The books constituting this library, which resembles somewhat the International Scientific Library, have been written by the foremost authors of Italy, France, Germany, England, and America. We notice among the titles listed, translations of works by Brücke, Mach, Osborne, Maeterlinck, Grant Allen, Harnack, and Professor James.

Professor Labanca's work aims to summarise and briefly examine the principal contemporary works relating to the life and doctrines of Jesus Christ, with special reference to those which have appeared since Strauss and Renan. He discusses both the books describing the life of Christ (Christography) and the books setting forth the doctrines of Christ (Christology). He classifies his authors as "pious believers," "liberal believers," and "freethinkers," making no distinction between Catholics and Protestants on the one hand, or between scientists, critics, and novelists on the other. Writing in Rome, he has deemed himself obligated to take account of the many allusions to Jesus and the mother of Jesus which the first Christians symbolically expressed in the Catacombs of Rome, and he has performed this task in two chapters according to the best accredited interpretations of the archæologists. He originally intended that his work should comprise two volumes, but he was finally obliged to compress his material into a single book. Each chapter is preceded by a bibliographical list of the sources, and concludes with a

bibliographical addendum mentioning the minor literature. He admits that it is impossible for anyone to compass the enormous literature of the subject, but he believes that he has singled out the most important works which the world has produced in this field.

Professor Labanca has written entirely from the point of view of the historian of science, and has endeavored to show the same regard for Protestants as he has for Catholics, for free-thinkers as he has for liberal Christians. He has also not intermingled with his discussions his own views of philosophy and theology, but has sought on every point to be an impartial judge. In his concluding chapter, however, he has stated his own views concerning Christology and Christology; he denies the substantial divinity of Christ, but is not therefore an adversary of the Christian religion, which he wishes to see continued, especially in the face of the present sociological tendencies, which are increasing and not decreasing. The intrinsic and characteristic qualities of Christianity are, in his view, independent of the dogmas of the Credo, even including the dogma of the substantial divinity of Christ. "To be a good Christian," he says, "it is sufficient to admit that Jesus was an exemplary moral person, and that therefore it is fitting that he should be venerated and imitated by men." He remarks that the most diverse Christian confessions are tolerated in America and likewise respected, and that in that country new Christian congregations, independent of all creeds, originate nearly every year. For this reason it was possible to hold in Chicago in the year 1893 a parliament of all the different religions of the world,—which was impossible in Paris.

The book has indexes and contains sixteen cuts. It will be a useful work to students of the literature concerning Christ.

T. J. M'C.

The philosophical and sentimental letters published in the early years of the nineteenth century under the title of *Obermann*, though they have won for themselves a permanent place in the classical literature of France, have never yet been translated into English. The author of these letters was Étienne Pivert de Senancour. Though Senancour is well known and has been much admired abroad (his appreciators include authors of the stamp of Sainte-Beuve, George Sand, and Matthew Arnold), little of his personality has been carried with his fame to foreign countries. Readers unacquainted with *Obermann* and desirous of learning something of the life of Senancour will accordingly be glad to have the book of Arthur Edward Waite, just published by Philip Wellby of London, containing a biography of Senancour, a critical introduction to his letters, and a translation of the letters themselves. The translation has been well made, and English readers have now full access to these famous "note-books of a soul." (Pages, lxxxiii, 423. Price, 6 shillings.)

Buddhism seems to be spreading. We have received almost simultaneously three announcements which seem to be straws in the wind,—one coming from Burma, one from Germany, and the third from Japan. The Buddhist monk, Ananda Maitreya, proposes to publish a Buddhist quarterly under the title *Buddhism*. The editor expects to have contributions from sympathisers in the cause of Buddhism, and hopes to issue the first number in May, 1903. The subscription price is seven rupees (\$2.50) per year. Foreign money orders should be made payable to Mrs. M. Hla Oung, No. 1, Pagoda Road, Rangoon, Burma.

The German announcement advertises the publication of pamphlets under the title *Buddhistische Mission*, edited by Bruno Freydank and published by the

Theosophischen Verlag Paul Frömsdorf. The Buddhism of this German periodical promises to be of a militant nature; among the German publications advertised under the editor's name, one is entitled "The Abominations of Christian Civilisation" and the other "The Great Lunatic Asylum of Europe." A series of other titles indicate a more peaceful temper. They are as follows: "Buddha and Christ," "Buddha Gaya and Golgotha," "The Buddhadharma," "The Buddhist Movement in the Occident," "Under the Buddha-Tree," etc., etc.

The third communication received is from The International Buddhist Young Men's Association, lately organised at Tokyo, Japan, its purpose being "to become a link between Buddhists scattered over various parts of the world; to attempt their union and improvement, and to enable them to work together for the betterment of mankind at large." They deem it the duty of the Buddhists of the Island Empire of the Far East "to strive to become the spiritual awakener of Asiatic peoples, endeavoring at the same time to diffuse the truth of Buddhism through the length and breadth of the world." The address is Buddhist University, Takanawa, Tokyo, Japan.

H. A. Rattermann has published a biography of the late Gustav Koerner, Ex-Governor of Illinois, who in his day played a not insignificant part in the political history of this country. Rattermann has drawn his materials from the memoirs of his late friend, and the present volume of 386 pages is brimful of interesting material. Gov. Koerner was a friend of Lincoln, a member of the "Committee on Platform" in the great convention that nominated the martyr-president, and afterwards U. S. Minister to Spain. He also wrote much, and the same publishing house is issuing his *Collected Works*. (*Gustav Koerner, ein Lebensbild*, von H. A. Rattermann. Cincinnati: Verlag des Verfassers, 1902.)

The Cincinnati Game Co. now publish among their educational card games a mathematical series designed for use in both school and home. These games are a pleasant form of drill exercise in number-combinations, and, so far, cover the ground of the four simple operations and fractions, there being in all three packs, costing 25 cents apiece. The editor of the series is Dr. David Eugene Smith, of Teachers College, New York City, and the authors of the games are Mr. Earl Trisler and Mr. E. W. Wilkinson. The same Company also issue games of famous paintings, poems, flowers, birds, mythology, authors, naturalists, wild animals, etc. (Cincinnati Game Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.)

The January and February numbers of the *Bibelot* are: (1) *Chrysanthema: Gathered from the Greek Anthology*, by William M. Hardinge; and (2) a continuation of the same, including *A Little Cycle of Greek Lyrics*. The Greek anthology, "that vast drift-heap of antique poetry, consisting of something like six thousand distinct pieces of verse, which has survived the wreck of empires," is here presented to us in a selected series of graceful translations, with many apt critical and literary comments. (Portland, Me.: T. B. Mosher. Price, 5 cents each.)

Grant Allen's well-known *Evolution of the Idea of God, An Inquiry into the Origins of Religion*, has been republished in cheap and slightly abridged form by Watts & Co., 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., London, E. C. (Paper, 6 pence.)

The Rev. Edward Day, of Springfield, Mass., in an article on "The Promulgation of Deuteronomy," which appeared in the December number of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, expresses the view that the whole story known as the reformation of Josiah and found in 2 Kings xxii. 3-xxiii. 27 and in 2 Chronicles xxxiv. 3-xxxv. 19, must be regarded as a late Deuteronomic invention. Not only is the story itself, even aside from the passages considered doubtful by critics, purely Deuteronomic in spirit, but also the language and the phraseology belong to the same period. The Rev. Day calls attention to the contradictions between the two reports of the story and also to the intrinsic improbabilities that a suzerain king of Assyria should have carried a drastic reform movement even into the domains of countries not subject to his scepter. But Josiah is idealised as the hero of the Deuteronomist playing the part of a most ardent iconoclast. Sword and fire and putrefying bones and unclean ashes and refuse were freely used, and he became a saint and the greatest king after David in the whole history of Judah. "Never after him arose there any like him" (2 Kings v. 25). The purging of Jerusalem and of Bethel by this sweeping reform must have been a gratifying idea to the zealous monotheist.

Accordingly, the Rev. Day regards the whole story as a pious fiction of the Deuteronomist. He says: "At some time during the three centuries which followed the fall of Jerusalem the more pious Jews, the Zionists of their day, who straggled back to Jerusalem by twos and threes and by dozens and scores, rather than by thousands, began as ardent Deuteronomists to better things at home. They wrote Deuteronomy and promulgated it; and they redacted the historical books. Then it was, apparently to give credence to their law-book and to advance their reform movement, that they seized upon Josiah, who had fallen at Megiddo, as a Jewish patriot, and, idealising him, invented and circulated this story of his promulgation of Deuteronomy and of a reformation of which he was the pious instrument."

We may add that the Rev. Day regards a large part of the prophetic literature also as Deuteronomic,—a conception which gains in probability and is now shared by several good authorities among modern critics.

NOTES.

Prof. Frederick Hirth, the head of the Chinese department of Columbia University, New York City, announces for the year 1902-1903 a series of lectures on Chinese art and history,—some of them adapted to beginners in Chinese and others for the general public, and finally courses for advanced students, being studies of selected works in Chinese literature and analyses of historical documents.

The fifth session of the Harvard Summer School of Theology will be held in Cambridge, Mass., from July 7 to July 23 of this year. The object of the school is "to provide a place where clergymen and students of theology may gather for the study of objects which have intrinsic and current theological interest, and where they may feel the inspiration which comes from direct contact with the best and most recent results of modern scholarship." The subject for the present session is "Principles of Education in the Work of the Church." The libraries and other collections of Harvard University, including the Semitic Museum, will be open to students of the Summer School. Letters of inquiry should be addressed to the Rev. Robert S. Morison, Divinity Library, Cambridge, Mass.



RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

Born May 25th, 1803. Died April 27th, 1882.

Courtesy of W. L. Haskell, Chicago.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE MINISTRY OF EMERSON.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

A THOUSAND years ago the admirable Faizi, the Persian forerunner of Emerson, described himself as "a freethinker who belongs to a thousand sects." His avatar in Concord may be described as a freethinker to whom the thousand sects belonged. When Dean Stanley returned from America he said that he went to many churches of different denominations, but whoever might be the preacher the sermon was always by Emerson. But something of the same kind was going on in England and Scotland, and even in the Dean's own Abbey. I remember walking through Westminster Abbey with Phillips Brooks, when we came upon a large placard hung on a pillar on which were printed Emerson's lines:

"O'er England's abbeys bends the sky,
As on its friends with kindred eye;
For, out of Thought's interior sphere
These wonders rose to upper air;
And Nature gladly gave them place,
Adopted them into her race,
And granted them an equal date
With Andes and with Ararat."

In Ceylon I formed instant friendship with a learned Buddhist by the discovery of a fraternal tie in our love of Emerson, in whom he found the best interpreter of his religion. And in London I found men of widely different position, ideas, and aims,—Lord Mayor Waterlow, the historian Froude, Charles Bradlaugh,—whose lives had been influenced by Emerson.

The universal love and veneration for Emerson in the different religious organisations in America is phenomenal. His freethought

utterances are fundamentally the same as those of much abused "Tom Paine," and more sweeping than those of persecuted Theodore Parker. Emerson has the distinction of being the first repudiator of sacraments, supernaturalism, biblical authority, and of Christianity itself in every form, who suffered no kind of martyrdom. That might be partly explained by the fact that his method and his style of writing did not appeal to the masses and could not disturb their faith. They who sought him were mostly those already unsettled, and pastors were not thrown into the panics, from which persecutions proceed, by a scholar who came not in their fold and had no marks of the wolf. But that does not explain why they should love him; why a Methodist Conference in Boston should adjourn for a pilgrimage to his house in Concord; why he should be honored in schools and colleges with the sympathy of orthodox ministers and laymen. It is plain to me that since the revolutionary discovery of Darwin, supplanting the biblical legend of a divine Creation with the revelation of a predatory universe, and connecting man with the lower animals, the poetic idea of evolution which Emerson adopted twenty-five years before Darwin was heard from, and in various essays developed into a natural religion, has become the alternative of what is dreaded as "materialism," and the refuge of Theism. Christendom has been compelled to accept the scientific fact of Evolution, which disproves the doctrine of successive creations, but for the dynamic creator thus lost there is given by Emerson's vision a divine life flowing through Nature, organising it in purposed variations, developing it in harmony with the progression of man. Emerson preached and sang this theme with every variety of scientific illustration for nearly fifty years. His essays on nature constitute a Vedas of the scientific age, in which instead of man's ancient worship of sun, cloud, star, these glorious objects unite in celebration of Man. As ancient faith covered the starry sky with sacred forms so that none could see the planets in themselves but always Orion, Arcturus, and the rest, the earth newly revealed by Lamarck and St. Hilaire was by Emerson overlaid with sublime pictures of Nature's progression to find spiritualisation in her divine child,—Man. The present generation cannot realise this historically, but we whom Emerson inspired to go forth with these new revelations and prophecies,—and a considerable number we were,—witnessed the steady advance of a new cosmogony in the churches, of course expressed by every preacher in the phrases of his theology. My belief is that it is now impossible for an educated Christian minister to see the same theologic sky as

that which existed before Emerson discovered new galaxies and spiritualised the old ones; and that even if he has never read Emerson.

Emerson resigned his pulpit in Boston in September, 1832, because his Unitarian congregation considered it essential that the symbols of a great man's blood, shed eighteen centuries before, should be partaken at their altar. The Persian Faizi, to remember him again, said: "My own blood is the basis of the wine of my enthusiasm." Emerson in his final sermon said: "It is my desire, in the office of a Christian minister, to do nothing which I cannot do with my whole heart." But there was no pulpit for a man who wished to feed men with "real presence" blood from his own heart. Bereft of his young wife and his congregation in that same year—his thirtieth—his health broken, Emerson travelled a few months in Europe, and that winter—1833-1834—gave the first discourse of his unchurched ministry. The subject was "The Relation of Man to the Globe." In 1833 Edward Emerson sent me extracts from this discourse which I read before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, and which amazed the scientific men. This for example: "Man is made, the creature who seems a refinement on the form of all who went before him, and more perfect in the image of his Maker by the gift of moral nature; but his limbs are only a more exquisite organisation,—say, rather, the finish of the rudimental forms that have been already sweeping the sea and creeping in the mud: the brother of his hand is even now cleaving the Arctic sea in the fin of the whale, and innumerable ages since was pawing the marsh in the flipper of the saurus."

As there is a Pre-Darwinian and a Post-Darwinian epoch in science, there is a corresponding Pre-Emersonian and Post-Emersonian epoch in American religion. For Emerson, having found in man the meaning and purpose of the Globe, recognised that this sum of every creature's best physically was but a sheath of the distinctive and rational Man. Like the protozoa fighting and devouring each other in the drop of water, men kill and devour each other in their big globe. "Civilisation is a chick in the egg." Saurian passions survive Saurian forms in the masses of men. Here and there a Jesus, Plato, Shakespeare, appears as a "pattern on the mount" of the normal Man. Emerson said, "I distrust masses, and wish to bring individuals out of them." By the development of variants the masses might be gradually sufficiently controlled to render favorable the conditions for the creation of Man. Emerson then went about among us diffusing all the ethical sunshine and

soft rains, and carrying the gentlest pruning knife, as if in a flower garden, and rejoicing over every bud that peeped out. He never said anything to us about the service of God: it was man that needed service. Nor did he talk about Christianity or immortality. "Give me insight in to-day, and you may have the antique and future worlds."

Whenever I hear in Handel's Messiah the gracious theme, "He shall feed his flock like a shepherd and gently carry them that are with young," there arises the face of that man whose far-reaching words found us in our several solitudes and led us away from our homes and creeds. I suppose that most of these received from him letters such as the following, sent me by my dear friend Maria Harrison of Cincinnati. It is dated at Concord in the October of 1838, just at the time when he was being almost raised to the dignity of a martyr on account of his famous address to the graduates in Divinity College of July 15,—the Address which evoked Theodore Parker, and which Dr. Furness described as the Fifth Gospel.

"I hasten to say that I read these expressions of an earnest character—of your faith, of your hope—with extreme interest; and if I can contribute any aid by sympathy or suggestion to the solution of those great problems that occupy you, I shall be very glad. But I think it must be done by degrees. I am not sufficiently master of the little truth I see to know how to state it in forms so general as shall put every mind in possession of my point of view. We generalise and rectify our expressions by continual efforts from day to day, from month to month, to reconcile our own light with that of our companions. So shall two inquirers have the best mutual action on each other. But I should never attempt a direct answer to such questions as yours. I have no language that could shortly present my state of mind in regard to each of them with any fidelity; for my state of mind in each is in no way final and detached, but tentative, progressive, and strictly connected with the whole circle of my thoughts. It seems to me that to understand any man's thoughts respecting the Supreme Being we need an insight into the general habit and tendency of his speculations, for every man's idea of God is the last or most comprehensive generalisation at which he has arrived. But besides the extreme difficulty of stating our results on such questions in a few propositions, I think, my dear sir, that a certain religious feeling deters us from the attempt. I do not gladly utter any deep conviction of the soul in any company where I think it will be contested—no, nor unless I think it will be welcome. Truth has already ceased to be itself if polemically said; and if the soul would utter oracles, as every soul should, it must live for itself—keep itself right-minded, observe with such awe its own topics of the hour, unless they be its own. I believe that most of the speculations and difficulties that infest us we must thank ourselves for—that each mind, if true to itself, will, by living for the right and not importing into itself the doubts of other men, dissolve all difficulties, as the sun at midsummer burns up the clouds.

"Hence I think the aid we can give each other is only incidental, lateral, and sympathetic. If we are true and benevolent, we reinforce each other by every act

and word ; your heroism stimulates mine, and your light kindles mine. The end of all this is, that I thank you heartily for the confidence of your letter, and beg you to use your earliest leisure to come and see me. It is very possible that I shall not be able to give you one definition ; but I will show you with joy what I strive after and what I worship, as far as I can. Meantime I shall be very glad to hear from you by letter.—Your friend and servant,
R. W. EMERSON.

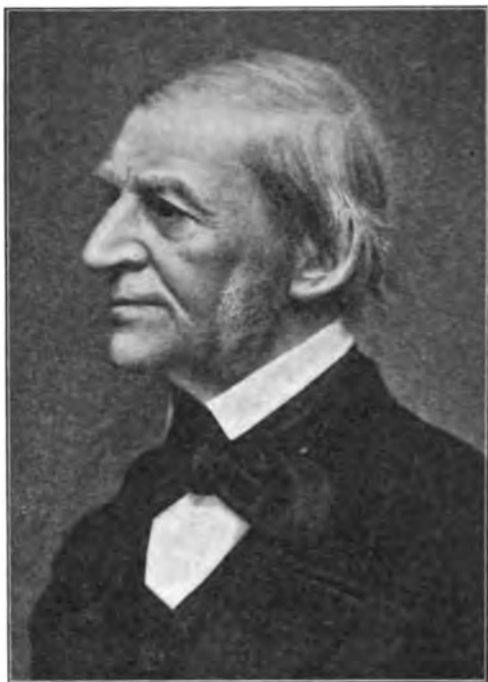
I asked Emerson about his sermons at the Second Church in Boston. He said he had used many of them in his essays, though these were less ethical. He considered the chief fault of ministers to be a lack of veracity. Where creeds or churches are involved it seems difficult for their loyal supporters to be loyal also to truth. By this Emerson meant speaking the truth, and I have always understood the fact to be that as a physician might use stratagem to save a patient, or a lawyer to gain his case, so the clergyman was liable to use it to save souls from hell or from heresy. Emerson was equally aware of the radical's liability to libel his truth by stating it brutally. "Everything good is artistic," he said. There is a possible statement of the most unwelcome truth which would render it irresistible by any mind. Many times did I admire the art with which he would sweeten a denial by a fine affirmation. "Was not Christ sinless?" asked a pious lady. Emerson said, "The knowledge of good and evil through experience is an essential condition of intelligence, and that wisdom can hardly be denied Jesus." He had dislike of the spirit of proselytism. "I must not try to make a man another me." The great aim of the teacher was to make that man more fully himself.

Once I had the happiness to hear a sermon from Emerson, or rather one or two of his old sermons rolled together. After Theodore Parker went silent his congregation listened from Sunday to Sunday to various preachers, and one day in March 1863 I there heard Emerson. I sat on the platform in the Music Hall by the side of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, where we were in a position to observe every expression of his countenance. While the anthem was being sung I saw that he was in radiant spirits, no doubt because the President's Proclamation of Emancipation had filled all of us with a great dawn of hope after our long gloom. But Emerson's sermon had nothing in it about the state of the country.

He began by calling attention to the tendency to simplification. The inventor knows that a machine is new and improvable when it has a great many parts. The chemists already find the infinite variety of things contained in sixty-six elements, and physicists promise that this number shall be reduced to twenty, ten, five.

Faraday declares his belief that all things will in the end be reduced to one element with two polarities. Religious progress has similarly been in the direction of simplification. Every great religion has in its ultimate development told its whole secret, concentrated its force, in some simple maxims. In our youth we talk of the various virtues, the many dangers and trials of life; as we get older we find ourselves returning to the proverbs of the nursery. In religion one old book serves many lands, ages, and varieties of character; nay, one or two golden rules out of the book are enough. The many teachers and scriptures are at last but various routes by which we always come to the simple law of obedience to the light in the soul. "Seek nothing outside of thyself," says one; "Believe nothing against thy own spirit," echoes another part of the world. Jesus said, "Be lowly; hunger and thirst after justice; of your own minds judge what is right." Swedenborg teaches that Heaven and Hell are the loves of the soul. George Fox removes the bushel from the light within. The substance of all morals is that a man should adhere to the path which the inner light has marked before him. The great waste in the world comes of the misapplication of energy. The great tragedies of the soul are strung on those threads not spun out of our own hearts. One records of Michael Angelo that he found him working on his statue with a lamp stuck in his cap, and it might almost symbolise the holier light of patient devotion to his heart. No matter what your work is, let it be yours; no matter if you are tinker or preacher, blacksmith or President, let what you are doing be organic, let it be in your bones, and you open the door by which the affluence of Heaven and Earth shall stream into you. You shall have the hidden joy: and shall carry success with you. Look to yourself rather than to materials; nothing is unmanageable in a good hand; no place slippery to a good foot; all things are clear to a good head. The sin of Dogmatism, of creeds and catechisms, is that they destroy mental character. The youth says that he believes when he is only browbeaten; he says he thinks so and so, when that so and so are the denial of any right to think. Simplicity and grandeur are thus lost; and with them the sentiment of obligation to a principle of life and honor. In the legends of the Round Table it is told, that a witch wishing to make her child supremely wise, prepared certain herbs and put them in a pot to boil, intending to bathe the child's eyes with the decoction. She set a shepherd boy to watch the pot whilst she went away. Whilst he stirred it a raven dropped a twig into the pot, which splattered three drops of

the liquid into the shepherd's eyes. Immediately all the future became as if passing before his eyes; and seeing that when the witch returned she meant to kill him, he left the pot and fled to the woods. Now if three drops of that all-revealing decoction should suddenly get into the eyes of every human being crowding along the streets some day, how many of them would still go on with the affair they are pursuing? Probably they would nearly all come to a dead stand. But there would, let us hope, be here and there a happy child of the Most High, who had taken hold of her



or his life's thread by sacred appointment. These would move on without even a pause: the unveiled future would show the futility of many schemes, the idleness of many labors; but all genuine aims would only be exalted, and shown in their eternal and necessary relations.

Finally, humility was, the speaker declared, the one element to which all virtues are reducible. "It was revealed unto me," said the old Quaker, "that what other men trample on must be thy food." It is the spirit that accepts our trust, and is thus the creator of character and the guide to power.

In closing this discourse the speaker recited at length the story of the proposed humiliation, and the victory through humility, of Fra Cristophero (in Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi*), the nobleman who slew another in a brawl, in penitence for which he became a friar. When the slain man's brother demanded this Fra Cristophero's humiliation before the proud family—not that he cared much for his brother, a worthless fellow, but to make a page in the family history—the friar was eager so to atone for his deed. There was no attempt at effect in Emerson's descriptions—no gestures—yet the subtlest actor could not more have moved the vast audience. On his face was seen that face of the friar in which every eye read perfect sincerity and courage. We saw the friar, frank and fearless, kneeling to confess his wrong, and pleading no justification, ask pardon of those he had deprived of a brother. We saw his victory through humiliation, the servants kissing the hem of his coarse garment, the proud lord hastening to raise him, to disown anger, to offer him fine food which he could not taste, begging only a little bread and salt as a token of forgiveness; and finally, when Fra Cristophero had departed, through the company, kneeling for the blessing of him who had knelt, we heard the bewildered nobleman saying, "That devil of a monk, if he had knelt there longer, I believe I should have asked his pardon for killing my own brother." A smile beamed on the face of the speaker, and played on the faces before him at these last words; but by the time Emerson gathered up his pages and sat down, his listeners were in tears. For some moments the assembly of five thousand sat in a stillness that was sacred.

O my friend and father, even amid the vanishing away of some fair visions and hopes raised in my youth by thee, I realise that life had been worth living if only because of my never-ending happiness in knowing thee, and receiving inspiration and joy from teachings that left me no envy of those who gathered around any haloed prophet in the Past!

THE MYSTERIES OF ISIS AND OSIRIS.

BY HENRY RIDGELY EVANS.

I.

EGYPT!—cradle of mystery! For centuries the giant Sphinx of Gizeh, half buried in the shifting sand of the desert, kept guard over the treasures of the ancient land of Mizraim. Fast locked were the secrets of hierophant and sage, for no mortal was able to unravel the meaning of the hieroglyphics painted upon the walls of the ruined temples. Illuminated papyri were found in the coffins of mummies, but no one could decipher the strange text. It was indeed a "dead-letter" to the modern savant. Finally the hour and the man came. An ingenious Frenchman named Champollion solved the mystery of the sacred script of Egypt, through the medium of the Rosetta stone. But this is a "twice-told tale" to the archæologist, and needs no repetition here. Translations of mural inscriptions and papyrus scrolls followed each other in rapid succession. A flood of light was thrown upon the history, religion, and literature of ancient Egypt. "The key to the hieroglyphics," says Miss Edwards, "is the master-key that opens every door. Each year that now passes over our heads sees some old problem solved. Each day brings some long-buried truth to light."

The fact was developed that the inhabitants of the Nile Valley were intensely religious, slaves, in fact, to the peculiar cults of the country. A ceremonial worship of the most extravagant nature occupied the attention of king, priests, and people. At Memphis, Thebes, Karnak, Abydos, and Philæ ponderous temples to the gods and goddesses reared their heads to the blue sky. The shattered remains of these mighty monuments are the admiration of the modern traveller. We view them with a feeling akin to awe, remembering the words of an Egyptian king, who thus expressed himself regarding one of these stupendous structures: "Built for eternity, time shrinks before it." Though immemorial years have touched

the temples of the gods with comparative lightness, the ruthless hand of man has shivered the heads of colossi, and overturned pylon and pillar. Memphis, the mighty city—the home of the great Temple of Ptah—was pulled to pieces centuries ago. Says Miss Edwards: “And this is all that remains of Memphis, eldest of cities—a few huge rubbish-heaps, a dozen or so of broken statues, and a name!”

When night, with its blue-black canopy, studded with brilliant stars, has fallen upon the world of the Orient, these ancient ruins seem to breathe forth mystery as the earth exhales moisture. The silvery moon, sacred disk of Isis, floods the faces of the colossi, images of the gods, and intensifies their grotesque shadows. In this solemn hour of repose and silence, a weird phantasmagoria presents itself to our entranced sight. We behold the ruins restored as if by magic; pylon and pillar, obelisk and avenue of sphinxes, all are intact as of old. Within the sacred enclosure—the *sanctum sanctorum*—we can hear the chant of the hierophants.

The candidate for the Mysteries presents himself at the bronze doors that lie dark and fast-sealed between the twin towers of the tall propylon. Carved above the portal is the winged disk, emblem of the sun and of eternal life. “Seek and ye shall find! knock and it shall be opened unto you!”

Suddenly the bronze doors swing back with a noise like thunder; the trembling neophyte enters into the gloomy building. Behind him close the doors with a hollow clang. We would enter, but, alas, there is no admission to the profane. The moon passes behind a cloud, there gradually comes a faint light in the east; the dawn is breaking—the young god Horus is making ready to sail the heavens in his mystic boat. The desert dream is at an end; the huge temple lies once more in fragments, the shadow-haunted home of owl and bat. Upon the bank of the sacred lake, where in the olden days the funeral barge of Osiris floated, a solitary crane stands, brooding upon the desolate scene. The utter loneliness of the place depresses the heart. We realise to its fullest extent the vanity of earthly hopes. Where are priests and initiates, and the myriad souls that lived, loved, and died so many centuries ago? Are they still wandering through the shadowy realms of Amenti, or have they found the blissful “Pools of Peace” in the kingdom of the divine Osiris? Ah, who can tell! But this one fact we know: they have vanished like dreams.

In the private museum of Herr Graf, of Vienna, is a remarkable collection of memorial portraits which were found attached

to mummies. They are of the Ptolemaic period. One of these pictures is that of a young man—a Grecian, upon whose left breast is a golden clasp, supposed by Egyptologists to be the badge of initiation into the Mysteries of Isis. This may or may not be true, but it is interesting to think that it is so. About his head is a laurel wreath, such as Apuleius describes as having been worn by initiates. Through what ordeals did this young Grecian pass; what mysterious visions greeted his sight? What were the Mysteries of Isis?

Like the poor *fellah* in Elihu Vedder's wierd painting, shall we propound the question to the Sphinx, then pressing our ear against the mouth of the stone monster wait patiently for an answer to the riddle? Alas, the Sphinx is dumb! Let us rather delve into the wisdom of ancient and modern times—that which remains to us, inscribed upon scrolls of parchment and papyri—for a solution to the vexed problem.

11.

J. R. S. Sterrett¹ describes the Mysteries of the ancient world as "the secret worship of various gods, to which one might be admitted only after having passed certain purifying initiatory trials or degrees that varied in number in different mysteries. In addition to what was universally known about any god, there were also certain facts and tenets of such a character that they might be divulged to the initiated alone. . . . A clue to the general character of mysteries is given by Plato (*Rep.* 2, 378), who tells us that whatever is vicious, immoral, or disgraceful in the stories about the gods ought either to be buried in silence or else be told only in Mysteries, from which the mob must be excluded by making the sacrifice of a huge and unprocurable victim the condition of initiation."

The Mysteries of Isis and Osiris, then, must have been sacred rites designed to teach certain occult, or esoteric, doctrines. Before proceeding further to discuss the Mysteries it will be necessary to treat briefly of the essentials of belief among the early dwellers in the Nile Valley.

Like all primitive peoples, the Egyptians began as polytheists. Gradually they rose to more metaphysical conceptions of the nature of the gods and the universe; but says Maspero,² "the lofty thoughts remained the property of a small number of priests and instructed people; they did not penetrate the mass of the popula-

¹ *Johnson's Universal Encyclopedia*, Vol. VI., p. 47.

² *Hist. de l'Orient*, 4th ed., pp. 279-288.

tion." The common people forever remained in brutal ignorance, blindly worshipping the forces of nature as actual gods, and animals as incarnations of these divinities. Their animal worship probably originated in totemism.

The solar cult was a most prominent one in the land of Mizraim. J. Norman Lockyer, the English astronomer, gives it as his opinion that the Egyptians were absolutely dominated by the worship of the Sun and the accompanying Dawn. He says (*Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 23): "The ancient Egyptians, whether they were separated from, or more or less allied in their origin to, the early inhabitants of India, had exactly the same view of Nature-worship, and we find in their hymns and the lists of their gods that the Dawn and the Sunrise were the great revelations of nature and the things which were most important to man; and therefore everything connected with the Sunrise and the Dawn was worshipped.

Renouf, one of the latest writers on these subjects, says: "I fear Egyptologists will soon be accused, like other persons, of seeing the dawn everywhere," and he quotes with approbation this passage from Max Müller relating to the Veda: "I look upon the sunrise and sunset, on the daily return of day and night, on the battle between light and darkness, on the whole solar drama in all its details, that is acted every day, every month, every year, in heaven and in earth, as the principal subject."

As in India the Nature-worship portrayed in the Vedas was succeeded by the metaphysical conceptions of Deity and the human soul expounded in the Upanishads, so in Egypt the primitive worship was succeeded by more refined and subtle religious ideas. As has been already stated, the more exalted doctrines were in the possession of the privileged few,—the priests and philosophers, who obtained their knowledge in the Mysteries. There was an evolution of religion in Egypt as in other countries, but as Andrew Lang expresses it, "the peculiarity of Egypt, in religion and myth as in every other institution, is the retention of the very rudest and most barbarous things side by side with the last refinements of civilisation. . . . The soil of Egypt, when excavated, constantly shows that the Egyptians, who in the remote age of the pyramid-builders were already acquainted with bronze and even with iron, did not therefore relinquish the use of flint-knives and arrow-heads when such implements became cheaper than tools of metal, or when they were associated with religion. Precisely in the same way did the Egyptians, who, in the remotest known times, had imposing religious ideas, decline to relinquish the totems and beast-

gods and absurd or blasphemous myths which (like flint axes and arrow-heads) are everywhere characteristic of savages. . . . Thus the confusion of Egyptian religion is what was inevitable in a land where new and old did not succeed and supersede each other, but coexisted on good terms. Had religion not been thus confused, it would have been a solitary exception among the institutions of the country. The fact is, that the Egyptian mind, when turned to divine matters, was constantly working on, and working over, the primeval stuff of all mythologies and of all religions. First, there is the belief in a moral guardian and father of men; this is expressed in the sacred hymns. Next, there is the belief in 'a strange and powerful race, supposed to have been busy on earth before the making, or the evolution, or the emergence of man;' this is expressed in the mythological legends. The Egyptians inherited a number of legends of extra-natural heroes, not unlike the savage Qat, Cagn, Yehl, Pund-jil, Ioskeha, and Quahteht, the Maori Tutenanahan and the South Sea Tangaroa. Some of these were elemental forces, personified in human or bestial guise, some were merely idealised medicine-men. Their 'wanderings, rapes, and manslaughters, and mutilations,' as Plutarch says, remained permanently in legend. When these beings, in the advance of thought, had obtained divine attributes, and when the conception of abstract divinity had become pure and lofty, the old legends became so many stumbling-blocks to the faithful. They were explained away as allegories (every student having his own allegorical system), or the extra-natural beings were taken (as by Plutarch) to be 'demons, not gods.'"¹

Rawlinson, speaking of the exoteric and esoteric phases of the Egyptian religion, says:² "It appears to be certain that the Egyptian religion, like most other religions in the ancient world, had two phases or aspects: one, that in which it was presented to the general public or vast mass of the population; the other, that which it bore in the minds of the intelligent, the learned, the initiated. To the former it was a polytheism of a multitudinous and in many respects of a gross character; to the latter it was a system of combining strict monotheism with a metaphysical and speculative philosophy on the two great subjects of the nature of God and the destiny of man, which sought to exhaust those deep and unfathomable mysteries. Those who take the lowest view of the Egyptian religion admit that 'the idea of a single self-existent deity' was in-

¹ *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, Vol. II., pp. 108, 109, 110.

² *History of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I., p. 323.

volved in the conceptions which it set forth, and to be found not unfrequently in the hymns and prayers of the Ritual. It is impossible that this should have been so, unless there were a class of persons who saw behind the popular mythology, understood its symbolical or metaphysical character, and were able in this way to reconcile their conformity to the established worship with the great truths of natural religion which, it is clear, they knew and which they must have cherished in their heart of hearts.

"The primary doctrine of the esoteric religion undoubtedly was the real essential Unity of the Divine Nature. The sacred texts taught that there was a single Being, 'the sole producer of all things both in heaven and earth, himself not produced of any,'—'the only true living God, self-originated,'—'who exists from the beginning,'—'who has made all things, but has not himself been made.' This Being seems never to have been represented by any material, even symbolical, form. It is thought that He had no name, or if He had that it must have been unlawful either to pronounce or write it. He was a pure spirit, perfect in every respect,—all wise, almighty, supremely good.

"The gods of the popular mythology were understood, in the esoteric religion, to be either personified attributes of the Deity, or parts of the nature which He had created, considered as informed or inspired by Him. Num or Kneph represented the creative mind, Phthah the creative hand, or act of creating; Maut represented matter, Ra the sun, Khons the moon, Seb the earth, Khem the generative power in Nature, Nut the upper hemisphere of heaven, Athor the lower world or under hemisphere; Thoth personified the Divine wisdom; Ammon, perhaps, the Divine mysteriousness or incomprehensibility; Osiris (according to some) the Divine goodness. It is difficult in many cases to fix on the exact quality, act, or part of nature intended; but the principle admits of no doubt. No educated Egyptian priest certainly, probably no educated layman, conceived of the popular gods as really separate and distinct beings. All knew that there was but one God, and understood that when worship was offered to Khem, or Kneph, or Phthah, or Maut, or Thoth, or Ammon, the One God was worshipped under some one of His forms, or in some one of His aspects. It does not appear that in more than a very few cases did the Egyptian religion, as conceived of by the initiated, deify created beings, or constitute a class of secondary gods who owed their existence to the supreme god. Ra was not a Sun-Deity with a distinct and separate existence, but the supreme God acting in the

sun, making His light to shine on the earth, warming, cheering, and blessing it; and as Ra might be worshipped with all the highest titles of honor, as indeed might any god, except the very few which are more properly called *genii*, and which correspond to the angels of the Christian system. Such is Anubis, the conductor of souls in the lower world, and such probably are the four 'genii of the dead,' Amset, Tuamutef, Hapi (Apis), and Kebhisnauf, who performs so conspicuous a part in the ceremonial of Amenti.

"It is difficult to decide what were the esoteric views of the Egyptians with regard to Evil. Several deities, as Set, or Sutech, Nubi, or (as Wilkinson reads the name) Omboo, and Apepi or Apophis, the great serpent, seem to be personifications of evil; and the strongest antagonism is represented as existing between these and the favorite divinities of the Egyptians, as Ammon, Khem, Phthah, Ra, Osiris; but whether, as among the Persians, two original Principles, one of Good, and the other of Evil, were intended, or whether Evil was viewed as 'a necessary part of the universal system, inherent in all things equally with good, and so as one aspect of the Divine nature,' is to some extent doubtful. It is hard to believe that, if the pantheistic notion, by which Sin and Evil generally are to be considered to be equally of the essence of God with goodness, had been the real belief of the Egyptian priesthood, their protests in favor of virtue and against vice of all kinds could have been so strong and earnest as they are. It is also difficult to imagine that the priests would have allowed the general obliteration of the monumental emblems of Set, which is noticed by Egyptologists, if they had viewed him as really an aspect of the Supreme Being. Perhaps the Egyptian priests at no time thought out the problem of the origin and nature of evil, but were content with indistinct and hazy notions upon the subject. Perhaps their views varied at different times, inclining during the earlier ages to the pantheistic doctrine, in the later to the Persian tenet of Two Principles.

"The continuance of the soul after death, its judgment in another world, and its sentence according to its deserts, either to happiness or suffering, were undoubted parts both of the popular and of the more recondite religion. It was the universal belief that, immediately after death, the soul descended to the lower world and was conducted to the Hall of Truth (or 'of the Two Truths'), where it was judged in the presence of Osiris and the forty-two dæmones, the 'Lords of Truth' and judges of the dead."

The eminent scholar M. Emmanuel de Rougé held the same

views as Rawlinson on the belief of the unity of Deity among the ancient Egyptians. He says:

"But how reconcile the Unity of God with Egyptian polytheism? History and geography will perhaps elucidate the matter. The Egyptian religion comprehends a quantity of local worships. The Egypt which Menes brought together entire under his scepter was divided into nomes, each having a capital town; each of these regions has its principal god designed by a special name; but it is always the same doctrine which reappears under different names. One idea predominates, that of a single and primeval God; everywhere and always it is One Substance, self-existent, and an unapproachable God."

M. de Rougé then says that from, or rather before, the commencement of the historical period, the pure monotheistic religion underwent the phase of Sabeism; the Sun, instead of being regarded as the symbol of life, was taken as the manifestation of God Himself. Polytheism developed itself and progressed without interruption until the time of the Ptolemies—the Greek rulers of the country.

Says de Rougé: "It is, therefore, more than five thousand years since, in the Valley of the Nile, the hymns began to the Unity of God and the immortality of the soul, and we find Egypt in the last ages arrived at the most unbridled polytheism." Add to this the grossest forms of phallic worship, and you have a picture of degradation seldom equalled in the religious history of mankind.

Says P. Le Page Renouf (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1879) "the magnificent predicates of the one and only God, however recognised by Egyptian orthodoxy, never in fact led to actual monotheism. They stopped short in pantheism—namely, in the doctrine that 'all individual things are nothing but modifications, affections, of the One and All, the eternal and infinite God-world; that there is but one universal force in Nature, in different forms, in itself eternal and unchangeable.'

"This doctrine is perhaps most clearly expressed in a hymn upon the walls of the temple in the oasis of El Kargeh:

"'The gods salute his royal majesty as their Lord, who revealeth himself in all that is, and hath names in everything from 'mountain to stream. That which persisteth in all things is Amon. 'This lordly god was from the very beginning. He is Ptah, the 'greatest of the gods.... Thy secret is in the depths of the secret 'waters and unknown. Thou hast come on the road, thou hast 'given light in the path, thou hast overcome all difficulties in thy

'mysterious form. Each God has assumed thy aspect; without shape is their type compared to thy form. To thee, all things give praise when thou returnest to the nether world at even. Thou raisest up Osiris by the radiance of thy beams. To thee, those give praise who lie in their tombs....and the damned rise up in their abodes....Thou art the King, thine is the kingdom of heaven, and the earth is at thy will. The gods are in thine hand, and men are at thy feet. What god is like to thee? Thou hast made the double world, as Ptah. Thou hast placed thy throne in the life of the double world, as Amon. Thy soul is the pillar and the ark of the two heavens. Thy form emanated at first whilst thou shinest as Amon, Ra, and Ptah. Shu, Tefnut, Nut, and Chonsu are thy form, dwelling in thy shrine under the types of the ithyphallic god, raising his tall plumes, king of the gods. . . . Thou art Mentu Ra. Thou art Sekar; thy transformations are into the Nile. Thou art Youth and Age. Thou givest life to the earth by thy stream. Thou art heaven, thou art earth, thou art fire, thou art water, thou art air, and whatever is in the midst of them.'

"I believe, therefore, that, after clearly approaching the point at which polytheism might have turned into monotheism, the religious thought of Egypt turned aside into a wrong track. And this was followed by a decided and hopeless course of retrogression. Those elements of the Egyptian religion which the Greeks and the Jewish and Christian writers looked upon with such disgust, had existed from the first, but in a very subordinate position; they now became nearly predominant....If pantheism strongly contributed to the development of this animal worship, and to all the superstition therewith connected, it also led to a simple materialism.... Man had formerly been led to associate the earth and sun and sky with the notion of infinite power behind these phenomena; he now retraced his steps and recognised in the universe but the mere phenomena."

Tiele (*Manuel de l'histoire des religions*, p. 46) controverts the above opinion, as follows: "It is certainly erroneous to consider Egyptian religion as a polytheistic corruption of a prehistoric monotheism. It is more correct to say that, while polytheistic in principle, the religion developed in two absolutely opposite directions. On one side, the constant introduction of new gods, local or foreign; on the other, a groping after a monotheism never absolutely reached. The learned explained the crowd of gods as so many incarnations of the one hidden uncreated deity." [TO BE CONTINUED.]

HAMMURABI.¹

BY THE EDITOR.

HAMMURABI was the sixth king of the first Babylonian dynasty, and lived about 2250 B. C. He is mentioned in the Old Testament as Amraphel (Gen. xiv.), where Abraham is said to be his contemporary. No doubt he was one of the greatest monarchs that ever ruled Hither Asia, and history says that he was not only strong in war, but also wise in peace. The name is not Babylonian, but indicates a West Semitic dialect. Professor Hommel claims for him Arabian descent.

The French explorer, M. J. DeMorgan, discovered in December, 1901, a diorite stele in one of the mounds of Susa which contains the laws of the Babylonian empire proclaimed by Hammurabi. This important monument was originally placed in the Temple of the Sun, Ebabbara (which literally translated means "the white house") at Sippar; and must have been carried away by some Elamitic conqueror to Susa, where it was set up as a trophy and then buried in a great conflagration when the city was sacked by Assyrian soldiers.

Hammurabi's stele is not the only copy of its kind. Fragments of another were found in a rubbish-heap in the same city of Susa; and Asurbanipal, the Assyrian king, who lived sixteen centuries after Hammurabi, had a copy of the codex Hammurabi made for his royal library. Moreover, we notice that the institutions which according to our monument we must suppose to have existed, continued down to later days, and have influenced the development, not only of Babylon, but of all neighboring countries, including Palestine.

¹ "Die Gesetze Hammurabis," übersetzt von Dr. Hugo Winckler in *Der alte Orient*, IV., 4. *Moses und Hammurabi*, von Dr. Johannes Jeremias, Pfarrer in Gottliebs, Sachsen. Hinrichs's Verlag, 1903. *Records of the Past*, Vol. II., Part 3. The Laws of Hammurabi, with seven illustrations.

The codex has been translated into French and German, and from the German (which is the better and more accurate translation) into English,¹ and the picture that is unrolled before our eyes shows us the development of a grand civilisation, much higher than later centuries would warrant us to assume. But we know now that in the second millennium before Christ a reaction set in which destroyed not a little of the civilisation attained in the third millennium. We see here before our eyes not dry statutes only, but a vivid picture of definite conditions, presupposing definite institutions, and giving us an insight into the details of all kinds of social



A VOTIVE TABLET.

Dedicated to the Goddess Asratum (Ashera) and showing the picture of Hammurabi, King of the Westland.²

and commercial conditions, including marriage, inheritance, and the regulation of the rights of children; and the spirit which pervades the whole work is both just and human.

One highly significant feature of the codex Hammurabi is its relation to the Mosaic law. The Old Testament distinguishes be-

¹ The German translation, which is by Dr. Hugo Winckler, was reviewed by us, soon after its appearance, in *The Monist* for January, 1903. The English translation reads very well but seems to stand in need of a revision.

² Mar(tu) = Ammurrû.

tween the book of the covenant (Exodus xxiv. 7) and the law (Exodus xx., xxii.-xxiii., xxxiii. 4); and all critics agree in this, that the law is the oldest and historically the most important part of

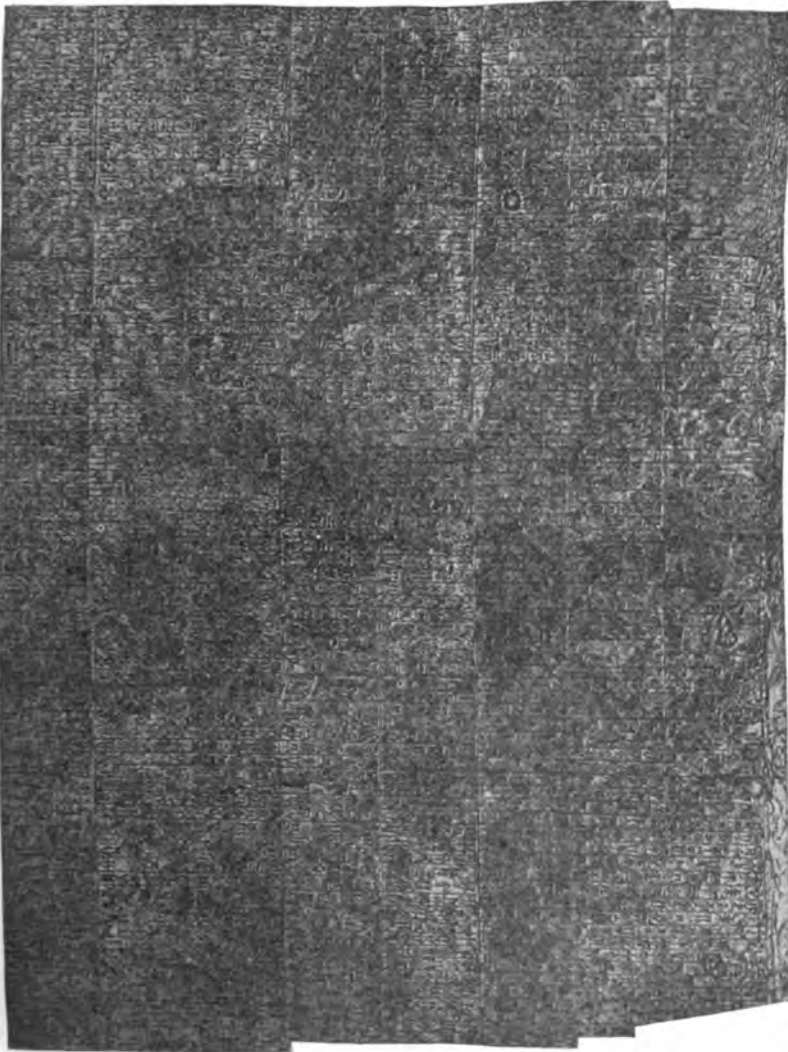


HAMMURABI RECEIVING THE LAWS FROM GOD.¹

the Old Testament. The new school (Kuenen, Wellhausen, Smend) believe it belongs to the eighth century; but according to Professor Sellin it has to be relegated to the pre-Solomonic period. The

¹ The inscription is underneath.

main consideration for Old Testament critics in fixing the date consisted in the fact that it presupposes a state of civilisation in which the people of Israel had outgrown their nomadic habits, for among



CODEX HAMMURABI.

Part of the inscription on the Hammurabi monument.

its statutes there are many that would have no sense except for a servile nation.

Dr. Johannes Jeremias has devoted a special pamphlet to a comparison of Moses and Hammurabi, and he quotes several pages of no less than twenty-six instances in which the Mosaic law shows



STELE OF VICTORY OF NARAM-SIN (BATTLE OF THE HEIGHTS).

a close agreement with the codex Hammurabi. The laws concerning the institution of slavery are very similar, and the liberation of slaves takes place according to similar rites and under similar con-

ditions. Frequently we find that Hammurabi is more humane, and accordingly belongs to a more advanced period of civilisation than Moses. In other instances Moses takes a higher ground.

Moses says (chap. xxi. 15): "He that smiteth his father or his mother shall be surely put to death." Hammurabi says (No. 195): "Who smiteth his father loses the offending limb." "Any one who inflicts a bodily injury must bear the damage and pay the physician." (Exodus xxi. 18, 19.) Hammurabi in No. 206 adds that bodily injury, even if not intentional, involves damage and payment of the physician. The distinction between accidental and incidental injuries are common to both the law of Moses and the codex Hammurabi; they are very significant for a comparison of the two. The punishment for an injury inflicted upon a woman with child is according to Moses left to the judgment of the husband of the injured. The same crime, according to Hammurabi, is punishable by a fine of ten shekels of silver.

Should any one be killed by a bull, the owner of the animal shall not be punished, but the bull is to be slain, according to both Moses and Hammurabi. According to Moses (Ex. xxi. 29) a case of death through carelessness is punishable by the death of the guilty person; but the condemned can redeem himself by paying a penalty. Hammurabi (251) omits to mention capital punishment, and fixes the penalty at one half mine of silver.¹ Slaying a burglar in self-defence is allowed by Moses (chapter xxii. 1), and Hammurabi (22). We need not go further into details; they are too numerous and too remarkable to be attributed to chance. The similarities between the laws of Israel and the codex Hammurabi presuppose a definite and real relation between the legal institutions of the two nations; and Dr. Jeremias comes to the conclusion that the two codices must have been derived from a common source. He believes, he has found it in the old Arabic law, which contains traces indicating that both could have been derived from the same Arabian traditions, and thus Arabia, the home of the Kenite Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, would have to be considered as the original home of both the Mosaic law and the codex Hammurabi.

The theory of the Arabic origin of Babylonian laws (except in a very remote sense²) is unquestionably excluded, for the Arabians are nomads and the laws of the sessile Semites both in Palestine and Israel must have been worked out by an agricultural people.

¹ Not two mines, as the English translation has it.

² Arabia is the original home of all Semites, and traces of the desert life, the Nomad spirit, the trading instinct, etc., cling to the Semites even to-day.

Dr. Jeremias glories in the fact that the codex Moses is an historical reality and that thus the Old Testament traditions have again been verified and found trustworthy beyond all expectation; but he cannot deny that great glory is reflected upon Hammurabi, whose age must have been a time of prosperity, of peace, of a dispensation of justice, and of remarkable religious toleration. He concludes the seventh chapter of his booklet with this sentence:

"With satisfaction and joy I confess that through the discovery and the character of the codex Hammurabi my conviction of the divinity of the Thora is deepened."

Both codices, that of Moses and that of Hammurabi, claim a supernatural origin. The Babylonian stele pictures Hammurabi as standing in the presence of Samas, the supreme god, the protector of law and order; and Yahveh had engraved the decalogue on the stone tablet with his own finger. Dr. Jeremias expresses his view on the question of divine revelation as follows:

"The revelation of the codex Hammurabi rests in the last instance upon an illusion; there is missing the evidence of its reality and the ring of a deep-felt conviction. Among its legal institutions there is not one which might not have risen in the minds of priestly law students; and according to a natural process of evolution through an observation of legal habits. The law of the Sinai, however, reveals a spirit which passes all understanding, and this appears in its very initial words, 'I am Yahveh, thy God'; for the God of Israel had proven himself omnipotent."

We do not begrudge Moses full recognition of the merits of his legislation, but it seems to us that the law of Moses and the Codex Hammurabi are about on the same level. The former may range as high as, perhaps even a little higher than, the latter. But we must confess that the enthusiasm and zeal of Dr. Jeremias in his attempt at proving the former a divine revelation at the cost of the latter can only evoke a smile. On page 39, footnote 3, he exclaims:

"How grand, in the description of the fall and in Gen. iv. 7, is the idea of the origin of sin from desire! No man ever devised it. It is inconceivable."

What a poor and narrow conception of God is involved in this antiquated notion of a special revelation! How much grander is the broader view of the superpersonal God who spoke not through Moses alone, but also through Hammurabi, and Plato, and Buddha, and Lao-Tze; who is omnipresent and whose chosen people are all those who choose Him; all those who seek the truth, and find it, and follow it.

JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

V. THE INVESTIGATOR.

BY G. K. GILBERT.

[CONTINUED.]

THE second series of essays devoted to the subject of human evolution is based upon the five classes into which human activities are divided and upon the subdivision of these classes. The series is incomplete, but so far as it goes it traverses the ground of the essays of the preceding series, by treating of the evolution of individual activities from their lowest to their highest stages. The essays will be enumerated under their appropriate classes without reference to their order of publication, and it will be convenient to group with them certain papers falling outside the evolutionary series but admitting of the same classification by activities.

Within the province of æsthetic arts are two papers. "Esthetology or the Science of Activities Designed to Give Pleasure" (*American Anthropologist*, 1899) develops a classification of the æsthetic arts and briefly outlines the evolution of each. "Evolution of Music from Dance to Symphony" (*A. A. A. S.*, 1889) traces the development of musical art from its origin with dancing by the successive addition of melody, harmony, and symphony.

In like manner an essay entitled "Technology, or the Science of Industries" (*American Anthropologist*, 1899) classifies the industrial arts, or those activities which conduce to welfare; but the lines of evolution in this field are only briefly indicated.

Under the head of institutions are to be classed four papers,— "Kinship and the Tribe," "Kinship and the Clan," "Tribal Marriage Law," and "Sociology or the Science of Institutions."

Tribal society is organised on a basis of kinship, but the system of kinship differs from that of civilisation. In a tribe the line

between generations is sharply drawn. Within a generation each man is brother to each other man, and this without reference to degrees of consanguinity. Such distinctions as we make by the word cousin are ignored. The generations stand in lineal order, and each male of one generation is accounted the son of each male of the preceding generation and the father of each male of the following generation. In this fundamental respect tribal kinship differs so widely from the kinship system of our community that it is not easy for us to conceive it; and in other respects it is equally strange. The three essays referred to describe tribal kinship, distinguish its two chief varieties, and explain the kinship system of the clans constituting a tribe, as well as the strange marriage systems which result from and serve to perpetuate the systems of kinship. (*Third Ann. Report Bureau of Ethnology*, 1883.)

Here also should be mentioned an address on the "Outlines of Sociology" (*Anthrop. Soc.*, 1882), in which the State is defined, its evolution is described, and its regulative functions are classified.

Three works fall under the head of language. The first is an "Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages" (1880), and is essentially a code of instructions for the collection of linguistic material. A code of instructions to observers is primarily an enumeration of the particulars as to which information is desired, or as to which it is expected that information can be obtained. These particulars are the categories of existing generalisations on the subject, together with those bearing on existing hypothesis. The full code of instructions for new observation thus embodies the results of all earlier observation, generalisation, and explanation. The language of a people, being invented for the communication of their thoughts, embodies in its vocabulary their arts, their institutions, and their philosophy; and an Indian language cannot be profitably studied unless the other activities of the tribe either are understood or are simultaneously studied. And so Powell's *Introduction* includes under its modest title a succinct compend of the generalisations of North American ethnology.

The second work under this head is an essay on the "Evolution of Language" (*First Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, 1881). Linguistic progress includes very little addition of new material, but consists chiefly of internal change. The processes of change are classed as Combination, or the union of two or more words for a new purpose, Vocal Mutation, Intonation, and Placement or the association of sense relations with the relative positions of words in a sentence. It is shown that the primitive languages differ from

the advanced in their imperfect discrimination of parts of speech, in their elaborate inflection, and in their lack of general terms. Progress is through the differentiation of the parts of speech and the substitution of general terms and separable qualifiers for inflected words. "Judged by these criteria, the English stands alone in the highest rank; but as a written language, in the way in which its alphabet is used, the English has but just emerged from a barbaric condition."

The remaining work is an essay on "Philology," which is considered as "the science of activities designed for expression" (*American Anthropologist*, 1900). The activities are classified as emotional, oral, gestural, written, and logistic languages, logistic language including notations, like the algebraic and musical, in which ideas are expressed directly by signs, without the necessary implication of words. The science of oral language is developed at some length.

Four addresses and essays were devoted to philosophies, or the systems of explanation of the phenomena of nature: the "Philosophy of the North American Indians" was read to the American Geographical Society in 1876, and "Mythologic Philosophy" to a section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1879. The "Lessons of Folklore" and "Sophiology or the Science of Activities Designed to give Instruction" appeared in the *American Anthropologist* in 1900 and 1901. The first is chiefly descriptive. The second compares mythic explanations with scientific, discusses the successive stages of mythologic philosophy, and indicates the dependence on it of ancientism, spiritism, thaumaturgics, and religion. The third deals with the evolution of philosophies, by pointing out various survivals of primitive explanations in various classical and modern systems of philosophy. The fourth outlines the evolution of philosophies as an introduction to classification of the ways in which opinions are propagated. Perhaps a fifth paper should be added to this group, an essay on "The Evolution of Religion," contributed to *The Monist* in 1898. The following extracts are selected from the first and second essays:

"To fully present to you the condition of savagery, as illustrated in their philosophy, three obstacles appear. After all the years I have spent among the Indians in their mountain villages, I am not certain that I have sufficiently divorced myself from the thoughts and ways of civilisation to properly appreciate their childish beliefs. The second obstacle subsists in your own knowledge of the methods and powers of nature, and the ways of civilised so-

ciety; and when I attempt to tell you what an Indian thinks, I fear you will never fully forget what you know, and thus you will be led to give too deep a meaning to a savage explanation; or, on the other hand, contrasting an Indian concept with your own, the manifest absurdity will sound to you as an idle tale too simple to deserve mention, or too false to deserve credence. The third difficulty lies in the attempt to put savage thoughts into civilised language; our words are so full of meaning, carry with them so many great thoughts and collateral ideas. In English I say 'wind,' and you think of atmosphere in revolution with the earth, heated at the tropics and cooled at the poles, and set into great currents that are diverted from their courses in passing back and forth from tropical to polar regions; you think of ten thousand complicating conditions by which local currents are produced, and the word suggests all the lore of the Weather Bureau,—that great triumph of American science. But I say *neir* to a savage, and he thinks of a great monster, a breathing beast beyond the mountains of the west."¹

"There are two grand stages of philosophy,—the mythologic and the scientific. In the first, all phenomena are explained by analogies derived from subjective human experiences; in the latter, phenomena are explained as orderly successions of events.

"In sublime egotism man first interprets the cosmos as an extension of himself; he classifies the phenomena of the outer world by their analogies with subjective phenomena; his measure of distance is his own pace, his measure of time his own sleep, for he says, 'It is a thousand paces to the great rock,' or 'It is a hundred sleeps to the great feast.' Noises are voices, powers are hands, movements are made afoot. By subjective examination discovering in himself will and design, and by inductive reason discovering will and design in his fellow men and in animals, he extends the induction to all the cosmos, and there discovers in all things will and design. All phenomena are supposed to be the acts of some one and that some one having will and purpose. In mythologic philosophy the phenomena of the outer physical world are supposed to be the acts of living, willing, designing personages. The simple are compared with and explained by the complex. In scientific philosophy, phenomena are supposed to be children of antecedent phenomena, and so far as science goes with its explanation they are thus interpreted. Man with the subjective phenomena gathered about him is studied from an objective point of view and the phenomena of subjective life are relegated to the categories

¹ *American Geog. Soc. Journal*, Vol. VIII., p. 253.

established in the classification of the phenomena of the outer world; thus the complex is studied by resolving it into its simple constituents."¹

"In Shoshoni, the rainbow is a beautiful serpent that abrades the firmament of ice to give us snow and rain. In Norse, the rainbow is the bridge Bifrost spanning the space between heaven and earth. In the Iliad, the rainbow is the goddess Iris, the messenger of the King of Olympus. In Hebrew, the rainbow is the witness to a covenant. In science, the rainbow is an analysis of white light into its constituent colors by the refraction of raindrops."²

Powell's own philosophy, to the formulation of which he devoted several years, is published in *Truth and Error*, a volume which contains also a treatise on psychology. Had his full plan been carried out, *Truth and Error* would have been followed by two other books, the second bearing the title *Good and Evil*. The writing of the second book was completed—the last effective work of his life—and its chapters were printed as independent essays in the *American Anthropologist*. One of them, "The Categories," pertains to the field of general philosophy; the others have already been mentioned as treatises on human activities.

His only writing devoted largely to intellectual methods is an address to the Biological Society of Washington at its Darwin Memorial Meeting in 1882. Three groups of philosophies are here recognised, the mythologic, the metaphysic, and the scientific. It is shown that the method of metaphysics is formal logic, while the method of science consists of induction and hypothesis.

"Now the machine called logic, the tool of the metaphysician, is curiously constructed. Its chief hypothesis is that man was primitively endowed with fundamental principles as a basis of reasoning, and that these principles can be formulated. These fundamental principles are supposed to be universal, and to be everywhere accepted by mankind as self-evident propositions of the highest order, and of the broadest generalisation. These fundamental propositions were called *major* propositions. The machine, in formal logic, was a verbal juxtaposition of propositions with the major propositions at the head, followed by the minor propositions, and from this truth was supposed to flow.

"This formal logic of the Aristotelian epoch has lived from that period to the period of science. Logic is the instrument of metaphysics, and metaphysic philosophy, in its multifarious forms,

¹ *American Association Adv. Sci., Proc.*, Vol. XXVIII., pp. 253-254.

² *American Association Adv. Sci., Proc.*, Vol. XXVIII., p. 259.

is the product of logic. But during all that time—2,000 years—no truth has been discovered, no error has been detected, by the use of the logical machine. Its fundamental assumption is false.

"It has been discovered that man is not endowed with a body of major propositions. It is found that in the course of the evolution of mind minor propositions are discovered first, and major propositions are reached only by the combination of minor propositions; that always in the search for truth the minor proposition comes first, and that no major proposition can ever be accepted until the minor propositions included therein have been demonstrated.

"The error in the metaphysic philosophy was the assumption that the great truths were already known by mankind, and that by the proper use of the logical machine all minor truths could be discovered, and all errors eliminated from philosophy. As metaphysic methods of reasoning were wrong, metaphysic philosophies were false; the body of metaphysic philosophy is a phantasmagoria."¹

Two important essays cannot be included under any of the above classes, as they discuss the material of all. They treat of the methods to be pursued in anthropologic research and the methods to be avoided, of the fruitful lines of inquiry and the barren, of the dangers from the use of superficial observations and of the dangers from faulty principles of interpretation. They are to a certain extent the codification of the counsel by which he has guided the work of his associates in the Bureau of Ethnology, and they are contained in the *Annual Reports* of the Bureau. One is on "Limitations to the Use of Certain Anthropologic Data," the other on "Activital Similarities."

"Here again [in sociology] North America presents a wide and interesting field to the investigator, for it has within its extent many distinct governments, and these governments, so far as investigations have been carried, are found to belong to a type more primitive than any of the feudalities from which the civilised nations of the earth sprang, as shown by concurrently recorded history.

"Yet in this history many facts have been discovered suggesting that feudalities themselves had an origin in something more primitive. In the study of the tribes of the world a multitude of sociologic institutions and customs have been discovered, and in reviewing the history of feudalities it is seen that many of their important elements are survivals from tribal society.

¹ *Biolog. Soc. Wash., Proc.*, Vol. I., p. 63.

"So important are these discoveries that all human history has to be rewritten, the whole philosophy of history reconstructed. Government does not begin in the ascendancy of chieftains through prowess in war, but in the slow specialisation of executive functions from communal associations based on kinship. Deliberative assemblies do not start in councils gathered by chieftains, but councils precede chieftaincies. Law does not begin in contract, but is the development of custom. Land tenure does not begin in grants from the monarch or the feudal lord, but a system of tenure in common by gentes or tribes is developed into a system of tenure in severalty. Evolution in society has not been from militancy to industrialism, but from organisation based on kinship to organisation based on property, and alongside of the specialisations of the industries of peace the arts of war have been specialised.

"So, one by one, the theories of metaphysical writers on sociology are overthrown, and the facts of history are taking their place, and the philosophy of history is being erected out of materials accumulating by objective studies of mankind."¹

The present chapter on Powell's scientific work and the following chapter on his administrative work were written about twelve years ago, at a time when he was at the head of the Geological Survey as well as the Bureau of Ethnology. In preparing them for publication at the present time, the writer has so far revised them that they cover the whole period of his literary and executive activity. But the following account of his literary style and literary habits, written at the zenith of his activity, is permitted to stand without change of tense or other qualification.

Powell's literary style is influenced in a curious and interesting manner by his philosophy. Science does not invent, but discovers; and that which has been discovered needs only to be published in order to become a part of the world's knowledge. It differs in this respect from metaphysics, which postulates its principles and then by the methods of formal logic undertakes to prove its results. In metaphysics demonstration is proving; in science demonstration is merely pointing out. So that all that is absolutely necessary to the presentation of a scientific result is its statement; if the result is worthy of acceptance, it will ultimately be received, for it will be found to accord invariably with the results of new observation. The absolute generality of a conclusion can be established only by comparing it with all the phenomena, and as this is impossible, such comparison as is made serves only to illustrate. The citation

¹ *First Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, 1881, p. 83.

of particular instances usually assists the comprehension of a general idea, and illustration is thus a useful adjunct to statement. Powell's philosophical writings thus consist of the statement of results, with a small amount of illustration, and in many instances without illustration. They are for the most part highly concise, and as they often lead the ordinary reader into novel realms of thought, much study is sometimes necessary to their full comprehension. On the other hand, some of his generalisations are so simple as compared to the theories or postulates which they supplant, and are so readily grasped, that they are accepted as axioms and not recognised as the results of laborious research and profound thought.

His style has been further influenced by the loss of his right hand, and by a remarkable power of controlling his attention. The loss of his hand in early manhood led him to depend to an exceptional degree on amanuenses. All of his scientific writings have been dictated to shorthand writers, and escaping thus the delay and the divided attention involved in the personal use of the pen, he has been able to select words with unusual care.

His power to control his attention is exemplified in the daily transaction of business at his official desk. The dictation of a letter or of an essay will be interrupted by a question from a subordinate or by a visitor, and as soon as the temporary business has been transacted the dictation is resumed at the point of leaving off without apparent effort. Through this remarkable power he is able to direct his attention to any selected subject of thought and there concentrate it for an indefinite period. The intellectual labor necessary to the arrangement of a subject for composition is performed without the aid of notes, and the entire subject is elaborated and stored in the mind before its record is begun. This elaboration extends to the division of the subject into distinct propositions and the arrangement of these propositions in a logical order. It does not ordinarily extend to the framing of sentences, but the ideas to be expressed have passed out of the haze of suggestion into the clear light of full perception before dictation is attempted. Thus in a second way it results that close attention is given to the selection of words and phrases and the framing of sentences. With many writers the employment of a shorthand amanuensis leads to a diffuse style, characterised by long and involved sentences, but in Powell's case such employment is coincident with a concise style and the prevalence of short sentences,—a difference which I conceive to be due to the fact that his subject is thought out in advance.

During the period of mental elaboration, while the subject is undergoing classification and arrangement, it is often rehearsed to friends in the guise of a topic of conversation; and while it is thus fully at command, it is apt to be drawn on as material for post-prandial speeches and other occasional and extempore remarks and especially for discussions in scientific societies. In such ways he tests in advance the reception of the results of his cogitation before committing them even to the private record of the written page. It has occasionally happened that the thoughts thus set afloat have received publication in the writings of others before they appeared in his own. Probably the appropriation has usually been unconscious, but whether so or not the matter is of little moment, for a mind fertile as Powell's need not be a stickler for priority of thought, and the world need not care from what source flow the ideas that constitute its progress.

During dictation his mental activity is correlated with a certain amount of muscular action, as is the case with many authors. Sometimes he sits in a pivoted chair, swinging it one way and another, and accompanying emphatic passages by gesture. More frequently he paces the floor, with a cigar, lighted or unlighted, in mouth or hand, raising his voice and gesturing with hand and body as though addressing an audience.

Despite the thoroughness of his mental preparation, the manuscript of a scientific article is rarely complete at first writing, but is in that stage criticised in all respects, from its verbiage to its general logic. It is brought under view from time to time for several days, and if possible for several weeks, and is again submitted to friends conversant with the subject for the purpose of eliciting discussion and criticism.

As a speaker Powell is deliberate and effective. When no manuscript has been prepared, he frames his sentences clearly and completely, and in the style characteristic of his essays. His voice is of moderate strength, but sufficient for the ordinary lyceum audience. Warmed to his subject, his gestures are frequent and withal spontaneous and unconscious. When he speaks in Washington, where he is well known, the audience room is always filled, and he is equally popular on various lecture circuits of the country. In the early years of his governmental work, when he expended his entire appropriation in exploration and drew no salary, he supported himself by lecturing, arranging for a tour whenever his finances demanded it.

As a debater he is peculiarly ready, not with repartee but with

ideas. Indeed the term "debate" ill applies to the discussions in which he ordinarily participates, for these are at the meetings of scientific societies, where the general object is the discovery of truth and not rhetorical victory. His remarks are especially characterised by the originality of their point of view, which usually rises above the special subject and presents some phase of his comprehensive philosophy.

He often attempts to illustrate what he says by marking with crayon on a blackboard, just as in conversation he frequently marks with pen or pencil on a sheet of paper, but such attempts serve only the purpose of gesture, correlating a certain amount of muscular activity with the mental activity of the moment. The lines he draws rarely bear any relation to the subject.

His hours of labor and hours of recreation and rest have little relation to official hours of business, and he pays small heed to the mandates of the sun. His executive duties indeed require his presence in certain places at certain times, but his scientific work has no fixed time. It recurs to his mind after each interruption, and holds his attention until the next. Recreation in the earlier years of his governmental work was given no regular place, although his life was far from devoid of it. It consisted chiefly of the conversation of friends and family, but included also games. He was fond of whist, euchre, and cribbage, being an expert at the last, and billiards was a favorite entertainment until a disease of the eye impaired his skill. He also drove much, being fond of horses and an expert reinsman, despite the loss of his right hand. These various recreations filled only hours of comparative leisure, and were relinquished for days and even weeks whenever his energies were specially demanded by a crisis of affairs or the formulation of a scientific subject. Of late years considerations of health have dictated regular exercise, and he has adopted the practice of spending some hours each day in the saddle. Multiplying responsibilities clamor for the remainder of his time, and other recreations are relinquished, unless indeed the social duties incident to his official position be regarded as recreations.

Comparatively few hours are demanded for sleep, and few are given. The hour of retiring is apt to be late, and it is a life-long habit not to linger in bed awake, but to rise on waking whatever the hour. On the other hand, the artificial termination of sleep is not tolerated when it can be avoided.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE EVOLUTION OF ORNAMENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

CROSSES are now worn as ornaments, which is the third stage in an interesting process of evolution. The savage, who is afraid of evil spirits, defends himself by amulets which he hangs before his mouth, nose, and ears, to prevent their entering through these openings of the head, and also on his feet, arms, and breast. Thus we find men and women decked with rings, necklaces, and pendants of all kinds. Ear-lobes, lips, and nose are pierced for the purpose of having the protecting charms attached. Feathers are stuck into the hair, and the head is mounted with horns or the jaws of wild animals. This is the first stage, which we characterise as a belief in magic.



NOSE-RING.

As worn by an Egyptian woman of the present age. (After Lane.
From Riehm. *Hdw. d. B. A.*, p. 1073.)

This primitive and superstitious state of things gradually changes through a diminution of the trust placed in the efficacy of magic power. The practice of wearing talismans, however, continues partly through habit, partly through love of the traditional totems which now become emblems, a kind of coats of arms. Though they are no longer believed to be endowed with supernatural power, they still serve the purpose of indicating the clan of the wearer, his affiliation with a society as well as the degree he has attained in it. This is the second or emblematic stage, which

is a period in which the right to use a special coat of arms with a crown of five or seven balls is a question of grave importance and may lead to protracted law suits.

The third stage begins when the societies and the degrees of rank lose first their special privileges, then their rank, and finally even their historical interest. But society continues to use the old emblems. People have grown accustomed to them and regard them as beautiful. Society now toys with them, and the ancient



VIRA BHADRA.

From Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*,
pl. xxiii, p. 105.¹



A VASE COVERED
WITH CROSSES,
FOUND IN LAY-
BACH.²



A DOTTED CROSS STANDING
ON EDGE. Neolithic orna-
ment of the cave-dwellers
of Franconia. (Museum
of Munich. After Johan-
nes Ranke.)

emblems are now worn as mere ornaments. This is the third and ornamental stage.

In time the ornamental stage may give way to a fourth period which will be the neglect of ornament. People will then become

¹ Vira Bhadra, a son and an Avatar of Siva mentioned by Moor as a popular hero of extensive celebrity among the Hindus, carries a Latin cross on his helmet in the place where modern soldiers wear the coat of arms of their country. The illustration of Vira Bhadra "was drawn from a brass cast nine inches high in very bold relief, the principal figure projecting considerably."

² After Mortillet, *Musée préhistorique*. From Zmigrodski, No. 161.

aware of the fact that the wearing of ornaments is a survival of savagery, and they will continue wearing them only when it serves a purpose. The tendency will be toward simplicity and the avoidance of the gaudy and showy. This fourth stage, which is a period of neglect, sets in with a change of taste when the last trace of the notion that a certain piece of ornament is desirable has been lost.

The fourth period is occasionally followed by the archaistic stage, which arises from a love of antiquities and consists in a return to ancient forms because they are ancient.

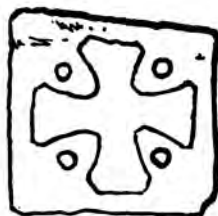
These five stages, however, must not be conceived as being historically distinct periods; for, first, different strata of society belonging to different phases in the evolution of culture live peacefully and contemporaneously together; and, secondly, the different ornaments do not pass through their stages simultaneously. The lip-rings were abandoned first; nose-rings are mentioned in the



THE CROSS AS A NECK-ORNAMENT.¹



JESUS CHRIST'S BRAZILIAN COAT-OF-ARMS.¹



AN ANCIENT PAGAN STONE.²

Bible as befitting a beautiful face and are worn in some parts of Syria and Egypt even to-day. Finger-rings are in use at present, although it is now deemed a mark of bad taste if there is a display of many and showy rings that make the hand look like a jeweler's shop. The wedding-ring honorably maintains its place in the second stage as an emblem of faithfulness, while the rings of the upper arm have become a matter of the past, except for masquerades.

When Eliezer met Rebekah at the well, he put a "ring upon her nose," which the translator, being unable to understand that

¹ After Schieman's *Tiryns*, 36. From Zmigrodski, *loc. cit.*, No. 101.

² Preserved in the church of Inowroclaw near Posen. Zmigrodski, *loc. cit.*, No. 144.

The cross preserved in the church of Inowroclaw is, according to the statement of its priest made to Dr. Zmigrodski (*Gesch. der Swastika*, p. 183), of pagan origin. The church is very old and was presumably built in the eleventh century on the site and from the materials of a pagan temple. It contains in the Presbytery on the left side of the main altar six granite blocks with several sculptures, one being a dog and a pig upside down, which is an evidence of their being inserted at random. Besides the dotted cross here reproduced, there are three more crosses on these ancient stones.



SAMSI RAMAN III., WITH A CROSS ON HIS BREAST.¹ (See footnote, opposite page.)

the Hebrew patriarchs differed so much in taste from ourselves, changes to earring. Even men have worn nose-rings, as appears from Job xlii. 2, where we read that every one of Job's friends gave him money and one nose-ring.¹

Herr Ohnefalsch-Richter has pointed out that the goddess Aphrodite-Astarte at Cyprus (as represented in a statue) wore a nose-ring (*Bulletin of the Société d'Anthrop.* Paris, Dec. 1888; cf. Reinach, *Chronique de l'Orient*, 3^{me} série, t. IV., 1886).

Nose-rings are still worn to-day by some of the lower classes of the Orient, especially Egypt. According to Lane (III., p. 214) the ring is generally worn in the right nostril, as shown in the illustration; it is from 1 to 1½ (sometimes even 3) inches in diameter and is ornamented with three or four balls or other pendants. Ardieux (III., 252) mentions it as a joke common among the Arabians that the men try to kiss their women through the nose-ring.

With many of us of the present generation, the cross is now in its third, sometimes even in its fourth, stage. Some people have purposely begun to discard it, while to others it is a mere ornament, which is used without any reason whatever. Would not the cross in its Christian significance as referring to the martyr-death of Christ be glaringly out of place on the bosom of a belle at a ball? Yet how often is the cross used under similar circumstances, and no one sees any incongruity in it.

Coats of arms have lost their significance in America; yet they are not infrequently used, indicating a revival of the sense for tradition which had been almost lost in the New World.

There is no objection whatever to Americans' continuing the use of coats of arms, but I would suggest that those interested in American heraldry should come to an agreement to replace the crowned helmets of European coats of arms by some befitting American symbol, say, for instance, a ribbon of thirteen stars, which might be white for Northern families, red for Southern families, and blue for the wide West. Should a more elaborate design be desired for special purposes, we suggest an Indian head, such

¹ British Museum. From Lenormant, Vol. IV., p. 206. The same cross is represented on the breast of other kings and it occurs otherwise on monuments, together with the sun and the moon, in a style similar to that in which Ahura Mazda is pictured above Persian kings, which indicates that it must have been the emblem of deity, perhaps a monotheistic conception of God.

² The word *נִסְרִי* (*nasarim*), literally the "piercer," denotes nose-ring or earring in contrast to arm and finger-ring. Its significance as "nose-ring" becomes obvious through the passages Gen. xxiv. 47, Isa. iii. 21, Prov. xi. 22, where the nose is specially mentioned in the original, while in Gen. xxxv. 4 it means "earring." In Job xlii. 2 the meaning "nose-ring" is preferable, because it is expressly stated that Job received *one* piercing-ring, not two. In Judges viii. 24-25 the meaning is doubtful.

as appears on our pennies, encircled by thirteen stars or some other unmistakable emblem of the New World.

The thwart or figure of intersecting lines has twice passed through the five stages of this development: first as the pagan symbol of life and bliss and then as the Christian cross. The cross was used for exorcism in the beginning of the Middle Ages; it then became the coat of arms of the crusaders as an emblem, and it is now worn for ornament.

The cross is a favorite design in family coats of arms among all the nations of the world. The Union Jack of Great Britain is a combination of three crosses, those of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick; while simple crosses of various colors appear in the flags of Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Italy, Greece, Samoa, etc., not to mention the emblematic crosses of lake-dwellers, and cave-dwellers, and other primitive peoples.

Further, the cross is the form of more than half of the decorations in the world with which kings and emperors feed the ambition of their faithful servants. But very few of these crosses are Latin crosses, or can be interpreted as crosses; they are obviously mere thwarts, and the most ancient of them may date back to pagan times when a thwart—a figure of two intersecting lines—still had its original pagan significance.

At any rate, Assyrian kings wore a cross (or rather a thwart) as a decoration upon their breast which closely resembles modern decorations.

As a curiosum we reproduce here the coat of arms which was officially awarded to Jesus Christ on his being admitted to the nobility of the Empire of Brazil. It shows a black cross mounted upon three green hills in a golden field, and is covered with a double crown of thorns and stars.

ON THE DETERMINATION OF HIGH TEMPERATURES.¹

BY DR. ERNST MACH.

REFERENCE must here be made in connection with our discussions of the concept of temperature to the so-called *pyrometric* methods, or expedients for determining high temperatures. Newton² is the first to have devised a method of this kind, and we shall simply state his idea, without at present making any critical comment.

Newton observed, by the aid of a linseed-oil thermometer, that the loss of temperature of a hot body exposed to a uniformly cold current of air was for the same interval of time proportional to the temperature-difference of the body and the air, and *assumed* that this relation held universally for all temperatures, however high. Imagine two bodies, A and A' , alike in all respects, save that the difference between the temperature of the air and that of A' is twice the corresponding difference for the air and A . Allowing these bodies to cool during the same element of time t , A' will lose twice as much as A , and the excess of its temperature above that of the air will at the end of time t be again twice that of A . The same reasoning holds true for the succeeding element t_2 , and so for the rest. Hence, in the process of cooling during any interval of time t , A' will lose twice as much as A . The generalisation is obvious.

Now let a body A at a very high temperature cool, and call the *equal* intervals into which the total time of cooling is divided, $t_1, t_2, \dots, t_{n-1}, t_n$. Suppose the excess of temperature of the body at the beginning of the last interval t_n is $2u$, but at the end of it it is u , then on the preceding assumption it follows that at the beginning

¹ Translated from Mach's *Prinzipien der Wärmelehre* by Thomas J. McCormack.

² *Newtoni Opuscula*, Lausanne and Geneva, 1744, Vol. II., p. 419. *Scala graduum caloris et frigoris*, *Phil. Trans.*, 1701, XXII., p. 824.

of the equal intervals t_{n-1} , t_{n-2} , t_{n-3} , . . . it would show respectively the excesses of temperature, $4u = 2^2u$, $8u = 2^3u$, $16u = 2^4u$. Newton ascertained the time t_n and the value of u by means of a linseed-oil thermometer, and was thus able to assign the temperature at every other prior period of the cooling.

The body A was a red-hot mass of iron exposed to a current of air. On it particles of different metals and their alloys were placed and the time noted at which they congealed, the idea being to determine the *temperatures of congelation*. From the melting-point of tin downwards the process of cooling could be followed with a linseed-oil thermometer. Newton made the temperature-numbers of this thermometer *proportional* to the voluminal increment of the linseed-oil above the melting-point of ice.

According to Newton, the temperature of boiling water is not quite three times (2.83) that of the human blood (37°C.), whence 104°C. would follow for the temperature of boiling. For the melting-point of tin (5.83×37) he obtained 215°C. (new researches give 230°); for the temperature of lead (8×37) he got 296° (new determinations give 326°), and for the temperature of red-heat (16.25×37) 600°C.

At the conclusion of his paper Newton remarks that, owing to the uniformity of the air-current, the same number of air-particles is heated in equal intervals of time, by an amount proportional to the heat of the iron, and that therefore the losses of heat suffered by the iron must be proportional to its heat. But since these losses are in point of fact also proportional to the indications of the linseed-oil thermometer, therefore we are justified in assuming that the heat of a body is proportional to the increase of volume of the linseed-oil thermometer.¹ From this reasoning, in which by the way no distinction is yet made between the concepts "temperature" and "quantity of heat," it would appear that Newton, here as elsewhere, is guided in his enunciations partly by instinct and partly by observation, making the suggestions of the one correct those of the other. It appeared to him *antecedently* obvious that the "losses of the heat" should be proportional to the "heat," and likewise that the "expansion" should be proportional to the "heat." Observation tallied with these views, and so the conceptions were retained.

¹The original of the passage in question reads: "Locavi autem ferrum, non in aere tranquillo, sed in vento uniformiter spirante, ut aer a ferro calefactus semper abriperetur a vento, et aer frigidus in locum ejus uniformi cum motu succederet. Sic enim aeris partes aequalibus temporibus calefactae sunt, et calorem conceperunt calori proportionalem. Calores autem sic inventi eandem habuerunt rationem inter se, cum caloribus per thermometrum inventis; et propterea rarefactiones olei ipsius caloribus proportionales esse recte assumpsimus."

Critically viewed, matters stand as follows. The temperature-numbers repose on an *arbitrary* convention. They may be taken proportional to the voluminal increments or they may not. But after a decision regarding them has been reached, *observation* alone can decide whether the losses are proportional to the temperatures. On the other hand, the temperature-numbers could be so *chosen* that the losses would be proportional to the temperatures even on the assumption of some different law of cooling from that actually obtaining.

There is thus no necessary connection between Newton's propositions. Nothing whatever follows from his observations regarding the correctness or incorrectness of his scale of temperature. Dulong and Petit have in fact shown, as we shall see later, that the harmony between Newton's assertions is immediately ruptured if the observations on cooling are made with a thermometer within wide limits of temperature and with greater care than Newton bestowed upon them. Newton's two assumptions contain, so to speak, two different scales of temperature.

But nothing would prevent our employing Newton's pyrometric principle as a *definition of a scale of temperature*, by considering on some principle of co-ordination the times counted backwards as *inventorial numbers* of the corresponding thermal states of the cooling body. Whether this definition is or is not independent of the nature of the bodies and what is the relation of this scale to any other now in common use, could be ascertained only by special experiments and only to the extent to which the two scales under comparison were actually and simultaneously accessible (without extrapolation) to experiment.

Another pyrometric method, early devised by Amontons¹ in imperfect form, was employed by Biot. Biot² showed by experiment and from considerations of theory that in a metal bar one end of which has been exposed sufficiently long to a constant source of heat, the excesses of the temperature of the bar over that of the air decrease in geometrical progression as we move away in arithmetical progression from the heated end,—as far at least as the process can be followed with a thermometer. Ascertaining the ratio of the progression at the colder end and assuming that the law holds *without limit* for all temperatures, however high, we can infer the temperatures of the places which by reason of their great heat are inaccessible to direct thermometric examination. Amontons had assumed that the temperatures increased from the cold to the

¹ *Histoire de l'Académie*, 1703, p. 6.

² *Journal de Mines*, 1804, Vol. XVII., p. 203.

hot end by the law of a straight line. But since the ratio of the above-mentioned progression depends on the dimensions and the material of the bar, it will be seen that the temperature-numbers obtained by Amonton's principle would depart very considerably from those obtained by Biot's. Examining Biot's case within wide ranges of temperature and with greater exactness, as Forbes has recently done, it appears that even within the limits accessible to a thermometer the ratio of the geometrical progression depends on the temperature. Thus Biot's pyrometric principle also, if it is to be consistently maintained, involves a new definition of temperature, and what was said regarding Newton's principle holds true substantially regarding Biot's. As for the rest, the relation between the two methods is simple. In Newton's method the temperatures to be determined *succeed one another*, in Biot's they occur *side by side*. The temperature-numbers employed as inventorial numbers are obtained in the first instance as *measures of time* and in the second as *measures of length*. Newton's idea may have suggested Biot's. Even Lambert¹ sought to correct Amonton's principle after the manner of Biot.²

Black also devised a pyrometric method, based on his researches in calorimetry. If a body of mass m be cooled in a quantity of water M from the temperature u_1 to the temperature u , then, as thermometric observation shows, the water M will be heated by an amount proportional to the product $ms(u_1 - u)$, where s is a constant peculiar to the cooling body (*viz.*, its specific heat). If M be the mass of the water and u_2 its initial temperature, the equation will obtain

$$ms(u_1 - u) = M(u - u_2),$$

from which follows for the initial temperature u_1 of the cooled body

$$u_1 = u + \frac{M(u - u_2)}{ms}$$

If m and s be small and M large, u and u_2 will remain within reach of the ordinary thermometric scale, even when the body to be cooled has been heated to a degree far beyond it. Assuming with Black the unlimited validity of the principle, the initial temperature u_1 can still be ascertained from the above equation. For example, we can cool in a large mass of water a piece of iron of known weight and specific heat which has been taken from a fur-

¹ *Pyrometrie*, pp. 184-187.

² Black, *Lectures on Chemistry*, German translation by Crell, 1804, Vol. I., pp. 108, 277.

nance, and ascertain in this way the temperature of the furnace. Inasmuch as the careful inquiries of Dulong and Petit have demonstrated that ϵ depends on the temperature even within the limits of the ordinary scale, and since any investigation of ϵ outside the limits of this scale is impossible, it will be seen that Black's pyrometric principle also involves a new definition of temperature. Substantially the same remarks may be made with respect to this method as were advanced regarding the methods discussed above.

A pyrometric method can be constructed on the basis of any physical property which varies with the thermal state. Pyrometers have been devised that rest on variations of volume or pressure, and others have been conceived which indicate the thermal state by melting, boiling, dissociation, and alterations of tenacity. The spectral photometer, the polaristrobometer, have also been put to pyrometric use. Acoustic pyrometers are based on the changes in the pitch and the wave-length of a note with the temperature. Finally, change of magnetic moment has been thought of in connection with temperature, and attempts have been made to put to pyrometric use the dependence of electric resistance on the temperature, as well as the alteration of thermoelectromotive force with the temperature. The writings of Weinhold,¹ Bolz,² Holborn and Wien,³ as well as the more recent work of Barus,⁴ contain explicit information on all these points, including a rich bibliography.⁵

After the foregoing there will be no doubt that each individual pyrometric method simply furnishes an index of a thermal state by means of which that state can again be recognised and reproduced. For many practical purposes this is in itself very valuable and is often quite sufficient. The number which is the result of any pyrometric observation has therefore no other significance than that of an *inventorial number*. If from three observations we obtain three numbers, $a < b < c$, all the information that these numbers furnish is that the thermal state to which b belongs lies between the two states to which a and c belong. It is antecedently unreasonable to expect any agreement between the numbers obtained by the *different* pyrometric methods, for the reason that in general every pyro-

¹A. Weinhold, *Pyrometrische Versuche*, Poggendorff's *Annalen*, Vol. 149, 1873, p. 186.

²C. H. Bolz, *Die Pyrometer*, Berlin, Springer, 1888.

³L. Holborn and W. Wien, *Ueber die Messung hoher Temperaturen*, Wiedemann's *Annalen*, Vol. 47, 1892, p. 107.

⁴C. Barus, *Die physikalische Behandlung und die Messung hoher Temperaturen*, Leipzig, J. A. Barth, 1892.

⁵For the bibliography of thermometry see also H. Griesbach, *Physikalisch-chemische Propädeutik*, Leipzig, Engelmann, 1900, Chapter 27, pp. 1-88.—T_v.

metric method involves a *special* definition of temperature. The reduction of pyrometric numbers to the Celsius scale can only be performed to the extent within which this method can be employed simultaneously with the air-thermometer. Reductions of this kind have been attempted by Weinhold, Holborn and Wien, to mention only the most important.¹ Sir William Siemens² speaks of the calculations of the temperature of the sun which were made by Secchi, Zöllner, and others, and which amounted respectively to 10,000,000° C. and 27,100° C. Apart from the objections which may be raised against the premises of this calculation and the methods of computation, it is to be remarked that indications in *degrees Celsius* far outside the possible limits of employing the air-thermometer have absolutely no meaning whatever.

¹ See the works cited above.

² *On the Conservation of Solar Energy*, German translation, Berlin, Springer, 1885, p. 144.

THE BATTLE OF SHIMONOSEKI.

BY THE EDITOR.

JAPAN, or Nippon as the natives call it, is a most interesting country, and the study of its history is instructive mainly on account of the many similarities which it offers to the history of Europe. Here as well as there, mankind passed through a period of feudalism, and Buddhism played almost exactly the same part in the East as did Christianity in the West; it brought the blessings of a higher civilisation, a noble morality, and the cultivation of the arts, but introduced at the same time (although in a considerably milder form than in Europe) among the priesthood the craving for power and the insolence of a successful hierarchy.

Among the many details that elicit our interest there is the struggle between the Genji¹ and the Heike, which is a parallel to the War of the Roses in England. Both clans of warriors claim descent from the Mikado family. The coat-of-arms of the former bears three gentian flowers above three bamboo leaves in a white field, and the latter carry a butterfly in their crest, and the color of their banner is red.

There was a third family of nobles of no less consequence, called the Fujiwara, but they abstained from partaking in actual warfare and selected as a field for their activity the more peaceful and safer callings of politics, statecraft, the dispensation of law, the patronage of literature, the arts, and religion, and their coat-of-arms is the blue Wistaria blossom, their emblematic color being blue.

The names Genji and Heike are Chinese forms of the Japanese words Minamoto and Taira, and it has become customary in Japan to call the several members of these families by their Japanese

¹ Pronounce *Gen-she* and *Hā-i-kū*, the *i* after the *ā* being almost inaudible. According to the rules of transcribing Japanese words, all vowels must upon the whole be given the continental or Italian pronunciation, while the consonants retain their English significance.

names, the white ones "Minamoto" and the red ones "Taira," while the entire clans are designated as the Genji and the Heike.

The rivalry between the two warrior clans was naturally great, and each party strove for the control of the throne. At last Kiyomori, the leader of the Taira family, succeeded in 1156 in taking possession of the palace. The red flag was victorious. Kiyomori became the Warwick of Japan. He assumed the highest office in the government, had his daughter married to the Mikado, made and unmade emperors, banished his adversaries, and finally, when intoxicated with power, decided to exterminate the entire Minamoto clan.

Yoshitomo, the leader of the Genji, the white flag clan, was killed, and his spouse Tokiwa, a most beautiful woman, fled with her children. Kiyomori then seized Tokiwa's mother, and the dutiful daughter returned to release her. She prevailed upon Kiyomori to spare her mother and children, and so the sons of Yoshitomo escaped, and two of them, Yoritomo and Yoshitsune, grew up finally to become the most famous generals of this celebrated contest.

The story of Yoritomo is a favorite subject of Japanese romancers. The boy was banished to Idzu, a remote and almost inaccessible peninsula (now famous for its hot springs), to be educated for the priesthood in a Buddhist monastery, but the spirit of the boy was unmanageable, and the monks called him a "young bull." They allowed him to leave in a merchant vessel, and he entered the service of a Fujiwara nobleman. Two Taira officers trained him in the art of war, and he cultivated the virtues of valor, endurance, self-control, and courtesy. He married Masago, the daughter of Tokimasa, a man of the Hojo family, who promised his assistance when the time of vengeance for the Taira clan had come.

In the meantime Kiyomori's tyranny transcended all bounds, and one of the princes of the Mikado's household plotted to overthrow him. He requested the Taira retainers to remove the insolent prime minister, but they refused. So the prince appealed to the scattered members of the Genji, and the white flag was raised once more. Yoritomo and Yoshitsune became their leaders. Although defeated in the beginning of the war, their cause grew stronger in time, and they made Kamakura their headquarters. When they prepared for a decisive battle, Kiyomori, the tyrannical leader of the red flag, lay dying in Kioto. We read that Kiyomori's only regret on his dying bed was, that he had not seen the head of Yoritomo cut off. "After I am dead," he commanded, "do not

propitiate Buddha on my behalf, do not chant the sacred liturgies. Only do this,—cut off the head of Yoritomo and hang it on my tomb."

Kiyomori's blood-thirsty wish was never fulfilled, for the two Minamoto brothers, Yoritomo and Yoshitsune, led the white flag to victory. They conquered Kioto, expelled the Taira dynasty with its supporters, and took possession of the imperial palace. A new Mikado was installed who held the scepter subject to Genji influence.

In the straits of Shimonoseki¹ the fleet of the Minamoto clan attacked the fleet of the Taira, who tried to escape with their families under the protection of war-junks. The naval battle was bitter and to the finish, and here the Taira, viz., the Heike as a clan, were annihilated.

The little boy-Mikado Antoku, a grandson of Kiyomori, had been entrusted to the care of his grandmother, Kiyomori's widow, who was a Buddhist nun. When during the engagement the cause of the Taira became hopeless, this ambitious matron seized the royal insignia, and with the boy-emperor in her arms, leaped into the sea, so as not to be taken alive. The boy's mother Taigo followed, vainly trying to save the child, and all three were drowned.

The insignia of royal power in Japan are the mirror, the spheric crystal gem, and the sword, and they are claimed to be of divine workmanship. Their loss might have been considered ominous by the people, and they had therefore to be restored at any price. So the Minamoto leaders declared that they had recovered them from the depth of the sea, and a later Mikado, the great Taiko, who ruled three centuries after the battle in the Shimonoseki Straits, had a monument erected on a ledge of rocks in the channel of the rushing waters, to commemorate the place where the unhappy child-Mikado met his sad fate.

We conclude our tale with a quotation from Mr. William Elliot Griffis's book *Japan in History, Folk-lore, and Art*, which refers to a *Iusus naturæ*, the Heike gani (i. e., the crab of the Heike clan), a peculiar freak of nature which exhibits plainly on its back the face of an angry man portrayed after the fashion of Japanese art. Mr. Griffis says:

"Many are the legends which tell how the unquiet ghosts of the Taira raise storms, and appear to mariners at night. On one occasion, as Yoshitsune in full armor was crossing the straits, the waves were lashed to fury by a tempest which threatened to foun-

¹ Pronounce *Shi-mo-no-sey-ke*.



THE HEIKE GANI, OR GHOST CRAB. An incident in the feudal history of Japan adorned by a legend.

der the ship. The sails flapped wildly, and the ship refused to obey her rudder. Out on the tops of the curling spray stood myriads of pale-faced and angry shades of the dead. Ghastly with wounds, they threatened dire calamity to the victor who had sent their souls into the nether world. Yoshitsune, undaunted, stood on deck, and with his sword struck vainly at the ghosts that would not down, cutting nothing but the air. Only when Benkéi, the gigantic priest-warrior, threw down his sword, and pulling out his beads began to exorcise the spirits by appropriate Buddhist prayers, did the storm cease and the shades disappear.

"Even in our own day the fishermen tell stories of ghosts which rise out of the sea at night and beg for a dipper. These ghosts are the Taira men slain in battle, and condemned by the King of the World Under the Sea to cleanse the ocean of its stain of blood. The boatmen always give them a dipper which has no bottom, else they would swamp the boat by filling it with sea-water. The restless souls, long ago condemned to bail out the sea and cleanse it of its stain of blood, still keep hopelessly at work.

"The fishermen, however, say that the Taira ghosts in these late days, only occasionally appear. For centuries after the battle they used to rise up in hosts. A great temple to sacred Amida, the Boundlessly Compassionate Buddha, was erected long ago at Shimonoseki to appease the wrath of the spirits. Since then they have been quiet. Evidently their ghosts have taken the shape of shellfish, as Buddhist doctrine teaches.

"A peculiar kind of crab is found in the Straits. On their backs may be traced the figure of an angry man. These are called Heike-gani, or Heike crabs, and the fisher folk say they were not known to exist here until after the Taira were slaughtered in the great battle."

We reproduce here a picture of the Heike crab from a specimen which Prof. Ernest W. Clement, President of the Duncan Academy, Tokyo, Japan, exhibited at Chicago before a meeting of the International Folk-lore Association and which was kindly lent the writer for the purpose of having it photographed.

MISCELLANEOUS.

FREDERIC W. H. MYERS ON THE SURVIVAL OF PERSONALITY.¹

We are just in receipt of a two-volume work, consisting altogether of over 1300 pages, in which the late Dr. Myers treats of human personality and its survival of bodily death. He was one of the most active supporters of the Society for Psychical Research of England, and with the assistance of Prof. Henry Sidgwick and Mr. Edmund Gurney, he published his inquiries into the nature of the soul in the *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research and also in the voluminous publication *Phantasms of the Living*. The present work is based, as Dr. Myers himself states in the introduction, upon the following consideration: "Man has never yet applied the method of science to the problem of his own survival of death. There has been much belief in survival,—both definite belief and vague belief,—but nevertheless no attempt to test that belief by observation and experiment. In fact, the very importance of the belief has barred methodical inquiry; men have adopted it as a *faith*, and have then been reluctant to analyse it. The Christian Church has absorbed the question into theology, and has treated theology as based on tradition and intuition, not on fresh experiment."

Dr. Myers attempts to supply this lack, but in spite of the enormous amount of material collected, he himself confesses that "it is an exposition rather than a proof." Here we have incorporated the most significant instances from the *Proceedings*, the journal of the Society for Psychical Research, and *Phantasms of the Living*, and readers who wish to have the material in this condensed shape will save themselves much labor by limiting their inquiry to the present two volumes.

The work is full of new terms, many of which are well known to psychologists, but a few additional ones are introduced by the Psychical Researchers themselves, and are obviously based on the assumption that their interpretation of facts is correct.

Dr. Myers has done well to place a Glossary at the beginning of his book; and among the new words which may be of interest to our readers are such as the following: *clairvoyance*; *clairaudience*; *cosmopathic*; *cryptomnesia* (subliminal memory); *crystal-gazing* and *shell-hearing* (viz., visions and auditions artificially produced); *discarnate* (as opposed to *incarnate*); *falsidical* or false, and *veridical* or true; *hallucination*; *hyperpromethia* (supernormal power of foresight); *panesthesia*; *panmnnesia*, *promnesia* (the experience of a scene *déjà vu*); *retro-cognition* (the supernormal knowledge of the past); *telekinesis* (the supernormal

¹ *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*. New York, London, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1903. Two Volumes. Pages, xlv, 700 and xx, 660. Price, \$12.00 net.

movements of objects, not due to any known force); *telepathy* (communication at a distance), *telesthesia* (perception of objects at a distance); *telergy* (a direct influence of a spirit on the brain of the percipient). Among the most original words we notice *psychorrhagy*, which means the breaking off of a part of the soul by the power of which a phantasm is produced perceptible by one or more persons in some part of space. This psychorrhagy necessitates another term, viz., "the phantasmogenetic centre," which is "a point in space so modified by the presence of a spirit that it becomes perceptible to persons materially present near it."

We intend to give the book a more careful perusal, for it is a stupendous work and deserves a careful examination. If we can arrive at a definite opinion as to the merits of these researches, we shall publish a more detailed article on the subject. After a superficial inspection and finding much material already known to us through the *Proceedings* and *The Phantasms of the Living*, we can only say with Faust:

"*Die Botschaft hör' ich wohl, allein mir fehlt der Glaube.*"

[Indeed I hear your message, but faith in it I lack.] P. C.

THE WATER OF LIFE.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Among the many martyrs of the Catholic Church in ancient days in Japan was one whose Christian name was Paul, but whose Japanese name I have forgotten; but this Japanese Paul's saying has been treasured through these centuries by his mother, the Holy Catholic Church, as being extremely beautiful as well as divinely pious. It is this: "Eternal praise be to the ever-adorable Sacraments of the Altar." He did not mean a pagan altar; he referred to the Holy Altar of the Catholic Church, and this little statue of Chinese porcelain of "I will give thee (the) Water of Life" mentioned by Dr. Carus in the February number of *The Open Court*, may be intended to represent our Blessed Lord and the woman of Samaria. That the figures are Chinese is not to be wondered at. We see the saints pictured in the clothing of many lands, according to the nationality of sculptor or artist. Thousands and tens of thousands of Chinese died martyr deaths,—in every century since the earliest visits of St. Thomas to India the faithful Chinese have yielded up their lives in defence of their belief in the "Adorable Sacrament" and in the "Water of Life."

It is not uncommon for men of education when visiting Europe, perhaps some town where Christianity has been wiped out of existence and where no record or monument of the Christian martyrs exists to attract their attention, to exclaim upon finding some Christian symbol modified by heathen control, to attribute the present unbelief to some period before Christianity, or to claim that these emblems explain where Christianity found its ideal. It depends very much upon how the observer believes and if he has read the history of Catholic Missions in China and Japan. The Protestant yields reluctantly to the praise of the Catholic Missions, and if he recognises Christian effort at all of an early date, gives the glory to the Nestorians.

The cause of Christ has induced the missionaries of the Catholic Church to dye deeply the soil of every land under the sun.

There is no place where one can lay the finger on the map and say; here no Catholic missionary has shed his life-blood in the sacred cause of the Gospel. And the blood of these martyrs is the seed of the Church, and the seed is hidden and

not always readily discerned, but God knows where it is all planted and the time of the harvest He knows as well.

The times are growing late, the Prince of Peace may be at the gate. To them whom He has called has He the Water of Life throughout the world everywhere. We must wait and believe and not lose heart.

"Behold, I am with you always even unto the consummation of all things."

In this manner I would explain to our gifted editor, whose pen is far mightier than mine in the wisdom of learning, the simple story of the martyrs of China and the shrouded faith in the Water of Life.

W. THORNTON PARKER, M. D.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

Passion Sunday, 1903.

[The porcelain group to which Dr. Parker refers represents a sage seated by the wayside addressing a smaller person carrying a water bottle, and the sage is supposed to say, "I will give thee Water of Life." The idea of an elixir of life is an old and indigenous notion in China, which may date back to a prehistorical notion which in ancient Babylon gained currency as the water of life. But of course the moot group may have been made under the influence of Christian thought. Dr. Parker's theory is not positively impossible, but all things considered it seems very improbable. P. C.]

THE FIRE-WALK CEREMONY IN TAHITI.

Mr. Andrew Lang described a fire-walk ceremony which he had witnessed in Tahiti, and Dr. Hocken wrote a like account of the Fiji fire ceremony. Both were so interesting that they found their way into the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* in February, 1900, and also in Mr. Fraser's well-known book *The Golden Bough*. Thus it has aroused uncommon interest, and being verified by good authority it is apt to produce in the unsophisticated reader the idea that there are many things in heaven and earth undreamt of in our philosophy. Mr. S. P. Langley happened to be in Tahiti, and was glad to have an opportunity to witness the fire-dance under the guidance of the self-same priest, Papa-Ita, who had performed it in Mr. Andrew Lang's presence. Mr. Langley describes the ceremony in a pamphlet issued from the Government Printing Office at Washington, the contents being taken from the Smithsonian Report for 1901; he also publishes instantaneous photographs taken of the dance. He personally met the priest, Papa-Ita, "the finest-looking native that I had seen, tall, dignified in bearing, with unusually intelligent features." The *mise en scène*, says Mr. Langley, was certainly noteworthy. Everything was so arranged as to heighten the expectation of the spectators as to the heat of the fiery stones over which the priest was to walk. The poles of the men who stirred the fire and turned the stones over it were three times longer than necessary, but it seemed as if the latent heat of the fire extended three times farther than it actually did. Papa-Ita claimed that he could walk over the hot stones because he was protected by a goddess and by virtue of spells. He himself and other natives walked over the hot stones with naked feet, but we must consider that "native feet are not like European ones, and Mr. Richardson, the chief engineer of the ship, mentioned that he had himself seen elsewhere natives standing unconcerned with naked feet on the cover of pipes conveying steam at about 300° F., where no European foot could even lightly rest for a minute." Omitting further details, we quote the result as Mr. Langley gives it:

"I witnessed substantially the scenes described by the gentlemen cited, and I have reason to believe that I saw a very favorable specimen of a fire-walk. It was a sight well worth seeing. It was a most clever and interesting piece of savage magic, but from the evidence I have just given I am obliged to say (almost regretfully) that it was not a miracle."

P. C.

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE IN CHINA.

Prof. J. J. M. De Groot¹ discusses the subject of religious liberty in China in a most elaborate style, publishing the documents of Chinese legislation in the original, together with an English translation; and the obvious conclusion is that Confucianism, the official State religion of China, in spite of its lack of definitely religious features, is as intolerant as any other extremely dogmatic faith. The heterodox systems have no standing before the law; the main documents being three articles on the eradication of sects and heresy which are contained in the sixteenth chapter of the Civil and Penal Code, *Ta Ts'ing luh li* of the Ts'ing Dynasty. They read as follows:

ARTICLE I.

"Religious leaders or instructors, and priests, who, pretending thereby to call down heretical gods, write charms or pronounce them over water, or carry round palanquins (with idols), or invoke saints, calling themselves orthodox leaders, chief patrons, or female leaders; further, all societies calling themselves at random White Lotus communities of the Buddha Maitreya, or the *Ming-tsun* religion, or the school of the White Cloud, etc.; together with all that answers to practices of *tso tao* or *i twan*; finally, they who in secret places have prints and images, and offer incense to them, or hold meetings which take place at night and break up by day, whereby the people are stirred up and misled under the pretext of cultivating virtue—shall be sentenced, the principal perpetrators to strangulation, and the accomplices each to a hundred blows with the long stick, and after that, the latter shall be banished for ever to the distance of three thousand miles."

ARTICLE II.

"If any one in the army or among the people dress or ornament the image of a god, and receive that god with the clang of cymbals and the beating of drums, and hold sacrificial meetings in his honor, one hundred blows with the long stick shall be administered, but only to the principals."

ARTICLE III.

"If village-chiefs, when privy to such things (as detailed in art. I. and II.), do not inform the authorities, they shall receive each forty blows with the short bamboo lath. Services of prayer and thanksgiving (for the harvest) in honor of the common local gods of the Ground, performed in spring and autumn respectively, do not fall under these restrictions."

This severe law was not framed especially against Christianity, but against Buddhism and Taoism, and the Buddhist and Taoist clergy are specially named in many applications of this same law. In the face of this condition, which is illustrated in many instances referred to by Professor De Groot, who is no mean authority on the subject, our author says that "The Confucian instinct for perse-

¹ *Is There Religious Liberty in China?* Separate reprint from the "Mittheilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin," V., Abtheilung I., ostasiatische Studien. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei. 1902. Pages, 49.

cution, embodied in the Law on Heresy, is, as will always be—as long as China is her own—like the sword of Damocles; the protection granted to the Christians by the Powers is not much more than a hair which prevents the sword from falling." Accordingly, adds Professor De Groot, "Chinese Christianity cannot exist and thrive without the protection of the foreign powers, and if this protection were withdrawn, wreck and ruin would be its lot... There is, indeed, another reason for Chinese persecution of the Christians than a concocted register of sins of missionaries."

BOOK REVIEWS.

IN OUR MIDST. The Letters of Callicrates to Dione, Queen of the Xanthians, Concerning England and the English, Anno Domini 1902. Illustrated. London: *Review of Reviews Annual*, 1903. Pages, 122. Price, 1 shilling.

This pamphlet is a satire on the present state of affairs in Great Britain. The plot of the story consists of the experiences of an English missionary, Tressidder by name, who found in the interior of Africa a Greek tribe called the Xanthians. Having left England many years ago, he preaches Christianity and the message of good will of the Prince of Peace, but finds some opposition, for according to the law of the country a man who introduces innovations shall be immolated to the gods. Having, however, cured the queen of the Xanthians of a dangerous disease, his request to be allowed to preach the Gospel is listened to, and the principal councillor of the queen, Callicrates, is sent to England in order to investigate the conditions of the new religion. Callicrates is in love with the queen and has fair prospects of winning her heart. He leaves the country, arrives in England, and the bulk of the pamphlet before us consists in the letters which he wrote to Dione, the queen of the Xanthians. Letter I. is "First Impressions of England"; letter II., "A Human Sacrifice." This chapter alludes to Christianity of former days, and incorporates an old English print representing the burning of Latimer and Ridley. Letter III. is "The Common Sense of the English"; letter IV., "The Curse of Cybele"; letter V., "The Rule of the Prince of Peace," with a statement of how the first letters were received in Xanthia; letter VI., "The Religion of the English"; letter VII., "The Twisters of the Tail of the Jumping Cat"; letter VIII., "The Art of the English People"; letter IX., "Music and the Drama in England"; letter X., "The Culture of Temperance"; letter XI., "Wherein the English Most Excel"; letter XII., "The Homeless English"; letter XIII., "The Abasement of Womanhood"; letter XIV., "Some Light in the Darkness."

Callicrates returns to his own country, and the result of his inquiry is summed up as follows:

"He had come expecting to find a land in which the Golden Rule was the law of life, where every man did to his brother what he wished his brother to do to him. He had found a land of cut-throat competition, of social caste, and one where internecine feuds raged even within the pale of the Church. He expected to find a sober nation—he found a people sodden with strong drink. He had been told that in England he would find religion pure and undefiled, and divine worship in primitive simplicity—he had found Churches like idolatrous Temples, and a proud priesthood arrogating to themselves sacerdotal privileges. He had hoped to find an ideal Commonwealth, a social Utopia—he had discovered a minority wallowing in luxury, and a majority dehumanised by the conditions of their existence. He had looked to find Woman exalted by her abasement, glorified by humiliation

—he found her everywhere excluded from all that was best worth having, a pariah in Church and in State, an alien in the commonwealth, mocked with the homage of the lips, but sternly forbidden by the law to share in the Government of the Realm. Above all, he had hoped to discover a land where the benign rule of the Prince of Peace had given prosperity to the humblest home, and he had found the whole land given up to the worship of the God of War, sacrificing on his blood-stained altars the choicest of their youth, and spending in preparation for battle the resources which might have rebuilt their slums and remade man in the image of God."

The story ends in the condemnation of the English missionary, but Tressidder suddenly proposes a scheme which saves his life and renders him useful even from the standpoint of the pagan Xanthians. He exclaims :

"Let me go back to my own land to cry in the ears of my countrymen, 'Repent, repent, for the Day of Judgment is at hand.' As I came a missionary to your people, so now I will go back as a missionary to my own nation, to recall them to the faith as it was delivered to their fathers, and to summon them to submit to the Prince of Peace. I go as a sheep in the midst of wolves, going willingly to my death. But how, or where, or when it shall befall me who can say ?

"And the Council saw his face as if it had been the face of an angel. So they let him go, and he departed on his new mission.

"After they had bidden him a sad farewell, Dione said to Callicrates, 'What will happen to the Teacher when he reaches England ?'

"And Callicrates replied : 'If he preaches Christ's Gospel they may kill him as they killed Kensit, or if he pleads for the Prince of Peace they will call him a pro-Boer and kick him to death in the market-place.'"

An appendix to the book consists of a statement of the Robert Browning Settlement, of which Mr. Charles Booth, in opening the Browning Club in June, 1902, said : "For loftiness of ideal, for the successful promotion of the union of Churches in the service of the poor, and for width of practical sympathy with the lives of the people, the Browning Settlement holds the palm among all such institutions." The Browning Settlement is to the author of this pamphlet the light in the darkness that promises a reformation of the evil conditions described in these letters.

The illustrations are partly representations of Xanthian art and manners, being mainly reproductions of well-known classical sculptures, for the Xanthians are supposed to be the lineal descendants of a tribe of ancient Greece. There are also pictures representing English life in the present day,—London street scenes, the great council by which London is governed, scenes on the Thames, railroad scenes, Westminster Abbey, the return of the troops from Africa, St. Paul's Cathedral, newspaper vendors in the streets, typical English posters, flower sellers, groups of the homeless seeking shelter, old women sorting the refuse of the dust heaps, a drunken brawl before a public house, etc., etc.

The work is cleverly done, and is obviously either written or inspired by W. T. Stead. Most likely he will receive very little thanks in England for the labor he expends on the realisation of his ideals. The price of the book, considering the excellency of the paper and the clearness of the numerous illustrations, is very reasonable.

LE SENTIMENT RELIGIEUX EN FRANCE. Par *Lucien Arréat*. Paris : Félix Alcan, éditeur. 1903. Pages, vi, 156. Price, 2 fr. 50.

The substance of the present work was presented by M. Arréat in a long ar-

ticle published in the January *Monist*, entitled "Religion in France." While not originally written as a contribution to the religious controversy and struggle now going forward in France, this book has nevertheless a timeliness which few will regret; and no one desirous of studying the true state of religious affairs in France can afford to pass it by. It has been M. Arréat's object "to exhibit the religious state of France, to seek for the causes of the revival of interest in religious things now manifested there, to point out their importance and meaning, to sketch from data acquired from *questionnaires* the psychology of the French Catholic of to-day, to examine the relative value of the doctrines which seek to govern souls, and to discover the direction in which the religious movement is now tending."

M. Arréat has taken an entirely critical and objective attitude in his investigations. He explains the causes which have rendered the French nation distinctly Catholic, and which make it impossible for a Protestant reformation ever to hope of succeeding there, even if such success were desirable. The French faith is largely a matter of national heredity and temperament; the masses of the French peasantry are only mechanically pious and devout; and it is his belief that the present measures of the French government in secularising the schools will only result in a revivification of a sentiment which had lost much of its vitality. Whatever reaction there has hitherto been in France toward orthodox religion has been among the middle and higher classes, which are also the strongholds of free thought. France, M. Arréat says, has ceased to be passionately Catholic. Many persons have remained loyal to the old faith, and the brutal methods of the government have driven many wavering and indifferent souls back into the fold. But when a Frenchman abandons Catholicism he adopts skepticism outright, and rarely tarries in the transitional stage of Protestantism, which to him is as intellectually objectionable as his old faith.

This work is written in M. Arréat's usual pleasing and dispassionate style, and will hold high rank as a contribution to the psychology and history of religion. μ .

PRZEGLĄD ARCHEOLOGII DO HISTORJI PIERWOTNEJ RELIGJI. Skreslił *Michał Zmigrodzki*, Dr. Phil. Kraków: Księgarnia Spółki Wydawniczej Polskiej. 1902. Pages, 188.

Dr. Zmigrodzki exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair a chart of the swastikas discovered in various parts of the inhabited globe and belonging to different ages, and donated his copy to the International Folklore Association, who still keep it at the Walker Museum, in one of the buildings of the Chicago University. He further produced a new and more complete copy, which he exhibited at the Paris Exposition in 1900; and the present volume is practically a repetition of the same, containing a series of plates with altogether 607 smaller illustrations of swastikas and crosses.

Dr. Zmigrodzki is an indefatigable investigator of the significance and distribution of the swastika, and the present work gives a summary of the results he has obtained. Happily, the Polish text is accompanied with a French translation, a facsimile copy of his original manuscript, through which his labors become accessible to those not initiated into the intricacies of his native tongue.

The main point of universal interest is the author's belief that underlying all religions, past as well as present, there is a deeper stratum which in its original shape is the same among all nations, and upon the whole even now remains the same still. And it has been the ideal of all reformers to purify this core of the true faith from all kinds of additions which hide its pristine glory. This primitive

religion he believes to be a pure monotheism, and he claims that anthropologists should make it a *point de départ* in their investigations of the history of religion (he purposely does not say religions).

Dr. Zmigrodzki adds in a private letter accompanying the book and facsimile manuscript translation that, according to his conviction, the aim of the Religious Parliament Extension is, or should be, to set forth this primitive faith of transcendent purity. To work it out scientifically, however, would take many years, not of a single life only, but of whole generations.

P. C.

A FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY. With Indication of Pronunciation, Etymologies, and Dates of Earliest Appearance of French Words in the Language. By *Hjalmar Edgren, Ph. D.*, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Nebraska, and *Percy B. Burnet, A. M.*, of the High Schools of Chicago, formerly Adjunct Professor in the University of Nebraska. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1902. Pages, xv, 1252.

The compilers of the present work have aimed to present "(1) a scholarly and yet thoroughly practical French-English dictionary, founded upon the highest modern authorities, and embodying a measurably complete list of modern and obsolescent French words with their pronunciation, derivation, and earliest occurrence in the language, as well as their meanings and less obvious uses; and (2) an English-French dictionary serving the purposes of French composition and speaking, and containing a sufficient amount of modern and archaic words with their pronunciation, and etymologically arranged, to serve the French student of English."

The feature of the Dictionary on which its compilers lay the greatest stress is the attention paid to etymology, and it may be said that they have been quite successful in condensing within brief compass the results of the most recent philological research. The study of derivations is illuminative, and advanced students will be grateful for the material here presented. The authors have also employed a system of notation by which the century of the earliest appearance of a word is indicated. Thus, *abat*¹⁵ means that this word first appeared in literature between the years 1500 and 1600; *abime*⁰, that the word comes from the earliest days of the French language, viz., is of direct popular Latin origin.

The main authorities on which the authors have relied are the new Hatzfeld-Darmesteter-Thomas Dictionary now in course of publication in France and the older Dictionary of Littré; they have, however, consulted other lexical works, including the great French-German Dictionary of Sachs-Villatte. Although making no claim to completeness, they believe that they have given a larger vocabulary than ordinary school dictionaries of the same size. They have noted irregular forms of inflection, paid considerable attention to French idioms, and also given a system indicating the pronunciation.

As to the arrangement, they have adopted a mechanical system for saving space, grouping kindred words together alphabetically and not giving them special headings according to their importance. For example, to find *commencer* we have to look under the heading of *commençant*, for the reason that the last-named word is the alphabetical antecedent of the first. Similarly, for *commercer* we have to look under *commerçable*. This at the outset will prove perplexing to users of the dictionary, especially beginners, accustomed to seek the infinitive first; but the inconvenience of the arrangement will, for more advanced students, doubtless disappear with time.

The system of indicating the pronunciation is far from perfect; in fact, no system approaching in any way the completeness of that given in Sachs-Villatte for German and French has ever yet been attempted in English. The mention of this last-named work needs emphasis. The Sachs-Villatte *Dictionary* is a German-French dictionary in two large volumes. It is the greatest international work of French lexicography yet completed. Its analysis of idioms and the attention it pays to synonyms is very exhaustive, and it is rarely that one cannot find in its columns what one is looking for. There is still wanting in English a dictionary of this sort, which will give all the most important shades of meaning of French words, and exhaustively render all the most important French idioms. The publication of a work in English similar to the *Dictionary* of Sachs-Villatte would be an infinitely greater service to scholars than that which we derive from the multiplication of school-dictionaries of substantially the same scope and type.

The greatest drawback of our French-English dictionaries lies in their treatment of homonyms; and we cannot say that the present work is exceptional in this regard. One looks in vain in most English dictionaries for an adequate rendering of *documents*, for example, which may mean "data," "facts," "materials," etc., but which is usually rendered only by the English word "document." In how many dictionaries is the peculiar shade of meaning of the French word *classique* given, according to which a "classical" work may sometimes mean merely a "standard" text-book? Again, the word *académique* in French may mean "wooden" or "stilted" as well as "academic" in our English sense. To *domicile* a draft in French is "to determine its place of payment," yet the renderings "domiciliate," "make reside," etc., give no clue to this. These examples might be multiplied indefinitely; yet it is precisely these words that give the translator, the journalist, and the practical user of French the greatest trouble. Nevertheless they could be incorporated in the dictionaries without greatly extending their limits, and they certainly would increase greatly their usefulness.

Considering the restrictions that a single volume for both a French-English and an English-French vocabulary imposes, the compilers of the work under review have produced a very creditable dictionary, distinctively superior in many respects to its rivals. But we believe that with a different *format* and thinner paper space could have been gained for the many important things that have been omitted.

T. J. McC.

PEUT-ON REFAIRE L'UNITÉ MORALE DE LA FRANCE? Par *Henri Berr*. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1901. Pages, 146. Price, 2 francs.

Though published two years ago, M. Henri Berr's earnest and patriotic little book *Can the Moral Unity of France be Restored?* is, in view of the present religious crisis in France, a very timely one. While thoroughly appreciating the intellectual and material greatness of the other nations of Europe, the author still believes in the spiritual mission of his country. It was the religious spirit of Fichte's appeal, he claims, that made Germany a unified nation; yet how far is Germany, in its now rampant materialism and egotism, fallen from Fichte's ideal! M. Berr's ideal of patriotism is not the possession of great armies or the making of great industrial and imperial conquests, but the proclamation of the truth and service to humanity,—the establishment of a new faith, grounded on science, and the union of the peoples under its banner. This, he contends, is France's intrinsic destiny, and it is justified by her history; materially she will be outstripped by the other nations; her salvation lies in setting the world a spiritual example. The

book is eloquently but soberly written, and is the expression of a sound historical and scientific culture.

THE LIGHT OF CHINA. An Accurate Metrical Rendering, Translated Directly from the Chinese Text, and Critically Compared with the Standard Translations, the Ancient and Modern Chinese Commentaries, and all Accessible Authorities. With Preface, Analytical Index, and Full List of Important Words, and Their Radical Significations. By *I. W. Heysinger, M. A., M. D.* Philadelphia: Research Publishing Co. Pages, 165. Price, 1.50.

The author has reduced the entire *Lao Tze* to verse, and a fair sample of the contents of the book may be had in the introductory words of the *Tao Teh King*, which are translated as follows:

"The way that can be overtrod is not the Eternal Way,
The name that can be named is not the Everlasting Name
Which Nameless brought forth Heaven and Earth, which Named,
if name we may,
The Mother of all the myriad things of time and space became."

The author adorns his metrical translation by a prologue and an epilogue, both in verses of the same character. The epilogue concludes with the following words:

"Now read your Bible, sluggard,—read again,
Gather new meanings from its warp and woof;
Learn the God-gospel of unselfish man,
—And if you cannot, close its poisoned page,
It is not food for you, nor you for gods."

DAS CHRISTENTUM ALS MYSTISCHE THATSACHE. Von *Dr. Rudolf Steiner*. Berlin: Verlag von C. H. Schwetschke und Sohn. 1902. Pages, vi, 141.

The author regards Christianity as a continuation of the pagan Mysteries, and believes that Christianity is the continuation of the religious conception of Greek mysticism. But the Mysteries changed their form; then a few only were admitted to esoteric knowledge, but now all could come and partake of truth. "Christianity brought the mystery of existence out of the temples' darkness into the broad light of day. But," adds our author, "it locked up at the same time the pagan revelation of the temple into the interior recesses of the substance of its faith."

HEREDITY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. By *Simon N. Patten*. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1903. Pp., vii, 214. Price, \$1.25.

The questions proposed for discussion in this volume are the following: How is the social surplus of an epoch transformed into permanent conditions and mental traits? Does progress start from a deficit, or from a surplus? Does genius come by additions, or by differentiation? Does education improve natural or acquired character? Does reform come by strengthening the strong, or by helping the weak? The answers, in brief, are as follows: A social surplus increases energy, and acquired characters are developed; these are not inherited but become fixed and primary by the movement of the organism into a new environment,— "Whatever natural character men have, the race acquired in some previous environment." Progress, therefore, starts from a surplus, and not from a deficit as many suppose. As to genius, it comes not by addition but by differentiation. Education should be

directed toward the improvement of acquired characters,—“Education cannot improve on natural characters;” and, finally, reform comes not by strengthening the strong, but by helping the weak, by giving that protection to the weak in men “by which differentiation becomes possible.” The book is chiefly devoted to biological problems, and the absence of concrete illustrations and application of principles makes it somewhat dry, if not obscure, to the lay reader. I. W. H.

GESCHICHTE DER NEUEREN DEUTSCHEN PSYCHOLOGIE. Von *Max Dessoir*. Zweite, völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. Zweiter Halbband. Berlin: Verlag von Carl Duncker. 1902. Pages, xv, 270. Price, 6 Marks.

Prof. Max Dessoir published last year the second edition of the second part of the first volume of his well known *History of Modern German Psychology*. The first edition appeared in 1894. The work has been much enlarged, special stress being laid on the psychology of the first and latter parts of the eighteenth century. It has not only been Professor Dessoir's aim to narrate the purely technical story of German psychology, but he has also tried to portray the cultural background to that story, and so throw into relief the social, secular, and ethical factors that went to determine the development of this important phase of German thought.

THE PROOFS OF LIFE AFTER DEATH. A Twentieth Century Symposium. By *Robert J. Thompson*. Chicago: Robert J. Thompson, 1604 Wellington Ave. 1902. Pages, 365.

Robert J. Thompson sent out a circular to various men well known either for their scientific reputation or prominent for some other reason, in order to obtain their views concerning life after death; he now publishes their replies, all of them tending to prove a continuous personal identity after death; the “psychical researchers” prevail and take a considerable part of the entire space. Among them the views of Professor Hyslop may be taken as typical. One of the most interesting parts of the book is the Supplement, in which Elmer Gates, professor of psychology and psychurgy, Washington, D. C., presents his own peculiar views. Since Professor Gates has been before the public with his claims to presenting a new evidence of life after death, it will be interesting to our readers to hear what he has to say. He believes that spiritualist testimony is not reliable; there is a higher authority for truth than testimony, viz., experimental quantitative demonstration. He grants that the basis of his own belief in immortality is emotional, but he is anxious to have his faith founded on fact and evidence. The most important phase of his evidence consists in a process which he calls “consciousing,” viz., the active process of consciousness by which it becomes conscious of its own nature and states. Consciousness cannot doubt that it is conscious, and so the fact is absolutely reliable that consciousness exists. “When we introspectively study the intellectual content of that wondrous subjective domain, we find not only those particular kinds of inductive data to which I have just referred, consisting of experiences of consciousness with itself, but we find also another kind of data relating to the constitutive conditions of objective existence.” The former he calls a *posteriori*, the latter a *priori*. But more interesting than the process of “consciousing,” which in the opinion of many will be practically a restatement of the old method of introspection, is Professor Gates's idea of proving the objectivity of spirit, which he hopes to detect with the assistance of electrical experiments. We had best let him explain his views on the subject in his own words:

"To give a concrete instance of what I would consider to be adequate proof of another kind of existence I will give an hypothetical case. Suppose there were a form of wave-energy somewhat similar to Roentgen Rays, but differing from them as they differ from sound. Let us suppose this new kind of radiant force to be invisible, but that it can be made visible by projecting it upon a wall coated with a substance whose color is altered by the action of the rays. Suppose, further, that all known inorganic and inanimate substances are transparent to that force, so that they can be held in the path of the rays, between their source and the wall, without cutting off part of the rays, and thus causing the color of the wall to be changed over a corresponding area—producing an effect like a shadow. Suppose, also, that it were discovered that a living thing is opaque to these rays and that it casts a shadow as long as it is alive, but becomes transparent at the moment of actual death. If on killing the animal, hermetically sealed in a glass tube, it were found, after a certain lapse of time, to become suddenly transparent, and if at the same instant a shadow precisely the same shape as the animal were seen to pass out through the wall of glass and move upward in front of the wall, then the presumption would be that some organism, not atomic, perhaps etheric, and capable of passing through glass, had left the atomic body of the animal. If that escaping organism could be caught and made to give evidence that it still possesses mind, then we would have an inductive laboratory proof of the existence of a "spiritual" organism and of the continuity of life beyond death,—but this would not demonstrate endless existence. If such an experiment can ever be made, then biology and psychology will have been extended across the border without an intervening chasm, and the continuity of personal identity beyond death will be scientifically demonstrated. It might be argued that the visible animal organism is composed of atomic solids and liquids and gases; and may there not be etheric solids and liquids and gases, the particles of which are infinitesimally smaller than atoms, and might there not be an etheric body composed thereof? Such proof could be made a co-ordinate part of the growing body of scientific knowledge."

P. C.

Le Personnalisme is the title of the latest work of the indefatigable M. Renouvier, the dean of French philosophy. Personalism is a new and more expressive name that M. Renouvier has given to his system of philosophy, hitherto known as Neo-Criticism by reason of its resemblance to the system of Kant, although it is at diametrical variance with Kantianism in placing personality (will and consciousness) at the center of human cognition, in rejecting things-in-themselves and the Kantian contradiction of liberty in the moral world and determinism in the physical. M. Renouvier's system is a monadology, which recognises in consciousness the foundation of existence and in personality the first causal principle of the world. He postulates the metaphysical thesis of a first beginning of phenomena and of an initial personal creative act, thus making his formal philosophy the complement of positive theism, and by his acceptance of the idea of preëstablished harmony and of a modified optimism, also the lineal heir of the philosophies of Leibnitz and Descartes. (*Le Personnalisme. Suivi d'une étude sur la perception externe et sur la force.* Par Charles Renouvier. Paris: Félix Alcan, éditeur. 1903. Pages, viii, 534. Price, 10 francs.)

The March and April issues of *The Bibelot* are respectively: "Stéphane Malarmé," by Arthur Symonds, and "Lyrics," by the same author. (Portland, Me.: Thomas B. Mosher. Price, each number, 5 cents.)

We are in receipt of an offprint from *Studies in Honor of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve*, entitled *The Symbolic Gods*, by Maurice Bloomfield. In this pamphlet Professor Bloomfield proves that the philosophy of Euhemerus is by no means so shallow as it is commonly represented, a fact which is proved by the worship of both heroes and the chthonic gods. Yama is first a king, then king of the dead, and finally a god. Mr. Bloomfield finds that there is a tendency in man to personify abstractions, thus producing what he calls the "symbolic gods." A flagrant instance of this kind of personification of abstract conceptions is found in the Zoroastrian Ameshaspents, but it is done also in more remote antiquity, for even such cases as Agni or Zeus owe their origin to abstraction and personification. An abstract quality is considered as something solipsistic, as a thing *per se*; and by and by it acquires the qualities of a living personality. The names (*nama*) and the essence of things (*rupa*) are somehow never held apart by the Hindus, and therefore names are at once taken to be objective realities. The essay is interesting, and shows a deep insight into the psychology of religion.

A new work on Egypt by E. A. Wallis Budge, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, has been published under the title *A History of Egypt from the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII. B. C. 30*. The work gives an elaborate survey of the history of Egypt during this period, in eight richly illustrated volumes, with good map and index. The reputation of the author is a sufficient guarantee that we have here a reliable source of information, Egyptology being a branch of learning in which he has distinguished himself as one of the foremost of investigators. The work is published by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., of London, who are represented in America by Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, American branch. The Open Court Publishing Company have made arrangements to supply their patrons. (Price, 8 vols., \$10.00.)

Impressions Quarterly is the name of a new periodical published by Paul Elder and Morgan Shepard, of San Francisco. It is a large quarto printed on deep cream paper. The body of the text consists of eighteen pages, and contains in addition two artistic leaflets printed in red, green, and gold. The leading article is on "The Rise of Ukiyo-ye," the name of a modern Japanese art school following the impressionist style. All the other articles, and the poems, are short; among them we notice one entitled "A Little Trip to Utopia," and another "The Things That Abide," the latter by A. T. Murray. (Price, 50 cents per year; single copies, 15 cents.)

Peter Eckler, of New York, publishes *A Rebuttal of Spiritism et al.* by J. K. Hayward. The author imparts many rude shocks, not only to spiritism, but also to such dearly cherished illusions as that Shakespeare, whom he calls the "Stratford malster," wrote his own plays, or that David Hume could write intelligible English. The book is in the main a demolition of the "philosophy" of John Bascom. It is a large book to devote to such a purpose, but the author has said in his discursions many forcible things. (Pp., 457. Price, \$1.50.)

NOTES.

May 25th being the centenary of Emerson's birth, Mr. Conway's reminiscential article in the present number will be found particularly appropriate.



PERICLES OF ATHENS.

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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THE OVERTHROW OF HELL AND ITS RESTORATION.¹

BY LEO TOLSTOY.

I.

IT WAS at the time when Jesus was revealing his teaching to men.

This teaching was so clear—it was so easy to follow, and delivered men from evil so obviously, that it seemed impossible not to accept it, or that anything could arrest its spread.

Beelzebub, the father and ruler of all the devils, was alarmed. He clearly saw that if only Jesus did not renounce his teaching, the power of Beelzebub over men would cease forever. He was alarmed, yet did not lose heart, but incited the Pharisees and Scribes, obedient to him, to insult and torture Jesus to the utmost of their power, and also counselled the disciples of Jesus to fly and abandon him to himself. Beelzebub hoped that the condemnation of Jesus to infamous execution, and his being reviled and deserted by all the disciples, and also that the sufferings themselves and the execution would cause Jesus at the last moment to renounce his teaching. And a recantation would destroy all its power.

This was being decided on the cross. When Jesus cried out, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" Beelzebub was overjoyed. He snatched up the fetters prepared for Jesus, and, trying them on his own legs, proceeded to adjust them, so that when he should apply them to Jesus, they could not be undone.

Then, suddenly, from the cross came the words, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

¹ Translated by V. Tchertkoff and I. P. M.

Then Jesus cried out, "It is finished," and gave up the ghost.

Beelzebub understood that all was lost. He wished to take the fetters from his legs and to flee, but he could not move from his place—the fetters had become welded on him and bound his own limbs. He wished to use his wings, but could not unfold them. And Beelzebub saw how Jesus, enveloped in a shining light, appeared at the gates of Hell, he saw how sinners from Adam to Judas came out of Hell, he saw how all the devils fled in affright, he saw the very walls of Hell silently fall to pieces on all sides. He could endure this no longer, and with a piercing shriek he fell through the rent floor to the basement.

II.

One hundred, two hundred, three hundred years passed.

Beelzebub did not count the time. Around him spread black darkness and dead silence. He lay immovable, trying not to think of what had happened, yet he could not help thinking, and he helplessly hated him who had caused his ruin.

Then suddenly—and he did not remember, nor know how many hundred years elapsed—he heard above his head sounds resembling the trampling of feet, groans, cries, and the gnashing of teeth.

Beelzebub lifted his head and listened.

That Hell could be re-established after the victory of Jesus, Beelzebub could not believe; and yet the trampling, the groans, the cries and gnashing of teeth grew louder and louder.

Beelzebub raised his body and doubled up his hairy legs with their overgrown hoofs. To his astonishment the fetters fell off of themselves, and flapping his liberated wings he gave that signal whistle by which in former times he gathered his servants and helpers around him.

He had hardly time to draw breath, when from an opening overhead red flames glared, and a crowd of devils hustling each other, rushed through the hole into the basement and seated themselves round Beelzebub like birds of prey round carrion.

These devils were big and small, stout and thin, with long and with short tails, with horns pointed straight and crooked.

One of them,—naked, but for a cape thrown over his shoulders—of a shining black color, with a round hairless face, and with an enormous pendulous belly, sat on his heels in front of Beelzebub and turned up and down his fiery eyeballs, continuously smiling and regularly wagging his long thin tail from side to side.

III.

"What does this noise signify?" said Beelzebub, pointing upwards. "What's going on there?"

"Just the same as has always gone on," answered the shining devil in the cape.

"But are there really any sinners now?" asked Beelzebub.

"Many," answered the shining one.

"But how about the teaching of him whom I do not wish to name?" asked Beelzebub.

The devil in the cape grinned, disclosing his sharp teeth, while suppressed laughter was heard amongst all the devils.

"This teaching does not hinder us. Men do not believe in it," said the devil in the cape.

"But this teaching obviously saves them from us, and he sealed it by his death," said Beelzebub.

"I have transformed it," said the devil in the cape, thumping his tail on the floor.

"How have you transformed it?"

"So that men do not believe in his teaching but in mine, which they call by his name."

"How didst thou do this?" asked Beelzebub.

"It was done of itself. I only helped."

"Tell me about it quickly," said Beelzebub.

The devil in the cape bent down his head and was silent a while, as if leisurely considering, then he said:

"When that dreadful event happened, that Hell was overthrown and our father and ruler departed from us," said he, "I went to those places where that very teaching which so nearly destroyed us was taught. I wished to see how those people lived who fulfilled it, and I saw that the people who lived according to this teaching were perfectly happy and quite out of our reach. They did not quarrel with each other, they did not give way to women's charms, and either they did not marry, or if they married they kept to one wife; they had no property, holding all as common, and they did not defend themselves against attacks, but repaid evil by good.

"Their life was so good that many were attracted to them more and more. When I saw this I thought that all was lost, and was just going to quit. But then occurred a circumstance, in itself insignificant, yet which appeared to me to deserve attention, and I remained. Amongst these people some regarded it as neces-

sary that all should undergo circumcision, and that none should eat meat offered to idols; whereas others were of opinion that these matters were not essential, and that one might abstain from circumcision and eat anything. So I began to instil into all their minds that this difference of opinion was very important, and that as the question concerned the service of God, neither side could possibly give way. They believed me, and the disputes became more obdurate. On both sides they began to be angry, and then I proceeded to instil into each of them that they might prove the truth of their teaching by miracles. Evident as it is that miracles cannot prove the truth of a teaching, yet they so desired to be in the right that they believed me, and I arranged miracles for them. It was not difficult to do this. They believed anything which supported their desire to prove that they only held the truth.

"Some said that tongues of fire descended upon them; others said that they had seen the risen body of the Master himself, and much else. They kept inventing what had never taken place, and lied in the name of him who called us liars, worse than we do ourselves—and did not know it. One party said of the other: 'Your miracles are not genuine; ours are genuine.' Whereupon the other retorted: 'No, yours are a fraud; ours are real.'

"Matters were going on well, but as I was afraid they might discern the too-evident trick, I invented the 'Church.' Once they believed in 'the Church,' I was at peace. I recognised that we were saved, and that Hell was restored."¹

¹ See the note "Count Leo Tolstoy's Article" under the department *Miscellaneous* in the present number.

SECOND LECTURE ON BABEL AND BIBLE.

FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.

IN EXPLANATION.

Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah ?
This that is glorious in his apparel, marching in the greatness of his strength ?
"It is I (Yahveh) that speak in righteousness, mighty to save."
Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth
in the winefat ?
"I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the peoples there was no man
with me :
Yea, I trod them in mine anger, and trampled them in my fury ;
And their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my
raiment.
For the day of vengeance was in mine heart, and the year of my redemption was
come.
And I looked, and there was none to help; and I wondered that there was none to
uphold :
Therefore mine own arm brought salvation unto me, and my fury, it upheld me.
And I trod down the peoples in anger, and made them drunk with my fury,
And I poured out their lifeblood on the earth.

In language, style, and sentiment, forsooth a genuine Bedouin song of battle and victory! Not at all! This utterance of Isaiah lxiii. 1-6, and a hundred other prophetic utterances full of inextinguishable hatred toward the races round about: toward Edom and Moab, Asuhu and Babel, Tyre and Egypt, mostly masterpieces of Hebrew rhetoric, are to be accepted as representing the ethical prophetism of Israel, and this at its high tide! These outpourings of political jealousy and of passionate hatred on the part of long vanished generations, born of certain contemporary conditions and perhaps comprehensible from a merely human standpoint, must serve us children of the twentieth century after Christ, must serve even Occidental and Christian races, as a religious guide for refinement and edification! Instead of losing ourselves "in grateful admiration" in the contemplation of God's manifestation in our

own people, from primitive Germanic times down to the present day, we continue, from ignorance, indifference or blindness, to concede to those early Israelitic oracles the character of a "revelation," which cannot be justified either in the light of science or in that of religion or of ethics.

The more deeply I dive into the spirit of the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, the more I shrink from Yahveh, who slaughters the nations with the insatiable sword of his wrath, who has but one favorite child, and surrenders all other nations to night and shame and destruction, who said even to Abraham (Genesis xii. 2): "I will bless them who bless thee, and those who curse thee, them will I curse"—and I seek refuge with him who taught in life and in death: "Bless them that curse you," and I hide, full of trust and joy and earnest longing for moral perfection, in the God to whom Jesus taught us to pray, the God who is a loving and just father to all men on earth.

CHARLOTTENBURG, May 1, 1903.

THE LECTURE.

Why this opposition to "Babel and Bible" when logic itself compels this sequence of the words? And how can anyone expect to be able to suppress these serious questions, which involve the entire Bible with the catchword "Primitive Revelation," when this is shown to be false by a single forgotten verse of the Old Testament? And does in fact "the ethical monotheism of Israel" in its function as "a real revelation of the living God," constitute the unassailable bulwark in the conflict of opinions which Babel has aroused in these later days?

It is a pity that so many people permit their delight in the great advantage which Babel is constantly offering us as "interpreter and illustrator" of the Bible to be spoiled by a narrow regard for dogmatic questions to such a degree that they even entirely ignore that advantage. And yet, how grateful all readers of and commentators on the Bible must needs be for the new knowledge which has been revealed, and is constantly being revealed, to us by the laborious excavations among the ruins of Babylon and Assyria!

On principle I too avoid continually speaking of "confirmations" of the Bible. For indeed the Old Testament as a source of ancient history would be in a bad case if it required everywhere confirmation by cuneiform inscriptions. But when the Biblical Book of Kings (2 Kings xvii. 30) states that the inhabitants of the

city of Kutha who settled in Samaria worshipped the god Nergal, and we now know, not alone that this Babylonian city of Kutha lies buried under the ruins at Tell Ibrahim, twenty-one miles north-east of Babylon, but also that a cuneiform inscription expressly informs us that the patron god of Kutha was called Nergal,—this is really valuable information.

While there seemed to be no prospect of ever discovering the town and district of Chalach, to which a portion of the Israelites taken captive by Sargon were transplanted (2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11), we now possess, from the library of Asurbanipal at Nineveh,

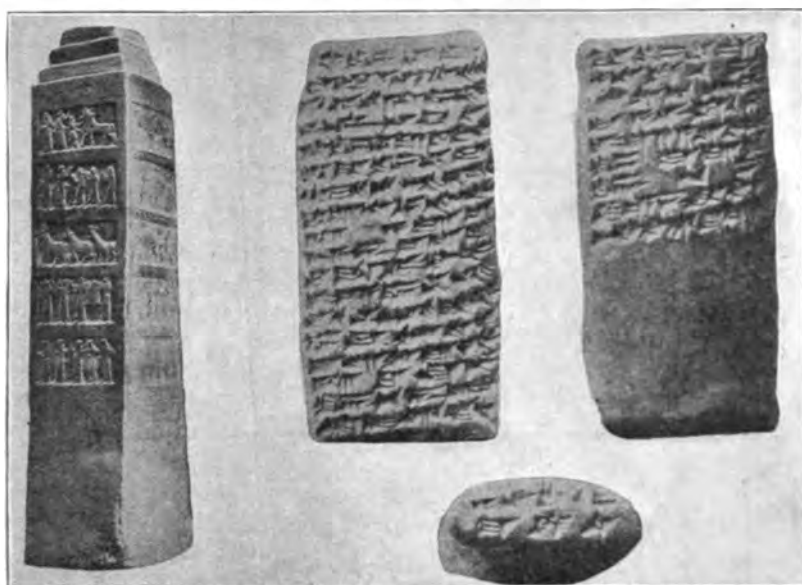


Fig. 1. BLACK OBELISK
OF SHALMANESER II.

Fig. 2. ASSYRIAN LETTER.
Written from Chalach, the Babylonian home of
the exiled Israelites.

a letter written from Chalach (Fig. 2), in which a certain Marduk-nadin-achi, laying emphasis upon his steadily manifested loyalty, petitions the king to help him regain his estate, which had been given him by the king's father, and which had supported him for fourteen years until at last the governor of the land of Mashalzi had taken it from him.

As to the inhabitants of the northern kingdom of Israel, who are presented to our eyes so vividly by the famous black obelisk of Shalmaneser II. (Fig. 1) in its second row of relief figures (Figs. 3-6)—they are the ambassadors of King Jehu (840 B. C.) with

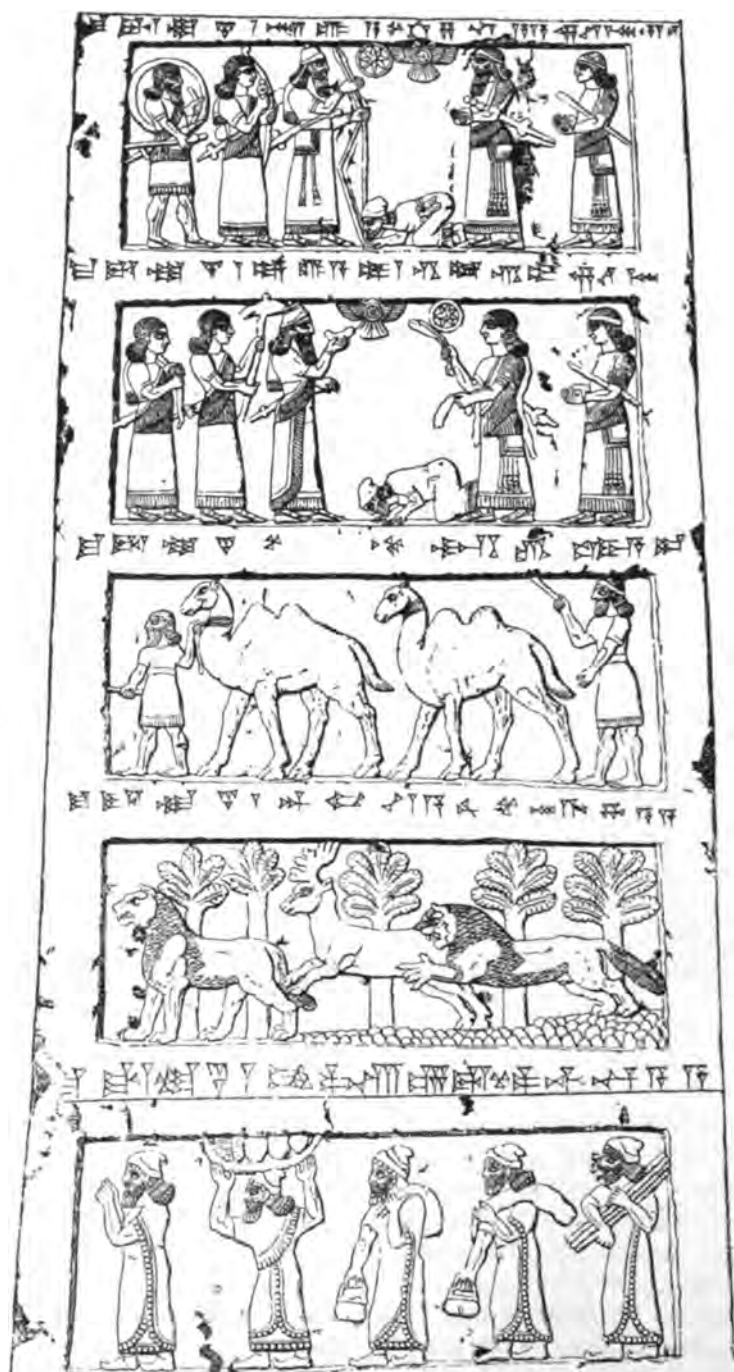


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

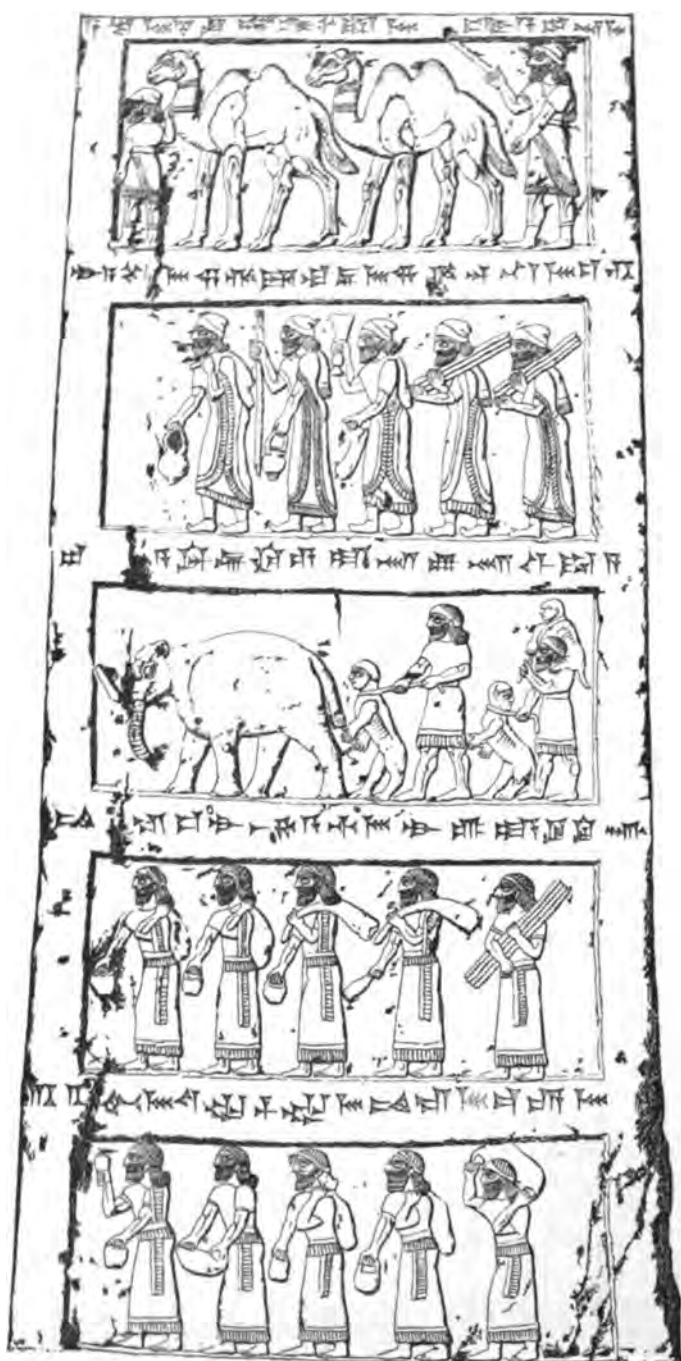


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

gifts of various sorts,—we now know all three of the localities where the ten tribes found their grave: Chalach, somewhat farther east than the mountainous source of the upper Zab, called Arrapachitis; the province of Goshen along the Chabor probably not far from Nisibis; and thirdly, the villages of Media.

Until recent times the conquest and plundering of Egyptian Thebes mentioned by the prophet Nahum (iii. 8 ff.) has been a puzzle, so that no one knew to what the words of the prophet referred:

"Art thou (Nineveh) better than No-amon (i. e., Thebes), that is situate in the waters of the Nile, with waters round about her . . . ? Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets, and they cast lots for her honorable men, and all her great men were bound in chains."



Fig. 7. ASSURBANIPAL'S TEN-SIDED CLAY PRISM.

But then there was discovered at Nineveh the magnificent ten-sided clay prism of Asurbanipal (Fig. 7), which reports in its second column that it was Asurbanipal who, pursuing the Egyptian king Urdamanê from Memphis, reached Thebes, conquered it and carried away silver, gold, and precious stones, the entire treasure of the palace, the inhabitants, male and female, a great and immeasurable booty, from Thebes to Nineveh, the city of his dominion.

And how much the language of the Old Testament is indebted to the cuneiform literature! The Old Testament mentions repeatedly an animal called re'em, a fierce, untamable animal armed with fearful horns (Psalms xxii. 22) and most nearly related to the ox (Deuteronomy xxxiii. 17; Psalms xxix. 6; comp. Isaiah xxxiv. 7), to use which in field labor on the plain like a common ox seems to the poet of the Book of Job (xxxix. 9 ff.) a terrible, an inconceivable thought: "Will the wild ox be content to serve thee, or will he abide by thy crib? Canst thou bind the wild ox with his guiding-band in thy furrow? Or will he harrow the valleys after thee?"

Despite the fact that the buffalo now roams in herds the for-

ests beyond the Jordan, it was nevertheless diffused over Asia Minor from Arachosia only a short time before the beginning of our era; hence it had become customary as a result of comparison with Arabian usage, which styles the antelopes "cattle of the des-

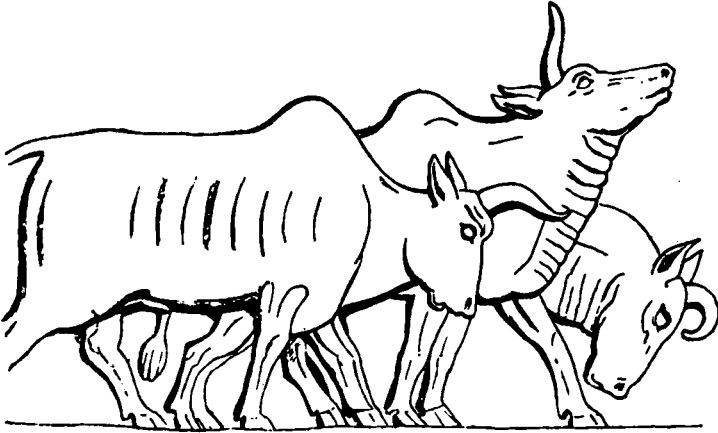


Fig. 8. THE RE'EM, OR WILD BULL.

(After a bas-relief in the palace of Sennacherib.)

ert" and applies the name *ri'm* to *antelope leukoryx*, to understand under the Hebrew re'em this species of antelope. But as this antelope, despite its long, sharp horns, is a slender-limbed and soft-eyed creature, it was beyond comprehension how it should occur



Fig. 9. HUNTING THE RE'EM.

to a poet to imagine it hitched to a plow and then to shudder at the thought.

The cuneiform inscriptions have informed us what the *rêmu* is: it is the powerful, fierce-eyed wild ox with stout curved horns, an animal of the wood and the mountain, which scales the highest

summits, an animal of tremendous physical strength, the chase for which, like that for the lion, was especially popular with the Assyrian kings on account of its hazardousness. The presence of this animal, which is most closely related to the *bos urus* of Cæsar (Bell. Gall. VI. 28) and to the *wisent* (bison) of Middle-High-German literature, is scientifically established for the region of Mt. Lebanon: the cuneiform inscriptions mention the ré'em countless times, and the alabaster reliefs of the Assyrian royal palace present it very clearly to our eyes. (Fig. 9.)

King Nebuchadnezzar reports that he adorned the city gate of Babylon which is dedicated to the goddess Istar with burned bricks upon which were represented rémus and gigantic serpents standing



Fig. 10. THE HILL OF BÂBIL.

upright. The rediscovery of this Istar Gate and its excavation to a depth of fourteen meters, where the underflow begins, constitutes one of the most valuable achievements of recent years in our exploration of the ruins of Babylon.

Hail to thee, thou hill of Bâbil (Fig. 10), and to all thy fellows on the palm-bordered banks of the Euphrates! (Fig. 11.) How the heartbeats quicken when, after weeks of picking and shoveling under the glowing sunbeams of the East, suddenly the structure that has been sought is revealed, when upon a giant block of stone covered with characters the name "Istar Gate" is read, and gradually the great double gate of Babylon, flanked northward on each side by three mighty towers, rises in a splendid state of preservation from the bowels of the earth! And wherever you may look,

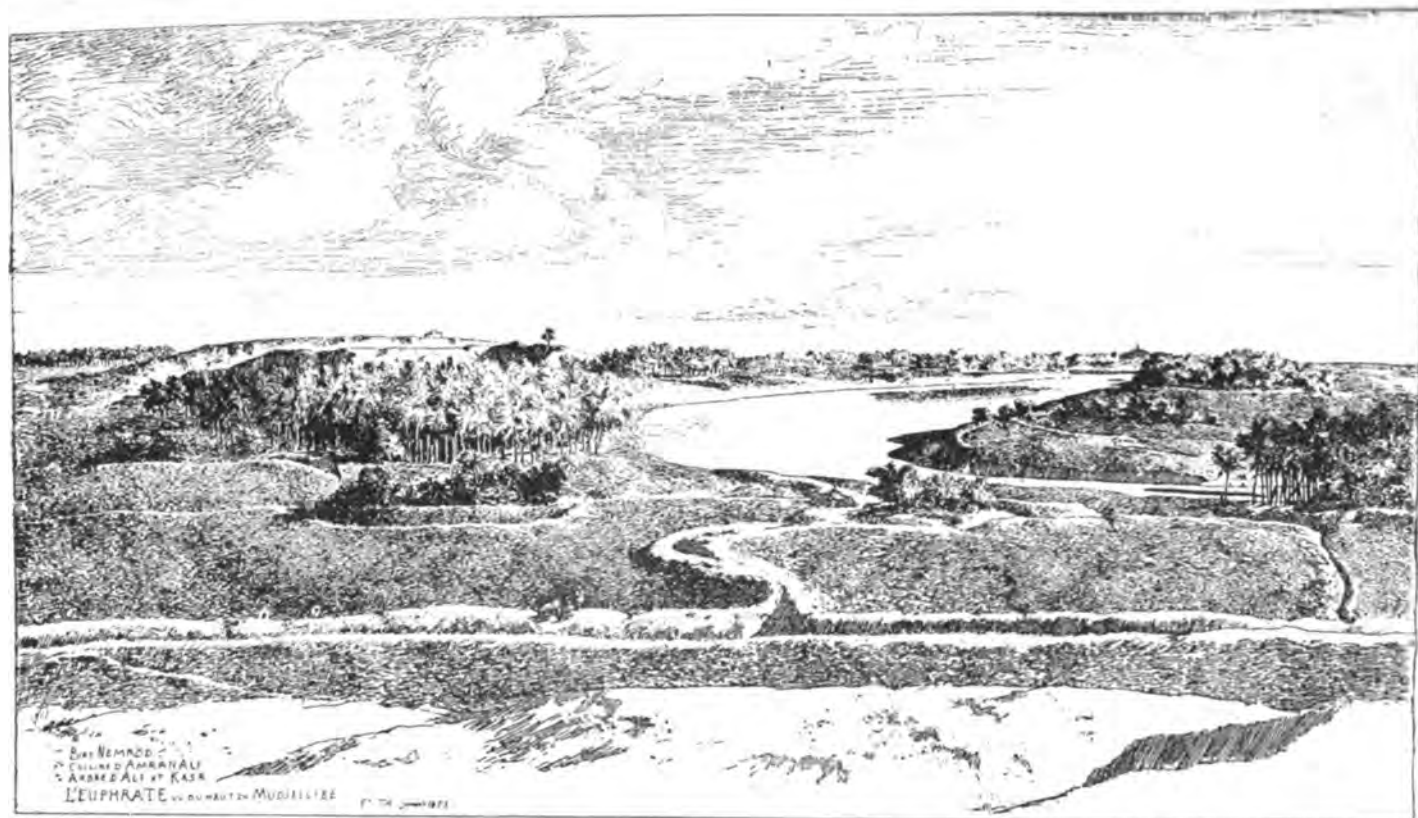


Fig. 10. THE PALM BORDERED BANKS OF THE EUPHRATES, LAVING THE RUINS OF BABYLON.

on the surfaces of the towers as well as upon the inner walls of the gateway, droves of rémus carved in relief, the uppermost row in



Fig. 12. THE WILD BULL (RE'EM) ON THE ISTAR GATE.
Brick mosaic in enameled colors.

brilliant contemporary enamel, standing forth in fascinating splendor of colors against the deep blue background. (Fig. 12.)

"Vigorously strides the wild ox with long paces, with proudly curved neck, with horns pointed threateningly forward, ears laid



Fig. 13. THE LION OF BABYLON.
Brick mosaic in enameled colors.

back, and inflated nostrils; his muscles are tense and swelling, his tail raised and yet falling stiffly downwards,—all as in Nature, but

idealised."¹ Where the smooth hide is white, horns and hoofs shine like gold; where the hide is yellow, these are of malachite green, while in both kinds the long hair is colored dark blue. But a truly imposing effect is produced by a white ox in relief, in which the long hair, as well as the horns and hoofs, is tinted a delicate green. Thus the re'em of the Istar Gate through which led the triumphal highway of Marduk proves to be a worthy companion for the widely known "lion of Babylon" which adorned the triumphal highway itself. (Fig. 13.)

And Biblical science is enriched by still another animal of the strangest sort, a fabulous animal, familiar to us from the days of our youthful religious instruction, and which could not fail to make a fascinating impression upon all who passed through the Istar



Fig. 14. THE DRAGON OF BABEL.
Enameled brick mosaic.

Gate toward the palace of Nebuchadnezzar,—I refer to the Dragon of Babel. (Fig. 14.) "With neck stretched far forward and looks darting poison the monster marches along,"—it is a serpent, as is shown by the elongated head with its forked tongue, the long, scale-covered trunk and the wriggling tail, but at the same time it has the fore-legs of the panther while its hind-legs are armed with monstrous talons; in addition to all this it has on its head long, straight horns and a scorpion's sting in the end of its tail. Thanks are due to all whose faithful labor contributes to secure such choice and exceedingly important archæological treasures!

Quite apart from many such individual interpretations and illustrations, Assyriology is restoring confidence in the authenticity

¹ From a treatise on these relief figures by Walter Andrae.

of the text of the Old Testament, which has for some time been so violently assailed. For, finding itself constantly face to face with more and more difficult texts full of rare words and phrases, it realises that there are also in the Old Testament scriptures great numbers of rare and even unique words and phrases; it takes delight in these, attempts to interpret them from their context, and in not a few cases finds its efforts rewarded by the presence of these very same words and phrases in Assyrian. In this manner it recognises what a fatal error it is on the part of modern exegesis to make conjectural interpretations of such rare words and difficult phrases, to "emend" them, and only too frequently to replace them with meaningless substitutes. In truth every friend of the Old Testament scriptures should assist with all his might in bringing to light the thousands of clay tablets and all other sorts of written monuments that lie buried in Babylon, and which our expedition will bring to light as soon as the first objects set before it are accomplished, thereby making possible for the textual interpretation of the Old Testament more rapid and more important progress than it has experienced within the two thousand years preceding.

Indeed, entire narratives of the Old Testament receive their interpretation from Babylon. In our early youth we inherit the burden of the foolish notion of a Nebuchadnezzar who was turned into a beast; for the Book of Daniel tells us (iv. 26-34) how the King of Babylon walked upon the roof of his palace, and after feasting his eyes once more on the splendor of the city he had built, received from heaven the prophecy that he should live, an exile from among men, with the beasts of the field and after the fashion of the beasts. Thereupon, according to account, Nebuchadnezzar ate grass in the wilderness like unto an ox, wet by the dew of heaven, while his hair grew like unto the feathers of the eagle and his finger-nails like unto birds' claws.

Yet no educator of youth should ever have ventured to teach such things, and especially not after the appearance of Eberhard Schrader's treatise on *The Insanity of Nebuchadnezzar*, without at the same time pointing out the fact that the purer and more primitive form of this story has long been known in a Chaldean legend transmitted to us in Abydenus. This tells us that Nebuchadnezzar, after reaching the zenith of his power, went out upon the roof of his palace, where, inspired by a god, he exclaimed: "I here, Nabuchodrosor, announce to you the coming of the calamity which neither Bel nor Queen Beltis can persuade the Fates to avert. Perses (that is, Cyrus) will come . . . and bring servitude upon

you. O would that he, before my fellow-citizens perish, might be driven through the desert, where neither cities nor the track of men can be found, but where wild beasts graze and birds fly about, while he wanders about solitary in caves and gorges. But may a better lot . . . befall me."

Who could fail to perceive in this that the Hebrew writer has made a free version of the Babylonian legend, especially since he lets us see plainly in verse 16 that the very wording of the original was quite familiar to him! What Nebuchadnezzar wishes for the enemy of the Chaldæans, this the author of the pamphlets full of errors and carelessness which are combined to make the Book of Daniel has Nebuchadnezzar suffer himself, in order to exemplify as drastically as possible to his countrymen, who were being persecuted by Antiochus Epiphanes, the truth that God the Lord is able to humble deeply even the mightiest king who rebels against Yahveh.

When shall we finally learn to distinguish the form from the content even within the covers of the Old Testament?

The author of the Book of Jonah preaches to us two lofty doctrines: that no one can escape from God, and that no mortal dare presume to dictate terms to God's mercy and patience, or even to set limits for them. But the form in which these truths are clothed is human, is fancifully Oriental, and if we should continue to believe to-day that Jonah while in the whale's belly prayed a conglomeration of passages from the Psalms, part of which were not composed until several centuries after the destruction of Nineveh, or that the King of Nineveh did such deep penance that he gave commands even to oxen and sheep to put on sackcloth, we should be sinning against the reason bestowed upon us by God.

But all these are details which sink into insignificance under an intenser light.

It was an exceedingly happy thought which struck the representatives of the various German ecclesiastical bodies who went to Jerusalem as guests of the German Emperor to take part in the dedication of the Church of Our Saviour, that of founding in Jerusalem a "German Evangelical Institute for the Archæology of the Holy Land." O would that our young theologians might go thither, and not merely in the cities, but better still out in the desert, familiarise themselves with the manners and customs of the Bedouins, which are still so completely the same as in the times of Ancient Israel, and plunge deeply into the Oriental mode of thought and expression: might listen to the story-tellers in the tents of the

desert or hear the descriptions and accounts of the sons of the desert themselves, full of fancy that bubbles up vigorous and unhampered and only too often exceeds unconsciously the bounds of fact!

And if even the modern Orient, wherever we go and listen and look, furnishes such an abundance of suggestions for the interpretation of the Bible, how much more will this be the case with the study of the ancient literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians which is in part contemporary with the Old Testament! Everywhere there are more or less important agreements between the two literatures which are most closely related in language and style, in mode of thought and expression.

I will cite here the sacredness of the number seven as well as that of the number three, for which we have evidence in both literatures: "Land, land, land, hear the word of the Lord," exclaims Jeremiah (xxii. 29); "Hail, hail, hail to the king, my lord," more than one Assyrian scribe begins his letter. And as the seraphim before the throne of God call one to another: "Holy, holy, holy is Yahveh Zebaoth" (Isaiah vi. 3), so we read at the beginning of the Assyrian temple liturgy a threefold *asur*, that is, "salutary," or "holy."

"God created man out of the dust of the earth and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and man became a living soul,"—thus runs the so-called Yahvistic account of creation (Genesis ii. 7). The very same conceptions are found among the Babylonians: man is formed of earth (mud, clay), as for instance Eabani is created out of a pinched off and moistened piece of clay (compare Job xxxiii. 6: "I too am made of a pinch of clay"), and for that reason he returns again thither (so Genesis iii. 19); but he becomes a living being through the breath of God. In the opening of a letter to the Assyrian king the writers characterise themselves as "dead dogs" (compare 2 Samuel ix. 8), whom the king, their master, had caused to live by "putting the breath of life into their nostrils."

According to Babylonian notions the spittle of human beings possesses in a marked degree magic power. Spittle and spells are closely related conceptions, and spittle has death-dealing as well as life-giving power. "O Marduk,"—thus runs a prayer to the patron deity of Babel,— "O Marduk! thine is the spittle of life!" Who is not reminded by this of New Testament narratives such as that of Jesus taking the deaf and dumb man aside, putting his fingers in his ears, spitting and touching the man's tongue with the

spittle, saying "Hephata," "Be opened!" (Mark vii. 33 ff., and compare viii. 23, John ix. 6 ff.)

Yahveh conducts his people on the march through the desert by means of a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night (comp. also Isaiah iv. 5); but Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, before setting out upon a campaign, also receives the prophetic message: "I, Istar of Arbela, will cause to rise upon thy right hand smoke and upon thy left fire."

"Set thine house in order," says the prophet Isaiah to King Hezekiah when he is sick unto death, "for thou art sick and wilt not live" (Isaiah xxxviii. 1), while the Assyrian general Kudurru, to whom the king has sent his own personal physician, thanks the king with the words: "I was dead, but the king, my lord, has made me to live." The soul of a man sick unto death is conceived as already straying in the underworld, has already gone down into the pit (Psalms xxx. 4). For this reason the goddess Gula, the patron genius of physicians, has the title "Awakener of the dead": an Oriental physician who did not raise people from the dead would be no physician at all.

How great the similarity between all things in Babel and Bible! Here as well as there the fondness for rendering speech and thought vivid by symbolical actions (I cite here merely the scapegoat which is chased away into the desert); here as well as there the same world of constant wonders and signs, of perpetual revelations of the divinity, particularly through dreams, the same naïve conceptions of the divinity! As in Babel the gods eat and drink and even retire to rest, so Yahveh goes walking in Paradise in the cool of the evening, or takes delight in the smell of Noah's sacrifice. And just as in the Old Testament Yahveh speaks to Moses and Aaron and to all the prophets, so also in Babel the gods speak to men, either directly or through the mouth of their priests and divinely inspired prophets and prophetesses.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

VI. THE PROMOTOR OF RESEARCH.

BY G. K. GILBERT.

THE preceding chapter outlines the results of Powell's personal investigations as they appear in his published writings. The story would be but half told if no mention were made of the results of his labors as the administrator of scientific trusts. The investigator is apt to be a specialist, concentrating his attention on a single subject to the practical exclusion of all others, and by that specialisation incapacitated for executive work. Powell, however, is eminently a man of affairs. Whether his generalisations and theories are sound and true is a question that may be left to the verdict of posterity, but his contemporaries have recognised and declared his eminent ability as an organiser and administrator of scientific work. A multitude of minor responsibilities may be here neglected, but four important trusts must be mentioned, each involving either the direction or the practical guidance of a body of scientific work. The Survey of the Colorado River, which expanded from 1872 to 1879 into the Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, gradually developed three corps of scientific assistants—a corps of topographers, a corps of geologists, and a corps of ethnologists. The ethnologic work, although but slightly endowed, grew to such importance that in one of the later years of the Survey Professor Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, placed at Powell's disposal the accumulated ethnographic material in the archives of the Smithsonian and gave him direction of all ethnographic work carried on in coöperation with the Institution.

When the surveys were reorganised in 1879 the ethnologic work was continued by the constitution of a Bureau of Ethnology, and Powell has been continuously the Director of that Bureau. The Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region published four quarto

volumes entitled *Contributions to the North American Ethnology*, and its successor has printed nineteen thick annual reports, four quarto monographs, and twenty-five bulletins.

In 1879 a few citizens of Washington proposed to organise an archæologic society, and to this end called a meeting of scientific men of the city. Members of the Bureau of Ethnology, foreseeing the growth of Washington as a scientific center and the eventual need of a society whose scope should include not only prehistoric but living man, thought it unfortunate that the ground should be partially occupied by an association restricted to the narrower view, and invoked the aid of their friends to effect a change in the character of the new project. Their endeavor was successful, and the meeting called to organise a society of archæology created instead a society of anthropology. Powell was chosen president, and held the office until 1882, when he retired temporarily, on account of ill health. He was re-elected in 1884, and in succeeding years until 1887, making a total incumbency of seven years.

From 1881 to 1894 he was also Director of the United States Geological Survey.

Before the direction of ethnologic work fell into Powell's hands the subject already engaged the attention, partial or entire, of a large number of persons throughout the United States. Missionaries among the Indians studied their languages for purposes of communication, and prepared vocabularies. They sometimes made manuscript record also of Indian traditions and mythic stories. Army officers on frontier posts and other persons whose occupations brought them in contact with Indians, were led by curiosity or by scientific tastes to collect the various articles employed and produced in their arts and to make note of their ceremonies and other customs. The stone implements and shards of pottery so widely scattered over the surface of the land, the mounds of the East and the Pueblo ruins of the West, attracted much attention and were the theme of a fragmentary literature. Here and there a philologist or an ethnologist gave to the subject systematic study, but most of the observation was desultory and of a dilettante rather than scientific character. Since the days of the ethnologist Gallatin the Smithsonian Institution had been a depository for recorded vocabularies of Indian languages and various descriptive manuscripts, and some of these it had published. It was Powell's work to organise this scattered and desultory observation, to give it a systematic plan with definite ends in view, to inform it with scientific method, and to give it a needed stimulus by making provision

for the publication of results. The funds granted him by Congress from time to time were not as a rule expended on salaries, although the Bureau has slowly acquired a permanent corps, but were given in small grants to scattered workers as a means of increasing their facilities. A large number of persons who were already interested in ethnologic work were provided with the money necessary to meet the expenses of specified undertakings, or payments were made for manuscripts prepared. Others whose occupations afforded them leisure and local opportunity were enlisted in the work and received nominal compensation, not amounting to a salary.

The class of observation to which most attention was given was linguistic. The *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages* contained not only a code of instructions but an elaborate set of blanks for the recording of Indian vocabularies; this was widely distributed, and with it went an alphabet specially prepared for the purpose, thus enabling the observers to record in a uniform manner the sounds of Indian tongues, many of which are foreign not only to the English but to all European languages. The work of the permanent assistants of the Bureau has been of two kinds: First, a number of students of special branches, largely linguistic, have been enabled through the funds of the Bureau to devote their entire time to research and to extend their studies to minute details. Second, there have been carried forward works of generalisation and correlation transcending the means of most private individuals and possibly transcending the patience of the unsalaried. One of these is the compilation of a *Bibliography of North American Linguistics*—the segregation once for all of the references to books required by the students who would monograph the subject of an Indian tongue. Another general work is the classification of linguistic stocks and the compilation of a synonymy or dictionary of all the names that have been used to designate Indian languages or Indian tribes. The number of Indian languages is very large, but certain groups of these are shown, by the existence of many common words or words closely related, to be descendants of the same original tongue. The members of such a group are said to belong to the same linguistic stock, and between two linguistic stocks there are no similarities indicative of common origin. The number of linguistic stocks in North America north of Mexico now for the first time approximately known is about sixty.

All of the work of the Bureau was impregnated with the philosophic views of its chief. The work he initiated was carried on by methods of his formulation, and the larger share of the work he

fostered and endowed had the continuous benefit of his counsel and suggestion.

The influence of his conversation and informal discussion was equally perceptible in the proceedings of the Anthropological Society. Rarely was a paper presented in whose discussion he did not participate; and it was his function, as presiding officer, to point out the bearing of the specific contribution on the larger philosophy of the subject—to assign it its place in the scientific scheme. To him is largely due the tone of the society—the prevailing dignity and earnestness of its proceedings, and the rareness of those laborious records of trivial observations whose discussion has been caricatured in the proceedings of the Pickwick Club. The work of the Society and that of the Bureau are closely related, for the Society is the arena for the discussion of the problems developed in the work of the Bureau; but the Society includes also a large independent membership and discusses a broader range of subjects.

When the Geological Survey was placed in charge of Major Powell, its scientific work was divided chiefly on a geographic basis. A number of geographic districts had been constituted, and each was in charge of a geologist-in-chief who directed all of the work within the district, including general and economic geology, topography, chemistry, etc. Powell made no abrupt change, but he gradually substituted for this a radically different organisation, one in which a geologist versed in a special branch of the subject superintended work only in that department in which all geographic work was under a single chief of division, in which paleontology had a division by itself, with subdivisions delimited by biotic and geologic lines, in which chemistry, lithology, glacial geology, and various other special topics were assigned to corps or individuals, each of whom had the territory of the United States as his field. Geographic lines were still used for the subdivision of the two principal bodies of work, the geography and the general or stratigraphic geology; but in all other respects the kind of work to be done was the basis of organisation.

The Geological Survey is a large government bureau. In most of the bureaus at Washington it is the function of the chiefs to decide questions that arise. The business they transact originates elsewhere, and their action is magisterial or judicial. As chief of the Geological Survey Powell too performed these functions, but he likewise took the initiative to an exceptional extent. Details were arranged by his chiefs of divisions, but the general plans were

his, and he was personally conversant with the nature and tendencies of all the work of research. Partly by explicit instructions, but to a greater extent by suggestion, he furnished hypotheses to younger men, and thus guided their work.

The financial, clerical, and other accessory work of the Survey was as thoroughly organised, as the scientific work and its business methods contributed greatly to the confidence of legislators in its chief. In his endeavors to secure desired legislation in regard to scientific research he was brought in constant relation with Members of Congress, and their reliance on his judgment and resources was attested by frequent official requests for information on subjects not intimately related to the Survey work. Powell's communications in response to such inquiries and his testimony before committees of investigation constitute a body of literature comparable in bulk with his scientific writings. Though it is the business of Congress to enact only general laws, it is nevertheless its practice to diminish the functions of ill-conducted bureaus and increase the powers of efficient bureau officers. During Powell's administration the field of work of the Geological Survey, at first restricted to the Western Territories, was extended to the entire United States, and the amount of money appropriated for the conduct of its operations was increased from \$150,000 in 1881 to \$500,000 in 1894.

Yet another institution of Washington is partially indebted to Powell for its existence. He was one of the first to suggest and advocate the foundation of a social club for the use of the scientific men, and the preliminary meetings were held at his residence. The reorganisation of western surveys was then in progress, the jealousies of rival factions being at their height, and there were some who held aloof, suspicious of a deep-laid plot. But the club was born, grew, and prospered nevertheless, and by affording Washington scientists an opportunity for frequent intercourse under pleasant auspices, has contributed greatly to the abolition of jealousy and suspicion and the promotion of harmony and coöperation. Washington is as truly the scientific center of the United States as it is the political center, though in a different sense, and the solidarity of its scientific community is of great value as an aid in securing the generous endowment and the wise administration of such departments of research as may legitimately be undertaken by the Government.

It is customary for biographers of scientific men to recite by way of peroration the learned societies to whose officers or membership they have been elected, the academic degrees conferred on

them, and the various testimonials and honors by which their scientific rank has been acknowledged. Powell has not been neglected in these respects; but as his friend I do not feel it my privilege, as it certainly is not my desire, to do that which would have offended his democratic taste. In his estimation the wearing of medals, decorations, and insignia savored of the creation of an aristocracy of science; from my standpoint as a biographer a catalogue of honors conferred would belittle my theme. Some men are magnified by titles and diplomas, by medals and ribbons; others do not need them. On Powell's true honor list are the Bureau of Ethology, the United States Geological Survey, the base-level of erosion, and a philosophy of human evolution.

MAJOR J. W. POWELL.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF ONE OF HIS STAFF.

BY MARCUS BAKER.

IN person the Major, as every one called him, was of medium height and as a young man rather slight. He told me how, at the time of the battle of Shiloh, where he lost his right forearm, his superior officer, General W. H. L. Wallace, a tall and handsome soldier, mounted on a fine large chestnut thoroughbred, seeing him wounded and the enemy closing in, said: "Here, Lieutenant, we're going to be captured in a few minutes; get onto my horse and go back to the landing at once." So saying, General Wallace dismounted, and, strong-armed as he was, picked up this mere boy-lieutenant who might have weighed 125 lbs., set him in the saddle and sent him away. It was only a few minutes later that this noble officer received his death-wound. Midst the hissing and singing of bullets and screeching of shells Powell galloped back to the landing, about half a mile distant, the red blood spurt- ing from his wounded arm, and soon arrived white and faint. Thence he was taken off to one of the nearby Union gun-boats where the presence and tender care of his young wife brought the prompt attention to his wound that probably saved his life.

The battle over, he was, with others, sent "up the river" to a hospital, from which after some weeks he returned to his command engaged in the operations about Vicksburg. Some years after the war was over, he applied for a pension. Accordingly his record was examined by the pension officers, who found him not pension- able, as the record showed him to be a deserter [!], having been for some weeks after the battle of Shiloh "absent from his com- mand without leave." This absence covered the time when he was in the hospital. Explanations followed, the proper evidence se- cured, the record corrected, and the pension granted. This inci-

dent, however, permanently affected his views as to the evidence in pension cases and made him lenient toward defects in the record. It is so easy, he would say, for a worthy claimant to lack proofs destroyed by war and time. And his sympathetic nature, added to his experience, made him believe that more worthy pension claims were rejected than unworthy ones allowed.

With passing years he grew stouter and heavier. Beside the natural tendency perhaps this was hastened or increased by lack of exercise enforced by the wounded arm, which was tender and frequently painful for so many years. Often in later years prior to the third and last surgical operation, from which complete relief was had, the left hand would almost unconsciously or mechanically take hold of and support the tender stump. Especially was it so if walking or doing anything that gave even a slight jar to the body. So he walked little and rode much. Always fond of horses, he did much riding in buggy and saddle up to the last few years. When engaged in his western surveys, he was loath to let the driver drive, preferring himself to mount the box and with his one hand manage the four-horse team over the rough and trackless regions where his work lay. An early riser, he often had his party on the road at or before daylight, and his early rising habit continued to the end.

In appearance, as we saw him from day to day in the high noon and afternoon of his busy life, he was of medium height, rather stout, deliberate in speech and action, with long full brown beard, prominent eyebrows, deep-set half-closed eyes that had a merry twinkle in them, a noble forehead and loose unkempt hair brushed back and never parted. In manner dignified, affable, courteous, in dress careless but not slovenly, in his soft felt hat, he seemed too much absorbed in his work and philosophy to think of his dress. A constant smoker, he seemed never conscious of the cigar's presence but only of its absence.

It was in the full activity of his middle life that I first met him, when the newly created United States Geological Survey was young and when organisation, methods, plans, policy, and administration were live and burning questions. Into these he plunged with a zeal and an energy that were infectious and which inspired in his associates perfect confidence and a loyal and devoted following. In those days, and particularly during the Congressional investigation of the Hydrographic Office, Weather Bureau, Coast Survey, and Geological Survey in 1885-1886, large drafts were made on the time, strength, and energies of his—I will not say subordinates,

though such they were, but rather upon his—associates and companions, for such he always made them. But no amount of work by any of his comrades could equal that of their leader, whose capacity for work seemed unlimited. Nights, Sundays, holidays were forgotten in the zeal to do the many things that pressed in upon the man who had a reputation for doing things. In the midst of it all, however, his door was always open. He did not appear to hurry, however swift the work in hand went forward, and never showed irritation at the ceaseless interruption entailed by being readily accessible to all comers. He was in this respect like our martyr-president Lincoln who, when the furrows were deepening in his face as the great war wore on, and his faithful helpers sought to persuade him to deny himself to a part of the great throng that sought for interviews, listened kindly and then said as his face lighted up: "They don't want much and they don't get much; I guess I'd better see them." This was the spirit that always prevailed about "the Major's" busy office.

In a high degree Major Powell had the faculty of stimulating his followers and helping them to accomplish the best that was in them. His directions never appeared to be orders. He seemed to be a companion discussing and suggesting plans rather than a director prescribing a course of action, and this practice to those accustomed to different conditions was most stimulating.

He was ever prone to draw from his associates their views and then in a few sentences to lead them to broader ones and to kindle enthusiasm for these wider views. Great as was his personal work, yet much greater was that which owed its inception to his own fruitful suggestion. He rarely printed anything without first submitting it to one or several of his associates for criticism, both destructive and constructive. "Now go for it," he would say, and sometimes add with a twinkle under his shaggy brows, "or ever after hold your peace." The usual outcome of such criticism was not a change of view but rather the reply, "I see I have not made that plain; I must expand it."

If the Major engaged in reminiscence, as he sometimes did, there was often a deeper purpose than mere story-telling or entertainment. There was a principle or a lesson involved, but it was never obtrusive. On one occasion when dining at my house he met a newly appointed Chief of Bureau, one new to Washington and its methods. The conversation turning on administration, he outlined in a few clear, terse sentences the characteristics and methods of five secretaries under whom he had served. "One," said he,

"cleared up his table every night, and so made mistakes. Another carefully weighed everything brought to him, and thus was overwhelmed with details and business impeded;" and so on of others. "But as to one," said he, "the best of all, he met all matters brought to him by his bureau chiefs with the same question, viz., "Is that a bureau question or a department question?" If it was a department question, he gave to it his undivided attention and profound study. Then he decided and his decisions were right; they have withstood the tests of experience and are the rules of the Department to this day."

More and more, as time passed, his interests and thoughts turned toward philosophical reflection and study, and when his chief burden of administration was laid down in 1894 and the care of the Geological Survey was turned over to another, he entered upon the closing chapter of his varied and busy life.

It was about this time that some of his intimate friends arranged to have a bust made of him. Mr. U. S. J. Dunbar had at this time a studio in the Corcoran Building, and here Powell gave sittings to this artist who in the course of a few weeks produced a clay bust which was generally approved as a faithful and satisfactory portrayal. Later a new bust was cast in bronze and is now in the Library of the United States Geological Survey.

During the sittings I was always with him and generally read aloud from something he liked. One thing read was Ruskin's *Essays*, and as the reading proceeded he would interpret, analyse, and criticise, pointing out the author's strength, weakness, and limitations. Poetry also interested him, and we read *Tam O'Shanter*, which he knew by heart.

Such were the traits of this strong and noble character as they appeared to one who for a decade was very near to and in confidential relations with him. I count it one of my pieces of special good fortune to have so long enjoyed the intimate friendship of so helpful, so stimulating, so ennobling a companion as Major John Wesley Powell.

THE WIDOW'S TWO MITES.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE find in the Gospel according to St. Luke, Chapter xxi. 1-4, the story of the two mites of the widow, which in its simple beauty reads as follows :

"And he looked up, and he saw the rich men casting their gifts into the treasury.

"And he saw also a certain poor widow casting in thither two mites.

"And he said, Of a truth I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all :

"For all these have of their abundance cast in unto the offerings of God : but she of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had."

Mark preserves the same story almost literally in the same form, in Chapter xii., 42, and we may fairly assume that the latter has taken it from the former, that the passage in Luke is the original and that it has been inserted by later copyists from the Gospel of Luke. Albert J. Edmunds has proved that the Gospel of Luke is full of parallels to Buddhist scriptures, and the story of the two mites is one of the most striking accounts having an analogous story in Buddhist literature. Mark is the older Gospel, and the frame-work of Mark can be traced back to an account of a life of Jesus which may be based on reminiscences of an eye-witness. This oldest part of Mark, commonly called by German scholars *Urmarkus* (i. e., original Mark), was utilised also by the authors of the other synoptic Gospels, Luke and Matthew ; accordingly, it is probable that if the original Mark had contained the story of the two mites it would have found its way also into the Gospel according to Matthew.

We know that the institutions of the Jewish temple were not based upon a system of voluntary donations except when sacrifices were made to the temple at Jerusalem. The priesthood was maintained by tithes, that is the tenth of the harvest's yield and other definitely prescribed taxes ; and we know nothing of charitable con-

tributions in the house of God, which have become customary only in Christian churches among the Gentiles. The Ebionites, the Nazarenes, and other sects of Judea were in the habit of receiving alms, but their institutions were decidedly un-Jewish, and the members of the Nazarene sect, as we know from the passages in the Acts of the Apostles, had to surrender their entire wealth on entering the congregation,—a statement which (on the supposition that the Nazarenes are identical with or similar to the Essenes) is fully borne out by the testimony of Philo, Josephus, Pliny, and Tacitus.

Matters were different among the Buddhists. The Buddhist sangha is entirely maintained by voluntary offerings, and the institution of making offerings is well established since the foundation of Buddhism. This speaks in favor of a Buddhist origin of the story.

It is noteworthy that the Buddhist story of the two mites presents an exact parallel, even to the coincidence that the poor woman deposits two mites, that is, two copper pence, and that she gives all that she has, all her living.

We know the Buddhist version of the story through Açva-ghosha, a Buddhist saint and philosopher who flourished in the first century of the Christian era, and his tale is obviously second-hand. It lacks the classical simplicity of the Gospel version and reads in Samuel Beal's translation as follows :

"I heard that there was once a lone woman who, having gone to the mountain *Chau-ngan* (day-dull), beheld the men on the mountain holding a religious assembly called the Panchavarsha párishat.¹ Then the woman, having begged some food in the crowd, beholding the priests, was filled with joy, and uttering her praises, said, 'It is well, holy priests! but whilst others give precious things such as the ocean caves produce, I a pauper have nothing to give.' Having spoken thus and searched herself in vain for something to give, she recollected that some time before she had found in a dung-heap two mites (copper mites), so taking these forthwith she offered them as a gift to the priesthood in charity. At this time the president (Sthavira), who had arrived at the condition of a Saint (Rahat), and so could read the motives (heart) of men, disregarding the rich gifts of others and beholding the deep principle of faith dwelling in the heart of this poor woman, and wishing the priesthood to esteem rightly her religious merit, [at once and] without waiting to take up his lute, with full voice burst forth with the following canto, as he raised his right hand and said, 'Reverend priests attend!' and then he proceeded :

" 'The mighty earth and vast ocean,
Whatever treasures they contain,
According to this woman's intention
Are all bestowed in charity on the priesthood.

¹ That is, a quinquennial assembly.

With careful mind and pious consideration,
 Practising herself in the discharge of good works,
 She has reached the goal of deliverance,
 And utterly put away all covetous and selfish aims.'

"At this time the woman was mightily strengthened in her mind as she thought, 'It is even as the Teacher says, what I do is as difficult as for him who gives up all his treasures'; and then, exulting in the act although sorrowing on account of her poverty, she prostrated herself before the priests and offered her two mites to the president, weeping as she did so and cast down in heart, and then she recited the following lines:

" ' May I through all successive births
 Escape such poverty as now afflicts me!
 Enjoying for ever such happiness (as plenty brings),
 With friends and relations in equal condition.
 I now offer in charity priestly-fruit,
 May Buddha rightly discern (my aim);
 And as the result of this religious act,
 May I soon obtain answer to my prayer.
 The good and pious intention of my heart,
 May it result soon in outward prosperity.'

"Then the woman having left the mountain, sat down beneath a tree, whilst a cloud canopy above her sheltered her without intermission from the sun.

"Now at this time the king of the country, having just performed the funeral obsequies of the queen, was walking abroad to see the country, when observing the cloud canopy, he went to the tree over which it rested, and there seeing the woman, his mind was filled with love."

We are further told that the King took the poor woman to his palace where he bestowed upon her gifts, and placed her in authority as his chief wife.

This story of the poor woman and her two mites is too similar to the Gospel story not to be historically connected. Being a pauper she happens to come in possession of two mites and she offers them to the sangha (the Church). Her gift is regarded as more than the donations of rich people who give only a part of their abundance.

Now, the Buddhist story of the two mites happens to be one the date of which can be fixed with certainty before the year 62 of the Christian era. Beal's translation is made from the Chinese, which was translated by 'An-shai-ko, a doctor of the law, during the later Han dynasty, which ruled China in the second century of the Christian era. Buddhist books were imported in 62 by Ming Ti (who reigned 58-76), and we know that Aṣvaghosha's books were among them. Aṣvaghosha is known to have been a contemporary of Christ, and he was an old man at the time when King Kanishka

conquered Magadha. King Kanishka of Kashmir ascended the throne in 78. He was a Buddhist, and having conquered the King of Magadha (so we read in Hsüen Tsang's report) made peace with him on condition that he should surrender the begging-bowl of Buddha (one of the most sacred relics of Buddhism), and also the most famous Buddhist preacher, Aṣvaghosha. Aṣvaghosha was at that time so far advanced in years that (according to the Thibetan historian Tāranātha) he asked King Kanishka's permission to stay at home; according to Kumārajīva, however, he finally took up his abode in Kashmir.

Thus, we may be sure beyond any doubt that the Buddhist story of the two mites was written in India by a man who was either a contemporary of Christ or was born not much later than 10 A. D. Since it is not probable that the Gospel story of the two mites would have travelled so quickly from Palestine to India, the Buddhist origin of the tale seems pretty well established.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Christian Gospel story preserves an older version of the tale of the two mites; it is simpler and more dignified. The Buddhist story, in the form in which Aṣvaghosha cast it, has suffered by priestly perversion. We may be sure that the Buddhist story, as reprinted above from Beal's translation, presupposes the existence of a simpler account, which must have been the same as, or quite similar to, the account of Luke. Aṣvaghosha, a Buddhist preacher, utilises the story to impress the Buddhist laymen with the importance of bestowing gifts upon the sangha, the Buddhist Church; and in order to prove to his hearers that the poor woman was richly rewarded for her gift he completes the narrative in a very worldly fashion. That is not the way in which Buddha himself would have told the story, but it is quite natural in the time of Buddhist ecclesiasticism. Aṣvaghosha tells how the poor woman was rewarded by meeting the King, and finally becoming his queen. In a similar way, the Gospel story might have been spun out in the Middle Ages during the time of Christian ecclesiasticism by some monkish poet whose tendency would have been to impress his readers with the importance of making rich endowments to monasteries, and that to give all one's possessions would bring rich rewards.

While we thus grant that Aṣvaghosha's account is a perverted version of the story, it seems highly improbable that the Christian account should be the original; and we would rather believe that the original Buddhist account which is either unknown to us or

lost, found its way East through the channels by which so many other Buddhist ideas found their way into the New Testament.

Prof. Samuel Beal believes that the similarities between Christianity and Buddhism must be explained by the fact that Buddhism absorbed Christian ideas, and his theory how at such an early date Christian doctrines could have been transmitted to India is based on his identification of the Essenes with Buddhists.

The Essenes are a well-known sect, spoken of by Josephus, Philo, and Pliny. They were, in their mode of life and general institutions, very similar to the Therapeutæ of Egypt; and it is more than probable that the Nazarenes and Ebionites were either the same sect or affiliated to the Essene community, or sects that were similar in spirit and born of the same tendencies of the age.

Professor Beal enumerates all the similarities between the Buddhists and the Essenes; and since the subject has been repeatedly discussed there is no need of repeating his arguments. As to their keeping the Sabbath with great rigidity, M. Prideaux observes that the Essenes must have been Jews, but even here Professor Beal finds a similarity with the Buddhists. He says:

"With respect, however, to this we may remark that 'the Buddhist Sabbath was a day of religious observance and celebration for laymen and priests, and occurred four times in every month. On these days religious laymen (i. e., *white-clothed men*)¹ dress in their best, and abstain from all trade and worldly amusements."²

As to their name, Professor Beal says:

"There is no improbability in supposing that their name, which is either Essenes or 'Essaioi,' is derived from the word *Isi*, gen. *isino*, plural *isi* or *isayo*. The meaning of *isi* is a 'saint' or 'holy man,' which meaning agrees with Philo's derivation from the Greek *ἁγίος*, a word probably connected with the same root.

"The Magadhī or Prakrit *Isi* is the Sanscrit *Īśhi*, and this, with the addition of Maha (making a compound *Mahesi*, i. e., the Great Saint), was a not infrequent epithet of Buddha.

"It is a mistake to suppose that because the name '*Buddha*' is not met with in the West, therefore the doctrines of Buddhism were not known.

"'*Buddha*' is a term descriptive of the great teacher's character as 'the enlightened one' (*ὁ πεφωτισμένος*), or 'the awakened,' and was no personal appellation.

"Even on the stone-cut edicts of Asoka this epithet occurs but once.

"But as 'the saint' or 'great saint,' he was not uncommonly known, and his followers were also described as 'isayo' or 'isi-(yo)l.'"³

¹In the Syrian monument discovered in China the Syrian Christian students are called *white-clothed*.

²*Vide* Childers' Pāli Dict., *sub voce* "Uposatho."

³*Vide* Oldenberg in his *Vinaya Pitaka*, in which this title is given to Buddha. *Vide* Index, Cullavagga, p. 339; and Childers states (Pāli Dict., *sub voce*), that "Buddhas and Arahās are called *isi*."

Professor Beal identifies the Essenes with the Buddhist laymen called Upāsakas. He asks:

"Were the Essenes, then, a congregation of lay people corresponding with the Buddhist Upāsakas? The Upāsakas were under vows of chastity, etc., but not so completely as the Bhikshus. A Bhikshu or full Buddhist monk was forbidden to labor in the field, but the Upāsaka was not; the Bhikshu again wore yellow robes, the Upāsaka wore white garments; the general name for eminent sages or saints (not Bhikshus) was *isayo* (Fausbøll, *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 48), the plural form of *isī*. Another plural form was *isī*; these two agree with the Greek variants *Essaioi* and *Essanoi*."

In comment on the report of Josephus, Professor Beal explains his views as follows:¹

"Josephus remarks 'that the Essenes hold marriage in no esteem, but yet do not absolutely oppose it.'

"1. So the Upāsakas (Buddhist laymen) were not forbidden to marry, but yet marriage was allowed only as a degree of holiness next below 'entire continency.'

"2. 'Riches held in contempt; community of goods maintained.' This is a distinctive mark of the Buddhist lay-disciple. The great Asoka gave all his goods to the Church, and encouraged the discipline of the Samgha, which required 'all goods to be held in common.' Besides which, there is no direction so frequently found in Buddhist writings as 'the duty of self-sacrifice and charity.'

"3. 'They make no use of oil.' This is a literal order found in the Buddhist community.

"4. 'They go habited in white garments.'" The Upāsakas throughout the Vinaya Pitaka are described as the 'white-clad.'²

"5. They have stewards, etc. This is the duty of the Buddhist *Karmaddna*, who takes the general management of the secular affairs of the convent.

"6. 'They give reception to all travellers of their sect, and neither sell nor buy.' This also is literally the case with Buddhists, even to the present day, inasmuch that their monasteries are still used as 'places for hospitality, where food is given without any charge.'

"7. With respect to the prayers of the Essenes before sunrise and at sunset, this is a rule of their order, as we are expressly told by I-Tsing. And in Mr. Dickson's translation of the *Patimokkam*, we have the words given us which the Buddhists use at grace.

"The rules of the Essenes respecting the age of the members, the existence of novices, and the cause of expulsion, are all perfectly Buddhist."

Now, Professor Beal sums up his arguments by saying:

"If we accepted the theory that the Essenes were connected with Buddhism, this would be sufficient to account for the presence of these parallel records or no-

¹ For further information, Professor Beal refers to Dr. Lightfoot's *Epistles of St. Paul, Colossians, and Philemon*, Excursus i, ii., iii., Note 2, p. 394. Dr. Lightfoot there explains the name Σραμανοχρηστὰς to be the Sanscrit *Sramandcharjya*, which is obviously correct.

² There is also a well-known image of a female, with a child on her knee, common among Chinese Buddhists, and also known in India, as it is mentioned by I-Tsing in his account of Indian temples, and which is described as the "white-clad Kwan-yin," because she grants the request of the female lay-disciples that they may have children.

tices in the books of Northern Buddhism. The intercourse of Bactrian Greeks or Hellenists with Syria, and probably Samaria, where Alexander the Great had left a Macedonian colony, would be sufficient to account for it. To me, indeed, it appears most singular that the saying of Christ with respect to the woman who anointed him for his burying—if she be the same who wept at his feet, as is generally supposed—should be verified under a somewhat different form in the record of the tender woman who wept at Buddha's feet at the time of his death. It would seem as though the story were adopted and perverted by the Buddhists.¹ So also with respect to the Samaritan woman; there are now before me *three* versions of a story bearing marked likeness to this narrative, in the Chinese Tripitaka. These stories were brought to China by missionaries (Buddhist missionaries, I mean) from the West, and there translated. Now, it seems to me not an unreasonable surmise that those people of Sychar who were 'clothed in white' were Essenes. And if the Essenes were connected with Buddhists, the story might well have been carried away by some traveller or brother from a distant clime, and so become known in Parthia and North India."

Among minor coincidences, Beal mentions also that in both religions, Buddhism and Christianity, the danger of riches is inculcated. Açvaghosha, in his sermons, recites a long poem, probably of his own making, in which a Brahman is converted by understanding how little the pleasure is of enjoyment in comparison to the bliss (sweet dew) to be partaken of by the attainment of Nirvâna. Açvaghosha says:

"The case is so with wealthy folk,
Who now enjoy their luxuries, but in the end are born in hell.
In hell, whose very walls
And every corner, nay, the very earth, is molten fire.
The sinner there lies writhing;
The fire bursts from out his body
While he receives unmitigated torments.
Consider, then, and weigh the matter.
The joys to be partaken of, how few!
The pain and suffering, how great!"

Professor Beal then assumes that the Essene brethren came directly into contact with Açvaghosha. He says:

"Among the distinguished Buddhists who lived about the time of Kanishka (the Indo-Scythian conqueror of North India), the twelfth Buddhist patriarch, Açvaghosha, was not the least so. It is now tolerably certain² that Kanishka's reign began about 78 A. D. It is not strange, then, if we find in Açvaghosha's writings many allusions and illustrations derived apparently from foreign, and perhaps Christian, sources. To me, indeed, it appears, if the date above named be

¹ This supposes, of course, that the copy of the Chinese Vinaya Pitaka in which the account of this woman is found, was put together after the Christian era. May we refer this, and other books, to the council held under Kanishka?

² Compare Fergusson's *Saka, Samvat, and Gupta Eras*, with Dr. Oldenberg in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. VIII.

the true one, that much in the Buddhist development coming under the name of the Greater Vehicle may be explained on this ground.

"Altogether, having translated the *Buddhacharita* throughout, and also the greater portion of Aṣvaghosha's sermons, I am impressed with the conviction that Christian teaching had reached his ears at the time when Aṣvaghosha was in Parthia, or at any rate in Bactria (viz., about A. D. 70), and that he was influenced by it so far as to introduce into Buddhism the changes we find beginning to take shape at this period."

Professor Beal seems little acquainted with Pâli literature, for he calls the idea of "universal salvation," and the doctrines of Buddha's incarnation by the descent of the spirit, and of the power of the *bhodi* or wisdom by which we are made "sons" or converted "disciples" un-Buddhistic. The latter, it is true, are characteristic developments of the Mahâyâna, but the former, and also the idea of sonship, date back to Buddha himself. Beal claims that :

"There was such an intercommunication at this time between East and West as shaped the later school of Buddhism into a pseudo-Christian form ; and this accounts very much for some otherwise inexplicable similarities."

Now it may be regarded as historical that Aṣvaghosha lived in Kashmir, but that he reached Bactria or even Parthia is (so far as we know) nowhere mentioned.

Thus it is barely possible that Aṣvaghosha may have received accounts from his Buddhist brethren in distant Palestine ; it is barely possible, but that is all that can be said in favor of Professor Beal's interpretation of the facts before him. And we must consider that in 78 Aṣvaghosha was an old man. He had written the books (especially the *Buddhacharita*, the life of Buddha) that had made him famous and we cannot assume that at this most advanced stage of his career, he should have introduced all those changes into his religion which made Buddhism so very much like Christianity.

Does it not seem much more probable that the story of the two mites and other narratives common to Christianity and Buddhism are older than the Mahâyâna ? And assuredly, the connections between the Orient and Occident which become now better and better known to us, go far to prove that Christian doctrines were formed in Judæa under the influence of older religions among which Buddhism, Parseeism, and Hellenism are of special importance.

Christian influence upon later Buddhism especially through the Nestorians in Thibet and China cannot be denied, and thus many similarities between the Roman Catholic ritual and the Lama-

ist institutions must be regarded as Christian importations ; but the many parallels between the ancient Pāli texts and the Gospel traditions especially the parables cannot be explained in the same way, and I do not see how we can escape the inference of their Buddhist origin. We must consider that at any rate, whether or not incidental stories have been derived by Buddhism from Christianity or *vice versa*, the main doctrines of a universal loving-kindness, of forbearance towards enemies, etc., etc., are unequivocally as old as Buddha himself who lived in the fifth century before Christ.

ECCLESIASTES OR THE SPHINX OF HEBREW LITERATURE.

BY REV. BERNHARD PICK, PH. D., D. D.

INTRODUCTION.

THE book of Koheleth, commonly called Ecclesiastes, has rightly been styled the sphinx of Hebrew literature. Though this book has only 222 verses, yet its literature is very rich, and it may confidently be stated that since the year 1850, at least as many pens as are verses in the book, have been busy in writing on that book. From the Septuagint the name *Ecclesiastes* comes to us, but this is not the only one given in explanation of the word "Koheleth." *Tot capita, tot sensus*, and thus has been suggested "compiler," "preacher," "debater," "gatherer or acquirer of wisdom," "eclectic," "accumulated wisdom," "the reunited, the gathered soul," "the penitent," "an assembly," "academy," "an old man," "an exclaiming voice," "philosopher or moralist," "the departed spirit of Solomon," etc. The latest is probably "prince of doctrinal ethics," if we may infer from the title of W. Garstang's book (which I have not seen): "My Heart's Fruit-garden, wherein are Divers Delectable Adages and Similes of the Prince of Doctrinal Ethics. A Translation out of the Ancient Biblical Hebrew of the Book of Koheleth, else 'Ecclesiastes,' or the Preacher." London, 1887.

The contents of the book were a great puzzle to the Jewish schoolmen, and for centuries the rabbis disputed about it, yea in the first Christian century it still belonged to the *Antilegomena*. Some heretics rejected it as teaching a false morality, and Theodore of Mopsuestia was accused of questioning its inspiration. Down to the time of Luther, both synagog and church believed in the Solomonic authorship of the book; but Luther was the first to question this authorship, and was followed by Grotius, who is the first

in the galaxy of writers who rejected the Solomonic authorship. Though Ginsburg wrote in 1861, "we could as easily believe that Chaucer is the author of 'Rasselas' as that Solomon wrote Koheleth," and Delitzsch, in 1875: "If the book of Koheleth be of old Solomonic origin, then there is no history of the Hebrew language"; yet in 1880, Dr. Johnston published his *Treatise on the Authorship of Ecclesiastes*, a book of 590 pages, endeavoring to vindicate the traditional view. Five years later, Dr. E. H. Plumptre wrote: "No one now dreams of ascribing it to Solomon."

The great majority of biblical students now reject the Solomonic authorship, and if names are of any authority we can mention besides Delitzsch, Hengstenberg, Zöckler, Hitzig, Knobel, Volck, Strack, Gesenius, Nowack, Ewald, Kleinert, Kautzsch, and others. In England we have Plumptre, Ginsburg, Davidson, Wright, Cheyne, etc.; in our own country, Moses Stuart. Others like Cowles, Young, Hyde and Tayler Lewis, who supplied the English translation of Zöckler's Commentary (in the Lange series) with notes, adhere to the traditional view.

As to the time of composition, the dates range over very nearly a thousand years, from B. C. 990 to B. C. 10. The last date is the one assigned by the Jewish historian, Graetz (without, however, being adopted by any one), who regards Ecclesiastes as a politico-religious satire leveled against King Herod, with the special object of correcting certain evil tendencies among the Jews of that age.

Different as the opinions concerning the date are, the opinions concerning the aim of the book are greater. Jerome read it with his disciple, Blæsilla, that he might persuade her to renounce the vanities of the world for the life of the convent at Bethlehem. Some saw in the book the confessions of the penitent and converted Solomon; Heine called it "the song of skepticism"; Voltaire dedicated his paraphrase of the book to Frederick II., as that of a book which was the King's favorite study. Graetz thinks that the book intends to teach a license like that of a St. Simonian "rehabilitation of the flesh." Graetz has found an admirer in Renan, although he goes his own way. The French writer published not only a commentary on Ecclesiastes in 1882, but also popularised the book in an essay published in the same year in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. In his *The Antichrist* he had already spoken of Ecclesiastes as the only charming book that has ever been written by a Jew, and in his commentary he says of the author of the book: he was "a worthy man, devoid of prejudices, good and generous at bottom, but discouraged by the baseness of the time and the sad con-

ditions of human life. . . . He would willingly be a hero, but, verily, God rewards heroism so little, that one asks one's self if it is not going against His intentions to take up things in that manner." Koheleth, according to Renan, was no atheist. He believed in the existence of a God who occasionally interposed in the affairs of the world. But the God of his creed was one who was too great to concern himself deeply with human actions in general.

The chief interest which the book presents to us is a picture of an intellectual and moral position. The author was a man of the world, he was not a pious man or a theologian; perhaps he was some great-grandfather of Annas or of Caiaphas; of the aristocratic priests who with so light a heart condemned Jesus." What pleases Renan especially is the personality of the author, so that "one loves to picture him to one's self as an exquisite man, and one of polished manners, as an ancestor of some rich Jew of Paris gone astray in Judea in the time of Jesus and the Maccabees."

No less interesting, though written in a different spirit, is the ideal biography of Koheleth given by Professor Plumptre in his Commentary on Ecclesiastes. According to this biography Koheleth lived in Judea, about B. C. 220, not far from Jerusalem. By and by the young man travelled, and finally settled at Alexandria. Here he became acquainted with one whom he could call a true friend, "one among a thousand," but also with a woman for whom he imbibed a passionate affection. Discovering her utter baseness, he barely had time to escape from her net; hence his strong denunciation of the female sex in the pages of his work. At Alexandria Koheleth became also acquainted with the philosophical systems of the Epicureans and Stoics, and the natural science of physiology of the former especially attracted our student. In chaps. xi. and xii. of his book, Koheleth exhibits more than ordinary acquaintance with the anatomy and construction of the human frame. In consequence of his dissipation, Koheleth gets sick and, after a long illness, he has time to reflect on the past, and becomes a firm believer in God and immortality. Such is a short outline of the interesting novel written by the Dean of Wells.

In accordance with his theory, Dr. Plumptre brings many parallels to show Koheleth's acquaintance with the systems he became acquainted with in Alexandria; but this seeming Stoicism and Epicureanism is denied by Cheyne in his *Job and Solomon* (1887), according to whom Koheleth is a native Hebrew philosopher. With Cheyne agrees also Delitzsch and Renan. Some, as Zirkel (1792)

attempted to discover Grecisms in the Book of Ecclesiastes; but this theory has little or no support.

Some philosophical writers pretended to have found the doctrine of Pessimism in our book. Thus especially A. Taubert (the name under which Ed. von Hartmann's first wife wrote in defense of her husband's philosophy, the author of *Philosophie des Unbewussten*) in her work, *Pessimismus und seine Gegner* (Berlin, 1873), terms chaps. i-iii. and iv., 1-4 of our book "a catechism of Pessimism"; but the contents of these chapters show the essential difference existing between Koheleth's pessimism and our modern pessimists.

Passing over a number of other works on Ecclesiastes, we must mention the latest, that by C. Siegfried of Jena, published in 1898, and forming part of the Hand-Commentary on the Old Testament edited by W. Nowack of Strassburg. Siegfried endeavors to prove that it is impossible to accept the book as one whole. He admits that at the beginning there existed a unitary document of the whole, but the work as it is transmitted passed through many hands, hence the many radical contradictions. Thus according to iii. 1-8 everything in the world takes place in a certain change of opposites, from which one cannot win a sensible sense and over against which everything appears purposeless (v. 9). But according to iii. 11 this system of the world has been very excellently ordered by God, although man cannot fully grasp it; in iii. 12 Koheleth has again lost this knowledge, for he recommends to man to enjoy himself as much as possible, as the only thing left to him.—According to iii. 16, iv. 1 every mark of a moral system of the world is denied; but according to iii. 17, v. 7, viii. 11 it cannot be doubted that there is a highest judge who has only delayed his judgment.—According to iii. 18-21 there is no difference between man and beast; both are subject to the same law of nature, animated by the same breath of life. What takes place with the latter after death, we cannot know. But according to xii. 7 the body of man only returns to the earth, the spirit to God, who gave it, and we are assured immediately v. 9 that upon the whole everything is humbug, thus no doubt also what he had just said.—According to vii. 15, viii. 10, 12a, 14 it is a vain conceit to believe that the pious will be rewarded by God and the wicked will be judged. On the other hand, vii. 17, viii. 5, 12b, 13 we are assured that the wicked are taken away by a premature death; the pious and keepers of the law, however, are preserved from all misfortune.—In vii. 2 man is admonished to devote himself to the contempla-

tion of the certainty of his death; in v. 17, ix. 7-10 the same considerations (see v. 14 seq., ix. 5 seq.) are used as an invitation to spend the existence if possible with good eating and drinking.—In xi. 9a the young man is advised to follow the inclinations of his desires; in v. 9b, however, it is enjoined on him to consider that he must give an account of all before God's judgment.—The observation that the iron order of nature (i. 2-10) makes every human effort fruitless (ii. 17, 20, iii. 9) drives Koheleth flatly to despair. According to iii. 22, v. 18-19, on the other hand, human labor, which according to what has just been said is fruitless, yields many a success and real joys of life. This is not a *skepsis* which is coupled with the deepest fear of God. These are contradictions more trenchant than which cannot be thought of.—In other questions also these contradictions appear. According to i. 17, ii. 15, 16 the strife for wisdom is a feeding on wind. But according to ii. 13, 14 the excellence of wisdom is as great as that of light over darkness; it belongs to the greatest good, vii. 11-12, 19; viii. 16; ix. 13-18; x. 2, 12.

On this account it has always appeared a fruitless task to show a plan and an organic connection in the book of Koheleth. These efforts were the more fruitless since besides the contradictions we must not overlook the complete incoherency in considerable parts of our writing. Let one compare the gaping chasms between iv. 15 seq. and v. 17; v. 1; between v. 6, 7, 8, 9, between vii. 6, 7; v. 19 and 20; x. 3 and 4 and other. One can boldly assert that in the part iv.-xii. the passages in which a tolerable connection exists form the minority. It can therefore not be surprising that so many efforts were made to show a plan and connection in the book of Koheleth, but the examination of all these attempts has resulted, as Siegfried confesses, in the conclusion that "all is vanity."

How does the latter solve the difficulty? Starting from the fact that in the first three chapters only a few passages are found contradicting the general views of the speaker and that for the rest we have in them an entirely close connection of thoughts, he thinks that we have here the proper original of the book of Koheleth, of which only fragments are preserved in the later parts of the book. In it we meet with a pessimistic philosopher who like Job opposes the proof of facts to the teachings of the Jewish religion. His main thought: All is vanity, in i. 2, by which he questions all positions of Judaism, he exhibits, as the same is done in the Job poem, in parallel deductions.

The first deduction comprises i. 3-ii. 12, 14b-24c. The author

whom we call Koheleth states here that all which happens upon earth exhibits an iron law of the circuit of the single phenomena, i. 3-11, and that all efforts of human wisdom to find out a rational ground for this regulation, are fruitless, v. 12-18. His effort to banish the pessimistic disposition with regard to the earthly conditions by all kinds of enjoyment, by creations of strained activity, and thus to obtain an inner satisfaction, has been in vain, ii. 1-11. Even his strife for wisdom has been without any result, ii. 12, 14b, 15-16, so that he finally gave himself completely to despair, v. 17-24a.

The second deduction of the main thought of i. 2 comprises iii. 1-10, 12, 15, 16, 18-21. Here we find the opposites of all earthly events, which frustrate every toil of man. Birth is followed by death, planting by uprooting, keeping by casting away, etc., iii. 1-9. This order of nature, which forever destroys again what has been created, v. 10, 12, 15, proves at the same time the absence of every moral principle and of every justice in the order of the world, since in nature there cannot be a special adjustment for men. As their essence is the same as that of the beast, their destiny cannot be different, iii. 16, 18, 21.

In the third deduction, ch. iv., v., the insertions by another hand, the misplacing of portions, the gaps and corrections, increase to such a degree that it is no more possible to show a firm connection of thoughts. Yet the hand of Koheleth can be perceived in the following parts: iv. 1-4, 6-8, 13-16; v. 9, 10, 12-16, in the complaint over the irretrievable suffering of humanity, iv. 1-3, and in the complaint over the restless and at the same time resultless toiling of men, iv. 4, etc.

In the following parts of the book the insertions by a strange hand surpass the rest. The following portions undoubtedly belong to Koheleth: vi. 1-7; vii. 1b-4, 15, perhaps also v. 26-28; viii. 9, 10, 14, 16, 17; ix. 2, 3, 5, 6; x. 5-7.

What saved the book of the pessimistic philosopher was the fact that it had the name of Solomon at its head, otherwise it would certainly have been destroyed by the parties which afterwards became authoritative in Judaism. But instead of this it had the misfortune to be corrected, glossed by the other parties within the then Judaism, to be adapted to their standpoint. The next glossator was no radical opponent. He belonged to those Sadducaic circles which devoted themselves to Epicureanism, and this in another sense as is sometimes the case in Koheleth. When the latter exclaims in painful resignation, that under the present

circumstances there is nothing better for man than to eat and drink, ii. 24*a*, iii. 12, we know from ii. 3, 10, 17 seq. 20 that in his sense this is not nor can be a real enjoyment. The Epicurean glossator, on the other hand, whom we call K², is of the opinion that eating and drinking is indeed a very respectable pleasure, in which one has full reward for all the toil of man, v. 17, viii. 15; and he exhorts the reader, as far as possible to prepare for himself such and other like sensual joys, ix. 7-10, x. 19, xi. 7-9*a*, 10, ere the time of old age and death comes and the time for such enjoyments is past, ix. 12, xii. 1-7*a*, especially xi. 8. He clings to life and finds it beautiful. It is good to see the light of the sun, he says, xi. 7, whereas Koheleth is of opinion that the day of death is better than that of birth, vii. 16. According to ix. 4 (K²), a living dog is better than a dead lion, whereas Koheleth praises the untimely birth happy, vi. 3, and thinks the dead more happy than the living, iv. 2. As in this respect, so K² differs from Koheleth with regard to labor, iii. 22, ix. 10, v. 18, 19, vii. 14. On other points too we see the Sadducaism of this glossator. Thus in vii. 16 he opposes the Pharisaically cultic exaggerations. On the whole belong to K²: iii. 22; v. 17-19; vii. 14, 16; viii. 15; iv. 4, 7-10, 12; x. 19; xi. 7, 8*a*, 9*a*, 10; xii. 16-7*a*.

Another reader of Koheleth evidently belonged to the assembly of the sages. He felt himself called to defend wisdom over against Koheleth. We call him the glossing Chakam K³. He asserts the excellencies of wisdom. To him belong ii. 13, 14*a*; iv. 5; vi. 8, 9*a*; vii. 11, 12, 19; viii. 1; ix. 13-18; x. 1-3, 12-15. The advice of Koheleth to give up the fruitless strife, iv. 4, 6*b*, he answers by saying that only a fool can act thus, iv. 5.

More important was the opposition to those utterances of Koheleth, which were directed against the fundamental doctrines of Judaism concerning the divine system of the world and its justice. Since in the circles of the pious a book which bore Solomon's name could not so easily be hidden, an effort was made to make it as harmless as possible by corrections. We call the author of these corrections the glossing Chasid and mark him as K⁴. He opposes the assertion of Koheleth concerning the fruitlessness of every human effort. And as he opposes Koheleth, he likewise opposes K² (vii. 16) in vii. 17. On the whole we must assign to K⁴: ii. 24*b*-26*a*; iii. 11, 13, 14, 17; iv. 17; v. 1, 3-5, 6*b*, 7; vi. 10-12; vii. 13, 17, 23-25, 29; viii. 2-8, 11-13; ix. 1; xi. 5, 8*b*, 9*b*; xii. 1*a*, 7*b*.

Besides those already mentioned, other glossators have also made additions to our book, whom it is impossible to distinguish

individually and whom we therefore call K⁶. To them undoubtedly belong: iv. 9-12; v. 2, 6 (the close excepted), 8, 11; vii. 1a, 5, 6a, 7-10, 18, 20-22; ix. 11; x. 4, 8-11, 16-18, 20; xi. 1-4, 6. The entire poem i. 2-xii. 7 was put together in the confusion in which it was extant by a redactor R¹, who supplied it with the title i. 1 and a concluding formula xii. 8.—Besides three special epilogues were added, of which the first xii. 9, 10 tries to instruct the reader with regard to the person of Koheleth. To this author can not possibly belong the second epilogue xii. 11, 12, since he betrays the most hostile disposition towards this entire literature. The closing words xii. 13, 14 betray a Pharisee who believes in a final judgment, which the Chasid K⁴ iii. 17; xi. 9b knows not yet. We call this Epilogist R².

Against this interpolation-hypothesis it cannot be asserted that so few linguistic differences are to be found among the individual glossators, since they all belong to the same short period from 200-100.

In this manner Professor Siegfried tries to solve the difficulties connected with this book. Whether this theory will be accepted by all is another question. We have, however, not adopted it in our translation, but introduced such emendations of the text—distinguished by []—as he recommends. It was not our purpose to write a commentary. But we have given such notes under the text as will help the understanding. From the ancient classics as well as from Shakespeare we have quoted such passages which could be adduced as parallels. The extracts in the notes are from more recent and less known works. We refer especially to Bradley's *Lectures on Ecclesiastes* and Momerie's work on *Agnosticism*.

We cannot close this introduction without calling attention to the fact that Ecclesiastes or Koheleth was not without influence upon the book commonly called Ecclesiasticus or the Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach. There are not a few of the aphorisms found in Ecclesiasticus which sufficiently show that the latter in many passages imitated Koheleth. But of greater interest is the fact that Ecclesiastes found an opponent in the author of the Book of Wisdom, who took exception to certain statements in the Book of Koheleth, and the work of this Anti-Ecclesiastes deserves more than a passing mention.

Of the deutero-canonical books none is more interesting than the Book of Wisdom, commonly called the Wisdom of Solomon, and which, as J. E. Ch. Schmidt (*Salomo's Prediger*, 1794), Kelle (*Die Salomonischen Schriften*, 1815), and others assert, is to be re-

garded as a refutation of Ecclesiastes or Koheleth. Because the book is called Wisdom of Solomon, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Tertullian believed in its Solomonic authorship. Origen, Eusebius, and Augustine denied this authorship, but believed in its divine inspiration. Jewish scholars, like de Rossi and Wessely, not to mention a number of Christian writers, also held that the book was written by Solomon, and the Solomonic authorship is still believed by the Roman Catholic writer Schmid, the author of *Das Buch der Weisheit* (Vienna, 1858). But Solomon is neither the author of Ecclesiastes nor of Wisdom. J. M. Faber's hypothesis that Wisdom was written by Zerubbabel is as much a curiosity as Grotius's claim that Ecclesiastes was written by that worthy. The suggestion of Noack (*Ursprung des Christenthums*, I., p. 222, Leipzig, 1837) that Wisdom was written by Apollos, was ably defended by Dean Plumptre ("The Writings of Apollos," in the *Expositor*, 1878), but with this difference, that the former claims that Apollos wrote the book after his conversion to Christianity, and the latter that it was written before his conversion, hence the many phrases of Wisdom which reappear in the Epistle to the Hebrews. According to Noack the famous passage in Wisdom ii. 12-20 is a mark of Christian origin; the description is a reflection of the impression which the fate of Jesus made upon his faithful followers, since in the Acts of the Apostles, vii. 52, the enemies of Jesus are charged with having become the betrayers and murderers of the "Just One." The passage in Wisdom runs thus:

"Therefore let us lie in wait for the righteous; because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings; he upbraideth us with our offending the law, and objecteth to our infamy the transgressings of our education. He professeth to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the child of the Lord. He was made to reprove our thoughts. He is grievous unto us even to behold; for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion. We are esteemed of him as counterfeits; he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness; he pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed, and maketh his boast that God is his father. Let us see if his words be true, and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him. For if the just man be the son of God, he will help him and deliver him from the hand of his enemies. Let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience. Let us condemn him with a shameful death; for by his own saying he shall be respected."

According to Plumptre, the writer had heard, it may be, of that Righteous One who appeared in Galilee and Jerusalem, and that marvellous history had stirred him into a glow of admiration for him whom as yet he knew not. Whether one believes in Apollos's authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews or not, certain it is

that Apollos is not the author of the Book of Wisdom, which was undoubtedly written before Philo; and the resemblance in language in the Epistle to the Hebrews may be paralleled rather from Philo, as J. B. McCaul has done in his *Epistle to the Hebrews* (London, 1874).

What was the writer's purpose? It may be said that he intended to correct either the teaching of Ecclesiastes, or a current misinterpretation of the same. The most striking instance is in Wisdom ii. 6-10 when compared with Ecclesiastes ix. 7-9. Here Ecclesiastes, or Koheleth, gives the advice to make use of the innocent joys of life. The ungodly libertines of Alexandria, referring to the passage, interpreted, or misinterpreted, it in their own fashion as may be seen from the words put into their mouth by Anti-Ecclesiastes:

"Come, therefore, and let us enjoy the good things present, and let us eagerly make use of the world as long as we are young. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments, and let no flower of the spring pass by us. Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they wither; let there be no meadow which our riot does not traverse. Let not one of us be without a share of our wantonness; everywhere let us leave behind us signs of our joyousness; for this is our portion, and this our lot."

The last words are the same used by Ecclesiastes several times (ii. 10; iii. 22; v. 18; ix. 9). The scoffers at Alexandria asserted in the words of Ecclesiastes that "one chance happens to the righteous and to the wicked" (ix. 2). To this Anti-Ecclesiastes rejoins that there is no such thing; on the contrary, the righteous are in the hand of God, they are in peace and live forever; whereas the wicked go to destruction (Wisdom iii. 2, 3; iv. 7; v. 14, 15). Does Ecclesiastes assert that in much wisdom is much grief (i. 18), his antagonist replies that to live with wisdom has no bitterness and no sorrow, but mirth and joy (viii. 16). Says Ecclesiastes that wisdom brings no bread to the wise, neither favor nor respect (ix. 11), Anti-Ecclesiastes asserts that she brings veneration and honor (viii. 10). Says Ecclesiastes that there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever (ii. 16), Anti-Ecclesiastes rejoins that by means of wisdom he shall obtain immortality and leave behind an everlasting memorial to them that come after him (viii. 13). Says Ecclesiastes that wisdom is to be sought in wine and revelry and delights (ii. 1-8), Anti-Ecclesiastes replies that wisdom shall not enter into a malicious soul, nor dwell in a body given to sin (i. 4). When Koheleth states that death is better than life, and it is to be desired as an everlasting sleep (vi.

4, 5), his antagonist says: "Seek not death in the error of your life, for God made no death" (i. 12, 13); "through envy of the Devil came death into the world, and they that do hold of his side do find it" (ii. 24). When Ecclesiastes states that God has made all beautiful in its time (iii. 11) and made man upright (iv. 29), Anti-Ecclesiastes rejoins that God created all things that they might have their being (i. 14), and man to be immortal (ii. 23).

Without going into further details, it must be admitted that although Ecclesiastes occupies a place in the canon, and Anti-Ecclesiastes in the Apocrypha, the latter occupies a higher standpoint than the former. And because certain doctrines are brought out fuller in the Book of Wisdom than by Ecclesiastes, it supplied an important gap in Jewish theology. The late Professor Delitzsch says very pertinently:

"In the Book of Ecclesiastes the old covenant digs its own grave. It is in so far also a schoolmaster unto Christ, since it awakens the desire for a better covenant than the first. The Book of Wisdom, however, is a harbinger of this better covenant."

MISCELLANEOUS.

COUNT LEO TOLSTOY'S ARTICLE.

Count Leo Tolstoy's article "The Overthrow of Hell and Its Restoration" in the present number is a vigorous attack on the Church. It constitutes the first part of a pamphlet which may be regarded as Tolstoy's confession of faith, or rather the programme of his social and religious convictions. He is severe on both the Church and the established government, and while in many respects he denounces the Russian government in particular, his comments strike home to government in any form. When speaking of the Church, he thinks first of all of the Greek Catholic Church; but he hits the Episcopalians as well, saying:

"The Church is produced thus: Some people assure themselves and others that their teacher, God, has chosen special men who, with those to whom they transfer this power, can alone correctly interpret His teaching. Those men who call themselves the Church regard themselves as holding the truth, not because what they preach is truth, but because they regard themselves as the only true successors of the disciples of the disciples of the disciples, and at last of the disciples of the teacher Himself, God....

"Having recognised themselves as the only expositors of God's law, and having persuaded others of this, these men became the highest arbiters of man's fate, and therefore were entrusted with the highest power over men. Having received this power, they naturally became infatuated and, for the most part, depraved, thus exciting against themselves the anger and enmity of men. In order to overcome their enemies they, having no other arms but violence, began to persecute, to kill, to burn all those who would not recognise their power. Thus by their very position they were forced to misrepresent the teaching so that it should justify both their wicked lives and their cruelties to their enemies."

Tolstoy claims that Christ's teaching was so simple that no one could possibly misinterpret it. It is expressed in the saying: "Do unto others what thou desirest that others should do unto thee." But Satan's helpers succeeded in obscuring the Golden Rule.

Concerning government, Beelzebub says, according to Tolstoy's description:

"He who destroyed Hell taught mankind to live like the birds of Heaven, commanding men to give to him that asks and to surrender one's coat to him who wishes to take one's shirt, saying that to be saved one must give away one's property. How then dost thou induce men who have heard this to go on plundering?"

"We do this," said the moustached devil haughtily, throwing back his head, "exactly as did our father and ruler when Saul was elected King. Even as then, we instil into men the idea that instead of ceasing to plunder each other it is more

convenient to allow one man to plunder them all, giving him full authority over all. What is new in our methods is only this,—that for confirming this one man's right of plundering we lead him into a church, put a special cap on his head, seat him in an elevated armchair, give him a little stick and a ball, rub him with some oil, and in the name of God and His Son proclaim the person of this man, rubbed with oil, to be sacred. Thus the plunder performed by this personage, regarded as sacred, can in no way be restricted. So these sacred personages and their assistants and the assistants of their assistants, all without ceasing, quietly and safely plunder the people. Generally, laws and regulations are instituted by which the idle minority, even without anointing, may plunder with impunity the laboring majority. In some States of late the plunder goes on without anointed men, even as much as where they exist. As our father and ruler sees, the method we use is in substance the old one. What is new in it is that we have made this method more general, more insidious, more widespread in extent and time, and more stable."

As to international politics, the devil of murder proposed the following scheme:

"We manage thus: We persuade each nation that it—this nation—is the very best of all nations on earth. '*Deutschland über alles*;' France, England, Russia '*über alles*,' and that this nation, whichever it be, ought to rule over all the others. As we inculcate the same idea into all nations, they continually feel themselves in danger from their neighbors,—are always preparing to defend themselves, and become exasperated against each other. The more one side prepares for defence, and, in consequence, becomes exasperated against its neighbors, the more all the others prepare for defence and hate each other. So, now all those who have accepted the teaching of him who called us murderers, are continually and chiefly occupied in preparation for murder and in murder itself."

As to marriage, Beelzebub explained his mode of procedure as follows:

"We do this both according to the old method used by thee, our father and ruler, when yet in the garden of Eden, and which gave over all the human race into our power, but we do it also in a new ecclesiastical way. According to the new ecclesiastical method we proceed thus: We persuade men that true marriage consists not in what it really consists, the union of man and woman, but in dressing oneself up in one's best clothes, going into a big building arranged for the purpose, and there putting on one's head caps specially prepared for the occasion, walking round a little table three times to the sound of various songs. We teach men that this only is true marriage. Being persuaded of this, they naturally regard all unions between man and woman formed outside of these conditions as mere frolics binding one to nothing, or as the satisfaction of a hygienic necessity, and therefore they unrestrainedly give themselves up to this pleasure...."

"In this way, while not abandoning the former method of forbidden fruit and inquisitiveness practised in Eden, we attain the very best results, men imagining that they can arrange for themselves an honest ecclesiastical marriage even after a dissolute life; men change hundreds of wives and thus become so accustomed to vice that they go on doing the same after the Church marriage. If for any reason, any of the demands connected with their Church marriage appear to them cumbersome, then they arrange another walk round the little table, whilst the first is regarded as of no effect."

In order to prevent people from investigating the real cause of all unhappiness on earth, Satan invented science and makes people investigate all kinds of physical

laws, the descent of man, etc. He thus succeeds in covering up the important religious truth of the Golden Rule. For the sake of increasing the toil of man, machinery was introduced. The devil of the labor question says: "I persuade men that as articles can be produced better by machines than by men, it is therefore necessary to turn men into machines, and they do this, and the men turned into machines hate those who have done so unto them."

Tolstoy winds up his statements as follows: "The devils encircled Beelzebub. At one end was the devil in the cape,—the inventor of the Church; at the other end the devil in the mantle,—the inventor of Science. These devils clasped each other's paws, and the ring was complete.

All the devils chuckling, yelping, whistling, cracking their heels and twisting their tails, spun and danced around Beelzebub. Beelzebub, himself flapping his unfolded wings, danced in the middle, kicking up high his legs.

"Above were heard cries, weeping, groans, and the gnashing of teeth."

THE GÂTHAS OF ZARATHUSHTRA.¹

Among the sacred books of Mazdaism the Gâthas are probably the most important. Zoroaster, or as he is called in the original Zend, Zarathushtra, is represented in the Vendidad and in the Avesta as a demi-god, a prophet full of the spirit of Ahura, that is, the Lord; and his miraculous powers are never doubted. The Gâthas, or hymns, unquestionably constitute the oldest documents of Zoroaster's religion. Here the prophet of dualism, far from being a demi-god, is a struggling man confronted with dangers, passing through tribulations, full of hope and fear, cursing his enemies, and promising the peace of God to his friends and supporters. They afford the strongest proof that Zoroaster was really a concrete living personality, that his work was historical, and that the later myths that surround his name as a halo are mere accretions which naturally grow around the memory of a great man.

Zoroaster was born in Iran, probably in the northwestern part, in Adarbaijan, near the Caspian Sea. He impresses his countrymen with the truth that there is but one God, and that the evil principle which contends with God the Lord omniscient (Ahura Mazda) for the government of the world is the source of all evil. We, all living creatures, are confronted with the great question whether we will serve God or the Evil One, the latter being represented by the Dævas, presumably the degraded old deities of the Iranian tribes.

Professor Mills has translated the Gâthas first into Latin and then transliterated them into the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXX., pp. 1-393; but his aspiration to present them to the public in a readable form suggested to him the idea of publishing a new English metrical version, in which he endeavors to introduce the English public into the spirit of the Zarathushtrian Gâthas. The book was first published by Henry Frowde, but The Open Court Publishing Company has now acquired the ownership, and we take pleasure in offering the second edition to the American and English public.

Even in the metrical form the Gâthas are by no means easy reading. We have to bear in mind a number of terms which frequently occur, and it is difficult to translate them into English. Although Ahura Mazda, the Lord omniscient, is

¹ *The Gâthas of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) in metre and rhythm*, being a second edition of the metrical versions in the author's edition of 1892-1894. By Lawrence H. Mills, D. D., Hon. M. A., Professor of Zend Philology in the University of Oxford. Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co. Pages, xix, 240. Price, \$2.00.

sole God, Ahriman, or Ahrimanu, is an independent being inferior to him, yet quite distinct and separate. A great crisis is at hand, in which the Iranians, ad-



ZOROASTER.¹

dressed by Zoroaster, are called upon to choose which side to take. Further, we

¹ Copied from a bas-relief at Persepolis. Examples of Persian iconography in *Early Sassanian Inscriptions*, by Edw. Thomas, F.R.S. (Reproduced from *The Hundred Greatest Men*, by permission of Sampson, Low, Marston & Co.)

have to mention that Zarathushtra makes use of a number of expressions which in the later development of his religion develop into a theological mythology, or, to say the least, angelology. The Amshaspand, or archangels, are personified powers of God, among whom Vohu Manah (Good Thought), Asha (the Moral World Order, or Righteousness), Khshathra Vairya (the Kingdom of Perfection), are the most important ones. They correspond to the archangels of Christianity.

In the book before us, Professor Mills took the most important hymns and grouped them in such a way as to indicate the historical order; the introduction being Yasna xliii., a greeting to an expected champion of his religion. We have good reason to assume that it is addressed to Vishtaspa, the Zoroastrian Constantine, the principal hero of orthodox Mazdaism.

In Yasna xxix., the second hymn in Professor Mills's collection, we hear the adherents of the prophet cry for assistance from God; they are represented as the soul of the herd clamoring for a leader, as which Zoroaster presents himself. Ahura Mazda, the Lord omniscient, calls him, and entrusts him with the great mission of extending help to the herd. It concludes with the prayer of Zoroaster:

"Grant gladness, O Ahura
and the Right, unto these a Kingdom,
A Realm with the Good Mind ordered,
which joy and amenity giveth;
Of these, O Mazda, ever
the possessor first I thought Thee."

Zoroaster now enters upon his office (Yasna xxviii.). He prays for assistance from Mazda, to be supported by "His bounteous spirit and the Good Mind's understanding, thus the Herd's soul to appease." He utters the following invocation:

"O Righteousness and thou Good Mind,
with surpassing chants I'll praise you,
And Mazda, for whom our Piety
aids the everlasting Kingdom;
Aye, together I adore you;
then, for grace while I call, draw near.

"O Holiness, when shall I see Thee,
and thou Good Mind, as I discover
Obedience, the path to the Lord,
to Mazda, the most beneficent?
With that Manthra will we teach
foul heretics faith on our God."

Zoroaster feels compelled to explain the constitution of the world to his followers, and he speaks with authority; he claims to have had a revelation from Ahura Mazda himself. He addresses God in the following stanza:

"I who the Right to shelter
and the Good Mind, am set for ever,
Teach Thou me forth from Thyself
to proclaim, from Thy mouth of spirit
The laws by which at the first,
this world into being entered!"

The answer to this prayer for inspiration is given in Yasna xxx., where the so-called dualism is proclaimed. The prophet calls upon his people to decide, and urges every single man to choose for himself:

"Hear ye this with the ears;
 behold ye the flames with the Best Mind;
 Faith's choices must ye now fix,
 for yourselves, man and man deciding;
 The great concern is at hand,
 to this our teaching awake ye!"

The substance of his faith is expressed in the belief in two primeval spirits, one good and one evil, between whom we must choose.

"Thus are the spirits primeval
 who, as Twain, by their deeds are famed
 In thought, in word, and in deed,
 a better they two, and an evil;
 Of these, let the wise choose aright,
 and not as the evil-minded!"

He explains how the two spirits work, the good one for life, the bad one for death; how the good one rewards with a Millennium (probably the prototype of the Christian Millennium), and the bad one leads to the pit. The Dævas were deceived by the Evil One, and thus they fell. But we have a chance to choose the right. The Amshaspand, or archangels, are assisting us, and among the powers for good there is Armaiti, the personification of a holy zeal for the good cause, devotion or endeavor. Zoroaster says:

"To us came then the helper
 with the Kingdom, Right, and the Good Mind;
 And a body gave Ârmaiti,
 the eternal and never-bending;
 With these who are Thine may she be,
 as Thou camest first in creations."

The evil ones are doomed:

"Then on the host of the Lie
 the blow of destruction descendeth;
 But swiftest in the abode
 of the Good Mind gather the righteous,
 With Mazda and Asha they dwell
 advancing in holier fame."

But the course of the prophet is not so smooth. The Kingdom of God (Khshathra Vairya) is not so soon released. The powerful rival, a heretical teacher, an idolatrous leader, has risen, and the next Gatha sounds the slogan of war against this dangerous enemy.

In Yasna xliv. Zoroaster preaches the true religion, and sets forth the blessings of obedience; but he seems to have met with disaster, for in Yasna xlvi. we

possess a cry *de profundis*; the prophet seems exiled, and from the depths of his confusion he asks the Lord:

"To what land shall I turn?, where with my ritual go?
Of kinsmen, allies, or the mass
None to content their service offer me.

"This know I, Mazda, wherefore foiled I wander
My flocks so small, and following so feeble;
To Thee in grief I cry, behold it, Master,
Thy grace vouchsafing me, as friend bestows on friend,
Showing with pureness Thy Good Mind's riches best."

In his anxiety, Zoroaster threatens a powerful supporter who seems to shrink from giving him his due assistance, with the same curse as the enemies of the faith; he says:

"Who having power doth not thus approach him!¹
To the Lie-demon's home in chains will go;
The wicked's friend is he and likewise wicked,
But righteous he who loves the righteous,
Since the primeval laws Thou gavest, Lord."

Finally, the prophet sees his cause advanced, and he sees himself at the head of an army. He promises victory to those who would side with Asha, the world order, and conquer Lie-Druj, the demon of wickedness. He promises deathless life for the saints, a cursed life for the infidels. He says:

"If he with Asha's deeds
shall slay | the Lie-Druj,
When that once called deceit
our lot | shall really be,
In deathless life for saints,
curs'd for faithless;
With blessings this
shall swell,
praise, Lord, to Thee."

Nevertheless, the victory is not easily gained; his enemy, Beñdva, the cruel chieftain, gains a decisive victory, and his people are despondent. The disaster is mentioned in Yasna xlv.:

"Beñdva hath gained ... |
he ever | yet the strongest ... ;
The ruthless² now
with rites | to peace I call;
Come, Lord, with gift
of good
to heal my sorrow;

¹ Viz., the prophet with help in his troubles.

² The meaning seems to be, that the Prophet must appease his followers who are dissatisfied on account of the defeat.

With good men gain
for me
that Beñdva's fall ! "

The enemies who " with madness urge on Raid and Wasting . . . who pray with devil's rites, with Asha's never," they are helped by the fiends ; but, adds the prophet :

" But He is blessing,
Lord, and he our riches,
Who guards our holy Faith
with | good men's hand :
Each willing saint
hath thus Asha enfranchised
With all who in Thy
Realm loyal shall stand."

Without further entering into the details of the progress and the several reverses of Zoroaster's cause, he invokes the Lord and the archangels in the following stanza :

" Ye, the most bounteous Mazda
Ahura, and Zealous-Devotion
And Asha, the settlements furth'ring,
thou Good Mind and Kingly Power,
Hear ye me all, and cleanse me
for all deeds which I do whatsoe'er ! "

He instituted the rite of the holy fire :

" Yes, we beseech for Thy Fire
through its holiness¹ strong, O Ahura,
Most swift it is, and most mighty
to the believer shining for succour ;
But for the bater, O Mazda,
it showeth with javelins² vengeance ! "

And he gains a powerful supporter in King Vishtâspa, who is praised for his wisdom and receives the promise of Shura's blessings :

" Holy wisdom Vishtâspa
in the great Realm hath reachèd ;
Hymns of good men revealed it ;
Through this Law Mazda taught it ;
He the bounteous Ahura,
so to teach us in grace."

The prophet enters into a close alliance with his royal disciple, and his daughter is married to the king The last Yasna in Professor Mills's collection, No. liii, is the marriage song, which concludes with the following doxology :

" With unbelievers the foe
Thine upholders would banish

¹ Asha.

² Presumably the lightning.

Through the truth-slaying prayer
 of the body estrangèd.
 Where's then the Lord righteous
 smiting these out of life,
 And from license would hurl them?
 Mazda, Thine is that Kingdom
 where to poor and right-living
 Thou dost give, Lord, the best?"

OBITUARY.

PIERRE LAFFITTE.

French newspapers announce the death of the official head of the Positivist religion, M. Pierre Laffitte, a venerable octogenarian. He was installed in his office by the will of Auguste Comte who died in 1857. Since then the Positivist school was split into two parties, one which accepted the religious institutions of their master, the other which repudiated the idea of a positivist religion. The latter saw in Comte's last period of life a mere aberration and recognised only his scientific achievements. They represent the large body of scientists and freethinkers and follow the lead of Émile Littré. The former constitute the Comtists proper, a small sect of worshippers of humanity with peculiar rituals, prayers, and festivals. They hold their meetings in the Rue Monsieur-le-Prince, where their leader gave instructions in philosophy, theoretical and applied ethics, sociology and the history of religion, explaining the doctrines of Moses, Buddha, Confucius, St. Paul, and Mahomet.

M. Laffitte held the chair of a general survey of the sciences at the Sorbonne and leaves behind the following works: *Dictionnaire d'ouverture*.—*Des leçons sur l'histoire générale de l'humanité*.—*Des considérations générales sur l'ensemble de la civilisation chinoise*.—*Les grands types de l'humanité*, and *Cours de philosophie première*.

M. Laffitte still enjoyed the satisfaction that in May, 1902, a bust of his master Auguste Comte, was erected on the Place de la Sorbonne which was solemnly unveiled under the auspices of General André.

JULIUS VICTOR CARUS.

Dr. Julius Victor Carus, Professor in the University of Leipsic, a distant relative of the editor of *The Open Court*, died peacefully at an advanced age, on March 10th last. If he had lived a fortnight and a day longer he would have celebrated on March 25th the 80th anniversary of his birth. He was the editor of the *Bibliotheca Zoologica* and the author of many books, perhaps the most significant among them being his *Geschichte der Zoologie* published in 1872, in which he gives a synopsis of zoological development from the standpoint of evolution,—an undertaking which, in spite of the great progress which has been made in this branch of science, still remains unique.

Julius Victor Carus was the son of Ernst August Carus, Professor of Medicine at the University of Leipsic. He was born August 25, 1823, attended the Nicolai School till 1841, then the Universities of Leipsic (1841-1844) and of Dorpat (1844), where his father had been appointed professor of surgery. In 1846 he became the resident physician of the St. George Hospital and in 1849 took his doctor's degree at Leipsic. He filled successive positions at Würzburg, Freiburg-Baden, and Ox-

ford, England, in the latter place as a curator of the Anatomical Museum of Christ Church College. In 1850 he spent the summer in scientific work on the Scilly Islands. Having returned to the city of his birth, he habilitated himself in 1851 and was appointed professor in 1853. In 1874 he took the place of Prof. Wyville Thomson as professor of zoölogy at Edinburg during the absence of the latter on the Challenger expedition.

In addition to his translations of Darwin and the *Geschichte der Zoölogie* mentioned above, he wrote a great number of scientific works and articles, among which we mention only his interesting work *Zur näheren Kenntniss des Generationswechsels*.—*System der thierischen Morphologie*.—*Icones Zootomicæ*.—



Ueber die Werthbestimmung zoölogischer Merkmale.—*Ueber die Leptocephaliden*.—*Prodromus faunæ mediterraneæ*. Since 1878 he also edited a magazine, *Zoölogischer Anzeiger*.

Professor Carus's interests were not limited to science. He was a lover of art and was for many years a member of the board of the *Leipziger Kunstverein*.

During the cholera epidemic in 1866 the city of Leipsic had entrusted to him the measures for disinfection and protection, and the Leipsic citizens attribute the fact that they were not visited by the epidemic to his skill and circumspection.

Dr. Carus was a very active man, and in his personal relations extremely affable. He is the translator of Darwin's works into German, and his translation is justly regarded as classical. His name and his labors were identified with the great English evolutionists from the earliest times, long before Darwinism had become popular. Professor Carus leaves a widow, Frau Alexandra Carus, *née* Petroff, three daughters, one son, and several grandchildren, the children of his youngest daughter, who is the wife of the Rev. Dr. John Lehmann of Freiberg, Saxony.

"THE CONDEMNATION OF CHRIST."

To the Editor of The Open Court:

The paper on "The Condemnation of Christ" in *The Open Court* for April presents several new aspects of the Jewish question, and I have read it with deep interest. It is an invaluable contribution to the literature of the subject, and will enable readers to take more intelligent views of the subject. They may understand better the status and peculiarities of the two great sects that for the period dominated Jewish opinion.

It is clear, as the writer states, that the modern opinions respecting the Pharisees derived from the rebukes given in the Synoptic Gospels, have not been altogether just. They probably, like the rest of us, did not, in marked instances, live up to the high standard of their faith. Many of them were doubtless *hypocrites*—actors performing a part in the drama, rather than themselves the actual heroes. Yet we are told that the early believers at Jerusalem consorted with the Pharisees, and their teachers were recognised as belonging to that school of belief. Paul is recorded as declaiming himself a Pharisee and the son or disciple of a Pharisee, and James who was "zealous of the law" rebuked his brethren for showing special attention to rich men in the synagogue. Dr. Isaac M. Wise told me in conversation that he regarded Jesus himself as a Pharisee.

I beg leave to ask your attention to the etymology and true meaning of the terms Pharisee and Sadducee. I have been led to conjecture that the latter term was derived from the name of the priest-line of Zadok, and was applied to the Sadducees as being of the sacerdotal party.

The term "Pharisee" is, however, of greater significance. The Rev. C. W. King, in his treatise on The Gnostics, suggests the same origin as you have done in your footnote: "Hence, indeed," says he, "it is easy to perceive how much of the Zoroastrian element pervaded the Jewish religion at the time of the promulgation of Christianity, when its principal teachers were the Pharisees or 'Interpreters'; if, indeed, these doctors did not actually take their appellation from the word *Pharsi* or Persian." There is certainly much plausibility in the supposition, for some of the Zoroastrian doctrines appear to have been incorporated in Judaism, which had not been there before. As, however, punning and double meaning were not uncommon in ancient Semitic names, it is by no means impossible that the name "Pharisee" should have been adopted because it implied both a Parsi and a teacher.

The investigation, however, may be profitably carried a little further.

We read also of the Rechabites, the sons of Rechab. A slight knowledge of Hebrew literary usage will show that a parentage is not necessarily denoted, but simply community in social conditions. A little light is given in the second chapter of the first book of Chronicles. The "families of the scribes" are there indicated

and further declared to be "the Kenites that came of Hemath, the father of the house of Rechab."

It is fairly deducible therefore that the "sons of Rechab" were a sept of the Kenites, and that the latter were a tribe of religious and of course literary men living distinct from other peoples. A reference to the first chapter of the book of Judges will show that the father-in-law of Moses, who was "priest of Midian," was himself a Kenite. The Rechabites were plainly Kenites, and a distinct class.

The Hebrew term R'K'B or Rechab is used in the Bible to signify a vehicle, the driver of a vehicle and so by figure of speech, the vehicle of learning. Its derivative, Mercaba, has the same meaning. This epithet *Rechab* is applied in turn to Elijah and Elisha as the *Ab* or Superior of the Prophets. The term *Pharisee* is also added in Hebrew style as having a similar meaning. When Elijah passes from sight Elisha mourns him crying: "My Father, the *rechab* or chariot of Israel and its *pharisee*." King Joash in turn mourns Elisha in the same terms.

In Nehemiah viii. 8 we find the verb *pharis* used to denote making the meaning distinctly understood.

It seems plain therefore that the Pharisees were teachers of the law, and as a body they were austere, exact, but gentle toward the unworthy and unfortunate. Many to be sure were insincere, but they did not represent the whole. The teachings accredited to Jesus, and even the "Lord's Prayer" were to a great degree, not to say entirely, repeated from the sayings of Rabbis and the invocations in the synagogue. Honor to whom honor is due.

ALEXANDER WILDER.

NEWARK, N. J.

A SIGN.

I wished of God a sign,
To give my heart relief,
Some token of His love,
For all mankind in grief.

I watched the budding leaves,
Unfolding to the light,
The rainbow 'cross the sky,
Storm blackness breaking bright.

Flutter, and hum, and stir,
Of bird and leaf and tree;
A sparkling beam, the brook and stream,
Life songs so fair and free.

The wondrous toil of man
For all our daily need;
Love's art and work; our hope
A higher life to lead!

And so the sign was given:
The "still small voice of God";
I heard on every side,
And saw the blossomed rod.

FLORENCE PEORIA BONNEY.

NOTES.

Mr. V. Tchertkoff, the translator of Tolstoy's article "The Overthrow of Hell and its Restoration," wrote to Mr. E. Howard Crosby under a recent date as follows:

"Tolstoy has been again ill but is now much better, although he suffers a good deal from insomnia. He is able to go about and takes drives every day of about two hours. He is not yet satisfied with himself with regard to literary work which he is not able to get on with to his satisfaction; but this has always been periodically the case with him generally before he writes something very remarkable. His mind is very active, and those who enjoy personal intercourse with him are struck by the power and vitality of his thought."

The April number of *The Open Court* contained an illustrated article on the Acropolis of Athens, and we publish now as a frontispiece to the present number a picture of the bust of Pericles, the great Athenian statesman, after whom the period of the highest development of Athenian power and glory and art is called the Periclean age.

The bust here reproduced was found in 1781 in Tivoli and stands now in the British Museum. Apparently it is a copy of the bust made by Cresilas, a contemporary of Pericles of whom the ancients said that he understood the art of ennobling noble men.

The personality of Pericles is here represented at its best. We have before us the uncrowned king, the democratic monarch, the ruler who sways the destinies of a free people. The power of Pericles was not based upon the swords of a body guard, but upon the superiority of his wisdom, his amiable universality, his discretion, his oratorial talent, which, however, he displayed only on rare and important occasions, and last but not least, the deserved credit of his disinterested honesty.



NAPOLEON ON THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLE.

After the oil painting of Baron Gros.

Frontispiece to The Open Court

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M. PÉRÈS'S PROOF OF THE NON-EXISTENCE OF NAPOLEON.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the best satires ever written in the literature of the world is Jean Baptiste Pérès's *Grand Erratum* which appeared in 1827. Its shafts are aimed at a book of M. Dupuis, a scholar of great erudition, who believed that all religions, and the story of Jesus of Nazareth as well, could be explained as solar myths.¹

The leading idea of M. Pérès's pamphlet is perhaps not original with him. In the year 1819 Archbishop Whately had published anonymously a similar satire under the title *Historic Doubts Relative to Napoleon Bonaparte*, directed against the logic of David Hume's scepticism, and it is not impossible that M. Pérès heard of this pamphlet and that thereby the main argument of his plan was suggested to him. It is, however, highly improbable that he ever saw or read Whately's elaborate expositions, else he would undoubtedly have made use of many details.

Archbishop Whately is very ponderous and imitates the subject of his criticism to such an extent that one may read many passages and whole pages without being able to detect the slightest trace of the author's irony. In fact, many of his arguments are not travesties at all, but are literally true. The life of Napoleon as it is popularly told not only in France but also in other countries does contain mythical elements, and ancient stories told of mythical heroes were told of this latest and most extraordinary representative of historical prodigies.

The difference between Whately's ponderous sarcasm and M. Pérès's sprightly wit is characteristic of the two nationalities of

¹ *L'Origine de tous les Cultes, ou la Religion Universelle.* Par M. Dupuis. Paris, 1796.

the authors, and while appreciating the one, we need not detract from the other.

Jean Baptiste Pérès was Professor of Mathematics and Librarian of Agen, a small town of southern France. He was noted in the circle of his friends for his conservative tendencies in both politics and religion. His literary fame, however, rests entirely upon this little brochure on Napoleon in which he so successfully pilloried the superficial methods of rejecting historical evidences solely because they contain some mythical ingredients. His *Grand Erratum* appeared in several editions and has been translated into almost all European languages. It was hailed by conservatives of every stripe and color, and he was praised as the David who with a pretty pebble picked up from the bank of a brooklet had killed the Goliath of Biblical Criticism.

The truth is that the first attempts at Text as well as Higher Criticism were of a purely negative character. Every miracle and indeed every remarkable fact was explained as a myth, and it is only recently, within the last two or three decades, that our Higher Critics have begun to appreciate the conservative character of all religious traditions. We now know that both the Old and the New Testaments contain ingredients of unquestionably historical reliability, and though they have frequently been re-edited and revised under the influence of later dogmatic tendencies, portions of them (e. g., in Genesis) are much older than would suit the most rigorous conservatives of former years.

The sole excuse for republishing M. Dupuis's *Grand Erratum* is the fact that it is out of print and forgotten. No copy can be found in any of the Chicago libraries. Nor does it exist in the Congressional Library at Washington, and we could only with great difficulty through the courtesy of Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co. get hold of a second-hand copy in England, which is a translation made from the French by a young lady who writes under the name "Lily," and is accompanied with an introduction by Richard Garnet, LL. D., of the British Museum. It bears no date and is published by E. W. Allen, London.

GRAND ERRATUM. THE NON-EXISTENCE OF NAPOLEON PROVED

BY JEAN BAPTISTE PÉRÈS.

Napoleon Bonaparte, of whom so much has been said and written, never even existed. He is nothing more than an allegorical personage. He is the personification of the sun; and we can prove our assertion by showing how everything related of Napoleon

the Great has been borrowed from the great luminary. Let us see briefly what we are told of this remarkable man.

We are told :

That he was called Napoleon Bonaparte ;

That he was born in an island in the Mediterranean sea ;

That his mother's name was Letitia ;

That he had three sisters and four brothers, three of whom were kings ;

That he had two wives, one of whom bore him a son ;

That he put an end to a great revolution ;

That he had under him sixteen marshals of the empire, twelve of whom were in active service ;

That he prevailed in the South, and was defeated in the North ;

To conclude, that after a reign of twelve years, begun upon his arrival from the East, he departed, and disappeared in the Western seas.

It remains for us to ascertain whether these various details are borrowed from the sun, and we hope that every reader of this disquisition will rise convinced that this is the case.

1. In the first place, every one knows that the sun is called Apollo by the poets. Now, the difference between Apollo and Napoleon is not a great one, and it will appear very much less still if we go back to the meaning and origin of these names. It is unquestionable that the word Apollo means *Exterminator* ; and it seems that this name was given by the Greeks to the sun on account of the injury it did them before Troy, where a part of their army perished from the excessive heat, and from the pestilence that followed at the time of the outrage perpetrated by Agamemnon on Chryses, priest of the sun, as we read at the beginning of the *Iliad* of Homer. The brilliant imagination of the Greek poets transformed the rays of the luminary into flaming arrows, hurled on all sides by the angry god, who would soon have exterminated everything if his wrath had not been appeased by the release of Chryseïs, daughter of Chryses, the sacrificial priest.

This, then, is probably the reason why the sun was called Apollo. But whatever the cause or circumstance which occasioned the giving of such a name to this luminary, it is certain that the name means *Exterminator*.

Now, Apollo is the same word as Apoleon. They are derived from Apollyō (*ἀπολλύω*), or Apoleō (*ἀπολέω*), two Greek verbs which are really the same, and which mean "destroy," "kill," "exterminate."

Thus, if the fictitious hero of our century were called Apoleon, he would have the same name as the sun, and would besides fulfil the meaning of the name; for he is pictured to us as the greatest exterminator of men who ever existed. But this personage is called Napoleon, and thus his name contains an initial letter which we do not find in the name of the sun. Yes, there is an extra letter, an extra syllable even; for, according to the inscriptions cut in every part of the capital (Paris), the real name of this supposed hero was *Néapoleon*, or *Néapoleon*. This is more particularly to be seen on the column of the Place Vendôme.

Now, this extra syllable makes no difference whatever. The syllable, no doubt, like the rest of the name, is Greek; and in Greek *ne* (νη), or *nas* (να), is one of the strongest affirmations, equivalent to our *veritably*, or *yea*. Whence it follows that Napoleon means Veritable Exterminator,—Veritable Apollo; it means, in truth, the sun.

But what is to be said of his other name? What connection can there be between the word *Bonaparte* and the star of the day? At first it is not at all evident, but this at least can be understood: that as *bona parte* means "good part," it has no doubt to do with something consisting of two parts, a good and a bad, with something which in addition is connected with the sun, Napoleon. Now, nothing is more directly connected with the sun than the results of his diurnal revolution, and these results are day and night, light and darkness; the light produced by his presence, and that darkness which prevails during his absence. This is an allegory borrowed from the Persians. They have the reign of Ormuzd and Ahriman, of light and darkness, of good and bad spirits. And it is to these last, spirits of evil and darkness, that people used formerly to devote their foes, using the following imprecation: *Abi in malam partem*. If by *mala parte* was meant darkness, no doubt *bona parte* meant light,—day as opposed to night. There can then be no doubt that this name is connected with the sun, especially when it is seen to be associated with Napoleon, who is himself the sun, as has been already demonstrated.

2. According to Greek mythology, Apollo was born in an island in the Mediterranean (the Isle of Delos); an island in the Mediterranean has, therefore, been fabled as the birth-place of Napoleon; and the preference has been given to Corsica, because the relative positions of Corsica and France, where he was to be made to reign, correspond best to those of Greece and Delos, where were situated the chief temples and oracles of Apollo.

Pausanias, it is true, calls Apollo an Egyptian divinity; but it does not follow that an Egyptian divinity must be born in Egypt; it is enough that he should be there regarded as a god, and that is what Pausanias meant. He designed to inform us that the Egyptians worshipped Apollo, and that establishes yet another connection between Napoleon and the sun; for Napoleon is said to have been held in Egypt to be invested with supernatural qualities, to have been regarded as the friend of Mahomet, and to have received homage partaking of the nature of adoration.

3. His mother is said to have been named Letitia. But by the word Letitia (or "joy") was meant the dawn whose first tender light fills all nature with joy. It is the dawn, say the poets, which brings forth the sun, flinging wide for him the portals of the East with her rosy-tipped fingers.

Again it is worthy of remark that, according to Greek mythology, the mother of Apollo was called *Leto* (Λητώ). But if the Romans made Latona of Leto, it has been preferred in our century to change it into Letitia, because *letitia* is the noun derived from *lato* (obsolete form, *lato*), which means "to inspire joy."

Assuredly, then, this *Letitia*, no less than her son, belongs to Greek mythology.

4. According to tradition, this son of Letitia had three sisters, and there can be no doubt that these three sisters are the three Graces, who, with their companions the Muses, were the ornaments of their brother Apollo's court.

5. This modern Apollo is said to have had four brothers. Now, as we shall show, these four brothers are the four seasons of the year. Let us not be startled, at the outset, at seeing the seasons represented by men rather than women. It ought not even to seem an innovation, since, in French, only one of the four seasons, the autumn, is feminine; and even with respect to that our grammarians are disagreed. But in Latin *autumnus* is no more feminine than the other three seasons, so there is no difficulty on that point. The four brothers of Napoleon may very well represent the four seasons, and what follows proves that they really do so.

Of Napoleon's four brothers, three, they tell us, were kings; these three kings are Spring, who reigns over the flowers; Summer, who reigns over the harvest; and Autumn, who reigns over the fruit. As these three seasons derive all their potent influence from the sun, we are told that Napoleon's three brothers held their sovereignty at his hands, and reigned only by his authority. And when it is added that of Napoleon's four brothers one was not a

king, it is because one of the four seasons—Winter, reigns over nothing. But if, to invalidate our parallel, it were alleged that Winter was not without sway, and if it were wished to ascribe to him the dismal principality of the frosts and snows which whiten our land at this melancholy season, our answer would be ready: that, we should say, is what was designed to be shown by the empty and ridiculous principality with which this brother of Napoleon is said to have been invested after the fall of all his family. This principality has been described as in connection with the village of *Canino*, in preference to any other, because *Canino* comes from *cani*, which denotes the white hairs of chill old age, and they recall winter. For, to the poet, the forests crowning our hill-sides are locks of hair; and when Winter covers them with his hoar frost, it is the white hairs of failing nature in the old age of the year.

Cum gelidus crescit *canis* in montibus humor.

Thus the pretended Prince of Canino is nothing more than the personification of winter. Winter begins when nothing more is left of the three good seasons, and the sun is at his greatest distance from our country, which is invaded by the furious *children of the north*, the poet's name for the winds; the winds come from northern climes, discolor our land, and cover it with a detested whiteness. This has given rise to the fabulous account of the invasion of the northern nations into France, where they are said to have done away with a parti-colored flag adorning it, and to have substituted a white one which entirely covered it, after the exile of the fabulous Napoleon. It would be idle to repeat that this is merely emblematical of the rime that the winds from the north produce in the winter, and which obliterates the charming colors that the sun produced in our land, before he waned and departed from us. It is easy to see the analogy of all these things with the ingenious fables conceived in our century.

6. According to these same fables, Napoleon had two wives; hence two wives have been attributed to the sun. These two wives are the moon and the earth: the moon according to the Greeks (Plutarch is our authority), and the earth according to the Egyptians; with this noteworthy difference, that by the moon the sun had no issue, and by the earth he had a son, *an only son*. This child was the little Horus, son of Osiris and Isis; that is to say, of the sun and the earth, as may be seen in the *History of the Heavens*, Vol. I., p. 61 and following. It is an Egyptian allegory, where the little Horus, born from the earth impregnated by the sun, repre-

sents the fruits of agriculture. Even so the birth of the supposed son of Napoleon has been fixed at the 20th of March, the period of the vernal equinox, because in the spring agricultural produce undergoes its most important phase of development.

7. Napoleon is said to have put an end to a devastating scourge which *terrorised* all France, and was called the Hydra of the Revolution. Now, a hydra is a serpent, of what kind matters little, especially when the serpent is fabulous. The Python, an enormous serpent, was the cause of great terror in Greece; Apollo slew the monster, and dissipated the fear of the people; this was his first exploit. Hence we are told that Napoleon began his reign by crushing the French Revolution, which is itself as much a chimera as everything else. For *revolution* is obviously derived from the Latin word *revolutus*, which denotes a curled-up serpent. The Revolution is the Python, neither more nor less.

8. The celebrated warrior of the nineteenth century had under him, we are told, twelve marshals at the head of his armies, and four were not in active service. Now, the twelve first are obviously the twelve signs of the zodiac, marching under the orders of the sun Napoleon, each of them commanding a division of the innumerable army of the stars, which is called the *celestial host* in the Bible, and is divided into twelve parts, corresponding to the twelve signs of the zodiac. Such are the twelve marshals who, according to our mythical chronicles, were actively employed under the Emperor Napoleon. The four others, in all probability, are the four cardinal points, which, fixed amid universal motion, are very well symbolised by the inactivity of which we have spoken.

Thus, all these marshals, active and inactive, are purely symbolical beings, with no more reality than their leader.

9. We are told that this leader of so many brilliant armies overran in triumph the countries of the south, but that, having penetrated too far north, he was there unable to maintain himself. Now, these details precisely apply to the sun's course. The sun, it is well known, rules supreme in the south, as is said of the Emperor Napoleon. But it is most worthy of note that, after the vernal equinox, the sun makes for the northern regions, and moves further away from the Equator. But when he has taken his course in this direction for three months, he encounters the North Tropic, which compels him to retreat and go back the way he came to the south, following the sign Cancer, or Crab; which sign, according to Macrobius, derives its name from the retrograde course of the sun in this region of the globe. This, then, is the material from

which has been drawn Napoleon's imaginary northern expedition to Moscow, together with the humiliating retreat by which it is said to have been followed.

Thus everything we have been told of the success or defeat of this strange warrior is nothing more than a series of allusions to the course of the sun.

10. Finally, and this needs no explanation, the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, as all the world knows. But to the spectators at the extremities of the earth, the sun seems to rise from the eastern sea in the morning and to plunge into the western sea at night. It is, moreover, thus that poets describe his rising and setting.

That, then, is all we are to understand when we are told that Napoleon came by sea from the east (Egypt) to reign over France, and that he disappeared in the western seas after a reign of twelve years. The twelve years are nothing more than the twelve hours of the day during which the sun shines on the horizon.

"He reigned but a day," says the author of *Les Nouvelles Messéniennes*, speaking of Napoleon; and the way in which he describes his rise, decline, and fall shows that, like ourselves, this delightful poet saw in Napoleon nothing more than an image of the sun. And in truth he is nothing more. His name proves it; his mother's name proves it; his three sisters, his four brothers, his two wives, his son, his marshals, his exploits,—all prove it. It is proved, moreover, by his birthplace; by the regions whence, we are told, he came before entering on his career of dominion; by the time he employed in traversing those regions; by the countries where he prevailed, by those where he succumbed; and by the place where he vanished, pale and *discrowned*, after his brilliant course,—to quote the poet Casimir Delavigne.

It has, then, been proved that the supposed hero of our century is nothing more than an allegorical personage, deriving his attributes from the sun. It follows that Napoleon Bonaparte, of whom so much has been said and written, never even existed; and this fallacy, into which so many people have fallen headlong, arises from the amusing blunder of mistaking the mythology of the nineteenth century for history.

We might further have appealed in support of our contention to a great number of royal ordinances, whose indisputable dates are evidently irreconcilable with the reign of the pretended Napoleon; but we have had sound reasons for letting them alone.

SECOND LECTURE ON BABEL AND BIBLE.

BY FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.

(CONCLUDED.)

REVELATION! For a long time all scientifically trained theologians, whether Evangelical or Catholic, have for centuries been firmly convinced that it was a grievous error to have regarded the invaluable remains of ancient Hebrew scriptures collected into the Old Testament as constituting collectively a religious canon, as being from beginning to end a revealed book of religion. For among them are writings such as the Book of Job, which questions the very existence of a just God, and in language that sometimes borders on blasphemy, and other very profane compositions, such, for example, as wedding songs (the so-called Song of Solomon). In the pretty love-song, Psalm 45, we read, v. 11 ff.: "Hear, O daughter, and consider and incline thine ear: forget also thine own people and thy father's house; and if the king shall desire thy beauty—for he is thy lord—fall down before him."

It is very easy to imagine what the results must be when books and passages like these were forced to submit to a theological, and even a Messianic, interpretation (comp. the Epistle to the Hebrews i. 8 f.),—the result could not fail to be such as it was in that mediæval Catholic monk, who, when he read in his Psalter the Latin *maria*, "the seas," crossed himself as in the presence of "*Maria*," meaning Mary, the mother of Christ. But for the remainder of the Old Testament literature also the doctrine of verbal inspiration has been surrendered even by the Catholic Church. The Old Testament itself has compelled this result, with its mass of contradictory duplicate accounts, and with the absolutely inextricable confusion which has been brought about in the Pentateuch by perpetual revision and combination.

And to be perfectly serious and frank,—we have not deserved such an immediate and personal revelation from the divinity any-

way. For mankind has unto this day treated with absolute flippancy the most primitive and genuine revelation of the holy God, the ten commandments on the tables of the law from Sinai. Dr. Martin Luther's said:

"Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn."

(Inviolable the Word let stand!)

and yet in the Smaller Catechism, from which our children are instructed, the entire second commandment has been suppressed, the same upon which God laid such especial emphasis (Exodus xx. 22 f.): "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any image or any likeness," etc., and have put in its place the last commandment, or rather prohibition of covetousness (wicked desire), after having torn it in two, which might easily have been recognised as unpermissible by comparing Exodus xx. 17 and Deuteronomy v. 18.

The command to honor father and mother is not the fourth but the fifth, and so on. And in the Catholic Catechism, which has the same method of numbering the commandments, the first commandment is, indeed, fuller: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me; thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, to worship it," but immediately after we read: "Nevertheless, we make images of Christ, of the mother of God and of all the saints, because we do not worship them, but only reverence them." This entirely ignores the fact that God the Lord expressly says: "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image to worship and to reverence."¹ (Consider also Deuteronomy iv. 16.)

But if we regard the matter for a while from the standpoint of the letter of the Thora, this reproach falls still more heavily upon Moses himself, a shrill and unanimous reproach from all the peoples of the earth who ask after God if haply they may find him. Just think of it: The Almighty God, "the All-container, the All-sustainer," the inscrutable, unapproachable, proclaims from the midst of fire and cloud and to the accompaniment of thunder and lightning his most holy will, Yahveh, "the rock whose work is perfect," with his own hands carves two tablets of stone and engraves upon them with his own fingers, those fingers that keep the world in equilibrium, the Ten Commandments,—and then Moses in anger hurls away the eternal tables of the eternal God and breaks them into a thousand pieces! And this God a second time writes other tables, which present his last autograph revelation to mankind, the most unique and tangible revelation of God,—and Moses

¹ R. V., "serve."

does not consider it worth while to report literally to his people, and thus to mankind, what God had engraved upon those tables.

We scholars regard it as a serious reproach to one of our number if, in dealing with an inscription by any one soever, though but a shepherd who may have perpetuated his name upon some rock on the Sinaitic peninsula, he reports it inaccurately or incorrectly in even a single character; whereas Moses, when he impresses the ten commandments upon his people once more before crossing the Jordan, not only changes individual words, transposes words and sentences, but even substitutes for one long passage another which, however, he also emphasises expressly as being the very literal word of God. And accordingly we do not know to this day whether God commanded that the Sabbath day be kept holy in memory of his own rest after finishing the six days' labor of creation (Exodus xx. 11; comp. xxxi. 17), or in commemoration of the incessant forced labor of his people during their stay in Egypt (Deuteronomy v. 14 ff.).

The same carelessness has to be regretted in other points that concern God's most sacred bequest to men. To this day we are hunting for the peak in the mountain-chain of the Sinaitic peninsula which corresponds with all that is told, and while we are most minutely informed regarding vastly less important things, such, for instance, as the rings and the rods of the box which contained the two tables, we learn absolutely nothing about the outward character of the tables themselves, except that they were written upon both sides.

When the Philistines capture the ark of the covenant and place it in the temple of Dagon at Ashdod, they find on the second morning following the image of the god Dagon lying in fragments before the ark of Yahveh (1 Samuel v. f.). And then when it is brought to the little Jewish border-town of Beth Shemesh and the inhabitants look at it, seventy of them pay for their presumption by death,—according to another account fifty thousand (!) (1 Sam. vi. 19). Even one who touches the ark from inadvertence is slain by the wrath of Yahveh (2. Sam. 6-7 f.).

But as soon as we touch the soil of the historical period, history is silent. We are told in detail that the Chaldeans carried away the treasures of the temple at Jerusalem and the gold, silver and copper furnishings of the temple, the fire pans and basins and shovels (2 Kings xxiv. 13; xxv. 13 ff.), but no one is concerned about the ark with the two God-given tables; the temple goes down in flame, but not a single word is said of the fate of the two

miracle-working tables of the Almighty God, the most sacred treasure of the Old Covenant.

We do not propose to ask the cause of all this, but only to record the fact that Moses is exonerated by the critical study of the Pentateuch from the reproach which belongs to him according to the strict letter of the Thora. For, as is confirmed by many and among them Dillmann (*Commentary to the Books of Exodus and Leviticus*, p. 201), this authority so highly valued even on the Catholic side, "We have the ten commandments in two different revisions neither of which is based upon the tables themselves, but upon other versions."

And similarly all the other so-called Mosaic laws are transmitted to us in two comparatively late revisions, separated from each other by centuries, whence all the differences are easily enough accounted for. And we know this also, that the so-called Mosaic laws represent regulations and customs part of which had been recognised in Israel from primitive times, and part of which had not received legal recognition until *after* the settlement of the people in Canaan, and were then attributed bodily to Moses, and later, for the sake of greater sacredness and inviolability, to Yahveh himself. The same process we see in connection with the laws of other races—I will mention here the law-book of Manu—and it is precisely the case with the law-making of Babylon.

In my first lecture on this subject I pointed out the fact that we find in Babylon as early as 2250 B. C. a State with a highly developed system of law, and I spoke of a great Code of Hammurabi which established civil law in all its branches. While at that time we could only infer the existence of this Code from scattered but perfectly reliable details,—the original of this great Law Book of Hammurabi has now been found, and therewith a treasure of the very first rank has been conferred upon science and especially upon the science of law and the history of civilisation. It was in the ruins of the acropolis of Susa, about the turn of the year 1901–1902, that the French archæologist de Morgan and the Dominican monk Scheil had the good fortune to find a monument of King Hammurabi in the shape of a diorite block 2.25 meters high. It had apparently been carried away from Babylon along with other plunder by the Elamites. On it had been engraved in the most careful manner 282 paragraphs of law (Fig. 15). As the King himself says, they are "laws of justice which Hammurabi, the mighty and just King, has established for the use and benefit of the weak and oppressed, of widows and orphans." "Let the wronged person,"

thus we read, "who has a case at law, read this my monumental record and hear my precious words; my monument shall explain his case to him and he may look forward to its settlement! With

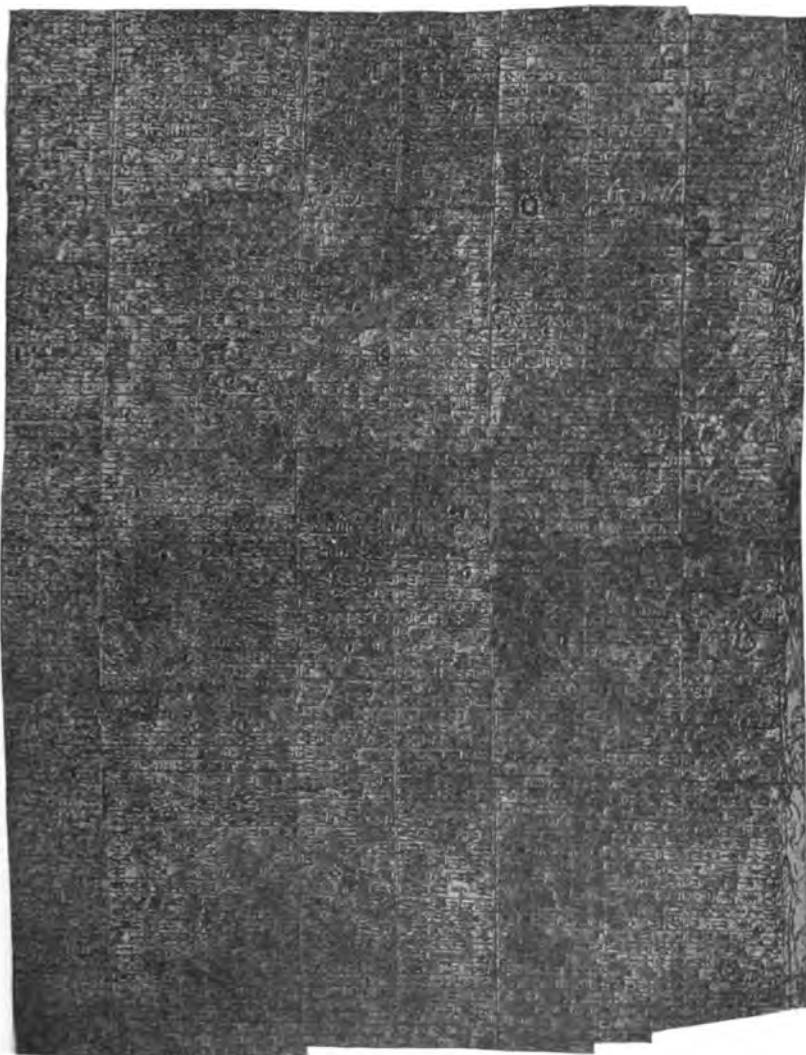


Fig. 15. A PORTION OF THE INSCRIPTION OF THE LAWS OF HAMMURABI.

a heart full of gratitude let him then say: 'Hammurabi is a lord who is like a real father to his people.'" But although the King says that he, the sun of Babylon, which sheds the light over North

and South in his land, has written down these laws, nevertheless he in his turn received them from the highest judge of heaven and earth, the Sun god, the lord of all that is called 'right,' and there-



Fig. 16. HAMMURABI BEFORE SHAMASH, THE GOD OF LAW.

fore the mighty tablet of the law bears at its head the beautiful *bas-relief* (Fig. 16), which represents Hammurabi in the act of receiving the laws from Shamash, the supreme law-giver.

Thus and not otherwise was it with the giving of the Law on Sinai, the so-called making of the Covenant between Yahveh and Israel. For the purely human origin and character of the Israelitic laws are surely evident enough! Or is any one so bold as to maintain that the thrice holy God, who with his own finger engraved upon the stone tablet *lô tirsach* "thou shalt not kill," in the same breath sanctioned blood-vengeance, which rests like a curse upon Oriental peoples to this day, while Hammurabi had almost obliterated the traces of it? Or is it possible that any one still clings to the notion that circumcision, which had for ages before been customary among the Egyptians and the Bedouin Arabs, was the mark of an especial covenant between God and Israel?

We understand very well, according to Oriental thought and speech, that the numerous regulations for every possible petty event in daily life, as for instance, the case of a fierce ox that kills a man or another ox (Exodus xxi. 28 f., 35 f.), that the prohibitions of foods, the minute medicinal prescriptions for skin diseases, the detailed directions regarding the priest's wardrobe, are represented as derived from Yahveh. But this is altogether outward form; the God who prefers the offerings of "a broken spirit, a broken and a contrite heart" (Psalms li. 17), and who took no pleasure in the worship by burnt offerings after the fashion of the "heathen" peoples, certainly did not ordain this worship by burnt offerings with its minute details, nor devise the recipes for ointment and burnt incense "after the art of the perfumer," as the expression runs (Exodus xxx. 25, 35).

It will be the business of future investigators to determine to just what extent the Israelitic laws both civil and levitical are specifically Israelitic, or general Semitic, or how far they were influenced by the Babylonian code which is so much older and which had certainly extended beyond the borders of Babylon. I think, for instance, of the law of retribution, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, of the feast of the new moon, the so-called "shew bread," the high priest's breast plate, and many other things. For the present we must be thankful that the institution of the Sabbath day, the origin of which was unclear even to the Hebrews themselves, is now recognised as having its roots in the Babylonian *sabattu*, "the day par excellence."

On the other hand, no one has maintained that the Ten Commandments were borrowed even in part from Babylon, but on the contrary it has been pointed out very emphatically that prohibitions like the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh spring from the instinct of

self-preservation which is common to all men. In fact the most of the Ten Commandments are just as sacred to the Babylonians as to the Hebrews: disrespect for parents, false witness, and every sort of covetousness are also punished severely in Babylonian law, generally with death. Thus, for instance, we read in the very third paragraph of Hammurabi's code: "If in a law suit any one on the witness-stand utters falsehoods and cannot support his testimony, he shall himself be punished with death if the life of another is involved."

The Second Commandment is specifically Israelitic, the prohibition of every sort of image-worship, which in its direct application seems to have a distinctly anti-Babylonian point.

But in connection with the eminently Israelitic First Commandment, "I am Yahveh, thy God; thou shalt have no other gods beside me," may I be permitted to treat more fully one point which deeply and permanently concerns all who are interested in Babel and Bible—the monotheism of the Old Testament. From the standpoint of Old Testament theology I can understand how, after it has unanimously and rightly given up the verbal inspiration of the ancient Hebrew scriptures and thus recognised, perhaps unintentionally but quite logically, the wholly unauthoritative character of the Old Testament writings as such for our belief, our knowledge and our investigations,—I say I can understand how theology now claims as divine the spirit that pervades them and preaches with so much the greater unanimity the "ethical monotheism of Israel," the "spirit of prophecy" as "a real revelation of the living God."

Great consternation seems to have been produced by the names mentioned in my first lecture, which we find in surprisingly great numbers among the North-Semitic nomads who immigrated into Babylon about 2500 B. C.: "El (i. e., God) hath given," "God sits in control," "If God were not my God," "God, consider me," "God is God," "Jahu (i. e., Yahveh) is God." I really do not understand this uneasiness. For since the Old Testament itself represents Abram as preaching in the name of Yahveh (Genesis xii. 8), and since Yahveh had already been the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, those old names such as Jahu-ilu, i. e., Joel, ought really to be welcomed with joy. And these names should prove very opportune, particularly for those theologians who regard themselves as affirmative and who hold that "all divine inspiration has undergone a gradual historical development," thereby

turning the orthodox notion of inspiration upside down, as it seems to me.

However, the great majority of theologians feel and fear rightly that these names, which are more than a thousand years older than the corresponding names in the Old Testament, which attest the worship of a single god named Jahu, "the permanent" (whether a tribal god or what not), and which moreover might indicate the initial point of an historical development of the belief in Yahveh as existing in very much wider circles than merely among the descendants of Abram, will thereby throw serious doubt upon its claim to be a special revelation. And therefore they are laboring and tormenting themselves in the effort to explain away these names, hesitating at no means. But though the waves spew and foam, like a lighthouse in the dark night stand fast the names of the descendants of North Semitic Bedouins from 2300 B.C., "God is God," "Jahu is God."

It seems to me that exaggerations should be avoided in either direction. I have never ceased to emphasise the "crass" polytheism of the Babylonians, and am far from feeling obliged to disguise it. But I regard it as just as much out of place to make the Sumerian-Babylonian

pantheon and its representation in poetry, particularly in popular poetry, the butt of shallow wit and sarcastic exaggerations, as we should properly condemn such ridicule if directed at the gods of Homer. Nor should the worship of divinities in images of wood or stone be in any wise glossed over. Only it should not be forgotten that even the Biblical account of creation has man created "in the likeness of God," in diametrical contradiction of the constantly emphasised "spirituality" of God,—as has rightly been



Fig. 17. HORNS THE EMBLEM OF STRENGTH.

pointed out by students of theology. And in view of this fact we can understand after all how the Babylonians reversed this method, and conceived and represented their gods in the image of man.

The prophets of the Old Testament do exactly the same thing, at least in spirit. In perfect agreement with the Babylonians and



Fig. 18. THE ANCIENT OF DAYS. (After Schnorr von Karolsfeld.)

Assyrians the prophet Habakkuk (chap. iii.) sees Yahveh approach with horses and chariot, bow and arrows and lance, and even with "horns at his side"¹ with horns, the symbol of authority and strength and victory (cp. Numbers xxiii. 22), the customary adornment of the headdress of both higher and lower divinities among

¹ R. V., "rays coming forth from his hand."

the Assyrio-Babylonians (Fig. 17). And the representations of God the Father in Christian art: in Michael Angelo, Raphael and all our illustrated Bibles,—the representation of the first day of creation (Fig. 18) is taken from Julius von Schnorr's illustrated Bible—are all derived from a vision of the Prophet Daniel (vii. 9) who sees God as the "Ancient of Days, his garments white as snow and the hair of his head like unto pure wool."

But the Babylonians can endure with the same equanimity as the Catholic Church the wearisome ridicule of the Old Testament prophets cast upon the Babylonian idols who have eyes but see not, ears but hear not, a nose but smell not, and feet but cannot go. For just as intelligent Catholics see in the images merely the representations of Christ, Mary and the saints, so did the intelligent Babylonians: no hymn or prayer was addressed to the image as such,—they are always appealing to the divinity that dwells beyond the bounds of earth.

In passing judgment upon the "ethical monotheism" of Israel also a certain moderation would seem to be desirable. In the first place, we must except from consideration in this connection much of the pre-exilic period, during which Judah as well as Israel, kings as well as people, were dominated by an ineradicable yet quite natural predilection for the indigenous Canaanitish polytheism.

Furthermore, it seems to me a particularly unwise proceeding on the part of certain hotspurs to portray the ethical level of Israel, even that of the pre-exilic period, as elevated far above that of the Babylonians. It is undeniable that the warfare of the Assyrio-Babylonians was cruel and sometimes barbarous. But so was the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrew tribes accompanied by a torrent of innocent blood; the capture of "the great and goodly alien cities, of the houses full of all good things, of the cisterns, the vineyards, the olive-groves" (Deuteronomy vi. 10 f.) was preceded by the "devoting" (Deuteronomy vii. 2, R. V., margin) of hundreds of villages on both sides of the Jordan, that is, by the merciless massacre of all the inhabitants, even of the women and the very smallest children. And as for right and justice in state and people, the persistent denunciations by the prophets of both Israel and Judah of the oppression of the poor, of widows and of orphans, taken in conjunction with stories such as that of Naboth's vineyard (i Kings xxi), reveal a profound corruption of both kings and people, while the almost two thousand years' existence of the nation of Hammurabi would seem to justify the application to it of the saying: "Righteousness exalteth a nation."

We actually possess a monumental tablet which warns the Babylonian king himself most insistently against every species of injustice! "If the king takes the money of the people of Babylon to appropriate it to his own treasury, and then hears the suit of the Babylonians and permits himself to be inclined to partisanship, then Marduk, the Lord of heaven and earth, will set his enemy against him and give his possessions and his treasure to his enemy."

In the matter of love of one's neighbor, of compassion upon one's neighbor, as has already been remarked, there is no deep gulf to be discovered between Babylon and the Old Testament.

In passing let me call attention here to one other point. Old Testament theologians make very merry over the Babylonian account of the Flood with its polytheism, and yet it contains one element which appeals to us much more humanly than that of the Bible. "The Deluge," thus Xisuthros tells us, "was over. I looked forth over the wide ocean, lamenting aloud because all humankind had perished." Eduard Süss, the celebrated Austrian geologist, confessed long since that it touches like this the simple narrative of Xisuthros bears the stamp of convincing truth." We find no report of any compassion on the part of Noah.

The Babylonian Noah and his wife are transformed into gods; this too would have been impossible in Israel. Of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem to the Feast of Weeks we read, Deuteronomy xvi. 11 (cp. also xii. 18): "And thou shalt rejoice before Yahveh, thy God, thou and thy son and thy daughter and thy manservant and thy maidservant,"—but where is the wife? It is generally recognised that the position of women in Israel was a very subordinate one from earliest childhood. We find in the Old Testament scarcely a single girl's name which expresses in the cordial manner customary in the case of boys' names, joyful gratitude to Yahveh for the birth of the child. All the tender pet-names of girls, such as "Beloved," "Fragrant One," "Dew-born," "Bee," "Gazelle," "Ewe" (Rachel), "Myrtle" and "Palm," "Coral" and "Crown" cannot in my opinion deceive us on this point. The woman is the property of her parents and afterwards of her husband; she is a valuable "hand," upon which in marriage a great share of the heaviest domestic burdens are laid. And above all, as in Islam, she is disqualified for performing religious rites.

All this was different and better in Babylon: for instance, we read in the time of Hammurabi of women who have their chairs carried into the temple; we find the names of women as witnesses

in legal documents, and other similar things. Right here in this matter of the position of women we may perceive clearly how profoundly the Babylonian civilisation was influenced by the non-Semitic civilisation of the Sumerians.

And how variously pitched is that instrument, the human temperament! While Koldewey and others with him are astonished anew that the excavations in Babylonia bring to light absolutely no obscene figures, a Catholic Old Testament scholar knows of "numberless statuettes found in Babylon which have no other purpose but to give expression to the lowest and most vulgar sensuality." Thou poor goddess of childbirth, poor goddess Istar! However, although thou be moulded only of clay, yet needst thou not



Fig. 19. BABYLONIAN CLAY FIGURES REPRESENTING THE GODDESS OF BIRTH.

blush to appear in this company (Fig. 19); for I am certain thou wilt give no offence, just as certain as that we are none of us offended but on the contrary love to give ourselves up to the contemplation of the glorious and familiar marble statue of Eve with her children (Fig. 20).

And although an Evangelical specialist in the Old Testament, finding occasion in a passage of a Babylonian poem, which has not yet received its definitive interpretation, exclaims with similar ethical indignation, that we "must needs search through the most vulgar corners of Further Asia in order to find its analogues," I cannot, indeed, boast of equal knowledge of local details, but I would like to remind him of the reasons why our school authorities so urgently demanded extracts from the Old Testament, and to

warn him against throwing stones, lest all too speedily his own glass house come crashing about his ears.

However, these skirmishes, provoked by my opponents, into the realm of the moral level of the two nations involved, seem to me of infinitely less importance than a final observation in connection with the proclamation of the "ethical monotheism" of Israel or of the "spirit of prophetism" as a genuine revelation of the living God," which in my opinion has not yet received fitting attention.



Fig. 20. EVE AND HER CHILDREN.
(A marble statue by Adolf Brütt.)

Five times a day and even more frequently the orthodox Moslem prays the Paternoster of Islam, the first Sura of the Koran, which closes with the words: "Lead us, O Allah, the right way, the way of those whom thou hast favored, who are not smitten by thy wrath [like the Jews] and who are not in error [like the Christians]." The Muslim alone is the one favored by Allah, he alone is the one chosen by God to adore and worship the true God. All other men and races are *kafirun*, heretics, whom God has not predestined to eternal salvation. Just such and not otherwise, deeply rooted in the nature of the Semite, does the Yahvism of Israel show itself to be, in the pre-exilic as well as in the post-exilic period. Yahveh is the only true (or highest) God, but at the same time

he is the God of Israel solely and exclusively, Israel is his chosen people and his inheritance; all other nations are *Gojim* or heathen, given over by Yahveh himself to godlessness and idolatry. This is a doctrine absolutely irreconcilable with our nobler conception of God, but which, nevertheless is uttered in uncloaked language in the nineteenth verse of the fourth chapter of Deuteronomy, a passage which at the same time destroys with a single phrase the illusion of a "primitive revelation": "Lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou worship them and reverence

them, which Yahveh, thy God, hath divided unto all the peoples under the whole heaven; but you Yahveh hath taken and brought forth out of Egypt, to be unto him a people of inheritance." According to this, the worship of the heavenly bodies and of idols was willed and decreed by Yahveh himself upon the peoples under the whole heaven. So much the more dreadful is the shock when in Deuteronomy vii. 2, Yahveh gives the command to exterminate mercilessly on account of their impiety the seven great and powerful peoples whom Israel may expect to find already in possession of Canaan, or when we read, verse 16: "And thou shalt consume all the peoples which Yahveh thy God shall deliver unto thee; thine eye shall not pity them."

It goes hard to regard as inspired by the holy and just God this monotheism of the exclusively national type. It is not manifested in the nature of the case in such passages as the account of the creation, but in general it runs throughout the Old Testament undeniably from Sinai on: "I am Yahveh, thy God," to Deutero Isaiah: "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people," and to Zechariah's prophecy (xx. 8, 23): "Thus saith Yahveh Zebaoth: In those days it shall come to pass that ten men shall take hold, out of all the languages of the nations (Gojim), shall even take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, 'We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you.'" It is this monotheism that left all the other nations of the earth "without hope" and "without God in the world," as for instance the apostle Paul assumes (Ephesians ii. 11 f.). And yet we have all been so hypnotised from youth up by this dogma of the "exclusive inheritance of Israel" (Ephesians ii. 12), that we regard the history of the ancient world from an entirely wrong point of view and are even satisfied to claim for ourselves at this day the rôle of a "spiritual Israel," forgetting the mighty historical revolution which was accomplished in the New Testament times under the influence of John the Baptist and the preaching of Jesus, that dramatic conflict between Judaism, Jewish Christianity, and Gentile Christianity, which made it possible for Peter to exclaim (Acts x. 34 f.): "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation, he that feareth him and is acceptable to him," thus tearing down the partition between the Oriental-Israelitic and the Christian-philosophic conception of the universe.

For my own part, I live firm in the belief that the early Hebrew scriptures, even if they lose their standing as "revealed" or as permeated by a "revealed" spirit, will nevertheless always main-

tain their great importance, especially as a unique monument of a great religio-historical process which continues even into our own times. The lofty passages in the prophets and the psalms, filled with a living confidence in God and with longing for repose in God, will always find a living echo in our hearts, despite the particularistic limitation of its literal text and its literal meaning, which are largely obliterated anyway in our translation of the Bible. Indeed, words like those of the prophet Micah (vi. 6-8): "Wherewith shall I come before Yahveh, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will Yahveh be pleased with thousands of rams, or ten thousands of rivers of oil? Or shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Yahveh require of thee, but to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God!"—words like these, insisting on an ethical manifestation of religion in the life (and which are also found in Babylonian writings) come, as it were, from the very soul of all sincerely religious people to-day.

But on the other hand, let us not blindly cling to antiquated and scientifically discredited dogmas from the vain fear that our faith in God and our true religious life might suffer harm! Let us remember that all things earthly are in living motion, and that standing still means death. Let us look back upon the mighty, throbbing force with which the German Reformation filled the great nations of the earth in every field of human endeavor and human progress! But even the Reformation is only one stage on the road to the goal of truth set for us by God and in God. Let us press forward toward it, humbly but with all the resources of free scientific investigation, joyfully professing our adherence to that standard perceived with eagle eye from the high watch-tower and courageously proclaimed to all the world: "The further development of religion."

MONOTHEISM.¹

BY DR. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.

THE ETHICAL ASPECT.

IN his *Der Kampf um Babel und Bibel*, p. 20 ff., Professor Samuel Oettli says: "The materials transmitted to us in the Old Testament have been plunged into an atmosphere of *ethical monotheism* and purified by this bath from all ethically or religiously confused and confusing elements. We no longer find the deluge here as the product of the blind wrath of a god, but as the ethically warranted punishment sent by a just god upon a degenerate race."

This is an error. Even the report of Berosus shows us that to the Babylonians also the world flood was a sin-flood.² Consider his words: "The others cried aloud when a voice commanded them to fear God, as Xisuthros had been translated to the gods because he had been godfearing." While we may assure ourselves from this alone that the Babylonian Noah escaped from the judgment of the deluge because of his piety and the remainder of mankind were destroyed because of their ever-increasing sinfulness, the inference is confirmed by the words in the cuneiform inscription, spoken by Ea after the deluge to Bel who had caused it: "Lay up his sin against the sinner," etc.

Professor Edward König, in his essay *Bibel und Babel*, p. 32, says: "The spirit of the two traditions (Babylonian and Hebrew) is totally different. This is shown by a single feature: The Babylonian hero rescues his inanimate as well as his living property, while in both the Bible accounts we have the higher point of view represented by the rescue of the living creatures only." What

¹ Compiled from the notes written to the Revised Edition by Friedrich Delitzsch in reply to the critics of his first lecture on *Babel and Bible*. Translated by Prof. W. H. Carruth, University of Kansas.

² An untranslatable German pun and popular etymology (Sinfut = "universal flood": Sünd-fut = "sin-flood").

blind zeal! Even in the fragment of Berosus we read that Xisuthros was commanded to "take in winged and fourfooted animals," and the original cuneiform account says expressly: "I brought up into the ship the cattle of the field and the wild beasts of the field." Accordingly, the "higher point of view" must be conceded to the Babylonian account by König himself.

THE PRIMORDIAL CHAOS.

With reference to mythological features in the Biblical account of the creation something further may be said. Oettli remarks with much truth, p. 12, on the presumption of the existence of a chaos: "The notion of a primitive matter which was not derived from God's creative activity but which had rather to be overcome by it, cannot have grown up on soil of the Religion of Israel, which is strictly monotheistic in its thought, at least on the prophetic heights, and consequently excludes the dualistic conflict of two hostile primitive principles." I call attention here to the remark of Wellhausen also: "If we take Chaos for granted, everything else is developed out of this; everything else is reflection, systematic construction, which we can figure out with little difficulty."

TRACES OF POLYTHEISM.

In the Elohistic account of the creation also there are traces of polytheistic elements. When we read (Genesis i. 26): "Let us make men in our¹ own image, after our semblance," Oettli says with justice: "Moreover, that plural of self-appeal preceding the creation of man is not so easily to be reconciled with the later strict monotheism, nor the 'image of God' in which man is created, with the spirituality of Yahveh which is afterwards so strongly emphasised, when once, rejecting all exegetic arts, we give to words their simple and obvious meaning. And this, notwithstanding the fact that the Biblical author, in accordance with his religious position, has given a higher value to these originally foreign elements."

In fact, Genesis i. 26 and Isaiah xlv. 5 are in irreconcilable opposition. The polytheistic coloring of Genesis i. 27 with its implied distinction of gods and goddesses would appear peculiarly drastic if the three members of the sentence are thought of as quite closely connected: "And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created He him, male and female created He them." But we cannot regard this as sure.

¹ The assumption that we have here a case of *pluralis majestaticus* is not, indeed, precluded by general Hebrew usage, but it is far-fetched; compare iii. 2, the saying of Yahveh: "Lo, man has become as one of us."

BABYLONIAN MONOTHEISM.

It may be recalled that I said in my first lecture: "Despite the fact that free and enlightened minds publicly taught that Nergal and Nebo, moon-god and sun-god, the thunder-god Ramman and all the other gods were one in Marduk, the god of light, polytheism remained for three thousand years the state religion of Babylon."

Jensen has felt warranted in accompanying this remark with the following observations, which have been carried further by König and others with much gratification, as was to be expected: "This would indeed be one of the most significant discoveries ever made in the realm of the history of religion, and therefore we must regret exceedingly that Delitzsch does not cite his source. I believe that I may declare with all positiveness that nothing of the sort can be derived from the texts that are accessible to me. Therefore we beg urgently that he publish soon the text of the passage which deprives Israel of the greatest glory that has hitherto illumined that race,—that of being the only one that worked its way out into pure monotheism."

Very good, if indeed Jensen stands by his expression, Israel is now actually deprived of this its greatest glory, and this by the Neo-Babylonian cuneiform tablet 81, 11-3, 111, known since 1895 and published in the *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* by Theo. G. Pinches,—a tablet which is indeed preserved only as a fragment, but the remaining portion of which shows us that upon it all the divinities of the Babylonian pantheon (or at least the chief ones) are indicated as being one with and one in the god Marduk. I quote only a few lines:¹

"The god Marduk is written and called Ninib as the possessor of power, Nêrgal or perhaps Zamama as lord of combat or of battle, Bêl as possessor of dominion, Nebo as lord of business (?), Sin as illuminator of the night, Samas as lord of all that is right, as lord of rain."

Accordingly, Marduk is Ninib as well as Nergal, moon-god as well as sun-god, etc., in other words, the names Ninib and Nergal, Sin and Samas are only various designations of the one god Mar-

1 "Nin-ib	Marduk sa alli
"Nêrgal	Marduk sa kablu
"Za-mâ-mâ	Marduk sa tabasi
"Bêl	Marduk sa bê'lûtu u mišlûktu
"Nabû	Marduk sa nikasi
"Sin	Marduk munammîr mûsi
"Samas	Marduk sa kênûti
"Addu	Marduk sa zunnu

duk; they are all one with him and in him. Is this not "indogermanic monotheism, the doctrine of the unity which develops only out of variety"?

THE NAME "EL."

On il, אל God.—All Semitic prepositions were originally substantives. For the preposition אל, which is originally *il*, "toward, to, at," the fundamental significance which from the start seems most probable, "aim, direction," is still preserved in Hebrew, although this was until recently overlooked. It is found in the phrase, "This or that is *אל ידך*," that is, "at the disposal of thy hand," "it is in thy control."

The opinion that אל in this phrase means "power" may have the support of tradition, like thousands of other errors in the Hebrew lexicography, but it has never been demonstrated, and therefore it is not true, as König declares (p. 38), that "*el* is surely equivalent to 'power' or 'strength.'" The only meaning that can be demonstrated is "aim, direction," which carries with it as a matter of course the concrete significance "that toward which one directs himself, end, goal."

The Sumerians conceived of their gods as dwelling up above where the eye of man is directed, in and over the sky; we ourselves use "heaven" figuratively for "God" (comp. Daniel iv. 23); and furthermore, a Babylonian psalm calls the sun-god *digil irsitim rapostim*, the "goal of the wide world," that is, the end toward which the eyes of all the earth-dwellers are directed, and, finally, the poet of the Book of Job (xxxvi. 25), in harmony with an abundance of other passages in Semitic literatures, glorifies God as the one "on whom all eyes hang, toward whom man looks from afar." And just so the earliest Semites called the "divine" being whom they conceived of as dwelling in the heavens above and ruling heaven and earth *il, el*, "that toward which the eye is directed," (cp. the analogous application of אל to God and things divine in Hosea xi. 7). In my opinion the first and original meaning of the word is "goal of the eye," as is the case with the sun and the sky.

Inasmuch as *il* is thus demonstrated to have the meaning "aim, goal," and as the designation of the deity by this word is perfectly in accord with the Semitic habit of thought, and it is therefore not permissible to assume another primitive noun *il*, my interpretation of *el*, the name of God, is established in every point.

It is just as useless and impermissible to seek after a verb corresponding to such a primitive noun as *il* (see König, p. 38), as to

seek after a verbal stem to match others of these most ancient bi-consonantal nouns, such as *jim*, "day," or *mut*, "man."

Besides, the etymology of the word *il*, *el* is not the most important consideration. The chief thing is rather the fact that those North-Semitic tribes which we find established about 2500 B. C. both north and south of Babylon, and whose greatest monarch in later times (about 2250) was King Hammurabi, conceived of and worshipped God as a unitary, spiritual being. Let it be observed that this applies to the North-Semitic tribes which had in part immigrated to Babylonia and afterwards established themselves there, *not* to Sumerian-Semitic Babylonians.

A number of journals have represented it as my opinion that "even the Jewish conception of God was derived from the Babylonian cosmology"; and Oettli (p. 4) says that in my view even "the name and the worship of Yahveh himself, united with a more or less definitely developed monotheism, was a primitive possession of Babylon." But these are misrepresentations.

As to those names of persons which occur so frequently in the time of the first Babylonian dynasty, König is utterly mistaken in declaring (p. 40, 42) that among notorious polytheists the names must needs be translated and interpreted as "*a* god hath given"; and so is Oettli (p. 23) when he asks: "Who can prove that those names are not to be taken polytheistically, '*a* god hath given,' '*a* god be with me'?" To say nothing of other reasons, this interpretation breaks down in the case of such names as *Ilu-amranni*, "God consider me!" *Ilu-tûram*, "God, turn thee hither again!" and others. Or, on the other hand, are we to cease to render *Bâb-ilu* "Gate of God," and say "Gate of *a* god"? No! For the time of Hammurabi we hold fast to those beautiful names which signify so much for the history of religion: *Ilu-ittia*, "God be with me," *Ilu-amtahar*, "I called upon God," *Ilu-abi*, *Ilu-milki*, "God is my father," or "my counsel," *Iarbi-ilu*, "Great is God," *Iamlîk-ilu*, "God sits in power," *Ibsi-ina-ili*, "Through God came he into being," *Avel-ilu*, "Servant of God," *Mut(um)-ilu*, "Man of God" (= Methuscha'el), *Ilûma-le'i*, "God is mighty," *Ilûma-abi*, "God is my father," *Ilûma-ilu*, "God is God," *Summa-ilu-lû-ilia*, "If God were not my God," and so on.

The names must of course be judged collectively. In the case of certain of them (as in certain Assyrian names, like Na'id-ilu) we might certainly see in "God" merely an appellative, as perhaps in the phrase from the laws of Hammurabi: *mahar-ili*, to assert anything "before God"; or in the phrase that occurs hundreds of

times in the Babylonian contracts of that period, "to swear by God (*ilu*) and the king" (cp. 1 Samuel xii. 3, 5: "by Yahveh and the king"), but taking them all together it seems to me that they make it impossible to think that *ilu* means a "city or family god," or the "special tutelary deity."

Precisely in "the endeavor of a people without philosophical development to be as concrete and specific as possible in its notions and expressions," we should inevitably expect to find in each case the name of the particular divinity intended, or on the other hand if the tutelary divinity of the family or of the infant was meant we should expect to find "my God," or "his God." An unprejudiced and unsophisticated consideration of all these and other names of the Hammurabi period leads rather to the renewed assumption that they are rooted in a religious conception different from the polytheistic views that were native in Babylon. What was the nature and value of that monotheism the contemporary sources do not enable us to determine, but only to infer them from the later development of "Yahvism."

THE NAME "YAHVEH."

We must insist with all positiveness that in the two names *Ya-a'-ve-ilu* and *Ya ve-ilu* the reading *Ya've* is the only one that can be regarded as within the realm of possibility.

The assault upon my reading—which in the light of our present knowledge is irrefutable—has revealed a lamentable state of ignorance in the critics: this ignorance may account for the miscellaneous insinuations which have been indulged in, as when Professor Kittel ventures to speak of my reading as a "partisan maneuver."

In order to at least correct this ignorance, I beg to make the following brief and condensed exposition of the matter for the benefit of my theological critics and of certain of the Assyriologists who have volunteered to advise them. The sign *vu* has the following syllabic values: *pi*; *tal*; *tu*; *tam*, and besides in Babylonian in particular: *me/ve*; *m^a/vā*; *ā*; (*vu*), or as would be perhaps better: *ve*; *vā*; *ā*; (*vu*). But any one who has become measurably familiar with the style of writing of the Hammurabi period knows that, even if the reading *Ya-'u-mā* be granted, this *mā* cannot possibly be interpreted as the emphasising particle *ma*. Accordingly König (p. 48 f.) and Kittel and others are mistaken; on the contrary, *ma* is without exception written with its customary sign.

Thus the interpretation of the names in question as "Ya, Ya'u is God" is absolutely precluded. Let him who denies this cite one single instance in which the emphatic particle *ma* is written with the character *vu*. And in the case of *Ya-ù-um-ilu*, I may remark incidentally, the *m* may be only mimation and not an abbreviated *ma*.

Neither is the reading proposed by Bezold, *Ya-'a-bi-ilu*, possible, for in the time of Hammurabi the sign *bi* does perhaps represent also the syllable *pi*, but the reverse, sign *vu* for *bi*, is never the case. And on mature reflection the reading *Ya-(a)'-pi-ilu* cannot be considered. It is true that the sign *vu* is found for *pi* in the time of Hammurabi, as frequently in the contracts published by Meissner in his *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, and also in the Code of Hammurabi, but the regular sign for *pi* occurs much more frequently. For instance, in the 79 letters from this very period, published by King, *pi* is represented exclusively by its regular sign.

Besides this, a "canaanitish" verb form *ia'pi*, *iapi* could be derived only from a stem *הפה*, which does not exist. Instead of *Ya(')ve ilu* we might then at most read *Ya-(a/w-)vâ/u-ilu*, with radical *v*, but by this very emendation we should expose ourselves to the dreaded recognition of a god *דיה*. Accordingly my reading *Ya-a'-ve-ilu*, *Ya-ve-ilu* remains the most obvious as well as the only one deserving serious consideration.

I venture on the interpretation of the name *Ya(')ve-ilu* with less confidence than on the reading of it. The interpretation proposed by König (p. 50), "May God protect" (why not, "May a god protect"?), from Arabic *hama*, "to protect," as well as that of Barth (p. 19), "God gives life" (*Ya-ah-ve-ilu*), is highly improbable. As names from a foreign language they would needs appear as *Yahve-ilu*, not *Ya've-ilu* or even *Yâve-ilu*, and only in the last extremity would one be justified in the assumption that these foreign personal names had gradually been Babylonised in pronunciation, at the same time becoming wholly unintelligible. No, if we are to concede that there is a verb-form contained in *ya've*, *yâve*, then it is certainly the most obvious thing to think of the verb *היה*, the older form of *היה* which is assumed in Exodus iii. 14, and to interpret it with Zimmern as "God exists." My interpretation, "Ja've is God," would accordingly remain by far the most probable in and of itself.

THE NAME "YAHUM-ILU."

The name *Ya-ú-um-ilu* is and remains a foreign name. It belongs among the North-Semitic tribes, more precisely Canaanitic. Among these tribes there is no other god *Ya-ú* but the god יָהוּ, *Yahú*, that god who is contained in the name *Ya-ú-ha-si* and others.

Now this name of the divinity *Yahú* which is found at the beginning and especially at the end of Hebrew names of persons, is the shorter form of Yahve, "the Existing," and consequently presupposes the fuller form Yahve. Now even to the Jews of the exilic and post-exilic periods the name Yahveh was by no means a *nomen ineffabile*, as is shown by the many names of this later time: *Ya-se'-ya-a-va* = Isaiah (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ), *Pi-li-ya-a-va*, and others. So much the less could it have been such to that primitive period in which the name of God, Yahveh, was very far from possessing the sanctity which it was to attain later in Israel.

The name *Yahum-ilu*, therefore, presupposes a fuller equivalent name *Ya've-ilu*. Now when such a name is really twice documented, in *Ya'-ve-ilu*, *Ya-ve-ilu*, should it not be recognised as such without reserve, and the more so as the refusal to recognise it will after all not obliterate the fact of the existence of the North-Semitic ("Canaanitic") name of the divinity *Yahú*, which is perfectly identical with Yahveh, nor the existence of a name *Yahú-ilu*, "Yahu is God," similar to the Hebrew יְהוֹאֵל (Joel), a thousand years before the prophet Elijah's utterance upon Carmel, "Yahveh is God" (1 Kings xviii. 39)?

It needs no demonstration to convince competent judges that Barth's interpretation (p. 19) of *Ya-hu-um-ilu* as abbreviated from *Ya-ah-we-ilu* must be rejected.

Jensen too regards it as "certainly in the highest degree probable that both composita contain the name of God *Yavch-Yahu*," adding very correctly: "Now since the *Ya'wa* in the name cannot be of Assyrio-Babylonian origin, it is surely of foreign origin, and hence, in all probability, the whole name is 'Canaanitic,' and its wearers, or wearer, also 'Canaanites.'" But when he goes on to say: "But because a Müller or a Schultze is met with in Paris, we are not warranted in assuming that the Germans are the prevalent race in Paris; and just as little does an *Ya'wa-il(u)*, appearing in Babylon 2000 years ago, need to prove anything more than that the bearers of this name occasionally came to Babylon,"—when he

reasons thus I confidently leave it to the unprejudiced reader to decide whether, in view of all the names like *Yarbi-ilu*, *Yamlík-ilu*, and so on (not to mention *Hammurabi*, *Ammi-zadûga*, and other Canaanitish names), the delicate parallel of Müller and Schulze is even remotely justified. Furthermore, even Jensen is compelled, as we see, to admit that the evidence is good for the existence of the divine name *Yahve* (*Yahvu*) before 2000 B. C. Moreover, Zimmermann makes this concession: "Even supposing that we have in *va-û-um* the name of a divinity, *which is not improbable*, and even the name *Yahu*, *Yahve*, *which is possible*." That is enough for the present; the admission of the reading *Ya-(a')ve* and of my interpretation will probably follow.

And accordingly, if *Ya-û-um* holds its own as equivalent to יְהוָה, יְהוֹה, then the names of that same period: *Ilu idinnam*, "God hath given," *Sá-ili*, "Belonging to God," *Ilu-amtáhar*, "I called upon God," *Ilu-tûram*, "God, turn to me," etc., may with double right be regarded as equivalent in their content to the corresponding Hebrew names.

REPLY TO CRITICS OF THE FIRST LECTURE.

BY DR. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.

PROCESSIONS OF THE GODS.

JENSEN would not countenance my proposition that processions of Gods are mentioned in Isaiah. We read (xlv. 20): "They have no knowledge that carry their graven image of wood, and pray unto a God that cannot help," and again (xlvi. 1): "Bel has sunk down, Nebo is bowed down, their idols are fallen to the lot of the beasts and to the cattle, the things (i. e., fabrications) that ye carried about are made a load, a burden to the weary beasts." There can be but few commentators here who do not think in connection with these passages of the Babylonian processions of the gods, in which Bel and Nebo were carried in ceremonious progress through the streets of Babel.

AARON'S BLESSING.¹

What I have said as to the significance of the phrase in the Aaronite blessing, "Yahveh lift up his countenance to thee," i. e., "turn his favor, his love, towards thee," holds good in spite of my critics. When spoken of men, "to lift the countenance to any one or to anything" means nothing more than "to look up at" (so it is used in 2 Ki. ix. 32). It is used in Job xxii. 26 (cf. xi. 15), as well as in 2 Sam. ii. 22, with reference to a man who, free from guilt and fault, can look up God and to his fellow-men. This meaning, of course, is not appropriate if the words are spoken of God. Then it must mean precisely the same thing as the Assyrian, "to raise the eyes to anyone," that is to say, to find pleasure in one, to direct one's love towards him; therefore not quite the same as to take heed of one (as in Siegfried-Stade's *Hebräisches Wörterbuch*, p. 441). If it were so, "the Lord lift up his countenance to thee" would be equivalent to "the Lord keep thee." When Jensen (*op. cit.*, col.

¹ Num. vi. 24 ff.

491) insists that the Assyrian expression is literally, not to lift up "the face," but to lift up "the eyes," he might with equal justice deny that Assyrian *bit Ammân* means the same thing as the Hebrew *bnê Ammôn*. In fact, whereas the prevailing Hebrew usage is "if it be right in thine eyes," the Assyrian says in every case, "if it be right in thy countenance" (*ina pânika; cf. summa [ina] bân sarri mahir*); "eyes" and "countenance" interchange in such phrases as this.

In Hebrew we find "to lift up the eyes to one" used as equivalent to "to conceive an affection for one," only with reference to human, sensual love (Gen. xxxix. 7). The value of the Assyrian phrase, "to lift up the eyes to any one," in its bearing on the Aaronite blessing, rests in the fact that it is used with preference (though not exclusively, as Jensen thinks) of the gods who direct their love towards a favored person or some sacred spot. In reply to Jensen who claims (p. 490) that the choice of my example of the usefulness of Assyrian linguistic analogies is "a failure," I comfort myself with the thought that the recognition of our indebtedness as to a deepening of the meaning of the Aaronite blessing to cuneiform literature, was many years ago publicly endorsed by no lesser one than Franz Delitzsch.

J. Barth attacks on trivial grounds my statement that Canaan at the time of the Israelite Incursion, was a "domain completely pervaded by Babylonian culture." This fact, however, obtains ever wider recognition. Alfred Jeremias in the "*Zeitgeist*" of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, February 16, 1903, says: "Further, at the time of the immigration of the 'children of Israel,' Canaan was subject to the especial influence of Babylonian civilisation. About 1450 the Canaanites, like all the peoples of the Nearer East, wrote in the Babylonian cuneiform character, and in the Babylonian language. This fact, proved by the literature of the time, forces us to assume that the influence of Babylonian thought had been exerted for centuries previously. Of late Canaan itself seems to wish to bear witness. The excavation of an ancient Canaanite castle by Professor Sellin has brought to light an altar with Babylonian genii and trees of life, and Babylonian seals."

It may be briefly recalled here that the religion of the Canaanites with their god Tammuz, and their Asherahs, bears unmistakable marks of Babylonian influence, and that before the immigration of the children of Israel a place in the neighborhood of Jerusalem was called *Bit-Ninib* (house of Ninib), after the Babylonian god Ninib. There may have been actually in Jerusalem itself a *bit*

Ninib, a temple of the god Ninib. See *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, V., No. 183, 15, and cf. Zimmern, in the third edition of Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, second half, p. 411. Cf. also Lecture II., p. 184.

THE SABBATH.

The vocabulary (II. R. 32, No. 1) mentions, among divers kinds of days, a *ûm nuh libbi* (I. 16, a, b), a day for the quieting of the heart (viz., of the gods), with its synonym *sa-pat-tum*, which word, in view of the frequent use of the sign *pat* for *bât* (e. g., *su-pat*, var. *bat*, "dwelling"; Tig. vi. 94), might be interpreted to mean *sabattum*, and on the authority of the syllabary (82, 9-18, 4159, col. 1, 24) where *UD* (Sumer. *û*) is rendered by *sa-bat-tum*, it must be so.

The statement in the syllabary not only confirms the view that the word *sabattum* means a day, but it may also explain the *sabattum* to be the day *par excellence*, perhaps because it is the day of the gods.

Jensen in *Z. A.* iv., 1889, pp. 274 et seq. says that *sabattu* means "appeasement (of the gods), expiation, penitential prayer," and the verb *sabātu* "to conciliate" or "to be conciliated" (Jensen in *Christliche Welt*, col. 492). But, neither from 83, 1-8, 1330, col. 1, 25, where *ZUR* is rendered *sa-bat-tim* (following immediately upon *nuhhu*), nor from IV. 8, where *TE* is rendered by *sa-bat-tim* [why not, as elsewhere, in the nominative?], may Jensen's proposition be inferred with any degree of certainty. The verb *sabātu* is hitherto only attested as a synonym of *gamāru* (V. R. 28, 14, e, f). Therefore, the only meaning that may be justifiably assumed for *sabattu* at present is "cessation (of work), keeping holiday." It seems to me that the compiler of the syllabary 83, 1-8, 1330, derived his statement *ZUR* and *TE* = *sabattim* from the equations *UD. ZUR* and *UD. TE* = *ûm nuhhi* or *pussuhi* = *ûm sabattim*.

Accordingly, the Babylonian *sabattu* is the day of the quieting of the heart of the gods and the rest day for human work (the latter is naturally the condition of the former).

If in the well-known calendar of festivals (IV. R. 2/33) the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of a month are expressly characterised as days whereon every kind of labor should rest, should we not see in these days no other than the *sabattu*-day?

The mooted words in the calendar of festivals run, according to our present knowledge, thus: "The shepherd of the great na-

tions shall not eat roasted or smoked (?) meat (variant: anything touched by fire), not change his garment, not put on white raiment, not offer sacrifice." [It is doubtful whether these prohibitions are of universal application, binding also the flocks of the shepherd. Then the particular prohibitions follow]; "the King shall not mount his chariot, as ruler not pronounce judgment; the Magus shall not give oracles in a secret place [i. e., removed from profane approach], the physician shall not lay his hand on the sick, [the day being] unauspicious for any affair whatever" (? *ana kal sibûti*; *sibûtu* here, it seems used like 𐎶𐎵, in Dan. vi. 18; "affair, cause").

Accordingly we must acquiesce in the fact that the Hebrew Sabbath, ultimately is rooted in a Babylonian institution. More than this was not claimed.

We need not quarrel with König who emphasises that the Israelite Sabbath received its specific consecration on account of its "humanitarian tendency towards servants, and animals."

The setting apart of the seventh day as the day in which we are to refrain from labors of any kind finds its explanation, as I showed years ago, in the fact that the number seven was in this as in other instances to the Babylonians an 'evil' number, and this is the reason why the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth days in the above-mentioned calendar are called *UD. HUL. GAL.*, i. e., evil days.

Alfred Jeremias (l. c., p. 25) aptly recalls the Talmudic story, according to which Moses arranged with Pharaoh a day of rest for his people, and when asked which he thought the most appropriate for the purpose, answered: "The seventh, dedicated to the Planet Saturn, labors done on this day will anyhow not prosper, in any case."

THE FALL.

Any one who reads without bias my comments on the cylinder seal (Fig. 47) representing a Babylonian conception of the Fall, will grant that in comparing it to the Biblical story of the Fall, that I merely proposed to emphasise the circumstance that the serpent as the corrupter of the woman was a significant feature in either version. The dress of the two Babylonian figures, naturally prevented me also from regarding the tree as the tree "of knowledge of good and evil."

It seems to me that possibly there may loom back of the Biblical story in Gen. chapters ii.-iii. another older form which knew of

one tree only in the middle of the garden, the Tree of Life. The words in ii. 9, "and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil," seem to be superadded, and the narrator, quite engrossed with the newly introduced tree of knowledge, and forgetful of the tree of life inadvertently makes God allow man to eat of the tree of life which is in contradiction with iii. 22.

As to the tree, but that alone, I agree with the late C. P. Tiele who sees in the mooted Babylonian picture, "a god with his male or female worshippers partaking of the fruit of the tree of life," "a symbol of the hope of immortality," and also with Hommel, who says (p. 23): "It is most important that the original tree was obviously conceived to be a conifer, a pine or cedar with its life and procreation promoting fruits. There is, accordingly, an unmistakable allusion to the holy cedar of Eridu, the typical tree of Paradise in the Chaldean and Babylonian legends."

Jensen (col. 488) argues as follows: "If the picture has any reference to the story of the Fall, it is likely to represent a scene in which a god forbids the first-created woman to partake of the fruit of the tree of life."

That one of the figures is distinguished by horns, the usual symbol of strength and victory (see Amos vi. 13) in Babylonia as well as in Israel, is in my opinion a very ingenious touch on the part of the artist, in order to give an unmistakable indication as to the sexes of the two clothed human figures. Those who see in the serpent behind the woman a "meandering line" or "an ornamental division," may do so if they please, but they will find few that will concur.

I do not stand alone with my opinion. Hommel, for instance, says (p. 23): "The woman and the writhing serpent behind her express themselves clearly enough"; and Jensen (col. 488): "a serpent stands or crawls behind the woman."

As to the nature of this serpent, nothing definite can be said so long as we depend upon this pictorial representation alone. We might regard it as one of the forms of Tiāmat, who, like Leviathan in Job iii. 8, and the old serpent in the Apocalypse, would be assumed to be still in existence. But this is very uncertain.

Haupt's *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 119, contain a bilingual text (D. T. 67) which may deserve a passing notice in this connection: It mentions a fallen hand-maid, the "mother of sin," who being severely punished, bursts into bitter tears—"intercourse I learned, kissing I learned"—and we find her later on lying in the dust stricken by the fatal glance of the deity.

LIFE AFTER DEATH.

In the code of Hammurabi (xxvii. 34 et seq.), the sinner is cursed in the words: "May God utterly exterminate him from among the living upon earth, and debar his departed soul from the fresh water in Hades."

The last passage confirms the great antiquity of the Babylonian conception concerning the life of the pious after death.

The Book of Job which shows a close acquaintance with Babylonian views, describes the contrast in the underworld between a hot, waterless desert destined for the wicked, and a garden with fresh clear water for the pious. The passage is rendered in a philologically unobjectionable translation in my book *Das Buch Job*, Leipzig, 1902: "Cursed be their portion on earth. Not does he turn to vineyards. Desolation and also heat will despoil them. Their prayer for snow-water will not be granted. Mercy forgets him, vermin devours him; no longer is he remembered."

Thus in its right interpretation this passage forms a welcome bridge to the New Testament conception of a hot, waterless, and torture-inflicting Hell, and the garden which to the Oriental mind cannot be conceived of as lacking water, abundant, running, living water.

The concluding verse of the prophetic book of Isaiah (ch. lxvi. 24): "and they shall go forth and look with joy upon the dead bodies of those that have revolted from me: how their worm dieth not, neither is their fire quenched: and they are an abomination to all flesh," means that those whose bodies are buried in the earth will forever be gnawed by worms, and those whose bodies are burnt with fire shall forever suffer the death of fire. In two respects the passage is important: first, it shows that cremation is thought of as standing entirely on the same level with burial, and that, accordingly, not the slightest objection can be made to cremation on account of the Bible; secondly, it follows that the words, "where their worm dieth not," in Mark's account of the description of hell-fire as given by Jesus¹ should not have been admitted; they are out of place.

TIÂMAT.

Jensen (*l. c.*, p. 489) observes with reference to Tiâmat: "Bérossus calls this being 'a woman,' she is the mother of the gods, has a husband and a lover, and nowhere throughout Assyrian or

¹ Mk. ix. 44, 46, 48.

Babylonian literature is there found even the slightest hint that this creature is regarded otherwise than as a woman."

Nothing can be farther off the mark than this assertion, which contradicts not merely me, but also a fact recognised by all Assyriologists. Or is it not true that a human woman gives birth to human beings, while a lioness brings forth young lions? Therefore, a creature which gives birth to *sirmahhê*, i. e., gigantic serpents (*ittalad*, see Creation-epic, III., 24 and *passim*), must itself be a great, powerful serpent, a δράκων μέγας or some serpent-like monster. As a matter of fact, Tiâmat is represented in Babylonian art as a great serpent. (See, e. g., Cheyne's English translation of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah in Haupt's edition of the Bible, p. 206.)

I see by no means in the scene reproduced in my First Lecture (Fig. 46, p. 46) an exact portrayal of Marduk's fight with the Dragon, as described to us in the creation-epic; on the contrary, I speak expressly and cautiously of a battle between "the power of light and the power of darkness" in general.

The representation of this battle, especially of the monster Tiâmat, naturally left a wide scope to the imagination of the artist. A dragon could be represented in various ways, such as we see in Figure 44, page 44. The beast which lies at the feet of the god Marduk has since been palpably proved by the German excavations to be, as explained by me, the dragon Tiâmat. The relief of the *sirrussû* found on the Gate of Ishtar at Babylon unmistakably agrees with the figure familiar to us from our illustration.

Oettli, following Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 29-114), practically agrees with my conclusion when he says: "There are enough references in the prophetic and poetical books of the Old Testament to make it obvious that the old [Babylonian] creation-myth survived in the popular conceptions of Israel, and that in a highly-colored form." And again: "There are indeed enough cases where the original mythical meaning of the monsters *Tehôm*, *Leviathân*, *Tannîn*, *Rahab*, is unmistakable."¹ Isaiah proceeds (li. 10): "Art thou not it that dried up the sea, the water of the great Tehôm, that made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over?" Here the prophet actually couples "those mythical reminiscences" with the deliverance from Egypt, as another triumph of Yahveh over the waters of Tehom. And when we consider how in other passages (e. g., Ps. cvi. 9-11, lxxviii. 13) Yah-

¹ Oettli cites Job ix. 13 and Isaiah li. 9, where, moreover, "pierced" might be better than "dishonored."

veh's achievement of the passage of the children of Israel through the Red Sea is described and celebrated, we cannot apply to any but primæval times the words in Ps. lxxiv. 13 sq.: "Thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters, thou didst dash to pieces the heads of the sea-monsters" (*Leviathân*). *Leviathân*, according to Job iii. 8 also, is a personification of the dark chaotic primæval waters, the sworn enemy of light.

Even König reluctantly grants (p. 27) that the Book of Job¹ "alludes, in all probability, to the conquest of the primæval ocean;" Jensen accordingly seems to stand quite alone when he says (*l. c.*, p. 490):

"Wherever the Old Testament mentions a struggle of Yahveh against serpents and crocodile-like creatures, there is no occasion to assume with Delitzsch and with a goodly number of other Assyriologists [add: also with Gunkel and most Old Testament theologians] a reference to the Babylonian myth of the struggle with Tiamat."

Oettli is right when he declares (p. 17):

"To submit the researches of Natural Science to the Biblical version of the creation is a wholly erroneous proceeding, which is the more unintelligible as the details of the second account of Genesis and many other passages in the Old Testament are quite incompatible with the first. Let us, therefore, unreservedly give to Science that which belongs to Science."

Oettli proceeds:

"But let us also give to God that which is God's; the world is a creation of God's omnipotence, which supports it as its law of life,—this the first page of Genesis tells us."

In this I can no longer concur. Our faith claims, and many passages in the Old Testament assert, that God is the Almighty Creator of heaven and earth, but this truth is certainly not stated on the first page of Genesis, where we read: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth,—and the earth was waste and desolate," etc.; for this passage leaves unanswered the question, "Whence did chaos originate?" Besides, even among the Babylonians the creation of the heavens and of the earth is ascribed to the gods, and the life of all animate creatures is regarded as resting in their hands.

* * *

I will call attention to a passage in II. R. 51, 44a, where a canal is named after "the Serpent-god who bursts (or destroys) the house of life," apparently referring to some as yet unknown Babylonian myth. This, however, would upset Jensen's view, that

¹ "God turns not his anger, the helpers of *raħab* brake in pieces under him" (ix. 13), and "in his power he smote the sea and in his wisdom he dashed *raħab* to pieces" (xxvi. 12).

we may perhaps see in the two figures, two gods dwelling by the tree of life, and in the serpent, its guardian.

Zimmern¹ regards the serpent-god as ultimately identical with the chaos-monster.

ANGELS.

Cornill (*l. c.*, p. 1682), also, comes to the conclusion that "the conception of angels is genuinely Babylonian." When I spoke of guardian angels who attend on men (Ps. xci. 11 et seq., Matt. xviii. 10), I had in mind such passages as Aplâ's well-known letter of consolation to the queen-mother (K. 523). The Babylonian officer writes: "Mother of the king, my lady, be comforted (?) ! Bel's and Nebo's angel of mercy attends on the king of the lands, my lord." Further the writing addressed to Esarhaddon (K. 948): "May the great gods send a guardian of salvation and life to stand by the king, my lord;" and also the words of Nabopolassar, the founder of the Chaldæan kingdom: "To lordship over land and people Marduk called me. He sent a Cherub of mercy (a tutelary god) to attend on me, and everything I undertook he sped" (see *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 10, p. 14 et seq.).

In "the Old Serpent which is the Devil and Satan" is preserved the ancient Babylonian conception of Tiâmat, the primæval enemy of the gods, while Satan, who appears several times in the later and latest books of the Old Testament, and is always the enemy of man, not of God,² owes his origin to Babylonian demonology in which we become acquainted with an *ilu limnu* or 'evil god' and a *gallû* or 'devil.'

BABYLONIAN SUPERSTITIONS IN SWEDEN.

How much Assyria intrudes into our own time can be seen from G. Hellmann's most interesting communion on the Chaldæan origin of modern superstitions about the understorms (in the *Meteorologische Zeitschrift*, June, 1896, pp. 236-238), where it is proved that an ancient Babylonian belief survives even at the present day in the popular Swedish book, *Sibyllae Prophetia*, in which a chapter entitled "Tordöns märketecken" treats of the prognostics of the weather and fertility as indicated by the thunder in the several months.

CANAANITES.

The term used by me in its usual linguistic sense (see, e. g., Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 27th ed., p. 2), has been replaced

¹ *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., second half, p. 304 et seq.

² See Job, ch. i. et seq., 1 Chron. xxi. 1, Zech. iii. 1 et seq.

in later editions by "North Semites," simply because the name was frequently misunderstood. That the kings of the first Babylonian dynasty, *Sumu-abi* and his successors, do not belong to that Semitic stock of Babylonian Semites who had become fused with the Sumerians, but rather to later immigrants, is proved by the ancient Babylonian scholars, for they deemed the names of the two kings *Hammurabi* (also *Ammurabi*) and *Ammisadûga* (or *Ammizadûga*) to be foreign and stand in need of explanation, rendering the former by *Kimta-rapastum*, "wide-spread family" (cf. 𐎲𐎶𐎵𐎶, Rehoboam), and the latter by *Kimtum-kêttum*, "upright family" (VR. 44, 21, 22, a, b). The replacement of the *y* (in 𐎶𐎶, people, family) by *h* in the name *Hammurabi* shows that these Semites, unlike the older stock that had been settled for centuries in Babylonia, still pronounced the *y* as an *y*. Further, their pronunciation of *sh* as an *s*,¹ no less than the preformative of the third person of the perfect tense with *ia* (not *i*"), proves that these Semitic tribes were quite distinct, which fact, first stated by Hommel and Winckler, is and remains true, in spite of Jensen's opposition (*l. c.*, p. 491). Linguistic and historical considerations make it more than probable that these immigrant Semites belonged to the Northern Semites and are most closely affiliated with the linguistically so-called "Canaanites" (i. e., the Phœnicians, Moabites, Hebrews, etc.). The knowledge of this we owe to the acumen of Hugo Winckler (see his *Geschichte Israels*), who thereby made a particularly important addition to his many other merits. The *na* of *ilûna* (in *Samsu ilûna*), which is alleged to mean "our God," is not sufficient to prove tribal relationship with Arabia, since, in view of the names *Ammi-zadûga*, *Ammi-ditana*, it is at least equally probable that *ilûna* represents an adjective.² However, *zadûg*, "righteous," may indicate a "Canaanite" dialect, both lexically³ and phonetically;⁴ and the same may be said, too, of such personal names as *Ya-sû-ub-ilu* belonging to the same age.⁵ Will Jensen be able ever to produce an unobjectionable explanation from the Babylonian language of such names as *Yasûb-ilu*?

¹ *Samsu* in *Sa-am-su-ilûna* (cf. also *Samu-abi*) as contrasted with the older Babylonian *Shamshu*.

² In the personal names of that age *Yamlik-ilu*, *Yarbi-ilu*, *Yak-bani-ilu*, etc.

³ Note the personal name *I-lu-na* in Meissner's *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, No. 4; cf. 𐎶𐎵𐎶?

⁴ *Zadûg* must be the Hebrew 𐤆𐤀𐤂𐤅; for the verbal stem, compare *saduk*, "he is righteous," in the Amarna tablets.

⁵ The vowel *ô* is obscured to *ô*, *ê*; e. g., in *anêki*, signifying the pronoun "I" in the Amarna tablets, etc.

⁶ Cf. Phon. *Ba'-a-al-ia-sh-bu*, VR, 2, 84.

REPLY TO CRITICS OF THE SECOND LECTURE.

BY DR. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.

THAT a discussion of these momentous theological or religious historical questions, if they are but treated in the right spirit, could be considered an injury or even an insult to Judaism, least of all to the modern Jewish faith, is in my opinion absolutely excluded. Dispassionate, strictly objective inquiry into the origin of the Sabbath, of the position of woman in Israel as well as in Babylonia, and of kindred questions, can only sharpen our judgment and promote the truth. In the same way we shall gradually witness in Jewish circles a unanimity regarding the worth of Old Testament monotheism, which at present is not yet attained. In contradiction to the universalism of the belief in God which several Jewish writers of open letters assume to prevail in the Old Testament (and they imagine they prove their case by quotations of Scriptural passages), the opinion of other Israelites, authorities both for their general knowledge and Biblical scholarship, has been voiced, the purport of which appears in the following private letter of January 14, 1903:

"Irrefutable is your assertion that Jewish monotheism is egotistic, particularistic, and exclusive; equally irrefutable, however, in my opinion, is the fact that this rigorously particularistic monotheism alone could preserve Judaism for thousands of years in the midst of all kinds of persecution and hostility. From the Jewish standpoint, the national theism is brilliantly justified; to give it up means to give up Judaism; and though much can be said in favor of such a surrender, there are many points that militate against it."

The divine character of the Torah, of course, will have to be excluded from scientific discussion, at least so long as a complete neglect of the results of Pentateuch-criticism on the Jewish side can be regarded as "exact science," and so long as reviews of *Babel and Bible* based on such a neglect are looked upon as "scientific criticism."

A deep pain seizes me, who myself am sprung from a strictly orthodox Lutheran house, when I consider the abyss of obscurantism, confusion, halfheartedness, contradiction, let alone worse features, of the evangelical orthodoxy displayed towards the questions raised by *Babel and Bible*. From all quarters and corners the cry is raised that I have said "nothing essentially new": but, if that be so, why this extraordinary excitement?

On the one hand, a deep lamentation and bitter accusation of Assyriology comes from Aix-la-Chapelle, because the Old Testament traditions, e. g., Nebuchadnezzar's madness, are arbitrarily assumed to be borrowed from Babylonian myths; on the other hand, an "orthodox pastor" exclaims in the columns of a journal of central Germany that I am fighting windmills, because the story of Balaam's ass, of the sun standing still, of the fall of the walls of Jericho, of the fish which swallows Jonah, of Nebuchadnezzar's madness, are not contained in the historical books of the Bible. "They are accounts," he says, "whose historical trustworthiness may be contested even according to orthodox views."

Accordingly even evangelical orthodoxy set aside "revelations" which are no longer deemed in accord with the spirit of the age: will not the orthodoxy once for all condescend to an open confession, and explain unequivocally which books and narratives of "Holly Scripture" they think proper to surrender?

Professor Ernst Sellin of Vienna, one of the first and most meritorious among the positive Old Testament investigators, gladly acknowledges in his glosses on *Babel and Bible* (*Neue Freie Presse*, January 25, 1903) "the innumerable helps, elucidations, and corrections which in grammatical and lexicographical questions as well as in the field of the history of civilisation and general history Old Testament investigation owes to the decipherment of the Babylonian inscriptions. Yet, on the other, he is of opinion that if I dispose of the fact of a divine revelation in the Bible on account of the Songs of Songs and the amalgamation of tradition out of heterogeneous sources, I appear on the scene a hundred years too late. This is, to say the least, a gross exaggeration. When my dear father, Franz Delitzsch, towards the end of his life, found himself compelled by the weight of the facts of the Old Testament text criticism to make some, and indeed the smallest possible, concessions for the book of Genesis, he was persecuted, even on his deathbed (1890), by the denunciation of whole synods. And the great commotion excited by my Second Lecture serves to show convincingly enough that the circles which govern Church and

school cherish a different conviction from that of my highly-esteemed critic.

The several clergymen who have not wasted their time at the university adhere to freer views, but Church and School—especially the public schools—have remained unaffected, and this inconsistency is no longer endurable, as stated in my First Lecture and also freely granted by Harnack.

And this inconsistency produces an increasingly widening gulf. When, e. g., a theologian of no less authority writes (26th January, 1903): "You criticise a conception of Revelation that sensible Protestants no longer share; it is that of the antiquated Lutheran Dogmatists. . . . All divine revelation is, of course, affected by the human medium, and must therefore have historically developed;" he describes exactly the standpoint that I myself advocate, only I regard the conceptions of "divine revelation" as held by the Church and as a historical, i. e., human, development to be irreconcilable contradictions. Either we take the one or the other. *Tertium non datur.*

I hold the view that in the Old Testament we have to deal with a development effected or permitted by God like any other product of this world, but, for the rest, of a purely human and historical character, in which God has not intervened through a "special, supernatural revelation."

The Old Testament monotheism plainly shows itself to be such a process marked by an advance from the imperfect to the perfect, from the false to the true, here and there indeed by occasional retrogression. The modification of the original conception of revelation, deeply rooted in ancient Orientalism, by a surrender of the verbal inspiration, made by both, evangelical and Catholic theology, and even by the Church, irretrievably divests the Old Testament of its character as the "Word of God," ushering in, as it seems to me, the end of the theological and the beginning of the religio-historical treatment of the Old Testament.

The present resurrection of the Babylonio-Assyrian literature has certainly not been accomplished without God's will. It has suddenly taken its place by the side of the ancient Hebrew literature, the only one of Hither-Asia heretofore known to us, and compels to revise our conception of revelation bound up with the Old Testament. Would that we might more and more become convinced that only by a dispassionate reinvestigation of the documents we can reach our aim, and that in this controversy, neither

now nor when its solution has been approached, our piety and the communion of our hearts with God can suffer the least.

CONCLUSION.

I shall endeavor to reply only to scientific criticisms, but I fear that, if I adhere to this maxim, I shall have little opportunity, if matters continue as heretofore, to concern myself with Evangelical Orthodoxy. Their method of warfare, especially that of the Evangelical Orthodox Press, fills me with profound disgust. In the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, founded by the venerable Hengstenburg, Pastor P. Wolff, of Friedensdorf, Seelow, one of its regular contributors, writes (No. 4, January 25, 1903) as follows:

"Judging from the proofs given by Delitzsch, we must expect him in his next Lecture to point out, how much lower the views of Christianity regarding marriage are than those of the Babylonians by a reference to the elopement of the Saxon Crown-Princess. No Babylonian princess ever ran away with the tutor of her children."

And again:

"Delitzsch intends to deliver another lecture on Babylon and the New Testament; perhaps he will also treat the subject 'Babel and Berlin': and therein will discover many points of contact. A small contribution I could offer myself. By the latest discoveries it has been proved that even the Prussian decorations are derived from Babylon. On a monolith preserved in the British Museum, King Sams-Rammân IV., is represented wearing upon his breast, on a ribbon round the neck, a cross, which appears to be exactly like a modern cross such as is used for orders. What a new light is shed by this last discovery upon our comprehension of the real meaning of orders! Even in Babylon the order of the Red Eagle of the fourth class was already bestowed! Since our orders are unquestionably derived from Babel, it is evident that our modern civilisation is steeped through and through with Babylonian ideas."

What a slough of mental and moral depravity in a German clergyman these words bespeak! And samples like this could be multiplied tenfold!

In contrast to this, I, as an Evangelical Christian, greet with gratitude Rev. Dr. Friedrich Jeremias of Dresden, whose discussion of my lecture (*Dresdner Journal*, February 4, 1903), though according to his standpoint he naturally rejects my position, is truly noble both in diction and substance.

A third lecture on "Babel and Bible" will be delivered as as soon as the views on these two lectures shall have become clear and settled.

KAISER WILHELM ON "BABEL AND BIBLE."

(A Letter from His Majesty Emperor William II. to Admiral Hollman, President of the Oriental Society.)

February 15, 1903.

My Dear Hollman:

My telegram to you will unquestionably have removed the doubts which you still entertained regarding the concluding passage of the lecture, which was clearly understood by the audience and therefore could not be altered. I am glad, nevertheless, that the subject-matter of the second lecture has again been taken up, and I gladly seize the opportunity after a perusal of a copy of the proofs to state again clearly my position with regard to it.

During an evening's entertainment with us Professor Delitzsch had the opportunity to fully confer and debate with Her Majesty, the Empress, and Dr. Dryander, while I listened and remained passive. Unfortunately he abandoned the standpoints of the strict historian and Assyriologist, going into religious and theological conclusions which were quite nebulous or bold.

When he came to speak of the New Testament, it became clear at once that he developed such quite divergent views regarding the person of our Saviour that I had to express the diametrically opposite view. He does not recognise the divinity of Christ as a deduction therefrom and asserts that the Old Testament contains no revelation about him as the Messiah.

Here the Assyriologist and the historical investigator ceases and the theologian begins, with all his light and shadow sides. In this province I can only urgently advise him to proceed cautiously, step by step, and at any rate to ventilate his theses only in the theological books and in the circle of his colleagues. Spare us,

I We published in the March number of *The Open Court* extracts from the Emperor's letter, such as then appeared in the daily press. In the meantime the entire document in its original form has become accessible to us, and considering its importance, we here republish the whole in English translation.—Ed.

the laymen, and, above all, the Oriental Society, from hearing of them.

We carry on excavations and publish the results in behalf of science and history, but not to conform or attack religious hypotheses.

Professor Delitzsch, the theologian, has run away with Professor Delitzsch, the historian; his history is exploited merely for the benefit of his theology.

I regret that Professor Delitzsch did not adhere to his original program which he developed last year; viz., to determine, on the basis of the discoveries of our society and by means of critically verified translations of the inscriptions, the extent to which these materials shed light on the history of the people of Israel or elucidate the historical events, customs and habits, traditions, politics and laws of the Israelites. In other words, he should have shown the mutual relationship in which the undeniably powerful and highly developed civilisation of the Babylonians stood to that of the Israelites, and the extent to which the former might have influenced the latter or have impressed upon it its own stamp. He could thus have saved, so to speak, from a purely human point of view, the honor and good name of the Babylonian people which has certainly been depicted in the Old Testament in a revolting and grossly one-sided manner. This was indeed his original intention,—at least as I conceive it,—and certainly his is a most fruitful and interesting field, the investigation, elucidation, and explanation of which necessarily interests us laymen in the highest degree and would have placed us under the highest obligation to him. At precisely here is the place where he should have stopped but beyond which unfortunately his ardent zeal led him. As was not otherwise to be expected, the excavations brought information to light which has a bearing also on the religion of the Old Testament. He should have mentioned this fact and should have emphasised and explained whatever coincidences occurred; but all purely religious conclusions it was his duty to have left for his hearers themselves to draw. Thus the interest and the favor of the lay public would have been gained in the fullest measure for his lecture.

He approached the question of revelation in a polemical tone, more or less denying it or reducing it to a matter of purely human development. That was a grave error, for thereby he touched on the innermost, holiest possession of many of his hearers.

And whether he did so justifiably or unjustifiably,—and that is

for our present purpose quite indifferent, since we are concerned here not with scientific conventions of theologians but with lay people of all ages and professions,—he still either demolished or endangered the dearest conceptions, or it may be, the illusions of many of his hearers,—conceptions with which these people had interwoven their oldest and dearest associations. And unquestionably he shattered or at least undermined for these people their faith. It is a deed that only the greatest genius should venture to attempt and for which the mere study of Assyriology did not justify him.

Goethe also once discussed this question, calling emphatic attention to the fact that one must be on one's guard in speaking to the general public not to destroy even such insignificant structures as mere "pagodas of terminology." The fundamental principle, that it is very important to distinguish precisely between what is and what is not adapted to the place, the public, etc., appears to have escaped the excellent Professor in his zeal. As a professional theologian it is permissible for him to publish in technical reviews and for his colleagues theses, hypotheses, and theories, nay, even convictions which it would not be proper for him to utter in a public lecture or book.

I should now like to advert again to my personal attitude toward the doctrine of revelation and to state it in terms similar to those I have formerly employed toward you, my dear Hollman, and toward other gentlemen.

I distinguish between two different kinds of revelation,—one progressive, and, as it were, historical; the other purely religious, as preparing the way for the future Messiah.

Regarding the former, it must be said for me, it does not admit of a doubt, not even the slightest, that God reveals himself continuously in the race of man created by him. He breathed into man the breath of his life and follows with fatherly love and interest the development of the human race. In order to lead it forward and develop it, he reveals himself in this or that great sage, whether priest or king, whether among the heathen, the Jews, or the Christians. Hammurabi was one. So was Moses, Abraham, Homer, Charlemagne, Luther, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kant, and Emperor William the Great. These he sought out and endowed with his grace to accomplish splendid, imperishable results for their people, in their intellectual and physical provinces, according to his will. How often my grandfather pointed out that he was only an instrument in the Lord's hands.

The achievements of the great intellects of the world were do-

nated by God to the nations in order that they might through their aid make further progress, and might feel their way farther and farther through the labyrinths which yet remained uninvestigated. Unquestionably God did "reveal" himself differently to the different races according to their position and rank in the scale of civilisation, and he does the same to-day. For just as we may be overwhelmed by the grandeur, magnificence, and might of nature when we look upon it and wonder while so doing at the grandeur of God who is revealed in it, so assuredly are we justified, when we contemplate the grand and splendid deeds that a man or a nation has accomplished, in wondering with gratitude at the splendor of the revelation made by God in them. He works directly upon us and among us.

The second form of revelation, the more religious, is that which leads to the manifestation of our Lord. It was introduced with Abraham, slow but forward looking and omniscient, for humanity was lost without it. Now begins the most astonishing activity of God's revelation. Abraham's race and the peoples developing from it regard faith in one God as their holiest possession, and, it follows, hold fast to it with ironlike consistency. It is their duty to foster and cherish it. Split up during their Egyptian captivity, the divided elements were again welded together by Moses, ever trying to hold fast to their monotheism. It was the direct intervention of God that caused the rejuvenation of this people, thus proved through centuries, till the Messiah, heralded by prophets and psalmists, finally appeared, the greatest revelation of God in the world, for he appeared in the son himself. Christ is God, God in human form. He redeemed us and inspires, entices us to follow him. We feel his fire burning in us. His sympathy strengthens us. His discontent destroys us. But also his intercession saves us. Conscious of victory, building solely upon his world, we go through labor, ridicule, sorrow, misery, and death, for we have in him God's revealed word, and he never lies.

That is my view of these matters.

For us of the Evangelical Denomination the Word has, through Luther, been made our all, and as a good theologian Delitzsch should not have forgotten that our great Luther taught us to sing and believe :

" Inviolable the Word let stand."

It is to me self-evident that the Old Testament contains many sections which are of a purely human and historical nature, and are not God's revealed word. These are merely historical descriptions

of incidents of all kinds which happen in the political, religious, moral, and intellectual life of this people.

The legislative act on Sinai, for example, can be only regarded as symbolically inspired by God. When Moses had to reburnish well known paragraphs of the law, perhaps derived from the code of Hammurabi, in order to incorporate and bind them into the loose, weak fabric of his people, here the historian can perhaps construe from the sense or wording a connection with the laws of Hammurabi, the friend of Abraham. That is perhaps logically correct. But that will never disguise the fact that God incited Moses thereto and in so far revealed himself to the people of Israel.

Accordingly it is my opinion, that henceforward in his lectures before our society it will be better for our good Professor to let matters of religion alone. On the other hand, he may depict undisturbed the relation which the religion, customs, etc. of the Babylonians bear to those of the Old Testament.

For me the following conclusions result from the foregoing discussions.

1. I believe in the one and only God.
2. We human beings need a form in order to teach his existence, especially for our children.
3. This has hitherto been the Old Testament. The present version of this will be possibly and substantially modified under the influence of research through inscriptions and excavations. That does not matter. Neither does it matter that much of the nimbus of the chosen people will thereby disappear. The kernel of the contents of the Old Testament will remain always the same,—God and his works.

Religion has never been the result of science, but the pouring out of the heart and being of man from intercourse with God.

With cordial thanks and greetings,

Your Faithful Friend,

WILHELM, I. R.

P. S.—You may make the utmost use of these lines. Let all who are interested read.

EGYPTIAN MYSTERIES AND MODERN FREEMASONRY.

BY HENRY RIDGELY EVANS.

I.

AN interesting question now presents itself: What relationship, if any, do the Egyptian Mysteries bear to Freemasonry? Dr. Mackey, a well-known writer on Masonic themes, in an examination of the analogies between the Ancient Mysteries and the rites of modern Freemasonry, lays particular stress upon "the identity of design and method in the two systems, as illustrated by the division—into steps, classes, or degrees—to which both were subjected, viz., *lustration* (purification, or preparation), *initiation*, and *perfection*."

The "Old Charges" are nearly all unanimous in claiming Egypt as the birthplace of the art of masonry (or mystery). How far the legends of the Craft are to be relied upon in this regard is a matter for learned investigation.

Heckethorne (*Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries*, Vol. I.) is not very partial to the Fraternity, but he says: "The Mysteries as they have come down to us *and are still perpetuated in a corrupted and aimless manner in Freemasonry*, have chiefly an astronomical bearing." (The italics are mine.)

A hundred or more works have been written to prove that Freemasonry is the *lineal* descendant of the Mysteries. Similar claims have been made in favor of the following systems or sects: (1) The Pythagoreans; (2) The Essenes; (3) The Roman Collegia; (4) The Culdees; (5) The Druids; (6) The Knights Templars; (7) The Rosicrucians; (8) The Mediæval Cathedral Builders. The truth of the matter seems to be in favor of the latter,—the Mediæval operative masons, who built those superb Gothic edifices, such as the cathedrals of Cologne, Rheims, Strassburg, Notre Dame, and Westminster Abbey. Originally an operative institu-

tion, Freemasonry became a "speculative society to promote the practice of the moral, fraternal, and charitable principles which had characterised the old organisation."

Many noted scholars who were well versed in ancient religions and occult philosophies were initiated into Freemasonry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Perhaps these students introduced the theosophic symbols of the Neo-Platonists, Cabbalists, Gnostics, and Mediæval Rosicrucians into the Craft. There is authority for the support of such a belief. Says Gould (*History of Freemasonry*, p. 26): "According to Mackey, an instance of the *transmutation* of Gnostic talismans into Masonic symbols, by a gradual transmission through alchemy, Rosicrucianism, and mediæval architecture, is afforded by a plate in the *Asoth Philosophorum* of Basil Valentine, the Hermetic philosopher, who flourished in the seventeenth century. This plate, which is hermetic in its design, but is full of Masonic symbolism, represents a winged globe inscribed with a triangle within a square, and on it reposes a dragon. On the latter stands a human figure of two hands and two heads surrounded by the sun, the moon, and five stars, representing the seven planets. One of the heads is that of a male, the other of a female. The hand attached to the male part of the figure holds the compasses, that to the female a square. The square and compasses thus distributed appear to have convinced Dr. Mackey that originally a phallic meaning was attached to these symbols, as there was to the point within the circle, which in this plate also appears in the centre of the globe. "The compasses held by the male figure would represent the male generative principle, and the square held by the female the female productive principle. The subsequent interpretation given to the combined square and compasses was the transmutation from the hermetic talisman to the Masonic symbol."

Just how much was borrowed from older systems by modern scholars, or how much was inherited from the guilds of operative masons, is a mooted question. The "Old Charges" are silent on the subject of the secret work of the Order. In those days the esoteric part of the ritual was better kept. Many writers, however, have claimed that the operative masons of mediæval times possessed no particular legends or symbols. The ceremony of initiation into a lodge was very simple, the candidate being taught nothing but a few trite ethical lessons, and the grips and words whereby to make himself known to his fellow-craftsmen, when travelling from city to city in quest of work.

From either standpoint—that of inheritance or late borrowing—much of the wisdom of the ancient temples of Egypt and Greece has undoubtedly filtered into the Fraternity, although it has been sadly misunderstood and misinterpreted by Masons in general. The esoteric student, however, is able to draw aside the veil of Isis and discover the true meaning of the symbols and legends of the Craft. Gen. Albert Pike, than whom no greater unfolders of masonic mysteries ever lived, has done this to a great extent in his remarkable book *The Morals and Dogma of the Scottish Rite*. Robert Hewitt Brown has performed a similar work in his interesting treatise *Stellar Theology and Masonic Astronomy*. Brown emphasises the astronomical origin of the rites of Freemasonry, tracing them back to the Mysteries. Heckethorne supports this view. It is a very plausible one in some respects, particularly as regards the third degree of Masonry. In almost all of the Mysteries of the ancient world we see this solar allegory cropping out,—the death and resurrection of the sun-god, and the lessons to be drawn therefrom as regards the life of man.

In Freemasonry we have the curious legend of Hiram Abiff, the widow's son. The Hiram who cast the great pillars of brass, Jachim and Boaz, which ornamented the portal of Solomon's Temple, and the numerous holy vessels used in the Jewish ceremonial, was not assassinated. Neither in the Bible nor in the writings of Josephus is there any account of his dying by violence. The story of Grand-Master Hiram Abiff is now regarded as a fable, pure and simple, by all Masonic scholars. It has no historical significance whatever, any more than the story of Isis and Osiris. It is, in the opinion of many eminent authorities, a solar allegory.

When, or how, the legend of Hiram came into the Masonic Fraternity is shrouded in mystery. Some claim that it was inherited from the Egyptian Mysteries, through Jewish, Grecian, or Mithraic channels, being a sort of paraphrase of the Osiris myth. Other writers assert that it was introduced into the Craft at a late date, probably during the speculative epoch. The astronomical significance of the legend has been lost to Freemasonry, so far as the explanations of the ritual are concerned. It is a pity! Masonry should not only be in possession of ethical and spiritual truths, but scientific as well. Nothing is grander than the contemplation of the heavenly bodies, and facts connected with their mysterious orbits.

Gen. Albert Pike shows that the name "Hiram" is a corruption of *Khairum* or *Khurum*, a compound word, having reference,

in one of its meanings, to the sun. *Khairum* in Hebrew signifies "was raised up to life, or living." In Arabic *hrm*, an unused root, meant, "was high," "made great," "exalted," and *Hirm* means an ox, the symbol of the sun in Taurus, at the vernal equinox. I have not the space to follow the learned author in all of his philological dissertations upon this point. The reader is referred to the work itself (*Morals and Dogma*, etc., pp. 78-88) for detailed explanations. The raising of Hiram (or the sun) from the grave of winter to life and power is the substance of the allegory.

On the 21st of June, when the sun arrives at the summer solstice, the constellation *Leo*—being but 30° in advance of the sun—appears to be leading the way, and to aid by his powerful paw in lifting the sun up to the summit of the zodiacal arch. April and May are therefore said to fail in their attempt to raise the sun; June alone succeeds, by the aid of *Leo*. When, at a more remote period, the summer solstice was *in Leo*, and the sun actually entered the stars of that constellation at the time of his exaltation, the connection was more intimate, and the allegory still more perfect.

Says Brown: "The *visible* connection between the constellation *Leo* and the return of the sun to his place of power and glory, at the summit of the Royal Arch of heaven, was the principal reason why that constellation was held in such high esteem and reverence by the ancients. The astrologers distinguished *Leo* as the 'sole house of the sun,' and taught that the world was created when the sun was in that sign. 'The lion was adored in the East and West by the Egyptians and the Mexicans. The Chief Druid of Britain was styled a lion. The national banner of the ancient Persians bore the device of the sun in *Leo*. A lion couchant with the sun rising at his back was sculptured on their palaces.'

"After the sun leaves *Leo*, the days begin to grow unequivocally shorter as the sun declines toward the autumnal equinox, to be again slain by the *three* autumnal months, lie dead through the *three* winter ones, and be raised again by the three vernal ones. Each year the great tragedy is repeated, and the glorious resurrection takes place.

"Thus, as long as this allegory is remembered, the leading truths of astronomy will be perpetuated, and the sublime doctrine of the immortal nature of man, and other great moral lessons they are thus made to teach, will be illustrated and preserved."

II.

There is an emblematic figure, copied by Pluche from the collection of Mountfancon, and painted on a mummy case at the Austin friars' of La Place des Victoires, which represents the death and resurrection of Osiris, and the beginning, progress, and end of the inundation of the Nile. Speaking of the figure, John Fellows says:¹ "The sign of the lion is transformed into a couch, upon which Osiris is laid out as dead; under which are four canopi of various capacities, indicating the state of the Nile at different periods. The first is terminated by the head of the dog-star, which gives warning of the approach of the overflow of the river; the second, by the head of a hawk, the symbol of the Etesian wind, which tends to swell the waters; the third, by the head of a heron, the sign of the south wind, which contributes to propel the water into the Mediterranean sea; and the fourth, by that of the virgin; which indicates that when the sun had passed that sign, the inundation would have nearly subsided

"To the above is superadded a large Anubis, who with an emphatic gesture turning towards Isis who has an empty throne on her head, intimates that the sun, by the aid of the lion, had cleared the difficult pass of the Tropic of Cancer, and was now in the sign of the latter, and, although in a state of exhaustion, would soon be in a condition to proceed on his way to the South; at the same time gives to the husbandman the important warning of retiring to avoid the inundation. The empty throne is indicative of its being vacated by the supposed death of Osiris.

"The raising of Hiram is evidently copied from this fable....

"It may be remarked that the lamentations uttered for the death of grand master Hiram is in exact accordance with the customs of the Egyptians in their celebrations of the fabled death of Osiris, the sun; of the Phœnicians for the loss of Adonis; and of the Greeks, in their mystic rites of the Eleusinian Ceres

"It is through the instrumentality of Leo that Osiris, the sun, is retrieved from his perilous condition. The strong paw of the lion wrests him from the clutches of Typhon, and places him in his wonted course. Anubis, the dog-star, is the herald of this event."

An ancient Egyptian drawing, found in the sarcophagus of one of the kings of Egypt, entombed in the pyramid erected to his memory, constitutes "startling testimony of the entire correctness

¹ *Exposition of the Mysteries, or Religious Dogmas and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, etc.*, p. 15.

of the astronomical solution of the legend of Osiris and that of Hiram."

Stellar Theology (p. 49) thus explains the emblem:

"The form that lies dead before the altar is that of Osiris, the personified sun-god, whom the candidate represents in the drama of initiation, lying dead at the winter solstice. The cross upon his breast refers to the great celestial cross, or intersection of the celestial equator by the ecliptic. The figure of the lion grasping the dead sun-god by the hand alludes to the constellation Leo and the summer solstice, at which point the sun is raised to life and glory, as has been just explained in the allegory of the resurrection of the sun, and denotes that the candidate is about to be raised from a symbolical death to life and power by the grip of the lion's paw. This is made clearly manifest from the fact that the lion holds in his other paw the ancient Egyptian symbol of eternal life, or the *Crux Ansata*. The tablet at the feet of the candidate has inscribed upon it in hieroglyphics the sacred names of *Amon* and of *Mut*, the wife of *Amon Ra*, and probably that of the royal candidate. The figure erect at the altar is that of the Grand Hierophant, attired as Isis, with the vacant throne upon his head, emblematic of the departed sun-god. She has her hand raised in an attitude of command, her arm forming a right angle; her eyes fixed upon the emblematic lion as she gives the sign of command that the candidate be raised from death and darkness to light and life. The objects on the altar are two of those peculiar-shaped jars, with pointed bases, in which wine was kept (see Wilkinson's *Egyptians of the Time of the Pharaohs*, p. 86, woodcut 62), and which, the same author says, 'always had their place on the altar of the gods' (page 13). The emblem placed between the votive jars of wine is more obscure. It may be the *thyrsus*, but is more probably a floral offering. (See *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I., woodcut 260, no. 5.) There can be no doubt but that the whole device is a symbolical picture of the initiation of some important person into the Mysteries, not of Osiris, however, as Paterson thinks, but of Isis, who, represented by the Grand Hierophant, stands behind the altar, giving the command to raise from death Osiris, who lies before it."

The reader will find in *Stellar Theology* the astronomical significance of many other important Masonic symbols—symbols that teach not only scientific facts, but typify the unity of God, and the immortal progress of the soul. He says: "Though in all parts of our ritual, from the threshold to the altar to the *penetralia* (as in the ancient Mysteries, from which Freemasonry has descended),

the profoundest truths of science and true religion are taught and illustrated by astronomical allegories, yet nowhere do we find, even in its most ancient portions, any prayers, invocations, or adorations, addressed to the heavenly bodies themselves. The sun and the hosts of heaven are only used as emblems of the Deity.... The Mysteries themselves, in their primitive and uncorrupted form, taught the unity of God and the immortality of man as their cardinal doctrines, and that the sun was but a symbol of Him whom 'the sun, moon, and stars obey, and beneath whose all-seeing eye even comets perform their stupendous revolutions' (*Masonic Lecture*)."

"In the great mysteries of Eleusis," says Albert G. Mackey (*Symbolism of Freemasonry*, pp. 108-109), "we learn from St. Chrysostom, as well as other authorities, that the temple of initiation was symbolic of the universe, and we know that one of the officers (the *dadouchos*, or torch-bearer) represented the sun." The myth of Demeter searching for her daughter in the realms of Pluto, or the underworld, is the old solar allegory with a Grecian tinge.

All places of initiation in the ancient days typified the universe—Hindoo, Egyptian, Persian, and Grecian. The masonic lodge is a symbol of the world and the three principal officers represent the sun at its rising, its setting, and its meridian height.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PROFESSOR HARNACK ON THE EMPEROR'S ATTITUDE TOWARD "BABEL AND BIBLE."

The Emperor has spoken, in order to express his position without ambiguity in an historico-theological dispute. This is something new, but in view of all the circumstances the Emperor's decision is quite easily explained. The opinion was likely to become widespread, had indeed become widespread, that the Emperor occupied the same theological standpoint as Dr. Delitzsch. Not wishing to permit this misunderstanding to continue the Emperor wrote as the public has read.

From the point of view of scholars there was, indeed, no real controversy. It has long been known that a portion of the myths and legends of the Old Testament, together with important elements of ancient Israelitish civilisation, had their origin in Babylon. It was equally beyond question that this fact is fatal to the current notion of the inspiration of the Old Testament. For the refutation of this belief there was no need of reference to Babylon: a hundred other observed facts had contributed to destroy it.

But the knowledge of these facts had not become common property. However, the theologians cannot be held to blame for this. They had done their duty toward spreading the information in books and pamphlets and lectures. Our German literature points with pride to a work of such eminence as Wellhausen's *History of Israel*; it appeals to all educated people and is classic in form and content. And beside it stand a half dozen other excellent works, each of which gives full and accessible information regarding Old Testament literature and history. But Church and School have been in league to suppress this knowledge by excluding it from their domain. And indeed they are not alone to blame. Indolence and fear have done their share.

To Delitzsch's lectures is due the credit for the fact that we now hear preached from the house-tops what before was but like a voice in the wilderness. "Credit," indeed, is scarcely the word; it is due to the force of circumstances. But we do not need to weigh the individual credit for the result; we hail with gratitude the fact that Delitzsch has given wide currency to a more correct view of the Old Testament.

But has he in fact done this? Unquestionably he has removed a great error: the belief that the materials of the Old Testament are all original. But how little does the material amount to in the history of religion and of the spirit! If to-day some one should go before the public and announce to it: "Gentlemen, I come to relieve you from a great error; you have hitherto believed that Goethe's *Faust*

was an original work, while in fact it is only a recent, secondary product; for the entire material of it is found in a popular legend of the sixteenth century,"—what would be the reply to him? He would be laughed to scorn, and Delitzsch would join in the laugh.

Without doubt he is very far from trying to determine the value of the Old Testament religion on the ground of its dependence upon Babylon, but in my opinion he has not done enough to prevent the establishment of a false conception of the matter in his hearers and readers. This public is very far from conceding to the prophets and the psalmists what it concedes without hesitation to a Goethe. Furthermore, for the very reason that there has prevailed hitherto a notion of the supernatural character of the Old Testament, the pendulum of opinion, following a familiar psychological law, now swings to the opposite extreme. To-day it is the talk of the streets that "the Old Testament no longer amounts to much."

At this point the Emperor enters the arena with his letter. But meantime the chasm had become deeper. As the result of an interview the monarch had become convinced that Professor Delitzsch did not hold the orthodox belief regarding the divinity of Christ, and that the examination of the Old Testament among other reasons prevented his holding this belief. In the face of this negative conviction the Emperor wished to leave no doubt regarding his own positive conviction.

We must thank him for the way in which he did this. It is true, the reproof which Delitzsch has received cannot fail to be painful to him, and he must feel deeply his being excluded from the domain of theology upon which the Emperor himself now enters. But that was surely not the intention; the Emperor means to say, and he is right in so saying, that Delitzsch's authority as an Assyriologist does not also extend to his theological doctrines. Beyond this he concedes absolute freedom to the convictions of the scholar.

Absolute freedom,—this sentiment shines forth from the Emperor's utterances with pleasing and inspiring effect. He has no thought of issuing a peremptory decree; the whole letter is permeated with the spirit of freedom. He knows very well that commands are out of place in connection with these delicate and sacred matters, and he knows that theology cannot pass by these questions, but that they must be treated most seriously, with liberty and courage. He leaves them to theological science.

But still more pleasing is the effect of the positiveness, the frankness and warmth with which the Emperor himself takes his stand in these matters. What he has written is from the depth of his heart; he utters it just as he thinks and feels it, and he has written it down like one who is trying to take account of his own mind, with all the minute marks of individual feeling and individual experience. He feels his soul bound to Christ, and he is not willing to speak of religion without praising him and confessing his allegiance to him.

The Emperor's utterance professes to be a personal confession of faith, and as such it deserves respect. But it would certainly not be in accordance with the spirit of the imperial author if we were to give no other response than silence. In the Evangelical Church the ultimate and supreme questions are always open to discussion, and each generation must work out the answers anew. Our spiritual life also depends upon crises and finds its very vitality in them. How should we be silent when the profoundest and most solemn questions challenge us in this form?

All Evangelical Christians will frankly and joyfully agree with the final sentence of the Emperor's letter: "Religion was never the result of science, but an overflow of the heart and being of man from his intercourse with God." Theology

subscribes to this proposition; it knows right well that it does not work creatively but merely tries to follow reverently in thought something that already is.

Not less will be the general accord with the Emperor's conviction that religion must have forms, so that we may explain ourselves and give mutual instruction, but that these forms cannot be imperishable. I think that even Professor Delitzsch has attained the capital feature of his purposes in the concession that the customary forms of the current school traditions regarding the Old Testament are in urgent need of change.

But questions and disputes will arise chiefly in connection with two convictions expressed by his majesty: the theory of a twofold revelation, and the divinity of Christ. And the two are closely connected.

The difference between faith and science in connection with religion becomes clear immediately on the mention of the word "revelation." Science in the strictest sense cannot admit the notion at all, finding it too transcendental. On the other hand, faith cannot permit itself to be deprived of revelation. But in the course of development there has been an approach between the two sides. Aside from the reverent contemplation of the universe the evangelical faith has ceased to recognise revelation through any mediums but persons. The whole lower series of alleged revelations has been put aside. There are no revelations by means of things. The Emperor's letter also took this ground: the revelations of God in his humanity are persons, especially great persons. Now in so far as great personages have their mystery even for science in their individuality and power, in so far harmony is established between faith and science. But the recognition by me and others of these personages as revelations of God is an act of subjective experience which no science can either create or prevent.

But upon this common ground the Emperor's letter distinguishes two sorts of revelation: a general one, and a peculiarly religious one. There is a great element of strength in this distinction, for it brings out vigorously the fact that there is no more serious concern for man than his relation to God, and that everything is dependent on this relationship. But on the other hand, the thinking mind cannot possibly repose in the assumption of two revelations running as it were parallel with each other, and the imperial letter has given utterance to this observation by putting Abraham into both categories. Accordingly there cannot be two revelations—for religion, moral force, and knowledge stand in most intimate union—but one revelation, the bearers of which were, and still are, very different in nature and greatness, calling and function. If Jesus Christ loses nothing of his individuality and uniqueness when he is placed in the series with Moses, Isaiah, and the psalmists, neither does he suffer by the comparison when we see him in the line with Socrates and Plato and the others who are mentioned in the Emperor's letter. The religious conception of history must in the last analysis be one and the same: it must be mankind led forth by God out of the state of primitive nature, out of error and sin, and saved and brought into the estate of children of God. Here, however, we make reservation of the fact that the divine history finds its specific line in ancient times in Israel.

The Christian Church must reject every estimate of Christ which ignores the difference between him and other masters. He himself, his disciples and the history of the world have spoken so distinctly on this point that there should be no room for doubt, and he still speaks to us in his word as distinctly as to his disciples of old. But it may and must be questioned whether the inflexible formula "divinity of Christ" is the correct one. He himself never used it, but chose other desig-

nations, and it is at least very doubtful whether any of his disciples ever uttered it. And the early Church, too, did not speak directly of the divinity of Christ, but always of his divinity and humanity "God-man," therefore, is the only correct formula even in the intent of the ancient dogma. In this phrase we have almost restored the mystery which according to the will of Christ himself was to remain in this matter. He made no secret of the fact that he was the Lord and Savior, and his disciples were expected to observe and experience the fact in his words and deeds. But how his relation to the Father arose he withheld from us and kept to himself. In my historical opinion, therefore, and according to my feeling in the matter, even the formula "man and God" (God-man-hood) is not beyond criticism, inasmuch as it has already begun to intrude upon a mystery into which we are not permitted to look.

But the formula may be allowed to stand because at bottom it does not pretend to explain anything, but only protects the extraordinary from profanation, just as does the expression "Son of God." The Pauline expression "God was in Christ" seems to me to be the last word that we are permitted to speak in this matter, now that we have liberated ourselves slowly and painfully from the erroneous notion of ancient philosophers that we can penetrate the mysteries of God and Nature, humanity and history.

"If ye love me, keep my commandments;" "In this shall every one recognise that ye are my disciples, that ye love one another,"—it is more important to meditate upon these words and try to live up to them than to put the incomprehensible and the venerable into formulas. The time is coming and even now is near when Evangelical Christians will join hands sincerely in the confession of Jesus Christ as their master and in the determination to follow his words, and our Catholic brethren will then be obliged to join with us to the same end. The burden of a long history of misunderstandings, of formulas that bristle like swords, of tears and blood, weighs upon us, but in it there is also preserved to us a precious inheritance. The two seem to be united inextricably, but nevertheless they are gradually separating, although the "Let there be light" has not yet been spoken across this chaos. Frankness and courage, honesty with ourselves, freedom and love—these are the levers which will lift the burden. And the Emperor's letter also is intended to aid in this lofty undertaking.

POPE LEO XIII. ON ONE OF THE HIGHER CRITICS.

Leo XIII. is perhaps the most liberal Pope that ever sat on the chair of St. Peter. What he thinks of Higher Criticism may be gathered from his attitude toward Renan, of which the following anecdote is reported, which may be true, and if not true may be considered *ben trovato* because characteristic of the Pontiff's attitude toward scholars of Renan's stamp. When told of Renan's death Pope Leo XIII. asked: "How did he die?" "Impenitent," was the reply. Leo XIII. reflected a moment and then remarked very quietly: "That is better." The prelate having expressed some surprise, the Pope went on to explain that Renan had proved by his end that his doubt was sincere. He would be judged by his sincerity, which, if it was thorough, might absolve him. A few moments afterward he observed that Renan had done more good than harm to the Church. He had aroused the theologians from their torpor. He had embodied the doubts of modern thought. He had marshaled its forces. The Church had been surprised; but could they believe that all this was not designed by Providence? And they might hope that particular indulgence would be shown to one who was the instrument of God's wrath.

MR. THOMAS J. McCORMACK.

Mr. Thomas J. McCormack, our assistant editor, has been elected Principal of the La Salle and Peru Township High School, and will enter upon his new duties with the beginning of September next.

Mr. McCormack came to us soon after the completion of his studies. He was educated in Princeton, N. J., where he was graduated in 1884, and took post-graduate courses in Leipzig and Tübingen, Germany, one term at each of these universities (1884-1885). He became connected with The Open Court Publishing Co. in 1888, where his most important work consisted in making translations from the German and French. He rendered into English some most notable essays of the foremost mathematicians, physicists, biologists, physiologists, psychologists, and theologians of Europe, such as Lagrange, Grassmann, Poincaré, Klein, Schubert, Boltzmann, Hering, Wundt, Ribot, Binet, Delbœuf, Topinard, Haeckel, Weismann, Eimer, Carus, Sterne, Lasswitz, Cornill, and Delitzsch.

Since 1897 Mr. McCormack has been more closely affiliated with The Open Court Publishing Co. in the capacity of assistant editor.

Mr. McCormack's scientific program is contained in a lecture which he delivered before the Science Club of the Faculty of Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and which was published in *The Monist*, Vol. X., No. 4, under the title "On the Nature of Scientific Law and Scientific Explanation."

Mr. McCormack has also edited works by De Morgan, Leibnitz, Hume, Berkeley, and Descartes, and he has written a number of biographies of mathematicians and philosophers which were published with portraits in *The Open Court*. To this last journal and to *The Monist* he likewise contributed a large number of critical notices of current scientific literature and articles on miscellaneous scientific topics.

All the translations of Mr. McCormack are excellent, but his main work is Mach's *Science of Mechanics*, which is especially noteworthy on account of the difficulties of the subject-matter.

In parting we express to Mr. McCormack our thanks for the high grade of work which he accomplished during all these years. Our best wishes accompany him in his new career, and we cherish the confidence that his labors will be attended with success, for he has, in his studies, always kept in mind the theory of education, devoting special attention to the maturest methods of teaching according to the principles of modern science.

P. C.



HERMES

EURIDICE

ORPHEUS

BAS-RELIEF OF AN ANCIENT SARCOPHAGUS.

Reproduced from a photograph.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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LEO TOLSTOY'S APPEAL TO THE CLERGY.¹

(Condensed for *The Open Court*.)

WHOMSOEVER you may be: popes, cardinals, bishops, or pastors, of whatever Church, forego for a while your assurance that you are the only true disciples of the God Christ, and remember that you are first of all men: that is, according to your own teaching, beings sent into this world by God to fulfil His will; remember this, and ask yourselves what you are doing. Your whole life is devoted to preaching, maintaining, and spreading among men a teaching which you say was revealed to you by God Himself, and is, therefore, the only one that is true, and brings redemption.

In what, then, does this one true and redeeming doctrine that you preach, consist? To whichever one of the so-called Christian Churches you may belong, you acknowledge that your teaching is quite accurately expressed in the articles of belief formulated at the Council of Nicæa 1,600 years ago. Those articles of belief are as follows:

First: There is a God the Father (the first person of a Trinity), who has created the sky and the earth, and all the angels who live in the sky.²

Second: There is only one Son of God the Father, not created, but born (the second person of the Trinity). Through this Son the world was made.

Third: This Son, to save people from sin and death (by which

¹ Translated by Aymer Maude.

² In English, we should here say "heaven" for "the sky," but we allow the translation to stand because both words are identical not only in the continental languages of Europe but also in the Greek of the New Testament, and certainly the ideas were so in the ancient conception.—*Editor.*

they were all punished for the disobedience of their forefather Adam), came down to the earth, was made flesh by the Holy Ghost and the virgin Mary, and became a man.

Fourth: This Son was crucified for the sins of men.

Fifth: He suffered and was buried, and rose on the third day, as had been foretold in Hebrew books.

Sixth: Having gone up into the sky, the Son seated himself at his Father's right side.

Seventh: This Son of God will, in due time, come again to the earth to judge the living and the dead.

Eighth: There is a Holy Ghost (the third person of the Trinity) who is equal to the Father, and who spoke through the prophets.

Ninth: (held by some of the largest Churches): There is one holy, infallible Church (or, more exactly the Church to which he who makes the confession belongs is held to be unique, holy, and infallible). This Church consists of all who believe in it, living or dead.

Tenth: (also for some of the largest Churches): There exists a sacrament of baptism, by means of which the power of the Holy Ghost is communicated to those who are baptised.

Eleventh: At the second coming of Christ the souls of the dead will re-enter their bodies, and these bodies will be immortal; and

Twelfth: After the second coming, the just will have eternal life in paradise on a new earth under a new sky, and sinners will have eternal life in the torments of hell.

Not to speak of things taught by some of your largest Churches (the Roman Catholic and Russo-Greek Orthodox)—such as the belief in saints, and in the good effects of bowing to their bodily remains, and to representations of them, as well as of Jesus and the mother of God—the above twelve points embrace the fundamental positions of that truth which you say has been revealed to you by God himself for the redemption of man. Some of you preach these doctrines simply as they are expressed; others try to give them an allegorical meaning, more or less in accord with present-day knowledge and common sense; but you all alike are bound to confess, and do confess, these statements to be the exact expression of that unique truth which God himself has revealed to you, and which you preach to men for their salvation.

*

*

Very well. You have had the one truth capable of saving mankind revealed to you by God himself. It is natural for men to

strive towards truth, and when it is clearly presented to them they are always glad to accept it, and be guided by it.

And, therefore, to impart this saving truth revealed to you by God himself, it would seem sufficient, plainly and simply, verbally, and through the Press, to communicate it with reasonable persuasion to those capable of receiving it.

But how have you preached this truth?

From the time a society calling itself the Church was formed, your predecessors taught this truth chiefly by violence. They laid down the truth, and punished those who did not accept it. This method, which was evidently not suited to its purpose, came, in course of time, to be less and less employed, and is now, of all the Christian Churches, used, I think, only in Russia.

Another means was through external action on people's feelings—by solemnity of setting, pictures, music, even dramatic performances, and oratorical art. In time this method, also, began to be less and less used. In Protestant countries—except the orator's art—it is now but little used.

But all the strength of the clergy is now directed to a third and most powerful method, which has always been used, and is now with special jealousy retained by the clergy in their own hands. This method is that of instilling Church doctrine into people who are not in a position to judge of what is given them: for instance, into quite uneducated working people who have no time for thought, and chiefly into children, who accept indiscriminately what is imparted to them and on whose minds it remains permanently impressed.

So that in our day your chief method of imparting to men the truth God has revealed to you, consists in teaching this truth to uneducated adults, and to children who do not reason but who accept everything.

This teaching generally begins with what is called Scripture History: that is to say, with selected passages from the Bible: the Hebrew books of the Old Testament, which according to your teaching are the work of the Holy Ghost, and are therefore not only unquestionably true, but also holy. From this history your pupil draws his first notions of the world, of the life of man, of good and evil, and of God.

This Scripture History begins with a description of how God, the ever-living, created the sky and the earth 6,000 years ago out of nothing; how he afterwards created beasts, fishes, plants, and finally man: Adam, and Adam's wife, who was made of one of

Adam's ribs. Then it describes how, fearing lest the man and his wife should eat an apple which had the magic quality of giving knowledge, he forbade them to eat that apple; how, notwithstanding this prohibition, the first people ate the apple, and were therefore expelled from Paradise; and how all their descendants were therefore cursed, and the earth was cursed also, so that since then it has produced weeds. Then the life of Adam's descendants is described: how they became so perverted that God not only drowned them all, but drowned all the animals with them, and left alive only Noah and his family and the animals he took into the ark. Then it is described how God chose Abraham alone of all people, and made an agreement with him; which agreement was that Abraham was to consider God to be God, and, as a sign of this, was to be circumcised. On his side, God undertook to give Abraham a numerous progeny, and to patronise him and all his offspring. Then it tells how God, patronising Abraham and his descendants, performed on their behalf most unnatural actions called miracles, and most terrible cruelties. So that the whole of this history—excepting certain stories, which are sometimes naïve (as the visit of God with two angels to Abraham, the marriage of Isaac, and others), and are sometimes innocent, but are often immoral (as the swindles of God's favorite, Jacob, the cruelties of Samson, and the cunning of Joseph),—the whole of this history, from the plagues Moses called down upon the Egyptians, and the murder by an angel of all their first-born, to the fire that destroyed 250 conspirators, and the tumbling into the ground of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and the Destruction of 14,700 men in a few minutes, and on to the sawing in pieces of enemies with saws, and the execution of the priests who did not agree with him by Elijah (who rode up into the sky), and to the story of Elisha, who cursed the boys that laughed at him, so that they were torn in pieces, and eaten by two bears,—all this history is a series of miraculous occurrences and of terrible crimes, committed by the Hebrew people, by their leaders, and by God himself.

Your teaching of the New Testament consists not in its moral teaching, not in the Sermon on the Mount, but in conformity of the Gospels with the stories of the Old Testament, in the fulfilment of prophecies, and in miracles, the movement of a star, songs from the sky, talk with the devil, the turning of water into wine, walking on the water, healings, calling people back to life, and, finally, the resurrection of Jesus Himself, and His flying up into the sky.

If all these stories, both from the Old and New Testaments,

were taught as a series of fairy-tales, even then hardly any teacher would decide to tell them to children and adults he desired to enlighten. But these tales are imparted to people unable to reason, as though they were the most trustworthy description of the world and its laws, as if they gave the truest information about the lives of those who lived in former times, of what should be considered good and evil, of the existence and nature of God, and of the duties of man.

People talk of harmful books! But is there in Christendom a book that has done more harm to mankind than this terrible book, called "Scripture History from the Old and New Testaments"? And all the men and women of Christendom have to pass through a course of this Scripture History during their childhood, and this same history is also taught to ignorant adults as the first and most essential foundation of knowledge,—as the one, eternal, truth of God.

You cannot introduce a foreign substance into a living organism without the organism suffering, and sometimes perishing, from its efforts to rid itself of this foreign substance. What terrible evil to a man's mind must, then, result from this rendering of the teaching of the Old and New Testaments—foreign alike to present day knowledge, to common sense, and to moral feeling—and instilled into him at a time when he is unable to judge, but accepts all that is given him!

Every man comes into the world with a consciousness of his dependence on a mysterious, all-powerful Source which has given him life, and consciousness of his equality with all men, the equality of all men with one another, a desire to love and be loved, and consciousness of the need of striving towards perfection. But what do you instil into him?

Instead of the mysterious Source of which he thinks with reverence, you tell him of an angry, unjust God, who executes and torments people.

Instead of the equality of all men, which the child and the simple men recognise with all their being, you tell them that not only people, but nations, are unequal; that some of them are loved, and others are not loved, by God; and that some people are called by God to rule, others to submit.

Instead of that wish to love and to be loved which forms the strongest desire in the soul of every unperverted man, you teach him that the relations between men can only be based on violence, on threats, on executions; and you tell him that judicial and mili-

tary murders are committed not only with the sanction but at the command of God.

In place of the need of self-improvement, you tell him that man's salvation lies in belief in the Redemption, and that by improving himself by his own powers, without the aid of prayers, sacraments, and belief in the Redemption, man is guilty of sinful pride, and that for his salvation man must trust not to his own reason, but to the commands of the Church, and must do what she decrees.

It is terrible to think of the perversion of thought and feeling produced in the soul of a child or an ignorant adult by such teaching.

There were Christian customs: to have pity on a criminal or a wanderer, to give of one's last resources to a beggar, and to ask forgiveness of a man one has offended.

All this is now forgotten and discarded. It is now all replaced by learning by rote the catechism, the triune composition of the Trinity, prayers before lessons, and prayers for teachers and for the Tsar, etc. So, within my recollection, the people have grown ever religiously coarser.

One part—most of the women—remain as superstitious as they were six hundred years ago, but without that Christian spirit which formerly permeated their lives; the other part, which knows the catechism by heart, are absolute atheists. And all this is consciously brought about by the clergy.

"But that applies to Russia," is what Western Europeans—Catholics and Protestants—will say. But I think that the same, if not worse, is happening in Catholicism, with its prohibition of the Gospels and its Notre-Dames; and in Protestantism, with its holy idleness on the Sabbath day, and its bibliolatry. I think, in one form or another, it is the same throughout the quasi-Christian world.

One may utter words that have no sense, but one cannot *believe* what has no sense.

The people of former ages who framed these dogmas, could believe in them, but you can no longer do so. If you say you have faith in them, you say so only because you use the word "faith" in one sense, while you apply it to another. One meaning of the word "faith" refers to a relation adopted by man towards God, which enables him to define the meaning of his whole life, and guides all his conscious actions. Another meaning of the word

"faith" is the credulous acceptance of assertions made by a certain person or persons.

The well-known preacher, Père Didon, in the introduction to his *Vie de Jésus-Christ*, announces that he believes, not in some allegorical sense but plainly, without explanations, that Christ, having risen, was carried up into the sky, and sits there at the right hand of his father.

An illiterate Samára peasant of my acquaintance, in reply to the question whether he believed in God, simply and firmly replied, as his priest told me: "No, sinner that I am, I don't believe." His disbelief in God the peasant explained by saying that one could not live as he was living if one believed in God: "one scolds, and grudges help to a beggar, and envies, and over-eats and drinks. Could one do such things if one believed in God?"

Père Didon affirms that he has faith both in God and in the ascension of Jesus, while the Samára peasant says he does not believe in God, since he does not obey His commandments.

Evidently Père Didon does not even know what faith is, and only says he believes: while the Samára peasant knows what faith is, and, though he says he does not believe in God, really believes in him in the very way that is true faith.

* * *

I hear the usual reply: "What will become of men if they cease to believe the Church doctrines? Will things not be worse than they are now?"

What will happen if the people of Christendom cease to believe in Church doctrine? The result will be—that not the Hebrew legends alone but the religious wisdom of the whole world will become accessible and intelligible to them. People will grow up and develop with unperverted understandings and feelings. Having discarded a teaching accepted credulously, people will order their relation towards God reasonably, in conformity with their knowledge; and will recognise the moral obligations that flow from that relation.

"But will not the results be worse?"

If the Church doctrine is not true—how can it be worse for men not to have falsehood preached to them as truth, especially in a way so unfair as is now adopted for the purpose?

"But," some people say, "the common folk are coarse and uneducated, and what we, educated people, do not require, may yet be useful and even indispensable, for the masses."

If all men are made alike, then all must travel one and the same path from darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge, from falsehood to truth. You have travelled that road, and have attained consciousness of the unreliability of the belief in which you were trained. By what right will you check others from making the same advance?

You say that though you do not need such food, it is needed by the masses. But no wise man undertakes to decide the physical food another must eat; how then can it be decided—and who can decide—what spiritual food the masses of the people must have?

The fact that you notice among the people a demand for this doctrine in no way proves that the demand ought to be supplied. There exists a demand for intoxicants and tobacco—and other yet worse demands. And the fact is that you yourselves, by complex methods of hypnotisation, evoke this very demand, by the existence of which you try to justify your own occupation. Only cease to evoke the demand, and it will not exist; for, as in your own case so with everyone else, there can be no demand for lies, but all men have moved and still move from darkness to light; and you who stand nearer to the light should try to make it accessible to others, and not to hide it from them.

“But,” I hear a last objection, “will the result not be worse if we—educated, moral men, who desire to do good to the people—abandon our posts because of the doubts that have arisen in our souls, and let our places be taken by coarse, immoral men, indifferent to the people’s good?”

Undoubtedly the abandonment of the clerical profession by the best men, will have the effect that the ecclesiastical business passing into coarse, immoral hands, will more and more disintegrate, and expose its own falsity and harmfulness. But the result will not be worse, for the disintegration of ecclesiastical establishments is now going on, and is one of the means by which people are being liberated. And, therefore, the quicker this emancipation is accomplished, by enlightened and good men abandoning the clerical profession, the better it will be. And so, the greater the number of enlightened and good men who leave the clerical profession, the better.

I know that many of you are encumbered with families, or are dependent on parents who require you to follow the course you have begun; I know how difficult it is to abandon a post that brings honor or wealth or even gives a competence and enables

you and your families to continue a life to which you are accustomed, and I know how painful it is to go against relatives one loves. But anything is better than to do what destroys your own soul and injures your fellow-men.

Therefore, the sooner and more definitely you repent of your sin and cease your activity, the better it will be not only for others, but for yourselves.

That is what I—*standing now on the brink of my grave*, and clearly seeing the chief source of human ills—wished to say to you; and to say not in order to expose or condemn you, but in order to co-operate in the emancipation of men from the terrible evil which the preaching of your doctrine produces, and at the same time to help you to rouse yourselves from the hypnotic sleep in which now you often fail to understand all the wickedness of your own actions.

May God, who sees your hearts, help you in the effort!

THE PHILOSOPHY OF A MEMPHITE PRIEST.¹

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

THERE is in the British Museum,² a sadly damaged stone, which in the opinion of the present writer contains the oldest known formulation of a philosophical *Weltanschauung*.³

It is a rectangular slab of black granite, 0.92×1.375 m, and the inscribed surface is considerably smaller, being 0.688×1.32 m, thus occupying only the upper three quarters of the stone, as it lies upon the long edge. The inscription consists of two horizontal lines at the top and beneath these, sixty-one vertical lines. It has suffered a fourfold defacement: (1) the name of king Shabaka in the *sj-R'* ring has been everywhere (three times) chiseled out; (2) the name of Set, as a typhonic god, has everywhere (at least thirteen times) been chiseled out⁴; (3) a deep rectangular hole

¹ Professor Breasted has discussed the significance of the inscription on the Memphite slab for the history of philosophy in an article that appeared in *The Monist*, Vol. XII., No. 3, under the title "The First Philosopher."

² No 135*.

³ It was early published by Sharpe (Insc. I, 36-38) but so badly as to be unusable. The first two lines were copied from Sharpe by Rougé and employed for historical purposes (*Mél. d'Arch. Eg.* I, pp. 12 and 20 ff.); Goodwin made a Latin translation from Sharpe's faulty text (*Mél. Eg.* 3rd. ser. I, 247) but since then, with the exception of a few phrases from Sharpe translated by Renouf (Hilbert, *Lectures* 1879, pp. 150 and 220), it has been entirely neglected, until it was again published a few weeks ago by Messrs. Bryant and Read (PSBA. March, 1901).

I had already made a copy of the monument for the Berlin dictionary, before I saw their copy; a comparison of their plate with mine will explain the necessity of another publication; for example, their plate numbers the lines backward, many of Sharpe's errors remain uncorrected, the lacunae have by no means been exhausted and there is no distinction made between the gaps made intentionally by the scribe, and those due to wear or mutilation. The authors deserve much credit for devoting themselves to such a task, amid the duties of business life, and that they have not fully appreciated its extreme difficulty, is quite pardonable. Their essay on the monument does them great credit. It therefore seemed imperative to immediately put as full a text as possible before students of Egyptian thought and religion. This unexpectedly early publication of my plate therefore makes it impossible to present with it the full study of the document, and especially of *cognate material*, both Egyptian and Greek, which I had contemplated. What I have to offer therefore is only an account of the stone itself, and a rapid sketch of the more important ideas of the remarkable inscription which it bears.





⁴ Incidentally, this shows that the hostility toward Set must have begun after the eighth century B. C.

about $0,12 \times 0,14$ m. has been chiseled in the centre of the stone, with rough channels some 0,25 m. to 0,38 m. in length, radiating from it; (4) the surface thus mutilated has been used as a nether millstone, the upper stone revolving about the central hole and crossing transversely the radiating channels, thus wearing off the surface of the stone and totally obliterating the inscription in a circle some 0,78 m. across, around the central hole, with the exception of a few signs near the edge of the hole. In the plate, the first three mutilations, all due to the chisel, are represented by lined shading; the incidental wear, due to time and the upper millstone, is represented by dotted shading. The scale of the plate is 1:4 and palæographically the commoner signs are only roughly correct; for the inscription is excessively time-worn and so faint that either a squeeze or a photograph was out of the question, and I had not the appliances for a rubbing. The plate was therefore drawn from a hand copy, and then corrected before the original. All the rarer and more important signs however were drawn from the original. The inscription is, palæographically an exceedingly beautiful one, and worthy of the best age. The signs are in general very much like those reproduced in modern hieroglyphic type. All lacunae without exception were carefully measured and it is to be noted that all gaps in the plate not shaded by lines or dots, are original and intentional on the part of the scribe. The signs are *very* faint, and in badly worn places, reading is excessively difficult, being a matter of repeated and long examination. I spent several days on the lacunae, but I have no doubt that with a better light than it is possible to get in the museum gallery, more could in places be gotten out of them.

The line at the top contains the full titulary of king $S_3-b_3 k_3$, reading both ways from the middle; and the second line is the record of the king's renewal of the monument as follows: "His majesty wrote this document anew, in the house of his father Ptah, etc., his majesty having discovered it, a work of the ancestors, being eaten of worms; it was not legible from beginning to end. Then [he] wrote [this document]¹ anew, more beautiful—than the one that was before (it), in order that his name might abide, and his monument be fixed in the house of his father, Ptah, etc., for all eternity, being a work of the Son of Re' [Shabaka], for his father Ptah, etc., in order that he might be given life eternally."


This record shows then, that our inscription is a copy by Shabaka of an older document on more perishable material; for the

¹ There is exactly room for this restoration, as at the beginning of the line.

king is particular not to call the older document a stela (*wd*), but refers to it simply as "this document or writing   ," a term conveniently applicable alike to the new stela and the older wooden tablet, or whatever may have been the worm-eaten material of the older document. The fact that the latter had become "illegible from beginning to end," might cast suspicion upon the correctness and authenticity of the copy, but there are degrees of illegibility and the success of the renewal would indicate that the older document was not totally illegible, but only very difficult to read. There are evidences of such early loss however, like the omission of  at the head of l. 12*b*, and the gap in l. 6*r*. But the regularity of the arrangement in ll. 3-7, and the continuity of the sense in ll. 13*a*-18*a*, show clearly that some gaps were intentional in the earlier original. In any case this superscription of itself proves that the remarkable ideas in our inscription are as old as the eighth century B. C., with strong presumption that they are older. The internal evidence that they are much older will be found below.

Of the sixty-one vertical lines under the above heading, only one third have survived entire, though scanty fragments of a few more are still legible. Under these circumstances one cannot determine at a glance, in which direction the lines should be read, for, as is well known, the general law that the animal-hieroglyphs shall all face toward the beginning of the inscription is sometimes violated in vertical line inscriptions. Only a careful examination of the ends and beginnings of contiguous lines can settle this question. We notice in l. 7 that its closing words are: "He judged Horus and Set;" now l. 8 begins: "He settled (?) their litigation," continuing with the appointment of Set as King of Upper and Horus as King of Lower Egypt. Looking in l. 8 at the mention of Set before Horus, preceding the mention of the two together in l. 9, we see clearly that ll. 10*a* and 10*b* headed by Set should precede l. 11*a* and 11*b* headed by Horus, and that both should precede l. 12*a* headed by both together. But it is to be noted that the horizontal lines divide the text into sections coherent in themselves; thus ll. 10*a* to 12*a* must be read together; ll. 10*b*-12*b* likewise; and similarly ll. 13*a*-18*a*; ll. 13*b*-18*b*, and ll. 13*c*-18*c*. The succession of ll. 13*c*-15*c* is very clear, as Messrs. Read and Bryant have noticed.¹


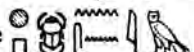
¹ After l. 18*a*, *b*, etc. the succession is not easily demonstrated owing to the wear of the mill-stone in the middle, and the fact that the fragments at top and bottom do not always belong

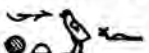
Ll. 21^b and 22 are joined thus: 

and the same phrase *in the middle* of l. 64 shows that the junction is correct. Again at the other end of the inscription, the following phrases occupying the end of one line and the beginning of another, must clearly be connected:




As regards *a*, the conclusion is much reinforced by the phrase

, "thought of the heart," *in the middle* of ll. 58 and 56. The connection between the end of l. 58 and the beginning of l. 59 is equally clear, but the peculiar arrangement of the last words of l. 58 compel reference to the plate. The end of l. 60 connects clearly with l. 61, where  is plainly a relative


clause belonging to  (end of 61), though the meaning is uncertain. At the beginning of l. 62 I am not sure of the meaning, but connection with the end of l. 61 is clearly possible. Finally l. 62 narrates the drowning of Osiris, while in l. 63 Isis and Nephthys pull him ashore (*spr. sn sw r t*, "they bring him to the land"), a clear sequence of events; while l. 64 proceeds with the events following his death, which have been begun in l. 63.

The direction in which the lines should be numbered is therefore certain, and we have again before us a text with the signs facing backward instead of as usual toward the beginning of the inscription, as in the southern pylon inscription of Hatshepsut,

together, owing to the intervening horizontal line, now largely lost. L. 18^c probably joins l. 19; in any case l. 19 was not cut by the horizontal line as is shown by l. 62, which corresponds with

it at top and bottom; but ll. 20 and 21 were cut by it, as all the lines introduced by  are so


cut, and furthermore the end of l. 20^b is in continuation of l. 19 and *not* of 20^a, as is shown by comparison with ll. 62-63. Ll. 22-23 were probably not so cut, for l. 21^b joins 22 as shown above.

Ll. 25-28 were cut by the horizontal line, as shown by the remains of . The proper succession of lines 8-24 is also clear from their content, as is shown further on.

¹ The succession is here so patent that Messrs. Read and Bryant have inverted the order of these two lines in their translation, in order to accommodate them to their order, on the supposition that the *scribe* has inverted them.

the coronation inscription of Thutmose III. (both at Thebes) or the Dêr-el-Bahri texts of Hatshepsut. The fact that this peculiarity is so common in the eighteenth dynasty, together with the orthography and grammar of the inscription, which certainly cannot be later than the eighteenth dynasty, would indicate that our stela is an unaltered copy of a document at least as old as that period, while some points in orthography would indicate a much earlier date. Furthermore, it will be shown below that one of the chief ideas set forth in the document was current in the eighteenth dynasty; there are strong indications therefore, both in form, language, and content, that the inscription is to be dated in or *before* the beginning of the New Kingdom (about 1600 B. C.). Regarding the content of the document, let me repeat that what follows is a merely preliminary sketch to accompany the unexpectedly early publication of the text. I hope that a more elaborate study may follow, but at present I can only call attention to the most important of the remarkable ideas preserved to us in this ancient document, not attempting to treat more than incidentally its mythological content, nor to observe closely the order followed by the text. A consecutive translation will be found at the end. The stone once contained a complete exposition of the functions and qualities of Ptah, and it begins (l. 3) thus:

"This Ptah is he who is proclaimed under this great name."


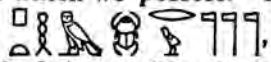
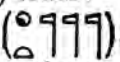
The word for "proclaim" or "publish" is , the only other occurrences of which are, so far as I know, in the coronation inscriptions of Hatshepsut, where it is used of the proclamation of her name as king. This is of course the meaning here also. Atum is his father (l. 6), "to whom the gods offered when he had judged Horus and Set." After settling "their litigation, he set up Set as king of Upper Egypt in the Southland, from the place where he was born"; (cf. l. 10a) and Keb "set up Horus as king of Lower Egypt in the Northland, from the place where his father was drowned." The dialogue accompanying these full lines now follows in the upper portions of the cut lines (10a-17a):


"Keb (to) Set, speech: 'Hasten from the place wherein thou wast born.'

"Keb (to) Horus, speech: 'Hasten from the place wherein thy father was drowned.'

"Keb (to) Horus and Set, speech: 'I will judge you.'

"Keb (to) the ennead, speech: 'I have assigned the inheritance to that heir, to the son of the first-born son.'"






It is clear that "that heir" is Horus, for the accompanying half lines (106-126), after affirming that "it is evil for the heart of Keb that the portion of Horus should (only) be equal to the portion of Set," then state in accordance with the dialogue: "Keb gives his inheritance to Horus, he being the son of the first-born son." The pre-eminence of Horus is again indicated by the obscure lines 136 to 186, each beginning with , and it is clearly stated (ll. 136, 146, 156): "Horus stands on the earth, he is the uniter of this land, proclaimed under the great name *T3-tnn-rsi-i'nb.f*, lord of eternity. The double crown flourishes on his head; he is Horus, appearing as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Uniter of the Two Lands at the stronghold, at the place¹ where the Two Lands are united." A new subject is now introduced with the same mechanical arrangement as before, viz., first the narrative in full lines (186-19) and then the dialogue in half lines (20-21), the narrative (186-19) related the drowning of Osiris, with the subsequent dialogue and offices of Horus, Isis, and Nephthys.² This narrative is resumed and partially repeated at the end of our inscription (ll. 62-64). From 25-35 the text again took up the conflict of Horus and Set, and then practically everything is lost, to the end of 47. The mythological references in the foregoing of course suggest many parallels in other texts, but these we here intentionally pass by, for it is in the last 15 lines of the inscription that we find enumerated the essential functions of Ptah which make the document, to my mind, the most remarkable monument of Egyptian thought which we possess. In l. 48 we have a title, probably to be read: , the meaning of which is of course doubtful.³ It is the title of a list of eight capacities or functions of Ptah, arranged in two fours. The upper four are nearly complete; of the lower four only traces remain. The Ptah-figures in the shrines are determinatives of the preceding designations of Ptah. The last of the upper four (l. 52a) reads: "Ptah, the great, is the heart and the tongue of the gods" (). This enigmatic utterance is, as we shall see, the text or theme of the

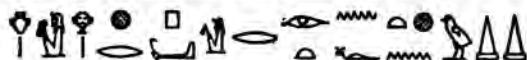
¹ This is undoubtedly a reference to , which first occurs in the Middle Kingdom.

² The narrative continued through l. 22 at least, as a comparison with l. 64 shows.

³ It may mean: "Ptah is the being of the gods," for as he is later shown to be their intelligence and their medium of expression, he might easily be called their very being; but this is of course very doubtful. Another possible rendering is: "Ptah is the forms of the gods," meaning that the other gods are only different forms of his.


time when every divine word¹ even came into existence as a² thought of the heart which the tongue commanded."




It is always the heart (, or , cf. Hebrew ) or the "body" (, lit. "belly," cf. Hebrew ) which the Egyptian conceives as the seat of mind; cf. among many examples the words of Hatshepsut on her obelisk at Karnak (LD. III. 24d):




"My heart led me to make for him two obelisks." Similarly over a vessel among the offerings to Amon made by Thutmose III. in the offering scene depicted on the wall of the annals at Karnak (Brugsch, Thes. 1187):³




"(Of) costly stone, which his majesty made according to the design of his own heart." These examples will suffice for "heart"; a convincing example for , "body," is offered below in another connection.

Ptah is, therefore, according to the affirmation of l. 52, the mind and speech of the gods. This statement, made in an age so remote, if understood metaphysically, is a remarkable, philosophical interpretation of Ptah's functions and place among the gods. Yet I am not inclined to credit the Egyptian of that age with any clear metaphysical conception of mind. Mind is nowhere in this text clearly distinguished from matter. Ptah is the seat and source of the initiative ideas, notions, and plans, which all mind, wherever found, entertains (see below). He is, to be sure, called the , "heart" or "mind" of the gods without qualification; and  is clearly explained as the seat and source of  "thought." Nevertheless when we examine the development of the idea, we

¹ As the Egyptian for hieroglyph is  "divine word," it is probable that it is used of words, whether written or not, in the above passage or the "body."

² Or, "by the thought of the heart and command of the tongue."

³ See my *Varia*, PSBA. April 1901. This example offers the usual spelling of *h3.t*; whereas our text regularly employs the character .



find that it is not immaterial *mind* pure and simple, but rather the material source of ideas with which Ptah is identified. This is clearly stated in the following (l. 54):



"(He is) the one who makes to—(?)² that which comes forth from every body (thought)³, and from every mouth (speech) of all gods, of all people, of all cattle, and of all reptiles, which live,⁴ thinking and commanding everything that he wills." Thought is frequently conceived as that which goes on in the "body," as could be shown by many examples. The most convincing ones known to me are on the stela of Intef in the Louvre (C. 26, l. 15; it is the eighteenth dynasty):



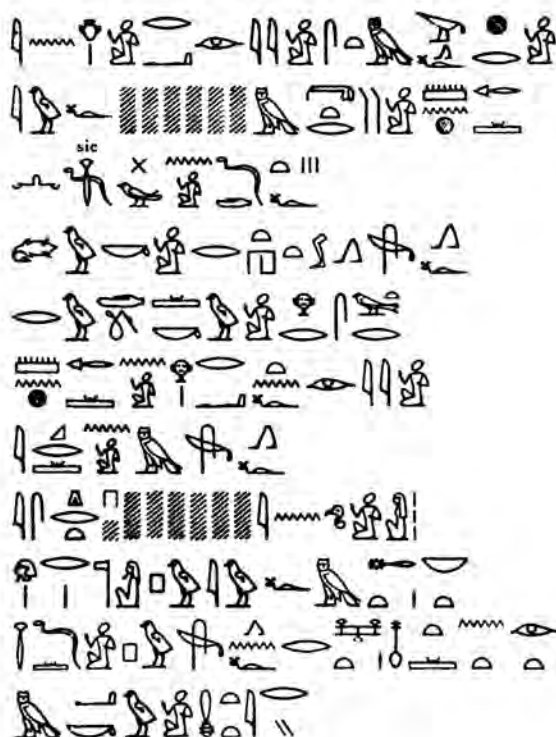
"One who knows what is in the body before anything passes out over the lips." Furthermore, this example puts "body" and "lips" in a parallelism precisely like "body" and "mouth" in our inscription. The lost causative verb at the beginning is difficult to supply, but the concluding phrase proves all we have averred: the initiative thought, and the executive command are in every creature, even animals (!), the product of the god's will. This is again clear in a phrase already quoted (l. 58): "The movement of every member is according to his command." It is important for the date of our document to notice that this is an idea already current in the eighteenth dynasty. The court herald Intef, after recounting his excellent services to the king, says:⁵

¹ The lower end of the  is perhaps visible after 

² Causative verb lost.

³ *Wm m hnt* is an idiom for "come forth from." ⁴ The participle agrees with the last noun.

⁵ Louvre Stela C. 26, ll. 22-24. This stela, as was long since evident from the inscription, belongs to the eighteenth dynasty; Intef was an officer of Thutmose III., for Mr. Newberry has discovered his tomb at Thebes.



"It was my heart which caused that I should do them (his services) by its guidance of my affairs (?), it being . . . an excellent witness. I did not transgress its¹ speech, I feared to overstep its guidance; I prospered therefore exceedingly; I was distinguished by reason of that which it caused that I should do; I was excellent through its guidance. 'Lo,' said the people, 'it is an oracle² of the god, which is in every body; prosperous is he whom it hath guided to the propitious way of achievement.' Behold, thus I was."³

¹ The pronoun "it" (Egyptian "he") refers throughout to "heart."

² See my *New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III.*, p. 22 (43).

³ There seems to be a similar idea in the strange words of the long text in Pabri's tomb:



"Mayest thou spend eternity in gladness of heart, in the favor of the god who is in thee." (Egypt. Exploration Fund 11th Mem., pl. IX, ll. 20-21). But it is a dead man to whom the words refer.

The universal prompting of the god is thus clearly recognised in the eighteenth dynasty. A man's heart is the seat of suggestion and guidance, and this *content* of his mind is "an oracle of the god which is in every body."¹ It is therefore particularly the *content* of the mind which is due to the god. But our priestly thinker goes even a step further than this, for he says (l. 54):







"The power of heart and tongue came into existence from him." The "power of the heart" probably does not mean here the capability of thinking; but, as the addition of tongue shows, it simply means that Ptah is the source of the power by which heart and tongue carry out the plans and ideas which he furnishes.

Of course, if Ptah is the suggester of every idea or plan, and at the same time furnishes the power to execute them, he is the author of all things, and this conclusion our document logically reaches (l. 58):



"Everything has come forth from him."² This universal claim is now explained in detail, particularly with reference to the other gods (see plate ll. 58-60): "Everything has come forth from him, whether offering, or food, or (l. 59) divine oblation, or any good thing.....since he formed the gods, he made the towns, he equipped the nomes, he placed the gods in their adyta (l. 60), he made their offerings flourish, he equipped their adyta, he made likenesses of their bodies to the satisfaction of their hearts, then the gods entered into their bodies, of every wood, of every costly stone, of every metal (?), and every thing." Similarly (l. 56) as above quoted: "He is the former of all gods, of Atum (and) his ennead." Now as Atum is the traditional father and creator of gods, this view of Ptah as their creator must be reconciled to the old mythical tradition. Hence, we find preceding the above statements of Ptah's creating and equipping the gods a marvellous explanation of it, which leads up to it. This explanation

¹ "Heart" and body are here used interchangeably as indicated above; this is probably because  or  is conceived as being in .

² The restoration of  is almost certain; for the sentence is really a relative clause: "by whose hand the power of heart and tongue came into existence," as is shown in the quotation below.

³ Or, "from it" (the heart).

begins by acknowledging Atum as creator of the gods, saying (l. 55):


"His ennead is before him, being the teeth and the lips, the phallus and hands of Atum. . . . [For] the ennead of Atum came into existence from his phallus, and his fingers;¹ the ennead being indeed the teeth and the lips in his mouth, which proclaims the name of everything, from which *Sw* and *Tfnwt* came forth. This ennead so created seems now to have taken the next step (l. 56): 'The gods formed the sight of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, the smelling of the nose, that they might furnish (lit., send up) the desire of the heart.' That is, these senses render to the heart that which it desires. For the heart is the guiding and commanding intelligence to which the senses are merely servants (ll. 55-56): 'It (the heart)² is the one that causes every successful issue to come forth; it is the tongue which repeats the thought of the heart; it (the heart) was the former of all gods, of Atum and his ennead, when every divine word even came into existence through the thought of the heart which the tongue commanded.' Now as Ptah has already been identified (l. 52a) as the 'heart' of the gods, he is therefore their creator; thus paradoxical as it seems, Ptah is the one who formed the very god that begat him³ (Ptah). After this reconciliation our philosopher can proceed with unlimited claims for the 'heart' or 'Ptah,' and it is evident that the masc. pronoun from this point on refers to 'heart,' because 'heart' is 'Ptah,' the origin of everything. For even the works of men are primarily his; thus he is (l. 57): 'The maker of every food offering and every oblation, by this word; the maker of that which is loved and that which is hated; he is the giver of life to him who bears peace, the giver of death to him who bears guilt.' "

Not satisfied with this development of the functions of Ptah, our Egyptian thinker must now elaborate the *theological* position of the god more fully still. We have already seen (l. 13) that Ptah is identified with Horus; he is now identified with Thoth (l. 59): "He is Thoth, the wise, greater is his strength than (that of) the gods; he united with Ptah, after he had made all things, every divine word; when he had formed the gods, had made the towns"

¹ This is undoubtedly a reference to the onanism of Atum.

² The example from the Intef-stela (Louvre C. 26) quoted above shows clearly that the "heart" may be thus referred to by a masc. pronoun.

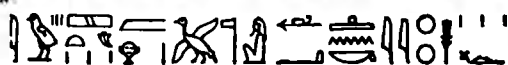
³ This identification of Ptah, with the "mind" of the god who begat him, cannot but remind one of the New Testament λόγος; e. g.: 'Εν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. Οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. John i. 1-3.

sion. And finally it is to be noted that modern study of the language has given us but slight acquaintance with Egyptian of this kind. I have tried to express in English the thoughts of the Egyptian in all their crudity, as he thought and expressed them. That they thus exhibit numerous paradoxes is only in harmony with what we know is everywhere common in Egyptian religious thought, thus illustrating again what is almost an axiom in modern anthropology, that the mind of early man unconsciously and therefore without the slightest difficulty entertains numerous glaring paradoxes. But in spite of all this, we have here, at an astonishingly early date, a philosophical conception of the world which is to some extent valid even at the present day. It may be summed up thus: assuming matter, all things first exist ideally in mind; speech or its medium, the tongue, constitutes the channel, as it were, by which these ideas pass into the world of objective reality. In that world, the thought impulses of all living creatures are due to the same mind that created such creatures; hence all products of the thought of such creatures are primarily due to the all-pervasive mind, and only secondarily to the living creatures concerned. Their works therefore form no exception to the postulate above assumed that all things first exist ideally in the mind of the god. To interweave these philosophical conceptions with the existent Egyptian mythology and pantheon was not an easy task and has resulted in much inconsequence and contradiction. Of course the original Ptah had no more connection with such philosophical notions than had the early Greek gods with the later philosophical interpretation of their functions and relations by the post-Christian Greek thinkers, whose manner of thinking on this subject indeed forms an exact parallel to the interpretation of Ptah in our inscription. And just as, to the Greek mind, the philosophical interpretation of a god was suggested by his place or function in mythic story, so in our inscription. Ptah, as shown by a thousand references, was the god of the architect and craftsman. That this was his place in the earliest times is shown (among other proofs) most strikingly by the hoary title of his high-priest:  "great in the execution of handiwork." Ptah, therefore, from the earliest times was known as the patron of the craftsmen, to whom he furnished plans and designs. It was but a step further to make him the author of *all* thoughts and plans, and from the architect of the craftsman's works he became the architect of the world. Indeed, it seems to me clear that the mind of our Egyptian priest, little

Syria is the advance of the god's. Thutmose III. after his first campaign in Asia instantly gives three towns in the Lebanon to Amon, and enlarges the Theban temple of Amon. Now the theology of the time could not contemplate for 150 years the vast extension of the god's domain northward and southward without feeling its influence. Theological theory must inevitably extend the active government of the god to the limits of the domain whence he receives tribute. It can be no accident that we first find in Egypt the notion of a practically universal god, at the moment when he is receiving practically universal tribute from the world of that day. Furthermore, the *analogy* of the Pharaoh's power unquestionably operated powerfully with the Egyptian theologian at this time, as it had done in the past, furnishing him in tangible form the world-concept, the indispensable prerequisite to the notion of the world-god. Our Egyptian must see his *world* before he can see his *world-god*; that world conquered and organised and governed by the Pharaoh had now been before him for 150 years. Again, it is no accident therefore that the Egyptian's notion of a practically universal god arose at just this time, any more than is the rise of monotheism among the Hebrews accidental at a time when nations were being swallowed up in world-empires. Under Amenhotep VI. this newly extended government of the god is thus expressed:¹

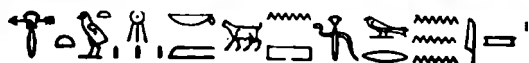


¹ From my own copy of the great hymn, made the season after I published a commentary upon it (*De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV. conceptis*, Berlin, 1894, see p. 47) from Bouriant's copy (*Miss.*, I., pp. 2-5). I found out that the natives had hacked out about a third of it in just those places where Bouriant's copy is most faulty. We shall therefore always be obliged to depend upon Bouriant's inaccurate copy for a large part of this important monument, another illustration of the vital necessity of correct copying. The underlined passages are those now destroyed, for which we have only Bouriant. The character of this copy may be inferred from the following:



which corresponds to the second and third phrases above:

to take up Amenhotep IV. here only with regard to the extent of his god's domain. This side of the question, however, compels me to present one further remark. While believing that Amenhotep IV.'s theology is mainly due to the influence of the *political* conditions around him; there is some evidence that contemplation of the *natural* world was also an influence, though a minor one, in leading him to so extend the domain of his god. Thus he says to his god:



"Thy rays are in the midst of the sea;" showing that he had not failed to note the obvious universal sway of the sun. But as far back as the old kingdom they had viewed the sun from Punt to the slopes of Lebanon, yet no Egyptian extended his god's government thither, till the time when the Pharaoh's government was so extended.

Returning now to our inscription, it seems to me that its content justifies three important conclusions: First, that the early Egyptian did much more and much better thinking on abstract subjects than we have hitherto believed, having formed a philosophical conception of the world of men and things, of which no people need be ashamed. Second, it is obvious that the above conception of the world forms quite a sufficient basis for suggesting the later notions of *νοῦς* and *λόγος*, hitherto supposed to have been introduced into Egypt from abroad at a much later date. Thus the Greek tradition of the origin of their philosophy in Egypt undoubtedly contains more of truth than has in recent years been conceded. Third, the habit, later so prevalent among the Greeks, of interpreting philosophically the functions and relations of the Egyptian gods, thus importing a profound significance which they originally never possessed, had already begun in Egypt, centuries before the earliest of the Greek philosophers was born; and it is not impossible that the Greek practice of so interpreting their own gods received its first impulse from Egypt.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT.

[The following translation contains all that is to be made out with certainty. A few obscure phrases are omitted, as well as the fragments around the left edge of the worn circle, which are too disconnected for

¹From my own copy of the original (copy in *de Hymnis*, p. 39, is only from Bouriant).

rendering. The first two lines contain the subscription as given above (p. 324), and the text itself begins with line 3].

(3) This Ptah is he, who is proclaimed under this great name.
 (4) The Southland and the Northland are this Uniter, who appears as King of Lower Egypt. [(5) left blank]. (6) He that begat him is Atum, who formed the Nine Gods, (7) to whom the gods offered when he had judged Horus and Set. (8) He defended their litigation, in that he set up Set as King of Upper Egypt in the Southland, from the place where he was born, Sesu (?); whereas Keb, he set Horus as King of Lower Egypt in the Northland, from the place where his father was drowned; (9) at the division of the Two Lands. It is Horus and Set who stood on the ground (?); they joined the Two Lands at Enu (?); it is the boundary of the Two Lands.

(10a) Keb (to) Set, speech: "Hasten from the place, wherein thou wast born."

(11a) Keb (to) Horus, speech: "Hasten from the place wherein thy father was drowned."

(12a) Keb (to) Horus and Set, speech: "I will judge you."

(13a-17a) Keb (to) the gods: "I have assigned the inheritance to that heir, to the son of the first-born son."

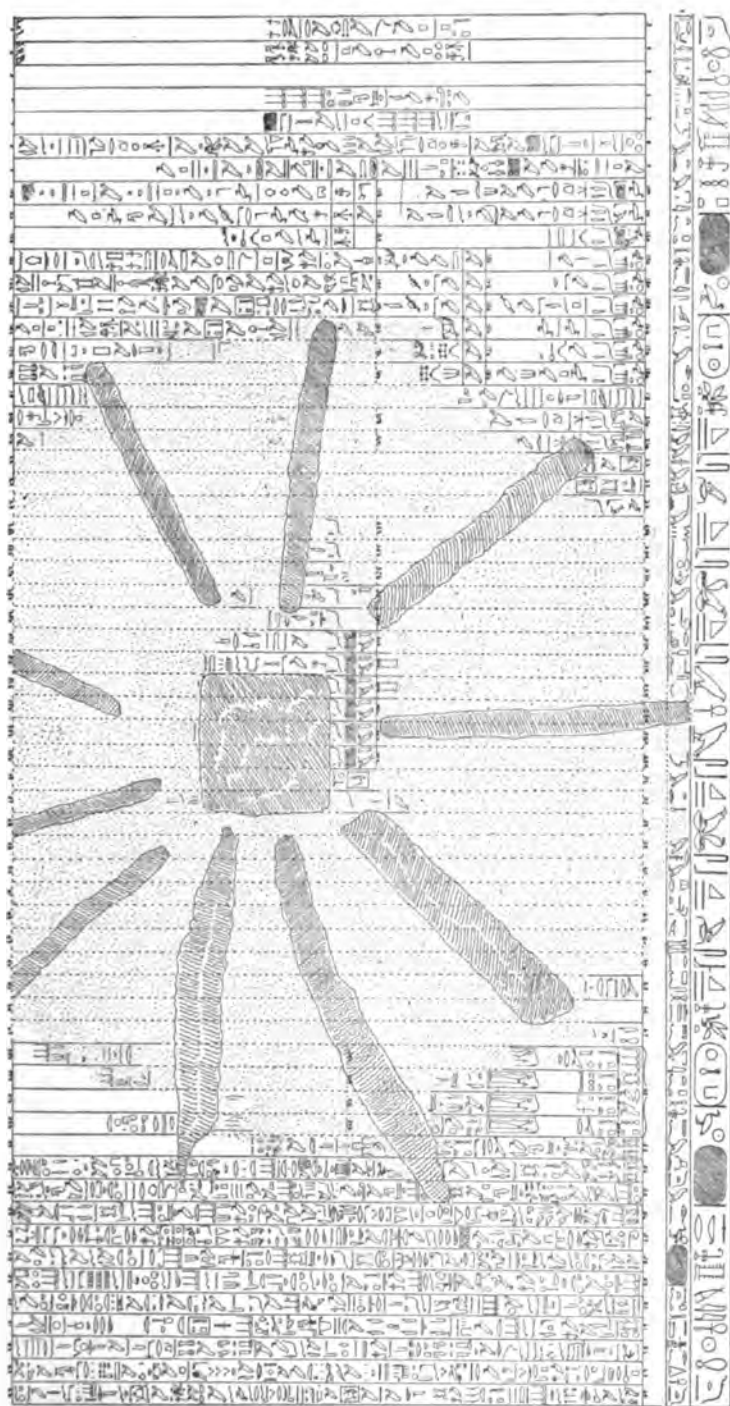
(10b) (To) Set the Southland! It is evil to the heart of Keb, that the portion of Horus should be (only) equal to the portion of Set.

(11b) (to) Horus the Northland! It is Keb, who gives his inheritance to Horus, he being the son (12b) of his first-born son.

(13c) Horus stands on the earth, he is the uniter of this land, proclaimed under the great name, "Totenen south of his wall," lord of eternity. (14c) The double crown flourishes on his head; he is Horus, appearing as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Uniter of the Two Lands at the stronghold, at the place where the Two Lands are united. (15c) Now when the—(?) and the column were at the front of the house of Ptah, Horus and Set were united, joined, they became brothers, they no longer strove together. (16c)united in the House of Ptah, in the place....wherein the Southland and the Northland join (?); it is this land. (Broken references to the Osiris-myth follow, and then comes the great central lacuna.)

(48) Ptah is the Being of the gods (??)

(49a) Ptah upon the Great Throne is.....



(49b)fashioner of the gods.

(50a) Ptah-Nun is the father of Atum.

(50b)fashioner of the gods.

(51a) Ptah-Nekhabet is the mother who bore Atum.

(51b)

(52a) Ptah the Great is the heart and the tongue of the gods.

(52b)at the nose of Re every day.

(53) He that became heart, and he that became tongue are an emanation of Atum . . . their Ka's being this heart and this tongue.

(54) Horus came into existence through him, Thoth came into existence through him, through Ptah, from whom proceeded the power of the heart and the tongue . . . He is the one who makes to [lost causative verb] that which comes forth from every body (thought), and from every mouth (speech), of all gods, of all people, of all cattle, of all reptiles, which live, thinking and commanding [lit., "commanding the word of everything. . ."] everything that he wills.

(55) His Ennead is before him, being the teeth and the lips, the phallus and the hands of Atum . . . (For) the Ennead of Atum came into existence from his phallus and his fingers; the Ennead instead being the teeth and the lips in this mouth, which proclaims the name of everything; and from which Shu and Tefnut came forth.

(56) The gods fashioned the sight of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, and the smelling of the nose, that they might furnish the desire of the heart. It (the heart) is the one that bringeth forth every successful issue. It is the tongue which repeats the thought of the heart; it (the heart) is the fashioner of all gods, at the time when every divine word even came into existence by the thought (57) of the heart, and command of the tongue. It (the heart) is the maker of Ka's . . . the maker of every food-offering and every oblation, by this word, the maker of that which is loved and that which is hated; it is the giver of life to him who bears peace (the innocent), the giver of death to him who bears guilt. It (the heart) is the maker of all handiwork, and of every handicraft, the doing of the hands, the going of the feet; the movement of every member is according to its command (viz.,) the expression (lit. "word") of the heart's thought, that cometh forth from the tongue and doeth the totality of everything . . . Ptah-Totenen, he being the fashioner of the gods; everything has come forth from him, whether offering or food or (59) divine oblation, or any good thing.

He is Thoth, the Wise; greater is his strength than (that of)

the gods. He united with Ptah after he had made all things, every divine word; when he formed the gods, made the towns, equipped the nomes, placed the gods in their adyta, (60) made their offerings flourish, equipped their adyta, made likenesses of their bodies to the satisfaction of their hearts; then the gods entered into their bodies, of every wood, of every costly stone, of every metal (?) and everything that grows upon his . . . (?) (61) from which they come. It is he to whom all the gods sacrifice, their Ka's being united, associated with the Lord of the Two Lands. The divine store-house of Totenen is the Great Seat attached to the heart of the gods who are in the house of Ptah, lord of life, lord . . . wherein the life of the Two Lands is made.

(62)¹ . . . Osiris, he was drowned in his water; Isis and Nephthys saw; when they beheld him, they were of service to him. Horus gave command to Isis and Nephthys in Dedu, that they should save Osiris, and that they should prevent that he drown. (63) They went around . . . (?), they brought him to the land, he entered his secret structure in . . . of the lords of eternity, at the footsteps of him who rises in the horizon upon the highways of Re in the great seat. (64) He associates with the court, he becomes a brother to the gods.

Totenen-Ptah, lord of years, he hath become Osiris in the land, in . . . on the north side of this land. His son Horus comes to him, appearing as King of Upper Egypt, appearing as King of Lower Egypt, in the presence of his father, Osiris and the gods, his ancestors, who are behind him.

¹ The *ⲙ* at the head of the line may be the negative *as* at the head of the duplicate line (19), so that we could render: "Osiris was *not* drowned in his water." The statements in II. 8 and 11a, that he *was* drowned, would then probably indicate that he was merely nearly drowned.

ORPHEUS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE belief in immortality naturally originates by the conception of man's soul as his dream-body. When our bodies lie stiff and stark in sleep, we dream. The soul walks about and visits its usual haunts, and oh wonder! in dreams we meet also people that have died. Then the idea that the dead are not truly dead but have departed only to a distant country, becomes a cherished faith



ORPHEUS AMONG THE ANIMALS
(After an ancient mosaic from Blanzky.)¹

and man anxiously looks about for proofs. And proofs are forthcoming, for these dreams have only to be taken seriously to become a revelation of the immortality of the soul, or rather the reality of life after death.

But people want to know details and are anxious to be assured that the dead are comfortable, and so they long for evidences, and this demand is filled by tales such as the myth of Orpheus, the sweet singer, whose music is stronger than death.

¹ After Fleury, *Antiqu. et mon. du départ de l'Aisne*, 2, 1878, p. 20.

Since the Orphic mysteries were kept secret, our knowledge of them is limited, and many details of the legend that underlies their ceremonies are unclear and even contradictory. But we know that Orpheus whose lyre tamed the wild beasts and could



ORPHEUS PLAYING THE LYRE.¹

even cause stones to arrange themselves harmoniously to build up houses, lost his beloved wife Eurydice. Overwhelmed with grief, he followed her to Hades, and there he sang so sweetly that the



ORPHEUS ENCHANTING THE ANIMALS.
(Ancient relief.)²

grim king of death allowed Eurydice to follow her husband to the world of the living, on the condition that on their way up Orpheus should not look back. But Orpheus was so full of longing for his

¹ *Mon. Inst.*, VIII., 43, 1.

² *Venuti, Monumenta Mythologica*, 3, 1778, 37, 2.

wife that he turned round, and there he beheld her as beautiful as she ever had been in life, but then at once she vanished from his sight. (See frontispiece.)

The comfort which this legend gave to the Greek mind is comprised in the doctrine of the descent into the realm of Hades, κατά-



THE ORPHEUS FRESCO OF POMPEII.¹

βασις εἰς Ἄιδου. The Orphic mysteries were celebrated (as in fact all mysteries, especially the Eleusinian festival) to assure man of the truth of the belief in a life after death.

Other legends tell that Orpheus was torn to pieces, and his

¹ After Presuhn, *Ansgrab. von Pomp.*, 3, 6.



ORPHEUS SLAIN BY THE WOMEN OF THRACE.¹

(From an ancient vase.)



ORPHEUS AMONG THE THRACIANS.

Ancient vase from Gela.² The expression of the singer as well as his audience betrays a remarkable faculty of observation.

¹ Gerhard, *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*, pl. i.

² Berl. Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste der archäol. Ges. zu Berlin, II.

flesh was devoured by women enamored with his beauty and his art, which indicates that the original Orpheus must have been a deity of vegetation, like Tammuz or Adonis, who dies and is resurrected. His death is commemorated with lamentations, and his reawakening to life is the feast of great rejoicing, a pagan Easter.

How deeply the cult of Orpheus was rooted in the hearts of the ancients appears from the fact that when Christian iconoclasm broke the statues of the gods, the name of Orpheus was not proscribed with Zeus and Hera, and his figure was deemed worthy to serve as the picture of Christ. The oldest pictures of Jesus represent him as Orpheus with the lyre, and the identification of Orpheus and Christ is not purely accidental, for both types point back to the more ancient conception of a saviour who descends to Hell and proves his power over the king of death.



CLAY TABLET OF NIPPUR.¹



COIN OF ANTONINUS PIUS.²

The cult of Orpheus must be very old, and we may have to look for his prototype in ancient Babylon. It is not impossible that Orpheus is but another name of Tammuz or some other deity of resurrection. Hilprecht discovered a clay-relief in the temple-school at Nippur representing a lute player surrounded by animals. The attitude of this ancient charmer of beasts is quite similar to the later Greek and Christian pictures of Orpheus.

Legends of this kind are so deeply rooted in the natural longings of man's soul that they may have originated independently at a certain stage of man's mental evolution at various places and among different nationalities. Dr. J. W. Hudson of the Marshall Field Museum, Chicago, recently discovered in his wanderings among the North American Indians of the San Joaquin Basin a myth which bears some remarkable resemblances to the stories of

¹ From Hilprecht, *Die Ausgrabungen im Btl-Tempel zu Nippur*, p. 60.

² From Louisa Twining's *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Medieval Christian Art*.

the Greek Orpheus so far as we know them. His report, quoted from the *Journal of American Folklore*, reads as follows:

"From the Sacramento River in mid California there stretches southward a wide level plain some three hundred miles in length, which is walled in on three



ORPHEUS MOSAIC OF JERUSALEM.¹

sides by the Sierras and Coast Range Mountains. This territory of some 20,000 square miles was once entirely held by two linguistic stocks of Indians: the Mari-

¹ Reproduction from the *Report to the Palestine Exploration Fund*, July, 1901. This mosaic is situated 600 feet north of the present city wall, west of the Damascus gate. It was accidentally

posans on the south occupied Tulare Basin, while the Moquelumnians to the north covered the San Joaquin Plains and extended northward almost around San Francisco Bay. There is evidence that the numerical strength of each family was in proportion to the extent of their territories, thus presuming that the mentalities of these two peoples were far more widely disseminated than any others of aboriginal California. The paltry remnants of this multitude are now scattered along the western slopes of the Sierra Mountains, and in each settlement I found one or more ancient representative of tribes otherwise extinct, each of whom, in their several tongues and dialects, repeated with singular consistency the following

CHRIST AS ORPHEUS.¹CHRIST AS ORPHEUS.¹

myth. This version is from a Mariposan native of the south fork of the Tule River:

"Once a man lived with his wife up the cañon. She was a handsome woman and he loved her much. One time they quarrelled and she died from his beating.

discovered by the proprietor of the ground while digging for a cistern. 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 and wreaths 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 "Georgis." The frames to the right and left contain simply a plain, flat surface. The whole is between ten and twelve feet long. The Dominican brethren made a colored copy of the mosaic on a large scale, and photographs were taken from the original, whereupon the owner had it covered up with earth.

¹ After paintings in the cemetery of St. Calixtus in the Catacombs of Rome; from Louisa Twining's *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Medieval Christian Art*.

He was sorry and cried aloud. He found no comfort. He ate nothing and lay down beside her grave. He lay there continually for three days and three nights fasting. During the fourth night he was crying for her to come back to him. As the great star stood overhead, he felt the ground tremble and saw the earth moving on her grave. The clouds rolled back, and she arose and stood brushing from herself every speck of dust until she was clean. He stared, but was silent (a man dies instantly when speaking to a ghost). She started away. She went swiftly down toward Toxil (the point of sunset), and he ran after her weeping. She often turned and warned him back, declaring that she was bound for the Tib'-ik-nitc, the home of the dead. He still pursued her for four days and four nights when they reached To-lit, a great roaring water. She mounted a bridge, slender and fragile like a spider's web, and began to cross over. He cried aloud with beseeching gestures. She turned. She pitied him. She stretched a hand toward him, and he felt strong and comforted. He sprang upon the bridge, but she would not suffer his touch. They crossed on Tcé-laul in this manner. Tcé-laul is long, very long, but the spirits of the good cross it easily; the bad fall off and turn into *c'pis* (pike fish), who must swim back to feed the living. The man saw a great land, a rich land, a warm, fruitful land, and people from all the world. He saw all kinds of different peoples, and they lived peaceably together, for there was plenty for all. The woman told him to observe closely; for he must return and tell all to his people before he died on the fourth day. He did so. She took him back across Tcé-laul and he ran home. He told all to his kin people and died on the fourth day as predicted."

Dr. Hudson adds that the translation follows the original very closely, only omitting repetitions which the Indians introduce whenever they emphasise a point. He publishes in the same article another version of the same story, which he takes from a Mariposan account given him in Madera County by a member of the Teuktcān-si tribe, and he adds:

"A very intelligent Indian living on the Merced River below Yosemite Valley sums up the opinions of his people in the following observation: 'When an Indian dies his spirit goes on, on, on, to O-lo-win (pointing westward). That is a big place, and a long, long ways off, and no live man can go to that place. Only the dead peoples. When a man is dead four days, his spirit gets loose and packs up everything and comes up and lights right out this way (pointing). No kind of bill can stop it. It stays around here four days and watches its chance to get away from the Devil. The Devil keeps it corralled, but we all pray and the spirit gets away all right. We pray to God. I don't know where he is. May be above somewhere. The spirit moves along night and day. It knows the road all right; for it has been that way before. We don't know when, but we all say that we all of us come from there. Even our little children know that trail. Yes, there is water, plenty of waters, big, this way (the arms are whirled in every direction). No, there is no boat about it. A bridge, a fine fragile long bridge, more than a mile, may be a hundred miles, a thousand miles long. The soul takes everything along. Now, since we bury everything, I don't know about it. If the soul should drop off that bridge into the water, it turns at once to ho-lo-mai (pike fish) and swims off. I never saw the ocean. That is the place we get our shells. That is not O-lo-win; for O-lo-win is land, plenty, big, fine, green, warm place, plenty game and seeds and fish. You call that He-win (heaven). That is the place."

The best known classical example is Homer's description of the shade of Patroclus who appears to Achilles in a dream, requesting of him the performance of the funeral rite. We read :¹

Then came the soul of his friend,
 Of the poor, much lamented Patroclus,
 Perfectly like unto him
 In beauty of eyes and in stature,
 Also in voice; being clad
 In exactly the same kind of garments.
 Taking his stand at the head of the couch,
 He addressed him as follows :
 "Sleepest thou here, forgetful of me,
 My dearest Achilles?
 Never in life neglectedst thou me,
 But death now has seized me.
 Grant me, my funeral friend,
 That the gates I may enter of Hades.
 Lest any longer the souls,
 The pale forms, of all those that are sleeping
 Hinder my crossing the stream
 And prevent me from joining their party.
 Lest I must wander alone
 There around the grand portals of Hades.
 Give me thy hand, I beseech thee,
 For never again shall I visit²
 Thee from the realm of the dead,
 As soon as the flame has consumed me.
 Never, alas! since I'm taken away,
 Shall we friendly in counsel,
 Living, be seated together;
 For fate prematurely has taken
 Me in the prime of my life,
 The stern fate that at birth is allotted."

Achilles promises the shade's request and asks for a last embrace; but in vain. Homer continues:

While he thus spoke, he extended
 His arms in loving desire,
 Failing to hold the dear soul,
 Which downward, like vapor dissolving,
 Faded away with a scream,³
 But Achilles awoke in amazement,
 Clapping together his hands;

¹ This translation, specially made by the writer for the present occasion, preserves the meter of the original. For the sake of rendering the heroic hexameter more easy to the reader not accustomed to classic versification, we break each line at one of its *cæsuras*.

² *ἑνδομας*. Originally the word means "to sail," or "to travel on a ship," but is used in the sense of visiting. We might here translate "haunt."

³ *ἑρπυγία*, denoting a weird, wailing cry of animals or birds, a doleful scream or screech, or gibbering shout.

And wailing exclaimed he in sadness :
 " Truly, 'tis strange that the soul and its form,¹
 In the mansions of Hades,
 Somehow² persisteth,
 Albeit sensation³ is utterly lacking.
 All through the night stood the soul
 Of my hapless companion Patroclus
 Near me with yearning desire,
 Lamenting and wailing. It told me
 What I should do ;
 And it likened the living in marvellous semblance."

The famous German ballad "Leonore" by Bürger belongs to the same category. Although quite modern in tone and spirit, it reflects the beliefs of the lower strata of present society, viz., the fever dreams of a private soldier's bride, representing her conceptions of the dead, and is quite in line with this same kind of folklore tales, which may generally be classed under the common heading of Orpheus literature.

Orpheus is a Thracian according to the Greek legend, which indicates that originally he was not a Greek deity, and we find indeed legends of the same character among the North-European nations, which have crystallised into the story of the Pied Piper of Hamelin, described by Mr. S. Baring Gould in *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* as follows :

"Hamelin town was infested with rats, in the year 1284. In their houses the people had no peace from them ; rats disturbed them by night and worried them by day. One day, there came a man into the town, most quaintly attired in parti-colored suit. Bunting the man was called, after his dress. None knew whence he came, or who he was. He announced himself to be a rat-catcher, and offered for a certain sum of money to rid the place of the vermin. The townsmen agreed to this proposal, and promised him the sum demanded. Thereupon the man drew forth a pipe and piped. No sooner were the townfolk released from their torment than they repented of their bargain, and . . . they refused to pay the stipulated remuneration. At this the piper waxed wroth, and vowed vengeance. On the 29th June, the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, the mysterious piper reappeared in Hamelin town. (He) led the way down the street, the children all following, whilst the Hamelin people stood aghast, not knowing what step to take, or what would be the result of this weird piping. He led them from the town towards a hill rising above the Weser. (One lame lad) alone was left ; and in after years he was sad . . . Fathers and mothers rushed to the east gate, but when they came to the mountain, called Koppenberg, into which the train of children had disappeared, nothing was observable except a small hollow, where the sorcerer and their little ones had entered."

Mr. S. E. Winbolt, in his introduction to Browning's poem treating of this legend, makes the following comments :

¹ ψυχὴ καὶ εἶδωλον.

² τίς as something.

³ φρενές.

"The first thing that strikes us about this story is that, dealing as it does with the enchanting power of music, it has many parallels, more or less close, in many languages and among many peoples, both ancient and modern. Perhaps the legend which most resembles this is one the scene of which is laid in the town of Lorch. Here it is said, in three successive years, a hermit charmed away a plague of ants, a charcoal-burner a first plague of crickets, and an old man of the mountain a second. Each of these piped, but was refused his promised reward; whereupon the first charmed away the pigs, the second the sheep, and the third the children. The legend occurs, with slight variations, in the Icelandic sagas, and in the fairy-tales



ORPHEUS AND CHRIST.

Fresco on a ceiling in the Catacombs.

of southern Ireland. If we think of the Greek mythology, we at once remember how Orpheus with his lute allured birds and beasts and made herbs and trees to grow. The lyre-god Apollo was called *Smintheus* (*sminthos*, mouse), because he delivered Phrygia from a plague of mice. The wandering hero Ulysses, tied to the mast, hears the magic lay of the Sirens, and longs to get free so as to rush into their arms and perish. Instances might easily be multiplied. The stories exist; how are we to explain them? It is most probable that, like many another myth, this had its origin in the keen observation and worship of natural forces which characterised primitive man. Thus the wind sighing through the trees was per-

sonified and represented as drawing after him with his music the souls of the dead, but the wind making the boughs to wave and the grass to quiver was represented as a piper setting all nature dancing."

Considering the associations which the belief in a visit to the realm of death played in the imagination of the Græco-Roman people, we can understand that the early Church laid much stress upon the doctrine of Christ's descent to hell, an event which is minutely described in the New Testament Apocrypha.

In the Catacombs we find representations of Orpheus with the lyre side by side with Christ's resurrection of Lazarus and other stories symbolising the doctrine of immortality. The ancient Orpheus had changed into Christ, and so to the Græco-Roman Christians the picture of Orpheus meant Christ, for both signify the conquest of death and a hope of immortality.



CHRIST AS ORPHEUS.
Painting in the Catacombs.

It faded from the memory of mankind only after the rise of the Copernican world-conception, when the idea of hell as a locality began to be superseded by allegorical interpretations and when purer views of immortality began to assert themselves.

¹After F. X. Kraus.

THE MYSTERIES OF ISIS AND OSIRIS.

BY HENRY RIDGELY EVANS.

[CONCLUDED FROM "THE OPEN COURT" OF MAY, 1903.]

III.

ACCORDING to Renouf there was no "esoteric doctrine known to the scribes and priests alone, as distinct from the popular belief." If this be so, the well-formulated opinion among ancient writers—Grecian and Roman—that the Mysteries were designed to teach higher truths to the initiates, unknown to the masses, must be abandoned.

I cannot accept this negative conclusion. Rawlinson says (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 437): "The Egyptians, we are assured, had 'Mysteries'; and it was of the essence of Mysteries, in the Greek and Roman sense of the word, to distinguish between the outer husk of a religion and its inner kernel, the shell of myth and legend and allegorical fable with which it was surrounded, and the real essential doctrine or teaching which that shell contained and concealed. Initiation into the Mysteries conveyed to those who received it an explanation of rites, an interpretation of myths and legends, which gave them quite a different character from that which they bore to the uninitiated."

The Mysteries, even in the period of Egyptian decadence, undoubtedly taught the initiates many profound truths,—the idea of the one God, even though that idea was conveyed in a pantheistic form. The lowest kind of pantheism is still a recognition of the immanence and unity of Deity. To a believer in polytheism this revelation must have come as a sublime awakening. The next highest and most logical step was to predicate the transcendency of Deity. But this latter knowledge was lost to the Egyptians of later times, if Renouf's theories are correct. The consensus of opinion of the Greek writers on the subject of the Mysteries was that to be initiated into the Mysteries of Isis and Osiris of Egypt

was to be regenerated,—to be put in possession of divine truths concerning the soul, and the soul's eternal progress in worlds to come.

But why this secrecy about fundamental truths necessary to the salvation of all men? Selfishness on the part of a privileged hierarchy is one answer. Another is that the government of Egypt was based on the theocratic idea; to have suddenly undeceived the ignorant masses would have been to destroy civilisation, such as it then existed. Owing to this fact, perhaps, there was one doctrine for the philosopher (*esoteric*, or hidden); another for the multitude (*exoteric*, external). Religion was a state affair, and he who openly attacked the popular mythology undermined the social system. Socrates lost his life in the attempt to subvert sacerdotalism in favor of a simpler and more spiritual faith. The great mass of men were not prepared to receive philosophic truths. You do not give meat to babes. The more exalted doctrines were reserved for the cultured few, those morally and spiritually fitted to receive them.

IV.

The Mysteries of Isis and Osiris were regarded with awe and wonder by the ancient world. Philosophers came from distant lands to receive arcane instruction at the hands of the hierophants of Egypt. When we consider the fact that all knowledge worth knowing at that early period of history was in the hands of the pagan hierarchy, the interest manifested in the Mysteries of the temples is easily appreciated. The initiates doubtless received instruction in the exact sciences as well as the sacred doctrine. The facts of astronomy, medicine, morals, and religion were imparted to the initiates. Long preparation was necessary before a candidate was admitted to the greater Mysteries. He underwent a most rigid and exacting novitiate. The penalty of divulging any part of the esoteric doctrine was death.

The reason for this is not difficult to divine. The pagan priesthood assumed the power of working miracles, of foretelling future events, etc. They were enabled to rule over the masses by keeping them in ignorance of the secrets of nature. Says an interesting writer: "The science in which the Egyptian priesthood were most proficient, and which they most jealously guarded, was that of astronomy. The people worshipped the sun, moon, and stars as gods, and a knowledge of their true nature would have at once put an end to the influence of the priests, who were believed by the

ignorant and superstitious crowd to be able to withhold or dispense by prayers, invocations and sacrifices, the divine favor.... By a knowledge of astronomy the priests were able to calculate and predict eclipses of the sun and moon, events beheld with superstitious awe and fear by the multitude.... Of course, a knowledge of astronomy diffused among the people would have been fatal to the occult pretensions of the hierarchy. The facts of astronomy were therefore, for these reasons, most carefully hidden from the common people, and the priesthood only communicated them to each other, veiled in allegorical fables, the key to which was disclosed to him only who had taken the highest degrees of the Mysteries, and given the most convincing proofs of his fidelity and zeal."

Pythagoras, the Grecian philosopher and mathematician, is said to have been initiated into the Mysteries of Egypt (Porphyr. de Vita Pythag.), his life being exposed to great danger. Says Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. III., pp. 391-392):.... "The reluctance of the Egyptians, particularly in the time of the Pharaohs, to admit strangers to these holy secrets probably rendered his trial more severe even than that to which the Egyptians themselves were subjected; and it appears that notwithstanding the earnest request made by Polycrates to Amasis to obtain this favor for the philosopher, many difficulties were thrown in the way by the priests on his arrival in Egypt. Those of Heliopolis, to whom he first presented the letters given him by Amasis, referred him to the college of Memphis, under the pretext of their seniority; and these again, on the same plea, recommended him to the priests of Thebes. Respect for the king forbade them to give a direct refusal; but they hoped, says Porphyry, to alarm him by representing the arduous task he had to perform, and the repugnance of the previous ceremonies to the feelings of the Greeks. It was not, therefore, without surprise that they beheld his willingness to submit to the trials they proposed; for though many foreigners were, in after-times, admitted to the Mysteries of Egypt, few had then obtained the indulgence, except Thales and Eumolpus. This prejudice of the Egyptians against the Greeks is perfectly consistent with the statement of Herodotus, and is shown by other writers to have continued even after the accession of the Ptolemies and the Roman conquest."

Says Gould in his *History of Freemasonry*: "Of the ceremonies performed at the initiation into the Egyptian Mysteries, we must ever remain ignorant, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson expressly states 'that our only means of forming any opinions respecting them are

to be derived from our imperfect acquaintance with those of Greece, which were doubtless imitative of the rites practised in Egypt.'"¹

An imaginative account of the ceremonies of the Mysteries of Isis is to be found in Thomas Moore's beautiful story, "The Epicurean," in which the ordeals by *fire*, *water*, and *air*, the three great elements of the universe, are described with thrilling effect. It is generally conceded, however, that a dramatic representation of the myth of Isis and Osiris was represented in the degrees. Isis and Osiris were universally worshipped by the Egyptians. Herodotus says: "The Egyptians do not all worship the same gods, excepting Isis and Osiris." "The allegorical history of Osiris," remarks Gould, "the Egyptians deemed the most solemn mystery of their religion. Herodotus always mentions it with great caution. It was the record of the misfortunes which had happened to one whose name he never ventures to utter; and his cautious behavior with regard to everything connected with Osiris shows that he had been initiated into the Mysteries, and was fearful of divulging any of the secrets he had solemnly bound himself to keep."

The author of the article on "Egypt" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*) says: "Osiris is essentially the good principle: hence his name Unnefer, the good being, rather than the revealer of good (Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, 38). Like Ra, he is the creator, and like man, in perpetual warfare with evil. His brother, or son, Typhon, Seth (Set), is his opponent. They are light and darkness, physical good and evil, the Nile and the desert, Egypt and the foreign land. Osiris is certainly moral good. Seth is to a certain extent moral evil. Throughout the *Ritual* they are in conflict for right and wrong, for the welfare and destruction of the human soul. In chapter xvii., which was preserved intact from a remote age, this conflict appears. Seth is, however, not there distinctly named as the opponent of Osiris, except in the glosses, which may be as old or (like the case of the Mishna and the Gemara) older than the text and once in the text he appears as joining with Horus his adversary in accomplishing the final condition of the deceased who had reached the abode of happiness (verse 35); and on the other hand, one gloss explains the executioner of souls to be Seth, but otherwise Horus, the elder, brother of Osiris, who is but a variation of the younger Horus (verse 33). Yet the opposition of Osiris and Seth is a perpetual combat. Osiris is vanquished. He is cut in pieces and submerged in the water. Watched by his sister, Isis, his consort and Nephthys the consort of Seth, he revives.

¹ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1878, Vol. III., pp. 380, 387.

Horus His son avenges him, and with the aid of Thoth, or reason, he destroys the power of Seth, but does not annihilate him. The myth is a picture of the daily life of the sun, combating darkness yet at last succumbing to it, to appear again in renewed splendor as the young Horus or solar god triumphs over Seth. It is also a picture of human life, its perpetual conflict and final seeming destruction, to be restored in the youth of a brighter existence. In this view suffering is not wholly evil, but has its beneficent aspect in the accomplishment of final good. There are two ways of explaining the origin of this myth: either we may regard Osiris as the sun of the night, and so the protector of those who pass away into the realm of shades, or we may suppose that once taken as the type and ruler of mankind in the after state, the hidden sun was naturally chosen to represent him, the sun being with the Egyptians the source and governor of all life. Those who make the solar idea the first form of the myth have to explain its specially human aspect, and particularly why we see no such aspect in any deep sense in the case of Atum the sun of the night in the group of solar divinities.

"It will be seen how such a story took hold of the affections of the Egyptians. Osiris was the type of humanity, its struggles, its sufferings, its temporary defeat, and its final victory. The living, and still more the dead, were identified with him. Under his name, without distinction of sex, they passed into the hidden place (Amenti), the divine world below (Ker-neter), to be protected by him in their conflict with Seth and his genii, and to have their final state determined by him as their judge. It was to Osiris that the prayers and offerings for the dead were made, and all sepulchral inscriptions, except those of the oldest period, are directly addressed to him. As Isis is a form of the female principle, Osiris, the sun and the Nile, was considered in one phase to be the male principle."

The cult of the sacred bull Apis was connected with the worship of Osiris. "It is very characteristic of the Egyptian religion that the reverence for Osiris should have taken this grossly material form."

Bunson (*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, 1st ed., Vol. I., p. 437) writes: "The astronomical and physical elements are too obvious to be mistaken. Osiris and Isis are the Nile and Egypt. The myth of Osiris typifies the solar year—the power of Osiris is the sun in the lower hemisphere, the winter solstice. The birth of Horus typifies the vernal equinox—the victory of Horus, the sum-

mer solstice—the inundation of the Nile. Typhon is the autumnal equinox."

Isis is a beautiful figure in the Egyptian mythology. Her titles on the monuments are: "The great mother or mother-goddess, mistress of heaven, ruler of earth, queen of the Two Countries." Says Sir Gardner Wilkinson: "Plutarch considers Isis 'to be the earth, the feminine part of nature, or that property which renders her a fit subject for the production of all other beings;' and he thinks 'that the dresses of her statues were made with a variety of colors, from her power being wholly conversant about matters, which becomes and admits all things.' . . . Both Osiris and his sister Isis were not deified persons who had lived on earth, but fabulous beings, whose history was founded on metaphysical speculation; and adapted to certain phenomena of nature, as in the allegory of the rising of the Nile, where she is the land of Egypt irrigated by the water of the inundations. With the same spirit, and in the continuation of her fabulous history it was said that her soul was transferred after death to Sirius or the Dog-star, 'which the Egyptians called Sothis.' That she had the name of Isis-Sothis, and was supposed to represent Sirius is perfectly true, as the sculptures themselves abundantly prove; and the heliacal rising of that star is represented on the ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes, under the form and name of this goddess. It is not, however, in consequence of a belief entertained in Egypt—at least, by the initiated—that the soul of Isis had been transferred to the Dog-star; this was looked upon in the same light as the connection between the god Thoth and the moon, who in one of his characters answered to the Lunus of the Egyptians, and in another corresponded to Mercury. In like manner, Isis and other deities assumed on different occasions various characters; and Sothis, the Dog-star, was one of those assigned to the sister of Osiris. This adaptation of Isis and other deities to the planetary system, led to the remark of Eusebius that the Egyptians esteem the sun to be the demiurgus, and hold the legends about Osiris and Isis and all their other mythological fables, to have reference to the stars; and their appearances and occultations, and the periods of their risings, or to the increase and decrease of the moon, to the cycles of the sun, to the diurnal and nocturnal hemispheres, or to the river. Plutarch also gives one explanation of the history of Isis and Osiris, taken from the phenomena of eclipses."

Isis is distinguished by the solar disk and cow's horns on her head, frequently surmounted by a small throne, and bears the lotus

scepter. Says Sayce (*Ancient Empires*, p. 64): "The cow, with its horns, symbolising the crescent moon, which in Egypt appears to lie upon its back, was consecrated to her, indicating at how early a time the bride of Osiris, the sun-god, was held to be the moon. All that is beautiful and good among men comes from her; she watches over the birth of children, and rocks the cradle of the Nile. At Neit, too, she is the authoress of weaving and of the arts of female life."

The numerous other attributes of the goddess I shall not take space to record. The curious reader will find them detailed in the works of Rawlinson, Wilkinson, Maspero, etc. As a nature-goddess her worship was introduced into Greece subsequently to the epoch of the philosophical schools of Alexandria and was enormously popular at Rome from the end of the Republic.

Proclus mentions an inscription on her statue: "I am that which is, has been, and shall be. My veil no one has lifted.

The phrase "the veil of Isis" has ever since stood for mystery. To draw aside this veil is to reveal the secrets of Nature and of God. The reader is doubtless well acquainted with a curious book by the late Madame Blavatsky, entitled *Isis Unveiled*, being a key to theosophical mysteries, ancient and modern.

Says Robert Hewitt Brown (*Stellar Theology and Masonic Astronomy*): "The Egyptian Mysteries of Isis and Osiris were in the form of a mystic drama, representing the death by violence of Osiris (the sun-god), the search for his body by Isis, the moon, and its finding and being raised to life and power again.¹" This allegory symbolised not only the passage of the sun through the constellations of the zodiac, but likewise typified the wanderings of the human soul after death in the Under-world, the shadowy realm of Amenti; its judgment by Osiris, its purification and glorious resurrection. The neophyte is supposed to have impersonated Osiris in the drama, after having first been tried by the three elements,—fire, water, and air. Passing successfully through all the ordeals, he was admitted into the Hall of Truth to receive the arcane instruction at the hands of the Hierophant of the Mysteries. Mystic and splendid visions of the gods, as well as terrible phantasmagoria of the punishments accorded to the wicked, were exhibited to the awe-inspired initiate. Apuleius, in the "Metamorphosis," describing his initiation into the Mysteries of Isis, says: "Perhaps,

¹ "The death and resurrection of Osiris occurred at the end of the month Khoiak,—that is to say, at the winter solstice, concurrently with the dying of the Sun of the Old Year and the rising of the Sun of the New."—Wiedemann.

inquisitive reader, you will very anxiously ask me what was then said and done? I would tell you if it could be lawfully told. *I approached the abode of death; with my foot I pressed the threshold of Proserpine's palace. I was transported through the elements and conducted back again. At midnight I saw the bright light of the sun shining. I stood in the presence of the Gods, the Gods of Heaven and of the Shades below; ay, stood near and worshipped.* And now have I told thee such things that, hearing, thou necessarily canst not understand; and being beyond the comprehension of the Profane, I can enunciate without committing a crime."

A year afterward he was warned to prepare for initiation into the mysteries of "the Great God, Supreme Parent of all the other Gods, the invincible Osiris."

An acquaintance with stage machinery and the science of optics and acoustics was necessary to the production of the many marvellous effects exhibited. Every temple in Egypt and Greece was a veritable storehouse of natural magic. Thanks to ancient writers like Heron of Alexandria, Philo of Byzantium, and the Fathers of the early Christian Church, we are able to fathom some of the secrets of the old thaumaturgists. The magi of the temples were adepts in the art of phantasmagoria. In the ancient temple of Hercules at Tyre, Pliny states that there was a seat of consecrated stone "from which the gods easily rose."

In the temple at Tarsus, Esculapius showed himself to the devout. Damascius says: "In a manifestation, which ought not to be revealed, . . . there appeared on the wall of a temple a mass of light which at first seemed to be very remote; it transformed itself, in coming nearer, into a face evidently divine and supernatural, of a severe aspect, but mixed with gentleness, and extremely beautiful. According to the institutions of a mysterious religion the Alexandrians honored it as Osiris and Adonis."

By means of concave mirrors, made of highly polished metal, the priests were able to project images upon walls, in the air, or upon the smoke arising from burning incense. In speaking of the art of casting specula of persons upon smoke, the ingenious Salverte says: "The Theurgists caused the appearance of the gods in the air, in the midst of gaseous vapors, disengaged from fire. Porphyry admires this secret; Iamblichus censures the employment of it; but he confesses its existence, and grants it to be worthy the attention of the inquirer after truth. The Theurgist Maximus undoubtedly made use of a secret analogous to this, when in the fumes of the incense which he burned before the statue of Hecate,

the image was seen to laugh so naturally as to fill the spectators with terror."¹

v.

The mysteries of Isis and Osiris, according to many writers, among whom may be mentioned the learned translator of Plato, Thomas Taylor, were the prototypes of the far-famed Mysteries of Eleusis, of Greece. But on this subject François Lenormant² says: "The learned Hellenes who visited Egypt could not fail to be struck by the singular resemblance which existed between the symbolism of the mystic worship of Dêmêter, and that of the Egyptian sacred books relative to the state of the soul after death. Thus Herodotus did not hesitate to proclaim that the Thesmophoria had been imported into Greece from Egypt. At Saïs and other points on the banks of the Nile there were mysteries the institution of which exhibited a certain outward analogy with those of the Hellenic countries. More than one Greek, following the example of Herodotus, was led by the observation of all these analogies to accept the belief that the mysterious initiations of Eleusis had had their cradle in Egypt."

Heckethorne (*Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries*, Vol. I., p. 78) says: "The irradiations of the Mysteries of Egypt shine through and animate the secret doctrines of Phœnicia, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. The Eleusianian Mysteries may not have originated in Egypt, but doubtless many of the ceremonies were founded upon ideas imported from the Egyptian mythology."

Lenormant acknowledges this, saying: "The Orphikoi had borrowed much from this country (Egypt); in particular, the history of their Zagreus, which they were led to apply to the Iakchos of the Mysteries, was nothing else than that of the death of Osiris, the god in whose worship corn, as a symbol of the future life and of the knowledge necessary to salvation, played a part which so closely resembled the notions of the Eleusinia."

Initiation into the Mysteries of Eleusis was considered a great

¹ Modern magicians have been able to repeat these experiments. At the height of the French Revolution a Belgian optician named Robertson gave a most unique spectral exhibition in Paris in a vault beneath an abandoned Capuchin chapel. The crypt was shrouded in black draperies, ornamented with the emblems of mortality. In the center of the place was a brazier filled with burning coals. Robertson threw various essences upon the fire, whereupon clouds of incense arose. In the midst of the smoke, phantoms of the illustrious dead appeared, and lastly a gigantic skeleton armed with a scythe.

"Behold," said the conjurer, "the fate reserved for us all." No sooner pronounced than a clap of thunder was heard, and the spectators shivered with apprehension. The illusions were accomplished by the aid of a phantasmagoric lantern, casting pictures on the smoke.

² *Contemp. Rev.*, Vol. XXXVII., p. 859.

boon. The author of the Homeric hymn exclaims at its close: "Happy is he among men who has seen the Mysteries; but he who is not initiated, who does not participate in the sacred rites, will not enjoy the same destiny after his death in the abodes of darkness."¹

Sophocles² speaks to the same effect: "O thrice happy those among men who descend into the lower world after having contemplated the representations; they only have life; as for the others, there is nothing but suffering for them."

Says Lenormant:³ "Whatever awakens and develops in man the religious sentiment, even though misguided by error, exerts a salutary influence over him. If, then, the Fathers of the Church have been justly shocked at the obscenity of certain symbols presented to the view of the initiated; on the other hand, given ancient society, with its beliefs, we must accept the correctness of what is said by so many philosophers and great thinkers of paganism with regard to the beneficial influence of the initiations of Eleusis. Above all, side by side with all the pantheistic errors and the most fantastic aberrations of symbolism, what remains as the honor and the indisputable merit of the Mysteries of Eleusis is the energetic affirmation, maintained in them from the first day to the last, of the divine life after death, and of the immortality of the human soul.

"In the Egyptian 'Book of the Dead,' man at the moment of his death is represented as a grain of corn which falls into the earth in order to draw from its bosom a new life. Though we are not obliged, on that account, to seek its origin on the banks of the Nile, the symbolic teaching of the Mysteries of Eleusis was the same, and the fable of Kore is as much the image of the destiny of man after death as it is that of the reproduction of vegetative life by means of the seed committed to the earth. But as soon as men rise above the rude and primitive notion of a palingenesia purely terrestrial—of a return to existence in this world—immortality, the life beyond the grave, presents itself to their minds in connection with penalties and rewards, with the elect and the reprobate. It was natural that, in proclaiming the existence of the future life, the Mysteries should exhibit themselves as securing beatitude in that life to those who participated in their purifications and their merits."

Some writers have endeavored to strip the Eleusinian Rites of

¹ *Hymn. in Cer.*, 480-482.

² Ap. Plutarch., *De Aud. poet.*, p. 81, ed. Wyttienbach.

³ *Contemp. Rev.*, Vol. XXXVIII., p. 429.

their mystery, by declaring that no esoteric doctrine subversive of the popular mythology of Attica was taught to the higher initiates. "If this be so," says a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, Vol. 73, p. 204, "it is scarcely possible to account satisfactorily for that incident mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Alcibiades, where the spoilt darling of the Athenians is described as having mutilated the statues of Mercury and of other divinities, *after* having, in a drunken frolic, travestied the Mysteries,—he himself representing the Hierophant, Theodorus, the herald, and Polytion the torch-bearer. Guided by the light of the supposition already mentioned, we discover the circumstance of this profanation to be immediately comprehensible: whereas, denied the aid of some such rational explanation as to the debasement of the popular mythology of the Mysteries, an act of impiety so flagrant and audacious surpasses belief, even when told of a madcap like Alcibiades."

Says Albert Pike (*Morals and Dogma*, p. 379): "The object of all the mysteries was to inspire men with piety, and to console them in the miseries of life. That consolation, so afforded, was the hope of a happier future, and of passing, after death, to a state of eternal felicity. Cicero says that the initiates not only received lessons which made life more agreeable, but drew from the ceremonies happy hopes for the moment of death. Socrates says that those who were so fortunate as to be admitted to the mysteries, possessed, when dying, the most glorious hopes of eternity. . . . It is a great mistake to imagine that they were the inventions of charlatanism, and means of deception. They may in lapse of time have degenerated into imposture and schools of false ideas; but they were not so at the beginning; or else the wisest and best men of antiquity have uttered the most wilful falsehoods."

The Mysteries of Isis and Osiris and those of Eleusis lasted until late in the Christian era, but they had become disfigured by many gross practices. The sacred rites of Isis and Osiris had their last stronghold in the little island of Philæ, in the Nile, at the first cataract. There the Hierophants made a long and successful stand against the encroachments of the Christian religion. Finally there came a special edict from Constantinople, from the Emperor Theodosius, abolishing the pagan worship at Philæ. The temples of Isis and Osiris were pulled down by fanatical fellahs; the sacred shrines were violated, and thus ended those Mysteries that were the admiration of the ancient world. About the ruins of Philæ—the supposed burial place of Osiris—there grew up a little circle of

mud huts, inhabited by monks, whose contempt for the old faith of Mizraim was manifested in acts of useless vandalism.

The Christian anchorites, who fled to the Egyptian deserts to worship God in silence and solitude, had many strange and fearful experiences, if monkish historians are to be believed. They were constantly haunted by evil spirits—some in the guise of beautiful nude women, others as terrible demons, breathing smoke and flames. Perhaps these apparitions were those of the old Hierophants, taking their revenge against the despoilers of the temples of the gods.

It is not to be supposed that the worship of Isis and Osiris was entirely eradicated by the Christian religion. Many of the dogmas of the old solar and phallic cults were absorbed into Christianity. The sphinx still keeps guard over the ancient faith of the Pharaohs, buried though that faith be in a metamorphosed symbolism. A celebrated French artist has depicted the Virgin and infant Jesus, during the flight into Egypt, resting at the foot of the sphinx, while over them the eternal stars shine in the blue-black sky. The mysterious sphinx broods over the mother and child, veils them in its shadowy embrace, seeming to say to the Christ: "And thou too, and thy religion may pass away, but the wisdom of the ancient Initiates—never!"

If one of the priests of Isis or Osiris could return to life again, and visit a Roman Catholic cathedral on the Continent, he would see many things that would recall to his mind the mysterious religion of the ancient temples:¹—the lights on the altar; the peculiar vestments of the clergy; the incense; the sacred image moving in procession "escorted by the tonsured surpliced train," which Juvenal satirised centuries ago; the worship accorded to Madonna and child, a paraphrase of that given to Isis and the infant Horus; the nimbus (a solar emblem) about the head of the pictured saint; the very orientation of the cathedral itself.

Speaking of this orientation, the astronomer Lockyer (*Dawn of Astronomy*, pp. 95-96), writes: "All our churches are more or less Oriental, which is a remnant of old sun-worship. Any church that is properly built to-day will have its axis pointing to the rising of the sun on the Saint's Day, i. e., a church dedicated to St. John ought not to be parallel to a church dedicated to St. Peter. It is true that there are sometimes local conditions which prevent this; but if the architect knows his business properly he is unhappy unless he can carry out this old-world tradition. But it may be sug-

¹ See Inman's *Pagan and Christian Symbolism*, pp. 51-52, 76-77, 101-105.

gested that in our churches the door is always to the west and the altar is always to the east. This is perfectly true, but it is a modern practice. Certainly in the early centuries the churches were all oriented to the sun, so that the light fell on the altar through the eastern doors at sunrise. The late Gilbert Scott, in his *Essay on Church Architecture*, gives a very detailed account of these early churches, which in this respect exactly resembled the Egyptian temples.

"In regard to old St. Peter's at Rome (*Builder*, Jan. 2, 1892), we read that 'so exactly due east and west was the Basilica that, on the vernal equinox, the great doors of the porch of the quadriporticus were thrown open at sunrise, and also the eastern doors of the church itself, and as the sun rose, its rays passed through the outer doors, then through the inner doors, and, penetrating straight through the nave, illuminated the High Altar.' The present church fulfils the same conditions."

In front of the eastern façade of St. Peter's at Rome, in the centre of the magnificent circular plaza, stands an Egyptian obelisk that once graced the portal of some old temple of Mizraim. It was set up by one of the Popes, as an historical curio and ornament. Singular coincidence!—obelisks are supposed to symbolise the sun's rays. At least they were frequently used as gnomons by the Egyptians. An obelisk in front of an oriented Christian church is after all not such an incongruous thing, but a reminder to the scholar that the ancient solar cult of Isis and Osiris still survives the shock of time, though its outward significance is lost.

The worship of Osiris carried with it, wherever it was disseminated, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Says Wiedemann (*Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, pp. viii-ix): "From the fourth century B. C. he [Osiris], together with his companion deities, entered into the religious life of the Greeks; and homage was paid to him by imperial Rome. This Osirian doctrine influenced the systems of Greek philosophers; it made itself felt in the teachings of the Gnostics; we find traces of it in the writings of Christian apologists and the older fathers of the Church, and through their agency it has affected the thoughts and opinions of our own time."

MISCELLANEOUS.

WIND-WAFTED WILD FLOWERS.

BY MURIEL STRODE.

I will not follow where the path may lead, but I will go where there is no path, and I will leave a trail.

Infinitely will I trust nature's instincts and promptings, but I will not call my own perversions nature.

Each receives but that which is his own returning.
Each hears but that which is the echo of his own call.
Each feels but that which has eaten into his own heart.

I do not bemoan misfortune. To me there is no misfortune. I welcome whatever comes; I go out gladly to meet it.

It is no stigma to wear rags; the disgrace is in continuing to wear them.

Say not that this or that thing came to thwart you; it only came to test you.

There is hope for that genius who must overcome poverty, but there is almost none for that one who must overcome wealth.

The Aeolian must be in your breast, else the winds are in vain.

A great work demands a great sacrifice, and who is not capable of a great sacrifice is not capable of a great work.

The earth shall yet surrender to him, and the fates shall do his will, who marches on, though the promised land proved to be but a mirage and the day of deliverance was cancelled. The gods shall yet anoint him, and the morning stars shall sing.

Not alone for that which is mine will I rejoice, but for that which has been withheld, which was coveted and longed for but denied, for I am what I am for having had to rise superior to the need.

His to rejoice with exceeding great joy who plucks the fruit of his planting,

but his the divine anointing who watched and waited and toiled and prayed,—
and failed,—and can yet be glad.

I would travel in all climes that I might return and tell you of the beauty of
my own little garden plot.

I would explore heaven and hell that I might come back and tell you what a
charming place is the earth.

Wishing will bring things in the degree that it incites you to go after them

If the populace marched in file, 'twere my signal to break from the ranks.
If a thousand generations did thus and so, 'twere my cue to do otherwise.

I longed to build as you had builded, but I knew that your joy lay in the con-
ception of your own design.

I longed to follow where your feet had trod, but I had watched your exhilara-
tion as you felled a new way.

I longed to do that thing you did and be that thing you are, but I knew life's
fulness was yours because you were yourself.

Let my grave be unmarked: I fear not to be forgotten.

Better than tiaras—the diadem of freedom.

Better than broad acres—a garden of heartsease.

Better than mines of gold—a mint of dreams.

Better than bars of molten silver—the silver of a laugh.

Better than strings of pearls—the crystal of a tear.

Better than bands of choristers—a lute in the soul.

I am life's mystery,—and I alone am its solution.

I am the dreamer of dreams,—and I am dreams come true.

I am the supplicant,—and I am the god that answers prayers.

THE PRESENT RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN FRANCE.¹

In answer to your letter of April 10th, I would say that unhappily I do not
think myself the right man to write a review or appreciation of religious events
now going on in France, although I follow them with great interest.

The events in question are a page of our historic evolution. It was "written"
that some day or another we should have to get rid of the Congregations, which
were multiplying immensely and which are the temporal army of the Papist domi-
nation. Was this the proper moment to begin, through a junction of the Radicals
and the Socialists, brought about by M. Waldeck-Rousseau? Have they done as
they ought? Was it not too much to attack at once the three sorts of Congrega-
tions: men and women, schools commercial, meditative, etc.? I do not know.
The final object, the most desirable for our country, would be a French National
Church independent of the Pope, having synods, say once a year, and adapting it-
self progressively to the spirit of the century; or at least an equality with other
Churches, such as you have in the United States.

¹ From a private letter by Dr. Paul Topinard.

As to a general article on some religious subject I do not know whether I am yet ripe for this.

1. What is religion? Is it a system of philosophy spiritualistic or metaphysical (I don't say materialistic), monistic or dualistic; a given mythology; what serves as a basis to morality (that is to say the best conduct in society toward one another); or a collection of prescripts, ceremonies, rites? No, it is adoration and prayer, a believing in something which may see our adoration, hear our prayer, and answer to our demands, in other words to an anthropomorphic, a mere conception or hypothesis.

2. How is it the socialists (I do not say sociologists) and all the other leaders of the lower classes are enemies of Religion, God, and the priests, "No God, no Master," they say. Is it not because the generality of philosophers profess that the search and supposed knowledge of God is the field of the *sages* only, of the enlightened—they and their followers? Is it not because they have left mythological legends, developed or not, by the poets and priests, to the warriors and citizens, leaving to the mass of the people what? Nothing! Indifference! Is it not because such philosophers as Platos and the Stoics did not believe in justice, as so well described in Ecclesiastes, and made use of an artificial religion only to make the suffering classes keep still and obey the law, without offering them any method, or even the hint of a remedy to their suffering on earth? In Egypt the superior classes had fine and solid graves for their "Doubt"; but the laboring classes had not even a sepulchre. The "last," as elsewhere, were nothing.

The great success of Christ was due to the fact that he was the first to say in our part of the world: the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, the woman, the slave, all are equal before my God; his kingdom will come in a short time on the day of resurrection; you have been the last, you will be the first. But all those promises have faded away. The Christ of the people is not known, at least not to those brought up in the Catholic faith. The new social strata, those that now awake to thinking do not make a difference between God and religion and priests who have failed to give them a remedy for their sufferings and happiness or equality on earth. Therefore they say, "No God, no priest; we will make our happiness ourselves."

3. Some now say that, when in the second and third centuries after Christ the general spirit was for a new faith, it is most unhappy that the schools of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome arrived at the form adopted by them. They think that something better might have come out of the Stoics, of Marcus Aurelius, and the Emperor Julian or others. Is it true?

4. . . . But I must stop. It is enough.

For my part I do believe in an Unknown, in a general principle of things, and I find your word *nomotheism* very good. I do believe in a one universal soul of the world of which a part is in each of us. But that is only a scientific and I must say a materialistic idea. It leads to nothing in the practical conduct of individual life. It does not lead to prayer. I cannot adore either the universal and impalpable soul, nor my own soul. Conscience is what hereditary habits of thinking and doing makes it (putting aside individual habits obtained by the present surroundings and education.)

We Stoics see things as they are; we know we are but ants, we bend our heads and make the best of life. But the mass of the people wants a religion having for its aim morality in society, and, surely, as much as possible truth.

The ideal would be to take justice as a basis. But on earth there is none, and

some other artificial basis must be found. The conception of the *unknown* without that of an *afterdeath*. . . ! No !

Of the existing Churches the Protestantism of l'Abbé Poquesal is what I would prefer. But instead of taking the Bible, I would take a compendium of moral extracts of the wise men of all nations: Confucius, Christ, etc. I am not sufficiently acquainted with India to speak of it. All my morality would turn around these two phrases :

Do to others, Do what you would wish to be done to you : Love one another.

You see that after all I am a Christian. But really my convictions are not yet settled. Be it as it may, it is by the mother's education that there is possibility of doing something.

P. S.—Note the three sorts of justice : The posthumous justice of Christ at the time of the Resurrection ; the posthumous justice of the Catholic faith for the survival of the individual soul ; and justice on earth, are absolutely negative. The pantheism of Buddhism, monotheist or any other, does not imply any idea of justice. No, I see no basis for it save in equality or reciprocity of conduct ; that reciprocity has no sanction except law and the policeman.

TOLSTOY'S PARTING WORD TO THE CLERGY.

Count Leo Tolstoy's excommunication has caused a considerable excitement all over the world, and Russian newspaper reports indicate that the old venerable reformer felt the sting of it considerably more than might have been expected. We are now in possession of Tolstoy's *Appeal to the Clergy*, translated into English by Mr. Maude and forwarded us through his friend, Mr. E. H. Crosby. Mr. Maude has translated the entire document, and we have selected from it the most significant and telling passages, those which are most characteristic of the whole, cutting it down to about one-third of the original. In going over the pages as they go to press we cannot help thinking that it is a most remarkable document. It is Tolstoy's parting word ; he is serious about the matter he has to communicate and takes into consideration that he is "standing on the brink of his grave." There is no frivolity, no flippancy about Tolstoy ; he is a deeply religious man and his *Appeal* deserves a hearing.

THE GREAT APOSTACY.

In Tolstoy's article, written in reply to the clergy of his Church, the State Church of Russia, we have a symptom of the fermentation that is agitating the religious world. The reader is apt to gain the impression that the Churches are full of hypocrites, but undoubtedly there are pious souls in the Greek Church, as well as in the Roman, Anglican, and Protestant Churches, but a change in our world-conception makes our religious institutions totter in their foundations. What will become of it ?

Before us lies a little pamphlet¹ written by an Episcopalian clergyman, rector of a church in Pennsylvania, and his essay is a "voice crying in the wilderness," and representing in many respects the opposite pole to the sentiment of Tolstoy. The Rev. Thomas Scott Bacon is a pious orthodox Christian, who is perhaps little touched by the changes that are being wrought in the world. He is shocked at

¹ *The Great Apostacy of the Twentieth Century*. Baltimore : The Sun Printing Office. 1903. Pp. 42.

"the Great Apostasy of the Twentieth Century," and finds in this falling away from the original doctrines of Christianity an awful symptom of the age. He does not cling to the eccentricities of the doctrine. He makes no mention of all the incredible acts of Biblical history and the miracles related in history which are enumerated by Tolstoy in a simple contrast to the moral side of Christianity, and would splendidly agree with Tolstoy in all the main points of his religious convictions; but it seems that to him the doctrines and the traditions of the Church are included in the religion of love, and ought not to be dropped, while Tolstoy would discard them for the sake of re-establishing the authority of Christ's moral injunctions. A few quotations will characterise the spirit of Rev. Bacon's essay:

"The word 'Apostasy' is chosen, after long and careful consideration of its force, in this account of the present religious condition. It is a word of divine prophecy, not to be used in human speech 'unadvisedly or lightly, but reverently, discretely, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God.' It is also essentially a very solemn, and, in the exact sense of that epithet, an *awful* word, which should never designate what is not most serious,—and with which affectations or personal ambitions of any kind should in no case be associated."

The Christian doctrine is summarised as follows:

"No Christian, we may suppose, will deny that in the authentic book of Divine history this is recorded: 'Then one asked (tempting him), Master, which is the great commandment in the law? Jesus said unto him: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment.'"

"Another distinction is set upon these words of which there is no parallel in all the Holy Scriptures. A 'second' and supplemental commandment, 'like unto it,' is added; and then follows this declaration: 'On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.' This in effect declares that all the Holy Scriptures then written were dependent upon and to be understood only by that first and great commandment of God, and the second like unto it. It follows, then, of course, that the Gospel of our Lord, including all the Holy Writings of the New Testament, which are the divinely-written record and doctrine of His Church, rests upon those Commandments."

Little thought is given to the difficulties of retaining all the dogmas and Church traditions which have become incredible to us. Rev. Bacon believes that all attempts at reconciling the two standpoints, "love of God" and "love of the world," are futile. He says:

"There appear to be a few Christian evolutionists who are struggling for a 'reconciliation' (or a *modus vivendi*) between this and Christian faith and love. But there is no holding-ground for 'an anchor of the soul' in such treacherous quicksands. It drifts to the fatal *doubt*, whether there is a *personal* God to be known and loved."

What then is the burden of Rev. Bacon's belief? He believes that Christians should be fearless in their love of God and their neighbor, and he sums up the question

"We can begin now, each of us, to make the will of God to be done on earth as it is in heaven,—in that little part of earth, his own heart. We can get in touch with some other hearts, to the same effect; discover others yet which have the same inspiration and ambition and help one another in the same way. There is no limit of impossibility to what may come of this, with loving faith in God as a grain of mustard seed.

"Did any man ever propose a better method for it than this?—'As we have therefore opportunity let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith.' The especial love of the brethren is distinctly mentioned. We are fellow-members of 'the household of God,'—of each soul of that 'blessed company of all believing people,' loving the Church in this way, not because it is the Church,—or our Church, but because it is 'the Church of God.' For this very purpose,—because 'God so loved the world,'—our love must reach out to 'all nations' and 'every (human) creature.' Thus may we long and toil until—(either before or after the Second Coming of Our Lord) 'the earth shall be filled with the knowledge and love of God, as the waters cover the seas.'"

The Rev. Mr. Bacon's Christianity is certainly commendable, and though his view of God is probably different from ours, we can understand him and shake hands over an abyss of scientific differences, but we would say that the two commandments of Christ are not two behests, but that according to the traditions of the Church they are one and one only, the first being interpreted by the second; and we, from our radical standpoint, believe in the God of science, believe that God is not a person but a superpersonal norm of light, so that we find no fault with this interpretation. The American Churches, which are not State Churches but free institutions, are in a position to develop in this right line, and in fact, so far as I can judge, they do expand and grow, and reach out higher to the last rung of the ladder of evolution. We need not spurn the Bible or any of the traditional dogmas of the Church. If we cease to believe them to be literal revelations of God, we can still reverence them as the landmarks of man's religious development. We must only bear in mind that life must progress, and religious truth is as much subject to the law of growth as is all other life, as well as intellectual life.

Yet there is one essential truth to be noted: whatever changes there may be in our intellectual comprehension, the right moral ideas have always been the same, and once recognised will remain unalterable. The Golden Rule, which Tolstoy takes to be the essential doctrine of Christianity, cannot be changed by any widening of our intellectual horizon, and the religion that spreads "good will on earth" is absolutely true, and will remain true, whatever the riddles of life have in store for us.

FREETHOUGHT CONGRESS AT ROME IN 1904.

At the International Freethought Congress at Geneva in September last year it was resolved that the next Congress should be held at Rome in 1904, Sept. 20th. No time has been lost in commencing the preparatory labors of the organisation.

M. Léon Fumémont, Deputy for Charleroi to the Belgian Parliament, and General Secretary of the International Rationalist Federation, is now in London for the purpose of forming an English committee.

Similar committees have already been formed in various other countries, notably France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Holland, and Switzerland. On the several national committees there figure such well-known names as those of Professor Haeckel, the illustrious German professor; Professor Berthélot, secrétaire perpétuel of the Académie des Sciences at Paris; MM. Aulard, Gabriel Séailles, professors at the Sorbonne; M. Hervé, director of the Institut des Hautes Etudes at Paris; such distinguished senators as MM. Clemenceau and Delpuch; and numerous deputies, representing all shades of the Republican party, among whom MM. Buisson, Lockroy, and Hubbard may be noted.

In Italy the committee is headed by such well-known men as Professor Lombroso and Signori Enrico Ferri, Colojani, De Cristoforis, and Pellegrini (Deputies of the Italian Parliament), and Professor Sergi, of the University of Rome. Professor Bovio, the distinguished savant and patriot, whose lamented death occurred a few days ago, had accepted the position of honorary president of the Congress.

The recent successes of the Spanish Republican party have sent to the Cortès a number of deputies who have already joined the committee in that country. Among these may be mentioned Nicolas Salmeron, the former President of the Spanish Republic, Miguel Morayta, the Grand Master of the Spanish Freemasons, and Admiral Marengo (Deputy for Cadiz).

On the Belgian committee will be found the names of Professor Hector Denis and the following Deputies: M. Léon Furnémont, Paul Jansen, the leader of the Liberal party, and Georges Lorand. The office of the Federation is at 13, Rue du Moniteur, Brussels.

It may be noted that M. Furnémont is about to proceed to Berlin, Vienna, and Buda-Pesth, in order to form the German, Austrian, and Hungarian committees. Already in the various Republics of South America similar committees are being constituted.

The English committee will comprise representatives of all grades of Rationalist thought. Professor Henry Maudsley and the veteran George Jacob Holyoake will be the presidents d'honneur. The other names include those of Earl Russell, Lady Florence Dixie, Joseph McCabe, John M. Robertson, Edward Clodd, Sydney Gimson, F. J. Gould, Mrs. H. Bradlaugh-Bonner, Dr. G. B. Clark, E. Belfort Bax, J. F. Green, Charles Watts, G. W. Foote, Chapman Cohen, Victor Roger, and P. H. Thomas. Several of the above-named have intimated their intention of being present at the Congress. In the meantime the English committee will be placed in communication with the other national committees, and will co-operate with them in framing the programme of the Congress.

The secretary of the English committee, Mr. William Heaford, writes: "Let me assure the English reader that French, Belgian, Italian, and Spanish Free-thought—so far as I know its literature and the men who write and speak for Free-thought in those lands—is no mere anti-clerical cry of 'Down with the priest and up with the people,' but a conscious, intelligent movement, based on a wide survey of human history and of man's social and political needs, embodying a radically rationalistic view of life and duty—a movement accelerated by splendid enthusiasm and adorned by illustrious talent.

THE HIAWATHA LEGEND.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I some time since received *The Open Court*, containing an article on Hiawatha and the Onondaga Indians, by Dr. Charles L. Henning. I published a summary of the Hiawatha legends in the *Journal of American Folk Lore* some years ago. Dr. Henning's version is much like that of La Fort's in the Thacher wampum case. Writers now distinctly bring down the date of the league to about 1600, the archaeological proofs of which I have often pointed out.

Dr. Henning's Talla Lake should be Tully Lake, and there is no Tennessee street in Syracuse. La Fort's place for the council was at the corner of Warren and Genesee streets, in the midst of a former dense swamp.

But I am chiefly concerned with Hiawatha. In his *League of the Iroquois*, Morgan called him Ha-yo-went-hab, "The man who combs," Dr. Henning refers to my interpretation, or rather that of Albert Cusick, who has been my efficient helper for nearly thirty years, and who is a good linguist,—which Daniel La Fort was not. Mr. Cusick told me last week that he had no recollection of Dr. Henning or of any conversation with him, though he might have met him. He adheres to the interpretation given me, and thinks that if any name was mentioned it must have been Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, "He keeps them awake." This error might have occurred in a casual conversation, and the likeness and difference of the words at once appear. However that may be, he does not interpret Hiawatha as "the Awakener."

Two of the errors I have mentioned in Dr. Henning's paper are probably typographical, as are some others, and this may be notably the case with the Indian name and interpretation under Daniel La Fort's picture, neither being correct. In general the interpretations given will stand, but as a rule the Onondaga names of the clans do not contain the name of the animal which is the totem. Typographically it is a droll idea that Hiawatha should have followed Onondaga creek a long way south of Tully lake. Beyond that the waters flow south. Actually the Onondagas have always placed the origin of their clans elsewhere, and La Fort's story is a modern invention.

W. M. BEAUCHAMP.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Republic of Plato is being translated anew by Alexander Kerr, Professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin, and published in serial form by Charles H. Kerr & Co. (Chicago, 1903). The third instalment, Book III. of *The Republic*, which lies before us, is sufficient evidence of the translator's care and ability. Price of the fascicle, 15 cents.

Miss A. Christine Albers continues her literary activity in India. We are just in receipt of copies of two new booklets written by her, both short and both adapted for children. The titles are: *The History of Buddhism* and *Selections from the Jatakas*. They are pleasant reading, especially the latter, the selections having been made with taste and discretion.

Dr. William Lee Howard has attempted in his novel *The Perverts* to portray the history of a dipsomaniac and his family. It is a sad story with a medical moral, slightly overdrawn in its coloring, and pressing some of its scientific hypotheses very far. But the endeavor of the author to diffuse the knowledge that dipsomania is a disease is a laudable one. (New York: G. W. Dillingham Co. Price, \$1.50.)

In pointing out the optimistic and pessimistic thoughts and tendencies in the Old and the New Testaments, Dr. Adolf Gutmacher has rendered a distinct service to students of Biblical literature. He has summarised the results of his researches, carried on with the assistance of his teacher Prof. Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, in a recently published work entitled: *Optimism and Pessimism in the Old and New Testaments*, and his conclusions bear out upon the whole the dictum of Schopenhauer that the spirit of the Old Testament is optimistic and that of the New pessimistic. (Baltimore, Md.: The Friedenwald Company. 1903. Pages, 255.)



CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

(1831-1903.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.¹

[Born, September 4th, 1831. Died, August 23d, 1903.]

WORDS OF FAREWELL SPOKEN AT THE FUNERAL.

BY THE EDITOR.

OUR sainted friend, the Hon. Charles Carroll Bonney, was not only a lawyer and jurist of great prominence, not only a prophet and reformer, not only a good citizen, a just and faithful and kind neighbor to every one he met, but also a poet, and his poetry the greater part of which lies still unpublished in manuscript form, is characterised by grandeur and loftiness. Having had the privilege of his unbroken friendship since the days when he reached the climax of his fame as President of the World's Fair Congress Auxiliary and the Parliament of Religions, I enjoyed the opportunity to become better acquainted with him than it was permitted to many of his friends. He gave me access to some of the deeper recesses of his heart when handing me his literary treasures, his lectures, his manuscripts, and last, not least, his poems. It is from his poems that I propose to delineate the great personality of this historical man, and it is remarkable how well adapted many of his lines are to the present occasion.

¹For an appreciation of Mr. Bonney's merits as the Inaugurator of the Parliament of Religions, see *The Open Court* for January, 1900, Vol. XIV., p. 4. An excellent pencil-sketch of his characteristic face, showing the features of a prophet, drawn by Eduard Biedermann, appeared in Vol. XV., p. 764, and will be reproduced in the present number. The recent volumes of *The Open Court* contain numerous contributions from Mr. Bonney's pen; the last-mentioned volume alone, not less than eight essays on several subjects of reform and good government. The deep interest which Mr. Bonney from his standpoint of orthodox Christianity took in the work of *The Open Court Publishing Co.*, is strikingly set forth in his article "The Principles of *The Open Court*" (Vol. XIV., pp. 1-3 and republished in pamphlet form). See also the sketch of his life on p. 111 of the present number. Finally, we expect an extract from the funeral sermon by Dr. Mercer, Mr. Bonney's pastor and intimate friend, which shall appear in the next number of *The Open Court*.

The problem of death was no foreign thought to him, but though he recognised the majesty of death, he rose above it, and saw in it, only the immortalisation of man.

Speaking of Henry Clay, Mr. Charles Carroll Bonney wrote :

“He Is Immortal now !

The angel-monarch Death, the mightiest,
That most majestic and benign of all
The spirits strong and beautiful, to whom
The great Creative Father has consign'd
The keeping of our lives and destinies,
Hath come at last to this illustrious
And aged man, in th' harvest of his years,
Of all his ripened honors and great deeds,
And broke the last dear fetter that still kept
His lofty soul within its wondrous home
Of living dust ; hath robed his glorified
And new-born spirit for a radiant home
Of untold beauty, in the Eden Land,
And, like an elder brother, led him through
The pall-hung portal to the unseen way
Which goeth out from life, and leadeth down
In the vale of shadows, and from out
Its realms of grand enchanting beauty, up
A pearl-pav'd pathway, into Paradise.

.....
He needs no marble monument to keep
His fame and give it to posterity,
His deeds are living temples, and in them
He will live on forever !

We say. he's dead—

We mean his mortal body is put off,
We mean the form in which he dwelt on earth
Has been chang'd for one more glorious—
One incorruptible. For truly, he
Still lives, more really than e'er he liv'd
Before : but he hath left the troubl'd sphere
Of the corporeal life, to fill a more
Exalted station, as a member of
The august senate of the mighty dead.
In the Supreme Lawgiver's grand domain
Hath he Departed !

Yet his long career
Of great, immortal deeds, now sanctified
By Death's sublime ordeal, giv'n up
To History, the keeper of the past,
Shall make his name a hallow'd "household word,"
And in the bright'ning glory of those deeds
He lives forever."

When Judge Alfred W. Arrington, a lawyer of great accomplishments and still greater promises, suddenly died in the vigor of his years, Mr. Bonney appreciated the sterling qualities of his colleague, for they found an echo in his own bosom, and thus the poem to his friend, became a description of the poet himself.

Mr. Bonney said of Mr. Arlington, and we repeat the lines of Mr. Bonney:

"Whatever fame he had
When he departed, he had fairly won.

"Won by his eloquence and mental power ;
Won by his learning, logic, and good sense ;
Won by his toil and his fidelity.

"His eloquence was like the forests, grand ;
And, like the streams and valleys, beautiful.

"His mental power was like a giant's strength,
Equal to all demands of greatest tasks.

"His learning most profound ! And over all
The subjects he discussed, he poured the light
Of his great erudition and research.

"His logic was the algebra of law,
Enriched with illustrations from the realm
Where beauty blossoms into poesy.

"His labor and fidelity were such
That less of both would have fulfilled all claims
Of honor, conscience, and necessity.

"His fame is ours ; he won it in our midst
And it becomes us that we honor him.

"And this man was a poet. In the midst
Of greatest legal labors, he made time
To demonstrate that highest legal lore,
And warm and glowing verse, of faultless style
And beauty, might in peace together dwell,
And bless the soul with their united wealth.

"And, grandest thing of his eventful life,
His soul achieved a final victory
Over the hosts of infidelic doubt.

"He wandered long in dreary wilderness,
He suffered darkness, hunger, thirst, and pain;
But, at the last, he lifted up his eyes,
And saw the golden ladder Jacob saw,
And saw the angels passing up and down."

The dream of the golden ladder Jacob saw was actualised in Mr. Bonney's life. It was the Parliament of Religions. Mr. Bonney wanted "Not matter but mind"; and "Not things but men"; and therefore he proposed to add to the World's Fair an exhibit of the civilisation itself that had produced the industries and mechanical wonders of our age.

A quotation from his response to the toast of the World's Congresses, embodies his attitude in this historic event. He said on that memorable occasion :

"I join with joy unspeakable the call
On every people to participate,
To send the choicest products of their skill,
And show how man has triumphed in the strife
With untamed nature, and thus make the gain
Each has achieved the heritage of all.
But something more sublime has drawn me here :
To bring the leaders in all realms of thought
Together, to consider how mankind
May be more nobly served, is grander still !

"From every continent I see them come,—
Masters of knowledge, science, culture, art,
Religion, morals, charity, reform,—
To plan campaigns by which they may advance

To greater victories o'er ignorance,
And vice, and crime, and all calamities,
And increase joy and peace throughout the world.

I hear them in the Palace of the Arts,
Voice the amazing progress of the age,
And state the living questions that demand
Solution at the hands of living men,
And point the way to the desired results.

I see mankind made one in mental aim !
I see mankind made one in moral power !
I see the age of peace begin to dawn !

Mr. Bonney was a Christian, and, in a certain sense, an orthodox Christian, for he accepted and believed in all the doctrines commonly deemed essential. His Christianity was so truly Christian that it showed no narrowness, but meant universality, brotherhood, and charity. He sympathised with all searchers after the truth, and thus the non-Christian was to him not a pagan but a brother and co-worker with whom he was glad to communicate and exchange thoughts. The cornerstone of his Christianity was the standard of truth set forth in the Fourth Gospel, "That is the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (i. 9). His religion is characterised in a poem entitled "Golden Lessons":

"The Master bids us love our enemies,
Bless them that curse ; do good to them that hate ;
And pray for them that act spitefully.
He bids us to do others as we would
That they should do to us. He bids us lend ;
He bids us give ; bids us be merciful ;

Bids us not judge, save as we would be judged ;
And gives us His sure promise that, if we
But keep His sayings, He will also give
Blessings in ample measure, well pressed down
And running over ; and that all shall mete
To us the measure of our deeds to them.

Mr. Bonney concludes his "Golden Lessons" with a versified collection of Scripture passages, showing his interpretation of the Bible:

The Lord sustain thee,—be thou strong and brave (Joshua i.);
 He giveth, or withholdeth life and wealth (i. Samuel i.);
 He gives deliverance to the distressed (ii. Samuel xxii.);
 He will give wisdom, if we ask of him (i. Kings iii.);
 He can with plenty fill our hearts and hands (2 Kings vii.);
 He like a shepherd will seek out his flock (Ezekiel xxxiv.);
 He gives us peace, and says, Fear not,—be strong (Daniel x.);
 He is a stronghold in the day of grief (Nahum i.);
 He saith, Fear not, nor, let thy hands be slack (Zephan. iii.);
 He bids us be compassionate and just (Zachariah vii.);
 In His own image He created us (Genesis i.);
 And blesses us if we but keep His law (Leviticus xxvi.)."

Mr. Bonney suffered for the last years of his life from progressive paralysis, but he set us a noble example of patience and resignation. Here is the last poem in the collection of his manuscript:

"Waiting God's will, my heart goes out in love,
 To those who came in the Columbian year
 From all the continents and joined us here
 In friendly conference on mighty themes
 Of life and immortality, and found
 Strong ties of brotherhood in every field,
 And in the matchless Universal Prayer
 The World's religious peace and unity.

"Waiting God's will, I hail the coming Peace
 That yet shall reign triumphant through the world;
 Not base ignoble Peace that shelters wrong,
 But Peace victorious in righteousness:
 Strong as God's Justice, gentle as His Love.

Mr. Bonney is no longer "waiting"; the last call came and he joined the choir invisible of those immortal dead that are not dead in whose mighty company his soul is a potent presence still helping to actualise in human society the vision of the New Jerusalem. This is a very realistic immortality.

We conclude with another stanza of Mr. Bonney's "Golden Lessons":

"Death is no longer conqueror and king,
 The grave no more is darkness and despair.
 The Lord of Lords hath rolled away the stone
 Of gloom that barred its portal, and let in

The everlasting sunshine of His throne ;
And now the eye of Faith may clearly see,
Beyond the tomb, the Holy City's spires ;
And, through the open gates, may catch a glimpse
Of well-remembered faces, full of love
And peace and beauty and celestial joy.
And our exultant hearts cry out, Oh ! Death,
Where is thy sting ? . Grave, where thy victory ?"

We offer thanks for the noble life that has been completed,
for the high aspirations that have been attained, for the great work
that has been accomplished. The labors of a life pass away, but
its blessings remain forever.

MESHA'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

AN APPRECIATION OF THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MOABITE STONE.

BY THE EDITOR.

ABOUT in the middle of the eastern coast of the Dead Sea there is a little river called the Arnon, which cuts up that territory into two parts ; the northern stretch was inhabited by the Israelite tribe of Reuben, while the southern, mostly desert heather-land, belonged to the Moabites.

Though there is some good arable land in the district of Moab, the wealth of the country consisted in herds of sheep, and their chieftain was regarded in Israel as "a great sheepmaster." It is difficult to say whether we should call Moab a little nation or a tribe. They kept to themselves as nomadic peoples are apt to do, but their language was practically the same as the speech of the surrounding countries. Its dialectic differences from Hebrew are less than those of Saxon-Scotch from English, or of Dutch from German. Yet the feuds fought between Israel and Moab were as bitter as between England and Scotland.

The Moabites worshipped their own god, Chemosh, who in olden times resembled Yahveh in every respect except in name. In those days it was understood that Chemosh ruled in Moab while Yahveh ruled in Israel, and after the fashion of petty gods each god was jealous of the other. The twelve tribes, however, having been united under Saul and raised to great prominence under David, exercised for some time a kind of sovereignty over the surrounding districts, and Moab, too, was subject to Israel. When the Israelite empire was divided, the king of Israel, the northern kingdom, still held sway over Moab. Omri was a powerful monarch, and his capital Samaria must have been under his reign an important center of civilisation. Omri's successor, Ahab, main-

tained the renown of Israel; he overcame Ben-Hadad, King of Syria, but fell in the battle at Ramoth-Gilead. Ahab's sons no longer commanded the same respect as their grandfather, and we read in 2 Kings i. 1 that "then Moab rebelled against Israel after the death of Ahab."

We may well imagine that the hand of Israel had lain heavy on their poor neighbor. The tribute which they were forced to pay was exorbitant. In 2 Kings iii. 4 we read:

"And Mesha, King of Moab, was a sheepmaster, and rendered unto the King of Israel an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams, with the wool."

The Israelites garrisoned the Moabite border town Medeba, twelve miles east of the Dead Sea, and built the strongholds Ataroth and Yahas.

The eldest son of Ahab, Ahaziah, ruled in his father's place, but he fell through a lattice in the upper chamber of his residence at Samaria, and died in the second year of his reign.

Ahaziah's death is attributed by the writer of 2 Kings i. to his having inquired of Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, whether he would recover from his disease. The story is interesting because it characterises the rivalry that existed between the different gods of the several Semitic tribes. The messenger falls in on his way to Ekron with the Prophet Elijah, the same who had antagonised his father Ahab on account of his laxity in matters of religion (we should perhaps in our days call it tolerance of foreign religious cults) and also on account of the injustice done to Naboth. Obviously Elijah does not deny that there are gods in other countries: he only condemns the lack of patriotism, that an Israelite king should send for advice to the god of a neighboring country. He says with a ring of irony: "Is it not because there is not a god in Israel that ye go up to inquire of Baalzebub, the god of Ekron?" (2 Kings i. 3). The significance of the Yahvist prophet's words is indicated by their being repeated again and again in the same chapter. Elijah is described as "an hairy man, girt with a girdle of leather about his loins" (verse 8). This was the characteristic appearance of a Nazir, a man who still continued to lead the desert life, rejecting the civilised mode of living in cities and the use of things made by hand. Nazirs drank no wine, they lived not in houses, only in tents, and made fire in the old-fashioned way with the fire-sticks by friction, a method which had become mysterious to the people and was regarded as a miracle. The fire was supposed to come as if sent by

God, hence it was said to fall from heaven; and to be able to produce fire in this mysterious fashion was deemed among the people a sign of genuine prophecy.

It will be remembered that the Nazir institutions were re-established in a way during the revival of Jewish patriotism in the reign of the Maccabees, and it is more than probable that the sect of the Nazarenes to whom John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth belonged are thus historically connected with the old Nazir prophets, as which Elijah and Sampson are described.

At any rate, King Ahaziah died according to Elijah's prophecy, and Jehoram ascended the throne. In the meantime Moab had refused to pay the tribute imposed upon it by the powerful Omri of Samaria, and Jehoram tried to recover his authority over the lost territory. Judea and Edom, the latter lying directly south of Moab, joined the king of Samaria, and the three allies invaded the territory of the Moabite rebels.

In those days Mesha was king of Moab, and previous to the declaration of Moab's independence he had fortified the cities, had dug wells and cisterns so as to enable the inhabitants to stand a siege, and had in general way looked out for the defence of the country; yet such were the odds against the poor shepherd tribe that the chances of a final victory were slight. The word "Mesha" means "salvation," and the name occurs also among the Hebrews, where one of the sons of Caleb bears it (1 Chronicles ii. 42).

The war that took place between Moab on one side and the allied kings of Israel, Judea, and Edom on the other, is described in the Second Book of Kings (chapter iii.). The allied forces attacked Moab from the south, devastating the country and burning the towns, but they suffered greatly from want of water. The prophet Elisha, a successor to Elijah, advised them to dig ditches, and the ditches were filled with water. The water, we are told, shone red in the morning sun so that the Moabites thought it was blood. They attacked the allies and were beaten, and King Mesha retired into his stronghold Kir-Haraseth, the last stronghold left to the Moabites. If the town had been taken, the tribe would probably have been wiped out forever and the territory left subject to the Israelites, but the king in his despair, when he saw that he could no longer break through the lines of his besiegers, sacrificed his eldest son on the walls, and, states the Bible, "there was great indignation in¹ Israel, and they departed from him and they re-

¹ The authorised version translates "against," which destroys the sense. The idea is as pointed out before in *The Open Court*, No.

turned to their own land." The Israelites, having witnessed the sacrifice of a prayer for deliverance, which (as was assumed in those days) could not be left ungranted by the gods, gave up any further attempt at forcing Kir-Haraseth; and thus Moab, though the country had been greatly devastated, regained its independence and seems to have retained it. This *résumé* of events is based upon the records of the Old Testament.

Now, it is interesting to know that a monument has been discovered which is a verification of these incidents, not so much in their specialised details, although none of them are positively contradicted, but certainly as to the most important main facts: the subjection of Moab to Israel; the revolt of Moab and Mesha's successful struggle for independence. The Rev. F. Klein, a missionary of the Church Society of Jerusalem, in an excursion through the desert heaths of Moab discovered at Dhiban, in the site of the ancient Dibon, four miles north of the Arnon, a black slab of bazalt about three and a half feet high by two feet wide, bearing an inscription, which was found to be King Mesha's statement of Moab's struggle for independence.

It is interesting to read Mesha's statement, and to see how in one respect the Moabite stone verifies the Biblical statement, and in another respect adds to it new facts; and perhaps the greatest interest is attached to it because we here have a statement of the other side. Here the god Chemosh appears as the Saviour of his country. He stands in the same relation to Moab as Yahveh, in the opinion of Elijah, stands to Israel.

Though Moab has been vilified by Israel, and we, having heard but one side of the story, are apt to have a contempt for them, yet we cannot but admire the pluck of Mesha's heroism and his love of liberty. True, he made his son pass through the fire, but so did Jephthah his daughter, and after all Mesha's offering was not in vain; and if his barbarous deed was the outcome of a superstition, it was appropriate for the age and produced the desired effect even upon the enemy.

The inscription is written in the Old Phœnician alphabet, the same script as was used in Israel at that period, as is evidenced by the Silvan inscription discovered in the ancient water conduit at Jerusalem. We here render a transcription into modern Hebrew, and a translation made by the Rev. Prof. S. R. Driver, of Oxford, quoted from the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (Vol. III., pages 3045-3046).

Mesha set up this stone in a sanctuary, which he called "Ba-



THE MASHA INSCRIPTION. MOAB'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

math Mesha" bearing at once his own name and having the significance of "the Mount of Salvation."¹

Here is a transliteration of Mesha's inscription into modern Hebrew print:²

1	אֲנִי . מֶשָׁא . בֶּן . כִּמְשָׁן . מֶלֶךְ . מוֹאָב . הָרִי	1
2	יָבִינִי וְאֵבִי . מֶלֶךְ . עַל . מוֹאָב . שְׁלָשׁ . שָׁנָה . וְאֲנִי . מֶלֶךְ	2
3	חֵי . אֲחֵי . אֲבִי . וְאֶעֱשֶׂה . הַבְּמֹתָ . וְאֵת . לְכִמְשִׁי . בִּקְרָחָהּ . בְּנִמְתָּ . י	3
4	שָׁנָה . כִּי . הִשְׁעֵנִי . מֶלֶךְ . הַשְּׁלָכָן . וְכִי . הָרָאִנִי . בְּכָל . שְׁנָאִי . וְעַד	4
5	י . מֶלֶךְ . יִשְׂרָאֵל . וַיַּעֲנֵנִי . אֵת . מוֹאָב . יָמִן . רֶבֶן . כִּי . יֵאָנֶה . כִּמְשִׁי . בְּאֵר	5
6	צֶהָה וַיַּחֲלֹפֶה . בְּנֵה . וַיֵּאמֶר . גַּם . הָאֵל . אֲעֹנֶה . אֵת . מוֹאָב . בְּיָמֵי . אִמְרִי .	6
7	וְאֵרָא . בֵּה . וּבְכַתְּבָהּ . וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל . אֲבִד . אֲבִד . עַלְמִי . וַיִּרְשֶׁ . עַמִּירִי . אֵת . נְאֻמִּי	7
8	ץ . מִהֲרִבָּא וַיֵּשֶׁב . בֵּה . יִמֵּה . וְהָצִי . יָמֵי . בְּנֵה . אֲרִבְעֵן . שָׁנָה . וַיֵּשֶׁ	8
9	בֵּה . כִּמְשִׁי . בְּיָמֵי . וְאֲבִנִי . אֵת . בַּעַלְמֶעַן . וְאֶעֱשֶׂה . בֵּה . הָאֲשֹׁמֹחַ . וְאֲבִנִי	9
10	אֵת . קִרְיָתָהּ . וְאֵשׁ . נֹר . יֵשֶׁב . בְּאֶרֶץ . עַמְרֹת . מַעֲלֵם . וַיִּבֶן . לָהּ . מֶלֶךְ . י	10
11	יִשְׂרָאֵל . אֵת . עַמְרֹתָהּ . וְאֶלְתָּחַם . בִּקְרָחָהּ . וְאֶחָזָהּ . וְאֶהְרֵן . אֵת . כָּל . הָעָם . וְגַם	11
12	הָקֵר . רִיתָהּ . לְכִמְשִׁי . וְלִמְלָאֵךְ . וְאֶשְׁבֶּה . מִשְׁמִי . אֵת . אֲרִאֵל . דְּרֹדָהּ . וְאֶנְסֵה	12
13	חֲבֵהָ . לְפָנַי . כִּמְשִׁי . בִּקְרָתָהּ . וְאֶשְׁבֶּה . בֵּה . אֵת . אֲשֶׁר . שָׁרָן . וְאֵת . אֲשֶׁ	13
14	מִתְרָתָהּ . וַיֵּאמֶר . לִי . כִּמְשִׁי . לֵךְ . אֲחֹזָה . אֵת . נִבְהָ . עַל . יִשְׂרָאֵל . וְאֶ	14
15	הָלַךְ . בְּלִלָהּ . וְאֶלְתָּחַם . בֵּה . מִבְּקַע . הַשְּׁחֵרָתָהּ . עַד . הַצְּהָרִים . וְאֶ	15
16	זֶה . וְאֶהְרֵן . כֻּלָּהּ . שִׁבְעַת . אֲלָפִין . גְּבוּרִין . וְנָחַן . וְנִבְרָתָהּ . וְנִגְרָהּ	16
17	תָּהּ . וְהִחֲמֵהָ . כִּי . לְעִשְׁתָּר . כִּמְשִׁי . הִתְרַמְּתָהּ . וְנֶאֱמַר . מִשְׁמִי . אֲנִתָּה . כִּי	17
18	לִי . יְהוָה . וְאֶסְחָבֶה . הֵם . לְפָנַי . כִּמְשִׁי . וְמֶלֶךְ . יִשְׂרָאֵל . בְּנֵה . אֵת	18
19	יְהִי . וַיֵּשֶׁב . בֵּה . בְּהַלְחָמָהּ . בִּי . וַיִּנְרֹשָׁה . כִּמְשִׁי . מִפְּנֵי . י	19
20	אֶקַּח . מִמֶּמֶלֶךְ . מִאֲחִי . אֲשֶׁר . כָּל . רֵשָׁהּ . וְאֶשְׁאָה . בִּיהִץ . וְאֶחָזָה	20
21	לְסַפְתָּהּ . עַל . רִיבִי . וְאֲנִי . בְּנָתִי . קִרְחָהּ . חֲמַת . הַיִּצְחָן . וְחֲמַת	21
22	הַעֲפֵל . וְאֲנִי . בְּנָתִי . שְׁעִירָהּ . וְאֲנִי . בְּנָתִי . מִגְדִּלְתָּהּ . וְאֶ	22
23	נָךְ . בְּנָתִי . בַּת . מֶלֶךְ . וְאֲנִי . עֲשָׂתִי . כֻּלָּאִי . הָאֲשֹׁמֹחַ . לְמִצְוִן . בִּקְרָחָהּ	23
24	הָקֵר . וְכִי . אֲנִי . בִּקְרָחָהּ . הָקֵר . בִּקְרָחָהּ . וְאֶמֶר . לְכָל . הָעָם . עֲשֵׂה . י	24
25	כִּם . אֲשֶׁר . בְּרִי . בְּבֵיתָהּ . וְאֲנִי . כִּרְתִּי . הַמִּכְרֹתָהּ . לְקִרְחָהּ . בְּאִמְרִי	25
26	י . יִשְׂרָאֵל . וְאֲנִי . בְּנָתִי . שְׁעִירָהּ . וְאֲנִי . עֲשָׂתִי . הַמִּסְלָחָהּ . בְּאֶרֶץ . וְ	26
27	אֲנִי . בְּנָתִי . בַּת . בַּמֶּתָהּ . כִּי . הָרִם . הָאֵל . וְאֲנִי . בְּנָתִי . בְּצֹר . כִּי . עֵינִי .	27
28	שָׁן . דִּיבָן . חֲמִשָּׁן . כִּי . כָּל . דִּיבָן . מִשְׁמַעַתָּהּ . וְאֲנִי . מֶלֶךְ	28
29	תִּנְוִי . מִאֲחִי . בִּקְרָחָהּ . אֲשֶׁר . יִסְפָּתִי . עַל . הָאֶרֶץ . וְאֲנִי . בְּנָת	29
30	י . נָאֵת . אֶהְרֵבָא . וְכַת . דְּבִלְתָּן . וְכַת . בַּעַלְמֶעַן . וְאֶשְׁאָה . שִׁם . אֵת . נֶאֱמַר	30
31	צֶאֱנִי . הָאֶרֶץ . וְחֹזְרָתָהּ . יֵשֶׁב . בֵּה . בַּת . וְכִי . אֲשֶׁ	31
32	וַיֵּאמֶר . לִי . כִּמְשִׁי . רַד . הַלְחָמָהּ . בְּחֹזְרָתָהּ . וְאֶ	32
33	וַיִּשְׁבֶּהָ . כִּמְשִׁי . בְּיָמֵי . עַלְמִי . וְעַל . דֵּה . מִשְׁמִי . עֲשֵׂה	33
34	שָׁת . שְׂרָקָהּ . וְאֶ	34

TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION.

1. I am Mesha, son of Chemosh[kan?], king of Moab, the Dabonite.
2. My father reigned over Moab for thirty years, and I reigned
3. after my father. And I made this high place for Chemosh in KR[H]H, a [high place of sal]vation,

¹ The transcription is reproduced from the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and the translation (with the one exception noted in a footnote) is from *The Records of the Past*.

² Reproduced from the Rev. S. R. Driver's article on "Mesha" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

4. because he had saved me from all the assailants (?), and because he had let me see (my desire) upon all them that hated me. Omri,
5. king of Israel, afflicted Moab for many days, because Chemosh was angry with his land.
6. And his son succeeded him; and he also said I will afflict Moab. In my days said he [thus;]
7. but I saw (my desire) upon him, and upon his house, and Israel perished with an everlasting destruction. Omri took possession of the [la]nd
8. of Mehedeba, and it (i. e., Israel) dwelt therein, during his days, and [?] his son's days, forty years,¹ but Chemosh [resto]red
9. it in my days. And I built Ba'al-Me'on, and I made in it the reservoir (?); and I buil[t]
10. Kiryathen. And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of 'Ataroth from of old; and the king of Israel
11. had built for himself 'Ataroth. And I fought against the city, and took it. And I slew all the people [from]
12. the city, a gazingstock unto Chemosh, and unto Moab. And I brought back (*or*, took captive) thence the altar-hearth of Dawdoh (?), and I dragged
13. it before Chemosh in Keriyyoth. And I settled therein the men of SRN, and the men of
14. MHRT. And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. And I
15. went by night, and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon. And I took
16. it, and slew the whole of it, 7000 men and male strangers, and women and [female stranger]s,
17. and female slaves: for I had devoted it to 'Ashtor-Chemosh. And I took thence the [ves]sels
18. of Yahveh, and I dragged them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel had built
19. Yahas, and abode in it, while he fought against me. But Chemosh drave him out from before me; and
20. I took of Moab 200 men, even all its chiefs; and I led them up against Yahas, and took it
21. to add it unto Daibon. I built KRHH, the wall of Ye'arin (*or*, of the Woods), and the wall of
22. the Mound. And I built its gates, and I built its towers. And

¹ Here the reading is uncertain.

23. I built the king's palace, and I made the two reser[voirs(?)] for wa]ter in the midst of
24. the City. And there was no cistern in the midst of the city, in KRHH. And I said to all the people, Make
25. you every man a cistern in his house. And I cut out the cutting for KRHH, with (the help of) prisoner[s
26. of] Israel. I built 'Aro'er, and I made the highway by the Arnon.
27. I built Beth-Bamoth, for it was pulled down. I built Beser, for ruins
28. [had it become. And the chie]fs of Daibon were fifty, for all Daibon was obedient (to me). And I reigned
29. [over] an hundred [chiefs] in the cities which I added to the land. And I built
30. [Mehe]de[b]a, and Beth-Diblat'hên, and Beth-Ba'al-Me'on; and I took thither the *nakad*-keepers,
31.sheep of the land. And as for Horonên, there dwelt therein.....
32. ...And Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Horonên. And I went down....
33.[and] Chemosh [resto]red it in my days. And.....
34.And I.....

If we had only Mesha's declaration of independence, we should think that his victory over the Israelites must have been extraordinary and complete, not merely a relinquishment of the booty, as it seems to have been according to the Biblical statement.

Mesha glories in his victory, and as Joshua puts all the prisoners to death because he had devoted them to Yahveh, so Mesha slays the Israelite captives of Nebo, seven thousand men and women, because he has "devoted it [i. e., the conquered city] to Ashtor Chemosh," but the sacred vessels of Yahveh too he presents to his God. No mention is made of the holocaust of his eldest son, or of the defeat when the Moabites mistook water-puddles for blood, or of the general devastation of the country.

If we assume that Mesha's column was set up soon after the expulsion of the allies, the Israelites, Jews, and Edomites, and that the story as reported in the Second Book of Kings iii. and the Second Book of Chronicles xx. took place afterwards, being an attempt of King Jehoram to punish the Moabites for their revolts, there should be no contradictions between the Israelite and the Moabite statements of the war. We know further that Mesha induced the

THE TAJ MEHAL.

BY A. CHRISTINA ALBERS.

ON the plains of Agra and Oudh, where the Jumna sends her yellow waters seaward, there stands a building of marvellous beauty, a dream in marble, a structure so lofty in its snowy white splendor, that it would seem the heavens had opened their portals and dropped one of their mansions down to the earth. Unrivalled in design and workmanship stands this wonder of the world, defying all that art has ever produced, finding not in all the lands of the earth its equal. "The Moghuls designed like Titans and finished like jewelers," goes an old saying. And who seeing this gigantic product of delicate marble carvings and graceful designs of inlaid stones,—but realises the truth of this saying.

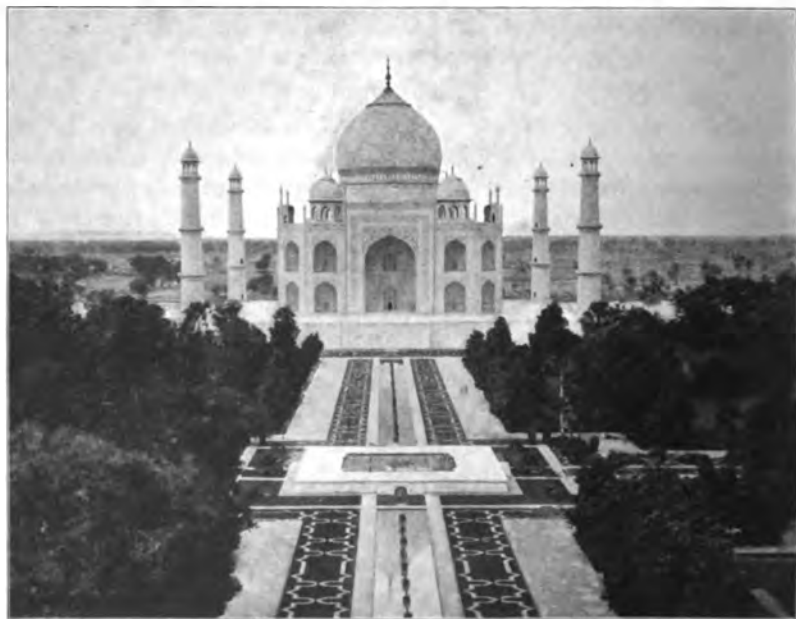
And this mansion of beauty is a tribute to the dead—a Mausoleum. Under this canopied pall of marble slumbers in the last long sleep the beautiful Mumtaz-i-Mehal—the Exalted of the Palace,—the fair Queen of Shah Jehan, one of India's most famous rulers of the Moghul Dynasty. And beside her, placed there many years later, rests the mighty Emperor himself, at rest at last, from strife and warfare, released from "life's fitful fever,"—in death near her whom on earth he so fondly loved.

Thus runs the legend: The Queen, looking forward to the ordeal of motherhood, heard the child cry beneath her heart. The world, alas! is short for them who hear the cry of the unborn infant,—the deathknell, forsooth, to the young mother. Known was the signal to the Queen, therefore she called her Lord to her chamber. Tenderly she informed him of the signal of death and enjoined him to bear up with manly strength under the fate that was inevitable.

"Many, my Lord, are the years," she continued, "that it has been granted me to be by thy side,—years of imprisonment and sorrow,—years of honor and royal power. May then my soul de-

part in peace, since now the Almighty has granted thee a kingdom. But ere the hour strike that the world will know me no more, grant me, my husband, two boons. Let no other woman stand beside thee as thy queen, lest children be born to dispute the rights of the sons and daughters I bore thee. And let thy Queen be placed in a tomb that excells in beauty all the world has ever known before." Overawed by her words stood the King, speechless, tears mounting to his eyes, and silently he granted the boons.

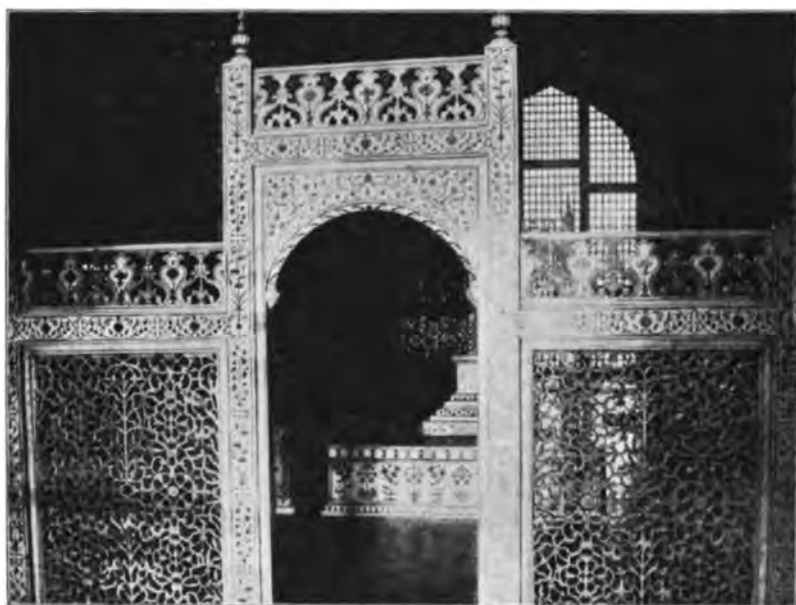
True proved the oraculum; for when the young infant was placed in his mother's arms the Queen expired, and the light that had illumined the life of her consort for so many years, went out



THE TAJ MEHAL. (After a photograph.)

for evermore as her life-breath fled hence. Unbroken remained the word of the King. Neither in his heart nor on the throne did ever woman take the place of Arjamand, the beautiful. But troubled was he in mind, for where could he find the design of the tomb fit for the Queen who on earth knew not her equal in beauty? When, lo! in a dream the heavens opened before him and showed him the mansion he sought. Long was his struggle to find a draftsman who could draw for him the plan, yet even him at last he found.

Eighteen long years labored the workmen to complete this temple of art,—and to-day, after more than two centuries and a half after its completion, the Mausoleum stands as perfect and shining in its marble splendor as though it were erected but yesterday. The King resolved to build for himself a tomb of black marble equal in beauty to the first, and have the two united by a silver bridge. But frail is the will of man against the powerful hand of destiny. Incarcerated in a castle he himself had built, Shah Jehan, the marble builder, died a prisoner of state, imprisoned by his son,—the son of the mother for whom he had built the tomb. But such, alas! is only too often the fate of kings.



INTERIOR OF THE TAJ MEHAL. (After a photograph.)

On a raised platform stands the Taj, built of the purest of Jaipur marble, a lofty minaret towering heavenward at each corner. The aerial, unrivalled grace of its domes, the perfect symmetry of the whole, impress themselves on the mind of the beholder and make him stand in marvel, while the marble has retained its pristine purity and shines in the splendor of newly-fallen snow when it dazzles under the rays of the sun.

Silently we enter the sanctuary. It is here "the architect ends and the jeweller commences." Fret-work of marble, exquis-

itely carved and of rare designs grace the interior. On the walls, the ceiling, the floor and above all on the stately sarcophagi themselves—everywhere the marble is inlaid with stone, delicately shaded and exquisitely graceful in its curvings. Smaller and smaller grow the designs on the latter, the nearer the top, till finally they are barely visible. This is to symbolise the passing of life into the Eternity beyond. And on the sides are engraven, in Persian characters, lyrics in praise of her who slumbers beneath this stone, written by the King himself to immortalise her virtues and her beauty.

"Allah," calls the guide, a venerable follower of the Moslem, with flowing beard as white as the Taj itself. "Al-l-a-h" resounds the echo from the dome overhead for at least five minutes unbroken. Wondrous is this sound and wondrous also is the silence in this place. A prayer sent up in this sanctuary—thus have I heard—will not remain ungranted.

Surrounding the Mausoleum extends a beautiful park and from the colossal gate two paths of marble lead up to it, running between which is a brook of crystal waters. The whole seems like a dream, a vision not of this world, and peace reigns over the Castle of Sleep of fair Mumtaz-i-Mahal—the Exalted of the Palace.

THE PRAISE OF HYPOCRISY.

AN ESSAY IN CASUISTRY.

BY G. T. KNIGHT, D. D.

There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
Would man observingly distil it out. (Shakespeare.)

A lie is useless to the gods, but useful to men,—on occasion. (Plato.)

..... For so to interpose a little ease
Let your frail thoughts dally with false surmise. (Milton.)
Give the devil his due. (Proverb.)

INTRODUCTION.

WE are told in philosophy that nothing altogether bad exists, or can exist: some good may be found in everything. Yet we have been accustomed to give blame only, with no kind word, to the hypocrite,—especially if he be not of our set or sect. We summarily quote Jesus and Mohammed and Dante, and condemn the hypocrite to the lowest hell and the severest penalties.

As a matter of fact, however, it may be doubted that we have so much feeling about hypocrisy as we suppose we have. Ruskin, in *Seven Lamps*, remarks that "We resent calumny, hypocrisy, treachery, because they harm us, not because they are untrue. Take the detraction and mischief from the untruth, and we are little offended by it; turn it into praise, and we may be pleased by it."

Can it be that our moral judgment is thus variable according to circumstances? that we do sometimes approve what we on other occasions condemn? Especially can it be true that our complaisant condemnation of hypocrisy is itself open to suspicion, is itself not entirely genuine?

Most observing people will, I think, agree in some measure with the distinguished critic who has been mentioned, for they recognise the weakness of human nature. Yet many are probably

not aware that advanced ethical philosophers have lately gone quite beyond Ruskin in this direction, and declare not only that we do sometimes approve hypocrisy, but also that we are right in approving it.

Such a declaration would not, until modern times, have been publicly made nor soberly considered. In our zeal against the hypocrite we could give him no thought except how we might soonest bring him to punishment. Of late, however, with the advance of modern intelligence and the "rapid strides" of science, we have had some experience in surprises, and may be prepared for almost any paradox.

I venture therefore to ask the reader patiently to consider the following propositions: first, that hypocrisy is extensively practised among the best of people; and second, that it is often unavoidable, practically necessary, and of great utility. More briefly:

1. The Hypocrisy of the Good.
2. The Good of Hypocrisy.

These propositions are supported in the words and deeds of many, and in the consideration of them we shall gradually approach the New Wisdom.

I. THE HYPOCRISY OF THE GOOD.

We all practise and approve certain harmless forms of pretense, whatever we may think of the many other forms and grades. Plato,¹ in a fine passage, often imitated and elaborated by later writers, remarks how "we customarily gloss over the defects of our friends, with fair words and pet names. One with a snub nose is called naïve; another's beak is said to have a royal look; and one that has neither snub nor beak has the grace of regularity; the dark visage is strong, and the pale is spirituelle; and so love triumphs over small obstacles; and life is made sweeter." Indeed it would often seem that we value our friend more because of some defect. Is it that the blemish gives some distinction and an added interest; or, does love grow stronger by having some obstacle to overcome? Perhaps it has in its disposition a certain perversity, or wilfulness not unbeautiful, as the proverbial mother loves best her *unfortunate* child. At any rate we have a habit of praising our own, and magnifying our attainments and our set. Now, to speak exactly, it cannot be that all "our countries" are best, and "our boys" bravest, and "our daughters" fairest; yet most of us think

¹ *Republic*, Bk. IV., 475; cf. Lucretius, *De R. N.*, Bk. IV., 1160 and Mollère's *Misanthrope*, Act II, Sc. V, near the end, etc.

so, each of his own. And if any unsentimental Gradgrind insists on the literal truth and attempts to "set us right," he becomes offensive—so dear to us is our prerogative of deceiving ourselves. Moreover the self-deception has no small utility for happiness and for stimulus; it has a vast cheering and sustaining power. Call it if you please an untrue faith, yet is a real faith and the source of many blessings.

The extent of false pretension in our general life is not commonly observed. Yet all read novels, and some read nothing else; and we praise the author for his power to produce an illusion; we like to have him deceive us, and make us think his story a true one. The quantity of such books is so overwhelming that a certain tendency has arisen among critics to confine the word "literature" to fiction, as if nothing true could deserve the name literature. And the end is not yet, the fiction habit is growing. I know one authoress who, in private talk, even asserts her imaginations for facts, and resents any suggestion that she is "romancing." On one occasion, being challenged, she retorted with feeling: "The story is invented, to be sure, but it is truer than any history that ever was written."

Poetry also boasts that it transcends the fact. The eye of the poet rolls with "fine phrensy"; it has not the precision of exact science; and we praise him for it. So does all art exceed the literal, and pretend to what is not strictly true.

And we are fortunate that it is so. For, in general, our faculties find their highest activities and largest freedom and range when they get away from the limitations of the literal, and soar into the regions of the ideal, the imagined, the untrue. It is by striving after the unattained, and even the unattainable, that our nature gains a greater power and a finer quality. Yet strangely enough, people are so much in the habit of supposing that what is printed or said or even thought, is true, that they incline to believe that some of the most transcendental and far-away fiction, if it be only beautiful or in some manner attractive, is the most real and veracious, "true in a higher sense," "truer than history," and so on.

The fact is not merely that the poet "draws a long bow" and imagines incidents that did not occur and objects that are not real; he also affects sentiments that he does not feel. Is Tennyson always sincere? I cannot believe it; he is occasionally posing for effect, or is merely filling out his metre as best he can. About Wordsworth, and the lesser ones, there can be no question. And what is said of the English poets is perhaps still more true of the

French; and in the German writers, Ruskin says, though with some exaggeration, "you can hardly find so much as a sentence without affectation."

The fiction habit is not confined to novelists and poets. Some time ago I read a book on philosophy written by one who is perhaps the chief of his kind in Germany. In a certain part of the book he carries on an elaborate process of reasoning, states each proposition with care, precisely and confidently, and brings up to a necessary conclusion. As I read, I said to myself, "A fine piece of logic; with what a sure tread does he walk these dizzy heights! Now at last, after many disappointments, I have come to the land of the real and certain, here I may rest in something assured,"—when to my surprise he added a note as follows: "At least, if this is not true I have provoked thought by *saying* it is true."—I confess a shock to my system. What, a philosopher, a "lover of wisdom," among the triflers? It was even so.

But I had learned that philosophy is like gymnastics, in which you go through the forms of doing work, but are not working; you are only exercising the muscles. So you go through the forms of reasoning, and assert with confidence and arrive at "necessary conclusions," which the uninitiated suppose to be real convictions. In truth, however, the philosophers also are romancing. It does not seem to be given to all of them to know that they are false—they only know the others are—but now and then they betray more or less consciousness of the fact in themselves. They are only writing logical fiction.—Their works should perhaps be regarded as "literature."

It is said that Germany has gone further than any other nation; in that country the critics have discovered the essential falsity of *all* reasonings. They have been driven to this conclusion by observing how often, age after age, their wisest have built up a theory, only to have it torn down again; and seeing on closer observation that our faculties have in many cases deceived us as to the nature of things, how do we know that they have not deceived us all the time. Indeed the alleged "facts" of nature are only as we seem to see them, only our ways of looking at things, only fictions of the mind. This is the doctrine of universal fiction. Things only *pretend to be* anyhow. Nature is the universal hypocrite. The old philosophers were right: "All is illusion." The Hymn Book is right:

This world is all a fleeting show,
For man's delusion given.

There is, however, one small comfort in this, one straw to clutch at: for, at last, we have found the truth, namely, that nothing is true. At last we have the right conception of things, namely, there isn't any right conception of things; and, for all we know, there aren't any things.

There is also some convenience in this state of affairs. For if all opinions are erroneous, then we may well give up our laborious search after *true* opinions—that will make life easier for some of us who fondly thought we could find the truth, by much labor—give up also our supreme effort to defend those cherished convictions for which our fathers died, and for which we were almost willing to die, even the creeds which they and we have too highly valued. Let us practise the Teutonic wisdom. How much larger satisfaction we may thus get out of life! Knowing that no convictions are right or obligatory, we can now take any we please; we can have a new set every morning as our fancy dictates, and not be narrowly confined to one creed or “platform” or set of principles. We can change several times a day, just as we dress for dinner. This privilege of an advanced stage of civilisation was denied our fathers; but we may avail ourselves of it in full. It would appear that some in Church and State are already indulging in the new luxury; when one opinion does not suit the occasion of convenience or profit, they forthwith select another that does.

It cannot be allowed that the Germans are without responsibility for such applications of their theory. For we are taught to regard them as the pioneers who “open up” the land which by and by we are to occupy. At all events, they are very much in earnest about it, and they carry the same mood of mind into many of their affairs, even into those of the Church. There the religious critic has pulled his house down about his head. But mark the sequel; the critic, becoming accustomed to the ruins he has made, finds after a while that he likes them, and believes in ruins; he declares that he is more at home among them than any one can be in the best built and ordered house.

A significant application of the new philosophy occurred when Professor Büchner, becoming a materialist, found he could no longer profess the creed or doctrines required by the State Church of Germany. When he, therefore, in a straightforward manner gave up his ecclesiastical position, at great personal sacrifice, he was blamed for leaving the Church, even by some who held the same opinions that he held. For since all opinions whatsoever are only assumed, the Church opinions are as good as any, so long as they

yield as good a salary. "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players," and you might as well play one part as another, so it be profitable.

The historians tell us that the theatre originally grew out of the church; it was at first only a means of exhibiting to the eyes of the faithful, living pictures of the great events and personages of Bible times and scenes, and that kind of thing. And we must all recognise a certain fitness when the church becomes again a theatre or a means of displaying the convictions and practices of our fathers of honored memory.

It is fair to say, however, that some do not approve the German logic and order of things ecclesiastical. But my present topic is chiefly that pretension or hypocrisy exists. What forms of it may be approved and to what extent approved will be considered later.

Outside Germany much the same state of affairs may be found. We are credibly informed that intelligent Roman Catholics have an esoteric faith; that for instance the late Archbishop of Paris was a thorough rationalist, secretly rejecting the distinctive doctrines of his Church, doctrines of which, in the eyes of the people, he stood a champion. Presumably he regretted the duplicity, and had chosen it as the lesser of two evils. He might have come out openly and denounced all falsehood; but he knew that he would be worse misunderstood, beside doing no end of harm, in disturbing society already on the verge of madness.—But, not to explain but to declare the facts, let it be noted that he falsely pretended to believe the doctrines of the Church; he deceived the people.

Moreover, when some of his subordinates attempted to discipline Rénan for disturbing the popular faith, Rénan replied in an essay on *Intellectual and Moral Reforms*, and said in substance to the Church, "Leave us literary men alone, and we will leave you alone with the people,"—a proposition that Mazzini characterised as the most singular and immoral compromise that could enter the brain of a thinker.¹

Nor yet was Rénan a sinner above his kind; for it is recorded that with all his "singular immorality," he had left the Church because he could not endure its hypocrisy.

No one supposes that these things are true of Germany and France alone. Across the Channel and the ocean the same story is told. The diplomatic conscience and the far-reaching insincerity of Cardinal Manning have already become matters of history. Even

¹ I quote Henry D. Lloyd.

Cardinal Newman was accused (by Kingsley) of "growing dishonesty"; and Huxley said of him: "After reading an hour or two in his books, I begin to lose sight of the distinction between truth and falsehood." More nearly in the Cardinal's own style, it has been said: "He practised the doctrine of reserve." That is, he withheld certain parts of his opinion, until such time as the people should be able to receive them without harm. Meanwhile, for the most part, he did and said what his Church required, knowing that his deed and word would be commonly understood to mean what was not in him to mean; he meanwhile making for the multitude no intelligible sign that he should be otherwise understood. In that communion so extensive are the ramifications of rationalism that the editor of the *New York Independent*¹ says: "We suppose unbelief in the essential doctrines of historic Christianity to be more prevalent in the educated circles of Catholicism than in any other Christian Church—barring the Unitarians."

The Congregationalist of July 20, 1901, has an article on "The Curse and Comfort of Creeds," which briefly exhibits the situation of the established Churches of Great Britain, and by comparison some of those in America. It says: "In the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland a few weeks ago, the subject of greatest interest was the Confession of Faith, and the power of the Church to modify it. The question as stated by Principal Story was, 'Is the Church of Scotland fettered and tied hand and foot to the very forms and expressions of the seventeenth century?' 'After three hours of able and sometimes heated discussion the assembly practically decided that the Church has no power to modify, abridge, or extend, any article of the confession.'—Dean Farrar lately said that 'the Church of England is the only Church in Christendom which is so stereotyped in unprogressiveness as to retain the constant public recitation of a creed which dates back to the Dark Ages . . . the damnatory clauses of which cannot be repeated by even the most bigoted, ignorant, and self-satisfied of priestly believers in their own shallow infallibility, without the insertion of immense mental reservations.' And the editor adds: 'Yet neither the Episcopal Church of England nor the Presbyterian Church of Scotland bows under a heavier theological burden than ecclesiastical bodies in America which insist on formal affirmation of statements of doctrine that have become obsolete and repudiated by the moral and intellectual sense of many who affirm them. The doctrine of mental reservation, which ministers of some

¹ Feb. 1900, pp. 329-330.

denominations and some of our own theological seminaries seem forced to adopt, is one of the most vicious of all heresies."

So far as *The Congregationalist* is correct in comparing American churches with the Established Church of England we may take the condition of the latter as a measure of the facts in America. But while using the English Church as a sample we shall not confine attention to that Church alone.

Years ago Emerson wrote, "The English Church has nothing left but possession. And when a bishop meets an intelligent layman with interrogation in his eyes, he has no recourse but to take a glass of wine with him." The wine being sufficient to change the subject, social intercourse was possible. Without artificial help that distinguished American of Puritanic antecedents had little sympathy with the Bishop; his conscience was perhaps too *inexperienced* for fairest judgment.

More recently Dr. Sunderland¹ made some study of English affairs and reported, among other things, that "The Established Church is an obstacle in the way of temperance reform. It is Conservative, Tory, and must carry elections to keep in power, therefore it takes sides with the liquor interests, gambling interests and so forth. Thus religion and morals have to be sacrificed to the necessity of keeping power in the hands of the Church." It may be true that foreigners and those not accustomed to large affairs are often scandalised by what is rightly but only partially described as the sacrifice of religion and morality; whereas if they had a broad and full knowledge of the complicated relations in which a great Church may find itself, their judgment would be more intelligent and just: they might perceive the wisdom of a Church taking sides with vice.

The philosopher Paulsen, a most competent observer, says² that "Intellectual veracity, sincerity in matters of thought and faith, consistency in thinking, is not one of the virtues encouraged by the Church." And Prof. Henry Sidgwick, of highest authority in moral science, writes on "The Ethics of Conformity"³ and says: "The student of history sees that hypocrisy and insincere conformity have always been the besetting vice of the religious, and a grave drawback to their moralising influence. Just as lying is the recognised vice of diplomats, chicanery of lawyers, and solemn quackery of physicians."

Pursuing the subject with similar ability and even more op-

¹ *Unitarian*, May, 1897, p. 216.

² Paulsen's *Ethics* (trans.), p. 682.

³ *International Journal of Ethics*. April, 1896.

portunity for observation, and with the authority of actual experience within the Church, the Reverend Hastings Rashdall¹ reaffirms substantially the statement of Professor Sidgwick; indeed he adds specifications, and sets forth the ambiguity of the relations of the Church in a still clearer light. His thorough-going discussion of the subject leaves few things to be desired; and so far as his Church is concerned, one need scarcely go outside his very words, so candid and unmistakable are they.

To begin with, he acknowledges that the plain truth is not always to be told, for while veracity is, of course, a good, and is indeed "an end in itself....yet like other goods it may have to be sacrificed to a higher good." The only question he says, is to what extent does formal consent to what is not literally accepted, involve culpable untruth?—Evidently untruth is sometimes to be blamed and sometimes not. As examples of blameless untruth he mentions "Dear Sir," with which one would not hesitate to begin a letter to his enemy, and "Right Reverend" with which he might address a letter to a man he despises. Such words merely express the custom of the language. They have by custom acquired a secondary meaning, which is not their literal and primitive meaning. In past times before they acquired the secondary meaning, it was manifestly improper to address an enemy as "Dear Sir"—and possibly our father sinned in this regard, but that is not our present business. In these times we use present-day language and in present-day meanings.

The same kind of change has been going on in relation to the ritual and the creed. And "as the custom of departure from the literal meaning of creeds grows, there is less and less guilt in untruthful subscribing." This custom has so far extended that, "be the guilt more or less," "There are few clergymen whose private belief corresponds to the letter of the formula to which they express adhesion." "Many hold those doctrines which are specifically condemned in the Thirty-nine Articles." And "among the most numerous section of the clergy....nothing can exceed the contempt with which the Thirty-nine Articles are commonly treated." At the same time it is confessed that "the candidate for ordination must solemnly assent to the Thirty-nine Articles, and say that he believes the doctrine of the Church of England as contained therein is agreeable to the word of God." Let me interrupt by putting the last two quotations together and observing that the "liberal" candidate is required to say on the most solemn oc-

¹ *International Journal of Ethics*. Jan., 1897.

casion that "he assents to that which is utterly contemptible, and he believes the doctrine of his Church as therein contained is agreeable to the word of God."

Some people would, however, find it difficult to admire a man who would accept the situation by which he would be called upon to make such statements; though all might perhaps admire the candor of Mr. Rashdall in plainly setting forth the facts and defending them.

But I read on and find that in judging whether a candidate for ordination sufficiently agrees with the Church to justify his serving it, the question is whether he is able "to throw the expression of his own devotional feeling with any naturalness into the forms provided by the Church of England." Mr. Rashdall does not tell us how well a man may serve a Church, who is able to throw the expression of his devotional feeling into, for instance, the form which is most contemptible of all things; and how much real devotional feeling he has if he consents to such an expression of it; and how much honor he confers upon the Church and upon God by associating them with that kind of thing. It may be said, however, that such a man has a notable virtue: he exhibits to a rare degree the divine quality of humility or self-abasement. Artemus Ward in time of war was so altruistic that he was willing to sacrifice all his wife's relations to his country. And the polite Chinaman is said to sign himself "your humble pig," and to answer your kindly inquiries about his honorable family by saying that the "miserable dogs are well." But the English Churchman must exceed all this, he must not only associate himself and his most sacred feelings with what is utterly contemptible, he must even subject his Church and his God to the same humiliation. Moreover, herein something of the value of the Church may be seen. For it is doubtful whether outside the communion and apart from its sanctifying grace any such degree of humility has ever been attained by man.

Again I read on. "The candidate must also publicly declare that he does unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, though of course no one supposes that he means it, even when he says 'unfeignedly.'" Mr. Rashdall laments that such is the case, and confesses that when "authorised teachers of morality and religion make untrue statements, there is a shock to public morality." To the simple minded, this of Mr. Rashdall is in itself a shock; for they are apt to suppose that the Church is on the side of morals all the time, as it once was, according to history, when if it shocked anything it shocked immorality.

Hence they need to be told over and over again that in an elaborated civilisation the Church must often oppose good morals, and for a while stand definitely on the side of vice and sin, to defend and propagate the same.

Further particulars set the facts in a still clearer light. For we have not yet observed *what it is* that a man may unfeignedly believe about the Old and New Testament. "Nothing could be more explicit" according to Mr. Rashdall; "the candidate says that he believes in the actual truth of the contents of the Bible," and "the Church of England holds that the three creeds ought thoroughly to be received and believed," yet he knows that the Bible contains many contradictions and errors. And as for creeds and that sort of thing we quote Dr. Momerie¹ that "there is every possible diversity of opinion and practice in the Church." "A recent judicial decision has declared that a clergyman is within his rights even if he accuses the inspired authors of wilful and deliberate dishonesty."

It would seem then that not only may an English clergyman hold and teach that St. Paul was wilfully and deliberately dishonest, but he may (and in many cases must) practice that variety of inspiration himself, and descend to the same level with the Apostle. Nor is this quite all. An American bishop² has recently written a letter to *The Churchman*, asserting that the "clergy are not bound even to believe the statements they make in the prayers of the Church service, which they offer to the God of truth."

We conclude then that one may be false to man, and false to God, and yet be a true member of the true Church; at least, so the authorities tell us.

It would be unjust, however, to leave these statements alone to indicate the condition of the Church in the respect contemplated. For there are important signs of improvement. One of them is in the changed form of subscription required of the clergy. Before 1865 the clergyman was required to say: "I declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything prescribed by and in the Book of common Prayer." He now says in more general terms: "I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of religion and the Book of Common Prayer, and I believe the doctrine of the Church of England as therein set forth to be agreeable to the Word of God." The cause of the change was that in 1862 the Dean of Westminster made a great argument in which he showed that "though all the clergy had signed according to law, yet none could honestly do so."

¹ *Forum*, May, 1891, p. 305.

² *Nineteenth Century*, Sept., 1899, p. 517.

This means of course that they were all dishonest and insincere in their profession of faith. Now, under the present and less definite form of subscription, it must be allowed that they are less insincere than before. So much improvement is to be noted.

Especially let it be observed that, in one part of their statement, at present they are only required to solemnly affirm what is not so; they need not always double up the falsehood by adding "unfeigned." This is surely an advance from requiring a double or second degree of insincerity, to requiring only the first degree.

An outsider would suggest that there were at least two ways out of the dilemma, one, so to modify the Articles that an honest and intelligent man *could* sign them, and another, to require no subscription at all. But no, they would still require every clergyman to be dishonest; the authorities insisted on that, though they would not require him to say at the same time that he is honest. And so it remains to this day.

If any uninstructed man, chancing to read the above, has been asking why does one need to subject himself to even the first degree of insincerity: why not endeavor to serve God and man *outside* the English Church, and so be free from its requirements, I must reply that such a question shows by its very form and substance that it comes from one who does not understand the situation. He has not considered certain necessities or proprieties which govern the case. A single illustration will suffice: On the occasion of the death of Spurgeon, so justly distinguished for his sincerity and eloquence, *The Churchman* said very truly, "The pulpits of America and England have recently sounded forth much that is gorgeous and convincing, and have echoed the best examples of sermons from Chrysostom to Phillips Brooks, but this century has not heard a voice raised for Christ with so complete a mastery of Scripture thought and language as was exhibited by Spurgeon." Yet it is to be noted that with all his character and unparalleled "mastery of Scripture thought and language" Spurgeon would not have been allowed to preach in any pulpit of the order represented by *The Churchman*. To take an extreme case, any veriest hypocrite and mumbling ignoramus, on whom the hands of a bishop had been laid, would be preferred, both by the Church and by God, as preacher and agent of grace unto men. Did not Christ himself say "Among those born of woman none is greater than John the Baptist, yet he that is least in the kingdom of Heaven is greater than he?" So after all, even great ones, outside the

Church, count for little. On this subject there are several other potent considerations to be noted under the next topic.

But why multiply words? It is confessed that many deceptions are practiced; they are acknowledged in language as plain as any scoffer could desire, and as plain as any believer could need. I shall merely summarise the facts in the words of various, competent observers.

Dr. Percival writes: "It is not too much to say that Protestantism as a positive religious belief is dying out, and that its professors are for the most part able to continue in the ministry only through some device of casuistry, which in any other case would be considered by themselves, and it *is* in their case by almost any one else, dishonest and dishonorable."

President Eliot, commenting on the decay of conscience in religion, says (if popular report be correct): "The original relations of the Church and the World have been reversed," and "The morality and regard for truth in ordinary business firms is superior to that of the Church. . . . A business corporation would discharge an employee who should make statements with mental reservations." Yet it is also true that the same business men, who are so well aware of the value of honesty in commerce, do not only themselves practice a larger liberty in their church, with respect to truth telling, but also they expect their minister to sign a statement he knows to be untrue and to make a formal contract he does not intend to fulfil.

Some have made more general statements, not confining the indictment to the single count of untruthfulness, but including the range of immoral character. Thomas Erskine of Linlathen lamented that in morals the Church has fallen behind the World.

Mr. Ferguson (apparently a churchmember), in *The Religion of Democracy* says: "The Church as it is to day is not merely a cumberer of the ground; it is an obstacle to faith, a preventer of goodness, it scatters the conscience and paralyses the will."

Indictments still more severe have been published, especially by the enemies of the Church; but of more significance are the careful and conservative statements of its friends, such as are quoted above. That they *are* conservative, though to some they may be very astonishing, will appear when we observe that no one of them accuses *all sects* nor *all individuals* of any sect, neither declares that any large number are *intentional* deceivers nor conscious hypocrites. Quite to the contrary, they recognise, as every sane

mind must, that the Church has been a great cause of what is best in civilisation, and is the hope of times to come. Moreover, within every sect and denomination, there have been and are upright, sincere, and worthy men, even saints, before whom we bow with all reverence that may be paid to mortal man. It is rather that these men are somewhat in the position of President Lincoln. He could not even join a Church, because he felt so keenly the limitations of creed and custom. Yet it is recorded that in the days of our nation's distress he prayed: "God bless all the Churches. And blessed be God who in this our great trial giveth us the Churches." So these great and good men, without and within the Church, love it and believe in it. And because they perceive that that which they love and believe in is now in danger, they have dared to speak of the source of the danger (as they suppose) in all its terrors.

Meanwhile, also, and on the other hand, some have confessed (for self and others) to the practice of hypocrisy in various measures and grades, and have defended the same. To the several forms of that defence I now turn.

II. THE GOOD OF HYPOCRISY.

Hypocrisy has been defended partly on the basis of general principles, of which some are philosophical and in the nature of things. It is well known that a dark background is necessary to a bright picture; and we cannot fully appreciate our blessings or joys except by contrast with pains and evils. That is, at least some of the exaltation of righteousness and heaven is conditioned on humiliating experience in the dust of sin and sorrow. In other words and in short: Hell is necessary to Heaven—which indeed might be inferred from their both being in God's universe and parts of his divine plan of Providence. As the poet says, "the joy that is sweetest lurks in stings of remorse": we cannot have sweetest joy unless we pass to it from the remorse of sin.

It is to be feared that some have overlooked the great doctrine of the *utility of sin*. If so, it is not by fault of the Church; for that institution has taught and practised the doctrine for a thousand years. Some examples have already been quoted; and in order to have any adequate view of the utilities, we must go further into the same region of thought and practice.

Dr. Hopkins taught that sin (overruled) is an advantage to the universe. Dr. Charles Hodge, of equal celebrity, says plainly that sin and other evils have "contributed to the highest glory of

God and the welfare of men." With these, the liberal theologians have agreed. Theodore Parker said, "Every fall is a fall upward." M. J. Savage says, "The first sin of man was his greatest step upward;" and another declares that "The murder of Christ by the Jews was the greatest boon that ever came to the human race."

Similarly any number of distinguished theologians might be quoted. For they have long known that sin is really a blessing, though some have felt it wise not to say so, fearing that a full knowledge of the fact might be abused. It was doubtless well for a while that we be left in ignorance of this important truth. The times of this ignorance God winked at; but now he calls on all to behold the facts, through the Prophets whom He has appointed in the Church.

This general principle, the divine law under which we are placed, is recognised in the Prayer Book: we are "set in the midst of so many and great dangers, that by reason of the frailty of our natures we cannot always stand upright." For if we "cannot," we are under necessity.

The Roman Missal gives a fuller statement, declaring both necessity and the blessing of it: "O surely necessary sin of Adam, which has been blotted out by the death of Christ. O blessed guilt, which has deserved to have such and so great Redeemer." Bishop Ken versified the beautiful thought and burst into song:

"What Adam did amiss
Turns to our endless bliss;
O happy sin, which to atone,
Drew filial God to leave his throne."¹

A still more definite expression (none the less true for being in quite a different style) may be quoted: "Sin is like the measles. Every person is born with a constitutional liability to them; and this imperfection can be eliminated only by having the disease. Every parent rejoices when the child gets safely through, and can have the loathsome disease no more. So the Father in Heaven watches tenderly over his suffering children through the terrible crisis of wickedness and crime in the loathsome but inevitable disease of sin, and rejoices as one after another they get through it to suffer its attack no more." This seems to be true of one sin after another, as it is of one physical disease after another. It does not seem that we ever escape from the liability to some such attack. For there is a divine provision for the increase of evil as we

¹ Harris's *God, Creator and Lord of All*, I., 236.

advance in grade of being. The poet Burns plowing his field turned up the nest of a mouse and thus ruined the present happiness of a fellow-creature. This incident evoked the poet's tender sympathy, but he wrote:

"Still thou art blest compared with me;
The present only toucheth thee.
But och! I backward cast my e'e
On prospects drear!
An' forward, tho I can na see,
I guess and fear."

So it is the sublime privilege of each higher order of being to suffer the greater pain and commit the deeper sin. The whole range of such possibilities are within the reach of human nature, which in its various grades extends from people too stupid for any except the most manifest moral distinctions, who cannot sin except in the least degree, unto those most highly wrought natures who perceive morals everywhere, and who often by reason of offences are torn with remorse and shame throughout a life of exquisite misery. It is ever true, according to St. Paul, that as light and intelligence advance, "the law has come in beside, that the trespass might still more abound."

In another aspect the divine appointment is manifest. And here again Mr. Rashdall is eminently clear and candid. He says, in substance, of the Thirty-nine Articles: "Article XIII asserts that works not of faith in Christ are of the nature of sin; which means that Socrates is damned. And the clergy formally assent to this. Yet 'the people whom it is necessary to consider are not deceived'; though many, for example, nursery-maids and worldly-minded men, are deceived. And this is evil." "Yet it would be a far greater evil....that the ministry should be recruited from those who do believe that Socrates is damned."—Thus we see how it is necessary for a clergyman of that Church to say that Socrates is damned; and it is better to say and not believe it than to say it and believe it.

Now I submit that as between these two alternatives, this judgment is correct. Moreover, these being the only alternatives present to the mind, which is incapable of conceiving that one might join some other church or no church, Mr. Rashdall shows that, for him and his kind, some degree of hypocrisy is necessary. They are foreordained hypocrites.

Still another constraint is laid on those of the Church. The prevailing theology was formulated professedly in opposition to

science and reason. Judged by the standards of philosophy it was and is artificial and fictitious; and the defense of it *must* be sophistical, in the nature of the case. And as one becomes gradually aware of the fraud, the continued defense of it must be dishonest, and more and more so as intelligence grows, until human nature can no longer stand the strain of the incongruity, and rebels, and declares for a simple, clear, candid, and rational faith. Now as a matter of fact most people are somewhere in the transitional state. How is it possible for them to be other than hypocrites?

Men have also felt the call of *duty* to assume a virtue even though they have it not. When we have hated our neighbor, how easy has it been to discover that he was a sinner, and deserved punishment. And any one could see that to undertake the offender's discipline would be only justice; nay, duty; yea, piety. Therefore, we as faithful servants of God have been obliged to give the man a drubbing, receiving in our conscience the divine approval, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

Again, our neighbor has had much land and gold; and was manifestly misusing them, wasting them, besides endangering his immortal soul in the process. We have seen that something ought to be done to save the man's soul, not to speak of the property which ought to be put to a better use than tempting its owner to destruction. Somebody ought to interfere. Then we have reasoned with ourselves and prayed, and remembering that we are our brother's keeper and must answer for him in the great Judgment Day, we have at length consented to take his land and gold and administer them for him. Perhaps at the same time our nature rebels against our act, and sympathy goes out for the man. We know he will not understand our motive; he will fight for his own as he calls it. And in the struggle we may have to kill him. But we must do our duty, and leave the consequences to God. And we shall yet receive our reward; for, having been found "faithful in those few things, we shall be placed over many, and shall enter into the joy of the Lord."

Still again, how many times was our neighbor in some error of opinion or creed, to the peril of his soul? And we have had to set him right. Yet very likely he was obstinate and would not be set right, and persisted in differing from us. And so, the best we could do was to make an example of him for the benefit of others; that they at least might be warned in time. Of course in so serious a matter there must be no half-way measures; sympathy has no place where immortal welfare is concerned; and therefore the few should

suffer even the most manifest and fearful punishments, in order to save the many; hence our painful duty to bring heretics to the stake or other public and impressive penalty.

Such were the reasoning and practice of the past—not entirely unheard of in the present,—about which I have two remarks; first, that in all this we have often (not always) reasoned as well as we could, and have acted on our conscience. Was not Calvin on his conscience when he (for he was responsible) burned Servetus? History records in unmistakable terms that we verily thought we did God service. And secondly, at the same time, we have usually been hypocrites: we have affected a piety which was really foreign to us. So essentially mingled are sincerity and hypocrisy. One is necessary to the other. Let both grow together until the harvest.

They say hypocrisy is the tribute vice pays to virtue. Is it not meet that vice should pay tribute? There are many ways in which evil may be made to serve the good.

How often in the Church, as in society, we are obliged to profess that which is ambiguous or even what is known to be false. Dr. Rashdall says dubious morality is no bar, "Nothing but the clearest categorical imperative ought to prevent a person, otherwise attracted to the task, from accepting or retaining the Orders of the English Church." And again speaking of those clergy who, while they affirm their belief in the Thirty-nine Articles, yet hold doctrines specifically condemned in them, and treat the Articles with the utmost contempt, he says, "I have not a word to say against this."¹

When occasionally, some have contemplated the possibility of leaving the Church, they have usually been convinced by adequate considerations that such an act would do more harm than to remain where they are and as they are. They have good authority for so doing. When Matthew Arnold out-grew the Church, he still defended its existence, defended the "Establishment"; and when certain others of the Church who had come to believe as he did wrote him for advice he answered, "Stay where you are, and try to bring the Church along with you into the new light."

They indeed have the *highest* authority for doing so. The *Outlook* reminds us that "Jesus Christ never withdrew from the Jewish Church. His last sermons were preached in the Jewish Temple. Paul never withdrew from the Jewish Church. Up to the time of his death he remained a Jew. Apparently he never went into a city

¹ Pp. 142-143.

where there was a Jewish synagogue, that he did not avail himself of his privilege as a rabbi to go into the synagogue and preach a doctrine more subversive of the rabbinical doctrine of his time than any liberalism is of the orthodoxy of our day."

When a principle is sanctioned by divine law and example, there is less occasion to quote what is human, yet as a matter of fact men have often felt themselves bound by human law to outgrown creeds. As I have before quoted from *The Congregationalist*, the Church of Scotland thinks it "has no power to modify, abridge, or extend any article of the Confession." The Andover professors were, until recently, in a similar predicament, they were bound to publicly profess to "maintain and inculcate the creed... every article of which should forever remain, entirely, and identically the same, without the least alteration, addition, or diminution."

In England the law of the State has even more remarkable relations to the subject. On occasion of a recent confirmation of a bishop, the officiating Vicar General, according to custom invited "all opposers" to state any objection they might have to the confirmation. Whereupon one John Keusit arose and stated objections. To say that surprise and consternation resulted, is to tamely characterise the consequences. The matter was grave enough to be brought to the attention of the Lord Chief Justice, who decided that such objections are disorderly. It does not appear that the Vicar General will cease to invite opponents to make objections, but that you must not suppose him to mean what he says, on peril of the law. According to the report, we are to understand from the Chief Justice that men have so long been unaccustomed to take an ecclesiastic at his word, that it has now become a crime to do so.

By the way, this was not the worst of the Keusit affair. The younger man of that name was arrested in Liverpool for disturbing the peace. He, a layman, was charged with having "preached more than a hundred times." And "the worst thing they alleged against him," says *The Churchman*, was, that he quoted from the Prayer Book, Article XXXI, saying that "masses are blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." This was declared to be "most provoking language." "He had no right to say such things in public," according to the magistrate. For such offenses Mr. Keusit was condemned as a disturber of the peace, and was sent to jail for three months. In vain did twenty thousand men hold a meeting and protest against the action of the magistrate; in vain did a hundred thousand sign a petition to the Home Secretary for the

prisoner's release. And now an excited mob of Church people or their sympathisers have attacked Mr. Keusit, senior and wounded him, wherefore he has died. No, religion is not always a farce or a comedy; it is sometimes a tragedy.

But it is not merely in metaphysics and the laws of God and of man that the new wisdom is manifest. The same principle may be derived from the practical necessities and experience of the Church. *As things now are*, various forms of deceit are practically unavoidable, both in the Church and in society. Of course, if we were now for the first time making a Church, and were not limited by the past, by tradition and habits, and all the complicated associations of custom and sentiment, and what not, we should be free. In choosing the statement of our creed, we should have no ambiguity, no irrational doctrine, and no occasion for false pretense. But as the facts are, our case is quite otherwise; we are born into an advanced civilisation, the Church fully established in law and in certain relations of creed and custom, each part of it intrenched in the faith and hope of many people. Now, we are not *responsible* for all these facts, but we *are limited* by them; and wisdom will take human nature as it is and institutions as they are, and make the best of them.

That is to say, when we come into this world, we find the Church in possession. It has an immense accumulation of power, financial, social, sentimental, and so on, altogether a tremendous power, practically controlling the whole situation. To throw away the accumulated riches and grace of the Church, would be to lose all opportunity, betray our new ideas, and turn over all power to the stupid reactionaries. We can't get a hearing for any cause we have at heart, nor have any standing in society, such as will furnish large opportunity for usefulness, unless we are in the communion. And who are we, that we should set up the whimsies of our individualism against the Church of the saints and of God! If one would do anything in the world, let him take the great, practically the only, means of doing it: the almost omnipotent machinery of the Church. Against so powerful, well organised, and scientific a foe as the Devil and his legions, the old-fashioned individual warfare is vain and out of date. We must join the regular army, submit to its methods, advance and retreat according to command, give ourselves body and soul and conscience to the service.

This does not mean, of course, that we must *always* be hypocrites. Ordinarily we are not called upon to profess a doctrine falsely, at least in our own words.—“But in the words of a book

we may and often must." We must say the prescribed ritual even though we thereby say what we know to be untrue. By the authority of the Church the falsehood becomes sanctified, and thus a lie becomes a part of the worship of God.

Neither is it held that *all men* must be hypocrites, for manifestly the moral needs of human nature are such that there must be some examples of the ideal life with a perfectly clear conscience and clear head; in order that toward the ideal, we may ever be moving so fast as we may. Such an ideal is Jesus, for all time. In him we see that to which we may some day attain.

In short it is only that we must exercise common sense and see things as they are. Thus we see, in the story of Jesus, not only the ideal human being, we also see what becomes of the ideal. For as soon as the Pharisees were persuaded that he would make no compromise, *they put him to death*. This lesson from the story of our Lord, we are apt to overlook: If we would remain among men long enough to do any great work, we must not take extreme positions; we must adapt ourselves to circumstances. Let each one therefore wisely choose his path, remembering that "it is also noble to *live* for men."

Nor is it meant that this is a new doctrine or practice of the Church. In fact the wise have so thought and done from near the earliest Christian history.

Cardinal Newman has quoted with approval Clement of Alexandria, rightly esteemed by all parties as one of the chiefest of saints: "He both thinks and speaks the truth except when careful treatment is necessary, and then, as a physician for the good of his patient, he will lie, or utter a lie, as the Sophists say. Nothing however but the good of his neighbor would lead him to do this; he gives himself for the Church." And when he gives himself wholly to the Church, of course he gives his conscience to the Church.—Or will some one hold the absurd opinion that the conscience is too good to give to the Church!

Following this principle the Christians were accustomed to do little "pious frauds," such as to touch up the reports of saintly miracles, for the very worthy purpose of convincing the pagans and saving souls. Nay more, they even taught that God himself had practised deception, in the same cause, when he drove a sharp bargain with the Devil, even cheating him in a kind of business transaction by which he bought back his title to mankind which Satan had acquired by inducing them to sin.—Such was the common doctrine of the Atonement, among the great of early times.

That our spiritual fathers and the Church in general took some liberty with morals has not been commonly known ; for people have not been willing to see the manifest evidence ; because the fact seemed to reflect on the character of the saints. But now that we know the merits of deceit, we need no longer be restrained by such considerations.

Yet there was a certain fitness in our refusal to give honest heed to the evidence. For as the early fathers lied about the miracles, so we, the sons, show our lineage, and are loyal, and in a manner faithful to their memory, by refusing to be quite candid on our part : we "walk backward and cover our fathers' shame." And the ruse has been remarkably successful ; we have usually deceived self and others, and so have triumphantly declared the blamelessness of the early saints. But we were hypocrites in doing it, as they were in doing what we refuse to admit.

Rashdall's candor seldom fails him : he says plainly,¹ the Church has tried hypocrisy and found it beneficial, so beneficial as to justify continuing the practice, and extending it.

Of some of the extensions I shall speak later, but just to illustrate how a round-about method may be the most effective we may recall evidence, collected some years ago, that churches in nearly all denominations have increased attendance by resorting to suppers, and dances, and light opera, negro minstrels, and so forth. Their zeal and effort in these affairs may be judged by a single example. They tell of one Sunday-school girl who was able to kick a tambourine held as high as her head. Who would have thought beforehand that such performances would have been a means of grace ? But of that we have the most positive evidence ; for many sinners who could not otherwise have been persuaded to enter the sacred walls were found on the anxious seat.

Let the good work go on ; let all necessary duplicity and indirection be adopted. The Church can still profit by its ancient methods. Its ministers have rightly exhorted us, saying : Join the Church, try to believe, profess to believe, and at length you will come to believe ;" for the false profession tends to make itself true. "I believe in order that I may understand." "Faith that for Christ's sake we are forgiven" (antedating the fact, and therefore not yet true) has saved many a soul ; and has indeed been assigned by some theologians as the necessary condition of salvation. That is, not only may one be saved by falsehood ; he can't be saved without it.

¹ Pp. 144, 157-159.

Consider also what jumble of absurdities can be found in some revivals and conference meetings, where many souls are saved. President Jordan has pointed out that "what is called 'conversion' is often a species of insanity, being, (as it is) allied to epilepsy and hysterics." Then also the sentiments of the meeting are often affected—on the indistinct theory that one ought to feel them, and will feel them by professing and trying to feel them.

One great illustration of the principle is, in that the Church from earliest times has been accustomed to "talk up" optimism, in spite of hard facts; and by its cheering word has contributed greatly to destroy the power of evil, and to make optimism to be true. Hear the bold Prophet of ancient days: "I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken nor his seed begging bread." Of course he *had* seen the righteous forsaken and his seed begging bread, if he had seen anything. But he comforted many by speaking as he did; and ever since his day, the Church has repeated the pious falsehood. And who can estimate the courage it has given, the hearts it has healed, the hopes it has sustained, the graces it has added to our Christian civilisation and character.

Similarly another prophet, in order to defend the justice of the divinely-appointed course of the world in the life of man, said: "Know that the woes of men are the work of their own hands." This assertion too has come down to modern times. I lately heard a preacher of one of the most advanced sects, say with power that "every man gets just what he deserves, no more, no less." This he repeated with varying phrase, and heaped superlatives upon it, such as sermons are made of. But observe what his words mean. They mean, for instance, that Jesus deserved to be hung on the cross, to be betrayed by Judas, and all through the ages to be sold out by sinners in high places who choose to call themselves Christians; and finally he deserves this last humiliation: that the hypocrites, against whom he struggled unto death, in hope that he might defeat them after death, should now come forward, monopolise his name, claim his heritage, and administer his estate.

So speak the prophets, old or new, because their word relieves human woe and makes life more endurable; and so rule the lords of the later Church, because in present circumstances the way of hypocrisy is the only practical way to the kingdom of sincerity, truth, and righteousness. If I mistake not, an old proverb reads: "Tell a lie, and shame the Devil."

What is that we hear of certain of our neighbors, (very estim-

able people too) who are saying to those that claim to be ill: "You have made a mistake; the fact is you have no body, you are not sick, it is all in your imagination, you are well, get up and go about your business." And in many cases, it is reported, they do as they are commanded. It is even asserted that the curative power of falsehood extends on some occasions to the changing of bodily structures.

None can deny this tremendous power unto salvation (spiritual, if not physical) that has arisen from these, and many like, false conceptions and assertions. Taking all things into account, may we not say that faith in false gods and false faith in the true God have saved more souls than the true faith in the true God? Anyhow we might so infer from the "two-and-seventy warring sects," each declaring that the other seventy-one are false.

In order to maintain these important principles, and the more effectively to establish this manner of thinking and doing, the great Churches have founded a discipline—in plain terms, a School of Hypocrisy. They have wisely provided a course of training which extends from childhood to old age. From the first the child is accustomed to things unreal and fictitious as if they were real and and true, to guesses and affectations as if they were genuine knowledge, and to declaring its acceptance of unintelligible statements. The teachers and books provided for the young and those for the instruction of the heathen are often more conservative than those intended for adults and the more intelligent. Thus the beginners in the better life are habituated to the phrases of the older theology, before they can assert their individuality. While the mind is in a plastic state, the conventional ideas are impressed upon it and made as nearly as possible a part of the very substance of the growing mind. At the same time they are by ingenious devices fastened to the affections. Thus the mind, when it comes to maturity, is bound by so many ties of family and society and financial advantage, and surrounded by such a multitude of suggestions and leadings, that it is ordinarily held as in a vice to the parental Church and its forms.

All through life there are occasions of powerful sentiment, joy or grief, when exact thought is not prominent, and such occasions may be used still further to habituate the people to phrases ambiguous. For example, we are not accustomed to think much when we sing or listen to singing. Standing by a piano, the words being set to music, we say many things which in ordinary speech we should blush to repeat; some of which it would not be good man-

ners or good morals to repeat. Especially in the dim religious light of a beautiful Church, and prompted by sublime harmony and by the example of others, our own voice half concealed by the organ and the other half unheard by our neighbor because he is singing also, we declare our chief joy and our heart's delight is in those things, which if we were out doors and speaking in plain prose, face to face with an honest man, we should not dare to say for a moment. But the Church is kind and does not too often recall to us what we have said. Yet it is also wise and so, quietly, provides that the hymns shall abound in phrases which once had a literal meaning, and towards which we are now insensibly led when we repeat them. Thus it insinuates into our mind certain doctrines and sentiments, of which we should resent any plain statement.

In all this we do not forget that St. Paul would "sing with the understanding." Indeed we quite agree with him—and have defined the understanding. Ruskin the fanatic entirely *misunderstood* when he wrote: "The chief purpose of music is to say a thing that you mean in the strongest and clearest way; and men should never be taught to sing what they do not mean."

The great leaders of the Church,—and they were truly great—have put forth their splendid energies of thought, conscience, imagination, and inspiration, as teachers in their school. Sermons without number, books, systems of theology, a most impressive church service uniting the prestige of authority, the eloquence of the orator, the fascination of art, have combined to mould human nature into the forms approved. The intention was and is to affect the whole nature, and it may be illustrated in both thought and morals. In order to defend their doctrines the Church fathers have been obliged to caricature reason and declare the caricature to be the real article; they have resorted to all the subterfuges of logic; they have abundantly illustrated all the fallacies of the mind and invented new evasions and perversions and legerdemain, and declared all these to be peculiarly divine and sanctified, and necessary to salvation. Not that the inventors were usually conscious of the fraud, they simply thought of religion as a sacred thing which must be defended and promulgated, and then seized upon the readiest defence that occurred to them, and they gave to it all their power of mind and soul. To make surer the result that men should so think, the Church addressed them on all sides. To attract and persuade, it has adorned itself with the works of transcendent genius in fine art, music, and poetry; it has dignified itself with learning and philosophy, with pomp and circumstance, with lofty preten-

sions and divine prerogatives; it has presented the motives of social and personal advantage in this world, and of endless bliss in the world to come. To compel assent to the creed, it has launched anathemas and threats of eternal torment, with wrack and torture and all the resources of civil government and the Inquisition, and with the multiplied and exquisite terrors of superstition. And lest these have not done their perfect work, it has, in latter days especially, founded great universities and colleges and seminaries, not free to discover the truth whatever it be, but bound by law and self-interest to teach a definite doctrine forever. In order to keep its doctrines in the minds of the people and allow no change, it has established societies, organisations, and newspapers, under instructions not to report the facts without prejudice, but to conceal what may make against sectarian creed and interest, and exalt and magnify what may advance them.

Finally, these mighty forces, their sanctions increased by age, sacred association and miracle, made firm by habit repeated through generation after generation, have combined their strength, have secured control, and through heredity have transformed human nature into the likeness of error.

Developed under such processes for a thousand years, our faculties have become so warped and twisted that the false often seems to be true because it better fits our nature, as it now is. The vitiation is so profound that few people ever dream or can be made to suspect that anything is very wrong in their church, or in their own mind, that much of their "reasoning" is illogical and much of their "religion" is superstition. Thus when a few years ago, one who had really awakened to the facts, spoke faithfully and sorrowfully of the errors of the Church, a brother clergyman at once indignantly denied them and accused the speaker of "stabbing his mother in the back." Both men were perfectly honest, in the ordinary sense of the term; each said what he supposed to be true. But one was at a disadvantage, he was a blind man denying what the other saw and condemning him for seeing it. To the other and to all whose minds have escaped the bonds of the past, the facts are clear. And when the question arises, what are we going to do about it, the answer of many is that we accept the situation without wincing and boldly accept the necessary casuistry.

For a while, however, the weaker consciences will shrink and will need the support of vigorous protestations and professions of the high standards. Hear the word of the prophet of the Outlook: "We say therefore to every liberal minister in a conservative

church, stay where you are, and preach the truth as God gives you to see the truth, without fear or favor. Never conceal a conviction in order to keep your place, never pretend to believe what you do not sincerely entertain."

Of course he knows they are entitled to the Westminster Confession, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Andover Creed, and so on: and that many of them in order to keep their places and to be useful citizens in the Kingdom, will (and must) take advantage of fear and favor and concealment and pretence. The plain fact is the *Outlook* has too high a standard, except as an ideal and to keep up our courage. *Cry aloud and lift up*, while yet there is time. The Church *is* a holy institution and *must* be saved; and, I *will* believe; unquestioning faith is so comfortable, I will ask no questions, doubt was "all in the imagination," I *am* honest and sincere!

It is human nature. Dr. Rashdall himself seems a little nervous now and then, and endeavors to satisfy his conscience by vigorous proclamations of good principles. For instance he says: "In his sermon the minister should speak the truth, the whole truth—so far as he goes—and nothing but the truth."—Did his courage fail that he inserted "so far as he goes," and then wrote a long essay to mark the exceptions to the last phrase? Indeed, his whole essay might be summed up in the words which he quoted from the sacred formula of the witness-stand, adding the modifications according to his teaching: "*The minister should tell the truth (except when he may serve a higher end than truth), the whole truth (so far as he goes), and nothing but the truth (except such lies that are more useful than the truth).*" This, in short, is the new wisdom, though, strictly speaking, the newness is in the more general and candid recognition of the principles which, heretofore, unrecognised, have really controlled so much of our practice. And their fuller acceptance in the present day indicates a growing sense of their importance and utility.

But this is not all. The intellectual twist has caused a moral twist. The vitiating of reason induced a vitiating of conscience. The defence of error not only required bad logic but bad ethics. Theologians found themselves obliged to declare innocent things to be evil, and evil things to be good. They said the child born to-day is rightly blamable for Adam's sin and ought to be sent to hell for it. They even dared to teach that Christ was a sinner, and for his guilt, was punished on the cross. Yet more, with transcendental profanity, they represented the character of God in a form which Dr. Momerie declared to be "the very wickedest thought

that ever entered human brain," and then they pronounced this character to be the most reverend, adorable, beautiful, and lovely. To cap all, they defended their sacrilege in the name of authority, and piety, and faith.

To disarm conscience in its certain revolt against such hideous blasphemy, they promulgated the doctrine that morals and religion are separable; one is not necessary to the other, and might be even antagonistic. A man might be saved without morals or even against morals.

At least one Church has had revelations on the subject. The Virgin revealed to St. Birgitta that a Pope who is free from heresy, no matter how polluted by sin and vice, has absolute power over human souls to bind and lose. And all priests who are not heretics administer true sacraments, no matter how depraved they may be. An extreme case from history will bring the truth clearly before us. Recall then the story of Benvenuto Cellini, in whose life "atrocious crimes alternate with the ecstasies of rapturous and triumphant piety." In milder forms such incongruities are common in the conservative Churches of to-day, as when Spurgeon told his people (if the report be correct) that they would be damned all the more, for relying on morality as important in religion. Bishop Westcott lately addressed the clergy in the Cathedral, and urged them to apply religion to practical life among the people, with reference to trade, and amusements, and gambling. At the same time he apologised for doing so, because, he said, we shrink from bringing the great truths of our faith to bear on every day affairs. And in recognition of the common thought of religion as disconnected from life and morals, he said he knew they were very busy and hadn't time for practical things, but they might perhaps persuade others to do the work, involved, while they attended to religion!

I wonder if this clergy, in following his directions, used the same deference and delicacy toward the laity, and addressed a sinner after this fashion: "I beg pardon sir, but may I request that you should not steal, nor, if you please, devour widows' houses? I know you are very busy, and haven't the time to be honest, and do as you would be done by, and I shrink from making moral suggestions, but perhaps you will persuade others to observe the laws of morality, while you attend to the more important affairs of money-getting."

Booker Washington tells of a colored brother who was a member of the Church, but who "had to have a spree now and then."

After one unusually long absence he returned to the conference meeting, and in due time rose to make confession, "that he had been a great sinner; he had broken all the ten commandments, but he thanked the Lord that he had kept his religion."

* * *

Such are some of the characteristics of the school of ethics founded by the Church. But human contrivances cannot always succeed; some minds cannot be made to fit the patterns of antiquity. And lest they break away and be lost, the Churches have provided for admitting the laity to membership without entire doctrinal agreement with the standards; while the clergy themselves are held to the stricter requirements. This was originally a gracious concession to the laity, by which while uninstructed they might have faith by proxy, and so be allowed to enter the Church and have part in its saving grace. Yet there are found some so far incapable of gratitude as to complain of the arrangement. I quote one of them with reference to this very point.

He says in substance, "there are two standards in the Church. And since the severer one required of the clergy is, that for which the Church is likely to be judged by men, some of the laity are put in a false position where we stand for doctrines we do not believe; and we pay our money to support and extend what we do not believe."—He is quite right, they do in fact stand for such doctrines, they have their children taught the same doctrines, they "pay their money" to extend the same at home and in foreign lands; and in many ways they help to teach what they do not believe, and that which their clergy regard as "the most contemptible of all things."

At the same time we have the authority of Dr. Rashdall for saying that "the real injury to truth is in the practical acquiescence in and encouragement of beliefs which one does not hold." Another typical case is reported of a merchant who, when elected an elder, and asked to sign the Confession and pledge himself to dogmas that he had never believed or heard from the pulpit, felt the sting of hypocrisy, and realised that for years he had been, in effect, an advocate of a creed that he did not approve."

Rev. Mr. Crooker relates a typical case of a young man whose heart had been wounded by the minister, who in private confessed his disbelief in the dogmas which he required the young man to profess in public on joining the Church.

That such pathetic incidents occur there can be no denial. But what can be done? The clergyman was perhaps a little rash in disclosing the facts before the young man had been duly prepared.

Doubtless the chief fault was that the Church had failed to complete its work. It must more diligently practice the young in repeating the ritual and the creed, so that when necessary they can use words without meaning, or say one thing and mean another, or have two meanings, and easily move from one to another, without being offended; and so become accustomed to the shifty ways of men with whom they must afterwards associate. A child who is sufficiently drilled in such exercises is fitted for practical life. And so the Church tenderly leads the young.

If one thus brought up should have scruples about making untrue professions in joining the Church (or anything else), he may leave the judgment with his bishop, and lay on him the responsibility of deciding, according to Mr. Rashdall. That is to say, when the young man cannot quite make up his mind whether, holding such opinions as he does, he can honestly join the Church, accept its casuistry, and say what it requires him to say, he is advised to throw on the bishop the responsibility of deciding the question. In other words: Give up religion and join the Church instead; or to the candidate for Orders; suspend conscience and receive ordination. "There are, however, some men so far out of sympathy with the Church that they ought not to become members. The strain on their conscience would render them unservicable."

But meanwhile, lest there be many such and lest conscience be quite clear, we rely again on the marvellous ritual which is skilfully adapted to the purpose of attracting and secretly shaping the mind, suffusing it with feeling, and exerting a kind of mesmeric power over its people. These forms of service are so pleasant that not a few even from other communions, finding that in these later days spirit and truth have departed from their Church, now instinctively fly to the ritual as the only thing left in religion.

How comparatively, unfortunate, the sects that have no such forms, and have also a less thoroughly organised polity, and therefore (as we are told) "must resort to much exhortation and frequent 'revivals' and many professions of loyalty and devotion and 'loud shoutings,' in order to hold the interest and attention among their people, and so stem the tide of rationalism and libertinism."

On the whole the methods of indirection are especially fitted to the situation in the Church of to-day. In a transition period (such as this) people cannot be expected to pass at once from the old ideas to the new. They must rather have their home in the safe retreat of the old, and make daily excursions into the new country, and become gradually acquainted with it, and return at

nightfall to the old fort. So the enterprising minister begins his service with a text from the Scriptures—that is right anyhow—, moves out into the land of reason with reckless courage, to the delight of all awakening intelligences, and at various intervals retreats to cover; or more boldly and swashingly traverses the new country for a considerable period, and only returns in the conclusion. How many sermons have we heard in which the up-to-date minister explains rationalistically even the miracles themselves, or more gingerly mentions that some have done so and adds that “since opinions are comparatively so unimportant in religion, we need not discuss that question.” But in the end he infallibly safeguards the interests of the Church by giving an undoubtedly orthodox exhortation.

According to the same general method, most of the theological thinking of the day is really a hunting for ambiguous expressions—not exactly “the art of concealing thought” as another has called it, but rather the art of putting two meanings into the same phrase, and deftly passing from one to the other without disclosing their essential antagonism. Sometimes this is done by masking both old and new so that they look alike, or by shuffling the old phrases in a new way, such that by change of relations in the sentence, quite new meanings are possible. Thus by one meaning, a really orthodox mind is satisfied, and by the other a really heterodox mind is satisfied; and the speaker does not get into trouble with either of them, and so keeps his place and wields the power of the Church.

Again, within a single mind undecided which way to turn in the midst of doubts, one mood which is conservative finds the old meaning, and another which inclines to science, and the new, and vivid, and real, finds the new theology. Thus the growing mind is held by the old and taught by the new; is led along and never lost to the Church. Whereas any plain statement of the content of the new theology would both lose the speaker his position, and stampede the doubtful hearers either into the worser hypocrisy of fully professing conservatism which they do not hold, or into the abyss of blank agnosticism.

Thus by an ethical sleight-of-hand, the powers are conserved, the Church is held together, the kingdom of truth is being enlarged (the forces of error themselves drafted into the service). It is great magic! They tell of a juggler who appeared in a crowd with a single bottle of wine under his arm and out of that one bottle he poured any variety of drink they called for. The people smacked their lips, each declaring he had the kind he ordered.

So your orthodox professor or preacher, though bound to maintain and teach an ultra conservative creed, without any change whatsoever, comes before the world :

"Have old Bourbon Orthodoxy?—Here it is, brought over from Geneva, Calvin's own.

"Have Rationalism?—That's it, newest and brashest stuff that's made, moonshine.

"Have Agnosticism?—Taste that, isn't that sweetness and light !

"Have Universalism?—There you are." [Though there is an antidote for Universalism in that very bottle.]

So they all get their favorite refreshment, every man to his taste.

How skilful, and accommodating is the theology of the day ! Popular, too ; the books sell rapidly, for they often have not a little rhetorical art, and they use some scientific terms. *They are hand-books of hypocrisy !*¹

The old-fashioned jugglery was cheap compared with this. Here are not the coarse deceits of Egypt, nor the mystic rigmarole of Chaldæa. The priests of those lands were sufficient in their day ; but they were novices compared with the moderns, bringing all their finely-trained faculties and the gathered resources of the Church and modern learning to the task of hypnotising an audience or a reader, giving their souls without reserve to their work, accepting every humiliation, condescending even to a confidence game hoping to outwit the Devil, willing to do evil that good may come, willing to be damned for the glory of God,—and very likely to be, one would think.

Such devotion cannot fail. The future of the Church is secure.

Against these principles of the modern Church, there stands out sharply the doctrine of the pagan Achilles : Hatelul to me as the gates of hell is he that hideth one thing in his heart and uttereth another ; and of Mohammed : There are two things I abhor, the learned in his infidelities and the fool at his devotions ; and of Huxley : My aim is to smite all humbugs however big—and to set an example of—toleration for every thing but lying ; and again he wrote : "I have searched the grounds of my belief, and if wife and child, and name and fame were to be lost to me one after another, as a penalty, still I would not lie." Time was, in the early stages of its evolution, when Christianity also stood for the ideal, and one

¹And we need much ; for in spite of what the Church has done we are still a little squeamish about lying and unhandy in practice.

of its great purposes was to antagonise the leaven of the Pharisees which is hypocrisy. So particular were they about it that Ananias the liar was struck down and his body buried forthwith; and Judas the betrayer hastened to punishment, having conscience enough left to go hang himself.

But in two thousand years, we of the Church have learned many things; and now in the advanced stages of evolution, Christianity stands for the practical and prudent. Not to-day can it be said that the children of this world are wiser than the children of light. Indeed we are no longer children; we have outgrown the needs, and the restraints and limitations of childhood. It is now clearly seen that Jesus and the pagans were too strict, conscience was rather undeveloped in those days (and in later days with some that are without benefit of clergy), and the rules of the Apostles must be relaxed.

It must be expected that the Churches will continue to have difficulty, with young men especially. On many sides we hear complaint that people are not joining the Church as once they did, and that bright-minded young men are not inclined to adopt the ministry as a profession. The fact is the young man is naturally attracted by the simple and strenuous moral principles of Achilles and Mohammed and Büchner and Huxley and Jesus—pagans and enthusiasts. But when the Church has had him in charge for a while and has done her perfect work, he abandons the state of nature and advances into the state of Grace.

Ruskin remarks that the will of God as represented in the Scriptures is impracticable: "His orders won't work, and He must be satisfied with a euphonious and respectful repetition of them. Their execution would be too dangerous under existing circumstances, which He certainly never contemplated. The laws of God are indeed ideal, but also poetical. Those of the Devil are the only practical ones. It was a fool that said in his heart there is no God. It was left for the modern wiseman of the Church to say there is a foolish one."

The Devil was wise from the beginning, and is so represented in that Garden-of-Eden story. Look the very facts in the face. Eve was tempted to sin, but was afraid, for God had told her "in the day she ate thereof she should surely die." But the serpent knew better, and encouraged her, saying: "Thou shalt not surely die." And so it turned out; for she ate, and in fact they did not die. The snake was right, "for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof *your eyes shall be opened*, and ye shall be as gods know-

ing good and evil." And the Lord God confirmed Satan, for presently he too said: "Behold man has become like one of us to know good and evil."—Verily the Lord had not spoken more consistently than his clergy of later time: He had "adapted" his words: He had spoken with the wisdom of a Rashdall.

The Church has not always seen and appropriated all that there is in its own inspired records, and it has often been timid as Eve was in doing her part. But now its eyes are fully opened to the supreme value of sin; and its courage is confirmed.

"Contrary to Jesus?"—Not so; he promised to send us the Spirit who should lead us into all truth, and this is a part of it.

Blessed be lies and the father of them.

Sanctissime Diabole.

Ora pro nobis.

THE RELIGION OF ENLIGHTENMENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

BUDDHISM has rightly been called the religion of enlightenment, for the basic plan of the faith is to be guided by wisdom, illustrated by the light that is shed on our path, enabling us to make sure and firm steps. Hearers of the Word, as soon as converted, are generally reported to utter the following confession :

"Abhikkantaṃ bhante abhikkantaṃ bhante, seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya mūlhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya andhakāre vā telappajjotaṃ dhāreyya cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintīti, evaṃ evaṃ Bhagavatā anekapariyāyena dhammo pakāsito esāhaṃ bhante Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ ca bhikkusanghaṃ ca, labheyyāhaṃ Bhagavato santike pabbaṃ labheyyaṃ upasampadaṃ ti."

"Excellent, O Lord ! this is excellent ! As one raises what has been thrown down, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out a lamp in the darkness that those who have eyes may see the objects, just even so has the Doctrine been made clear by the Lord in manifold exposition. And I, even I, take refuge in the Lord, his Doctrine and his Order. May the Lord receive, as a lay-disciple, from this day forth as long as life endures, me who have taken refuge [in him]."

When the Buddha died, he inculcated adhesion to the truth, the Dharma (in Pāli, *dhammo*), but did not insist on obedience to the detailed regulations of the Order ; on the contrary, he said that the members of the Order, whenever they saw fit to do so, should be at liberty to abolish them all, insisting at the same time upon their adhesion to Discipline (*Vinayo*) in the larger sense. The Buddha meant to say that the regulations are temporary only, made for special purposes, to suit definite conditions ; but the case is different with regard to truth, the basis of all religion and conduct, its application formulated by the Buddha in his Doctrine and Discipline which in Pāli are written as one word : *Dhammavinayo*. Yet even here he does not mean his disciples to accept any theory on trust, not even on his own authority, but requests them to rely on themselves and to be lamps themselves. He said :

"Ānando, dwell as lamps unto yourselves [literally, self-lamps or self-islands, for *lamp* and *island* are the same word in Pāli], refuges to yourselves, having no one else for a refuge; [be] lamps of religion (*dhhammo*), religious refuges, having no one else for a refuge." (*Book of the Great Decease*, Chap. 3.)¹

The lamp has thus become a significant symbol in Buddhism, and in one of the Buddhist parables we are told that the light of lamps possesses the mysterious quality that by lighting other lamps it loses none of its own radiance or usefulness.² To divulge the doctrine is one of the main duties of Buddhist disciples, and by spreading "the glorious doctrine," the *Kalyāṇo dhhammo*, as Buddha calls his religion, far from sustaining any loss, we can only be ben-



Attadīpā viharatha, attasaraṇā, anaññasaraṇā, dhammadīpā, dhammasaraṇā, anaññasaraṇā. (*Decease Book*, II.)

efited. Here the saying becomes literally true, that "by giving, we gain; by scattering, we lay up treasures; by imparting wealth, we grow rich."

The idea of light as an emblem of the religion of enlightenment has found a beautiful expression in one of the Gandhāra sculptures which we here reproduce from a photograph. We see a teacher holding up a lamp and a disciple looking up at it and worshipping the light with folded hands.

¹ The translation of this famous passage was specially made for the present quotation by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds of Philadelphia, the translator of the *Dhammapadam* (*Hymns of the Faith*).

² *Gospel of Buddha*, p. 168.

MISCELLANEOUS.

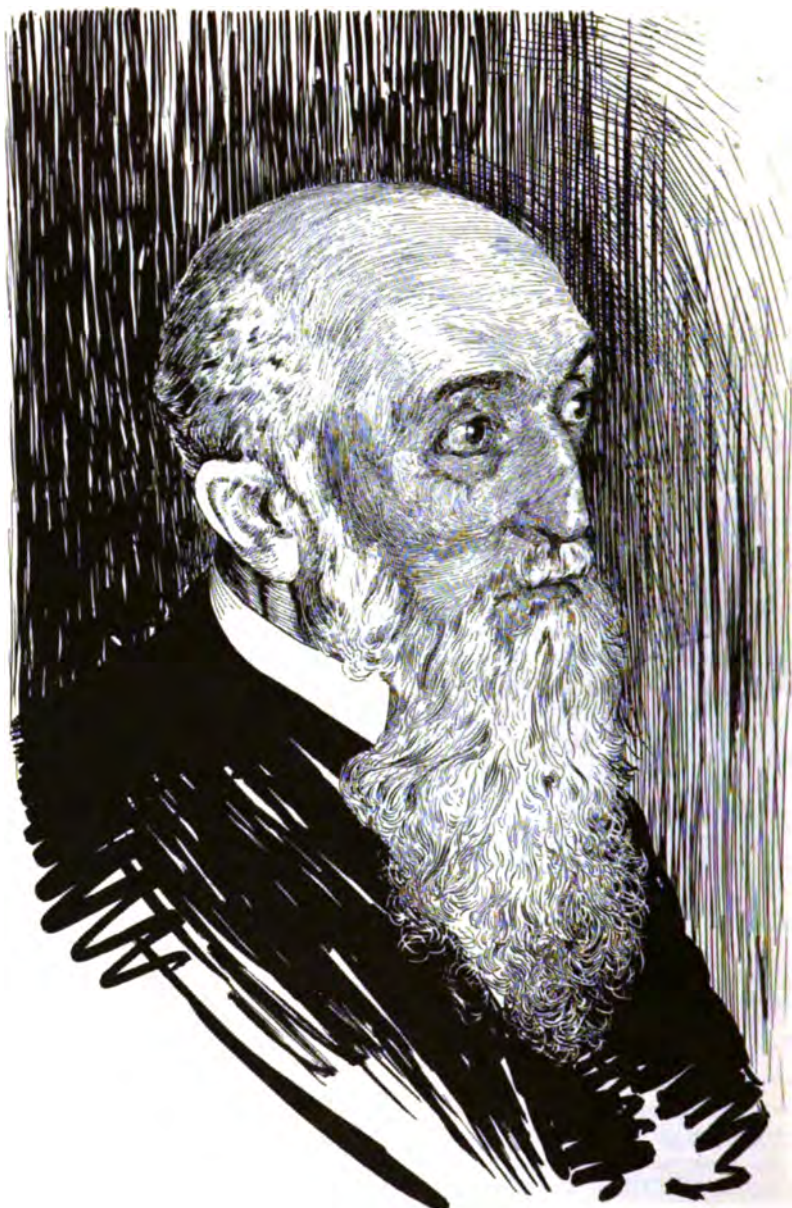
SKETCH OF MR. C. C. BONNEY'S CAREER.

Charles Carroll Bonney, Counsellor of the Supreme Court of the United States and President of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition died Sunday morning, August 23rd, at his residence in Chicago, 3764 Ellis Ave., after a protracted illness of progressive paralysis. He was a jurist of high standing, a far-seeing reformer, and a poet of no mean force, and his name will forever be coupled with that memorable event, the World's Parliament of Religions, which was the crown and the glory of the International Congresses of Chicago in 1893. He was an unusual personality and the deeds of his life, the achievements of his successful career, have become history.

Mr. Bonney was born at Hamilton, New York, September 4th, 1831, being named after Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was educated in the public schools, the Hamilton Academy, and chiefly by private study. He took the degree of Doctor of Laws at Madison, now Colgate University, became a teacher in the public schools of Hamilton and the Hamilton Academy from the age of seventeen, till he moved to Peoria, Illinois, at the age of nineteen. There he taught at an academic school for two years, and was public lecturer on education for Peoria County from 1852 to 1853. In the position of Vice-President of the State Teachers' Institute, he took a leading part in the establishment of the educational system of Illinois.

Having commenced reading law when but seventeen he continued his interest in legal affairs, and was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1852, and to that of the United States Supreme Court in 1866. He was elected President of the Illinois State Bar Association, and Vice-President of the American Bar Association in 1882. He removed from Peoria to Chicago in 1860, practising law and reporting cases in Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Nebraska, New York, New Jersey, California, and the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Bonney's zeal for the law was based upon his patriotism and his love of order and justice. He was one of the originators of the law and order movement, which was started in 1872, and later spread over other States, especially New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. He advocated, and to some extent successfully carried, a great number of reforms in constitutional politics, in the national banking system, railroad supervision by State authority, the establishment of a permanent international court of justice, now realised in The Hague, a national Civil Service Academy, a system of Civil Service pensions, State Boards for the adjustment of the differences between capital and labor, etc., and developed an unusual activity as an orator in speaking for these several questions when opportunities arose.



PENCIL SKETCH BY EDUARD BIEDERMANN.¹

¹ Reproduced from *The Open Court*, December, 1901.

In 1887, Mr. Bonney's name was mentioned for appointment as a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, on the ground that he was a man standing in the very front rank of Western jurists, of high literary culture, and of judicial



AS HE APPEARED WHEN OPENING THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

temperament, and if he was not chosen, it was mainly due to his vigorous attitude in matters of reform. And perhaps the decision was just, for a judge of the United States Supreme Court should be absolutely impartial and even the zeal for im-



AN ACTUAL SCENE AT ONE OF THE SESSIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT

After a photograph taken by Mr. S. F. Norten and published in *The World's Parliament of Religions* by John Henry Barrows, D.D. Reproduced by courtesy of George L. Shuman.

provement and for the moral elevation of the people, be it in matters of politics, temperance or social conditions, might easily become a disturbing element, in the establishment of general juridical principles. Certainly, it was good that Mr. Bonney remained in Chicago, for thus the characteristic distinction of his personality came to the front in a way as no one could have anticipated, for Mr. Bonney was appointed President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and after four years of preparation, his labors were crowned with unusual success.

Most remarkable of all was the realisation of a Parliament of Religions, heretofore deemed impossible on account of the exclusive nature of the leading and most powerful Church organisations.

This Religious Parliament was the first truly ecumenical council of religion, and its realisation is due mainly to the tact of Mr. Bonney; to his impartiality toward all; his reconciliatory spirit in the clash of opposed interests, his conservatism, his circumspection, enabling every speaker to come and to go uncompromised by the general tendency of the Parliament simply as a preacher and representative of his own faith, and finally to his choice of officers, among whom the Rev. Dr. John Henry Barrows must be specially mentioned as a chairman of rare ability.

The Religious Parliament was so unique, that a repetition of it is not probable for some time to come, but it took place and no one can make it undone. It will remain a land-mark in the history of religion, the significance of which can hardly be realised by the present generation.

* * *

The funeral services, which were without any ostentation and strictly private, were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Mercer, pastor of the Church of the New Jerusalem.

P. C.

IMPRESSIONS OF ITALY.

BY EMILIO CASTELAR.

[There came into my possession recently a large number of unpublished letters of the celebrated republican orator Emilio Castelar, who was thirty years ago President of the short-lived Spanish Republic. These letters were written to his bosom-friend Señor Adolfo Calzado, who sat for many years in the Cortes and resigned his seat in the Spanish Senate only a few weeks ago. I give below all the letters in the collection referring to Italy, which Castelar, as I know by my own conversation with him, loved so much

PARIS, July, 1903.

THEODORE STANTON.]

ROME, May 4, 1875.

In this weather, Rome is magnificent, sublime. The Eternal City is like the ocean,—her inspirations are inexhaustible, infinite her greatness. These three superposed cities are three long ages of history, three phases of the mind. They excite wonder and ecstasy. Her stones exhale, as it were, dumb music which penetrates the depths of one's soul and makes one shudder as in the presence of the sublime. I can devote only four or five hours per day to contemplation and study.

I am sorry, but to grasp the whole meaning of Rome, even superficially, would require a year. The walk to Tivoli through the deserted Campania; the pilgrimage by the Via Appia between two rows of tombs; the remains of the Coliseum, and the sight of the dome of St. Peter's produce indelible emotions which remain forever engraved on heart and memory.

CASTELLAMMARE, May 22, 1875.

Now I am walking in the old Campania. I write from ten in the morning till five in the afternoon, and from six to ten I wander through these delicious groves, along these incomparable shores. To-morrow I go to Sorrento, from Sorrento to Capri, then to Amalfi, to Salerno, to Pæstum and finally to Naples. I expect some friends. When they come, we will traverse the Sirena del Tierreno, the beautiful Parthenope, and will return to the north of Italy, whence we will cross the Alps on our way to Switzerland, where I shall stay a month, the whole of July, taking the waters at Tarasp.

MADRID, February 26, 1883.

I have received your letter from Monte Carlo, and I breathe again that odor of sea-breezes mixed with thyme. Tell me, even if it is only on a cigarette paper, your impressions of Italy. I do not know an intellectual pleasure to be compared to an artistic journey through that country; and if I had the leisure and the means. I would indulge in it at once in order to escape for a time from this infernal Madrid, which, with recent pamphlets and other rags, has become really uninhabitable.

MADRID, April 14, 1883.

So you have gone on one of those wonderful Italian journeys and have spent a few days in sublime Rome and in Hellenic Naples, where the understanding and the heart expand together. I see that you have observed with the eye of a good traveller the beautiful country and have taken every opportunity of noting how it progresses and grows, protected by all the liberty compatible with the machinery of government.

FLORENCE, September 5, 1891.

DEAR ADOLFO:—

Up to the present moment, after twenty days of travel (you know how I do it). I, with the youthful enthusiasm and the iron limbs of my early years, have seen Rome, Rheims, Notre Dame of Paris, Sainte Gudule of Brussels, the four principal churches of Antwerp, Louvain, Bruges, and Gand, the marvellous Cologne, far superior to what fame says of its merits, Ulm, and Mayence, Milan for three days, and now you find me in Florence. None of these things would have been possible without maintaining the strict incognito in which I intend to remain till my return to Madrid. Make known in the hotels a name as famous as mine, and the landlord would boast of it, which would result in an increase in the bills and tips and would, furthermore, be communicated to the papers. As soon as an editor knows you are in some place, he sends his inquisitorial reporter, who questions you on things human and divine, and then repeats what you have said in his own words. After him come the party leaders, the town authorities, if your name is connected in any way with active politics, the secret police, found everywhere as in Germany, banquets, visits, receptions. How could I have seen beautiful and interesting Brussels in four days, if I had had to receive all the editors of the liberal press, all the deputies, partisans of Orban and Jansen, all the party leaders of a more or less republican hue, all the relations to the fourth degree, of Anna, Paul, and Aquiles? So I got a coachman-guide to point out to me, like any simple tourist, the hippopotamus of the Zoölogical Garden, General Boulanger of the Rue Royale, all in one drive, which cost me three pesetas. Oh joy! to be again unknown, to be a common man, to be anybody, as it was before fame had seized on me in this wicked world. The aim of incognito is to deceive honestly. Two friends accompany me

excellent travelling companions, one French, the other Spanish, and they put down their names, adding mine thus, if it is necessary: "Don E. C. Ripoll, professor and publicist, from Madrid." I deceive the whole world in an honorable fashion, while I make an excellent journey, which is comfortable in every respect. In Germany, you will be surprised to hear, they did not demand my name. So do not write, for I should have to take out a *permis de séjour*, and the lie would be discovered.

As I have, from my childhood, observed one duty, that of paying you a visit on all my return journeys to Spain, expect me any day after the fifteenth of next month. I first want to see Ferrara, Padua, Ravenna, Brescia, for my third volume on Italy, as I saw the Cathedrals for my other book on Spain. But let incognito continue during this visit. I will spend a whole week alone with you all. Do not tell a single quill-driving mortal that I am coming, that I am there, that I am going away.

I would tarry in these southern lands, which I find every time more enchanting and more smiling, and pass through Genoa, Nice, Marseilles, Barcelona, if you were not in Paris, with such claims on my heart, and if I did not wish to embrace you and be on October 1st in our Madrid in order to begin all the labors I propose to undertake, so as to concert two budgets in my green and healthy old age, one for the nation and the other for my home. We have spent together many of my birthdays, and this time we shall be separated. Believe me that your memory dwells like a religion in my bosom and in my mind, joined to the cult of an adored one now dead, for whom I weep every day, for I cherished and kept it as all that remained in the world to me of a divine mother like mine; and to all these recollections and all this affection, I add faith in you, dear Adolfo, and yours whom I consider mine.

Now that I have told you the impressions of my journey, embrace your wife and children for me, and keep me for one week which I intend to spend exclusively with you. Do not tell anybody where I am going nor when I return.

YOUR EMILIO.

MADRID, October 7, 1894.

My journey to Rome was a real portent of good fortune, for my only object in going was to see the Pope and get on my side all the liberal and progressive society of a modern and revolutionary Italy. I did not remark a discordant note, and none of the homage was wanting which the most unlimited ambition could dream of. I was much in want of it, for my nerves were upset by continual worries and great misfortunes.

"THE HIAWATHA LEGEND."

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Referring to the note of Rev. W. M. Beauchamp in the August *Open Court*, I beg to make the following statement:

I had all my information about the Hiawatha-legend from Chief Daniel La Fort during a sojourn at the Onondaga Reservation, July-August, 1898, his brother Rev. Thomas La Fort serving as interpreter. The latter spoke of "Talla Lake" and "Tennessee street," knowing probably himself not the right words "Tully Lake" and "Genesee street."

¹In reply to a note (No. 567, p. 511) that appeared anent Dr. Charles L. Henning's article on The Hiawatha Legend (No. 556, p. 550).

I met Rev. Albert Cusick different times at his solitary home, but as now over four years elapsed since the publication of my Hiawatha article, Mr. Cusick may not remember me. Mr. Cusick was not on good terms with Chief La Fort at that time, and for that reason I did not see Mr. Cusick more often. I am certain that if I had seen Mr. Cusick more frequently (I lived with Mr. Daniel La Fort), Mr. Cusick would have given me valuable information about Hiawatha. Mr. Cusick gave me also a copy of Mr. Beauchamp's very valuable books: *The Iroquois Trail* and *Indian Names in New York*, writing into the latter the dedication: "To Charles L. Henning, Compliments of Rev. Albert Cusick."

CHARLES L. HENNING.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., August 19th, 1903.

BOOK NOTICES.

The firm of W. Breitenbach of Odenkirchen publish in German a series of popular essays on Darwinism, the latest number of which is a discussion of Haeckel's biogenetic law and its controversial history, by Heinrich Schmidt of Jena. (*Haeckel's biogenetisches Grundgesetz und seine Gegner.* 1902. Pages, 106.)

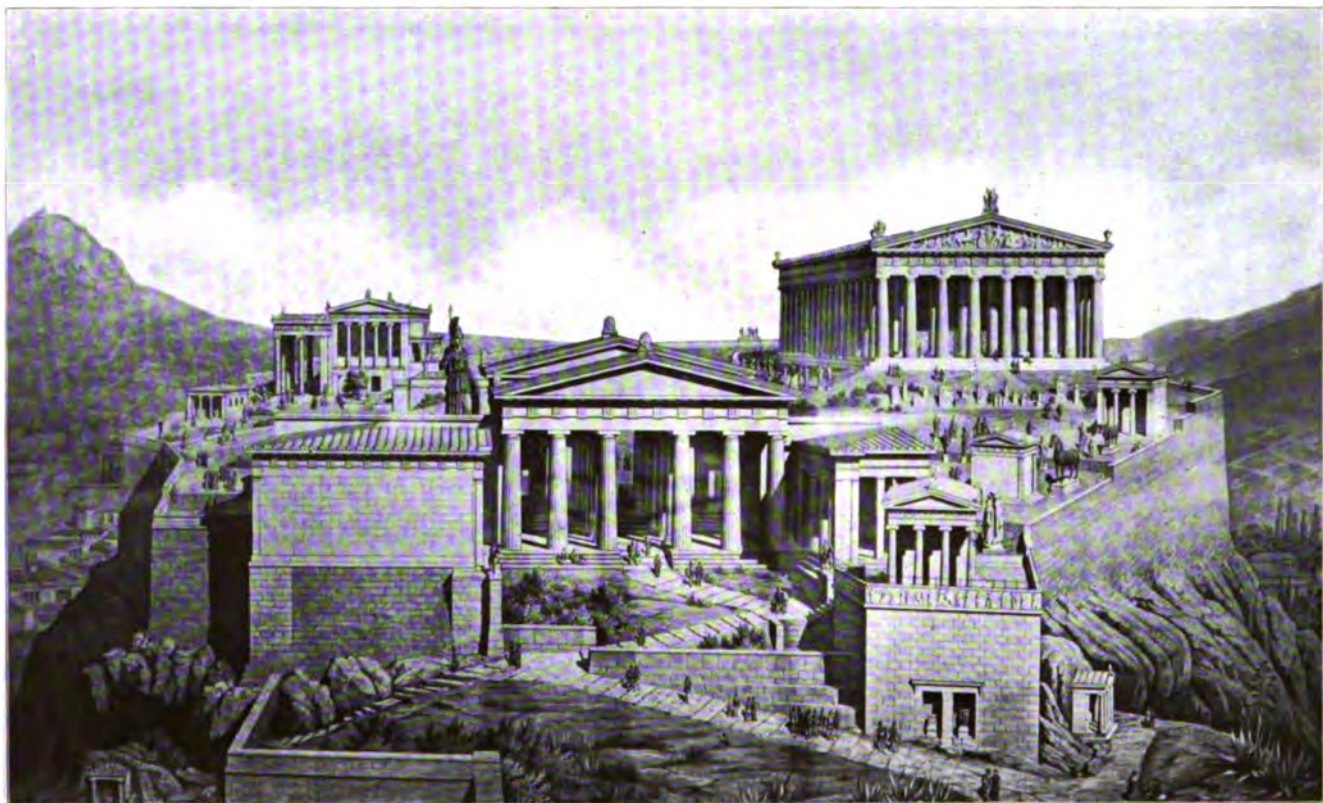
NOTES.

"The Praise of Hypocrisy" on pp. 533-566 of the present number is a satire written in the spirit and style of Erasmus. The author is well versed in ecclesiastic argument as only a clergyman can be, and his reflections are appalling to himself. He speaks from experience, the experience which many a brother clergyman shares with him. He is confronted with a problem and exclaims: "But what can be done?" He has no answer; he offers no solution; and in compliance with Horace's statement who says *Difficile est satiram non scribere*, takes pen in hand and writes. Here is the result; it is the voice of one crying in the wilderness. He is no Ingersoll; no unbeliever; no scoffer. His satire on the Praise of Hypocrisy is written with his heart-blood, like the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and we offer it to the thinking among the clergy and also the lay members of the Churches as a problem which clamors for solution.

The truth is, we need a reformation; and the reformation needed to-day should first of all be based on intellectual honesty.

There are some who think that a thorough reformation would destroy the Church, and truly a thorough reformation is always a difficult, a risky, a critical undertaking; but we think it is not impossible.

If there is any one who knows a cure of the disease, let his advice be heard.



ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS—RECONSTRUCTED.

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. XVII. (NO. 10.)

OCTOBER, 1903.

NO. 569

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CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

FUNERAL ADDRESS.

BY L. P. MERCER.

OUR brother's work done, he has been waiting in patience, his heart peaceful in the love of God and childlike faith in His Providence, contemplating the ultimate good of men with love for all sorts and conditions, content with what he had been privileged to do in the evolution of divine designs for the race, and hopeful of participation in the other world development of what has here begun! His call has come. He fell asleep. He has awaked in the world of souls, and is already experiencing in life and fact what he has contemplated in faith with love and confidence. With the humility of conquered pride and matured faith in the Divine Saviour, he will learn of those great racial movements in the spiritual world, belief in which filled him for the unaustatious but stupendous work achieved by him in this world, and with which he will enter there with larger love for divine ends and clearer understanding of divine means to ends.

"The world's history is a divine poem, of which the history of every nation is a canto, and of every man a word." A divine poem, and therefore made and written of God. They only read history aright who see in its transitions the successive developments of providence; who behold in its persistence the activity of divine forces silent but mighty like those which evolve planets and gravitate among the stars; who realise in its results the ends of a divine good will, caring through all change for the sure working out of a blessed purpose. This is the permanent in the midst of the transient; the life and goodness, the truth and order, eternal in the heavens, perennial in the Church, progressive in the governments.

Ages come and go; but the divine purpose persists with its unfolding revelations and its developing ministries. Nations and dynasties rise and fall; but the divine truth and order, the divine ends and purposes which form nations in countries, and societies in communities, work on with the sweep of an eternal providence that can find agents everywhere, and turn even the wrath of man to praise.

And if the world's history is a poem designed and written of God, the history of every nation is a canto having its own place and destiny in the divine purpose of the song. The providence which rules in the history of the ages, appoints to every nation its mission, provides the conditions of its problems, and superintends the progress of its solutions. In the rivalries and competitions of the daily struggle few men catch the sweep of the meaning of the national life; but at intervals and in great moments, like the Columbian Exposition in commemoration of four hundred years of world-history, we see something of the meaning of our own history; the planting, peopling, and progress of the nation; its idea that man can be a man, can compel himself to recognise the law and order, the goodness and wisdom of the common good; its future, pressing upon us with the outline of its great ideal, turning us from our little rivalries and partisanship and ambitions to a vision of our place and mission in "The parliament of man, the federation of the world."

And so again, as the histories of nations are cantos in the divine poem of the race-history, the lives of men are words which give structure and meaning to the unfolding story. Words usually mean little or much according to the relation in which they stand. Thought makes its own speech, selecting its own words; and providence appoints its own agents, calling for them as they are needed, and placing them to express its divine meaning. A masterful thought will make common words carry a high meaning; and in the unfolding ministries of nations, men are made to work out thoughts and purposes which give an emphasis beyond their individual value to the developing revelation of the divine purpose in the race.

So it came to pass when this country paused in the great Columbian year, to review its history and take the whole world into its hospitable confidence with exhibit of the progress of four centuries, providence found in our genial brother, a mind to conceive and a word to express the major factor in the progress of the race, and the true place of America in the development of its meaning

with his dream of a World's Parliament and his motto, "Men not things; mind not matter."

Before the stupendous plans of the World's Columbian Exposition had taken form Mr. Bonney had announced in October, 1889, the ideal of something higher and nobler than the exhibit of material triumphs and industrial achievements, and called for a congress of statesmen, jurists, financiers, scientists, literati, teachers, and theologians, greater in numbers and more widely representative of all the activities of mind and spirit than any assemblage ever before convened.

Ambitious from childhood for knowledge and grasp of the world's greatest thought, with the motive to do things to make the world better, the whole course of his life's training had fitted him for the work that he was called to perform. Interested in his boyhood in the science of comparative religions, he became a student of Swedenborg at the very dawn of his manhood, and learned from him to believe that the great religions of the world had their origin in that same Word of God which wrote itself through Hebrew law-giver and prophet and became incarnate in Jesus Christ; that the movements of history had their causes in the spiritual world, and that the race in both worlds is like a greater man growing from infancy through boyhood and youth to manhood; and that the discovery of America by Columbus had above and beyond its commercial and political benefits a great intellectual and moral influence and purpose in not only civil liberty but in religious enlightenment and fraternity. Before Moses there was the Ancient Church with its written Word. The ethnic religions were founded on remains of that primitive revelation. The Bible begins with its correspondential history of the Ancient Churches. The societies of the spiritual world are full of their peoples, influencing their brothers on earth. The heathen who have lived well according to their religion, when they come into the spiritual world, are taught by those from their own nation and genius, the great spiritual verities which lie back of the letter of holy scripture and back of the myths and fables of their religion, and without losing their distinctiveness and individuality come all together into the unity of truth and life. The commerce which brings the nations into touch and relation with each other and is attended by interchange of ideas, ends, and means to ends, is the divinely ordained means of carrying the Bible to every people in their own tongue; and the commemoration of the achievements of commerce and progress in natural benefits and blessings ought to be made the occasion for friendly inter-

change of thought, intercourse of representative men, and brotherly comparison of religions, in the spirit of respect and confidence in the capacity for development of every nation and people under the fatherly guidance of the most high. These great ideas had taken form in our brother's mind, been talked over for years with his friends in every faith, and intimately with his pastor as the very mission and meaning of the New Jerusalem Church, which to him was the Church of reconciliation. "It comes," he said, "to reconcile the teachings of sacred scripture and the results of modern science; the apparent truths of superficial observation and the real truths of human experience; what we know of the world of causes and our knowledge of the natural world of effects. It comes to reconcile the duties of to day and the hopes of to-morrow; the best use of the life that now is, with the highest preparation for the life that is to come; the warfare with evil and the hunger for peace; government and liberty; self-help and the help of others. It comes to reconcile with each other the contending sects of Christendom and the multiform religious systems of the other parts of the world."

It was this catholicity of spirit together with the perception of what is essential and universal in differing and conflicting interpretations of truth, which made our brother strong and acceptable as a teacher and lecturer, in Bible class and Church, on the platform and in the organisation of moral and social reforms, working with all denominations of Christians and appealing to men of affairs. His long training in such work of reconciliation among men of different interests in behalf of what truth is common to them all, and the objects of common welfare superior to any of them, developed, chastened, and prepared him for that supreme achievement of organisation and reconciliation known in history as the "World's Congress Auxiliary" and "The Parliament of Religions."

The Parliament of Religions was his objective point; but "all religion has relation to life," and the way to brotherly conference in religion is fraternal relationship among men, commerce of ideas, aims, and purposes. All life and all results of life, material, civil and moral, are parts of the development of a divine design, and results of movements in the populations of the spiritual world; and if men can be brought together in fraternity and mutual respect, in conference on great subjects, influx from the world of causes will be able to move them beyond their imagination and purpose.

The greatness of the achievement is still past comprehension to those of us who were closely associated with those wonderful

congresses. The organisation of two hundred and ten working committees maturing a program of subjects and speakers which required six months for its execution, covering all the great departments of thought and life, in congresses which had over twelve hundred sessions, and presented nearly six thousand speakers to audiences which aggregated three quarters of a million! In the continuous and exhausting work of three years of preparation, the constant faith of our brother in the usefulness and possibility of the scheme, his capacity of method and endurance, his power to inspire men with his idea and hold many strongly individual minds in dilligent co-operation by his gentleness, zeal, personal consideration, consummate tact and Christian politeness, grows more wonderful as contemplated in memory and at sufficient distance of time to give perspective to the massive parts of the undertaking. The intellectual feat of opening congresses on finance and socialism, on banking and literature, on education and African ethnology, with tactful utterance of the right word to inspire a spirit of zeal and good fellowship in execution of a program elaborately and laboriously worked out in months of collaboration, testifies not only to the man's power of organisation, but to the inspiration of a great mission.

That sense of his great mission grew with the realisation of the success of the Congresses, and culminated in the Parliament of Religions, justly pre-eminent not only because of the importance and universal interest of the subject, but because it was central in the original conception, and its success the constant care of the President of the Auxiliary. He believed that in the spiritual world there had been great movements acting as causes in the reconstructions and developments of human life on earth in the past century, and his faith was unailing that if the representatives of the great religions could be brought together there would result such an influx from heaven and the spiritual world as would recall the feast of Pentacost and inaugurate a new spirit of religion and brotherhood. I can see him now, sitting in the midst of that august body, with cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, and scholars of all the faiths of mankind on his right and left, the organiser and director of the whole! As one said after the closing, "Rightfully did President Bonney hold the central place in that assemblage not only as representing the New Church of this new age, without whose influence and inspiration from above into all the faiths of mankind this meeting could never have come about, but by his universally acceptable management and direction, his wise judg-

ment, happy manner, and broad and liberal comprehension of the scope and purpose of the meeting, proving himself the providential instrument for making the occasion productive of the highest results for good. It was not strange that President Bonney's name as 'the man we all love' was in the mouths of the gentle visitors from the far East, that his appearance was always the occasion for joyful applause from the audience, that his words always seemed most happily to meet the moment, to bring some bright, fresh, and happy thought or interpretation to what was going on; nor that later in the wonderful closing scenes of the Parliament, he was hailed and cheered by the vast audience rising to their feet and waving their handkerchiefs; so that it was long before he could utter his words of humble and sincere acknowledgment and gratitude: 'Not unto us, not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name be the Glory.'"

I have said nothing of the versatility of our brother's mind, of his contributions to jurisprudence in notable addresses before the Bar Associations of the State and Nation, of his work as a lawyer, and his notable contributions to the cause of civil law and order. All these works are overshadowed by the greatness of his achievements as the organiser of the World's Congresses which I have tried to recall. If we ask in what they have resulted of permanent good to mankind, we shall realise that they lie out of the realm of statistics and sensible exhibit. Men who influence as well as observe the currents of the world's progress have said, "The World's Congresses of 1893 have advanced the thought of the world fifty years;" "these Congresses will exercise a powerful influence on mankind for centuries to come;" "the Parliament of Religions is the most wonderful event since the time of Christ;" and such like things. We are in the realm of faith here, where every good and rational work for the benefit of mankind must be its own reward, and itself the promise of benefit and blessing. God writes the world-poem; the words and cantos go into their place as He wills; and only as the story unfolds do the meaning of great events reveal their effects and consequences in the epic of mankind.

But this I know, our brother broken by his great labor, rested in great peace. It was enough to have been moved, inspired and guided to plan and execute; of the results he had no more doubt than of the origin of the ideal or of the Providence in which it was realised. "Descended from the Sun of Righteousness this spirit of progress is filling the whole earth with its splendor and beauty,

its warmth and vivifying power, and making the old things of truth and justice new in meaning, strength, and energy, to execute God's will for the welfare of man." His belief in the spiritual world as the world of causes, in the movements there attendant upon the world's congresses, in the descent thence of new motives, new movements, new feelings, new purposes, and new sanities into the lives of men and spiritual and social developments among the nations, gave him confidence that not only will the work go on in which he had been allowed a part, but that his training here would be serviceable in his reception of the wisdom to be increasingly useful in the larger movements of the spiritual world. And as our faith is true there will be henceforth one New Churchman at the gates by which Christians and Gentiles enter eternal life, whom all alike will know for a friend and brother, who will have the wisdom to lay hold of that in their religion which was essential and true, and to lead by that to new truths and new life in the name and in the loving spirit of Him "who is the way, the truth, and the life."

And I have said nothing of the sweetness and peace, and faith and universal love of these last days, the true and suitable ripening of a worthy life. He was always gentle, wise to grasp the heart of the matter, generous in respect for others and inspiring in his intercourse. I remember well the early days of my ministry in Chicago, as a young minister enjoying largely through his influence an unusual publicity, the Sunday sermons appearing in full in the Monday papers, with what patience he sought to stimulate and guide, with what tact he moderated the young man's self-confidence, without wounding his pride or discouraging his ambitions, ever leading to better and higher ways of helping men. Often in these last years of feebleness and peace, when he would reach out his trembling hand for his "Bishops" blessing, as he said, I have been exalted in thankfulness at the memory of the blessing he has been to my growing life. Transferred to a higher life in a world of freer intercourse and larger opportunities there will be for him no end to the argumentation of intelligence and wisdom and power of service with its attendant blessedness!

CHEVALIER PINETTI—CONJURER.

BY HENRY RIDGELY EVANS.

I.

ON the Quai Voltaire, Paris, a few doors from the house where died the great iconoclast of the old Regime is a dark little shop, with a window full of musty missals, old armor, tapistry, Oriental curios, and rare prints. One morning I espied in this charming window an engraving—a portrait of the Chevalier Pinetti, who flourished during the eighteenth century. This picture was an allegorical affair. Two winged cupids were depicted placing the bust of Pinetti in the Temple of Arts.

The third cherub hovered overhead, holding in his right hand a laurel wreath, which he was about to deposit upon the head of the bust; in his left hand he flourished a trumpet, upon which to sound the praises of the illustrious Pinetti—who, by the way, was noted for blowing his horn to the fullest extent. Strewn about the Temple of Arts were the various instruments used in physics and mathematics. The motto appended to this print was as follows:

"Des genies placent le buste de M. le Professeur Pinetti dans le temple des arts, au milieu des instrumens de physique et de mathematique." Then came Pinetti's name, titles, etc.:

"Signor Guisseppe Pinetti, de Willidalle, Knight of the German order of Merit of St. Philip, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, pensioned by the Court of Prussia, patronised by all the royal family of France, aggregate of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles-Lettres of Bordeaux," etc.

One would naturally conclude, after reading these high-flown cognomens that Pinetti was a professor in some university, who had received the order of knighthood, and been admitted into various learned societies, in recognition of his scientific attainments. But such was not the case, at least so far as the university professorship is concerned. Chevalier Pinetti was a slight-of-hand per-

former, who made use of the resources of natural science in his tricks. He was the King of Conjurers of the eighteenth century. His life reads like a romance. After a brilliant, pyrotechnic career, he faded out into darkness. I have gathered my facts concerning him from old French and German brochures. Little or nothing is known about his ancestry, his youth, and early experiences.

He may have purposely guarded the secret of his origin, being inordinately boastful. He thoroughly understood how to avail himself of all the arts of the toilet to appear much younger than, according to his contemporaries, he must have been in reality.

It is believed that he first saw the light of day in 1750, in Orbieto, a small fortified town of about three thousand inhabitants, lying in the foothills of what was then the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

He is first heard of while travelling through the provinces of Germany, in 1783. In 1784 he appeared in Paris, where he gave a series of performances, and exhibited several times before the court of Louis XVI. with distinguished success. At this time the public showed a marked predilection for all kinds of mystical and inexplicable exhibitions, which had been awakened by the performances of various adventurers like Cagliostro, St. Germain, and Mesmer. Pinetti thoroughly understood how to make the most of this bent of the public mind, and succeeded in setting Paris in ecstasy, as well as becoming himself a model for all contemporary succeeding necromancers, for a long time. Though without fine or regular features, his physiognomy possessed much distinction; while his manners were excellent. It is probable, however, that the latter were acquired rather than innate; for extremely bad taste is betrayed by his frequently wearing on the stage, the uniform of a general, decorated with numerous orders. This is an oddity with a fatal suggestion of charlatanism. He was given to vaunting, and was in no wise careful to adhere to the truth in communications regarding his magical art. A vicious trait of character was his readiness to adopt the most contemptible measures to free himself of the rivalry of another; and this unworthy characteristic undoubtedly led to his ultimate downfall.

II.

Pinetti's repertory was very extended. However interesting it might be to pass in review the whole series of his feats, I must here limit myself to a few, which appear typical of him and of his public.

There was first the wonderful automaton known as "The Grand Sultan," also called "The clever little Turk," which was about forty centimeters in height, and which struck a bell with a hammer, or nodded and shook his head, in answer to questions propounded. "The golden head and the rings" was as follows: In a glass, the bottom of which was covered with coins, a previously shown, massive head was placed. A cover was then placed on the glass. The head answered yes or no to inquiries, or counted numbers, by leaping in the glass. In a second glass a number of rings were laid, which moved in unison with the head as though by sympathy. The "Clever Swan" was put into a vessel of water, and varied its course according to the will of the onlooker. Moreover when a spectator had drawn a card from a pack of inscribed cards, it spelled the word inscribed thereon, by moving toward the appropriate letters which were printed on strips of cardboard hung about the vessel.

A kind of sympathetic action is shown in the following experiment. A lighted lamp was deposited on a table. As soon as a spectator, stationed at a considerable distance, blew through a reed, the lamp was immediately extinguished. Another: a live dove was fastened, by means of two ribbons about its neck, to two opposite columns. On the instant when a picture of the dove, or even the shadow of the suspended bird, was pierced by a sword, the dove itself was beheaded, although it had not been disturbed; and the severed and still bleeding head, and the rest of the body, fell separately to the ground. This experiment, called "Theophrastus Paracelsus," recalls an old superstition, namely, that evil can be wrought upon a person, by injury to a picture of him, accompanied by a spoken incantation. It is the so-called "Picture charm."

Fettering and binding experiments were shown, but of a simpler nature than modern ones. To each leg of the magician was fastened a ring, and through each ring an iron chain was passed, its ends locked on a pillar. "The Prisoner" seemed aided by some external power to release himself, for in a very short time he was free from his bonds. More difficult was another experiment, wherein a chain was fastened by a strip of cloth directly about the leg and secured to the pillar; but here also a half minute sufficed the "Galley Slave" to free himself of the shackles. The most pleasing was the following trick: Pinetti allowed both thumbs to be tied together with a cord, and his hands, so bound, to be covered with a hat; hardly was this done, then he stretched out the right hand, seized a flask of wine and drank to the health of the person who

had tied him, and tossed the emptied glass to the ceiling, whence it fell as a ball of finely cut paper. At the same instant he allowed the hat to fall and displayed his hands, still as closely bound as at the beginning of the experiment. Also the well-known trick, in which a number of borrowed rings are passed over two ribbon bands, whose ends are knotted together and held by some of the spectators; nevertheless the rings were drawn off without severing the ribbons. This was hardly new, but merely a variation of a trick described in 1690 in a work by Ozanam in his *Recreations mathematiques*, and exhibited by the jugglers of that time under the name of "My Grandmother's Rose-wreath." They made use of small balls, strung on two cords, from which they were withdrawn notwithstanding that the cords were held by strangers. To-day this trick is explained in most books of games and amusements, which fact does not hinder the public from being quite as much astounded when the feat is performed *a la* Pinetti, with rings or a watch, accompanied by clever patter.

Pinetti's magical bouquet was a very pretty trick. In a vase were placed the dry, leafless stems of a bunch of flowers, tied together. At the magician's command leaves, flowers, and fruit appeared, transforming the bouquet into a thing of beauty; but all its splendor disappeared again at the command of the performer. His feat of "the recovered ring" was as follows: A ring was borrowed from a lady and fired from a pistol into a casket, which had been previously shown empty and devoid of preparation. When the casket was opened, after the shot was fired, a dove was seen within, holding in its bill the ring. But in addition, the pretty bird knew precisely the possessor of the ring, for it shook its head in rotation at each lady to whom the trinket did not belong. When the owner appeared the dove voluntarily presented the ring to her in its beak. In Naples, where Pinetti's theatre was situated directly on the sea shore, he varied the trick by firing the pistol loaded with the ring out of the window. On opening the casket a large fish was seen, bearing the ring in its mouth. Another clever experiment was the mechanical bird, which when set upon a flask, fluttered its wings, and whistled any favorite melody called for by the audience, also blowing out a lighted candle and immediately re-lighting it.

It would accomplish these feats just as well when removed from the flask to a table, or when held in the performer's hand upon any part of the stage. The sounds were produced by "a confederate who imitated song-bird's after Rossignol's method by aid

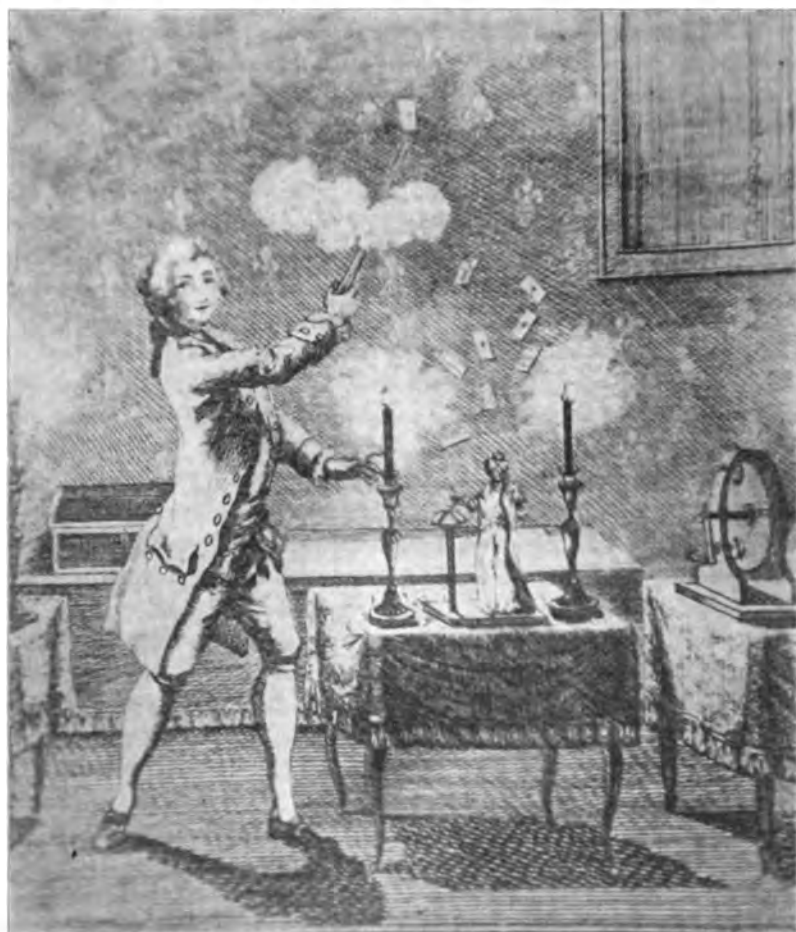
of the inner skin of an onion in the mouth; and speaking-trumpets directed the sounds to whatever position was occupied by the bird." Though the two last-described feats were the most celebrated of Pinetti's masterpieces, the most remarkable without doubt was the one he called "The stolen shirt." In spite of its somewhat unseemly appearance it was shown before the king and his family; and consisted of this: A gentleman from the audience, not in league with the performer, came upon the stage and at Pinetti's request



unfastened the buttons of his shirt at the neck and cuffs, and Pinetti, with only a few movements of his hand, drew the shirt from his body, though the gentleman had not removed a single article of his clothing.

Pinetti eventually revealed the process by which this surprising result was obtained. He was moved to do so, because all those who saw the trick performed in the Theatre des Menus-Plaisirs held the conviction that the other party to it was in collusion with him. The public was not to be blamed for this erroneous conclu-

sion, for not only at that time, but much later, many of the astonishing feats of the magician were effected through the complicity of assistants seated among the audience. Such confederates were called by the French, *Compere* and *Commere*, which translated into the vulgar vernacular stand for "pals," "cronies." These gentlemen brought articles, of which the magician possessed duplicates



and loaned them—apparently as unrelated spectators—when such articles were asked for in the course of the experiments. Robert Houdin ended this regime of confederacy. When he asked for the loan of an article, he genuinely borrowed it, and exchanged it for a substitute by sleight-of-hand. This is the modern method. The following is Pinetti's explanation of the "Shirt trick." "The

means of performing this trick are the following: only observing that the clothes of the person whose shirt is to be pulled off be wide and easy. Begin by making him pull off his stock, and unbuttoning his shirt at the neck and sleeves, afterwards tie a little string in the buttonhole of the left sleeve; then, passing your hand behind his back, pull the shirt out of his breeches, and slip it over his head; then pulling it out before in the same manner, you will leave it on his stomach; after that, go to the right hand, and pull the sleeve down, so as to have it all out of the arm; the shirt being then all of a heap, as well in the right sleeve as before the stomach, you are to make use of this little string fastened to the button-hole of the left sleeve, to get back the sleeve that must have slipped up, and to pull the whole shirt out that way. To hide your way of operating from the person whom you unshift, and from the assembly, you may cover his head with a lady's cloak, holding a corner of it in your teeth. In order to be more at your ease, you may mount on a chair and do the whole operation under the cloak."

Pinetti's explanation of the shirt trick was contained in a work published in the year 1784, entitled: "Amusements in physics, and various entertaining experiments, invented and executed at Paris and the various courts of Europe by the Chevalier M. Jean Joseph Pinetti Willedale de Merci, Professor of Physics, etc." As an expose of conjuring feats in general this book was an imposition on the public. It was intended to mislead the reader. In spite of the high sounding title of the work it contained nothing, outside of the solution of the "stolen shirt" mystery. There was no explanation of any trick upon which Pinetti set value, but merely experiments already published in preceeding books on the juggler's art, and which belonged to a long past time, consisting mostly of chemical experiments, and childish diversions.

This unworthy publication, and Pinetti's custom of speaking of himself as endowed with preternatural powers aroused an adversary in the person of M. Henri Decremps, an accomplished and enthusiastic lover of the art of magic. From him appeared, in 1784, a book entitled "White Magic Revealed," addressed, as he declares in the preface, not to the great public, since "the world loves to be deceived and would rather believe the fairy tales of the imposter than the unvarnished truth of his opponent," but to the real lovers of an entertaining art. As this work set forth the real explanation of Pinetti's wonders, one may imagine what reception it met with from him and his admiring public. Characteristic of Pinetti is the manner in which he sought revenge on Decremps. In one of his

performances he deplored the fact that an ignorant imposter, solely with the intent of injuring him (Pinetti), sought to reveal mysteries which his intelligence was insufficient to grasp. All knew to whom he referred, who had the slightest knowledge of Decremps. And what now ensued? Hardly had Pinetti finished speaking, when a shabbily dressed and unprepossessing individual arose, assailed Pinetti with abuse and bade him take care, he would be fully exposed. The audience, indignant at the disturbance of an amusing performance, jeered the man from whom it proceeded and made preparation to expel the poor devil. Here intervened, however, the "good" Pinetti. In conciliatory, kindly fashion he accompanied his assailant to the door, ostentatiously presenting him also with several louis d'ors as indemnification for the harshness shown him.

Needless to explain, the expelled intruder was not the author of the book in question, but genuinely a "poor devil" who played his part in the comedy for a money consideration. However, Decremps was an able man, who could act with as much shrewdness as energy. In 1785 he followed his first book with a second, explaining Pinetti's newest tricks, the self-playing organ, artificial snakes and birds, chess-playing automatons, ascending balloons in human shape, perpetual motion, learned animals, automatic flute-playing, etc. The handling of the topic is much more thorough than in the first volume, and the matter interestingly set forth. It is in the form of letters of travel; the author, in company with a Mr. Hill, an Englishman, traverses distant lands, where remarkable and astonishing things are met with, and the causes and construction which bring about their wonderful results, are ascertained and explained.

They reach the Cape of Good Hope, where, amid a savage population, with many arts of refined civilisation, they encounter a wizard, who, in a bombastic declaration extols his own wonder-working powers. In the course of the narrative these feats are described and their operation explained. The behavior of the wizard is amusingly depicted. How strenuously he denies the truth of the solution found of his wonders by the strangers; how he endeavors by means of every artifice to hoodwink the public; how he first strives, through cunning and bribery, then through abuse and injury, to rid himself of his dangerous adversaries;—in all this is Pinetti's character so intimately pictured that we cannot err in supposing this entire portion of the book directed solely against him. And what name does he give the wizard? He calls him "Pillferer." Decidedly, Decremps could be severe.

The two books were later bound in one and issued on Feb. 15, 1785, with the title "White Magic Unveiled, or Explanation of the Surprising Tricks, lately the Admiration of Capital and Province. By M. Decremps, of the Museum of Paris."

Pinetti, who was an original genius, sought to overcome the effects of Decremps's revelations in other ways besides chicanery. He invented new illusions, performed his old tricks with greater dash and brilliancy and added new appointments to his *mise-en-scene* to dazzle and overcome the spectators. His patter was unceasing and convincing. But now was heard the distant thunder of the approaching social upheaval—the French Revolution. The political horizon was full of black clouds. The people of Paris began to desert the theatres for clubs and cafes, there to enter upon political discussions. Pinetti, seeing the audiences of his Temple of Magic dwindling away, packed up his apparatus and went to England, which is the immediate aim of all fugitives from France.

During his stay in London he made the following announcement in the newspapers: "The Chevalier Pinetti and his consort will exhibit most wonderful, stupendous and absolutely inimitable, mechanical, physical, and philosophical pieces, which his recent deep scrutiny in these sciences, and assiduous exertion, have enabled him to invent and construct; among which Chevalier Pinetti will have the special honor and satisfaction of exhibiting various experiments, of new discovery, no less curious than seemingly incredulous, particularly that of Mme. Pinetti being seated in one of the front boxes with a handkerchief over her eyes and guessing at everything imagined and proposed to her by any person in the company." Here we have the first mention of the "Second-Sight" trick, which Robert Houdin reinvented sixty-one years later, and which Robert Heller, not many years ago, by using electricity combined with verbal signals, made into such an astonishing feat of magic. The teachings of Mesmer and the so-called sorcery of Cagliostro evidently suggested the idea of this pretended clairvoyance to Pinetti. Truly was the Chevalier an original and creative genius. His repertoire consisted almost entirely of his own inventions and eclipsed those of contemporary conjurers. His rope-tying experiments were the prototypes for the cabinet evolutions of modern mediums.

III.

Late in the year 1769, Pinetti appeared in Hamburg and exhibited with great success in the "Drillhause," where Degabriel

and Philadelphia had played previously. From there he went to the principal cities of Germany and arrived at Berlin, where, in the then "Doebbelin'schen Theatre," in the Behrenstrasse, he produced his "Amusements Physiques," and soon became the avowed idol of the public.

In August, 1796, he appeared in Hamburg, at the French Theatre, on the Drehbahn, where his receipts were considerable. Such was not the case, however, in Altona, whose inhabitants were distinguished by lack of interest in any manifestation of his art. He gave there three exhibitions, which terminated with two empty houses. In Bremen, whither he next turned, the public was even more indifferent than in Altona, so that he abandoned the intention of performing there, returned to Berlin and there remained for some time.

Pinetti derived large profits from his entertainments. His entrance fee was by no means low. In Hamburg and Berlin, for instance, the price of the best places was a thaler—equivalent at present values to about ten marks, \$2.50. Pinetti saw carefully to the comfort and pleasure of his patrons, and heightened the effect of his skill by every available means. The eye was gratified by the splendor of the scenic accessories. In the middle of the stage, upon a superb carpet, stood two massive tables, which served in performance of the experiments. The center of these tables were covered with a scarlet cloth, bordered with broad stripes of dark velvet richly embroidered in gold and silver. Further in the background stood a larger and a smaller table with the same decorations, and with relatively slender and elaborately carved legs. Close to the rear of the stage was set a very long table, the cover of which extended to the carpet. This table was set forth with magnificent candelabra and brilliant apparatus. None of these tables were moved from their places. In the middle of the stage hung from the ceiling an immense chandelier of crystal, with countless candles, whose light blended with the light of the candelabra to illuminate the scene. The entrance and exit of the artist was through silken hangings.

As in Paris, so also in Berlin, Pinetti found an adversary in the person of Kosmann, professor of physics, who in daily and periodical publications sought to explain Pinetti's experiments. These elucidations were collected, bound together and published under the title: *Chevalier Pinetti's Recreations in Physics, or Explanation of His Tricks*, Berlin, 1797. As with Decremps so fared it with Kosmann. His explanations did not meet with public accord

and the contemporary press denominated the two authors "who sought to belittle Pinetti's skill" as mere apprentices compared with the latter, and their expositions "shallow and unsatisfactory." Naturally! The laity invariably form a false conception of the nature of the art of magic. They suppose the most complicated mechanism in the apparatus which the artist uses and overestimate the manual skill of the performer; and when their ability is insufficient to explain matters after their own fashion, they prefer to endow the performer with preternatural power rather than accept the "shallow" elucidations of "ignorant" expounders. They do not realise that every trick is only what the artist is able to make it, and that the simplest illusion may take an imposing aspect through the accessories thrown about it and the manner in which it is presented.

Whatever opinion the laity might have of these works their value was in no wise lessened for the instructed. Robert Houdin, an incontestable connoisseur as well as a "classical" witness, calls the work of M. Decremps, *Magic Unveiled*—whose first edition could not have been unknown to the Berlin professor—"an excellent work."

At the beginning of the carnival of 1798 Pinetti appeared in Naples and saw the whole city crowding to his performances.

Among the constant visitors to his theatre (on the strand) was numbered a young French nobleman, Count de Grisy, who had settled in Naples as a physician and was a welcome guest in the most distinguished circles of the town. A passionate lover of the art of magic, he succeeded in finding the key to a large portion of Pinetti's experiments, and amused himself in the closest circles of his intimates by repeating them. His ability became generally known and gained for him a kind of celebrity; he was invited to perform in the most aristocratic salons, but through modesty seldom accepted.

Finally his fame came to the ears of Pinetti, who was so much the more chagrined, because of the fact that people of fashion who had at first thronged to his theatre, now were deserting him. Nevertheless, he listened with apparent pleasure to the reports given him of De Grisy's skill, and sought to gain the acquaintance of the young physician. He frankly proffered his friendship, initiated De Grisy into his mysteries, and showed him the arrangement of his stage. The familiarity which Pinetti openly and intentionally displayed towards him might have displeased the young man under other circumstances, but his passion for magic and the persuasive

eloquence which Pinetti employed to arouse his ambition, made him blind to conduct, which, in the mind of one more versed in men, might have awakened suspicion.

So Pinetti succeeded, finally, in overcoming De Grisy's timidity in regard to a public appearance. He repeated the most flattering assurances of the latter's skill, and urged him to give a performance for the benefit of the poor of Naples. He would, declared Pinetti, attract a more distinguished audience than he himself could hope to do; and so De Grisy, who had already earned the gratitude of the poor, would become their greatest benefactor in all the city. Pinetti would himself make all previous arrangements most carefully, and would, moreover, hold himself in readiness behind the scenes to come to the young performer's assistance, if required. De Grisy at last gave reluctant consent. Fortune seemed to favor him, moreover, for the King signified his intention to attend in company with his entire court.

August 20, 1798, this extraordinary exhibition took place. The house was packed. The royal family received the young French emigrant with tokens of favor and sympathy. De Grisy, confident of success, was in the happiest mood, but in his very first experiment a bitter disillusion awaited him. A secret confederate, posted by Pinetti, had loaned a ring to carry out the already described trick, "The Recovered Ring," which was properly found in the mouth of the great fish. Conscious of the success of this loudly-applauded feat. De Grisy bowed his thanks, when an angry remonstrance was heard from the person who had loaned the ring. This man declared that in lieu of his costly gold ring, set with diamonds, there had been returned to him a trumpery imitation set with ordinary glass stones. A long and painful discussion ensued, and De Grisy owed it only to his tact that he finally extricated himself from the affair. He was not clear himself as to whether the ring had somehow been changed, or whether the assistant played a rôle from some secret motive.

He proceeded to the performance of his next experiment with less concern, in that no secret confederate was needed. He approached the King's box and asked him to do him the honor of drawing a card from a pack he tendered. The King complied with much graciousness; but scarcely had he looked at it than he flung it to the ground with every mark of his displeasure. De Grisy, confounded, picked up the card, and read on it a scandalous insult to the king, in Pinetti's handwriting! An attempt to explain and clear himself was checked by an imperative gesture from the King.

The betrayed man, who now understood the situation, distracted with rage, rushed behind the scenes with the intent to kill his deceitful friend. Like a maniac he traversed every portion of the house, but the Chevalier Pinetti had disappeared as though the earth had swallowed him! Wherever De Grisy now showed himself, he was received with jeers, hisses, and insults from his audience, until he fell senseless and was borne by servants to his house. After his rival's removal Pinetti appeared as though by chance, whereupon several persons in the secret called on him to continue the performance, to which he courteously acceded, and gained enthusiastic plaudits.

During a violent fever which ensued, De Grisy constantly called in his delirium for revenge on Pinetti; but the latter quitted Naples soon after the occurrence. Poor De Grisy was socially and professionally tabooed by the aristocracy of Naples. Pinetti's revenge seemed complete.

Though De Grisy thoroughly comprehended the contemptible ruse of his opponent, he was long in uncertainty how to punish him. His first impulse was to challenge the magician to fight a duel, but that idea he rejected. Pinetti was not worthy of such an honor. For the purpose of completing his restoration to health, De Grisy passed some time in the quiet of the country, and here the thought occurred to him to fight his betrayer with his own weapons, and, in this contest, to either conquer or wholly abandon all ideas of revenge. He set himself for half a year to the most assiduous study in order to attain perfection in the art of magic, not merely equal to Pinetti's, but superior to it. He improved on many of his rival's experiments, invented new ones, and expended his entire fortune in providing apparatus and decorations which should cast into the shade Pinetti's superb appointments.

And now issued De Grisy forth to a duel, bloodless, it is true, but none the less a struggle to the death.

He learned that Pinetti had, in the meantime, visited the principal cities of central Italy, and had just left Lucca with view of visiting Bologna next, later Modena, Parma, Piacenza, etc. Without loss of time De Grisy took his way to Modena, in order to forestall his rival there and debar him from any further performances. The latter had already caused the announcement of his forthcoming entertainments to be spread over the city, and the Modena journals had widely advertised the speedy coming of the wonder-worker, when suddenly the exhibitions of the "Count De Grisy, the French escamoteur," were announced. The people crowded the house

from top to bottom. De Grisy's success was unparalleled. Then, as the date for Pinetti's appearance drew near, he left the town and went to Parma. Pinetti had no faith in De Grisy's success, and installed himself in the same theatre, which the latter had lately quitted, in reliance on his own celebrity. But here began that humiliating experience which was henceforth to be his lot. The town was sated with this species of entertainment, and the Chevalier's house was empty. Still, accustomed to take the highest place, he would not yield to a "novice." Accordingly, he directed his steps to Parma immediately and established himself in a theatre just opposite to De Grisy's. In vain! He had the mortification of seeing his house deserted while his rival's was constantly filled. Nevertheless, Pinetti would not yield, but wheresoever De Grisy went he followed.

Thus were visited, one after another, Piacenza, Cremona, Mantua, Vicenza, Padua, and Venice, whose walls witnessed the embittered strife of the two rivals, until Pinetti, whose most zealous supporters were turning recreant, could blind himself no longer to the fact that he had lost the game which he and De Grisy had been playing. He closed his theatre and betook himself to Russia.

For a short time it seemed as though Fortune would indemnify him for his ill luck. But, after having for so long showered her favors on him, it now appeared that she had finally and definitely turned her back upon him. Long and severe illness exhausted not only his vigor, but the slender means he had saved from shipwreck. Pinetti fell into the most abject want. A nobleman in the village of Bartitschoff in Volhynien took him in from pity. And thus, at the turn of the century, ended the life of this richly gifted artist,—unfortunately so wanting in nobility of spirit.

CHINESE REFUGEES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN JAPAN.¹

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

IT is a trite, but none the less true, saying, that "history repeats itself." The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in the fifteenth century scattered the learned men of the East and their learning over the West, and produced throughout Europe a Renaissance, whose vast influence has never yet been accurately measured, and which was undoubtedly one of the chief elements in modern civilization. It was Tartar hordes again, which, about two hundred years later, overthrew the reigning native dynasty of China, and unwittingly produced in the neighboring land of Japan a Renaissance, which led ultimately to the revolution of 1868, and was evidently one of the chief elements in the civilisation of New-Japan. For, as the Greek scholars, fleeing from Constantinople, took refuge in various other countries of Europe, likewise many patriotic Chinese scholars fled from their native land and took refuge in Japan. Again, as the fugitive Greek scholars stirred up throughout Western Europe a revival of learning, in like manner the fugitive Chinese scholars aroused in Japan a deeper interest in native and foreign learning. Since, moreover, Mitsukuni (Gikô), a grandson of Iyeyasu, and the second Tokugawa Prince of Mito, was a great patron of literature he invited some of these fugitives to Mito. These and others are the subjects of sketches, which, on account of the lack of materials must be brief.

* * *

Shu Shiyu, more popularly known as Shu Shunsui, was born in Sekko (Che-kiang) province in the twenty eighth year of Man-reki (of the Chinese year-periods), or in 1600 of the Christian era. Both his grandfather and his father were honored officials of the Ming dynasty. In his youth he studied earnestly, and "completely

¹ See *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vols. XXIV. and XXX.

digested" the principles of all Chinese philosophy. When he was still young, he had the honor of becoming an "honorary student" of his county. He cherished good political ideas, so that it was expected that he would become a high officer of the government. But, as the power of the central government had already begun to decline, the whole empire was involved in abuses and injustice. Shu Shunsui consequently gave up his intention of entering the Government service, and used to say to his family that, if he should be honored by being made the governor of a province and should become very popular, he would certainly be destroyed by envy. As Cæsar chose rather to be chief in a small village than to be second in Rome, so Shu Shunsui was content to be the leader of his village and the central figure of a small circle of friends: because, as he said, "a rose smells more sweetly on a small bush than in a fine garden." Not a few times he received invitations to accept office from the local authorities and from the central Government; but he invariably declined.

Finally, Shu Shunsui, accused as "a disobedient fellow," had to flee by night to the sea-shore. Here he embarked in a ship and came to Japan, whence he sailed for Annam. But after a short time he returned to Shusan (Chusan) Island, where there was an army under the command of an officer named Kôketsu. This man, in spite of Shu Shunsui's repeated refusals, compelled the latter to fill several important offices. In the fifth year of the (Chinese) period Eiraku [1651] the generals and captains in Chusan became suspicious of each other; and an immense army of Manchurians, having already brought half of the Empire under its sway, was rapidly sweeping down from the north.

Thus once more was Shu Shunsui obliged to leave his native land, and tried to go again to Annam; but, being prevented, by a storm, he landed at Nagasaki. Though he had disliked to serve in the Government, he could never give up the idea of restoring the declining power of the Ming dynasty. His most intimate friend, with whom he consulted concerning the plan of the restoration, was a brave and loyal general, named Oku, who, with a small army, gained many splendid victories over "the Northern barbarians." Shu Shunsui had come to Japan with the purpose of obtaining aid from the Japanese government, but unfortunately he failed to obtain any assistance. After a little while, the brave General Oku died a captive. The news of this sad event reached Shu Shunsui very late, and was received by him with bitter regret. He did not know the date of his friend's death; but he appointed the

fifteenth of the eighth month (o. c.) as a memorial day. "From that time till he closed his melancholy life in this remote island, he had no moon-festival (*tsukimi*)." That same night of every year, while others were singing gaily, and "drinking in the silvery flood of the autumn moon," he closed his gate, declined to receive guests, and engaged in silent contemplation.

"As the Japanese government was not generous enough to shelter even such a poor fugitive," he was obliged, "though he had lost his way home," to venture to sail back to Chusan. Here, as Prince Roô had made a temporary palace on that island, he fortunately found himself still under the Ming dynasty. The officials of "this miserable government" requested his services: but he declined as before. One day, when he was on board a ship about to sail, he was captured by soldiers of the Shing [Ts'ing] dynasty, who, with drawn swords, threatened to kill him, if he did not swear allegiance. His life was in great danger, and was saved only by his calm attitude, which the Manchurian warriors admired.

The next year he went to Annam by way of Japan, for navigation from China directly to the former country was impossible. In the ninth year of the (Chinese) period Eiraku [1655] Prince Roô sent to him a special letter of invitation, which "contained words so touching that Shu Shunsui wept on reading it," and at once determined to sail back and serve under the Prince.

But a few days before the date he had chosen for his departure, a new calamity occurred. The King of Annam, wishing to keep and employ Chinese scholars in his country, seized Shu Shunsui, with the purpose of compelling him to write letters and poems. The latter objected on the ground that "his heart was disturbed by anxiety for his country and his family." Notwithstanding this reasonable apology, he was brought into the presence of the King, but refused to bow to the monarch. The latter, very angry, ordered him to be killed, but again Shu Shunsui, by his wonted calmness, gained the victory. The courtiers and the King discovered that he was not a common man; and, beginning to admire him, spared his life, but still declined to release him. Shu Shunsui, however, wrote a letter, which plainly set forth his misfortunes and his plans, and finally gained for himself permission to leave Annam.

But, as before, direct communication with China was interrupted; so that he had to come to Nagasaki, and thence sailed to the island (Chusan).

Upon his arrival, he discovered, to his bitter disappointment,

that, during his absence, the island had been captured by the enemy; that his intimate friends, such as Shu Elyû and Go Shôran, were dead, and that there was no more hope of restoration. "He considered it beneath the dignity of a patriot and a loyalist to follow all the fashions and customs of the semi-civilised emperor" of the new dynasty. Therefore, in the next year [1656], he came again to Japan, "where he intended to preserve and enjoy the old customs and manners of the conquered dynasty."

There was at that time in the Yanagawa clan a *samurai* named Andô Shuyaku, who, having met Shu Shunsui several times, had become a great admirer of the latter's character. Andô, with some friends, petitioned the governor of Nagasaki to allow this learned Chinaman to stay there, and gained the desired permission. The savant, having been a rover for so long a time, had lost a large amount of money, and had no way left for supporting himself. But the generous Andô promised to share with him half his own meagre allowance of only eighty *koku* of rice. Shu Shunsui felt under great obligation to his benefactor, always treated the latter very kindly, and, when Andô, in his leisure came to Nagasaki, gave him good instruction in Chinese, etc. Andô, on the other hand, felt so much anxiety for his teacher, that, "whenever there was a high wind or a heavy rain, he sent to ask after Shu Shunsui's welfare."

In 1665 Mitsukuni (Gikô), the famous Prince of Mito, sent a messenger to invite Shu Shunsui to come to the East (Kwantô). The latter, who had already heard of the fame of this Prince, willingly accepted the invitation. "He served as a friend, an adviser, a secretary, a father; he worked kindly, loyally, earnestly. Sometimes he discussed history, sometimes philosophy, with the Prince: one day poetry and another day politics." He wrote an inscription on the large bell, "which, still striking every hour, reminds us [the people of Mito] of him and his master"; also the history of Kôchintei, a country-seat of the Prince. The latter, on his part, respected the learned man; treated him with kindness and generosity, and built for him a very cosy residence in Komagome in Yedo. On Shu Shunsui's seventieth birthday the Prince gave him a generous entertainment; and, although Shu Shunsui wished to leave for Nagasaki, refused to permit him to go away.

Shu Shunsui also made several models of Confucian temples and the schools which are attached to the temples, and of the utensils used in the worship of the Chinese sage and philosopher. These models are well-made, accurate, elegant, and truly wonderful, and are still kept in the Shôkôkwan (Library) in Mito. It is

said, that His Majesty, the Emperor, during his visit to Mito (October 26-29, 1890), saw these models and expressed great admiration for them.

A few years before Shu Shunsui's death, the Prince persuaded him to make inquiries about his family. When the letter reached them, they thought, on the first reading, that it was nothing but a dream. After several readings, they finally realised, that the person long forgotten and mourned as dead was still on the earth,—in the neighboring country. "Rapture moistened with tears was the only consequence." Then, to examine the matter as carefully as possible, they sent to Japan a man named Yôkô. But, although he came as far as Nagasaki, he was, on his way home captured by an officer of his native country and made to serve as a soldier for several years.

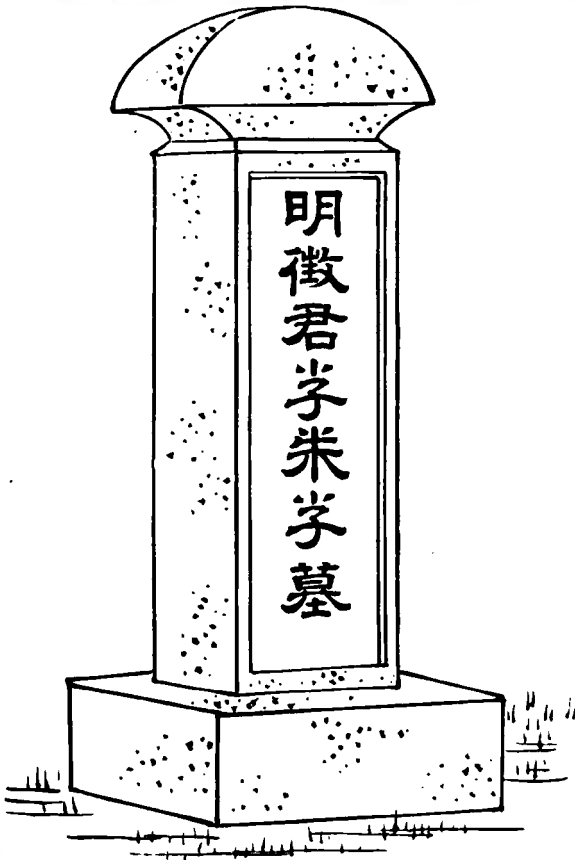
Shu Shunsui's first son, Taisei, had ended his life as a retired teacher; the second son had died without child; but there remained a son of Taisei. He was named Ikujin, and two years after Yôkô had made his vain trip, this grandson came to Nagasaki, but, being prohibited by the law, could not go to Yedo. Shu Shunsui, moreover, was so old, that he could not go to Nagasaki. "What a grievous thing! The affectionate grandson and the lonely grandfather, though they were in the same land, could not embrace each other! There was no chance of their meeting on this side of the grave; but it is certain that their dreams every night floated out of their beds and wandered between the western port and the capital."

Prince Mitsukuni was very much moved by this incomparable misfortune, and tried to have the grandson come to Yedo to live with his grandfather. But Ikujin, on the ground that he ought to return at once and report the facts to his mother, brother, and other relations, declined. Shu Shunsui sent letters to him, and asked many questions about the political changes, and about his old friends. He also advised his grandson to engage in any profession, *except* that of an officer of the Shing [Ts'ing] dynasty. Ikujin then, with letters from Shu Shunsui and costly presents from the Prince of Mito, sailed for his native country. There a war soon broke out, so that he could not come again, as he wished, to Japan.

On Shu Shunsui's eightieth birthday the Prince with his son went to the teacher's house and congratulated him. The learned refugee died in his eighty-third year in the fourth month of the second year of Tenwa [1682], and was honored with a burial in Zuiryû, the family cemetery of the Mito princes. He had, a few

years before, in accordance with the custom of his native land, made his own coffin and shroud. The inscription on the face of his tomb reads as follows: "The tomb of Shu, an invited gentleman of the Ming [dynasty]."

Shu Shunsui was "kind and honest; had no mean passions; in his daily conduct he was very regular. His humility is proved by the fact that he never showed to others the letter of invitation



TOMBSTONE OF SHU SHUNSUI.

from Prince Roô; it was found, after his death, in a tight box which was kept in the bottom of his trunk. He liked guests, loved his friends, and guided his pupils very kindly. His memory was exceedingly strong; he had a rich imagination, and also a good power of generalisation." His learning was profound and accurate. He was at once mechanic, engineer, statesman, poet, and savant.

During his service under the Prince of Mito, he was so economical that by the time of his death he had accumulated about 3,000 gold *ryo* (dollars). This money, it is said, he intended for the expense of a new uprising against the invaders of his native land; but he finally left it to the Prince of Mito. After he came to Yedo, he several times sent elegant presents to his old student and benefactor, Andô, to repay the latter for his kindness. But Andô would not accept them, and was content that his old master was receiving an incomparable favor from the wisest prince of the age.

* * *

Another Chinese refugee who found a welcome in the Mito clan must be called, as his true name is unknown, by his priestly name, Shinyetsu.... In 1677, by the advice of a Japanese merchant in China, he came to Nagasaki.... The next year, the Prince of Mito sent to him a letter of invitation, which Shinyetsu answered favorably.... In 1683 he entered Mito for the first time and visited the tomb of his countryman, Shu Shunsui.... In the—year of Gemoku [1688–1703], Mitsukuni erected in Mito a temple called Gionji, which he purposed to make the head temple of the Sôtô branch of the Zen sect of Buddhism.... In 1694 Shinyetsu showed signs of illness, and the next year passed away at the age of 57. He lies buried within the precincts of the Gion temple, under a plain tomb, bearing the inscription: "The tomb of the great priest Shu [posthumously called] Jushô, opener of the mountain [temple]."

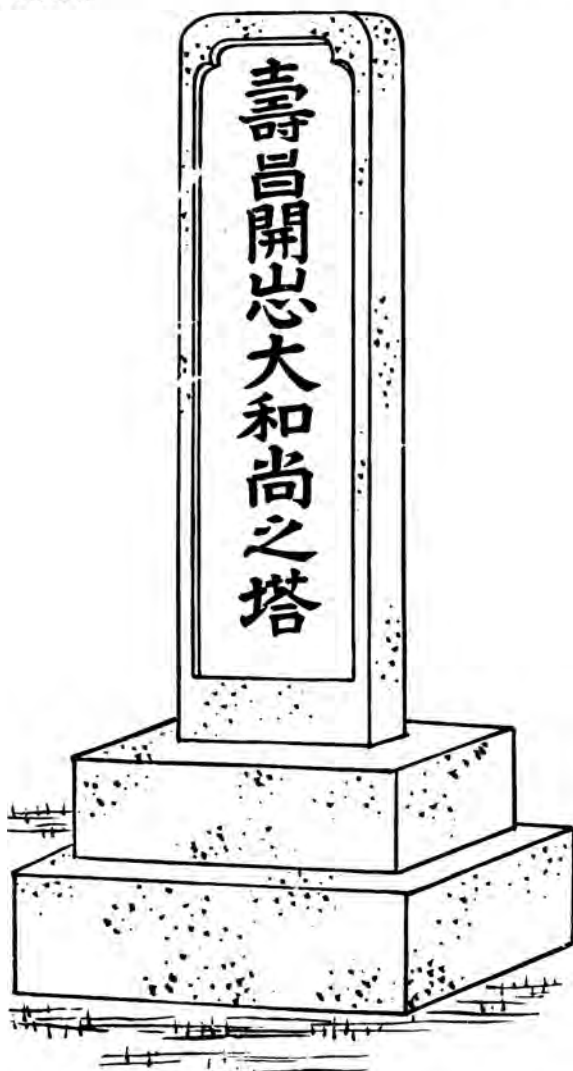
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It is said that in the Mito clan was yet another Chinese, named [Tanikawa] Kinkei, who is thought to have been only a servant of Shu Shunsui. It is also reported that Mitsukuni invited to the hospitality of his clan still another Chinese scholar, named Cho Hi Bun, and sent a messenger to Nagasaki after him: but he was refused permission by the government on the ground that two Chinese should not be in one clan at the same time.

One other Chinese, named Chin Gen Bin, was not only famous as a scholar, but also very skilful in boxing. He found a refuge in the Owari clan, which, like Mito, although one of the three honorable houses of the Tokuguwa family, was strongly Imperialistic.

Another Buddhist priest named In Gen came over from China and established a sub-sect, called Obaku, of the Zen sect, the Japanese Mystics. He went to Kyoto, near which, between Fushimi and Uji, he founded a temple in which the contemplative tenets of the Zen were upheld, with, however, certain differences. It was a

fine temple and is now in good condition. The priests of this sect still wear certain Chinese articles of apparel and retain certain Chinese customs.



TOMBSTONE OF SHINYETSU.

We also heard of another refugee, called Tai Ryû, or Tai Man Kô, who was both a priest and a physician; and that a stone monument had been erected to his memory, by pupils of his, at Kawagoye, near Tôkyô. In January, 1902, after instituting more partic-

ular inquiries about this matter, and ascertaining that the monument was in the precincts of the temple known as Heirinji, between Tōkyō and Kawagoye, we started out in company with a

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嗚呼忠臣楠子之墓

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MONUMENT ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF TAI MAN KÔ.

Japanese friend to find the place. It turned out to be in Nobitome Village, Niikura County, of the Province of Musashi, and the Saitama Prefecture. The temple is situated on a little knoll called

Kimpôzan, about half a mile off the main road to Kawagoye, and about fifteen miles from Tôkyô.

We found here not only the aforesaid monument, but also many relics of Tai Man Kô. It is true that the monument was first erected at Kawagoye; but it did not then, and does not now, mark the place of his burial; it is only an honorary monument, a cenotaph, and the place of interment is not definitely known. The monument is of wood, black lacquered and about five feet high and four feet wide; the inscription thereon is to the following purport:¹

Epitaph on the Monument of the Independent Zen teacher.
By Kogentai, disciple.

The teacher was born at Ninwa Kôshû, China. His father was an official and known as a man of good deeds. His mother was a Ching. Seven children were born to them; and the last was the teacher. His birth took place on the nineteenth day of the second month of the—year of Manreki [A. D. 1595 (?)].

The child was bright by nature and had an excellent memory; so that he could repeat whatever he had once glanced at in a book. Though he was sent to school when very young, he had very little inclination to write compositions (a task which constituted the chief pursuit of students in those days).

When he was grown up, he wandered about from one place to another, searching for beautiful mountains and clear streams and other sublime scenery worthy of admiration. When he was thirty years old, he had not yet written a verse. One day a friend of his urged him to compose a poem. Then, to the astonishment and admiration of all present, he spoke out, off-hand, a fine rhyme. After this he was always ready to write poetry whenever a subject was suggested to him. His productions came out spontaneously and showed perfect originality.

Previous to this an important political change had taken place in his own country, that is to say, the Ming dynasty had been overthrown by the Shing. He could scarcely bear to enjoy life under the latter government, thinking that it was an awful thing and a disgrace to serve two masters; and this caused him a heartfelt desire to leave that country and come over to our country. As a boat was leaving for Japan, he seized the opportunity and came to Nagasaki. This was on the second day of the third month in the second year of Shôwô [A. D. 1645].

In this city he met Fushô, a Buddhist priest of wide learning, who had been invited from China as a religious teacher. The

¹ Translated by Prof. Y. Chiba, of Duncan [Baptist] Academy, Tôkyô.

teacher [Tai Man Kô] was not a little impressed by the priest and listened with unusual interest to his teaching. At last he was converted from Confucianism to Buddhism.

He was a man of unfettered disposition; he was an extensive reader, especially of religious books, and soon became known to the world. He entered a monastery and was there made a scribe. During the first year of Manji [1658], he came with the priest to the capital. The reputation of his learning and virtue became known among the high officials and noblemen, so that some tried to secure him for a teacher.

During the second year of Manji [1659] he was obliged to return to Nagasaki on account of illness. Having recovered from this sickness, he began a pilgrimage all over the country. Wherever he went, he gave medicine and drove away diseases. The people called him "divine."

He excelled in penmanship. His style of writing exactly corresponded with the ancient standards in penmanship: and his ideographs made a wonderful impression upon those who looked at them. To get a piece of paper containing his writing, or even a single character, was considered the same as to obtain a precious jewel or treasure.

A few years later his teacher Fushô died; and he came over to the capital again. Soon afterward he was made the priest of Kim-pôji, which was called Heirin, a Buddhist temple ten *ri* out of the city. This temple had been established by Nobutsuna Minamoto, the Lord of Izu. When he came to this temple, he opened up the country, drew water from the Tama River for the convenience of the people, and added elegant buildings. He went around the neighboring country, teaching the people and comforting them.

He had not forgotten his own country, and would often write out, with indignation, treatises denouncing the great crime of the Shing dynasty, and sympathising with his own people, who were overwhelmed by the terrible calamity which had befallen them. May we not call him one faithful to his own country and a true disciple of Buddha?

He died in the twelfth year of Kwambun [1672] at the age of seventy-seven.

The influence exerted by the learned Chinese refugees, especially by Shu Shunsui, was considerable. Besides their direct and indirect literary work, we must not lose sight of the deeper interest which was naturally aroused in the study of Chinese literature and philosophy by their presence. The teachings of Confucianism and

the personal influence of the men stimulated the feeling of loyalty to Prince and to Emperor. It is, of course, a difficult matter to trace clearly the extent of such influence, but it is generally admitted by those who have studied the matter, that the presence of Chinese *literati* in Japan did give a greater impulse to learning.

* * *

Now, the very fact of the association of Shu Shunsui with Mitsukuni, Prince of Mito,¹ illustrates the two or three lines along which the Japanese were gradually led to renewed political or administrative unity, that is, to Imperialism. One line was Confucianism, which taught loyalty; another line was historical research, which exhibited the Shôgun as a usurper; and a third was the revival of Pure Shintô, which necessarily and spontaneously accompanied or followed the second.

[At this point, in corroboration of that thought, quotations can be made from the writings of Prof. B. H. Chamberlain, Rev. Dr. W. E. Griffis, Mr. Haga, and Nariaki (Rekkô), Prince of Mito. Of these, Professor Chamberlain emphasises the influence of historical research; while the others direct attention to the union of Chinese philosophy with Shintô teaching and historical study in producing a new state of affairs. Mr. Haga says: "For some time before the restoration these [Mito] scholars exercised great influence on the minds of the *Samurai*, and indirectly did much to bring about the revolution."]

It would seem, therefore, as if Shintô and Confucianism, although in many respects antagonistic (simply from the fact that one was Japanese while the other was Chinese), were made, like Herod and Pilate on one occasion, friends in a common cause. The Japanese during the Tokugawa era seem



MITSUKUNI, PRINCE OF MITO.

¹ I have been so fortunate as to run across a small photograph of Mitsukuni (Gikô), the third Tokugawa Prince of Mito, who was the patron of learning and gave several Chinese refugees a shelter in his clan. For information concerning this Japanese Mæcenas, see papers in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan on "The Tokugawa Princes of Mito" (Vol. XVIII., Part 1), "The Mito Civil War" (Vol. XIX., Part 2), "Chinese Refugees of the Seventeenth Century in Mito" (Vol. XXIV.), and "Instructions of a Mito Prince to His Retainers" (Vol. XXVII.). The above-mentioned photograph is here reproduced.

to have been led along three roads to Imperialism. There was the straight highway of historical research; on the right side, generally parallel with the main road, and often running into it, was the path of Shintô; on the opposite side, making frequently a wide detour to the left, was the road to Confucianism: but all these roads led to Kyôto.

In corroboration of this view, Mr. Nitobe says: "The revival of Chinese classics, consequent upon the migration of the Chinese savants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, reminded anew the scholars of Japan that they owed allegiance solely and singly to the Tenno (Emperor). The simultaneous revival of Pure Shintoism, which inculcated the divine right and descent of the Emperor, also conveyed *the same political evangel*." It seems, therefore, as if, with the aid of Chinese savants, Mitsukuni, "the Japanese Mæcenas," a scholar himself and the patron of scholars, set on foot a renaissance in literature, learning, and politics, and has most appropriately been styled by Sir Ernest M. Satow "the real author of the movement which culminated in the Revolution of 1868."

CHASTITY AND PHALLIC WORSHIP.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHASTITY is regarded as the virtue of virtues, and rightly so, for the future of mankind depends on it. Chastity is the characteristic feature that distinguishes the Teutonic peoples, and to it Tacitus does not hesitate to attribute the native vigor of the race. While there was so little prudery among the inhabitants of ancient Germany that the two sexes enjoyed bathing together in the river, actions of indecency were severely punished and early marriage was held in contempt.

Tacitus wrote his book on Germany with the avowed purpose of giving his countrymen a warning, and setting them an example in the undefiled Northern races; and his words sound to the historian like a prophecy; for the sturdy sons of this chastest of all the nations have overrun the earth. Had they not been fighting too much among themselves, had they not been exterminated in many of their too easily acquired new homes by the lack of both concentrated effort and political foresight, the old world would be by this time predominantly Germanic. But even as matters stand now, the Goths having lost again all the territories in Southern and Western Europe, especially Italy and Spain, and also Africa, the Teutons are practically still in possession of the world. Central Europe, i. e., Germany, Austria, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, further England with its colonies, and North America are predominantly of Teutonic blood, and they hold in their hands the balance of power. What is the rest of the world—all the Romance nations, the Slavic nations, and the Orientals—in comparison to their united strength?

On a close scrutiny of their rise to power we need not hesitate to say that their success is due to their family life, the relative purity of their morality, the mental and physical health resulting therefrom; in a word, to chastity.

The Old Testament contains the promise of long life and pros-

perity for those who honor their parents, but the honor of parents is a mere application of the virtue of parentage, and the essential feature in the preparation for the exercise of parental virtues is, again, chastity. We might as well say that to chastity is given the promise of the possession of the world.

Chastity is the right appreciation and proper regulation of the sexual functions. It is not abstinence, nor is it exuberance. It is continence for the sake of a right and seasonable use. Chastity is not the suppression of sensuality, not a negation of sexual love, but its elevation, its purification, and consecration. The blessings of chastity are to-day as great as they were in olden times, and the curse of the breaking of its law is as severe as ever.

When the wonder of life, of procreation, of birth, of growth of fertility, and also of decay and death, first dawned upon man, he stood in awe and bowed down to worship. To him the riddle of the world lay in the power of begetting. It was an apparent feat of magic, calling into being that which had had no existence before! And indeed is not even to-day the birth of a child the miracle of miracles? The deity could only be conceived as the begetter, as the great mother (*Magna Mater*), or the highest and best father (*Pater Optimus Maximus*), or both, and the sexual mystery seemed to contain the springs of life, the secret power of creation, the faculty of calling into being from the nowhere of non-existence creatures aglow with life and sentiment. It is not to be wondered at that phallus-worship, the religious reverence for and deification of sexual functions, became established almost everywhere on earth in a certain phase of the development of man. It seems to crop out as a natural and inevitable result of conditions, and has produced, especially among the Oriental races, strange and peculiar rites, among which many are still mentioned in the Old Testament.

Archæologists are probably not mistaken when they interpret circumcision as a sacrifice. It is an offering made to the deity of procreation, and was performed in Egypt on the priestly caste. We understand its meaning better when we consider that the priests of the Syrian *Magna Mater*, Cybele, had to sacrifice their manhood, which according to the legend was done in remembrance of the beautiful youth Attis, the Assyrian Adonis, representing vegetable life, who, fading away, lost his virility and died, only to be resurrected to new life. The Syrians celebrated a day of weeping, a kind of Good Friday, and an Easter festival of rejoicing at the resurrection of Attis.

Similar beliefs prevailed in Egypt where Osiris was slain, and

the phallus of the god lost in the Nile. But his body was mummified by the art of Anubis and his soul passed safely through the valley of death, establishing a precedence for his adherents who follow him through the tomb to immortality.

The religious awe of procreation leads easily to licentious eccentricities, and it is natural that on the awakening of the moral sense a reaction should set in against phallic ceremonies. This took place in Palestine at the time of the prophetic movement, when serious men arose and denounced the popular festivities and full moons and the sacrificial worship on the high places. The rise of monotheism introduced new ideas of God as a spiritual being, and thus for the first time the sexual function was regarded with a certain contempt. Jewish monotheism naturally led to the abolition of phallic digressions in the national cult, but the abolition of all phallic symbols and ceremonies could not suddenly be accomplished. The ancient traditions and symbols had to be discontinued slowly and gradually or became concealed and were obscured by new interpretations.

A noteworthy feature of phallic worship is recorded by Herodotus. He states that the Chaldean women used to sacrifice their virginity in the Temple of Melitta, who is the Chaldean Venus, and he assures us that the same women would later not be approachable by any man, nor were they regarded as less eligible for marriage. This act was simply a relic of phallic worship by which reverence was shown to the goddess in sanctifying the sexual function through a first use within the temple precincts. Herodotus, being a Greek of a much later development in the course of human evolution, no longer understands the meaning of the rite, and mentions similar customs in Egypt with great horror.

The report of Herodotus is confirmed by Strabo (XI., 14) who tells similar stories of the Armenians.

A prominent feature of Oriental worship is the erection of Asherahs or phallic poles (wrongly translated "groves" in the authorised version of the Bible). They did not belong to one special deity, but were regarded as the general sign of divinity, as much so as the key of life in Egypt, and thus they were erected in honor of any god. It must have been deemed all but indispensable in primitive times to designate a spot of worship, the place of a revelation, of a theophany, or any sacred precinct, by the erection of an Asherah, for they are mentioned in connection with all kinds of gods and goddesses, Baal, Astarte, and even Yahveh.

The word Asherah (אֲשֵׁרָה, *asherah*) is derived from the verbal

root *ashar* (אַשַׁר, *ashar*), to be straight, to be erect, and implies the meaning of anything that is prolific, or fructifying, or fecundating, which to a nomadic race of shepherds and camelherds, was all that was needed for their prosperity. Thus *esher*, אֵשֶׁר, means "happiness," and *Asherah* as a personification may be translated "goddess of good fortune."¹ The first Psalm begins: אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָה (ash'rej ha ish), which means "Happinesses of the man," etc. And the name Asher, the Lucky One, has appropriately been translated by "Felix."

The Egyptian key of life, which all the gods carry in their hands, is probably also a phallic symbol, denoting regeneration and immortality.

The Eleusinian mysteries were regarded with great reverence in ancient Greece, yet did they introduce phallic symbols, indicating man's hope for regeneration, and these ceremonies were performed with a pure heart until they became obsolete on the rise of Christianity when the Churchfathers denounced them as indecent.

The magician's wand, the divining rod, and presumably also the scepter, have originally the same meaning as the Asherah; they symbolise the power of procreation.

We are informed that even as late as the days of Josiah's Temple Reform, in 623, there were phallic symbols used in the temple, and hierodules were kept at Yahveh's temple in Jerusalem. It seems extraordinary to us, but if we understand that the purer forms of monotheism are the product of an historical development, we shall see that it was necessary and inevitable. Even Yahveh worship, in spite of its purity in the prophetic movement, had to pass through the phase of phallism; but as soon as Yahveh was identified with the ideal of pure monotheism, its prophets and priests set their faces against the antiquated eccentricities of phallic institutions and heralded the dawn of a new and purer era.

It is noteworthy that phallic devotees of both sexes are called "sacred," *qadesh* (from קָדַשׁ, *qadash*, which means to sanctify or consecrate), and we can have no doubt that the offering of virginity as well as the presence of hierodules at the temple was originally done in a pure spirit and in the sincere belief of serving God. Thus it happens that the same word with a slight modification of the vowels came to signify "holy," קָדוֹשׁ (*qadosh*), and קַדֵּשׁ (*qadesh*), "prostitute."

It is no accident that the relation of Yahveh to his people throughout the Old Testament is represented as a state of marriage, and thus the worship of other gods is branded as adultery.

¹ Gesenius, *Hebr. und Chald. Handwörterbuch*, p. 203, gives the meaning "Glücksgöttin."

The Prophet Ezekiel, at the time of the Babylonian exile, tells Jerusalem that "she has not remembered the days of her youth," xvi. 22 (i. e., the honeymoon of married life), but is "as a wife that committeth adultery, which taketh strangers instead of her husband" (xvi. 32). Accordingly the jealousy of Yahveh, alluded to in xvi. 42, is that of an infuriated lover and wronged husband.

Ezekiel's expressions are a mere echo of older traditions, and they are uttered at the time when most of the phallic ceremonies had become only historical remembrances, but his words are borne out in the history of the Old Testament. They are found in other prophets, such as Amos, and traces of similar ideas, partly obliterated, can be found throughout the historical books of the Bible.

Phallicism is not traceable in the Bible alone: it is all but universal in a certain stage of man's religious evolution. M. Élie Reclus declares in his book, *Primitive Folk*, p. 69:

"Hetairism was born in the shadow of the altar. 'Almost all mankind,' says Herodotus,¹ consort with women in their sacred edifices, with the exception of the Greeks and the Egyptians."

Herodotus apparently forgets that Greece was in the same predicament as other countries; and M. Reclus, objecting to the exception which the Greek historian makes, exclaims:

"Except Greece? What then took place at Corinth? Except Egypt? What about Bubastis and Naucratis? What of the Aphrodite of Abydos, who bore the significant epithet *Porne*?² What of the royal princesses who took pride in the title of 'pallakis' in the temple of Ammon? Juvenal went so far as to ask: What temple is there in which the women have not prostituted themselves? At Jerusalem, Josiah destroyed in the temple of Yehovah the cells inhabited by the Sodomites³ and the women who wove tents for Asherat?⁴ It is known what excessive debauchery took place in the 'groves' and 'high places' of the 'Great Goddess.' The custom is so deeply rooted that in the grotto of Bethlehem what was done formerly in the name of Adonis is done to-day in the name of the Virgin Mary, by Christian pilgrims; and the Mussulman *hadjis* do likewise in the sanctuaries of Mecca.⁵ To the pagodas—'sinks of iniquity'—go the barren women, making a vow to abandon themselves to a given number of libertines; and others, to testify to the goddess of the place their veneration, prostitute themselves, publicly, even at the doors of the holy place."⁶

The reaction against phallic worship, culminating in monkish asceticism with its anti-sexual tendency, seems to have arisen according to a natural law of evolution, for it is paralleled in other countries, especially in India, where it almost coincides with the

¹ Euterpe.

² Athenæus, XIII. 5.

³ The *Kedeschim*. Consult the Biblical Encyclopædias on this word; for instance, *Disionario Ebreo*: Kadessa, *santa e meretrice*; Kadeschud, *postribolo e sacrista*.

⁴ The symbol or image of Ashtoreth, 2 Kings xliii. 7. See Soury, *La Religion d'Israel*.

⁵ Sepp, *Heidenthum und Christenthum*.

⁶ Dubois, *Mœurs de l'Inde*.

rise of Buddhism. Monkish institutions, however, are not identical with Buddhism; they are one of the factors which prepared its way. Austerities, fasts, castigations, and abstinence were practised long before Gautama Siddhartha was born in Kapilavastu, and the whole career of India's greatest reformer was conditioned by the monkish institutions, which at that time were firmly established all over India.

While monkish asceticism reaches its climax in the condemnation of all natural life, denouncing especially the sexual instinct as the original sin, we must state that the institution of monks and nuns itself is originally based on phallism. Like the self-mutilation practised by the priests of Cybele, it is a surrender of the sexual life to the deity. It is an offering of the very setiment of sexuality to the procreator of all life, it is a betrothal to the deity. That is true of the Vestal Virgins of Rome, as well as of the Virgins of the Sun in Peru, mentioned by Prescott,¹ and even to-day the Christian nun is called "the bride of Christ."

The New Testament continues to represent the relation of the Church to Christ as a marriage and considering the frequency of these allusions, we cannot regard them as accidental. Jesus himself speaks of the marriage-feast of the ten wise and foolish virgins, and in Revelations xix. 7 we read that "The marriage of the lamb is come and his wife has made herself ready." Even the Apostle Paul, otherwise an outspoken enemy to marriage, compares the congregation of his converts to a bride of the Lord, saying, 2 Cor. xi. 2: "For I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ."

While we are rightly disgusted with the practices of ancient phallicism, we ought to understand that they were committed with the best of intentions, viz., to realise the virtue of chastity. They are the logical result of a misguided conscience, the product of a pre-scientific religious faith, and the consistent expression of their underlying religious superstitions. We have no reason to assume that any one of the phallic ceremonies was done from a motive of lust or indulgence. They were probably done against the natural instinct as a matter of conviction, just as much as Jephthah had no pleasure in sacrificing his daughter to Yahveh as a burnt-offering, but did it because he thought, and from his standpoint had reason to believe, that Yahveh demanded the sacrifice of him.

The historical facts of a primitive phallic worship, far from

¹ *Conquest of Peru*, Vol. I., p. 110.

² Compare chapters xix. 9, xxi. 2, xxi. 9, and xxii. 17.

being indecent, are, if considered in this light, a monument of the paramount significance, indeed of the holiness, of the sexual function. They prove the respect and awe in which procreation was held by primitive man. Even to-day the religious instinct manifests itself in man's hunger for immortality, and the physical side of this yearning finds expression in the desire for reproduction.

Chastity means holiness of sexual life, and holiness, according to the etymology of the Hebrew word, means consecration. It does not mean extermination, but sanctification. It implies the duty of restraint, of retarding the development of the sexual instinct in children, of fostering a noble conception of the relation between the sexes, of bearing in mind the deep-seated coyness and the poetry of the opening blossoms of marital inclinations, and generally of respect for the duties of parentage.

Chastity is a virtue of bodily sensual creatures. There is no chastity for purely spiritual conditions. If man were purely spiritual, like the angels of heaven, there would be no need of preaching to him the law of holiness. Ideas mingle freely, and there is no beauty in coyness within the realm of abstract thought. When spiritual conceptions with their fructifying interrelations are wrapped in mythical form and represented as marriage relations, what a conglomeration of improper and nonsensical details we have as a result! Such are the cosmogonies of all nations, including the most beautiful one of all, the creation-story of the Greek, Hesiod's Theogony. If understood in their literal sense, Zeus is degraded into a debauched villain, and the great mother of life into a wanton wench. It is the literal belief in myths which made Greek religion appear improper. So long as they were interpreted in their original significance they gave no offence.

Spiritual truths need no coyness; they are universal and can mingle without fear of contamination. It is the body that has to be protected against defilement and pollution: sensual longings must be individualised and bodily contact specialised. Mental comprehension goes out into the world promiscuously, and there is no affair, no idea, no concept, so low and none so high but mind may embrace it and generate new thoughts. Chastity therefore does not pertain to things spiritual which are universal, but is a virtue of concrete existence, of materiality, of sensuality, of sexuality.

Chastity without sensuality, without sexuality, without love, is bareness, not virtue; but chastity of love is holiness, which is the consecration of sentiment to one of the highest purposes of life, the conservation and propagation of the human race.

THE KNOCKING AT THE GATE.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE DRAMATIC IMPRESSIVENESS OF RELIGIOUS RITUAL.

BY HIS HONOR R. STANLEY WEIR, D.C.L., JUDGE-RECORDER OF MONTREAL.

AMONG the few writings which once read are never forgotten, must surely be included that remarkable little paper of De Quincey's—*On the Knocking at the Gate in Macbeth*. The very subject of the essay, indicating as it does the recognition of a subtle dramatic device of singular psychological import, is proof of rare discernment, and if De Quincey had done nothing more than print the words upon a blank page he would even thus have strongly appealed to the imagination and convinced us of his sympathetic understanding of Shakespeare's genius.

Of such absorbing human interest is the human problem thus presented by De Quincey that almost breathlessly we follow the ingeniously woven argument, and as the conclusion is reached, and we come upon the final magical apostrophe,—“O mighty poet! thy works are not as those of other men,”—we recall ourselves as from a day-dream with a pleasing shock not unlike the very experience which De Quincey has been analysing for us,—that singular tremor which seizes us when we hear the knocking at the gate of the Castle of Inverness.

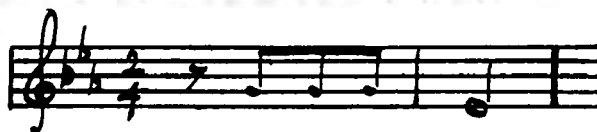
The reader of De Quincey will recall how he interprets the knocking at the gate as the poet's device for making known that the pulses of life, after the awful parenthesis of the murder, are beginning to beat again, and the goings-on of the world in which we live have been reëstablished. “All action is best expounded by reaction.” It is this resumption of the ordinary course of the world that makes the knocking at the gate so impressive. And De Quincey felicitously instances the case of a wife, daughter, or sister in a fainting fit where the most affecting moment in the spectacle is that in

which "a sigh and a stirring announce the recommencement of suspended life." We can easily conceive that Shakespeare might have suggested the mere return to normal life after the rolling away of the murder scene by other means than this knocking at the gate;—by the porter, for instance (who in his contrasted character of clownish but sweet innocence also contributes in a subtle way to the effect of the scene), soliloquising in some other strain than grumbling at his disturbed slumbers, or by the entrance of Macduff and Lenox without knocking as is the usual vogue upon the stage. But it is manifest, I think, that something peculiar and even awesome attaches to mere knocking, especially if it be unexpectedly heard. All sudden noises are more or less perturbing at night, although they seldom if ever create annoyance or resentment; they always challenge our attention and arouse our curiosity or our fears.

"Those damp, black, dead
Nights in the Tower; . . . Toll of a bell,
Stroke of a clock, the scurrying of a rat
Affrighted me and then delighted me,
For there was life."

A friend of mine declares that a knock never comes to the door of his study, even if it prove to be but the housemaid with some trivial message, without his experiencing a momentary trepidation; and he can distinctly recall the sensation almost at any time, by himself rapping on his own desk or table. It is most vivid, however, when he is thus interrupted in some cogitation.

Beethoven, who knew the human soul well, and the entire gamut of its emotions, felt doubtless the very thrill that moves the play-goers listening to the knocking of Macduff and Lenox, when he wrote the opening bars of the Fifth Symphony:



The knocking of Fate,—the riddle of life, the eternal question of the Sphinx—thus do the interpreters variously read the abrupt challenging phrase that the master has so wonderfully developed and expounded in that great poem of music.

It may seem a far cry from the knocking at the gate in the second act of *Macbeth* to the ringing of the Sanctus bell in the Roman Catholic mass, but these two sounds are clearly in the same category. And who that recalls his first hearing of the latter but

will confess, notwithstanding the Puritan in him, to a feeling of awesomeness as the jangle of the bell succeeds with such startling effect to the blare of the tumultuous organ, the majestic chanting of the choir, or it may be but the solitary intonations of the celebrant. And when on the occasion of some high feast of the Church, at the compelling sound of the bell a great congregation stirs and then hushes to silence upon bended knees, and to silence still more profound as again and yet again the tinkling sound is heard, who can deny that after the stoutest opponent of the ritualistic has been heard, something of singular import still remains by which the looker-on is strangely impressed. One cannot be greatly surprised that the Sacrifice of the mass, professedly an *opus operatum*, and the direct antithesis of the personal offering of the devout Protestant, has proved itself powerful enough to capture the allegiance of a Newman not less than the humblest peasants of the Campana. One cannot but acknowledge the profound knowledge of, and deference to, human instincts that the ceremony reveals. For it is dramatic and the human craving for the dramatic is deep and abiding. It satisfies the doubts of reason by permitting a symbolic interpretation, and equally it satisfies those who easily incline their souls to mystery. With a ritual art that is the inheritance of centuries tested by experiment at every point and jealously preserved by authority, the Kyrie eleison, the Gloria in Excelsis, Credo and Sanctus, each an utterance of high spiritual order, and equally impressive, by reason of their dignified language, whether the music be the plain chant of St. Gregory or the richer harmonies of later days, succeed each other. These and every ordinance of the rubric, as the service proceeds, portend some approaching climax,—the repeated bloodless sacrifice of the Lord of Glory upon the consecrated altar. It is not difficult to see that upon those who believe that the great transformation is about to take place as an actual physical miracle, the impression must be stupendous, and that even those who regard it as a purely symbolical representation of the Redemption must be deeply touched. But suddenly, suddenly even to those familiar with the mass, in the midst of the contemplations engendered by this lofty drama, there comes a tone unlike anything yet heard. Conceivably, the organ or some other instrument of music might here be introduced to announce the approaching climax, but for a subtle but important reason the bell and the bell alone,—such a one as is easily rung by hand,—is preferred. The reason is that a tone distinctly differing in quality from all that have hitherto been heard, and yet which is

familiar enough to be recognised instantly and even unconsciously as a purely human and commonly secular implement, is required to create a sense of and to accentuate the immense contrast between things of eternal moment and the things of every day. Once more action is best expounded by reaction. By this simple device the mind is sharply recalled from the heights to which it has been led. Just as the knocking at the gate in *Macbeth*, by indicating as it does that the normal currents of life are again beginning to flow, deeply impresses the mind with the awfulness of the unseen tragedy, so the ringing of the Sanctus bell at the elevation of the host, calls the mind back to earth, intensifies the sense of mystery, and makes faith easily victorious over reason.

THE RELIGIONS OF CHINA.

BY THE EDITOR.

KIRCHER'S large work on China contains a picture which excellently represents the religious conditions of the Celestial Empire. It has been copied from a Chinese drawing which is not at our disposal, but must have been made more than two centuries ago, viz., before the appearance of Kircher's book.

We see here, seated in the heaven, the three great teachers, recognised as the highest authorities of truth; Buddha in the center, Confucius at his right, and Lao-Tze at his left. Confucianism is the recognised State religion, if religion it can be called. Taoism, represented by Lao-Tze, is the indigenous faith of China, while Buddhism is the hope for salvation, a doctrine that has been brought to the country by Indian missionaries.

The dragon, the symbol of heaven, representing divine power and authority, stands in the centre of the picture. It is the coat of arms of the government, and it here carries on its back the shell of the tortoise, which is mysteriously connected in the old traditions of China with the invention of writing. The dragon seems to address Confucius, and if this attitude is intentional it can only mean that it communicates to the sage the mysteries of the Yih King, the Book of Changes.¹

Above Confucius we see three sages; above Lao-Tze a crowned hero, holding in his hands a sword and dressed in a coat of mail. The former seem to represent the great authorities of the Confucian school, Wen Wang, Wu Wang, and Chow Kung; the military divinity must be Kwan Ti, the god of war.

Underneath Confucius we have a general and a soldier, as personifications of the government, representing the mailed fist of Chinese paternalism.

¹ For details see Carus, *Chinese Philosophy*.



THE THREE GREAT TEACHERS OF CHINA.

Underneath Lao-Tze there are his disciples Chwang Tze, Lieh Fuh Tze, and Liu Ngan, the great Taoist philosophers.

At the bottom of the picture we see lower divinities rising from the waves of the sea. One of them, on the left hand side, offers up a gem; another one, the ruler of the deep, carries a trident, while the middle figure in the group, on the right, is the *nâgarâja*, producing from the bottom of the ocean the *Avatamsaka Books*.

While in Europe and America every one is expected to have one religion only, in China a man may follow Confucius, have faith in Buddha, and believe in Lao-Tze at the same time.

Japan is in this respect like China, only that Taoism is replaced by Shintoism, and the latter, a kind of nature-cult combined with idealised patriotism, is the State religion. Every family takes part in the several Shinto festivals, private as well as public. In school-life Confucius is revered, and in both countries, China and Japan, there is scarcely a house which has not a Buddhist shrine for the satisfaction of the deeper yearnings of the soul.

There is a universality in this religious system which it is difficult for us to understand, but is after all quite natural.

MISCELLANEOUS.

CARUS STERNE, OBITUARY.

Dr. Ernst Krause, whose *nom de plume* was Carus Sterne, died suddenly and quite unexpectedly of heart failure at Eberswalde on August 24, shortly before the completion of his sixty-fourth year. He was a writer of uncommon power and conviction, having been one of the first who saw the moral significance of the evolution theory. His favorite subjects were popular expositions of the life of nature, the development of mankind, and the entire realm of *Werden und Vergehen*. He was a personal friend of many prominent men, among whom we will mention Ernest Haeckel of Jena. He wrote repeatedly for *The Open Court* and *The Monist*, and we regret deeply having lost one of our most cherished contributors. His articles were always distinguished by a deep psychological insight into the general traits of human nature, and we would point out as an excellent sample of his thought and style of writing his essay on the "Education of Parents Through Their Children" (published in an early number of *The Open Court* (Vol. I., Nos. 22 and 23), an idea which since has taken hold of educators and has been quoted and repeated of late in many quarters.

Carus Sterne did first-class work in the popularisation of natural science, in fact it is doubtful whether in Germany he ever had his equal in that special line of literature, but in addition we must mention his labors in the field of archæology and folk-lore. He was not originally a historian or folklorist, but he became one when tracing the history of science in its development and struggle for recognition, and he devoted in later years a good deal of his efforts to the nature and growth of mythology. Coming fresh into the field, he thought he saw, and in our opinion he did see, a mistake which was made by the philologically trained historians whose course of study was dominated by their knowledge of the classical languages. In noticing the similarity between Northern and Southern myths, our historians and folklorists are accustomed to regard the Nibelungen Saga as an imitation of Homer, but Carus Sterne came to the conclusion that the legends of a dying and resurrected sun-god must have originated in the North, not in the South, and thus, broadly speaking, he declared that the nucleus of the Nibelungen Saga was the original and that Homer was derived from



Northern sources. Carus Sterne's theory did not find favor with the leading philologists and historians, but we feel confident that by and by it will come to the front.

We reproduce here a picture of Dr. Krause, a snap-shot photograph which the editor of *The Open Court* took when visiting him in 1890 at his home in Eberswalde, near Berlin.

P. C.

COMMENTS ON "THE PRAISE OF HYPOCRISY."

A clergyman of the Methodist-Episcopal Church writes as follows in comment upon Mr. Knight's article on "The Praise of Hypocrisy":

"I have been deeply interested in reading 'The Praise of Hypocrisy' in the current number of *The Open Court*. It is a masterly satire and should be read by every clergyman in the United States. I trust that its publication will do much good. As you say in your comment on the last page: 'The truth is, we need a reformation; and the reformation needed to-day should first of all be based on intellectual honesty.... If there is any one who knows a cure of the disease, let his advice be heard.'"

"My cure would be perfect honesty, even at the risk of a loss of salary."

Our correspondent then expresses his intention of leaving the Church and starting the work of a minister as an independent preacher. He says: "New wine cannot be put into old bottles. Reform in the position of the existing order is impossible." Dwelling on the methods of Church government and other Church institutions, which every one will fairly grant contain much that is human, he continues:

"Has the (orthodox) Church become a new political machine, in league, as the author of 'The Praise of Hypocrisy' expresses it, with immorality? Must the service of the machine, rather than the service of God, be the standard by which the minister is to be tried? Already it is not the minister's power to present high ideals and to urge lofty motives that determines his ecclesiastical position among his brethren, but his skill in raising money from his parish, and in making a good report at Conference, or Presbytery, or Association.

"Of course, there is a great deal of goodness, both among the ministry and the laity, but there is no question as to the need of a reformation."

The method of our correspondent is obviously too radical. It means if it were generally adopted by all honest brethren, an abandonment of a great cause by its best and most competent ministers, leaving the ship of the Church to the mercy of the winds and in the hands of hypocrites.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I quite agree with you as to the nature of the reformation demanded, in your note at the end of the preceding issue of *The Open Court*; and I would like to elaborate the same in a statement of the "cure" for which you call.

The diagnosis is, I believe, essentially given in the satire which called forth the note, and which, in short and literal statement, is an attempt to present the argument for hypocrisy and to show that when carried to its logical conclusion, it leads to devil worship. One need not indeed deny that on some occasions deception is legitimate,—say in war, for it is a part of the game, and in certain imitations of war on a small scale, like dealing with a burglar. And probably something

should also be said with relation to social amenities. But the main point is that when these principles are applied to religion, they lead away from Christianity and deny its essential spirit.

Now it might be supposed that the remedy for lying is not to "keep on lying," as the friends of deception claim, but to *stop lying*. In these days especially it seems to be needed that religion should be characterised by sincerity. This quality is more important than Church, or creed, or ritual, more important than scientific accuracy or the latest theories of the higher critics. It ought to be prominent and unmistakable. It was because their sincerity was above suspicion that Spurgeon and Moody were able to preach antiquated notions in theology and yet to attract not only the common people, but the learned who had long since given up "orthodoxy." Of course, one may think that exact information and philosophy might have added something to the ministrations of those apostles, on the whole; but the value of science in religion is liable to be overestimated.

Perhaps, however, the underestimate of the intellectual element in religion is more common than the overestimate. At least it is a prolific source of confusion and deceit. How often does a man defend and excuse subscription to a false creed by saying that opinions are comparatively unimportant in religion. It is marvellous how so cheap a device can deceive so many, and prevent our being aware that to profess, by word or deed, what one does not believe, is blamed not because of the opinions but because of the false profession. Opinions may be unimportant, but sincerity is important. And the clergy high and low cannot much longer turn attention from the main fact of hypocrisy by any irrelevant remarks about the value of opinions.

What, then, shall we do? Let us omit all fictions in religion, all that is not really meant and felt, all that is unguenuine, perfunctory; omit the unnatural portions of the ritual, the artificial manners of walk and dress and tone of voice, assumed dignities, affectations of sanctity and religious caste, especially sectarian and churchly egotism, which we are so quick to see in others and so slow to confess in ourselves.—These things not only make religion to be unreal; but, since religion claims to be most real, they are false pretense, no better than hypocrisy.

With all our revivals, can we not have a revival of uncompromising honesty and truthfulness, without an insult to conscience or to intelligence? I refuse to believe, what the tears of one or the tricks of another imply: that the Church could not stand such a revival,—or if it could not, then let it go, with Ananias and Judas, "to its own place," and we will have a new Church.—But the old will be reformed, as you suggest, Mr. Editor. What a religion and what a Church would there be where grace and truth should both abide! Its friends need never again fear the impending destruction of religion on account of the desertion of the better classes of men. Toward such a Church there would be no more heresy than there is now toward the beauty of the sunset or the truth of the law of gravity. Nor would such a Church fail to have authority with men. Manifest righteousness and holiness and other powers of God will always command respect,—usually to excess. Jesus had to repress the zeal of his followers, lest they forcibly make him king; and Paul, lest they worship him and Barnabas as divine beings. Human instincts are everywhere the same.

When we really make religion genuine and thoroughgoing, and theology reasonable, the Church will flourish as never before. The multitude will go again to the house of the Lord. The noble youth will flock to its service as an honorable calling, the great and wise will seek instruction at its altars, the saints will there

renew devotion, and all will rejoice in its holy sanctions.—*The Lord Jesus Christ will have come again.*

G. T. KNIGHT.

TUFT'S COLLEGE, MASS., September, 1903.

THE ACROPOLIS.

Our frontispiece represents the restoration of the Acropolis of Athens, reproduced after a model such as is frequently found in museums. The reconstruction shows this historical spot as it appeared at the classical period of Greece, after the time of Pericles, and avoids the mistake commonly made of attributing the two square towers at the foot of the rock to the Periclean age.

For details see the article on the Acropolis in *The Open Court*, April, 1903, page 193.

ARTICLES ON MAGIC.

A belief in magic is a very significant period in the history of religion, and we know that in Babylon the Magi or priests attended to the spiritual needs of the people. Like modern mediums they called up the dead from their graves, and no religious man doubted their power of interpreting dreams, of foretelling the future in some mysterious manner (e. g., by the use of the Urim and Thumim among the Israelites), and generally calling in one way or another the help of the gods.

Among the Hindus, the belief in the omnipotence of prayer and austerities prevailed, implying a notion of the magic power of incantations and sacrifices, so that the priest and later on also the ascetic was supposed to acquire a command even over the gods.

Considering the fact that a hunger after the mysterious is still a notable feature in the minds of the present generation, that our modern religious views have by no means, as yet, overcome the superstitious elements of mysticism, and further that the disposition of man to look with awe upon that which to him is incomprehensible is natural to human nature, and in fostering a devotion to the mystical man learns to interpret correctly in his heart truths which his head cannot grasp (a fact that constitutes the noble feature of mysticism and justifies it within proper limits);—in a word, considering the significance of mysticism, we have devoted special attention to this much mooted topic and have published some articles on the old and new magic, some time ago in *The Open Court*.¹

For a further study of the significance of the mysterious, both in religion and in secular life, we have for a long time been looking out for an author familiar with the facts of both the history of mysticism and magic performances, that have played or are still playing an important part in the world, or are exciting public curiosity, and at last we have succeeded in finding an author especially adapted for the purpose and prepared for the task by his own inclinations, by special investigations and by rare opportunities in Mr. Henry Ridgely Evans of Washington, D. C. He is personally interested in the subject and commands a wide range of personal experience. He is a Freemason, having attained the thirty-second degree of the Scottish Rite, and is a well-known Masonic writer and authority on the symbolism of the Craft. But Mr. Evans is at the same time a student of the occult, not a dupe of superstition; he is a scholar and investigator. He has scanned the musty volumes of forgotten lore, of Mediæval witchcraft. He has rumaged the second-hand book stores of both continents for magical treatises and stories. Having

¹ Compare also the editor's article in *The Open Court*, No. 529, pp. 333 ff.

access to the archives of the several Masonic libraries, he has traced the biographies of the great mystery mongers of the type of Cagliostro, and in spite of his admiration for this arch-charlatan and men of his ilk, Mr. Evans remains a critical historian and preserves his sound judgment and sobriety.

Besides his theoretical studies, Mr. Evans has himself practised the occult arts as a prestidigitateur, and we have ourselves seen him and admired him in his clever sleight of-hand tricks which, though he does not claim to be a professional, are not excelled by Kellar or the late Hermann and his nephew.

We have no doubt that it would be difficult to find a better man adapted for the purpose of collecting and collating the facts of the mysteries, and we deem ourselves happy in having engaged his interest in writing for our periodicals. Mr. Evans's first contribution in this line of work appeared in the latest number of *The Monist*, being a comprehensive essay on the arch-enchanter Cagliostro, a typical personality of the modern imposter, half genius, half knave, admirable in his clever tricks and bold bluffs and at the same time contemptible when deceiving his gullible patrons and extracting from their purses the gold that he used for his own personal ends.

Mr. Evans's essay on Cagliostro is the best justification of his abilities in dealing with the topic of the mysterious, involving the study of many remote documents and inaccessible haunts, and we expect to publish several other articles in the same line and of the same method of treatment, both in *The Open Court* and *The Monist*.

In addition to his articles on Cagliostro and Pinetti, Mr. Evans promised to write on Eliphas Levi, Robert-Houdin, Madame Blavatsky, etc., etc. P. C.

MOUNT ATHOS.¹

The author records in this unpretentious pamphlet the impressions which he had during a sojourn of seven months on Mount Athos, that strange country where no woman is tolerated and monks have everything their own way. The booklet is divided (p. 59 ff.) into two parts, the first being a history of the place (pp. 5-59), the second (pp. 59-166) an account of the journey and personal experiences.

Our author is a German who sympathises with the Greek. He believes with Moltke that the Oriental question would best be solved by creating a Byzantine empire to take the place of the Turks, to the exclusion of the Russians. The Russians, however, have their finger in the pie everywhere on the whole peninsula, and are on the best way to take possession of Mount Athos. The number of Russian convents increases constantly, and Russian monks are now in the majority.

Mount Athos is a relic of Monkish Christianity, and the monks of Mount Athos cherish a conviction that they alone have preserved the original Christianity of Christ. Other Christians may shine like little lights in the heaven, but the monks, especially those of Mount Athos, shine like stars of first magnitude. They alone attain perfection of the Christian ideal. Mount Athos has been a refuge of Cenobites and recluses since the beginning of Christianity and was considered a holy place even in pagan times when the Greeks thought it had originated at the time of the giants' combat against Zeus, on which occasion a stone that had been thrown up against heaven, missed its aim and fell into the sea where it still stays, a monument of the battle of the Titans and the giants against the Father of gods and men.

¹*Das Klosterland des Athos.* By Alfred Schmidtke. T. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig.

The old hermits were living in a baphazard way, every one according to his own rules, but in the year of 963 the monk Athanasius induced his friend, the General Nikephoros Phokas, to retire to Mount Athos. This valiant Greek warrior, a powerful noble and a friend of the Emperor of Constantinople, did not stay long. The needs of the empire called him back to the capital, but he remained a warm patron of Athanasius and supplied him with the necessary pecuniary and moral support for building a convent, giving him also an unrestricted title to the surrounding country. The aboriginal inhabitants were expelled, and the several hermits had to recognise the authority of the new Abbott. The history of the country had its ups and downs, passing through several changes, but remaining always the ideal of monarchism in one form or another. When the Byzantine empire was tottering, the Abbot of Athos offered his submission to the Turks even as early as twenty-three years before the conquest of Constantinople. Sultan Murad II. accepted the conditions, and his successors down to the present day have kept the promise faithfully. Although the Sultan is the sovereign owner of the land, keeping there a resident governor, the monks enjoy local self-government, and are left free to live according to their religion and monkish rules.

Herr Schmidtke attended services in the churches, vigils, masses, the reception of new members, and burials, and it is interesting to learn that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper begins with an imitation slaughter of a lamb, represented by a loaf of bread, that is offered as a sacrifice. After the performance of some further ceremonies, a priest and a deacon take the bread and the wine from the altar, symbolising the act of taking off Christ's body from the cross. The priest represents Joseph of Arimathea, and the deacon, Nicodemus. The gilded covers are supposed to be shrouds, and when they return the elements of the sacrament to their places, they represent their deposition as the burial of Christ's body in the grave. While the procession takes place, they exclaim again and again: "Lord! Remember in thy Heavenly Kingdom us and all orthodox Christians."

As a comical incident, Mr. Schmidtke tells us that while he offered cigars to some inhabitants of Athos, one of the severer monks, a man in whose arteries not warm blood but the cold holy water seemed to pulsate, was offered a cigarette, whereupon he promptly refused, stating that Christ had condemned smoking. Being asked on what occasion Christ had ever heard of smoking, he replied that Christ had said: "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which goeth out of the mouth [referring to the smoke], that defileth a man." (Matt. xv. 11, Mark vii. 15.)

The monks of Athos believe that Mount Athos was the place to which the mother of God retired from the assaults of the wicked dragon, before bringing forth the Messiah as told, not in the Gospels, but in chapter xii. 1-5 of the Revelations.

The institutions of Mount Athos are a strange mixture of ancient pagan traditions and Mediaeval Christian institutions, and in spite of their hatred and contempt of woman, their highest authority is the Virgin Mary, "the Panagia," i. e., the All Holy One, as they call her. When our visitor told the monks that there are powerful Christian Churches which do not worship the Virgin, the monks were horrified and expressed their sorrow for the heresy of the world. They did not, however, condemn heretics, leaving condemnation to God alone, only claiming for themselves possession of the true faith.

The book is illustrated with sixteen pictures, mostly electrotypes of photographs of convents and other buildings, and though the reproductions are a little unsatisfactory, they help to form a clear conception of the country and its inhabitants.

A RABBI'S IMPRESSION OF THE OBERAMMERGAU PASSION PLAY.¹

How many thousands and even millions migrate at the end of every decade to Oberammergau to witness the famous Passion Play performed by the simple Tyrolese peasantry of that retired village! It is a survival of former years, and we enjoy its performance as a remnant of the times in which Christian faith was more vigorous, less critical, and extraordinarily fervent. But those who go and enjoy the grand drama are mostly Christians, and look at the spectacle with sentiments which see nothing but nobility, greatness, and an elevation of mankind in the several scenes that are enacted before their eyes. How welcome should be the report of a man who, although friendly to Jesus of Nazareth, yet calls attention to a gross violation of justice done to the nation from which the hero of the Passion Play originated.

Rabbi Krauskopf went to Oberammergau in the expectation of seeing the Passion Play as one would be interested in any other performance,—a drama of Shakespeare or of Goethe, or a performance of *Hiawatha* in Canada. But while he listened, the traveller turned theologian, the cosmopolitan, Jew.

He felt the stinging reproaches against Judaism as directed against himself, and the nations that worship Jesus as a god revile the people to whom he belongs. The Romans have been exonerated from the crime of having executed an innocent man; and the motive is obvious to the historian. When Christianity grew, it could succeed among Romans only by proving that it was not an anti-Roman religion. Thus, Jesus is represented as hostile to the Jews, and the Jews alone, a race offensive to the Romans, are made to bear the whole blame of the Crucifixion.

Rabbi Krauskopf enters into details and shows how utterly impossible are some of the features of the story of the trial of Jesus. He claims that the story of the Jews having persecuted, betrayed, condemned, and crucified Jesus is historically untrue, and the invention, partly of an excited imagination, partly of policy, and partly of malice. He adds:

"I have built that statement on textual criticism and on historical fact. I have studied sources. I have searched motives. I have weighed arguments. I have balanced authorities. But to no other conclusion have I been able to arrive than that Jesus, the gentle preacher and healer of Nazareth, the enthusiastic lover of his country and people, felt himself called, as did many another unfortunate enthusiast, before him and after, to deliver the Holy Land from the hand of the cruel Roman, who at that time held Palestine as his tributary province. His enthusiasm was not only heartily seconded by a number of faithful disciples and a host of followers, over whom he exercised a powerful spiritual influence, but also begot in them the thought that their inspired Master was in truth their long-expected Messiah, the Deliverer of the people, the Saviour of the nation. Their delusion deluded him. He threw himself into the current of his people's delirious hope, and, like many another enthusiast and revolutionist, was swept by his ardor into destruction. They acclaimed him in public procession, in the capital of the tributary nation, 'King of the Jews!' and he accepted their acclamation. It might have been a harmless delusion, had not Rome, at that time of constant seditions among the people, been especially vigilant against would-be deliverers of the

¹A series of six lectures.—With three supplemental chapters bearing on the subject. By Rabbi Krauskopf, D. D. Philadelphia: Edward Stern & Co. 1901. Pages, 226.

tributary province, and especially severe against agitators, prophets, and Messiahs. That acclamation was heard by the garrison in the fortress of Antonia, close to the Temple. It meant the doom of the acclaimed. He was seized in the dead of the night, and made to pay the penalty of his love for his country and people by a traitor's death upon the cross, at the hand of the cruel Roman.

"This is the summary of one of the saddest lives of history, of one of the noblest sons of Israel, which I have told at greater length in the preceding discourses of this series. Thus stripped of mythical accretions and ecclesiastical falsifications, it is the Jew's story of the life and deeds of Jesus, the Rabbi and patriot of Nazareth.

"I submit my argument to the world's Highest Court, the Supreme Judgment-seat of Reason."

The story of the trial of Jesus has produced many persecutions of the Jews. Innumerable Israelites have been slain, burned, and maltreated in various ways because they are said to have crucified Christ; and almost 1900 years ago a Jewish mob is reported to have shouted before the tribunal of a Roman governor at Jerusalem: "His blood come upon us and upon our children!"

Rabbi Krauskopf argues: "I ask for disproof of this sad and simple story; or for historic and scientific proof of the miracles told, of the myths narrated, of the contradictions disclosed in connection with the Gospel stories of the Virgin-born, miracle-working, vicariously-crucified, death-resurrected, heaven-ascended, only-begotten Son of God.

"I ask for disproof of Jesus having been a Jew, and a lover, and the beloved, of Jews; or for proof of his having been a god, and a hater, and the hated, of Jews.

"I ask for disproof of the Jews having had no motive adequate to the bitterness of their persecution of Jesus, as portrayed in the Gospels and as enacted in the Oberammergau Passion Play; or for proof of the guilt charged against Jesus, constituting capital offence, according to the Law of Israel.

"I ask for disproof of Jesus never having preached a doctrine, performed a deed, advocated a reform, that was not strictly Jewish, of his never having had a thought of separating himself from his people and of founding a pagan-blended anti-Jewish creed; or for proof of Jesus having ever declared himself an immaculately conceived, Virgin-born, David-descended, Son of God, and one of the Trinity of the threefold God.

"I ask for disproof of the impossibility of such marvellous miracles as earthquake, eclipse, Temple-Veil rending, grave-resurrection, heaven-ascension of the dead, occurring at the moment of Christ's death, without the slightest trace of them to be found in contemporaneous Pagan and Jewish literature; or for proof of such unprecedented and unequalled miracles as Christ's resurrection, his conference, after his death, with his disciples, and his ascension to heaven, taking place in the presence of witnesses, and yet of the four different Gospel records of these greatest of all miracles that have come down to us, no two of them agreeing."

The book before us is a strong appeal to our sense of justice, and it would be wise to read it carefully, and if there be any reason in continuing to preach the traditional hatred of the Jews, let us abolish the Christian claim that we act according to Christ's saying, "Love your enemies." And suppose the hostility to the Jews ostensibly upheld in the performance at Oberammergau be officially endorsed by Christian Churches, let us at least justify the claim and prove that the present Jews deserve the hatred and contumely so freely bestowed upon them.

Among the materials introduced into this book for controversial purposes we find some useful and valuable references explaining the meaning of Jewish institutions, partly shedding light upon the roots of Christianity in the soil of Talmudic Judaism. We quote the following comparisons of a list of quotations from the New Testament and the Talmud, which prove that many of Christ's sayings are Jewish and go back in their historical origin to rabbinical teachings.

NEW TESTAMENT.

Blessed are the poor in spirit.

Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.

Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, not one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.

Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.

Whosoever is angry with his brother without cause shall be in danger of the judgment.

Leave thy guilt before the altar and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.

Take heed that you do not your alms before men to be seen of them.

But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.

But when ye pray use not vain repetitions as the heathen do, for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking.

Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.

Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

TALMUD.

More acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice is the humble spirit.

Three things there are that bear fruit in this world and yield reward in the world to come: First, honor of parents and fellow-men; second, hospitality to strangers and wayfarers; third, the making of peace between contending parties.

Whoso maketh peace among his fellow men enjoyeth the fruit thereof here, and shall reap his reward also in the world to come.

Whoso is merciful toward his fellow-creatures will be mercifully dealt with by his Father in Heaven.

Be rather of the persecuted than of the persecutors.

Even heaven and earth shall pass away, but the word of the Lord shall endure forever.

The least of the commandments demands as much of thy observance as the greatest.

Whoso lifts his hand against his neighbor, even though he strike him not, is guilty of an offence, and is adjudged a sinner.

Sins of man against God the Atonement Day expiates, but sins of man against man the Atonement Day does not expiate till he has become reconciled with his neighbor.

If any one take thy ass give him the saddle also.

Whoso gives alms in public had rather not give alms at all than shame his fellow-man.

"Whoso studies the Law in the secrecy of his home," saith the Lord, "I shall cause his goodly deeds to be known in public."

Let thy words be few when thou offerest them in prayer to God.

Let this be thy short form of prayer: Thy will be done in heaven, and may peace of heart be the reward of them that reverence Thee on earth.

Lead me not into sin, even from its temptations deliver Thou me.

NEW TESTAMENT.

Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not neither do they reap.

Therefore take no thought, saying: What shall we eat? or what shall we drink?

Take therefore no thought of the morrow; for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged.

With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.

How wilt thou say to thy brother, let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and behold a beam is in thine own eye.

Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them, for this is the Law and the Prophets.

Whoso heareth these sayings of mine and doth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock.

And the rain descended and the floods came and the winds blew and beat upon that house; and it fell and great was the fall of it.

Freely ye have received, freely give.

NEW TESTAMENT.

The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath.

When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room, lest a more honorable man than thou be bidden of him.

But when thou makest a feast call the poor, the maimed, the lame and the blind.

TALMUD.

Neither beast nor bird follow a trade, and yet they are fed without toil.

Whoso has bread in his basket and yet asks: What shall I eat to-morrow? belongs to those of little faith.

Sufficient unto the hour is the sorrow thereof. Thou shalt find it heavy enough even then.

Whoso judges his neighbor charitably, shall himself be charitably judged.

With what measure man metes, it shall be measured to him in heaven.

Do they say: Take the splinter out of thine eye? He will answer: Remove the beam out of thine own eye.

Whoso would reprove others must himself be spotless.

What is hateful unto thee, that do not unto another. This is the whole Law, all the rest is commentary.

Whoso studies the Law and acts in accordance with its commandments is likened unto a man who builds a house, the foundation of which is made of stone and the superstructure of bricks. Neither storm nor floods can injure it. But whoso studies the Law, and yet is wanting in good deeds, is likened unto the man who builds the foundation of his house of brick and the superstructure of stone. The flood comes, and undermines and destroys the house.

As freely as God has taught you, so freely shall ye teach.

Whoso humbles himself in this world shall be exalted in the next. Whoso makes himself like unto a slave, for the Law, in this world, shall be made free in the world to come.

To him that hath shall be given; from him that hath not shall be taken away.

TALMUD.

The Sabbath has been delivered into your power, not you into the power of the Sabbath.

When thou art bidden as a guest seat thyself in a place lower than that which thou art deservng. Let others assign to thee the higher place, not thyself. Never strive after the highest place lest they say unto thee: "Descend!" Better that they say unto thee: "Ascend to the higher place," than that thou shouldst be obliged to descend to the lower.

So build thy house that its entrance be toward the street and that the poor have free admission, and let them be welcome guests within.

And the Lord saith unto the servant, go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled.

It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master.

Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing, and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.

But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.

At that time Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast bid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.

Whoso, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.

For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man who is a householder, which went out early in the morning to hire laborers into his vineyard. And when he had agreed with the laborers for a penny a day, he sent them into his vineyard. And he went out about the third hour and saw others standing idle in the marketplace. And said unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right that shall ye receive. So when even was come, the lord of the vineyard saith unto his steward, Call the laborers and give them their hire, beginning from the last unto the first. And when they came that were hired about the eleventh hour they received every man a penny. And when they had received it they murmured against the good man of the house. Saying, these last have wrought but one hour, and thou hast made them equal unto us, which have borne the burden and heat of the day.

For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven.

A king invited his servants to a banquet, but did not appoint the time. The wise among them adorned themselves, and waited at the entrance of the king's palace, saying: Can there be anything wanting at a king's house to delay a banquet? But the foolish among them continued at their labor, saying: Can there be a banquet without preparation? Suddenly the king's summons came. The wise, being ready and adorned, entered. But the foolish, hurrying from their work, entered with the soil of their labor upon them. The king welcomed the wise, and bade them to partake of the feast. But he was angry at the foolish, and bade them to stand and look on.

It is enough for the servant that he be as his master.

Unless God wills it, not even a bird falls from the sky. Unless God wills it, no evil can fall upon man.

"Do I not number the very hairs of your head?" saith the Lord.

With the destruction of the Temple the power of prophecy departed from the prophets and entered the hearts of babes and simpletons.

Whoso humbles himself in this life in love for the Law of God shall be counted among the exalted in the world to come.

A king hired a number of laborers to work in his garden. Among them there was one whose labor was greatly pleasing in the eyes of the king. After observing him a while, he called him to his side, walked up and down with him, engaged in pleasant converse. In the evening the laborers came for their pay, and the king gave to each his day's wage. To him, whom he had called from his labor early in the day, he gave as much as to them who had toiled all day. These were displeased, and complained of unfair treatment, inasmuch as they had labored all day long, and had received no more than he who had toiled but little.

When the king learned of their displeasure, he said, This laborer has labored in but a few hours as much as ye have accomplished in all the day.

In the life to come there will be neither eating nor drinking, neither marrying nor following a trade, neither envy nor hatred. The heads of the pious will be adorned with crowns, and the godly will rejoice in the presence of the Lord.

The writer of this review has himself witnessed the Passion Play, but he has so far not recorded his impressions of the scenes enacted.

P. C.

THE LINEAR MEASURES OF BABYLONIA.

(Extracts from a Paper Read in a Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, by Rev. W. SHAW-CALDECOTT.¹)

For the history of linear measures, two relics from the plains of Mesopotamia are of special interest, the Tablet of Senkereh and the Rule of Gudea. Rev. Shaw-Caldecott made use of both for the purpose of reconstructing the Babylonian measures and also the Biblical cubit.

The history of the two relics and their description are stated by our author as follows:

"Senkereh is a small Arab village standing on the site of the ancient city of Larsam or Larsa, in Southern Babylonia. Not far away from its series of mounds are the Ruins of Warka—the Erech of Genesis x. 10—and of Mukayyar, once the home of the Patriarch Abram. Here, in 1850, Mr. W. K. Loftus discovered a great number of tombs containing baked-clay tablets and pottery, the former with rude cuneiform inscriptions impressed upon one or both sides. His most valuable discovery was a 'table of squares,' which, with the late Sir Henry Rawlinson's aid, was seen to confirm the statement of Berosus the Chaldean, that the Babylonians made use of a sexagesimal notation, the unit of which was termed a *sossus*, as well as of a decimal notation.

"Hommel well expressed the general conviction of Assyriologists when he wrote (Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1898, article "Babylonia"): 'On the reverse of the tablet of Senkereh are given the squares and cubes of the cubit from the No. 1 up to 60 [this is a clerical error for 40], and on the obverse the fractions and multiples of the cubit.'

"When it is stated that each side of the tablet has a surface for writing of about six inches square, and that 285 separate characters are still distinguishable on the obverse, and that these require the addition of an almost equal number which have been effaced, in order to complete the system, it will be seen that enormous difficulties have already been overcome in its transcription. The difficulties must have been insuperable but for the use of the microscope, a magnifying-glass having been almost certainly used in its construction. Why a work of such care and elaboration should not have been hardened by being baked, is one of those questions which it is easy to ask and impossible to answer."

We do not here enter into the details of the investigation nor venture to explain the nature of Rev. Caldecott's special work. We only quote his tribute of respect to the ancient Assyrians:

"A tribute of respect is due to the dead-and-gone sages who, some five thousand years ago, worked out for themselves, and for us, this system of arithmetic. With only their right hand to guide them, they elaborated a system which in many respects is superior to that in use amongst ourselves. For theirs was at once decimal and duodecimal, and in their monetary system there could not have been the anomaly of having twelve pence in a shilling and twenty shillings in a pound without any power of simple co-ordination."

The Senkereh Tablet furnishes us with literary evidence as to the "ells" used in Babylonia together with calculations of their constituent fractions. The Gudea

¹ The entire paper appeared in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund Society*, January, 1902. Reprinted by Stephen Austin & Sons, Hertford. The author's address is Tenterden, Kent, England.

Rule sheds some additional light on the use of the "palm," which according to Rev. Shaw-Caldecott existed in two distinct measures, one for the needs of goldsmiths and jewellers and the other for common use. This at least is his peculiar interpretation of the document in question.

As to the rule of Gudea itself, our author condenses the history of its discovery and the description of its nature in the following lines:

"In 1881 M. de Sarzec undertook a series of excavations for the French Government in one of the *tells* of Babylonia, not far from Senkereh. This has since proved to be the site of the ancient city of Lagash or Lagas, the ruins of which are 130 miles south-east of Babylon. It is now known as the village of Telloh.

"Buried in the courtyard of an archaic palace, M. de Sarzec found eight headless statues of diorite. These are now in the Louvre Museum, a cast of one of them having been presented to the Trustees of the British Museum (No. 91,025). Its notice-card bears the date of B. C. 2500.

"This piece of engraved statuary represents King Gudea as a worshipper, in the act of dedicating his palace to the care of some deity. His hands are folded in the attitude of prayer, and on his knees lies a slab of stone. On this slab there is engraved the ground-plan of a building which was evidently of earlier erection than that of the palace, the courtyard of which still exists. Both these palaces stood upon the same site, and have a general likeness of plan to one another. On the slab, besides the ground-plan, are engraved two other details. One of these is a graving tool, which has no message for us, apart from the fact that it is similar in every respect to tools in use to-day.

"The other is a record of the measure, or one of the measures by which the palace was built. It is this feature of the slab which is now to claim our attention. The rule—known as the rule of Gudea—is in the form of a double line cut near the outer edge of the slab. In it are a number of indentations or cuts, which give to the rule its unique value and importance. It is to the great loss of ourselves that parts of this rule are missing, the two corners of the slab, i. e., those farthest away from the king's body, having been broken off and lost.

"Many attempts have been made to restore, by conjecture, these broken-off portions, and thus to complete the rule, but none of these has met with general acceptance."

Dr. Oppert as a result of the measurement of Khorsabad comes to the conclusion that the Assyrian span is ten and four-fifths inches.¹ Coming to the conclusion that we have here two scales side by side, and referring to the Senkereh Tablet, he says: "A hitherto little noticed peculiarity of Column II is the fact that it contained a twofold set of measures." This being noticeable also in other sections, he is struck with the unusual way in which two uniformities are maintained. "So radical a dislocation of the system could only have been caused by some sufficient reason." Mr. Caldecott's hypothesis of two systems of linear measurement seems to explain the difficulty. The "palm" is fundamental in both records, and the fractions drawn from the rule of Gudea concur with the numbers on the Senkereh Tablet. "It is in this coincidence, so often repeated, that we find the correspondence of the Gudean scale and the Senkereh tablet with the early metric system of Western Asia, which hitherto has been unknown."

Our author adds: "This conclusion may prove to be a key which will fit the wards of many locks, and may give entrance to new fields of investigation, for 'science is measurement.'"

¹ See *Records of the Past*, new series, Vol. XI., pp. 22-23 (1878).

BOOK REVIEWS.

SWAIN SCHOOL LECTURES. By *Andrew Ingraham*, Late Head-Master of the Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1903. Pages, 200. Price, \$1.00.

Mr. Andrew Ingraham, late Head-Master of the Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass., offers in his *Swain School Lectures* a series of psychological, philosophical, and educational topics. He shows in the first lecture that all the sciences have a psychological element in them, and cleverly points out how to the ancients the mythological deities were actual realities. The second lecture is a supplement of the first, explaining the nature of epistemology. The fate and significance of metaphysics are explained by our author as follows:

"Many years, perhaps centuries, must pass, many sciences be perfected of which we discern merely the intimations, many things that we wish now must have ceased to be of concern to us, the knowledge of many facts of mind and language, now restricted to a few, must become the possession of the people, before we have even the foundation laid of the superstructure which some fancy that they have built already; and yet it is only by the downfall of their towers that we can learn where the foundation needed strengthening. All honor then to these who have tried and who have failed."

Mr. Ingraham recognises the need of a metaphysical background, but he accepts the negative result of his critical examination without venturing to decide in favor of any special school.

In his lecture on "A Universe of Hegel" and in an explanation of Hegel's theory of Synthesis, he expresses himself thus:

"You must have passed through all these, however, through all phases, too, of materialism, idealism, realism, nihilism, and whatever else there may be, until these myriads of influence and the contradictions they involve shall compel you to the philosophical consciousness. In this you behold the truth of this relation of thesis and antithesis between Spirit and Nature, but the two opposites come together and the contradiction is annulled in the higher unity of consciousness."

In his article on "Many Meanings of Money," Mr. Ingraham goes dangerously far into practical questions, without, however, compromising himself in any way or subscribing to any political program of our recent campaigns. While he insists on the value of silver and gold as precious metals, he believes that metal money will in the long run abolish itself, saying:

"In fact, by the progress of virtue and intelligence, the precious metals are destined to be eliminated from the monetary systems of the world. He who sees that all the business and trade and industry and commerce of the world, call it what you will, all the great and small exchanges and distributions, are effected by barter and by honest promises—by goods, that is, and by money—will see in silver now as he may expect to see in gold hereafter, a material too valuable to write notes on and not valuable enough to serve as a guarantee for their payment."

A perusal of these several lectures gives one the impression that their author is a thoughtful man, investigating, searching, calmly weighing the *pro* and *con* of every question, without preconceived notions or dogmatic tendencies. We have no doubt that as a teacher he must exercise a beneficial influence upon his scholars, instilling into their minds the true spirit of scientific inquiry.

P. C.

HADLEY BALLADS. By *Julia Taft Bayne*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1903. Pages, 52.

Mrs. Julia Taft Bayne, the wife of a Congregational clergyman, formerly of Hadley, Mass., then of La Salle, Illinois, and now in charge of a congregation at Lockport, Illinois, is an authoress whose merit has been recognised by prominent critics and men-of-letters, among whom the opinion of Charles Dudley Warner is a sufficient guarantee of the high literary character of her poetry. She calls her poems *Hadley Ballads*, for most of them were written in Old Hadley, with its ancient atmosphere and the lingering traditions of Colonial days.

The perusal of the first ballad justifies Mr. Warner's judgment when he writes, "I like more, the oftener I read, your 'Hadley Weathercock'!" The first stanza of this spirited poem to the gilded weathercock on the Hadley church steeple reads as follows:

"On Hadley steeple proud I sit,
Steadfast and true, I never sit,
Summer and winter, night and day,
The merry winds around me play,
And far below my gilded feet
The generations come, and go,
In one unceasing ebb and flow,
Year after year in Hadley street.
I nothing care, I only know,
God sits above, He wills it so;
While roundabout and roundabout and
roundabout I go,
The way o' the wind, the changing wind,
the way o' the wind to show."

The poem "God's Rooster," written in honor of the same metallic bird, is as humorous as it is idyllic, and "The Hadley Elms" is an exhortation to the present generation to remain faithful to the old traditions.

"When danger threatens, and sorrow overwhelms,
To stand strong, beautiful, as Hadley elms!"

"Molly Webster" is a sad remembrance of the age of witch persecution, written in the Old English style, imitating even the old spelling.

"The Angel of Rescue" tells the historical story of the year 1675, of the refugee Goffe, hiding in Hadley, one of the judges who had condemned Charles I. to death. When the Indians in one of their stealthy raids suddenly attacked Hadley, this unknown stranger, an old man of wild but impressive and venerable appearance came to the rescue, inspiring the colonists with his mysterious presence and vigorous bravery to a bold resistance which finally saved the town. The friends of the persecuted refugee did not contradict the story that the unknown helper had been an angel from heaven, and thus no search for him was made, and he could quietly remain in his hiding-place.

Mrs. Bayne believes that corn (or as the English would say, maize) should be the national emblem of the United States:

"Our oriflamme shalt thou be borne;
No race a nobler crest has worn
Since Henry bore to high command
Plant-a-genet in old England,
Come, and our goddess' cap adorn
Oh laughing, yellow bearded Corn!"

Other poems are entitled: "The Deerfield Bell," "Fate? God," "Our Neighbor," "In Whately Glen," "Hepatica," "The Old Apple-Tree," "Anemone,"

"Memorial Day, 1893," "Greylock," "Tell Us the Story, Veterans!" "Father's Day," "Daffadowndilly," "On Southampton Beach," "Arbor Day," "The Soldier of the Monument," "A Disappointed Daughter," "The Lesson of History," "Precedent." They are all patriotic, humorous, thoughtful, and nowhere is the poetical spirit flagging.

P. C.

The Gate Beautiful, by John Ward Stimson, formerly the Rector of Art Education at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Arts; of the Artist-Artisan Institute of the same city; of the Art and Science Institute, Trenton, New Jersey, etc., is a quarto volume in which the author discusses the principles of art education. The book is profusely illustrated with over a thousand illustrations, reproductions of classical works of art, diagrams, patterns, designs, and two color charts, and betrays an eminently inspirational teacher with a leaning toward the mystic, but finding the love of beauty wherever it can be traced, and trying to see the laws written everywhere in color, form, in the starry firmament, in snow crystals, and in the human body. His systematisation of his ideas is always interesting, and always helpful and suggestive, although not always happy. In one of the leading thoughts of his theory we find, for instance, the trinity "Force, Rhythm, Form, which shows itself in Energy, Balance, Organisation, and we would say that rhythm is a kind of form, the form of energy, and balance is inherent in organisation, being the self-control of an organised body, one of the results of organisation. Thus the trinity is really a duality in which a quality of one has been raised to the dignity of an independent factor, while at the same time the third element—matter, viz., the substance in which force shows itself, has been omitted. The trinity ought to be matter, motion, and form; or substance, energy, and organisation.

But we should not criticise details when we consider that Mr. Stimson's modes of systematisation are after all incidental and can be of temporary use in his general purpose of showing us the beauty that surrounds us. For artistic work we need no methodical systematisation, and it is sufficient that his enthusiastic inspiration helps us to feel with him. We can understand that in his teaching he carries away his disciples and gives them an impulse that would not easily be obliterated.

Perhaps the greatest merit of Mr. Stimson's book is the encouragement it gives to bold and independent creativeness. He guides the student, away from the monotony of purely mechanical imitation, out into the vivifying sunshine of original work, and this is after all among all the needs of our American artist students, perhaps the greatest and most important desideratum.

The illustrations are well selected, perhaps with the exception of those in which he expresses his own favorite ideas of systematisation, such as the atomic "Ladder of Life" which illustrates the progress "from solid—to liquid—to gaseous—to etheric—to spirit life," an attempt which indicates a leaning toward occultism.

We have no doubt that with all of its shortcomings the book will be a great help to art students and to lovers of beauty; for truly Mr. Stimson is right when he says (p. 418): "By cultivating the Art Instinct broadly, wholesomely, organically, thoroughly, we make it individual, liberal, national, creative, and reveal to man that *Beauty is as universal as its application is infinite and precious.*"

P. C.

1 *The Gate Beautiful: Being Principles and Methods in Vital Art Education.* Cloth, \$7.50; by mail, \$7.93. Paper, \$3.50; by mail, \$3.76. Published by Albert Brandt, Trenton, N. J.



THE KIOSK OF PHILÆ.

The building was never finished. The bare blocks of the columns above the lotus capitals were intended to be chiseled out as house-crowned Hathor faces.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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HEBREW FICTION.

BY REV. EDWARD DAY.

IT is curious to what extent the processes of the Hebrew mind, as those processes reveal themselves to us in the Old Testament, have been misconceived. The reason for this misconception probably may be found very largely in the old theory of inspiration. So long as men held to the thought of a verbally inspired Bible, they naturally conceived it to be in the main a plain statement of facts. Indeed, we may say that in accordance with this conception of the Scriptures there was little reason for supposing that the Hebrew mind had much to do creatively in making the literature preserved for us in the Old Testament canon. Such mental processes as were necessary to other peoples in the making of their literatures were supposedly unnecessary here. Not thus is it with the new conception of the Bible which is, happily for us, surely, though all too slowly, winning its way among thoughtful people. This reveals the folk-stories and the poetry, the legal codes and the prophetic writings, as well as other parts of the Old Testament, to have been as truly products of the Hebrew mind as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the Platonic dialogues and the tragic poetry were of the Greek mind.

In his fascinating study of *Semitic Origins* Prof. George Aaron Barton speaks of the Bedawi as the modern representatives of the Semitic peoples who anciently lived in Arabia. He reminds us that they are always underfed, that they suffer constantly from hunger and thirst, and that their bodies, thus weakened, fall an easy prey to disease. He further reminds us that "they range the silent desert, almost devoid of life, where the sun is powerful by day and the stars exceedingly brilliant by night." Dr. Barton then

goes on to remark that "this environment begets in them intensity of faith of a certain kind, ferocity, exclusiveness, and imagination. These are all Semitic characteristics wherever we find the Semites; and there can be little doubt but that this is the land in which these traits were ingrained in the race." I find myself heartily assenting to these words; especially do I feel that this scholar is right in speaking as he does of the imagination of the Semites. There are scholars who have failed to recognise this trait of the Semitic peoples. Repeatedly have we been told that they were destitute of imagination. Some seem to have taken the statement, "The Semite is unimaginative," as a sort of working hypothesis. This has led to a misunderstanding of the Hebrews among other Semitic peoples. Unquestionably it is partly in consequence of this that though there has been steady progress towards more intelligent conceptions of the Bible, the movement has on the whole been painfully slow. In time we shall, I trust, hear it confidently and unqualifiedly asserted that the Hebrew has ever shown himself as a man of letters gifted imaginatively, and that much, if not most of his work as it appears in the literary remains of his past, and especially as it comes before us in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha is in the nature of fiction.

The time may yet come when we shall have to conclude that much of the imaginative literature of the Indo-European peoples reveals in manifold ways traces of Semitic influence. The time is not yet ripe for any serious, not to say exhaustive, attempt to set forth the influence of Babylonia upon the Greeks. Such finds as that of the library of Assurbanipal, which Hilprecht dug out of a room in the ancient temple of Bel at Nippur and brought with him to the University of Pennsylvania recently, must be deciphered before we can safely speak with any reasonable degree of assurance. Yet even those of us who are unskilled in cuneiform can easily discover points of similarity between Homer and certain of the Babylonian epics, as the Gilgamesh epic.

To most of us the question as to the capacity of the Hebrew mind for imaginative literature has to do largely with the Old Testament. Has it any fiction; and if so, how much and what is to be so considered? Our examination must necessarily cover, though in a somewhat cursory way, the whole Old Testament field. That much of it is imaginative we shall find. This is the direction in which the most fearless scholarship is moving to-day. Not only shall we find that much was purely imaginative, but we shall also find that nothing wholly escaped the play of their fancy. Even

their chronicles which purported to be narratives of actual occurrences were often as untrue to fact as were their folk-lore and their poetry; while their legal codes, their proverbs and their psalmody were embedded in fictions manifold.

There are parts of the Old Testament which have long been recognised by many as fictitious. That the Book of Job is an imaginative poem, we have frequently been told. The dialogues are cast in a fictitious mold; but the story of the prologue is as truly fictitious. To the writer belonged the credit of conceiving both the slight story upon which he built his poem and the form in which he cast it. We might accept the statement of certain scholars that there was a typical patient man, known to Israel and alluded to in Ezekiel as Job, if it were not for our suspicion that the Book of Ezekiel is a Maccabean production in which it is not at all surprising that there should be mention of the Job of this very poem. All this has not been as frankly recognised as that the dialogues of this great drama of the inner life, or soul, are imaginary. The unknown writer, as he wrestled with the gigantic problem which the presence of evil and misfortune among men flung in its provoking way in his face, as though to mock him, puts words now in the mouth of his supposed patriarch and anon in that of some imaginary friend of his.

That Canticles, or the so-called Song of Solomon, is an imaginative love poem has been widely asserted for some time. Just now the contention of Herder in a modified form, that the little book consists of a number of independent love poems or ditties, is growing in favor.¹ Such a conception of the work leaves its imaginative character unquestioned. Though we no longer consider it a drama of pure love in which a certain number of characters play their separate parts consistently throughout, we still must admit that the different songs have their dramatic situations and characters of a purely fictitious nature. Accepting the book in this new light, we are helped to understand the vein of coarseness, or lewdness, which runs through these sensuous songs, a vein our English translations but partially conceal.

That certain of the shorter poems, as the so-called Blessing of Jacob, the song Israel is said to have sung at the Red Sea, the Song of Moses found in Deuteronomy, the Song of Deborah found in Judges v., the Psalm of Hannah in 1 Samuel ii., have some sort of basis in the folk-lore of Israel, if not in fact, must be admitted; but that their writers treated such material as they found at hand

¹ See *Biblical Love Ditties*, Paul Haupt.

in a highly imaginative way is unquestionable. Compare for example at many points the Song of Deborah, a poem written probably eight or ten centuries after the event it celebrates could have transpired, with the folk-tale of Judges iv., the data of which are themselves seriously open to question; and you will find a wide divergence as to the number of Hebrew tribes engaged, two in the folk-tale to several in the poem; as to the number of men in arms, 10,000 in the folk-tale to 40,000 in the poem; as to the place of rendezvous, the side of Tabor in the folk-tale, Esdraelon in the poem. Notice, too, that while the crude, unfeeling folk-story represents the nomad woman Jael to have slain Sisera after she had taken him as a guest into her tent, an outrageous violation of the sacred laws of hospitality, the poem as the work of a more cultured age, with greater sensitiveness to the obligations and proprieties of life, represents her to have struck the warrior with a mallet a staggering blow upon the head as he bowed himself to drink of a bowl of milk at her tent door. Notice also with what consummate art this imaginative poem closes as the attention is taken from the carnage of battle and the tragic death of Sisera to the distant home where the women of the harem peer forth, watching for the return of their lords, questioning one another meanwhile as to their individual share in the spoil, spoil such as early Israel could not have yielded their enemies.

Even more noteworthy is the purely imaginary character of the poem of 1 Samuel ii., the Psalm of Hannah, as it is called. There is not a sentence that could have had any appropriateness as the words of an overjoyed mother. It is safe to say that the sanity of a mother who should improvise such a poem under similar circumstances to-day would be seriously questioned by her physician and friends. I chance to know a little miss to whom, after relating the narrative of 1 Samuel i., a father read this poem. She instantly and innocently remarked that it was in apropos. "I can't see," she added, "what it has to do with the story." In her intuitive insight she was right, though she had as a tiny literary critic left hopelessly behind the learned fathers of the Church for nearly two thousand years.

Passing from the imaginative poetry to the prose which has been regarded by many scholars as fictitious, we notice that the imaginative character of the Book of Ruth has long been recognised, though there are still those who are loath to think of Boaz and Ruth in any other light than as actual progenitors of David. Fortunately the fact that it is a tale after the style of those in the

Decameron is disguised for us by our translators. A certain Hebrew euphemism is invariably mistranslated. We, therefore, continue to speak of "this wonderfully beautiful idyl"; as we also persist in thinking of the book as a magnificent protest against the policy of Ezra and Nehemiah who are said to have forbidden foreign marriages.

A word should be said concerning Esther as a piece of fiction. That there is nothing in the way of historical data back of the story is widely admitted. In tone the book is pitilessly cruel; yet that it is actually without moral significance we would not think to assert, for while we find its story of the awful reprisal and slaughter of the Gentiles by the Jews revolting, we do regard with complacency the story of Haman's fall and Mordecai's exaltation. Not only is the book a piece of fiction, but it is in its way apparently a novel with a purpose. We have something akin to a plot, which is crudely worked out, as we have a tragic conclusion which leaves the newly wedded queen to enjoy undisturbed her royal husband, while her uncle is in power and her people about her and throughout the realm are prosperous and happy. All this was written to account for the institution of the feast of Purim and, it would seem, to deepen among the Jews a hatred of other peoples and to revivify, and to intensify withal, their national consciousness.

Popular attention has been so directed to the Book of Jonah that it is not surprising that many conservative Biblical students should have been forced to accept the conclusion of progressive scholars, that it is a fiction of the late post-exilic time designed to beget in the Jews more liberal views of the scope of their religion and to lead them to look upon their Gentile neighbors as within the reach of Yahveh as a pitiful and forgiving God. To so understand this little prophetic book is to find it the most akin to the New Testament evangel of any book in the Old Testament. It is to be hoped that sometime we may have a great oratorio of Jonah. The story, if only we can forget all the foolish things said of it, as we forget those said of our first parents when listening to Hayden's great oratorio of the creation, has magnificent possibilities in this direction.

There is one other book which should be noticed as belonging to the imaginative literature of the Hebrews, the book of Daniel, which is without any basis in fact. Even the thought of Daniel as the typical wise man of Israel, who finds mention in Ezekiel, must be surrendered, and for similar reasons to those which necessitate our concluding that there was no such typically patient man as Job

before the Book of Job was written. The only prominent actor taken from actual history, Nebuchadnezzar, was entirely misconceived by the writer who could have known little of the man himself, glorious as was his reign, for he lived four centuries prior to his time. Antiochus Epiphanes was the unprincipled ruler he had in mind, as he was the man he wished to see humbled. Here again we have fiction with a purpose. As a piece of early Maccabean writing this was designed to comfort the people in their distress and to hearten and reinforce them in their unequal and awful contest with Syria. Just here it may be remarked that William Stearns Davis, who has deserved the favor with which "A Friend of Cæsar" and "God Wills It" have been received, has ingloriously failed in "Belshazzar," because he has depended so slavishly on the Book of Daniel. We might excuse him for using the material of Daniel for purposes of fiction did he not profess to find it at crucial points more reliable than the well-attested conclusions of our best students of Babylonian life.

We by no means leave all the imaginative literature of the Old Testament behind when we turn to what purports to be the annals of Israel's past, for here we come upon myth, legend, and folk-lore which can have little, if any, historical basis. Here we find the Hebrew playing fancifully with his conceptions of the cosmos and nature as well as the supposed incidents of his own history in much the same way early peoples of other lands have ever done with theirs. If we look to this literature for facts, or for material that may be used in the moral instruction of the young, we need to be extremely cautious. Dr. G. Stanley Hall and a certain New York divine both lay themselves open to criticism just here. They tell us that here is something with which we should begin in our moral training of the young. That children, boys especially, enjoy these Old Testament stories must be admitted; that they may therefore be used for purposes of entertainment to some extent may be granted; but that there is danger if we try to get a moral out of them we may create the impression on the part of the children that we are subjecting them to undue strain, I for one believe. Some two years ago a prominent American sculptor appealed to me to name two or three small volumes which would be helpful to him in his use of the Old Testament in his family. His children were daily putting to him the most perplexing questions, critical questions such as few children thought to raise twenty-five years ago. A short time before, so he told me, he was reading some of the folk-stories of Genesis to his little boy when

he was interrupted and startled by the remark: "Pop! Seems to me these stories are like those I sometimes tell which wont bear 'vestigation." The little fellow was right: many of these stories are unmoral if not immoral. This is true of the Samson stories; it is also true of that thrice told tale in which a patriarch to save himself puts his wife in peril. The only moral of the story of Jacob's contest with the mysterious stranger at Peniel is the one indirectly suggested. The adversary in his wrestling bout with the patriarch strikes, and strikes below the belt. In other words, he, to use a modern athletic term, fouls. He should in consequence have been counted out. If the story means anything to us, it is that none, even an angel, should use his power illegitimately; but this the story was never designed to teach. In reality it reveals the disposition of Israel as a people in the late time to glory in themselves as those who could hold their own with celestial powers when fairly treated and as those who could, even when worsted, win their heart's desire at the hand of these powers by their importunity. We find, then, that Israel's legends and folk-tales, as highly fanciful and imaginary literature, must be recognised for just what they are; and must in consequence be used with extreme caution lest we press them too far.

When we turn to the old chronicles, the J and E narratives, as they are called, we find that the story of an Egyptian sojourn and a bondage there suffered bears many marks that lead us to surmise that it is fictitious. May it not be purely imaginative; and may it not reflect to a considerable extent the experiences during the time of the Babylonian exile? The conclusion of scholars that these chronicles belong to the pre-exilic time cannot be said to be considered an irreversible one.

That the Israelites were nomads when they forded the Jordan and settled in Canaan we know; they had been so from time immemorial. That the picture drawn in the late time of the old desert life was highly colored we know. They lived as nomads on their flocks and herds, not on manna, whatever that was conceived to be, and on quails; and they had to maintain themselves among their enemies by force of their own right arms. But what of the conquest, or rather of the settlement? We must go to the first chapter of Judges for anything approximating the truth, not to the Book of Joshua, which gives us the late priestly misconception of the supposed conquest of the land. A more curious piece of fiction it would be difficult to find anywhere. The very personality as well as the name, of this leader is open to question. The name

means one whom Yah or Yahveh helps or delivers. Presumably he was conceived to be a deliverer or saviour. With him in story was associated the fish, for "Nun," the name of the supposed father, is the Chaldaic for fish. In Caleb, on the other hand, we encounter a Semitic clan which became absorbed in the tribe of Judah, for Caleb is the Hebrew for dog, a clan name.

Fictitious as is this reputed history, it is scarcely less so than the stories of Samuel and Saul and those related of David and Solomon. Passing strange too is the way in which Josiah and Ezra figure in the history of Israel. One is idealised and made to play a mighty part as a Deuteronomic reformer; the other appears to have been created *de novo* for the part the priests wished him to play as the great scribe.

The men known to scholars as Deuteronomists, who gave Israel Deuteronomy which they fictitiously represented Moses to have promulgated just before the people entered Canaan and who redacted, or edited, the historical books, wished the people to think there had been an effort made in the pre-exilic time to conform the life of the people to their peculiar conceptions and legal codes. So they told a wondrous story of the finding of a law-book and of a bloody reprisal and reform which Josiah in consequence brought about, thus rooting out all idolatrous practices and centralising the pure worship of Yahveh their God in Jerusalem. Then a century or so later, when the priests wished to promulgate their Levitical codes, they told a marvellous story of a man whom they called Ezra, and of a return of thousands under the patronage of Cyrus. That there is not a shred of truth in it all, Dr. C. C. Torrey of Yale University has shown in his masterly treatise published as his doctor's thesis in Germany a few years ago.¹

Of the many other fictitious stories which were woven into the old chronicles I need not speak. Israel was in its meager way making history in those times, but such history as it made had little interest, and left few traces, while the stories told in the late time to give prestige to some party, or to further some reform, were carefully preserved. Most of the early poetry, to which we find occasional reference, and many of the old chronicles appear to have been lost, while this other literature was painstakingly preserved.

In speaking of Hebrew fiction I can linger only to call attention to the fact that both the liturgic and the gnomic poetry were ascribed by their late writers to men of the early time as David

¹*The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah.*

and Solomon. Whether the prophetic literature was also pseud-epigraphic is a question which has been as yet scarcely raised by Hebrew scholars. If I have done anything in the way of original work beyond showing the fictitious nature of the Josiah story of the promulgation of Deuteronomy, it has been what I have done with my collaborator in revealing, what I take to be a fact, that such books as Amos, Hosea, and Micah were, as prophetic literature, written in the late post-exilic time and attributed to supposed prophets who, though they do not appear in the old chronicles as actual personages, were conceived to have existed and to have played an important part as moral reformers and statesman.¹ These fictions whereby the poetic and prophetic writings were dated back and ascribed to real or imaginary persons of the earlier centuries have their counterparts in the Apocrypha which in its general characteristics and its contents resembles large parts of the Old Testament.

It may seem at first thought as though the recognition of the fact that so much of the literature of the Hebrews is imaginative must disparage it as literature. Such is not the case. The value of the legal codes, the prophetic writings, and the liturgic and gnostic poetry, is scarcely touched by the fictions into which they are cast or enveloped. The thread of incident found in Jeremiah may be as purely imaginary as that which runs through Leviticus; but the discovery of the fact does not thereby discredit the prophetic thought. So far as purely fictitious parts of the Old Testament are concerned, we need to remember that the purposes back of these writings gave them their value to Israel, as they may enhance their interest for, if they do not increase their value to us. The growing life and thought of the people may be traced by us, albeit not as easily as would be possible had we a matter-of-fact narrative.

We should bear in mind the fact that the great masterpieces of the world belong to imaginative literature: the Iliad and the Odyssey, the Æneid, the Divine Comedy, Faust, Paradise Lost, and the Dramas and the Comedies of Shakespeare, all are imaginative. We need also to bear in mind the fact that it is not until recent years that history, save in exceptional instances, has been made a narrative of facts, if, indeed, it be yet. It has become customary to denounce the excessive novel reading of our day, though we personally read our full share of modern fiction. It should be

¹ "Is the Book of Amos Post-Exilic," by Edward Day and Walter H. Chapin, in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January, 1902.

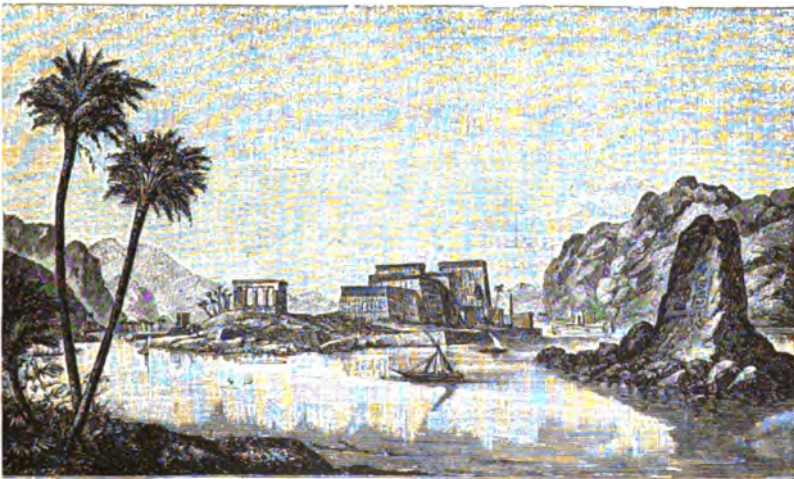
remembered that men and women have ever shown an appetite for romance and that now that history and certain other forms of literature have lost much that is grotesque and fanciful, those who read must necessarily for the most part turn to fiction for entertainment. At all events nothing is gained through concealing the real nature of Hebrew literature.

Much of the literature of Israel is charged with moral purpose; it has in consequence certain ethical values for us. Yet even here quite apart from any beauty of form, there must be some sort of critical knowledge of its contents or its mission to the individual student or reader is an imperfect one. We would master it as literature that we may the more truly appreciate its worth and beauty. So far as its ethical values are concerned, we may leave it largely to the pulpit and its supposedly trained exegetes. We surely may go to it as one of the world's great literatures to be thrilled by whatever is sublime and to be charmed by whatever is beautiful; to be entertained by its pleasing fictions and rendered more devout by its unsurpassed devotional poetry.

P'A-LEK.

BY THE EDITOR.

SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI! The most beautiful monument of Egyptian antiquity is wiped out from the face of the earth. P'a-lek or Philæ is submerged in the flood of the Nile and the highest buildings only appear above the surface of the water.



PHILÆ FROM THE NORTH. (After Langl.¹)

PHILÆ is the Hellenised form of the Egyptian PHILAK, a modification of PHALEK or PALEK which means "the Island of the End." "P" or "PH" is the article; "A" means "Island" and "LAK," "ceasing" or "finishing." Egyptian pilgrims called it by that name because here was the end and goal of their journey.

The island, the most southern of the several tombs of Osiris

¹ Reproduced from Erman's *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 8.

was sacred to the spouse of the god, to the divine wife and mother, Lady Isis, Queen of Heaven.

It is now known under its Greek name "Philæ" all over the civilised world but the natives of Egypt and Nubia call it Gezîret Anas-el-Wogûd after the hero of a love story in the "Arabian Nights."

And, indeed, the island has always been famous for the peculiar charm of its fairy tale atmosphere. Under the cloudless sky of Egypt it lay like a green emerald, all the more precious by the contrast to the bare gray rocks which surrounded its northern shore. As a gem is set on a silver foil, so it rises from the shining current



THE TEMPLE OF ISIS.—PANORAMA

of the mysterious river. The serene columns and temple walls, painted in gay colors, were fringed with lofty date palms, and the quietude of the near desert on either side of the granite bluffs made this fascinating spot a fit retreat for religious contemplation. A landscape poem, a hymn of adoration visualised, a dream of peace and bliss made real,—so Philæ appeared to many visitors that came from afar to worship the weird powers of the life and to be initiated into the mysteries which were confidently believed to give comfort in death, divine assistance to the soul in its journey through the land of shades, and strength to overcome the terrors of Hades.

A great dam at Assuan, which, it is hoped, will bring an annual increase to the Egyptian revenues of thirteen million dollars,

has there changed the valley of the river into a broad lake. A number of villages which dotted the banks are inundated, and one of the most sacred spots of pagan worship which has been visited by millions of worshippers in ancient days and remained down to modern times the goal of many thousands of curious travellers, scholars, and archæologists, is now fast becoming a booty of the floods. The water of the Nile now laves the columns of the temple walls, and the moisture creeps up to the mural paintings. It is only a question of time when they will be destroyed entirely and when the stones themselves will be underwashed and crumble away.



OF PHILÆ.—THE KIOSK.

Philæ was a small granite island, only 1200 feet long and 450 feet broad, but it was famous on account of the sanctity of its ancient temple. Here, at the southern frontier of Egypt, remote from the turmoil of the busy world, must we seek the last resort of pagan devotees. This is the place where for several centuries after the rise of Christianity, in spite of the edicts of Theodosius prohibiting all pagan worship, the festival of Osiris continued to be celebrated, and where paganism had entrenched itself so strongly that it could be ousted only by force at a direct command of Emperor Justinian in the middle of the sixth century of the Christian era.

Philæ does not belong to Egypt proper. It is situated above the cataract at Assuan, in a district which was even in historical



KING USIRTASEN'S STELE OF WADY HALFA.



PHILÆ FROM THE NORTHWEST.

times inhabited by savage tribes. The southern trade of the Egyptian inhabitants of Elephantine suffered much from depredations until the kings of Egypt decided to establish their authority in this part of the country, and King Usirtasen I. of the twelfth dynasty



KIOSK OF PHILÆ, FROM THE NORTH.

(according to Budge about 2758 B. C.) succeeded in conquering the tribe of Konusit and extended the authority of the Pharaohs to Korosko, a place above the cataract of Wady Halfa, which is easily defended. There he built a fort on either bank of the Nile and

erected a triumphal stele in which he recorded his victory over the barbarians. Since then the sovereignty of Egypt in these parts remained forever firmly established.

Usirtasen's triumphal stele, which has been acquired by the Museum of Florence, has been repeatedly translated, first by Champollion, then by Rosellini, and finally by Berend.¹ The stele, which is dated the eighteenth year of Usirtasen,² commemorates a decisive victory over several negro tribes, the Kas, the Shemyk, the Khesaa, the Shat, the Akherkin, etc. It shows the King with a rope in his hand to which are attached ten names encircled in battle-mented cartouches and mounted by the portraits of ten negro chiefs. The inscription declares that the King presented them bound and their arms tied on their backs before god Ammon and sacrificed them at the altar with his own hand.³

Philæ is situated within the territory conquered by Usirtasen I. and must have been used as a sacred spot since olden times, perhaps since the days of that great conqueror, but it is not mentioned before the reign of Nektanebas II., a king of the Thirtieth Dynasty who reigned in the middle of the fourth century B. C., when Egypt had lost its independence and had become a province of the Persian empire. It is touching to notice that the priests of Palek ignored the government of the foreign invader and clung to their legitimate king, recording his name as if he had ruled in fact, while we know that he was merely a private person and a powerless pretender.⁴

(TO BE CONCLUDED.)

¹ *Principaux Monuments du Musée Egyptien de Florence*, pp. 51-52.

² The date is established by a fragment recently discovered by Captain Lyons.

³ See Budge, *History of Egypt*, Vol. I., p. 163, and Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 484.

⁴ *The Century Magazine* for October contains an illustrated article on "The Destruction of Philæ" by Alonzo Clark Robinson. The author denounces the destruction of the island as a "tragedy" and a "murder." He says: "The temple of Rameses III. at Thebes is more imposing, Karnak is larger, the Pyramids are older, the decorations which blaze upon the walls of Abydos are more varied and numerous, the pillars of Dendera excel in height and majesty; but Philæ was the most beautiful, the most loved."

The illustrations in *The Century Magazine* show the temple ruins in their present lamentable condition surrounded by the hostile waters of the risen river.

THE BODY OF THE FUTURE LIFE:

IS IT ELECTRICAL?

BY CHARLES HALLOCK, M. B. S.

THE thought that the body of the future life may be electrical was suggested to the writer by the wireless message and the flight of the angel Gabriel as mentioned in Daniel ix. 21. It is only a surmise. It does not amount to a conviction. How can we know? It is not within the mental scope of man to penetrate the realm of the unknowable. If science fail to support, and Bible revelation be rejected, what avenue to knowledge is left? How can the truth be known? Reason itself is shy.

At the same time it cannot be denied that Scripture seems to support the postulate here presented in a startling manner. There were a great many phenomena associated with the life of Christ as recorded by the Apostles which appear in evidence.

The Apostle Paul has made an imperfect attempt in Cor. xv. to define the substance and nature of the spiritual body which is to traverse celestial space after its transformation at the putative Resurrection: but psychology was a crude study in Paul's days, and his exposition does not satisfy. Modern science, however, does help to explain many phenomena which were formerly unaccountable, or accounted as miracles, and to give meaning to texts of Scripture which have hitherto seemed void of significance.

During all historic time a large proportion of mankind has believed in the immortality of the soul. Since Christ came many believe also in the resurrection of the body. What body? Our carnal natural body which is subject to decay and corruption? Which has been put away in the grave diseased, deformed, dismembered, or torn to shreds by explosions? Christ and his disciples say, "No." But we are told that when the final call shall come "we shall all be changed." And we are assured furthermore that "flesh

and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." [This postulate is diametrically opposite to Job's idea in the Old Testament times. Job xix. 26.]

Now, as man was "created in God's own image," and Christ, the divine emanation, "took upon himself the form of a man," and as "God is a spirit," and "his angels (who were created before the world was made) are they not all ministering spirits," the main split in the analogy seems to consist in the fact that human beings are at first mortal, and so subject to physical death and dissolution, whereas the Godhead and angels, archangels, seraphim, cherubim, and other celestial beings so often spoken of in the Scriptures, are immortal. But we are taught that in due time our "spirits shall return to God who gave them," and then we shall be like them. In what guise or substance, then, will they return? The transfiguration of the Saviour on the Mount gives an inkling.

All the angels who have ever had intercourse with man on earth resembled men, and we have Scripture record of one hundred and thirty of their visitations in Old and New Testament times; so that their form, behavior, features, missions, and characteristics are not altogether hypothetical. In the cases of Gabriel, Raphael, Michael, and some others, their visits were so frequent that their persons became familiar. Although these messengers usually appeared in human form, they often disguised themselves, just as Christ did during his last forty days (Matt. xxviii. 3; Luke xxiv. 37), or transformed themselves at pleasure (Mark xvi. 12). Quite frequently their faces were luminous (Rev. x. 1; Rev. i. 14, 15, 16). On occasions their effulgence was so dazzling as to terrify (Matt. xxviii. 3, 4). They seemed to eat, speak, taste, hear, see, feel, and assimilate food as mortals do. Three of them sat at meat with Abraham. Two ate with Lot. In some instances they ordered what should be served. One wrestled with Jacob, showing inherent athletic strength. But they manifested supernatural powers as well. They appeared and vanished at will. Obstacles did not intercept their passage or their vision. Distance did not limit their sight or hearing. Levitation in fire, air, and water was a personal endowment. One of them ascended in the flame of Manoah's altar and was not consumed. They had phenomenal powers delegated to them and were often employed on errands of mercy, or as nuncios, or as agents of destruction, armed with thunderbolts, to execute God's wrath. They seemed to possess in a modified degree the divine attributes. So likewise Christ ate and drank with his disciples and others *after his carnal body had been discarded*, par-

taking of bread, meat, honey, and fish at sundry times. At times he changed his features so that his intimate male and female associates did not recognise him (Mark xvi. 12; Luke xxiv, 16, 17). He walked on the water; he was caught up in the air: he appeared and vanished at will. At times his face was luminous, and at the transfiguration his whole body was aglow with incandescence. In like phase he vanished out of their sight at the last.

All this preamble is pertinent to the query: What shall be our future body in life immortal? The Scripture saith: "It doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we shall be *like Him*." (1 John iii. 2.) And again: "When I wake up *after thy likeness*, I shall be satisfied with it." (Ps. xvii. 16.) Christ has said: "I and the Father are one." He has repeatedly declared his kinship with mankind. He assured his disciples of their oneness with the Father and with himself. Therefore we argue from analogy what our body will resemble, and we may gather by the same logical process what its substance will be.

Let us consider:

While the Saviour was "of the earth earthy," he was subject to physical limitations. After his resurrection he was exempt. His face was radiant. A halo of light at times encircled his head, and on occasion "his countenance shone like lightning." Were not these phenomena purely electrical? Was not his new body an electrical body peculiarly adapted to the realm of infinitude? Why not electrical? The idea is not preposterous. Modern science has discovered that electricity is not matter. (?) Can there not be entities which we wot not of, so different from our own that the Saviour himself would not attempt to describe them, simply because, as he declared, his disciples would not comprehend; any more, perhaps, than a fish (as some philosopher has cited) which has known only aquatic life can imagine a species of beings living out of water and breathing air?

What other substance than electricity is so subtle that solid bodies present no obstacle to its passage, and yet so potent that it can smash rocks to atoms? Christ's resurrected body possessed this nature. Its character was manifested by the aureola which enveloped him at his transfiguration and final ascension. He was electrically luminous when he walked on the water, and the sailors "thought it was a spirit." His electrical nature was manifested especially in his power of levitation. The same peculiarity invested the "shining ones" who sat by the Saviour's vacated tomb, and it has characterised the presence of all angels, "saints in light" (Col.

i. 12), who appeared in visions to Daniel, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and St. John, in their spiritual seances and interviews. The glare in almost every instance was blinding: its effect stunning. At the Pentecost the Holy Spirit showed itself in "tongues of fire." It blinded St. Paul on his way to Damascus. It was present in the "Shechina" of the inner tabernacle, in the "pillar of fire" which preceded the Israelitish vanguard like an *ignis fatuus* in their wilderness journey, and in the Ark of the Covenant. It was conspicuously manifested when Nahum inadvertently put out his hand to steady the ark and fell dead as if he had touched a live wire. It kindled the wood of Elijah's altar and licked up the water in its trench. It explains the transcendent glory of the New Jerusalem which was beyond the power of St. John to describe; it is ever present in the spectacular drama of the Revelation, sometimes in brilliant coruscations, and again accompanied by thunder and tremors. Presumably it will scintillate from the "crowns of glory" which are promised to the blessed.

This theory of the electrical body, if accepted, makes the visible phenomena of modern spiritualism possible and real. It makes the hypothesis of annihilation quite as possible, for lightning often consumes and leaves no trace behind. An agent so potential, if wielded by a Gabriel or a Raphael under divine direction, would eradicate all material things as easily and completely as they did Sodom and Gomorrah; if it so pleased the Almighty, rather than to exercise the divine fiat, which presumably can unmake as easily as it can create.

"I am the light of the world." God said: "Let there be light, and there was light." What kind of light? It could not have been of the planets, for suns, moons, and stars had not yet been created. Was it not electrical light like the aurora borealis, whose displays have at times within the past century lighted up a hemisphere simultaneously? "His lightnings gave shine unto the world." (Ps. xcvi. 4.) At creation the earth was given a physical light of its own, quite irrespective of the great "Light of lights." But in the future of immortality there will be no need of the sun, "for the Lord giveth them light." (Rev. xxi. 5.) "By his light we shall see light," just as by the solar light we see the sun.

The passage of man's spiritual body, the "vital *spark*," through space in the eternal hereafter, is certainly not more wonderful or mysterious than the transit of a wireless message through the terrestrial atmosphere. That appreciable time is occupied in its passage from the celestial realm to earth, or at least through the domain

of the stellar universe (beyond which, according to Wallace, all is infinity) is evident from the divine injunction to the angel Gabriel, on one occasion, to "*fly quickly*." In the terrestrial envelope flight would be retarded; in vacuity the duration of transit would probably be not appreciable. It might be as quick as thought itself! But the object of an electrical body is not to facilitate transit, but to serve as a visible medium of identification between those who have been acquainted on earth aforetime. Our carnal faculties of perception and our ever changing bodies would be unreliable factors to depend on, indeed! Any soul that loves has a yearning for a visible and tangible presence. Telepathy does not satisfy; contact is desired. A living soul needs a vitalised body. Electrified, the spiritual body becomes the visible expression of a living soul. Its audible expression has been heard in the "still small voice," as well as in the thunders of Sinai!

If mortal man on earth can animate an electric spark, give it voice, and dispatch it from continent to continent in three seconds, God the all-Powerful can animate a "ministering spirit" of the same nature as His own and make its flight instantaneous. "He maketh his ministers a flaming fire." (Ps. civ. 4.) In like manner the human-divine being when translated can go where it will. No mortal body will clog or impede its passage. The law of gravitation will not confine it, but its flight will annihilate time and space. Its presence would be almost ubiquitous. Thereby we prove our kinship with the "Father of Lights."

"I have said, ye are gods!"

Taking this view of our oneness with the Trinity, as taught by the Saviour, we get rid of the skeptic's specious objection that man is too insignificant to engage the special interest of a Supreme Creator who deals with the infinite and illimitable; and that the idea of a vicarious sacrifice of the Divine Son for fallen man is preposterous. Is there anything more unique or improbable in the assumption that the ultimate purpose of the Deity in creating the universe was to subserve the production of a living soul to be developed in a perishable body, than there is in the scientific fact that the infinitesimal germ or protoplasm should enlarge into a creature so many million times its size as to be beyond mental or mathematical comprehension?

THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

BOYS playing in the pool of Siloam at Jerusalem crawled into the ancient aqueduct, and one of them, a native, slipped and fell into the water. On rising, he noticed in the gloom of the tunnel a tablet bearing an inscription. He told his teacher, Dr. Schick, a German architect residing at Jerusalem who on investigation discovered characters of the Phœnician alphabet which was used in Palestine before the Babylonian captivity. This happened in 1880, and when Professor Sayce came to Jerusalem in 1881 he entered the conduit and copied the inscription by the dim light of a candle. Six weeks later, Dr. Guthe removed the deposit of lime and other sediment of the water and obtained an exact copy of the inscription. A cast was taken and squeezes made from the cast which now could be studied at leisure and in good light.

The inscription is situated on the right side of the wall of the conduit, nineteen feet from the exit that opens upon the Pool of Siloam. At that place the tunnel is very high, but it grows smaller and smaller and is in places not higher than two feet. It leads the water down from the Virgin Spring and measures 1708 yards in length. It does not run down in a straight line, and in the center there are two blind alleys which originated by mistaken measurements. The inscription runs thus:

1. Lo, the tunnel (הַתְּקוּהָה, piercing through)! Now this is the history of the tunnel. Whilst yet [the miners were plying]
2. The pick each toward his fellow and while there were yet three cubits to be cut, there was heard the voice of a man
3. Calling to his fellow, for there was a misdirection (זָדָה)¹ in the rock on the right hand.....and, on the day

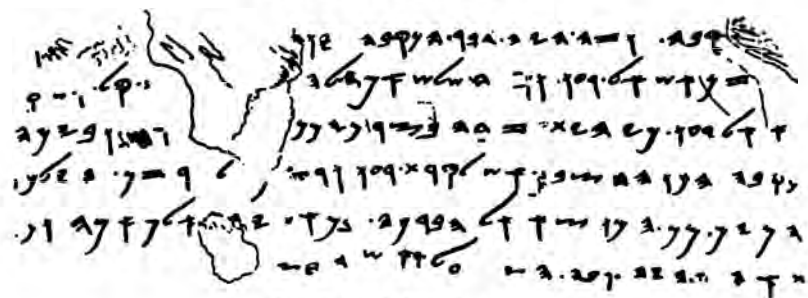
¹The word *sadah* (זָדָה) is otherwise unknown in Hebrew. Professor Sayce translates it (*Records of the Past*, New Version, Vol. I., p. 173) by "excess" or "obstacle." At the same time he suggests that the obliterated part contains a statement beginning with the words "and on the left." Rev. Stanley A. Cook, in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, p. 883, suggests the meaning "fissure."



The original, now in the Museum at Constantinople.



A squeeze taken from the original.



A tracing made from the squeeze.

THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

which he thinks the context seems to require. While we believe that Professor Sayce's judgment the situation is correct, we think that he missed the true meaning of the word, which can only mean the opposite of excess, viz., a deficit; a manco; a shortage.

4. Of tunnelling through, the cutters smote pick against pick, and there flowed
5. The water from the channel to the pool, 12,000 cubits and
6. Cubits was the height of the rock over the heads of the excavators."

We translate the doubtful word זרה, by "misdirection," for we believe that it is connected with זר, "haughty, impudent, sinful," and with זרין, "haughtiness of heart." These words presuppose, according to Gesenius,² the root זרה = זיר, which can only mean "to sin against, to trespass, to err." Thus the word *sadah* should mean an error, or a miscalculation which if referred to the tunnelling indicates that the miners who began at the two ends missed their connection. There was a *manco*, as the Italians say. The two parties of excavators missed each other on the right. But the miners came so close to each other that the workers on one side could hear the voices of their fellows on the other side, and the noise of their picks. Then they broke through the rock sideways and met. Hence the two blind alleys in the tunnel! They are still left as indications of both the difficulties which the ancient mining engineers (probably Phœnicians) had to encounter, and the correctness of this interpretation of the questionable word "zadah."

The lacuna must have contained the word "They turned," i. e., the miners changed the direction of tunnelling and turned toward each other.

The water conduit has been assigned to the reign of Hezekiah, because in 2 Kings xx. 30 it is stated that this king made a pool and a conduit and brought water into the city, and in 2 Chronicles xxxii. 30 we read that he "stopped the upper water course of Gihon and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David," but the conduit of our inscription seems to be of older date. The work was made by engineers whose knowledge was very incomplete, and a passage in Isaiah viii. 6 speaks of the waters of Shiloah that flow gently, implying that an aqueduct must have been in existence at his time. Thus all we know about the tunnel is the statement of the inscription and further that it is older than Isaiah; but Isaiah uttered his prophecy while Ahaz the father of Hezekiah was still reigning over Israel.³

¹ The word here, which begins with *m* and ends with *t*, is doubtful, and Sayce suggests some word like "part" or "portion." The rock above the excavators at the exit of the tunnel is only about ten feet, while toward the north it is one hundred and seventy feet. Mr. Cook suggests that it may mean the average thickness of the rock above the tunnel.

² German edition, I., p. 530.

³ Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 104.

There is another ancient aqueduct which is straight and we may assume that this latter one was built by Hezekiah, while the tunnel, referred to in our inscription, may date back to the reign of Solomon.

The alphabet in which the inscription is written is the so called Phœnician script. It is the same as the alphabet used by Moab in the Moabite stone. Says Professor Sayce:¹

"They are characterised by a peculiarity which shows not only that writing was common, but also that the usual writing material was papyrus or parchment, and not stone or metal. The 'tails' attached to certain letters are not straight as on the Moabite Stone or in Phœnician inscriptions, but rounded."

The Hebrew characters which are now used are the more elegant Chaldæan script which the Jews adopted during their sojourn in the Babylonian captivity.

The inscription of Shiloah is very important because it is the oldest Hebrew inscription extant.

¹ *R. of the P.*, second series, I., p. 173.

FALKLAND.

BY HENRY BEERS.

IF our methods of studying history are open to criticism, it might be not unjustly said that they too often cause us to leave a very desirable object out of account. We are not taught to be sufficiently diligent and careful to find the link that really connects other times and other men with the present and ourselves. We are thankfully conscious of great improvement in the methods of historical science. Almost within our own day the necessity of measuring perspective has for the first come to be clearly understood and reckoned with. True, we often measure it wrongly, but that is no great matter, for our mistakes can be corrected: the great thing is our having learned that we must measure it at all. But while we are, as I say, thankfully conscious of this benefit among many, we must also be conscious of the duty that is in some measure consequent upon it. It is not enough that by the aid of this improved science we should see things more nearly as they are, that we should see men in more nearly true relation to their circumstances, that we should reach nearer the true significance of certain critical periods. If we sincerely desire to increase the practical value of this most valuable study, we should also, as we survey these men and circumstances and critical periods, clearly mark what it is that they have specifically *for us*; what they offer us that we can profitably use to aid us in adjusting ourselves to our own conditions. This duty is no doubt quite regularly ignored; and because it is ignored, perhaps a practical good is often done, not by making a detailed description of epochs and characters, but by the less ambitious task of extracting and exhibiting what it is that these present that will really help and serve us. To such a task this essay is addressed: it is meant to draw attention to a noble but neglected man by showing how he belongs to us, by showing the relation that he maintained with the future, with ourselves.

The fatal taint in the Stuart blood which earned Rochester's pitiless epigram, had precipitated the inevitable contest between Church and Dissent. The hateful mixture of religion and politics, which ruins both, was being busily compounded. The noble religious spirit of the earlier Puritans as it appears in their protest against loose and vicious living, had given way to mere partisan political bigotry and bitterness. *Jure divino* Episcopacy was met by *jure divino* Presbyterianism. Laud was at Canterbury and Mainwaring in the pulpit. Shakespeare and Spenser were gone, and in their place were Davenant and Milton. *Comus* was followed by *Lycidas*. Puritanism was jealous of the Establishment, and the Establishment was vexing Puritanism: and in the intensely political aspect that organised religion took on, one could see a certain forecast of the day approaching,—hastened by the reverses that Protestantism had just been experiencing in France and Germany,—when any other aspect that religion might be thought to have would be impenetrably veiled; a day of clouds and thick darkness; a day of ill-conceived, hasty, and random action, and of rancorous temper.

Placed between these two forces, both quickened to the utmost energy of fanaticism,—an unintelligent and intolerant High Church royalism on the one side and an unintelligent and intolerant Puritanism of considerable popular strength on the other,—was a man who has somehow lived to see our day,—Falkland. We do not know him. Knox we know, and Laud we know; Pym and Hampden, Baxter and Montague we know, but this name does not sound familiar. Clarendon speaks of Falkland at length. Hume gives him a paragraph. His name is barely mentioned once or twice in the more compendious of our ordinary histories. Yet it is hard to see how Falkland could take a larger place in such works as our English histories commonly are. Their necessary limitations allow them hardly a line of digression. Much of their space must be devoted to the ins and outs of politics, and Falkland was no politician. They must notice strenuous men of action, and Falkland was not strenuous. They must trace the progress of military affairs, and Falkland, though brave, was not distinguished as a soldier, even to the degree of having an independent command. Falkland was a student, a man of letters; but the few trifles of his writing that are preserved are hardly above literary mediocrity. In his personal appearance he was undersized and homely, and his voice was unpleasant. He died at the age when most of us are only beginning to ripen,—thirty-four. What claim can a man who

accomplished apparently so little, whose share in epoch-making was apparently so small, who left so light an impress upon his own time,—what claim can such a man have upon us? Let us go deeper into the little that is known about his life.



Sir Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, was born about 1610, educated at Dublin and Oxford, and seems also to have been for a time at Cambridge. At twenty-one he married the sister of his friend Morison; a marriage which brought upon Falkland the severe displeasure of his father, by reason of the lady's compara-

tive poverty. Falkland withdrew into Holland, looking for an opportunity to take military service; but finding none, returned to England and applied himself seriously to literary and philosophical pursuits. The death of his father in 1633 interrupted these, but Falkland resumed them as soon as he could. His usual residence was the manor of Great Tew in Oxfordshire, about ten miles from the University. In 1640 he entered Parliament as member for Newport in the Isle of Wight. Eighteen months before his death he became Secretary of State, and entering the royal army at the outbreak of the Civil War, was killed in the undecisive battle of Newbury, Sept. 20, 1643. The record of his burial, dated three days later, is found in the register of Great Tew church.

Seven years of literary leisure, three years of uneventful public life, a violent and untimely death,—this is all. It is true that during his public career great events took place; but Falkland had almost no part in them. Beside the Straffords, the Cromwells, and the Iretons of the period, we might regard him as hardly more than an onlooker. He did his work faithfully in public office, and did it exceedingly well: but in the world of politics as in the world of society and religion, his attachments were nearly always to the losing cause. In short, he was unpopular and unsuccessful.

Let us now turn to what has been said about Falkland. The first thing we notice is that for an unpopular and unsuccessful man who cut so small a figure on the public stage, he is most extravagantly praised. Extravagantly, because it seems if he really deserved the encomiums he received, he could not help counting for more than he did: and the sober verdict of history is that he hardly counts at all. His praise is sung in verse by Ben Jonson, Sir Francis Wortly, Suckling, Waller, and Cowley, in a strain amounting to panegyric. But these were friends, and something must be allowed for the amiable weakness and partiality of friendship, and something perhaps, as well, for the current fashion of compliment and ceremony, which would now seem possibly a little strained and Oriental. Clarendon, however, may be taken more nearly at his face value. He speaks of Falkland's death as "a loss which no time will suffer to be forgotten and no success or good fortune could repair." He praises Falkland's abilities and accomplishments, and says all that can be said about the worth of his public services: but that Falkland could not live by these is as evident to Clarendon as it is to us. There is a strain, however, running almost continuously through this account, which shows that Clarendon had seized and fastened upon the characteristic that justifies

all the praise of Falkland, that makes him eminent, that makes him really ours. In the first ten lines of Clarendon's account this strain appears. Barely does he mention Falkland's "prodigious parts of learning and knowledge;" before he sets forth his "inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, his so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, his primitive simplicity and integrity of life." And it is to this view of Falkland that Clarendon perpetually recurs. He says, "his disposition and nature was so gentle and obliging, so much delighted in courtesy, kindness and generosity, that all mankind could not but admire and love him." Again; "His gentleness and affability, so transcendent and obliging that it drew reverence and some kind of compliance from the roughest and most unpolished and stubborn constitutions, and made them of another temper of debate in his presence than they were in other places." Recounting the attempts made upon Falkland by the Church of Rome, he tells us that "he declined no opportunity or occasion of conversation with those of that religion, whether priests or laics. . . . He was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness which he saw produced by difference of opinion in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests and others of the Roman Church, he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons and estimation of their parts. . . . He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds. . . . The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially Mr. Hampden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom: and though he differed from them commonly in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest."

When a bill was proposed to exclude the bishops from the House of Lords, Falkland supported it. He regarded the conduct of the clergy as a nuisance. He thought they aroused discontent and disturbed the public peace. He perceived that the things which interested them were entirely beside the mark. "The most frequent subjects," said he, "even in the most sacred auditories, have been the divine right of bishops and tithes, the sacredness of the clergy, the sacrilege of impropriations, the demolishing of Puritanism." The chief concern of the clergy in Falkland's view should be with religion; and with all this, he clearly saw, religion had nothing to do. "*Love, joy, concord, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, trust, mildness, self-control,*"—these were the things that interested Falkland, these the things that he believed religion should

promote. And he saw that so far from promoting this *grace and peace*, religion, tainted by its debasing admixture of politics, was then bringing forth only confusion and every evil work. Laud, busily countering on the most inveterate prejudices in his effort to maintain a theory of the priesthood, repelled him. He went out of his way to profess admiration for the Archbishop's learning and talents, but his mind was large enough to know that religion is a *temper*, an inward life, and that Laud had clean missed it. He saw that the object of religion is not a theory of the priesthood, nor has religion anything to do with a theory of the priesthood; he saw that the object of religion is *grace and peace*. Nor did the enterprise of the Puritans, the effort to organise a spiritual democracy, attract him more; for the object of religion, again, is not an organisation, but *grace and peace*. But the largeness of mind that enabled him to see all this, also condemned him to stand alone.

We find Falkland, then, advocating the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords, as an available measure for turning them back upon their proper business. But when an attempt was made later to abolish Episcopacy, Falkland stood out against it. For this he was promptly taxed with insincerity and vacillation by Hampden, as was natural. It would be too much to expect from a man of Hampden's narrow range of mind that he should understand how Falkland could repudiate Laud's *jure divino* notion of bishops, and yet not be for going to the opposite extreme and doing away with bishops altogether. Falkland was out with the Laudian clergy for his action on the bill for the removal of the bishops; he was out with the popular party for refusing to aid in abolishing Episcopacy; he had to face the charge of inconsistency from both, he was disliked by both. But alas for Laud and Hampden alike, this inconsistency of Falkland's was simply *seriousness*! Falkland was grandly serious, he saw things as they are. He saw that Episcopacy was a great and venerable institution that had collected about it an enormous accretion of sentiment and poetry, and was therefore not lightly to be put away, for it had in it an immense power that should be used and used rightly; but he saw also that before this power could be used rightly, the institution itself must be transformed and brought to a better sense of its original intention. He opposed Laud and the High Church clergy, yet refused to concur in abolishing their order; which means no more than that he saw so many good reasons for maintaining Episcopacy that he disliked to see so much made of a bad one. He saw that Laud's contention and the Puritan contention were alike devoid of any real solidity,

that they were not *serious*; and that between the triumph of either there was not a pin to choose. The triumph of *jure divino* Episcopacy meant that the form of Church government which Falkland really thought the best possible,—and in the long run, religion itself,—would be brought into disrepute: while the triumph of the Puritan spiritual democracy held no better prospect for religion, and in an ecclesiastical way meant merely the triumph of each man for himself, the unchecked sway of individual self-assertion, crudeness, and vulgarity. Hence he was not for helping on the triumph of either, but he was for the renovation and transformation of both. In his speech on the London Petition for abolishing government by bishops, he said: “Mr. Speaker, I do not believe them to be *jure divino*; nay, I believe them not to be *jure divino*; but neither do I believe them to be *injuria humana*. I neither consider them as necessary nor as unlawful, but as convenient or inconvenient. But since all great mutations in government are dangerous, even where what is introduced by that mutation is such as would have been profitable upon a primary foundation; and since the greatest danger of mutations is that all the dangers and inconveniences they may bring are not to be foreseen; and since no wise man will undergo great danger but for great necessity; my opinion is that we should not root up this ancient tree, as dead as it appears, until we have tried whether by this or the like lopping of the branches, the sap which was unable to feed the whole may not serve to make what is left grow and flourish.”

O happy country of England, which could at this time suffer so much as one voice of clear reason to be raised above the hootings of her maddened mobs!

The practical disadvantage of establishing a thing upon a false basis is that sooner or later people find it out: and when they have found it out, they rarely exercise the calmness and patience to take what is valuable in the thing itself and reestablish it rightly. More often in their disappointment they let the good go with the bad and make a clean sweep of both together. To appear under this disadvantage is a fault; and it is a fault which disfigures and vulgarises much of our apologetic literature. Archdeacon Brown—now, I believe, a bishop in some Western diocese—writes a book called *The Church for Americans*, in which he seeks to recommend the Protestant Episcopal Church, largely by examining its historical claims. This, in itself, is excellent, for by following out a line of investigation such as Archdeacon Brown proposes, some at least, of the real power of that history is bound to be felt. But

when Archdeacon Brown begins to account for this power by applying the *jure divino* notion of Apostolic Succession, the reader of to-day feels that thereby he does no more than show an uncommon gift of seeing into a millstone. The reader of ten years hence will simply close the book at this point, saying that it cannot possibly benefit him. And yet, Archdeacon Brown appeals to a very real sense,—a sense of the vast and beneficent influence of a great institution. But he encourages us to account for that influence in a way that is not *serious*: he would have us think that if his way of explaining that benefit turns out to be erroneous, the benefit itself is a delusion,—and this is levity.

The biographer of Cowley says that the poet was especially attracted to Falkland by two things: the generosity of his mind and his neglect of the vain pomp of human greatness. Falkland's fortune descended directly to him from his maternal grandmother: and when he contracted the marriage that brought upon him the displeasure of his father, he at once proposed to make over the whole of it to his parents and accept an allowance, meanwhile withdrawing himself from his father's sight. As Secretary of State he refused to countenance two practices which he found established,—the employment of spies and the opening of letters. Horace Walpole criticises this conduct as "evincing debility of mind." Hallam speaks of Falkland as an excellent man, but intimates that his early training and habits unfitted him for public service; and so much is also admitted by Clarendon who rather naïvely puts it that "his natural superiority . . . made him too much a contemner of those arts which must be indulged in the transaction of human affairs." That is, he was no courtier. He disliked the court: he saw there far more intrigue and pettiness than suited him. He hated his appointment as Secretary of State because it bound him too closely to the policy and fortunes of the court. But for his conscientiousness he would have refused it. The tragedy of Falkland's life was that of one who finds himself in a situation from which there is no escape. As the Civil War drew on, he could plainly see that little good could come from the triumph of either side,—he feared the success of the king almost as much as he feared the success of the Puritans, for neither cause had any real stability,—and yet he was powerless to mend matters and give them a better direction, for there was no one else who could see what he could. He supported the crown because it was the best approximation he could find to his notion of what was needful, but no one knew as well as he the enormous disparity between the ideal

monarchy and the government of Charles I. Despairing of peaceful transformation, which he knew to be the only fruitful reform, he went into battle and owned defeat by losing his life, happy only in being taken away from the evil to come. Hume says of his death, quite in the familiar vein of Clarendon, that it was a regret to every lover of ingenuity and virtue throughout the kingdom.

The Puritans won the day and set up their banners for tokens. They established their civilisation without let or hindrance. Let us survey this for a moment. Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, in the first of his charming *Studies in History*, praises it with no uncertain sound. "It is no longer necessary," he says, "to enter into argument to show that Oliver Cromwell was the greatest soldier and statesman combined that England has ever produced; that John Hampden is, on the whole, the finest representative of the English gentleman, and John Pym one of the greatest, as he was one of the earliest, in the splendid line of English Parliamentary leaders. *The grandeur of the period which opened with the Long Parliament and closed with the death of the Protector is established beyond the possibility of doubt.*" Well, this would depend, we would think, upon what one's notion of grandeur is: but Mr. Lodge proceeds: "During that period Church and crown were overthrown, a king was executed, great battles were fought, Scotland was conquered, and Ireland pacified for the first and last time." Of course, if one chooses to regard this in itself as grandeur, he may call it so if he likes; but perhaps most of us would have misgivings about applying the name without considering more closely the upshot of events like these. Overthrowing a Church and crown merely to see them fall, without replacing them by something better; executing kings because they are kings, and fighting great battles for the sake of fighting,—all this, while stirring work, would hardly merit the name of grandeur. I hope I shall not be suspected of representing Mr. Lodge as standing at any such extreme as this, for his fairness and candor are so remarkable that they disarm any unfairness of criticism; yet there are indications that Mr. Lodge does not limit his use of the word grandeur precisely as we would. "*Ireland was pacified for the first and last time.*" True, but how, and with what result? The French writer Villemain, in his *Histoire de Cromwell*, describes the general effect of Cromwell's policy of pacification thus: "Ireland became a desert which the few remaining inhabitants described by the mournful saying, *There was not water enough to drown a man, not wood enough to hang him, not earth enough to bury him.*" An interesting survival of this pacification of Ireland

appears to-day in the common speech of Irishmen. Mr. Lodge need have met no more than two or three of the race to learn that *the curse o' Crum'll* is one of the bitterest that is ever invoked upon an enemy. As to Cromwell's policy itself, we might almost think we were following the later career of the other great Nonconformist, Mr. Chamberlain, when we read how the thirty persons left alive out of the town of Tredagh were condemned to the labor of slaves. After this exploit Hugh Peters, a chaplain, wrote: "We are masters of Tredagh; *no enemy was spared*; I just come from the church where I had gone to thank the Lord." Wexford and Drogheda shared the same fate with Tredagh at the hand of Cromwell. And yet in spite of efforts like these, which certainly did not err on the side of moderation, to recommend the religion and civilisation of Puritanism to an unprepared people, we find the Protestant Archbishop Boulter, of Armagh, writing in 1727 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that "we have in all probability in this kingdom at least five Papists to every Protestant," and testifying that when the most rigorous laws were in force against popery, the number of conversions from Rome to Protestantism was far exceeded by those from Protestantism to Rome.

But Mr. Lodge is possibly prepared to think that the Puritan system as Cromwell brought it in was an improved and effective substitute for the system which it displaced. Some such conviction perhaps ought to be assumed to explain his placing himself in what turns out to be an extremely awkward situation. Regarding the Puritan system as highly as Mr. Lodge does, the question must occur, If it was so good, why did it so soon collapse? And why, above all, did it collapse as promptly in New England as in Old England? Mr. Lodge raises this question himself, faces it squarely, faces it with his customary ability; but his explanations serve only to embarrass the reader, because they are a good deal embarrassed themselves. A glance at one of Cromwell's speeches such as can be found in Milton's State Papers, a glance at Hampden occupied with his favorite exercise of *seeking the Lord*, will supply the true answer,—indeed, Mr. Lodge himself unconsciously supplies it in the essay following the one we have quoted, entitled "A Puritan Pepys." Between the lines there quoted from the diary of the New England Puritan Sewall, we can read the reason of Puritanism's failure. But we gain perhaps the clearest insight from a note in the fifty-sixth chapter of Hume's history, in which he gives the names of a jury that was empaneled in the county of

Sussex in the full blaze of Cromwell's protectorate. Here are some of them :

<i>Accepted Trevor,</i>	<i>Stand Fast on High Stringer,</i>
<i>Redeemed Compton</i>	<i>Fly Debate Roberts,</i>
<i>Faint not Hewit,</i>	<i>Fight the good Fight of Faith White,</i>
<i>Kill Sin Pimple,</i>	<i>More Fruit Fowler.</i>

Now, what permanence could possibly be expected for a civilisation, more than for a religion, so narrow, so grotesque, so utterly fantastic and hideous, as these names reflect it? "Cromwell," says Hume, quoting Cleveland, "hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The adjutant hath no other list than the first chapter of St. Matthew."

Hume here undoubtedly puts his finger on the element in Puritanism that was its undoing,—its oneness, its unloveliness. But he does more. He goes on to relate in a kind of allegory the verdict that humanity has passed on Puritanism itself. All this, strange to tell,—the answer to the question that so troubles and perplexes Mr. Lodge, and the fate pronounced upon the Puritan ideal by the clear reason and judgment of mankind,—all this may be extracted from Hume's footnote as from some wonderful horn of plenty. Cromwell's first Parliament is commonly known as the Barebones Parliament, from the name of a leather-seller of London who made himself prominent in its councils, and who was called *Praise God Barebones*. Now, this Praise God Barebones had a brother who was called *If Christ had not died for thee, thou hadst been damned Barebones*. "But the people," says Hume, "tired of this long name, retained only the last word, and commonly gave him the appellation of *Damned Barebones*." There it is. Puritanism had plenty of strength, plenty of energy, plenty of resolution, but it had no beauty, it was unamiable, unattractive, hideous. And in the unhappy fate that overtook this poor man, one can see humanity turning the pretentiousness of the Puritans into a byword, looking unmoved upon their very virtues and saying that it would not care to have them at the price. Mankind, sooner or later, demands the whole of life and refuses to be satisfied with less, refuses a civilisation that offers less. It refused the civilisation of the Puritans because it felt with George Sand that for life to be fruitful, life must be felt as a joy, and the Puritans had nothing to offer that could be felt as a joy. Finally, after repelling the rest of mankind, the dulness and hardness of Puritanism reacted on itself, wearied itself, and Puritanism disintegrated.

No, we must dissent from Mr. Lodge's conclusion that Hampden is on the whole the finest representative of the English gentleman. Nor can we find in either Laud or Baxter a wholly satisfactory model of religion. If we are to look to those times for an example of the best that appears in social life, or for a true, adequate, and solid conception of religion, let us find it in Falkland. Falkland lives by his temper, by his "setting free the gentler element within himself." At a time when all the concerns of religion were given over to the most infatuated levity, Falkland was serious. Amidst a riot of the worst passions and the meanest prejudices, Falkland saw that "there are forces of weakness, of docility, of attractiveness or of suavity, which are quite as real as the forces of vigor, of encroachment, of violence or of brutality." Nay, he saw that these are the permanent, the constructive, the transforming forces, against which there is no reaction, and he allied himself with them. Falkland was against onesidedness and incompleteness; he was for adjustment, for the harmoniouness and balance of all the claims and the full, free play of all the qualities that are properly human. We see in Falkland, too, an abundance of the sentiment that overthrew Puritanism,—there were other forces working to the same end, but this was the force that really beat it,—the sentiment in favor of beauty and amiability, the sentiment against crudeness and dismalness. The lesson that the Commonwealth has to teach us is the plain one which history is perpetually teaching, but which we somehow never learn,—that *man doth not live by bread alone*; that man revolts, sooner or later, against being offered a part of life under the pretence that it is the whole of it. The Puritans presented a part of life, quite the largest part, quite the best part, but still a part and not all of it. For a time they persuaded men that it was all of it: and the indignant reaction against this deception brought forth the Buckinghams and Sedleys, the Wycherleys and Rochesters of the Restoration, brought forth Thomas Hobbes and the Deists in religious philosophy and Ashley Cooper in politics,—and the triumph of Falkland's ideal was set back a generation.

Here at last we find the hold that Falkland had upon the future. It is in his testimony that an ideal of civilisation which does not include the whole of life, cannot be permanently maintained, for a community attempting to maintain it is fighting against nature and will one day be found out; and then the old story of rebellion, reaction and readjustment has to be gone through. Let us see what this has to do with us. Mr. Matthew Arnold said that America had

solved the political problem and the social problem, but that it had not solved the human problem. Mr. Matthew Arnold nods as seldom as does Homer himself, but he has here contrived to make a surprising blunder; surprising, because Mr. Matthew Arnold spent a fruitful lifetime in teaching line upon line that the human problem comes first. It is the essence of Mr. Matthew Arnold's doctrine that when the human problem is solved, the political and social problems will not need to be solved, for they will disappear: but that until the human problem is solved, the others can never be. What America has done towards solving the political problem, we are all rather easily aware. What it has done in the direction of the social problem, we can best grasp perhaps by imagining Mr. Matthew Arnold himself obliged to associate with such as are commonly taken to represent our social life, and thinking what insufferably bad company he would find them. As to the human problem, the civilisation that creates large industrial fortunes, that makes our social life what it usually is, that gravely tinkers with the outside of the Westminster Confession, that gravely refuses the Christian Scientists of Pennsylvania a charter, not because Christian Science is *nonsense*, but because it is a *business*; the civilisation that creates the peculiar phase of political Socialism which is abroad in the land,—nay, the civilisation whose herald and prophet, according to weighty foreign authority, is Walt Whitman!—the civilisation that brings out a literature like the novels we all read, that creates faces like the faces we all see and voices like the voices we all hear: why, this has never seriously attacked the human problem, it does not know that there is a human problem. It offers humanity a part of life,—not the largest part nor the best,—and loudly asserts that it is the whole of it.

This is what America signally fails to do; and hence it does not really touch the human problem. But it was primarily the human problem that interested Falkland, and he addressed himself to it and solved it. When one lives as nearly a human life as possible, and helps others all he can to live likewise, he may be said relatively to have solved the human problem. Thus Falkland solved it.

Finally, and above all, everywhere about him Falkland saw a dismal, illiberal temper manifesting itself not only in a dismal, illiberal life but also in a dismal, illiberal religion. There were opposing forces, each tied to its narrow, onesided, and mechanical notion of religion and the Church; forces that were really complementary, that ought to be united. And he saw that what was needed to unite

and heal them was simply the understanding of religion as a *temper*, an inward condition. Now this is precisely the situation that we have to meet. We look into the soul of denominational religion as it commonly appears, let us say, in theological seminaries; often in pulpits, in the religious press and in the public utterances of representative men: and we see there self-edification, self-assertion, jealousy of watchwords, notions, speculations,—a whole phantasmagoria of images so dull, so unreal, so alien to religion itself, that we are loth to examine them. "*Who would not shun the dreary, uncouth place?*" Keble might well ask. But let us consider one practical measure. The reunion of Protestantism is a vast undertaking, and our generation can perhaps take no more than the preliminary steps towards it; but as a beginning, let us think of the increased strength that would accrue to Christianity from the union of as much as two Protestant bodies, the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians. What hinders this union? Simply the Laudian notion and the Puritan notion of the nature of the ministry; and both of them from the standpoint of religion itself, sheer levity. The Presbyterian Church declares its basis in Church order; but at present it is hardly up to the Reformation contention that Episcopacy is sinful. There is an uneasy sense of the lack of seriousness in this contention that weakens it, and many now are for placing their main stress elsewhere. Among the Episcopalians, too, to a degree, but most of all among the Christians who are outside the Churches, there is the spirit of increasing seriousness; the increasing reluctance to account for things in ways that involve palpable extravagance; the increasing distrust of fancy-sketches. The only wise way to deal with this spirit is to deal with it truly.

But some one may ask, does this wise and true dealing mean that the Protestant Episcopal Church should at all loosen its hold upon Episcopacy? Emphatically, no. It means no more than the giving up of so much of an opinion about Episcopacy as is found to be unsound and untenable. It means the substitution of a good reason for Episcopacy in place of the bad one that has been given all along. The reason for Episcopacy assigned by Laud did not and does not commend itself to most clear-sighted persons, because it lies within no one's experience, it is not sound, it is not serious, it is a pure fancy-sketch. The reason assigned by Falkland does commend itself, because not only is it sound and serious, but any one who will may prove by experience that it is so. Episcopacy in Falkland's view is a development of Christian antiquity, having the same bearing and power as Christian liturgies, music, and

architecture,—the power of sentiment and imagination. It goes to satisfy that sense in man which is a real and legitimate sense and must be satisfied,—the sense of beauty and poetry.

Falkland's spiritual children were Whichcote, More, Cudworth, and John Smith; and the later generation of churchmen that included Tillotson and Stillingfleet. One of these, Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, made a proposition concerning Episcopacy, which deserves careful reëxamination at the present time. It was substantially renewed by Stillingfleet. By it, the English Presbyterians were to be included in the Church without reordination of their present ministers; but subsequent ordinations were to be made only by the bishops, who were regarded ecclesiastically as the presidents of diocesan boards of presbyters. Such a measure as this, because it is reasonable, because it is conciliating, because above all, it springs from a true and not a notional conception of what religion really is,—such a measure would be wonderfully fruitful now. It would wonderfully help the understanding of Christianity as a temper. Well might it therefore interest for once the legislative authorities of the Episcopal Church: much more worthily, one would think, than most of the irrelevant trifles that have latterly been posed before that Church as "burning questions,"—such as the Provincial System, changing the name of the Church, and whimsies about divorce and marriage with a dead wife's sister.

A WORD THAT HATH BEEN—A SOUND WHICH EVER LINGERS.

BY GENERAL HORATIO G. GIBSON, U. S. A.

FIFTY-EIGHT years ago, the writer attended the commencement exercises of a Catholic college in the city of Baltimore, and had the pleasure of hearing the address delivered on the occasion by that accomplished writer and gentleman, the late Joseph R. Chandler, of Philadelphia, in which he advanced, upon the authority of an eminent scientist, the theory that the waves of sound produced by the human voice never ceased to vibrate and pulsate the air and space; that every word uttered or thought expressed would be preserved among the last syllables of recorded Time. This theory as strange as fascinating, and though old as the days of Chaucer new to the writer, elaborated by Mr. Chandler with graceful felicity, made an indelible impression, and has furnished food for thought in many a leisure hour. A quarter of a century later, it was vividly recalled in reading the delightful essays—"Among My Books"—by the late William B. Reed, also of Philadelphia.¹ More recently, the writer came across an allusion to the theory by Thackeray in his introduction to the last—an unfinished work "Emma"—by the late Charlotte Bronte :

"Is there any record kept anywhere of fancies conceived, beautiful, unborn? Some day will they assume form in some yet undeveloped light? If our bad unspoken thoughts are registered against us, and are written in the awful account, will not the good thoughts unspoken, the love and tenderness, the pity, beauty, charity, which pass through the breast, and cause this heart to throb with silent good, find remembrance too? A few weeks more and this lovely offering of the poet's conception would have been complete to charm the world with its beautiful mirth. May there not be some sphere unknown to us where it may have an existence? They say our words once out of our lips, go travelling in *omne ævum*, reverberating forever. If our words, why not our thoughts? If the Has Been, why not the Might Have Been?"

¹ *World's Essays*—"Among My Books," New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1871.

May not the gifted Byron have caught a glimpse of the startling theory when he wreaked his thoughts upon expression in the following stanza :

"But words are things ; and a small drop of ink,
Falling, like dew, upon a thought produces
That which makes thousands, perhaps millions think ;
'Tis strange, the shortest letter man uses
Instead of speech, may form a lasting link
Of ages ; to what straits old Time reduces
Frail man, when paper—even a rag like this—
Survives himself, his tomb, and all that's his."

This kindred idea of the great poet—the survival of the written word—is found embodied in an ancient Coptic prayer : "And there is no scribe that shall not pass away, but what he has written will remain forever," and finds like apt expression in a quotation given by Mr. Reed in two of his essays from the writings of William Cobbett—that strange combination of fierceness and gentleness, of Ishmaelite and Samaritan, who so sorely vexed the souls of the goodly people of Philadelphia over a century ago by the quills upon his fretful Porcupine : "A man, as he writes on a sheet of paper, a word or a sentence, ought to bear in mind that he is writing something which may, for good or evil, live forever," and as if suggested by this impressive thought, in his essay "Sermons—Barrow to Manning," Mr. Reed thus makes his first reference to the allied theory which forms the salient feature of this article : "If there be anything in Sir Charles Babbage's theory, which old Dan Chaucer prefigured, of the air undulations which make the utterances of the human voice immortal, these computations (of English sermons in one year) become overwhelming. If the clangour of strife at Marathon, or the words of Demosthenes and Æschines, be yet sounding in illimitable space, enormous surges of clerical twaddle, masses of pulpit platitudes, are rolling onward too."¹

In the essay on "Henry Reed," also of Philadelphia, the theory is more explicitly set forth :

"In one of his lectures on Early English Literature is this passage in reference to Chaucer's *House of Fame* :

"It contains a passage which has struck me as in curious anticipation of a scientific hypothesis suggested in our own days, poetic imagination foreshadowing the results of scientific reasoning. In the ninth Bridgewater Treatise from the pen of Mr. Babbage, he propounded a theory respecting the permanent impressions of our words—spoken words—a theory startling enough to close a man's lips in per-

¹ Inasmuch as my paternal grandfather and all his sons were of the ministerial profession, this reflection on the reverend clergy ought, perhaps, to be resented or at least ignored by me, but my offence hath this extent, no more—its necessary quotation.

petual silence ; that the pulsations of the air, once set in motion by the human voice, cease not to exist with the sounds to which they give rise ; that the waves of air thus raised perambulate the earth and ocean's surface ; soon every atom of its atmosphere takes up the altered movement, due to the infinitesimal portion of the primitive motion which has been conveyed to it through countless channels, and which must continue to influence its paths through its future existence. 'Every atom,' says Mr. Babbage, 'impressed with good and with ill, retains at once the motions which philosophers and sages have imparted to it, mixed and combined, in ten thousand ways, with all that is worthless and base. The atmosphere we breathe is the everliving witness of the sentiments we have uttered, and, in another state of being, the offender may hear still vibrating in his ear the very words, uttered perhaps thousands of centuries before, which at once caused and registered his own condemnation.' "

The "curious anticipation" and "coincidence worthy of notice," to which Mr. Henry Reed refers, appear in these lines in *The House of Fame* :

" Sound is naught but air that's broken,
And every speeche that is spoken,
Whe'er loud or low, foul or fair,
In his substance is but air :
For as flame is but lighted smoke,
Right so is sound but air that's broke ;
Eke when that men harpstrings smite,
Whether that be much or lite,—
Lo, with the stroke the air it breaketh ;
Thus wot'st thou well what thing is speeche.
Now henceforth I will thee teach
However each speeche, voice or soun',
Through his multiplication,
Though it were piped of a mouse,
Must needs come to Fame's House.
I prove it thus : taketh heed now
By experience, for if that thou
Throw in a water now a stone
Well wot'st thou it will make anon
A little rounded as a circle,
Par venture as broad as a coréicle,
And right anon thou shalt see well
That circle cause another wheel,
And that the third, and so forth, bother,
Every circle causing other,
Much broader than himselfen was,—
Right so of air, my live brother,
Ever each air another stirreth,
More and more and speeche up beareth
Till it be at the 'House of Fame.' "

In 1845, Henry Reed visited England, and made the acquaintance of Sir Charles Babbage, and in conversation with him related

this incident of the introduction of the subject of this startling theory, and spoke of the effect it had upon some of the audience who had said "that it almost made them afraid for some days to speak from the dread that the sounds were to last, and mayhap come back to them in the hereafter." When he told Mr. Babbage that he had cited the passage in connection with a curious parallelism in Chaucer, the philosopher expressed great surprise.

After reference to this, the latter explained that he had not used light to illustrate his subject because it would have been less effective with the general reader. That Sir Charles was, however, duly impressed with its force and fitness as a means of illustration is evident from his relation of a conversation between Sir John Herschel and Sir William Hamilton, in which the latter said: "Well, if one could travel away from the earth with a velocity exceeding that of light, he would at last be able to look back on the waves of light first set in motion by the battle (that of Marathon and Actium had been mentioned) and so get a good sight of it."

In this age of miracles in revelation, invention, and discovery, when in all the realms of Nature no secrets are hid; when

"Ye read the sky's illumined page,
And the dark hills;
And make the sun paint, lightnings speak,"

who can say that this theory is not a revelation as real in fact as startling in expression,—another grand discovery in the wonders of Creation, demonstrable alike to the ordinary and the cultivated intellect; that the conception of the great Chaucer is but a mere fancy of the dreaming poet or a like hypothesis of the scientist or philosopher, and not a physical reality in the great universe of God; that the waves of sound are not as eternal as the realms of air and space,—as the waves of light from Creation's dawn to Creations close? Can we realise the awful solemnity of the fact that every thoughtful, thoughtless word; every utterance, pious or profane, grave or gay, lively or severe, wise or otherwise; every prayer from unco-righteous lips or afar off publican; every kind or cruel expression from the lips; every cry of pain or terror, joy or sorrow, shall forever echo through the corridors of Time and of Eternity,—survive the wreck of matter, the crash of worlds and like the words of Him who died on Calvary never pass away? And hath He not said: "For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed; nothing hid that shall not be known. Therefore, whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light; and that

which ye have spoken in the ear in closets shall be proclaimed on the housetops?"

The electric fluid—that mysterious subtle force of Nature—conveys our words and utterances throughout each region of the earth,—to distant lands beyond the sea, and from hill to vale, from vale to plain, from gulch to cañon dark, from sleeping hamlet to bustling mart, with lightning speaks the friend to friend, no other medium than the throbbing wire or the circumambient air. If the tones of the human voice can thus be carried many, many a league onward, may not "sound but air that's broke by speeche or voice," be endowed with some potent occult influence of Nature to bear the words from mortal lips throughout and beyond this earthly sphere,—perchance to find record in the recording angel's Book of Life beneath the throne of God? And have we not all reason to pray that the angelic scribe shall drop a tear upon the page and blot it out forever?

Chaucer, as we have seen, illustrates the wave theory of sound by his description of the disturbance of the waters, and a poet of less renown tells us:

"Go, take the bright shell
From its home, on the lea,
And wherever it goes
It will sing of the sea ;"

and the master-poet Byron conveys the same idea in his relation of the story of the mutineers of the *Bounty*:

"The ocean scarce spoke louder with its swell
Than breathes the mimic murmurer in his shell,
As far divided from his parent deep,
The sea-born infant cries, and will not sleep,
Raising his little plaint in vain, to rave
For the broad bosom of his nursing wave."

If many a shell in his hollow-wreathed chamber thus ever retains and preserves the sounds of his home on the lea; if what the wild waves are saying is never, never lost, can it be more marvelous that the sounds evoked by the human voice should ever fill the chambers of air and space? And has not practical science in its applications of electricity demonstrated like marvels in the transmission and perpetuation of sound? The latest—the most wonderful and remarkable of these—is the Marconi system of telegraphy, in explanation of which recent writers in the magazines of the day make use, not only of Chaucer's illustrations of the disturbance of the waters, but also otherwise elucidate the wave theory as

manifested in the electrical phenomena in the realms of ether,—like unto the vibrations of sound in the realms of air :

"We say that electricity (or vibrations in the ether) flows in a wire, but nothing really passes but an etheric wave, for the atoms composing the wire, as well as the air and earth, and even the hardest substances, are all afloat in ether. Vibrations, therefore, started at one end of the wire travel to the other. Throw a stone into a quiet pond. Instantly waves are formed which spread out in every direction; the water does not move except up and down, yet the wave passes on indefinitely. But the ether exists outside of the wire as well as within; therefore, having the ether everywhere, it must be possible to produce waves in which it will pass anywhere, as well through mountains as over seas."¹

"Throw a pebble into a pool of water and small waves will be produced and spread out over the surface of the water, and finally die away (apparently). A luminous body, such as the sun, sends forth light-waves which may be likened to these water-waves. But if we state that light travels in waves, we imply that there must be something through which it travels. This mysterious something cannot be air; for light travels millions and millions of miles through space completely devoid of air. If not air, what then? Evidently something that fills seemingly vacant space, and permeates all solids and liquids, and serves as a medium for the transmission of light, of heat, and other manifestations of force."²

"Nature, though convulsive, is curiously cautious. She possesses a sort of stock in trade of which her supply is uniform. That stock is energy. She transforms it, transmutes it, and transposes it. But never does she suffer a speck of it to get away. She may store in microbe or man, sporules or stars, but on to it all she holds very tight."³

"An ether like this will transmit the transverse vibrations that constitute light without being affected by waves of condensation, and its structure will account for many other phenomena that it has hitherto been difficult to explain. The etheric medium is the grand reservoir of natural forces where naught is created and naught is lost."⁴

"Doubtless matter is immortal, and being revived continually by solar heat, it is destined to live without end; doubtless also no form of energy is lost, and what has been vital activity will live eternally in the form of undulations and vibrations that nothing can annihilate, in the limitless spaces of the universe."⁵

If these mysterious properties of ether and of matter are manifest in the conveyance through them or by them of light and heat and electricity, why should not the waves of sound, once started in the chambers of air, be received into those of ether, and passed on like them forever through boundless space? The lightning's flash conveyed by the etheric waves we know sensibly precedes the sound of the air waves from the thunderbolt of the storm-clouded sky, but is the latter, therefore, only a moment heard—

¹ *McClure's Magazine*, February, 1902.

² *Woman's Home Companion*, March, 1902.

³ *Smart Set*, January, 1902.

⁴ *The Literary Digest*, April 20, 1901.

⁵ *The Literary Digest*, February, 1901. I might add to these quotations from the writings of other in the same or a kindred vein of thought, as from time to time I have met with them in print, but I forbear being warned thereunto.

then lost forever? The rays of light from planet, sun and star,—the rays of solar heat which ever brighten and gladden the earth and universe never cease nor “bide a wee” in their abundant flow, and the electric waves ever speedily and silently pass within and without matter as solid as the ever-lasting hills, limited only by the bounds of space and of eternity. Can it be then that the sounds of the human voice disturb only for a moment the atmosphere of earth, and forever thereafter hold their peace,—ephemeral in character and existence? In the wonderful economy of Nature, in the grand scheme of Creation, is there anything that can be irrevocably lost, void and of none effect?

Does not Nature abhor a vacuum, and are not the elements and forces within the metes and bounds of the universe ever in restless commotion? The tiny feather breaks the camel's back,—the trickling leak brings the watery flood with ruin in its path,—a great matter a little fire kindleth,—a drop of water constant in its flow like faith can remove mountains, and are the waves of ether and of air less potential? In life,—in death, the spirit of change, in all its motions and emotions, is ever active—ever mysterious in its operations and transformations. The natural body, sinless or sinful, perfect or deformed, is raised a spiritual body—the dying grain buds and blossoms and blooms in the blade, the ear, and the full corn in the ear; all of which, like the mysteries of ether, air, and space, we see through a glass darkly, and can only conjecture, ponder, and pray: “Lighten our darkness, O Lord, we beseech Thee.”

The resultant of the forces of Nature, active or latent, occult or known, we see on every hand, and behold they show us a mystery. Contrasted with these manifestations, does it seem that this theory, startling though it be, of the permanent disturbance of the waves of air, once “broken by speeche or voice or soun',” can be altogether irrational, factitious, or inconceivable? This conception of the poet Chaucer, coincident with the results of the scientific reasoning of the philosopher Babbage, and also of which the accomplished Chandler and Reeds of Philadelphia seem to be the latest exponents—is an apt illustration of the truth of the statement that “it is the charm of certain ideas that beginning as fancies they end as facts.” We know that Sir Charles Babbage was an eminent mathematician, and therefore not given to accepting fancies as facts, or solving any equation or problem except with known quantities as factors, and our Philadelphia coterie were noted for their high literary character and culture. Thus confronted by a

condition not a theory—by a fact not a fancy, are we not compelled to receive it implicitly, or by rejecting take no stock in Nature's supply of energy, or in the scientific axiom that "sound that can be projected a mile can be projected a million miles—to the ends of space, if ends there are,"¹ or the fact that "the ether waves, once started in free space, travel on—to the moon, to Mars, to Sirius, and the North Star."² Is this projection, perpetuation, or preservation of the waves of sound in the realm of air, ether and space, more remarkable or incredible than the fact stated by an eminent architect that the vibrations of the delicate violin, iterated and re-iterated, can destroy the most solid structure that can be designed and constructed, and that a man on an iron-clad vessel can feel the vibrations of its attuned chords, and yet be insensible, though blessed with ears to hear, to the concord of sweet sounds—that like Tara's harp in Tara's halls the soul of music shed?

The similarity or identity in their true inwardness of unlike substances of matter furnishes a marvel quite as difficult of comprehension and explanation. The rare and costly diamond is but carboniferous matter—carbon pure and undefiled, but though thus allied to the more abundant coals that Mr. Micawber at one time turned his versatile genius and attention to, and which have lately given great concern to our people, yet in its aspect to the eye it does not suggest the fiery furnace, but in its barbaric splendor attractive adornment to lady fair or vulgar man. The loveliest pearl that ever lay under Oman's green water, or that the dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear, is but the diseased encrustation of the luscious bivalve the epicure delights in, and doth quickly lose its identity, form, and brilliancy when dissolved in the wine-cup—perchance at the whim of some capricious beauty, like unto Cleopatra in the days of her "mad Antony." The gold of the mine resists the most powerful acids known save one, and to that it yields up its substance and becomes as though it were not, and the coin of the realm, with which we pay tribute unto the Cæsars of the earth, and its other artistic products—*utile et dulce*—subjected to this acid's influence, disappear in a solution of purple—their colors lost in the action. Absorbed in the mercury of the alchemist, it effaces itself in an amalgam, from which it can be released only by another chemical process, all of which we see and seek in vain for an explanation that will explain and enlighten.

And worthy of note and a fair corollary to our theme, the roots of the humble weed (a salad for the solitary or the social, and the

¹ Edgar Saltus in *Smart Set*, January, 1902.

² *Current History*, March, 1902.

bland ingredient of the fragrant berry "in its cups") have been known to force themselves through solid concrete or more solid masonry or rock; and the writer has seen a feeble sapling push its way through a fallen monarch of the forest, and become a sturdy tree, whereon the fowls of the air might rest and nest. The waters of the sea, slowly percolating through the crust of the earth, bring forth from the bowels of the land fracture, violence, and fire, whilst

"Adown a mighty steep, a Niagara,
Of gory-red lava rolls into the sea,"

which gave it birth. Deep in the wave the coral grove by ceaseless accretions from insect life is transformed into islands, keys, and continents, whereon the sea-birds mew and the pelican and bittern build their nests, and in the cycles of time on earth, thereon and thereafter, science may erect her temples and religion her sacred fanes. The insignificant atoms of soil and rock, of plant and tree, aye of all created things, moribund, disintegrated or dissolved, become the powerful agents of destruction, construction, and re-construction—through chemical, electrical, or other occult action. And who that reflects on these mighty workings of Nature, in her calm or angry moods, can say that chaos may not come again and all the abomination of desolation, or in more beneficent design she may not scatter plenty o'er a smiling land with a richer endowment of utility, beauty, and fertility, and all

"The stores of earth like streams that seek the sea
Pour out the tribute of their wealth"

to every creature who, with devout and thankful heart, may gladly sing his Benedicite:

"O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord, praise Him and magnify Him forever."

The earth hath bubbles as the water has, but the bubbles that swim on the beaker's brim, or on the surface of the water, or on the face of the solid globe itself, may not in fact be as evanescent as they appear to mortal vision, and as

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in our philosophy,"

can it not be that the elements of ether and of air possess qualities or properties more permanent in existence—more potent in influence and effect—more amazing in ubiquity and utility than any yet revealed to mortal ken? Then, restless mortal, marvel not at all, but with meet and silent awe,

"Forbear, vain man, to launch with reason's eye
Through the vast depths of dark immensity,
Nor think thy narrow but presumpt'ous mind
The least idea of thy God can find.
Thought, crowding thought, distracts the lab'ring brain,
For how can finite Infinite explain?
Then God adore, and conscious rest in this,
None but Himself can paint Him as He is."¹

I It was my original intention to use this quotation without explanation, note, or comment, but the lines have a history other than that of my own recollection of them. The engraving—described in the following extract from a Baltimore journal—long hung over the mantle-piece in my grandfather's office, and thus became indelibly impressed upon my childish memory. Inasmuch as this representation of "The Conversion of Galen" has lately attracted some attention, and as the skeleton in the forest was no doubt as great a revelation to Galen as Babbage's theory of soundings in the air is to us, I cannot think this explanatory note altogether out of place here. With one exception—in a family memoir—the lines have appeared in print only as hereinafter stated:

"BALTIMORE COUNTY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.

"Dr. William J. Todd presented the picture 'The Conversion of Galen,' and gave the following description:

"The following was copied from *The American Domestic Medicine or Medical Admonisher*, by Horatio Gates Jameson, M. D., Honorary Member of the Medical Society of Maryland, and a late surgeon in the General Hospital for the army in Baltimore, printed there in 1818 by John D. Toy. The plate Dr. Jameson refers to has been lost from the book, but the explanation no doubt explains the plate. 'The design is from a picture in the possession of my father, Dr. David Jameson, of York, Pa. It represents the celebrated Galen (viewing a skeleton) of whom it was said, though an atheist he was a strict observer of Nature, till by chance finding a skeleton he thought it of too curious a construction to be the work of chance. The vast and sudden expansion of his views of the Deity in the following lines (already given) while they agreeably surprise us, are a strong confirmation of the existence of a light that lighteth every man.'"

In a letter to the writer, Dr. William J. Todd states that the print was cut from a pamphlet sent out by a medical firm in New York State; underneath was a note: "We have thus far been unable to trace the history of this plate, or to discover its significance, and we will be pleased to have some medical antiquarian enlighten us concerning same."

MISCELLANEOUS.

MAJOR-GENERAL D. M. STRONG.

OBITUARY.

With deep regret we learn of the death of Major-General D. M. Strong, retired from the British army. In the year 1900 the editor of *The Open Court* had the privilege of meeting the General personally and being a guest for several days at his congenial home at Edinburgh. It was truly a pleasure to stay at the fireside of the worthy old soldier in the circle of his family, all of them interested in music, art, religion, and science.

General Strong was a thinker and a scholar. He had studied Pāli and took considerable interest in Buddhism. His writings in this line were so successful that he gained an honorable place among the Pāli scholars of the world. We must specially mention his translation of the *Udana*, or *The Solemn Utterances of the Buddha*, which was published by Luzac & Co., London, 1902.

We had still in hand an unpublished manuscript of his entitled *The Goal*, which he wrote in contemplation of Chapter XLI. of *The Gospel of Buddha*, and we propose to publish it in the present number.

We express our deepest sympathy with Mrs. Strong, her sons and her daughters, all of whom are now adult and have grown up to be a just pride of the gallant General, who knew so well how to combine soldierly vigor with a noble gentleness.

“THE GOAL.”¹

BY D. M. STRONG.

Why thus so long by Karma tied ?
O Bikshus, listen ! you and I
The four great truths have set aside,
Not understanding ; that is why—

Through rock and plant and heating things
Migrate the wandering souls of each,
Till they, beyond imaginings
The perfect light of Buddha reach.

Karma inexorable reigns !
E'en though you fly from star to star,

¹ Chapter XLI., *Gospel of Buddha*.

The Past on you imprest remains
And what you were is what you are.

To new births onwards you must press
Before the hill of light you see,
Where shines the Beacon Righteousness
From transmigration's bondage free.

The higher birth, I've reached, O friends,
I've found the truth, rebirth's surcease,
I've taught the noble path that wends
To kingdoms of eternal Peace.

I've showed to you Ambrosia's lake
Which all your sins will wash away,
The sight of truth your thirst will slake
And Lust's destroying strife allay.

He who has passed through Passion's fire
And climbed Nirvāna's radiant shore,
His bliss the envious gods desire,
His heart defiled by sin no more.

As lotus leaves upon the lakes
The pearly drops do not retain,
So he the noble path who takes,
Though in the world, the world disdains.

A mother will her life bestow
To safely guard her only son,
But he'll unmeasured mercy show
And give his life for any one.

Firm in this state let man remain,
Whether he stand or walk or rest,
Living or dying, sick or sane,
Of all, this state of heart is best.

If Truth's bedimmed by Lust of Sense,
Reborn, he must again o'erpass
The desert tracks of Ignorance
Illusion's mirage, sin's morass.

But when Truth holds entire sway,
With it migration's cause departs,
All selfish cravings melt away
And Truth its saving cure imparts.

O Bikshus, true deliverance this,
The only heaven to which we soar,
This is salvation's endless bliss,
Here, within sight, Nirvāna's shore

THE BODY OF RESURRECTION ACCORDING TO MR. HALLOCK.

Some of our readers will be astonished to find in the present number an article under the caption "The Body of the Future Life; Is it Electrical?"—a subject which *prima facie* seems to condemn itself, and we need not hesitate to say that we make room for it not because we endorse the author's theory. The author, Mr. Hallock, a member of the Biological Society of Washington, frankly admits that his proposition is bold. He submitted his views to such among his friends as he had reason to consider good critics, and he communicated to us several letters with full permission to publish them. All are critical and reject Mr. Hallock's theory. One of the correspondents is a theologian and Doctor of Divinity, another, a classical scholar and a graduate of Oxford, England, is an avowed agnostic. The former says:

"I was greatly interested in your essay, as well as in the criticism [of your friend] which could hardly have been different, from his view-point.

"From my own,—the article is suggestive, very! and most interesting. It is not supposed to be a conclusive argument as I apprehend it, perhaps not an argument at all,—but a tentative hypothesis: as such it seems to have some value. You have certainly started *thought*, and the man who does that is a benefactor. I would rather like to have you cast it into the form of a suggestion and an argument *not wholly* and avowedly based upon an ecclesiastical conception of Scripture authority,—but clearly stating your postulate and using Scripture as incidental, or confirmatory proof of your position. So considerable a fraction of even the Christian thinkers of to-day demur at your estimate of the *authority* of Scripture that you delimit the number of sympathetic readers by so unequivocal a defining of your position. You repel the scientific mind; and *many* religious men of the hour are decidedly leaning toward the scientific processes, and are largely open to deductions of that nature."

Mr. Hallock's agnostic friend is severer still. He says:

"Well, my friend, you have certainly given full play to your undoubted power of imagination in this essay, and I am not surprised that any editor, up-to-date in the history and scientific knowledge of the day, should decline to print it in any popular magazine. I almost hope Dr. Carus will decline it, for, in my opinion, it will do you no credit as a scientific thinker.

"I am quite willing to admit that your paper may be beyond the grasp of my poor intellect. I can conceive an electrical principle animating a material body; I can even conceive that electricity in some form may be the *principle of life* in the vegetable and animal worlds. But an "*electrical body*"—by which I suppose you mean a *human body made or composed of electricity* (which, by the way, you say is *not matter*), which can *think*, is to me utterly unthinkable!

"There may be, as I am told there are, some gifted intellects that can conceive of a fourth dimension in space, or, to put it more plainly, a geometry of four dimensions. To these I must leave the mental feat of conceiving an electrical human being who can think, as well as flash through space, and "levitate" through stone walls and steel chambers; it is quite beyond the power of my humble 'think-tank.'

"I am sorry to see that the only *reasoning* you employ in support of your thesis consists of numerous quotations from the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures; if, indeed, this can properly be called *reasoning*.

"Leaving out of this question all that "the higher criticism" by the ablest scholars has shown, let us take the facts brought to light by recent explorations of Dr. Delitzsch, Harnack, and Hilprecht in the ruins of Babylon and Nippur....

"One thing is made clear past contradiction: whoever wrote the Pentateuch, Moses did not, and all that story about the God-given tables of stone, written by the finger of God, falls into its proper place as *folk-lore*, with no more claim to a Divine origin than the Rig-Vedas, the Shastras, the Puranas, or the Sagas of the Norsemen!....

"This being undoubtedly the case, you will perceive how worse than futile are all your quotations and references to the *folk-lore* of the Old and New Testaments to support your notion of an electrical body. Were it susceptible of irrefragable proof that all your references are inspired by God, as you believe, they would not go far to strengthen your theory in the face of other texts which are more clear and conclusive,—less free from ambiguity. I will mention only Job xix. 26: "And though after my skin, worms destroy *this body*, yet in my *flesh* shall I see God." See also that passage of nonsense and ignorance found in 1 Cor. xv. 35 to the end. Also see John xx. 24 to the end, as to the nature of Christ's body after he got out of the tomb."

We are fully aware of the serious objections that can be made to Mr. Hallock's theory, and after some hesitation we decided to publish it because the idea is from the standpoint of the old point of view so natural that it almost suggests itself, and should have been elaborated long ere this by spiritualists, theosophists, Christian scientists, or other representatives of the New Thought. Both of Mr. Hallock's friends blame him for limiting his arguments to Scriptural evidences, but that in my opinion is one of his strongest points. It proves how deeply rooted his theory is in the best recognised source of traditional religious thought. It would be easy enough to multiply arguments from other sources. I will here only mention that according to Egyptian belief, one form in which the soul after death appears is the *khu* or *khuu*, which means "luminous." The *khu* is supposed to haunt the places to which it is attracted by some attachment formed during life. Its dim misty form appears in the shape which it possessed in its lifetime, it is dressed in the same garments which it wore on earth, and is called "the luminous," because it is said to emit a pale light.¹

Other nations possess similar ideas of ghosts and appearances. Man's imagination selects that substance for the soul which is least material, the shadow, breath, or light. Since we know that both light and electricity are phenomena of the ether, it is but natural to think that the physical substratum of a ghost should be a phenomenon of ether.

Mr. Hallock's arguments and all additional evidence from kindred sources do not prove that the body of the resurrection is electrical or luminous, but it is merely material for anthropological investigation, briefly, it belongs to the department of folklore. The truth is that certain ideas develop naturally. Animism at a certain period of man's development is all but universal, but the universality of the belief, *e consensu gentium*, as the theologians call it, is not an argument in its favor, but only a proof that the idea develops necessarily. The scriptural evidences on which Mr. Hallock relies prove only that some of the authors of the Scriptures shared with the Egyptians and other nations a belief in the luminosity of the body of resurrection.

We might enter into a physical discussion of the subject, a task which to some

¹ See for instance Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 140.

extent Mr. Hallock's agnostic friend has undertaken. A thorough discussion of the difficulties to explain the body of resurrection as consisting either of light or of electricity would lead us too far, but even if the idea were tenable, we would have to insist on it that, in that case also, our body consisted of matter, however, attenuated it might be, and would be subject to decay, no less than the grosser flesh and blood.

The difficulties of a body of resurrection are certainly not removed by Mr. Hallock's theory, and we publish his article merely as an interesting suggestion.

THE GERMANIC MUSEUM AT CAMBRIDGE.

The Germanic Museum of Cambridge, Mass., affiliated to Harvard University is to be opened on Tuesday afternoon, November 10th, at 3 o'clock, by solemn exercises in which it is expected a number of representative men of both Germany and the United States will take part. The founding of this museum is not without great significance, for it has been called into existence not only through the interest of the American supporters of the idea, but also through the encouragement and material assistance of the German Emperor, whose aid was secured through the intercession of Prince Henry.

The Germanic Museum is a monument of the good relations between Germany and the United States, and may be considered as a pledge of peace and friendliness which should not be doubted in spite of what is frequently said to the contrary in newspaper columns and sometimes even by more considerate observers of the political situation.

It is well known that Prof. Albion Small on his return from Germany expressed himself very plainly in university circles of Chicago on the relation between both countries as being so strained that there was a growing danger of war. It is quite true that on both sides of the Atlantic there are hotspurs, commonly called "Jingos," but they have no influence nor any chance of ever gaining an influence upon the destiny of either nation. The government of Germany sees too plainly the advantages of keeping on good terms with the United States, and the United States has too much respect for German ability, German science, and German energy, not to reciprocate the friendly feelings which the Emperor himself has repeatedly taken occasion to show. And even if the two governments were not on the best terms, what use could there be of a war between these two great nations, whose spheres of interest are so radically different! A war with the United States would ruin the most prosperous portion of the German trade, and nothing is gained by a defeat of the United States. The same is true *vice versa*: the United States cannot acquire German territory beyond the seas, and would in case of victory have a poor satisfaction from the destruction of the German navy. War from either standpoint would be so stupid as to be out of question.

The only cause of irritation is the Monroe Doctrine which is an eye-sore to the Germans, because they have always been on the lookout for colonies in South America, but even this question could easily be settled to mutual satisfaction if the German Government would only understand that the Monroe Doctrine does not exclude the Germans from colonising South America, but only prohibits there the establishment of the imperial government. The Germans can either settle in the states which already exist, or wherever they are so completely in the majority as to be able to introduce German as the official language of the country they may found German states. If these states would adopt a republican form of govern-

ment and not be incorporated in the German Empire, the United States would have no objection to the foundation of German settlements in South America. The bonds between a German republic in South America and the Fatherland could be as intimate as the colonists might desire; it should only not be an officially recognised subjection under the sceptre of the monarchical government at home. This solution of the difficulty cannot be objectionable either to the German colonists or to the German government, and assuming that the Germans have truly the desire to colonise South America, the scheme could very well be actualised without provoking any ill feeling on account of the Monroe Doctrine.

CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

IN MEMORIAM.

BY CALLIE BONNEY MARBLE.

Not the Destroyer, but the Restorer, Death,
Who takes the soul, grown weary with earth's strife,
And, bearing 'way his sorrow, care, and pain,
Throws wide the portal of immortal life.

And so He welcomed him, the one late gone,
Who to religions all oped wide the door
Of fellowship, that the varied sects might know
All men as brethren here forevermore.

And still for concord, justice, love, and right,
He lives in land eterne beyond the stars;
And one—on earth the dearest and the best—
With welcome meet the pearl-bound gate unbars.

[The news of Mr. C. C. Bonney's death reached one of his daughter's Mrs. Earl Marble, while dangerously ill. She was greatly affected and dictated to her husband the lines here printed. We regret to add that according to our latest information she is still in a critical condition, and her recovery is more than doubtful.]

THE UDĀNA.

Among the publications of our friend General D. M. Strong, his translation of *The Udāna*, or *Solemn Utterances*, is important because these ancient essays contain several passages which express some of the deepest thoughts of the philosophy of Buddhism. We published some time ago a review of this book, but it may be well to enter more deeply into the subject and bring out some of its most prominent features.

General Strong prefaces his translation with an introduction explaining the main features of Buddhism, which he sums up in three statements:

- "1. That all the constituents of being are transitory.
- "2. That all the constituents of being are misery.
- "3. That all the elements of being are lacking in an Ego."

"Constituents of being" is a Buddhist term which is also sometimes and perhaps more appropriately translated by "compounds." All material things are of a compound nature, and Buddha taught that what is compounded is subject to decay;

it originates by growth, and will be dissolved again. This condition is called Birth and Death. The immediate result of this is suffering and since all concrete things originate by being compounded, there is no permanent entity in them; there are no things-in-themselves, there is no "Âtman," there is no Ego, or as some translate less appropriately, there is "no soul."¹ Accordingly all egotism in the interest of our compound existence of our bodily incarnation is vain, and the only ideal worth striving after is the realisation of a perfect life called in religious language "Saint-ship." This ideal is reached by emancipation from desire, called "salvation" or "deliverance."

Salvation or deliverance comes not by belief in the miraculous but by knowing and keeping the precepts, in other words, by understanding the nature of existence, and leading a moral life. Thus the ethics of Buddhism is condensed in the verse of the *Dhammapāda* 183:²

"Commit no evil; but do good
And let thy heart be pure.
That is the gist of Buddhahood,
The lore that will endure."

The final aim of Buddhism is Nirvāna, the actualisation of deliverance.

It is difficult to understand and appreciate the Buddhist ideal of Nirvāna, but some of the passages of the Udāna are apt to throw light on the subject. Nirvāna is no extinction, but is the actualisation of that which is eternal and it can therefore be attained in this bodily life. Now there is in this world something that is unchangeable. It is what Plato calls the "idea" and what Schiller praises as "pure form." Bodies are material form, and all material forms belong to the realm of birth and death, they are subject to decay, but the eternal types constitute the essence of existence, and the world of bodily forms is conditioned by laws of pure form, the latter being as immutable as are the theorems of mathematics and the laws of nature. They are the *raison d'être* of the world-order. They are the permanent in the transient. They are the *mundus intelligibilis* of Swedenborg and Kant. They give us the key to a comprehension of nature, and are the indispensable condition of our moral aspirations.

Plato describes the eternal ideas as the incorporeal moulds of things which are above space and time. They have not been made but they are the laws according to which everything that exists is formed. They are neither born nor can they die, yet they determine birth and death.

Buddhism anticipates Plato as well as Schiller, and all the other thinkers whose thoughts lean in the same direction. We read in the Udāna:

"Thus have I heard. On a certain occasion the Blessed One dwelt at Savatthi, in the Jetavana, the garden of Anāthapindika.

"Now at that time the Blessed One was instructing, arousing, animating, and gladdening the Bhikkhus with a religious discourse on the subject of Nirvāna.

"And these Bhikkhus grasping the meaning, thinking it out and accepting with their hearts the whole doctrine, listened attentively.

"And the Blessed One, in this connection, on that occasion, breathed forth this solemn utterance:

"There is, O Bhikkhus, a state where there is neither earth, nor water, nor

¹ We have frequently pointed out that the translation of "Âtman" by "soul" is misleading. Buddhism does not deny the existence of mentality nor the reality of psychical facts.

² We substitute here for General Strong's translation, our own metric version.

heat nor air, neither infinity of space, nor infinity of consciousness, nor nothingness, nor perception, nor non-perception, neither this world nor that world, both sun and moon.

“That, O Bhikkhus, I term neither coming nor going, nor standing, neither death nor birth. It is without stability, without procession, without a basis: that is the end of sorrow.”

We see here an attempt to describe the abstract state of pure form where there is no corporeality, no sensation, no perception, neither this world, nor the world to come, neither death nor birth and yet this world of pure idea is a reality. It is the most essential part of existence, for it conditions the creation of things, and without it no comprehension is possible. The Udāna continues:

“Hard is it to realise the essential,
The truth is not easily perceived,
Desire is mastered by him who knows,
To him who sees (aright) all things are naught.”

“There is, O Bhikkhus, an unborn, unoriginated, uncreated, unformed. Were there not, O Bhikkhus, this unborn, unoriginated, uncreated, unformed, there would be no escape from the world of the born, originated, created, formed.

“Since, O Bhikkhus, there is an unborn, unoriginated, uncreated, originated, created, formed.”

Nirvāna is the attainment of this *mundus intelligibilis*, the realm of ideas, the comprehension of existence, the state where there is neither birth nor death. It is as Spinoza expresses it, a view of the world *sub specie æterni*, i. e., under the aspect of the eternal. The belief in the eternal is the Buddhist God-conception.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

RADIANT ENERGY. By *Edgar L. Larkin*, Director Lowe Observatory, etc., etc. Baumgardt Pub. Co., Los Angeles, California. Illustrated.

The title of this book and its general appearance are misleading. It suggests the discussion of some mysterious power of nature, and friends of the reviewer who happened to pick up the book did not hesitate to class it among occult publications. This is a mistake, however, as even a furtive glance over the first chapter will amply prove. The author, Edgar L. Larkin, is an astronomer of good standing. He is the director of Lowe Observatory on Echo Mountain, California, and his booklet is a popular exposition of the methods of modern astronomy, including the elementary laws of astrophysics, among which, radiant energy, known as heat, light, and electricity, is of prominent significance.

Astronomers as a rule presuppose in their reports a general knowledge of the elementary facts of the actions of ether and also of the history of their discovery. Professor Larkin attacks the subject with an exposition of the simplest phenomena, and some chapters might almost be used in the kindergarten, so plain is his narrative of the nature of a ray of light, isolated in a slit of the darkroom, of refraction, of spectrum-analysis and the Fraunhofer lines. The book may be too simple for physicists, but it will be welcome to readers, who wish to have information concerning the mysterious undulation of light and the mode in which its qualities have been discovered.

Professor Larkin is perhaps given to a love of the occult, for he quotes as mottoes over his several chapters lines from the Rig-Veda, the Zend-Avesta, Neopla-

tonists or other Greek mystics, religious texts of Oriental lore, including the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments; but he remains always on the *astra firma* of exact science.

He discusses: (1) the nature of radiant energy, that is, light; (2) spectrum analysis; (3) the spectroscope; (4) Fraunhofer's spectrum; (5) diffraction and interference; (6) the analysis of energy by means of the spectrum; (7) astronomical spectroscopy; (8) absorption; (9) exploration of the universe; (10) solar spectroscopy; (11) spectroscopy of the sun; (12) radiant energy and its fixation (photography); (13) solar spectrography; (14) spectrum analysis of the sun; (15) Hale's spectro-heliograph; (16) solar spots; (17) jets on the sun and their effect on the earth; (18) the terrestrial influence of sun spot activity; (19) the aurora and sun spots; (20) auroral displays; (21) the sun's potential; (22) heat potential of the sun; (23) dynamics of the sun; (24) solar heat potential; (25) total energy of the sun; (26) the ancient sun; (27) the radiant sun; (28) the spectro-bolometer; (29) the stars; (30) renewed efforts to find stellar parallax; (31) the sidereal structure; (32) the stellar universe; (33) binary suns; (34) discovery of spectroscopic binaries; (35) spectroscopic binaries; (36) stellar evolution; (37) evolution wrought by tides; (38) evolution of the earth and moon; (39) evolution now in activity; (40) wide diffusion of matter; (41) primordial electrical induction; general summary.

The appendix (entitled Addenda) contains some items on the Lowe Observatory, and a few short articles and illustrations which did not find a place in the body of the book.

The book is profusely illustrated, and many pictures as well as diagrams are excellent, but it is to be regretted that some of them are too small to show the details with sufficient clearness, and we hope that if there should be a call for a second edition, they will be replaced by larger ones.

We ought to add that the book suffers from an excusable local patriotism, and an apparent inclination to advertise the Lowe Observatory. We learn of the patrons that enabled Professor Larkin to carry on his work and to publish his book, and though the general public will care little about the personalities, the introduction of these particulars will do no harm, and it is but meet that the author should credit generous donors for the sacrifices which they brought for science. P. C.

NEUE GEDICHTE. Von *Arthur Pfungst*. Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1903. Pages, 128.

The third edition of Pfungst's poems lies before us, a little book which reflects the thoughts of a German who stands up for liberalism in religion and politics. The poet, a citizen of Frankfort-on-the-Main, is favorably known in Germany for his translations of Arnold's *Light of Asia*, the Sutta Nipata, and other Buddhist scriptures, Rhys Davids's *Buddhism*, and also for a philosophical epic called "Laskaris" in which he treats the difficult problem whether or not life is worth living. He, however, allows us here in his collected poems to peep into the more intimate folds of his heart. His poems were written in hours of reflection and repose, a disposition characterised in the "Dedication," which begins with the following stanza:

"In des Lebens wildem Weh'n,
Wo die Fluten dich unrauschen,
Wag' es einmal still zu steh'n,
Auf dein inn'res Wort zu lauschen!"

Some poems are addressed to men of the times, Cæsare Lombroso, Dreyfus Zola, Giziki, etc., others are pictures of still-life, still others meditations on the

destiny of man, life's ideals and duties, but throughout Pfungst's personality shows itself as kindhearted and thoughtful.

F. C.

BOOK OF NATURE. By *Johnny Jones*, Spelling by his Mother. San Francisco: Paul Elder & Co. 1903. Pages, 32.

This pamphlet contains children's verses, describing in nursery rhymes almost all the animals that came within reach of infantile imagination. The script is a facsimile of writing in capital letters, such as children would prefer when they begin to read, and the illustrations are of the kindergarten style. The booklet no doubt will be a welcome amusement to children between four and eight years of age.

The English edition of *Babel and Bible* by Professor Delitzsch now lies before us, and it is interesting to compare it with the American edition. The latter is in octavo, while the size of the former is duodecimo, somewhat smaller than the German edition. The pictures of the English edition are exactly the same, and of the same size, as those of the German original, while in the American edition they are replaced by larger illustrations. The translations have been made independently of each other. The American edition of the First Lecture appeared in *The Open Court* very soon after its delivery; but it seems that the English translator, Mr. C. H. W. Johns, did not know of the existence of the American edition, or at least he appears not to have taken any notice of it. The translations, although different in detail, are both well made, each in its own way.

While the American edition has been adapted to the interests of the American public, the English edition faithfully preserves the original German text. From the American edition those passages are omitted which have reference to German conditions only, such as the propaganda which Professor Delitzsch makes for the German Oriental Society, a picture of the house of the German expedition at Babylon (the slanting walls of which are presumably due to the faulty lense of the camera), and further in the appendix such notes of Professor Delitzsch's as are of a purely personal character: all these points can have no interest outside of Germany. On the other hand, the American edition contains extracts from the most significant criticisms of Professor Delitzsch's views, especially Halévy, Harnack Cornill, a Roman Catholic verdict, Alfred Jeremias, and among them we find in full the letter of Emperor William, written in reference to the religious significance of these interesting lectures. Professor Delitzsch's answers to the several points are summed up in short articles under appropriate headings.

The English edition contains no additional material except the translator's introduction in which he characterises Professor Delitzsch's position against the old and uncritical conception of the Bible. Mr. Johns says on page xxvi. of the introduction:

"The men who claim to decide everything by their own mother-wit have condemned the Professor and tried to influence the public by an appeal to sentiment and prejudice. We wish that the man, his facts and his conclusions, should have a patient hearing. The lectures will at least be found free of the ill-natured gibes at us which pass for wit with some of his critics. There is no need to swallow everything whole, nor to toss the Bible on the shelf as antiquated rubbish. If the Bible owes much to Babylonia, so do astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. We

use still the Babylonian time measures and perhaps also their space measures. The debt of Greece and Rome to Babylon has yet to find its Delitzsch, but he is soon to appear.

"Much has been made of the pain which comes to those who see old beliefs perish. But that is salutary pain. We have all to take pains, or pain. Either we must learn, research, investigate, deduce, conclude, or, if we will not take such pains, we are liable at any time to suffer pain from finding some cherished belief perish, without our being able to defend it, or even give it decent obsequies. As Dr. Kinns of old said, when he had proved to his satisfaction that the ark did not really harbor lions and tigers (in which he proved more a destructive critic than Professor Delitzsch), 'It may seem a little too bad to deprive pictures and children's toys of this interesting feature, but there is strong evidence. . . .'; so when there is strong evidence we can only feel pity for those who have believed many things on evidence no better than that which justified the lions and tigers. . . .

"Men accepted what they were told as babies. As men they need to put away childish things. They are babes still if they accept what is told them with no more effort to examine and verify. To throw aside all, and henceforth believe nothing is as childish as before. To such adult infants this book may give the elements of an education such as they sorely need. If their so-called faith be unsettled, a very little more education will very likely settle it again; or, which comes to much the same thing with this sort of faith, they will forget all about it and believe as much or as little as before, the same things or something else, with equal complacency. The men of deep religious faith, who alone count for the progress of the race, will rejoice and take courage at a fresh proof that the Father has never left Himself without witness among men, and that even the most unlikely elements have gone to prepare the world for Him who was, and still is, to come."

The English edition can be had in the United States through G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, and though the price is twice as high as that of the American edition, we gladly recommend it to all those of our readers who wish to compare the two versions, or who for some reason or other would care to have a translation of the omitted passages.¹

Buddhism, an illustrated quarterly review, edited by Bhikkhu Ananda Maitriya, is a stately magazine, the first number of which has just been published. It contains a poem by Sir Edwin Arnold, the great author of the *Light of Asia*, an essay on Buddhist ethics by Prof. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, a translation from the *Majjhima Nikaya* by Dr. Karl E. Neumann, and also articles by Eastern Buddhists. Taw Sein Ko writes of "Pali Examinations"; M. M. Hla Oung on "The Woman of Burma"; Maung Po Me on "Animism or Agnosticism." Not the least significant feature of the new periodical are the essays of the editor, the Buddhist monk Ananda Maitriya, who writes on "The Faith of the Future" and on "Nibbana." In addition to the essays there is also a wealth of notes, some of purely local interest, as for instance on the "Riots in Ceylon," the goldplating of the dome of a temple, news about pagodas, obituaries, and notes about the Buddhist

¹ *Babel and Bible*. Two Lectures Delivered Before the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in the presence of the German Emperor, by Friedrich Delitzsch, Ordinary Professor of Oriental Philology and Assyriology in the University of Berlin. Edited, with an Introduction, by C. H. W. Johns, M. A. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. London: Williams & Norgate. 1903. Pages 226. Price. \$1.50.

priesthood. In addition there are some of general importance, the "Wonders of Radium," the "Application of Finsen Light to Leprosy," the "Animals Petition," etc.

We learn from the department "Buddhist Activities" that a Young Men's Buddhist Association is established in Ceylon, that they are in connection with the Young Men's Buddhist Association of Japan, that Maitriya is lecturing in Colombo, that there are Buddhist schools established, etc.

The objects of the International Buddhist Society, which also characterise the periodical *Buddhism*, are defined as follows:

"Firstly, to set before the world the true principles of our Religion, believing, as we do, that these need only to be better known to meet with a wide-spread acceptance amongst the peoples of the West,—an acceptance which, if manifested in practice, would in our opinion do much to promote the general happiness.

"Secondly, to promote as far as lies in our power, those humanitarian activities referred to in the latter portion of 'The Faith of the Future'; and

"Thirdly, to unite by our journal, as by a common bond of mutual interest and brotherhood, the many Associations with Buddhist aims which now exist."

In his editorial, "The Faith of the Future," the merits of Buddhism are fervidly set forth in a kind of Buddhist sermon which betrays no mean power of eloquence. It closes with the following exhortation:

"'Truth'—it is written in our Sacred Books—'Truth verily is Immortal Speech.' Knowing this so, we send forth from the East these echoes of an ancient Faith:—a Faith so old that the great hills have wasted and the galaxies of heaven have changed, since first the Master of Compassion taught it beneath the Himalayan snows, under the watching stars of the still Indian night. Have yet the ages dimmed either the love He taught, shrouded the Wisdom of His Words, or sealed the entrance to the Valley of Peace He shewed? Nay, surely,—and whatsoever of that ancient Truth may linger in the tale we tell, whatever of His Teaching yet resounds in this, its far-off echo, *that* will find place within the hearts of these who wait for it; *that* will endure, after our lips are dumb in death. The rest is naught, all other speech is vain:—Truth the Immortal will alone survive; will live on through the ages, shrined in the Temple of Humanity; until the fires of Passion, Hatred and Delusion shall be quenched forever, and the Veil of Nescience be torn aside:—till all mankind, blent at the last in one fair Brotherhood of Peace, shall own one Law, one Hope, one Faith:—that Faith of Pity and of Wisdom and of Love which shall survive all lesser lights,—fair blossom on the Tree of Human Thought; the Faith of all Humanity, the Faith of the Future!"

This new magazine is one of the most significant symptoms of the re-awakening of Buddhism. Buddhism has found in Ananda Maitriya a man who promises to become a power in the world.

What shall Christians think of this re-awakening of Buddhism? Shall they be alarmed for the sake of their own religion? We think not! We believe that the awakening of a greater interest in any one religion can only help to bring out the truth, whatever the truth may be. A renewal of the life of Buddhism will stimulate the religious life of Christianity. Competition is wholesome not only in the world of commerce, but also in the domain of thought and ideal aspirations. Buddhism seemed to be dead in Japan until Christian missionaries came, and it owes to them its recent regeneration. There are Buddhist priests of Japan who recognise their indebtedness to Christianity, and most of them feel very friendly toward the representative of the foreign faith. The same will be true of Christianity at

home and abroad. The more earnest the pagans are, the better it will be for Christianity. The Buddhists begin to learn from the Christians, and if there is anything good in Buddhism let the Christians learn from the Buddhists.

Federal Christendom is a new periodical which advocates a coöperation of the Churches, not as an organised union but as a loose federation, in which every Church (perhaps every congregation) is left to formulate its own creed, and all of them join in an alliance, which would be mutually strengthening, and an exchange of thought and ideals. The editor says in his editorial announcement:

"This publication, of which we wish to continue the issue at intervals, is intended to be an organ for expressing the mind of those who, in a humanitarian spirit, desire the inter-recognition of the Denominations of Christianity as one single inter-covenanted Church. We do not knowingly offer any arbitrary views of our own upon the status of American Christianity. Our purpose in this publication is to bring forward, subject to due corrections, wherever an error can be shown, a statement of the existing facts in the case, concerning Religion in America to-day. We ask for nothing more than that a *fait accompli* should have its due public recognition, and that the unorganised, and in part unconscious unity of Christendom in America to-day may proceed in its own logical order towards a conscious and organised fulfilment."

From the pledge of the inter-church Covenant, we select the following sentences:

"We confess our faith in the sanctity of individual conscience, and in the divine worth of the faith of every religious man, which faith we hold to be the staff of the life of the World.

"We pledge ourselves not to belittle the faith and religious hopes of other men.

"We devote ourselves to the maintenance of the sanctities of domestic life.

"We aspire together that peace may forever reign between all men and amid all the nations of the world."

On page 13 we find "a scheme for a society for establishing an inter-church federal communion" under the name of "Federal Religious Society," the first object of which is to be "to gather together for friendly discussion and coöperation all those who are interested in the Reunion of Christendom and in the establishment of friendly intercourse between the members of all Religions."

It is claimed that Christendom is vitally and organically one, and although a reunion can never be achieved by fusion or compromise, it is hoped that it is possible on the basis of a freedom of the churches and a recognition of the place of each separate church as well as the rights of individual consciences.

While the scheme aims at a union of Christian churches, it does not want to exclude the non-Christians, but suggests (in the appendix to the articles of organisation, page 16) also the discussion of the non-Christian faiths if possible by representatives who are themselves believers in their religion.

A single copy of *Federal Christendom* is 10 cents, twelve issues (which will be published as occasion may arise) are \$1.00. Strange to say, this first number bears no imprint, and we only know from private correspondence that the main editor is Rev. R. B. DeBary, a clergyman of the Episcopal Church of England, formerly of England, recently of Denver, Colorado, and at present temporarily at 486 Main St., Springfield, Mass.

"Serve the Eternal" (*Dem Ewigen!*) is the title of a pamphlet issued anonymously in behalf of the members of the Theosophical Society of Germany.¹ The motto is taken from Jakob Böhme and reads:

"Wem Zeit
Wie Ewigkeit
Und Ewigkeit
Wie Zeit,
Der ist befreit
Von allem Streit."

["To whom Time is as Eternity, and to whom Eternity is as Time, He is liberated from the turmoil of the World."]

The eternal in everything is the Self, and the theosophist is exhorted to live for the elevation of Self, the eternal principle in him. While the author recognises the genuineness of spiritualistic phenomena, he regards theosophy as opposed to spiritualism, in so far as the latter is an endeavor to elevate oneself up to the eternal, while the spiritualist with the help of mediums tries to bring spirituality down to the lower level of man.

The book contains many noble moral maxims, but is, as might be expected, vitiated by a hankering after and a belief in the occult.

The pamphlet is neatly printed and contains little sketches which give it an artistic appearance.

The picture of Chevalier Pinetti published in the last number of *The Open Court* is a rare print from the collection of Dr. Saram R. Ellison of New York City, who kindly enabled Mr. Evans to have it reproduced in the article that appeared in the October number of *The Open Court*. Dr. Ellison has collected many rare and curious works on necromancy, magic, and kindred subjects, and it is just announced by the papers that he has made a gift of this valuable library to Columbia University of New York.

¹*Dem Ewigen*. C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn. Berlin.



GATEWAY AT KARNAK.

Representing Pharaoh making offerings to the Gods.

Frontispiece to The Open Court

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HAMMURABI AND AMRAPHEL.

BY DR. HUGO RADAU.

[People not familiar with Semitic languages, especially with Hebrew and Babylonian, may very well be puzzled why Hammurabi should be identified with the Biblical Amraphel, and it is quite natural that a correspondent of ours should conceive the ingenious idea of identifying Hammurabi with Abraham. Considering the English transcription alone and neglecting entirely the philology of both Babylonia and Palestine, the identification of Hammurabi and Abraham would be more plausible than that of Hammurabi and Amraphel.

We deemed it wise to submit the question to a specialist, and take pleasure in publishing the answer of Dr. Hugo Radau.—*Editor*,]

HAMMURABI has been identified with the Biblical Amraphel not without good reason. The arguments which are so strong that scarcely any student of Babylonian inscriptions would doubt them are two-fold; first, historical; secondly, linguistic.

Since the writer of the letter submitted to me is concerned only with the linguistic difficulties of this identification, I shall here omit the weighty historical arguments and limit myself to the latter.

The name Hammurabi may be written in Babylonian either
cha-mu ra bi or *cha-am-mu-ra-bi*.

If we transcribe these syllables in Hebrew script, we would get either

חֻמְרָא בִּי or חֻמְרָא

The Biblical name is Amraphel or

אַמְרָפֶּל

A comparison shows that only two consonants are common to both names: *mr* = מר.

The difficulties of this identification, then, consist in the equation of the

Babylonian *cham* (חם) = Hebr. *am* (אם) and of the
Babylonian *bi* (בִּי) = Hebr. *phel* (פֶּל).

I. CHAM = AM.

The name Hammurabi is in Babylonian a *foreign* name, for we have a syllabary in which it is explained by *kinitu rapashtu*, i. e., "the great or extended family." The Babylonian scribes, then, saw in this name two elements, one meaning "family," the other "great." These two elements are *chammu* + *rabi*.

Hammurabi belongs to the kings of the first dynasty of Babylon, which is of Canaanitish origin. The *language of the Canaanites* is, as we know now from the Tell Amarna tablets, identical with the *Hebrew language*. From a comparison of the Canaanitish words to be found in the Amarna tablets with their Babylonian transcription we know that Babylonian *ch* corresponds.

a. Mostly to Canaanitish ע.

Canaanitish שַׁעַר (gate) = Babylonian transcription: *shachri* (שַׁחְרִי).

" זרוע (arm) = " " *zurûch* (זְרוּחַ).

" עֵינַי (my eyes) = " " *chinaja* (חִינַי).

" עֵל (yoke) = " " *chullu* (חֵל).

" עַבְרֵי (Hebrews) = " " *chabirê* (חַבְרֵי).

See here also from Assyrian inscriptions:

Hebrew עֶזְרָא (a city, Gen. x. 19) = Assyrian *chaziti*, *chas(z)atu*, etc.

" עֶמְרִי (Omri) = " *chumri*.

The syllable *cham* in the name *cha-am-mu-ra-bi* would correspond therefore to the Canaanitish עַם, which means "people," "tribe," "family."

b. But the Babylonians transcribe the Canaanitish resp. Hebrew ע also by *a*, hence the name עֶזְרָא occurs in the Babylonian resp. Assyrian inscriptions also as *Azzatu*! If this be true, then we might expect, if the syllable *cham* be = עַם, that the name *Chammurabi* be also written *Ammurabi*. Indeed, such a writing does occur. In an Assyrian letter, K. 552, 5 ff., our name is written *ammurapi*, which when transcribed in Hebrew would become:

אַמְרָא

This writing proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the syllable *cham* in *Chammurabi* corresponds to the Canaanitish resp. Hebrew עַם, and means "people" or "family" = *kintu*. But Gen. xiv. where the name *Amraphel* occurs is written in *Hebrew*, why should the *Hebrew* rendering of this Hebrew Canaanitish name be written with an א (אם) instead of an ע (עם)?

The answer is: "The writer of Gen. xiv. had a copy or has seen an inscription where the name was written Ammurabi (as above) instead of Chammurabi."

II. BI = PHEL.

How is the syllable *phel* instead of *bi* to be explained? The Babylonian script is a syllabic script, and each syllable or sign is again polyphone, i. e., one sign may be read in several different ways. Now it appears that there is in the Babylonian writing one sign which may be read not only NE but also bi, bil, pil. The writer of Gen. xiv. therefore must have had a copy before him or seen an inscription where this sign was to be found at the end of the name, an inscription where the name was written



AM - MU - RA - PIL,

which he read and which he transcribed in Hebrew by

אמרפ

but which ought to have been read

am-mu-ra-be or *am-mu-ra-pi*,

and transcribed by

אמרב or אמרב

The syllable *rab(i)* contains the root רבה or רבב, "to be or become great, extended, numerous," etc., which again is the Canaanitish-Hebrew equivalent of the Babylonian *rapashtu* or *rapaltu*. Chammurabi, then, is = עב רב = *kimtu rapashtu* = the *great family* (*people*).

TOLSTOY'S ANSWER TO THE RIDDLE OF LIFE.

AN AMERICAN ADMIRER OF TOLSTOY.

ERNEST Howard Crosby has been called Tolstoy's leading disciple in America, and truly no one has shown himself a more devoted friend to the venerable Russian reformer whose picture our author places before us in the following words¹:

"A strange figure—this peasant nobleman, this aristocrat, born into the ruling class of an autocracy, who condemns all government and caste, this veteran of two wars who proscribes all bloodshed, this keen sportsman turned vegetarian, this landlord who follows Henry George, this man of wealth who will have nothing to do with money, this famous novelist who thinks that he wasted his time in writing most of his novels, this rigid moralist, one of whose books at least, the *Kreutzer Sonata*, was placed under the ban of the American Post Office. That same dramatic instinct which made him a great novelist, which impelled Sir Henry Irving to rank his two plays among the best of the past century, and which, as we have seen, has so often led him to find lessons in the active world around him, this same instinct has made of this least theatrical and most self-forgetful of men the dramatic prefigurement in his own person of a reunited race, set free by love from the shackles of caste and violence. As it was with the prophets of old, so with him, there is a deeper significance in his life, in the tragedy of himself, than in the burden of his spoken message."

Mr. Crosby's enthusiasm for this prophet of peace and goodwill on earth finds utterance in the following lines²:

"Hail, Tolstoy, bold, archaic shape,
Rude pattern of the man to be,
From 'neath whose rugged traits escape
Hints of a manhood fair and free.

"I read a meaning in your face,
A message wafted from above,
Prophetic of an equal race
Fused into one by robust love.

¹ *Tolstoy and His Message*, by Ernest H. Crosby, pp. 92-93.

² Quoted from *Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable*.

- "Like some quaint statue long concealed,
 Deep buried in Mycenæ's mart,
 Wherein we clearly see revealed
 The promise of Hellenic art,
- "So stand you ; while aloof and proud,
 The world that scribbles, prates, and frets
 Seems but a simpering, futile crowd
 Of Dresden china statuettes,
- "Like John the Baptist, once more scan
 The signs that mark the dawn of day.
 Forerunner of the Perfect Man,
 Make straight His path, prepare the way.
- "The desert too is your abode,
 Your garb and fare of little worth ;
 Thus ever has the Spirit showed
 The coming reign of heaven on earth.
- "Not in king's houses may we greet
 The prophets whom the world shall bless,
 To lay my verses at your feet
 I seek you in the wilderness."

And, indeed, Tolstoy is a remarkable man in spite of much that may be called one-sided and eccentric. Tolstoy, in his rugged originality and with his independence of thought, is and will remain forever a most unique personality. We will here let Tolstoy speak for himself, selecting from Mr. Crosby's books Tolstoy's solution of the problem of life, his view of the soul, and its destiny after death, which is Christian in spirit, explaining the argument of Tolstoy's belief in the doctrine of non-resistance, and at the same time closely resembles the Buddhist conception of Nirvâna.

TOLSTOY'S PHILOSOPHY.¹

"We should begin our researches with that which we alone know with certitude, and this is the 'I' within us. Life is what I feel in myself, and this life science cannot define. Nay, it is my idea of life rather which determines what I am to consider as science, and I learn all outside of myself solely by the extension of my knowledge of my own mind and body. We know from within that man lives only for his own happiness, and his aspiration towards it and his pursuit of it constitute his life. At first he is conscious of the life in himself alone, and hence he imagines that the good which he seeks must be his own individual good. His

¹ Quoted from Mr. Crosby's *Tolstoy and His Message*, pp. 36 ff.

own life seems the real life, while he regards the life of others as a mere phantom. He soon finds out that other men take the same view of the world, and that the life in which he shares is composed of a vast number of individuals, each bent on securing its own welfare, and consequently doing all it can to thwart and destroy the others. He sees that in such a struggle it is almost hopeless for him to contend, for all mankind is against him. If, on the other hand, he succeeds by chance in carrying out his plans for happiness, he does not even then enjoy the prize as he anticipated. The older he grows, the rarer become the pleasures; ennui, satiety, trouble and suffering go on increasing; and before him lie old age, infirmity and death. He will go down to the grave, but the world will continue to live.

"The real life, then, is the life outside him, and his own life, which originally appeared to him the one thing of importance, is after all a deception. The good of the individual is an imposture, and if it could be obtained it would cease at death. The life of man as an individuality seeking his own good, in the midst of an infinite host of similar individualities engaged in bringing one another to naught and being themselves annihilated in the end, is an evil and an absurdity. It cannot be the true life.

"Our quandary arises from looking upon our animal life as the real life. Our real life begins with the waking of our consciousness, at the moment when we perceive that life lived for self cannot produce happiness. We feel that there must be some other good. We make an effort to find it, but, failing, we fall back into our old ways. These are the first throes of the birth of the veritable human life. This new life only becomes manifest when the man once for all renounces the welfare of his animal individuality as his aim in life. By so doing he fulfils the law of reason, the law which we all are sensible of within us—the same universal law which governs the nutrition and reproduction of beast and plant.

"Our real life is our willing submission to this law, and not, as science would have us hold, the involuntary subjection of our bodies to the laws of organic existence. Self-renunciation is as natural to man as it is for birds to use their wings instead of their feet; it is not a meritorious or heroic act; it is simply the necessary condition precedent of genuine human life. This new human life exhibits itself in our animal existence just as animal life does in matter. Matter is the instrument of animal life, not an obstacle to it; and so our animal life is the instrument of our higher human life and should conform to its behests.

"Life, then, is the activity of the animal individuality working in submission to the law of reason. Reason shows man that happiness cannot be obtained by a selfish life, and leaves only one outlet open for him, and that is Love. Love is the only legitimate manifestation of life. It is an activity which has for its object the good of others. When it makes its appearance, the meaningless strife of the animal life ceases.

"Real love is not the preference of certain persons whose presence gives one pleasure. This, which is ordinarily called love, is only a wild stock on which true love may be grafted, and true love does not become possible until man has given up the pursuit of his own welfare. Then at last all the juices of his life come to nourish the noble graft, while the trunk of the old tree, the animal individuality, pours into it its entire vigor. Love is the preference which we accord to other beings over ourselves. It is not a burst of passion, obscuring the reason, but on the contrary no other state of the soul is so rational and luminous, so calm and joyous; it is the natural condition of children and the wise.

"Active love is attainable only for him who does not place his happiness in his individual life, and who also gives free play to his feeling of good-will towards others. His well-being depends upon love as that of a plant on light. He does not ask what he should do, but he gives himself up to that love which is within his reach. He who loves in this way alone possesses life. Such self-renunciation lifts him from animal existence in time and space into the regions of life. The limitations of time and space are incompatible with the idea of real life. To attain to it man must trust himself to his wings.

"Man's body changes; his states of consciousness are successive and differ from each other; what then is the 'I'? Any child can answer when he says, 'I like this; I don't like that.' The 'I' is that which likes—which loves. It is the exclusive relationship of a man's being with the world, that relation which he brings with him from beyond time and space. It is said that in his extreme old age, St. John the Apostle had the habit of repeating continually the words, 'Brethren, love one another.' His animal life was nearly gone, absorbed in a new being for which the flesh was already too narrow. For the man who measures his life by the growth of his relation of love with the world, the disappearance at death of the limitations of time and space is only the mark of a higher degree of light.

"My brother, who is dead, acts upon me now more strongly

than he did in life; he even penetrates my being and lifts me up towards him. How can I say that he is dead? Men who have renounced their individual happiness never doubt their immortality. Christ knew that He would continue to live after His death because He had already entered into the true life which cannot cease. He lived even then in the rays of that other centre of life toward which He was advancing, and He saw them reflected on those who stood around Him. And this every man who renounces his own good beholds; he passes in this life into a new relation with the world for which there is no death; on one side he sees the new light, on the other he witnesses its actions on his fellows after being refracted through himself; and this experience gives him an immovable faith in the stability, immortality, and eternal growth of life. Faith in immortality cannot be received from another; you cannot convince yourself of it by argument. To have this faith you must have immortality; you must have established with the world in the present life the new relation of life, which the world is no longer wide enough to contain."

ROBERT-HOUDIN.

CONJUROR, AUTHOR, AND AMBASSADOR.

BY HENRY RIDGELY EVANS.

I.

ON a certain day in the year 1843, the Count de l'Escalopier, a scion of the *old régime* of France, and a great lover of curios, was strolling along an unpretentious street of the Marais Quarter, of Paris. He stopped to look at some mechanical toys displayed in the window of a dark little shop, over the door of which was painted the following modest sign: "M. Robert-Houdin, Pendules de Précision." This sign noted the fact that the proprietor was a watchmaker, and that his wares were distinguished for precise running. What particularly attracted the nobleman's attention was a peculiar looking clock of clearest crystal that ran apparently without works, the invention of M. Robert-Houdin. The Count, who was a great lover of *science amusante*, or science wedded to recreation, purchased the magic clock, and better than that made the acquaintance of the inventor, the obscure watchmaker, who was



HOUDIN'S MAGIC CLOCK.¹

¹ "The cut represents the magic clock invented by Robert-Houdin about sixty years ago. This very remarkable time-piece consists of a dial composed of two juxtaposed disks of glass, one of which is stationary and carries the hours, while the other is movable and serves for the motion of the hands. This latter disk is provided with a wheel or rather a toothed ring concealed within the metallic ring forming a dial. The glass column which constitutes the body of

destined to become the greatest of prestidigitateurs, an author and ambassador. The Count became a frequent visitor to Houdin's shop, to watch the construction of various automata. Houdin often showed slight-of-hand tricks for the amusement of his patron, and confessed his desire to become a public performer. The Count urged him continually to abandon the watchmaking and mechanical-toy trade and go on the stage as a prestidigitateur. Finally Houdin confessed his inability to do so, owing to lack of means, whereupon the kind-hearted nobleman exclaimed: "*Mon cher ami*, I have at home, at this very moment, ten thousand francs or so, which I really don't know what to do with. Do me the favor to borrow them for an indefinite period: you will be doing me an actual service."

But Houdin would not accept the offer, for he was loth to risk a friend's money in a theatrical speculation. The Count in a state of pique left the shop and did not return for many days. Then he rushed excitedly into the workroom, sank upon a chair, and exclaimed:

"My dear neighbor, since you are determined not to accept a favor from me, I have now come to beg one of you. This is the state of the case. For the last year my desk has been robbed from time to time of very considerable sums of money. I have adopted all possible safeguards and precautions,—having the place watched, changing the locks, secret fastenings to the door, etc.,—but none of these has foiled the villainous ingenuity of the thief. This very morning I have discovered that a couple of thousand-franc notes have disappeared."

The upshot of it all was that Houdin invented a clever device for apprehending the criminal. It consisted of an apparatus fastened to the inside of the desk in the Count's house. When the desk was unlocked, and the lid raised ever so little, a pistol was discharged; at the same time a clawlike arrangement, attached to a light rod and impelled by a spring, came sharply down on the back of the hand which held the key, inflicting a superficial flesh-

the piece is formed of two tubes which operate according to the principle of the dial, that is to say, one is stationary and the other movable. To each of the extremities of the latter is fixed a wheel. These wheels gear with transmission pinions which communicate, one of them at the top with the movable plate of glass of the dial, and the other at the bottom with the movement placed in the wooden base which supports the glass shade covering the clock. All these concealed transmissions are arranged in a most skilful manner, and complete the illusion. The movable glass of the dial, carried along by the column, actuates a small dial-train mounted in the thickness of the stationary glass, and within an extremely narrow space in the center of the dial. It is covered by the small hand and is consequently invisible. The hands are very easily actuated by it on account of their extreme lightness and perfect equilibrium."—*Scientific American*, N. Y.

wound. With this clever machine the robber was successfully caught. He proved to be the Count's valet,—a trusted employée. The nobleman forced the thief to disgorge over fifteen thousand francs, which he had invested in government stock.

M. de l'Escalopier took the money thus recovered to Houdin, saying: "Take it, return it to me just when you like, with the understanding that it is to be repaid only out of the profits of your theater."

With this money, Houdin built a little theater in the Palais Royal. One day the following handbill appeared on the theatrical bulletin-boards:

"Aujourd'hui Jeudi, 3 Juillet 1845.
Première Représentation
des
SOIRÉES FANTASTIQUES
de
ROBERT-HOUDAIN."

"On this day," says Houdin, "by a strange coincidence, the Hippodrome and the "Fantastic Soirées" of Robert-Houdin, the



LITHOGRAPHED INVITATION-TICKET DESIGNED BY HOUDIN.

(The signatures are those of Houdin and his son-in-law, Hamilton.)

largest and smallest stage in Paris, were opened to the public. The 3d of July, 1845, saw two bills placarded on the walls of Paris; one enormous belonging to the Hippodrome, while the other, of far more modest proportions, announced my performances. Still,

as in the fable of the reed and the oak, the large theatre, in spite of the skill of the managers, has undergone many changes of fortune; while the smaller one has continually enjoyed the public favor. I have sacredly kept a proof of my first bill, the form and color of which has always remained the same since that date. I copy it word for word here, both to furnish an idea of its simplicity, and to display the programme of the experiments I then offered to the public:

TO-DAY, THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1845.

FIRST REPRESENTATION

OF

THE FANTASTIC SOIRÉES

OF

ROBERT-HOUDIN.

AUTOMATA, SLEIGHT-OF-HAND, MAGIC.

The Performance will be composed of entirely novel Experiments
invented by M. ROBERT-HOUDIN.

AMONG THEM BEING:

THE CABALISTIC CLOCK.

AURIOL AND DEBUREAU.

THE ORANGE-TREE.

THE MYSTERIOUS BOUQUET.

THE HANDKERCHIEF.

PIERROT IN THE EGG.

OBEDIENT CARDS.

THE MIRACULOUS FISH.

THE FASCINATING OWL.

THE PASTRYCOOK OF THE PALAIS
ROYAL.

TO COMMENCE AT EIGHT O'CLOCK.

Box-office open at Half-past Seven.

Price of places: Upper Boxes, 1 fr. 50 c.; Stalls, 3 fr.; Boxes,
4 fr.; Dress Circle, 5 fr.

These fantastic evenings soon became popular. The little theater would only seat two hundred people, but the prices of ad-

mission were rather high. When the Revolution of 1848 ruined the majority of Parisian theater managers, Houdin simply looked the door of his hall, and retired to his little workshop to invent new tricks and automata. His loss was very slight, for he was under no great expense. When order was restored, he resumed the *soirées magique*. The newspapers rallied to his assistance and made playful allusions to his being related to the family of *Robert le Diable*. The leading illustrated journals sent artists to draw pictures of his stage. Houdin found time, amid all his labors, to edit a little paper which he called *Cagliostro*, full of *bon mots* and pleasantries, to say nothing of cartoons. Copies of this *petit journal pour rire* were distributed among the spectators at each performance.

As each theatrical season opened, Houdin had some new marvel to present to his audiences. His maxims were: "It is more difficult to support admiration than to excite it." "The fashion an artist enjoys can only last as long as his talent daily increases." Houdin had but few, if any, rivals in his day. His tricks were all new, or so improved as to appear new. He swept everything before him. When he went to London for a prolonged engagement, Anderson, the "Wizard of the North," who was a great favorite with the public, retired into the Provinces with his antique repertoire. What had the English conjurer to offer alongside of such unique novelties as the *Second Sight*, *Aerial Suspension*, *Inexhaustible Bottle*, *Mysterious Portfolio*, *Crystal Cash Box*, *Shower of Gold*, *Light and Heavy Chest*, *Orange Tree*, the *Crystal Clock*, and the automaton figures *Auriol and Debureau*, the *Pastry Cook of the Palais Royal*, etc., etc.

II.

Jean-Eugène Robert (Houdin) was born in the quaint old city of Blois, the birth-place of Louis XII. and of Papin, the inventor of the steam engine, on December 6, 1805. Napoleon was at the zenith of his fame, and had just fought the bloody battle of Austerlitz.

Luckily for the subject of this sketch, he was born too late to serve as food for powder. He lived to grow to man's estate and honorable old age, and became the veritable Napoleon of Necromancy. His career makes fascinating reading. Houdin's father was a watchmaker, and from him he inherited his remarkable mechanical genius. At the age of eleven, Jean-Eugène was sent to college at Orleans. On the completion of his studies, he entered

a notary's office at Blois, but spent most of his time inventing little mechanical toys and devices, instead of engrossing dusty parchment, so the notary advised him to abandon the idea of becoming a lawyer and take up a mechanical trade. Houdin joyfully took up his father's occupation of watchmaking, for which he had a decided bent. One evening the young apprentice went to a bookseller's shop in Blois and asked for a work on horology by Berthoud. The shopman by mistake handed him a couple of odd volumes of the *Encyclopédie*, which somewhat resembled Berthoud's book. Jean-Eugène went home to his attic, lit a candle, and prepared to devote an evening to hard study, but judge of his surprise to find that the supposed treatise on watchmaking was a work on natural magic and prestidigitation, under the head of scientific amusements. He was delighted at the revelations contained in the mystic volume, which told how to perform tricks with the cards, to cut off a pigeon's head and restore it again, etc., etc. Here was an introduction to the New Arabian Nights of enchantment. He slept with the book under his pillow, and possibly dreamed of African wizards, genii, and all sorts of incantations. This little incident brought about great changes in Houdin's life. He secretly vowed to become a prestidigateur,—a rôle for which he was eminently fitted, psychologically and physically. The principles of sleight-of-hand Houdin had to create for himself, for the mystic volume, though it revealed the secrets of the tricks, gave the neophyte no adequate idea of the subtle passes and misdirection required to properly execute them.

Though an ardent devotee of legerdemain, Houdin did not neglect his trade of watchmaker. When his apprenticeship was over, he went to Tours as a journeyman, in the shop of M. Noriet, who afterwards became a noted sculptor. While in the employ of M. Noriet, Houdin was poisoned by eating a ragout cooked in a stew pan in which there chanced to be verdigris. He was very ill, and his life was saved with difficulty. Possessed with the idea that he was soon to die, he escaped one day from his nurse and doctor and set out for Blois to bid adieu to his family before he departed from this sublunary sphere. A most singular adventure befell him, which reads like a romance. Those who believe in Destiny have here a curious example of its strange workings. The jolting of the lumbering old diligence gave Houdin great pain. He was burning with fever and delirious. Without any one knowing it, he opened the door of the rotonde, in which he happened to be the only passenger, and leaped out on the high road, where he lay unconscious.

When he recovered his senses, he found himself lying in a comfortable bed. An unknown man with a phial of medicine in his hand bent over him. By the strangest luck, Houdin had fallen into the hands of a travelling conjurer named Torrini, who went about the country in a sort of house on wheels, which was drawn by a pair of big Norman horses. Torrini early in life had been a physician and was able to tend his patient with intelligence and skill. Finding the young watchmaker a clever mechanician, Torrini gave him some magical automata to repair, and Houdin was introduced for the first time to the little Harlequin that jumps out of a box and performs various feats at the mandate of the conjurer. A delightful friendship began between the watchmaker and the wizard. Torrini, who was an expert with cards, initiated Houdin into the secrets of many clever feats performed with the pasteboards. He also corrected his pupil's numerous mistakes in legerdemain, into which all self-educated amateurs fall. It was a fascinating life led in this conjurer's caravan. Besides Torrini and Houdin there was Antonio, the assistant, and man of all work. Torrini related many amusing adventures to his young pupil, which the latter has recorded in his admirable autobiography. It was he who under the name of the Comte de Grisy performed the famous watch trick before Pius VII. and had so unique revenge upon the Chevalier Pinetti.

Torrini's son was accidentally shot by a spectator in the gun trick during a performance at Strasburgh. A real leaden bullet got among the sham bullets and was loaded into the weapon. Overcome with grief at the loss of his only child and at the subsequent death of his wife, he abandoned the great cities and wandered about the French Provinces attended by his faithful assistant and brother-in-law, Antonio. But to return to Robert-Houdin.

One day at Abusson the conjurer's caravan collided with an enormous hay cart. Houdin and Antonio escaped with light contusions, but the Master had a leg broken and an arm dislocated. The two horses were killed; as for the carriage, only the body remained intact; all the rest was smashed to atoms. During Torrini's illness, Houdin, assisted by Antonio, gave a conjuring performance at the town hall to replete the exchequer. Houdin succeeded very well in his first attempt, with the exception that he ruined a gentleman's chapeau while performing the trick of the omelet in the hat.

Soon after this Houdin bid adieu to Torrini and returned to his parents at Blois. He never saw Torrini again in this life. After following watchmaking at Blois for quite a little while, he

proceeded to Paris, with his wife,—for he had not only taken unto himself a spouse, but had adopted her name, Houdin, as part of his own cognomen. He was now Jean-Eugène Robert-Houdin, master-watchmaker. His recontre with the Count de l'Escalopier and the result have already been given.

Houdin completely revolutionised the art of conjuring. Prior to his time, the tables used by magicians were little else than huge confederate boxes. Conjuring under such circumstances was child's play, as compared with the difficulties to be encountered with the apparatus of the new school. In addition, Houdin discarded the long, flowing robes of many of his predecessors, and appeared in evening dress. Since his time all first-class prestidigitateurs have followed his example, both as to dress and tables.

Houdin's center-table was a marvel of mechanical skill and ingenuity. Concealed in the body were "vertical rods, each ar-



HOUDIN'S TRICK-TABLE.

ranged to rise and fall in a tube, according as it was drawn down by a spiral spring or pulled up by a whip-cord which passed over a pulley at the top of the tube and so down the table-leg to the hiding-place of the confederate." There were "ten of these pistons, and ten cords passing under the floor of the stage, terminated at a key-

board. Various ingenious automata were actuated by this means of transmitting motion."

Houdin's stage was very handsome. It was a replica in miniature of a salon of the Louis XV. period—all in white and gold—illuminated by elegant candelabra and a chandelier. The magic table occupied the center of the room. This piece of furniture was flanked by little guéridons. At the sides were consoles, with about five inches of gold fringe hanging from them, and across the back of the apartment ran a broad shelf, upon which was displayed the various apparatus to be used in the séances. "The consoles were nothing more than shallow wooden boxes with openings through the side-scenes. The tops of the consoles were perforated with traps. Any object which the wizard desired to work off secretly to his confederate behind the scenes was placed on one of these traps

and covered with a sheet of paper, pasteboard cover or a handkerchief. Touching a spring caused the article to fall noiselessly through the trap upon cotton batting, and roll into the hand of the conjurer's concealed assistant."

Now for a few of the tricks of this classic prestidigitator. His greatest invention was the "light and heavy chest." Speaking of this remarkable experiment he wrote: "I do not think, modesty apart, that I ever invented anything so daringly ingenious." The magician came forward with a little wooden box, to the top of which was attached a metal handle. He addressed the audience as follows: "Ladies and gentlemen, I have a cash-box which possesses some strange properties. It becomes heavy or light at will. I place in it some banknotes for safekeeping and deposit it here on the 'run-down' in sight of all. Will some gentleman test the lightness of the box?"

When the volunteer had satisfied the audience that the box could be lifted with the little finger, Houdin executed some pretended mesmeric passes over it, and bade the gentleman lift it a second time. But try as he might, the volunteer would prove unequal to the task. At a sign from Houdin the box would be restored to its pristine lightness. This trick was performed with a powerful electro-magnet with conducting wires reaching behind the scenes to a battery. At a signal from the performer an operator turned on the electric current, and the box, which had an iron plate let into its bottom, covered with mahogany-colored paper, clung to the magnet with supernatural attraction. In the year 1845, the phenomena of electro-magnetism were unknown to the general public, hence the trick of the spirit cash-box created the most extraordinary sensation. When the subject of electricity became better known, Houdin made an addition to the trick which threw his spectators off the scent. After first having shown the trick on the "run-down," he hooked the box to one end of a cord which passed over a pulley attached to the ceiling of the hall. A spectator was requested to take hold of the other end of the cord and keep the chest suspended.

"Just at present," remarked the conjurer, "the chest is extremely light; but as it is about to become, at my command, very heavy, I must ask five or six other persons to help this gentleman, for fear the chest should lift him off his feet."

"No sooner was this done than the chest came heavily to the ground, dragging along and sometimes lifting off their feet all the spectators who were holding the cord. The explanation is this:

On a casual inspection of the pulley and block everything appears to indicate that, as usual in such cases, the cord passes straight over the pulley, in on one side and out on the other; but such is not really the fact, as will be seen upon tracing the course of the dotted lines (Fig. 1), which, passing through the block and through the ceiling, are attached on either side to a double pulley fixed in the room above. To any one who has the most elementary acquaintance with the laws of mechanics, it will be obvious that the strength of the person who holds the handle of the windlass above is multiplied tenfold, and that he can easily overcome even the combined resistance of five or six spectators."



Fig. 1.

The "bust of Socrates" was another favorite experiment with Houdin. In this illusion a living bust with the features of Socrates was suspended in the middle of the stage without visible support. The performer, habited as an Athenian noble, addressed questions to the mutilated philosopher and received



Fig. 2. THE TALKING BUST.

replies in stanzas of elegiac verse. The *mise-en-scène* is represented in Fig. 2. Houdin explains the illusion as follows:

"A, B, C, D, (Fig. 3) represent a section of the stage on which the trick is exhibited. A sheet of silvered glass, G, G, oc-

cupying the whole width of the stage, is placed in a diagonal position, extending from the upper part of the stage at the rear, down to the footlights, so as to form an angle of forty-five degrees with the floor. In the center of the glass is an opening through which the actor passes his head and shoulders, as shown in the figure. It should be further mentioned that the ceiling and the two sides of the stage are hung with wall-paper of the same pattern, and are brilliantly illuminated, either by means of footlights at *C*, or by gas-jets placed behind the border *A*. Such being the condition of things, the effect is as follows: The ceiling *A* is reflected in the mirror, and its reflection appears to the spectators to be the paper of the wall *B, D*, which in reality is hidden by the glass.

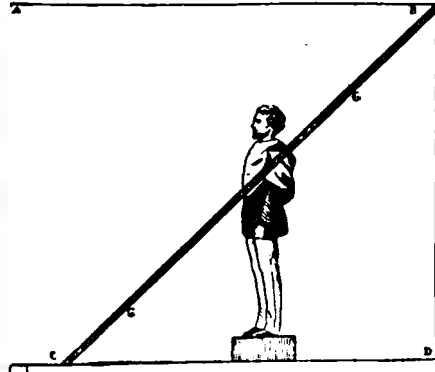


Fig. 3. HOW THE TALKING BUST WAS WORKED.

"By means of this reflection, of which he is of course unaware, the spectator is led to believe that he sees three sides of the stage; and there being nothing to suggest to his mind the presence of the glass, he is led to believe that the bust is suspended in mid-air, and without any support."

"Aërial Suspension" was one of Houdin's inventions. It has been a favorite trick since his time. In the original illusion Houdin had one of his young sons, who was dressed as a page, stand on a small stool. The performer then placed a walking-stick under the extended right arm of the boy, near the elbow, and one under the left arm. First the stool was knocked away and the youthful assistant was suspended in the air, held up only by the two frail sticks, which were in themselves inadequate to support such a weight. Then the left stick was removed, but the boy did not fall. To the astonishment of every one, the youth was placed in a horizontal position. He remained in a perfectly rigid attitude with his head leaning on his arm, the top of the cane under his elbow.

This very ingenious trick was suggested to Houdin on reading stories about the alleged levitation of Hindoo fakirs. The walking-stick that supported the right arm of the assistant was of iron, painted to resemble wood. It fitted into a slot in the stage; its

top connected with a bar concealed in the sleeve of the boy. This bar formed part of a strong steel framework worn under the assistant's clothing. Thus was the page suspended in the air.

Houdin's trick of the "orange-tree" was a capital one. The tree blossomed and bore fruit at the command of the conjurer. All the oranges were distributed among the spectators except one on the topmost branch of the tree. In this orange the magician caused a handkerchief to appear, which had been previously borrowed. The handkerchief was made to vanish from the hands of the performer. "Hey, presto!" the orange fell apart in four sections, whereupon two butterflies sprang out and fluttered upward with the handkerchief. The explanation of this beautiful trick is as follows: The tree was a clever piece of mechanism, so closely fashioned to resemble a plant that it was impossible to detect the difference. The blossoms, constructed of white silk, were pushed up through the hollow branches by pistons rising in the table and operating upon similar rods contained in the tree. When these pedals were relaxed the blossoms disappeared, and the fruit was slowly developed. Real oranges were stuck on iron spikes protruding from the branches of the tree, and were concealed from the spectators by hemispherical wire screens painted green. The screens were also partly hidden by the artificial foliage. By means of cords running down through the branches of the tree and off behind the scenes, an assistant caused the screens to make a half-turn, thereby developing the fruit. The borrowed handkerchief was exchanged for a dummy belonging to the conjurer, and passed to an assistant who placed it in the mechanical orange. The tree was now brought forward. After the real fruit had been distributed, the magician called attention to the orange on the top (the mechanical one). By means of sleight-of-hand the handkerchief was made to vanish, to be discovered in the orange. The butterflies, which were fastened by wires to the stalk and fixed on delicate spiral springs, invisible at a little distance, flew out of the orange of their own accord, carrying with them the handkerchief, as soon as the fruit fell apart.

III.

In the year 1846 Houdin was summoned to the Palace of Saint-Cloud to give a performance before Louis Philippe and his Court, whereupon he invented his remarkable trick of the enchanted casket, which created great excitement in the Parisian journals, and gained him no little fame. He had six days to prepare for the

séance magique. Early on the appointed morning a van from the royal stables came to convey him and his son, together with the magic paraphernalia, to the palace of the king. A stage had been erected in one of the handsome salons of St. Cloud, the windows of which opened out on an orangery lined with double rows of orange-trees, "each growing in its square box on wheels. A sentry was placed at the door to see that the conjurer was not disturbed in his preparations. The King himself dropped in once to ask the entertainer if he had everything necessary."

At four o'clock in the afternoon, a brilliant company assembled in the hall to witness the performance. The *pièce-de-resistance* of the *séance* was Cagliostro's casket, the effect of which is best described in Houdin's own words :

"I borrowed from my noble spectators several handkerchiefs, which I made into a parcel, and laid on the table. Then, at my request, different persons wrote on the cards the names of places whither they desired their handkerchiefs to be invisibly transported.

"When this had been done, I begged the King to take three of the cards at hazard, and choose from them the place he might consider most suitable.

"'Let us see,' Louis Philippe said, 'what this one says: "I desire the handkerchiefs to be found beneath one of the candelabra on the mantelpiece." That is too easy for a sorcerer; so we will pass to the next card: "The handkerchiefs are to be transported to the dome of the Invalides." That would suit me, but it is much too far, not for the handkerchiefs, but for us, Ah, ah!' the King added, looking at the last card, 'I am afraid, Monsieur Robert-Houdin, I am about to embarrass you. Do you know what this card proposes?'

"'Will your majesty deign to inform me?'

"'It is desired that you should send the handkerchiefs into the chest of the last orange-tree on the right of the avenue.'

"'Only that, sir? Deign to order, and I will obey.'

"'Very good, then; I should like to see such a magic act: I, therefore, choose the orange-tree chest.'

"The king gave some orders in a low voice, and I directly saw several persons run to the orange-tree, in order to watch it and prevent any fraud.

"I was delighted at this precaution, which must add to the effect of my experiment, for the trick was already arranged, and the precaution hence too late.

"I had now to send the handkerchiefs on their travels, so I

placed them beneath a bell of opaque glass, and, taking my wand, I ordered my invisible travellers to proceed to the spot the king had chosen.

"I raised the bell; the little parcel was no longer there, and a white turtle-dove had taken its place.

"The King then walked quickly to the door, whence he looked in the direction of the orange-tree, to assure himself that the guards were at their post; when this was done, he began to smile and shrug his shoulders.

"Ah! Monsieur Houdin,' he said, somewhat ironically, 'I much fear for the virtue of your magic staff.' Then he added, as he returned to the end of the room, where several servants were standing, 'Tell William to open immediately the last chest at the end of the avenue, and bring me carefully what he finds there—if he *does* find anything.'

"William soon proceeded to the orange-tree, and though much astonished at the orders given him, he began to carry them out.

"He carefully removed one of the sides of the chest, thrust his hand in, and almost touched the roots of the tree before he found anything. All at once he uttered a cry of surprise, as he drew out a small iron coffer eaten by rust.

"This curious 'find,' after having been cleaned from the mould, was brought in and placed on a small ottoman by the king's side.

"Well, Monsier Robert-Houdin,' Louis Philippe said to me, with a movement of impatient curiosity, 'here is a box; am I to conclude it contains the handkerchiefs?'

"Yes, sire,' I replied, with assurance, 'and they have been there, too, for a long period.'

"How can that be? the handkerchiefs were lent you scarce a quarter of an hour ago.'

"I cannot deny it, sire; but what would my magic powers avail me if I could not perform incomprehensible tricks? Your Majesty will doubtlessly be still more surprised, when I prove to your satisfaction that this coffer, as well as its contents, was deposited in the chest of the orange-tree sixty years ago.'

"I should like to believe your statement,' the King replied, with a smile; 'but that is impossible, and I must, therefore, ask for proofs of your assertion.'

"If Your Majesty will be kind enough to open this casket they will be supplied.'

"Certainly; but I shall require a key for that.'

" 'It only depends on yourself, sire, to have one. Deign to remove it from the neck of this turtle-dove, which has just brought it you.'

" Louis Philippe unfastened a ribbon that held a small rusty key, with which he hastened to unlock the coffer.

" The first thing that caught the King's eye was a parchment, on which he read the following statement :

" 'This day, the 6th June, 1786,

This iron box, containing six handkerchiefs, was placed among the roots of an orange-tree by me, Balsamo, Count of Cagliostro, to serve in performing an act of magic, which will be executed on the same day sixty years hence before Louis Philippe of Orleans and his family.'

" 'There is decidedly witchcraft about this,' the king said, more and more amazed. 'Nothing is wanting, for the seal and signature of the celebrated sorcerer are placed at the foot of this statement, which, Heaven pardon me, smells strongly of sulphur.'

" At this jest the audience began to laugh.

" 'But,' the king added, taking out of the box a carefully sealed packet, 'can the handkerchiefs by possibility be in this?'

" 'Indeed, sire, they are; but, before opening the parcel, I would request your majesty to notice that it also bears the impression of Cagliostro's seal.'

" This seal once rendered so famous by being placed on the celebrated alchemist's bottles of elixir and liquid gold, I had obtained from Torrini, who had been an old friend of Cagliostro's.

" 'It is certainly the same,' my royal spectator answered, after comparing the two seals. Still, in his impatience to learn the contents of the parcel, the king quickly tore open the envelope and soon displayed before the astonished spectators the six handkerchiefs which, a few moments before, were still on my table.

" This trick gained me lively applause."

Robert-Houdin never revealed the secret of this remarkable experiment in natural magic, but the acute reader, especially if he be a student of *legerdemain*, will be able to give a pretty shrewd guess as to the *modus operandi*. The best analysis of this trick has been lately given by Brander Matthews, the noted American literary critic and himself a student of the fascinating art of conjuring. He writes as follows (*Scribner's Magazine*, May, 1903):

" Nothing more extraordinary was ever performed by any mere conjurer; indeed, this feat is quite as startling as any of those attributed to Cagliostro himself, and it has the advantage of being

accurately and precisely narrated by the inventor. Not only is the thing done a seeming impossibility, but it stands forth the more impressively because of the spectacular circumstances of its performance,—a stately palace, a lovely garden, the assembled courtiers, and the royal family. The magician had to depend on his wits alone, for he was deprived of all the advantages of his own theater and of all possibility of aid from a confederate mingled amid the casual spectators.

“Robert-Houdin was justified in the gentle pride with which he told how he had thus astonished the King of the French. He refrained from any explanation of the means whereby he wrought his mystery, believing that what is unknown is ever the more magnificent. He did no more than drop a hint or two, telling the reader that he had long possessed a cast of Cagliostro’s seal, and suggesting slyly that when the King sent messengers out into the garden to stand guard over the orange-tree the trick was already done and all precautions were then futile.

“Yet, although the inventor chose to keep his secret, any one who has mastered the principles of the art of magic can venture an explanation. Robert-Houdin has set forth the facts honestly; and with the facts solidly established, it is possible to reason out the method employed to accomplish a deed which, at first sight, seems not only impossible but incomprehensible.

“The first point to be emphasised is that Robert-Houdin was as dexterous as he was ingenious. He was truly a prestidigitateur, capable of any sleight-of-hand. Nothing was simpler for so accomplished a performer than the substitution of one package for another, right before the eyes of all the spectators. And it is to be remembered that although the palace was the King’s, the apparatus on the extemporised stage was the magician’s. Therefore, when he borrowed six handkerchiefs and went up on the stage and made them up into a package which remained on a table in sight of everybody, we can grant without difficulty that the package which remained in sight did not then contain the borrowed handkerchiefs.

“In fact, we may be sure that the borrowed handkerchiefs had been conveyed somehow to Robert-Houdin’s son who acted as his assistant. When the handkerchiefs were once in the possession of the son out of sight behind the scenery or hangings of the stage, the father would pick up his package of blank visiting-cards and distribute a dozen of them or a score, moving to and fro in very leisurely fashion, perhaps going back to the stage to get pencils which he would also give out as slowly as possible, filling up the

time with playful pleasantry, until he should again catch sight of his son. Then, and not until then, would he feel at liberty to collect the cards and take them over to the King.

"When the son had got possession of the handkerchiefs, he would smooth them swiftly, possibly even ironing them into their folds. Then he would put them into the parchment packet which he would seal twice with Cagliostro's seal. Laying this packet in the bottom of the rusty iron casket, he would put on top the other parchment which had already been prepared, with its adroit imitation of Cagliostro's handwriting. Snapping down the lid of the casket, the lad would slip out into the corridor and steal into the garden, going straight to the box of the appointed orange-tree. He could do this unobserved, because no one was then suspecting him and because all the spectators were then engaged in thinking up odd places to which the handkerchiefs might be transported. Already, in the long morning, probably while the royal household was at its midday breakfast, the father or the son had loosened one of the staples in the back of the box in which the designated orange-tree was growing. The lad now removed this staple and thrust the casket into the already prepared hole in the center of the roots of the tree. Then he replaced the staple at the back of the box, feeling certain that whoever should open the box in front would find the soil undisturbed. This most difficult part of the task once accomplished, he returned to the stage, or at least in some way he signified to his father that he had accomplished his share of the wonder, in the performance of which he was not supposed to have any part.

"On seeing his son, or on receiving the signal that his son had returned, Robert-Houdin would feel himself at liberty to collect the cards on which various spectators had written the destinations they proposed for the package of handkerchiefs which was still in full sight. He gathered up the cards he had distributed; but as he went toward the King, he substituted for those written by the spectators others previously prepared by himself,—a feat of sleight-of-hand quite within the reach of any ordinary performer. Of these cards, prepared by himself, he forced three on the sovereign; and the forcing of cards upon a kindly monarch would present little difficulty to a prestidigitateur of Robert-Houdin's consummate skill.

"When the three cards were once in the King's hands, the trick was done, for Robert-Houdin knew Louis Philippe to be a shrewd man in small matters. Therefore, it was reasonably certain

that when the King had to make a choice out of three places, one near and easy, a second remote and difficult, and a third both near and difficult, Louis Philippe would surely select the third which was conveniently at hand and which seemed to be at least as impossible as either of the others.

The event proved that the conjurer's analysis of the king's character was accurate: yet one may venture the opinion that the magician had taken every needed precaution to avoid failure even if the monarch had made another selection. Probably Robert-Houdin had one little parchment packet hidden in advance somewhere in the dome of the Invalides and another tucked up out of sight in the base of one of the candelabra on the chimney-piece; and if either of the other destinations had been chosen, the substitute packet would have been produced and the magician would then have offered to transport it also into the box of the orange-tree. And thus the startling climax of the marvel would have been only a little delayed.

"When so strange a wonder can be wrought under such circumstances by means so simple, we cannot but feel the force of Dr. Lodge's warning that an unwavering scepticism ought to be the attitude of all honest investigators toward every one who professes to be able to suspend the operation of a custom of nature. No one of the feats attributed to Home, the celebrated medium who plied his trade in Paris during the Second Empire, was more abnormal than this trick of Robert Houdin's, and no one of them is so well authenticated. It may be that certain of the customs of nature are not inexorable and that we shall be able to discover exceptions now and again. But the proof of any alleged exception, the evidence in favor of any alleged violation of the custom of nature, ought to be overwhelming."

IV.

The greatest event of Houdin's life was his embassy to Algeria, "at the special request of the French Government, which desired to lessen the influence of the Marabouts, whose conjuring tricks, accepted as actual magic by the Arabs, gave them too much influence." He went to play off his tricks against those of Arab priests, or holy men, and, by "greater marvels than they could show, destroy the *prestige* which they had acquired. He so completely succeeded that the Arabs lost all faith in the miracles of the Marabouts, and thus was destroyed an influence very dangerous to the

French Government." His first performance was given at the leading theater of Algiers, before a great assemblage of Arabs, who had been summoned to witness the *soirée magique*, by the mandate of the Marshall-Governor of Algeria. Houdin's "Light and Heavy Chest" literally paralysed the Arabs with astonishment. He altered the *mise-en-scène*, and pretended to be able to make the strongest man so weak that he would be unable to lift a small box from the floor. He says in his memoirs:

"I advanced with my box in my hand, to the center of the 'practicable,' communicating from the stage to the pit; then addressing the Arabs, I said to them:

"'From what you have witnessed, you will attribute a supernatural power to me, and you are right. I will give you a new proof of my marvellous authority, by showing that I can deprive the most powerful man of his strength and restore it at my will. Any one who thinks himself strong enough to try the experiment may draw near me.' (I spoke slowly, in order to give the interpreter time to translate my words.)

"An Arab of middle height, but well built and muscular, like many of the Arabs are, came to my side with sufficient assurance.

"'Are you very strong?' I said to him, measuring him from head to foot.

"'Oh yes!' he replied carelessly.

"'Are you sure you will always remain so?'

"'Quite sure.'

"'You are mistaken, for in an instant I will rob you of your strength, and you shall become like as a little child.'

"The Arab smiled disdainfully, as a sign of his incredulity.

"'Stay,' I continued; 'lift up this box.'

"The Arab stooped, lifted up the box, and said to me, 'Is this all?'

"'Wait ——!' I replied.

"Then with all possible gravity, I made imposing gesture, and solemnly pronounced the words:

"'Behold! you are weaker than a woman; now, try to lift the box.'

"The Hercules, quite cool as to my conjuration, seized the box once again by the handle, and gave it a violent tug, but this time the box resisted, and, spite of his most vigorous attacks, would not budge an inch.

"The Arab vainly expended on this unlucky box a strength which would have raised an enormous weight, until at length ex-

hausted, panting, and red with anger, he stopped, became thoughtful, and began to comprehend the influences of magic.

"He was on the point of withdrawing; but that would be allowing his weakness, and that he, hitherto respected for his vigor, had become as a little child. This thought rendered him almost mad.

"Deriving fresh strength from the encouragements his friends offered him by word and deed, he turned a glance around them, which seemed to say, 'You will see what a son of the desert can do.'

"He bent once again over the box: his nervous hands twined around the handle, and his legs, placed on either side like two bronze columns, served as a support for the final effort.

"But, wonder of wonders! this Hercules, a moment since so strong and proud, now bows his head; his arms, riveted to the box, undergo a violent muscular contraction: his legs give way, and he falls on his knees with a yell of agony.

"An electric shock, produced by an inductive apparatus, had been passed, on a signal from me, from the further end of the stage into the handle of the box. Hence the contortions of the poor Arab!

"It would have been cruelty to prolong this scene.

"I gave a second signal, and the electric current was immediately intercepted. My athlete, disengaged from his terrible bondage, raised his hands over his head.

"'Allah! Allah!' he exclaimed, full of terror; then, wrapping himself up quickly in the folds of his burnous, as if to hide his disgrace, he rushed through the ranks of the spectators and gained the front entrance.

"With the exception of the dignitaries occupying the stage boxes and the privileged spectators, in the body of the house, who seemed to take great pleasure in this great experiment, my audience had become grave and silent, and I heard the words 'Shaitan!' 'Djenoum!' passing in a murmur round the circle of credulous men, who, while gazing on me, seemed astonished that I possessed none of the physical qualities attributed to the angel of darkness."

The Marabout priests constantly boasted of their invulnerability. They were reputed to be possessed of powerful talismans which caused loaded weapons to flash in the pan when fired at them. Houdin counteracted these claims by performing his celebrated bullet-catching feat, in which a marked bullet apparently shot from a gun is caught by the magician in a plate or between

his teeth. There are two ways of accomplishing this trick. One is by substituting a bullet of hollow wax for the real leaden bullet. The explosion scatters the wax into minute fragments which fly in all directions and do not come in contact with the person shot at; provided he stands at a respectable distance from the individual who handles the pistol or gun. The second method is to insert into the barrel of the weapon a small tube open at one end. Into this receptacle the bullet falls, and the tube is withdrawn from the gun in the act of ramming it, forming as it were a part of the ramrod. The performer once in possession of the little tube, secretly extracts the marked bullet and produces it at the proper time. Houdin had recourse to both ways of performing this startling trick. Sometimes he filled the wax bullet with blood, extracted from his thumb. When the bullet smashed against a white wall it left a red splash. Houdin, after travelling into the interior of Algeria, visiting many prominent chieftains, returned to France, and settled down at St. Gervais, a suburb of Blois. He relinquished his theater to his brother-in-law, Pierre Chocat (M. Hamilton), and devoted himself to scientific work, and writing his *Confidences* and other works on natural magic. Speaking of the former, Brander Matthews says, "these 'Confidences of a Prestidigitator' are worthy of comparison with all but the very best autobiographies—if not with Cellini's and Franklin's, at least with Cibber's and Goldoni's. Robert-Houdin's life of himself, quite as well as any of the others, would justify Longfellow's assertion that "autobiography is what biography ought to be."

In the humble opinion of the writer, Houdin's autobiography is worthy to be classed with the best, even that of Cellini. It is replete with interesting information of old time necromancers, constructors of automata, good stories of contemporary magicians, exposés of Marabout miracles, and last but not least the fascinating adventures of Houdin himself,—the archmaster of modern magic. It bears the stamp of truth on every page, and should be placed in the hands of all students of psychology and pedagogy. His "Trickeries of the Greeks," an exposé of gambling devices, is also an interesting work and should be read in conjunction with his *Stage Magic and Conjuring and Magic*.

Houdin's villa at St. Gervais was a veritable palace of enchantments. Electrical devices played a prominent part at *L'Attrape Abbey*, as his friends jokingly called it—"Catch 'em Abbey." Says William Manning¹:

¹ Author of a charming little brochure, *Houdini*.

"Robert-Houdin's employment of electricity, not only as a moving power for the performance of his illusions, but for domestic purposes, was long in advance of his time. The electric bell, so common to us now, was in every-day use *for years* in his own house, before its value was recognised by the public.

"He had a favorite horse, named Fanny, for which he entertained great affection, and christened her 'the friend of the family.' She was of gentle disposition and was growing old in his service; so he was anxious to allow her every indulgence, especially punctuality at meals and full allowance of fodder.

"Such being the case, it was a matter of great surprise that Fanny grew daily thinner and thinner, till it was discovered that her groom had a great fancy for the art formerly practised by her master and converted her hay into five-franc pieces! So Houdin dismissed the groom and secured a more honest lad, but to provide against further contingencies and neglect of duty he had a clock placed in his study, which with the aid of an electrical wire worked a food supply in the stable, a distance of fifty yards from the house. The distributing apparatus was a square funnel-shaped box which discharged the provender in prearranged quantities. No one could steal the oats from the horse after they had fallen, as the electric trigger could not act unless the stable door was locked. The lock was outside, and if any one entered before the horse had finished eating his oats, a bell would immediately ring in the house.

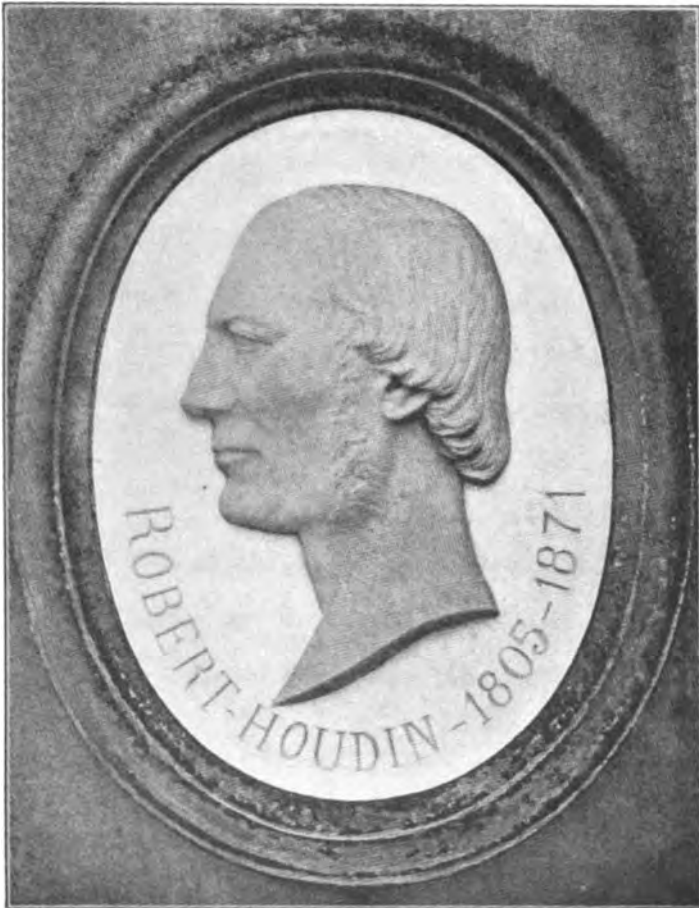
"This same clock in his study also transmitted the time to two large clock-faces, placed one on the top of the house, the other on the gardener's lodge, the former for the benefit of the villagers.

"In his bell-tower he had a clockwork arrangement of sufficient power to lift the hammer at the proper moment. The daily winding of the clock was performed automatically by communication with a swing-door in his kitchen, and the winding-up apparatus of the clock in the clock-tower was so arranged that the servants in passing backward and forward on their domestic duties unconsciously wound up the striking movement of the clock."

The "Priory," as Houdin named it, is now a partial ruin. It has passed out of his family. Houdin died there June 13, 1871, after an illness of ten days. His death was caused by pneumonia. The following is an extract of the notice of his decease, taken from the registers of the civil authorities of St. Gervais:

"June 14, 1871. Notice of the death of Robert-Houdin, Jean-Eugène, died at St. Gervais, June 13, 1871, at 10 P. M., sixty-five years of age. Son of the defunct Prosper Robert and Marie Cathé-

rine Guillon; widower of his first wife Josephe Cecile Eglantine Houdin; married the second time to Françoise Marguerite Olympe Naconnier; Court House of St. Cervaïs, signed—The Mayor." The signature is illegible.



MEDALLION PORTRAIT OF ROBERT-HOUDIN.

From his tomb at Blois, France. From an original photograph taken by Mr. Harry Houdini, the American conjurer. (Published by permission of David McKay & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.)

His son Eugène was killed at Reichshoffen in the Franco-Prussian War. He was a sub-lieutenant in the French army and a graduate of the military school at St. Cyr. He assisted his father on the stage but abandoned conjuring for a military career. Émile,

the elder son, who distinguished himself in the "Second-Sight Trick," as soon as his father retired from the stage, became a

St. Germain, près Blois, le 6. 9^h 1860

Cher Boudilliat

*Je m'attendais, ces jours derniers, à
recevoir de vous un exemplaire de la
dernière édition de mes Confidences; mais,
ne voyant rien venir, j'en ai demandé à vous
adresser cette question:*

*Si mon livre a du mérite
Près des lecteurs quelque mérite?
Pourquoi l'éditeur qui m'édite
M'édite-t-il pour m'éditer?*

*Quoiqu'il en soit, cher Boudilliat,
recevez les meilleures de mes amitiés et
croyez-moi toujours*

très dévoué

Robert Houdin

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER BY HOUDIN, FROM *L'Ilusioniste*, March, 1902.

watchmaker. He published a work on horology to which his father wrote the following preface:

"I have often been asked why my son did not follow the career I had opened for him in prestidigitation, but preferred instead the

study of horology. My answer to the question may be used fitly as a preface to this pamphlet.

"If you believe in hereditary vocations, here is a case for their just application. My son's maternal great-grandfather, Nicolas Houdin, was a watchmaker of great merit in the last century. J. F. Houdin, his son, has gained, as is well known, a prominent place among the most distinguished watchmakers of his time. A certain modesty, which you will understand, prevents me from praising my father as highly; I shall only say that he was a very skilful and ingenious watchmaker. Before devoting myself to the art of conjuring, based on mechanism, I, too, was for a long time a watchmaker and achieved some success.

"With such genealogy, should one not be predestined to horology? Therefore my son was irresistibly drawn to his vocation, and he took up the art which Berthoud and Bréguet have made famous. It was from the latter of the two celebrated masters that he learned the elements of the profession of his forefathers."

Émile was subsequently induced to take up the magic wand, and in conjunction with Professor Brannet gave many clever entertainments. During his management the old theater in the Palais Royal was abandoned, and a new theater erected on the Boulevard des Italiens. He held this property until his decease in 1883. The theater was partly destroyed by fire, January 30, 1901, but was rebuilt.

The only surviving members of the family are Madame Émile Robert-Houdin, widow of the elder son, and a daughter who is married to M. Lemaitre Robert-Houdin, a municipal officer of Blois, who has adopted the name of Houdin. Robert-Houdin is interred in the cemetery of Blois. A handsome monument marks his grave.

At the Paris Exhibition of 1844, Houdin was awarded a medal for the ingenious construction of automata; at the Exhibition of 1855 he received a gold medal for his scientific application of electricity to clocks. He invented an ophthalmoscope to enable the operator to examine the interior of his own eye. From important papers in the possession of M. Lemaitre it seems more than probable that Houdin had worked out the secret of the modern telephone before it had been made known to the world at large.

CROSS OR CRESCENT IN INDIA?

BY FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG.

TO those well-meaning folks who pay twenty-five cents, or some such conscience-soothing sum, a year into a missionary fund for the conversion of "the heathen" in India, it may seem little short of irreligion even so much as to raise the question which our title suggests. Yet the writer of these lines, a Christian and a member of the Methodist Church, has arrived at a different conclusion. Most of his friends think that *of course* India will be Christianised and that right speedily. In view of all the toil and sacrifice, the money and thought expended, and in a cause so eminently worthy, what possible chance can there be of failure? Do we not hear of the natives literally flocking to the missionaries to be baptised? And have we not often been assured that India would be Christian already were it not for the mere physical impossibility that the seven hundred or more missionaries in the peninsula come into touch with the nearly three hundred million natives?

And yet it is just possible that there are few whose condition approaches that of the old Scotch merchant of whom a recent writer has told a characteristic story. Being asked one day for a subscription for the support of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews, he with little hesitation acceded. Three months later he was asked for money for the same cause, and this time he gave rather more reluctantly. The third time he was approached on the subject, he could restrain himself no longer. "D—— it," he exclaimed, "are the Jews no' a' convertit yet?" and gave nothing. There are doubtless some who consider that it is high time the word should go forth that India is "a' convertit." But if there are any who feel so, it is only because they are utterly ignorant of the magnitude of the undertaking. To such it might be rather disconcerting to know that as a result of all the missionary effort that has thus far been put forth, only about two and a half millions out of

the nearly three hundred millions of natives are even nominal Christians,—a proportion equal to about that of a city of 64,000 inhabitants to the total population of the United States.

The present writer believes in the eventual triumph of Christianity in India. But he also believes several other things relative to the matter,—among them the following: (1) that many centuries of time will be necessary to accomplish the result; (2) that in the meantime the religion rapidly becoming dominant in the Orient, i. e., Mohammedanism, will have to be defeated on its own ground; (3) that this will necessitate the employment of very different means from those now in use; and (4) that when India shall be Christianised it will not be de-Orientalised and the Christianity that it takes will probably not accord at all with what is considered orthodox in the West.

To some such conclusions, it is believed, practically all who have knowledge at first hand regarding India and Indian affairs have arrived. They may not be altogether such as we could wish, but if they represent the facts, it cannot but be wholesome to face them squarely.

A word as to the religious status of India, numerically considered, at the present time. The latest available statistics, published in the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1902, are based on the census for 1891, and hence are not as recent as we should like. However, there is no reason to believe that the proportionate strength of the various religions has undergone great change since the time mentioned. A census in the United States is soon out of date, but one in the Orient remains approximately true for many generations. The table on page 740 shows the distribution of the population of India, according to religion, at the census of 1891:

A little examination of the table reveals several facts of interest. It shows, for instance, that the Hindoos constitute about 72 per cent. of the entire population, the Mohammedans about 20 per cent., the Buddhists about 2.5 per cent., and the Christians about .8 per cent. The vast majority of the Mohammedans are in Bengal, even as the vast majority of the Buddhists are in Burma and the Christians in Madras. Adherents of animistic faiths are more numerous even than the Buddhists, and the Christians do not greatly outnumber the relatively insignificant Sikhs and Jains. In no province do the Christians outnumber the Mohammedans, falling short by almost half in the most Christianised province of Madras. In no other considerable province, except Burma, do the Christians count a fourth of the adherents of Mohammedanism. In

Assam, Punjab, Bengal, Bombay, Kashmir, and the North-West Provinces, the Mohammedans vastly outnumber the Christians,

PROVINCE, PROVINCES, AND STATES	HINDUS	SIKHS	JAINS	BUDDHISTS	PARSIS	MOHAMMEDANS	CHRISTIANS	JEWS	ANTI-MISTIC	OTHERS	TOTAL
Almora.....	437,988	213	26,039	.....	198	71,265	2,663	71	.....	1	544,358
Assam.....	2,997,072	83	1,368	7,697	.....	1,483,874	16,844	5	969,795	25	5,476,833
Bengal.....	47,844,014	417	7,370	194,717	179	23,658,447	192,484	1,447	2,753,061	11,430	74,643,366
Berh.....	2,531,791	177	18,932	4	412	207,681	1,359	2	137,108	5	2,697,491
Bombay.....	21,440,991	912	555,209	698	76,774	4,390,995	170,009	13,547	311,459	27	26,660,421
Burma.....	171,577	3,164	.....	6,888,073	96	253,031	120,768	351	168,419	49	7,603,560
Central Provinces.....	10,469,680	173	49,412	335	781	309,479	13,368	176	2,081,721	10	12,944,805
Coorg.....	136,845	.....	114	.....	39	12,665	3,392	.....	.....	.....	173,055
Madras.....	34,757,520	128	27,435	1,036	217	2,475,864	1,580,179	1,309	472,868	14,536	39,331,062
North-West Provinces.....	40,951,803	11,348	84,893	1,494	342	6,589,183	58,518	60	.....	25	47,697,576
Punjab.....	10,437,700	1,876,481	45,683	6,236	412	12,915,643	53,909	33	.....	30	25,130,127
Suella, etc.....	11,699	1,129	.....	.....	39	11,368	3,008	23	.....	4	27,270
Andamans.....	9,411	390	3	1,290	.....	3,680	483	.....	24	1	15,609
Madaralidd.....	10,217,249	4,617	27,845	.....	1,058	1,138,666	20,429	26	29,130	.....	11,537,040
Baroda.....	2,117,568	11	50,312	1	8,206	188,740	646	36	29,864	2	2,415,395
Mysore.....	4,619,127	29	13,278	5	35	232,973	38,135	21	.....	1	4,943,604
Kashmir.....	691,800	11,399	593	29,648	9	1,793,210	218	.....	.....	16,615	2,543,952
Rajputana.....	10,402,829	1,116	417,618	.....	238	991,351	1,855	15	471,078	2	12,016,102
Central India.....	7,235,246	1,325	89,984	.....	817	568,640	5,999	72	1,916,209	.....	10,318,812
Sikh States.....	1,895	196	.....	175	2	.....	154	.....	1	.....	2,092
Total.....	207,214,727	1,097,833	1,416,658	7,131,561	99,994	57,351,164	2,284,380	17,104	9,280,466	42,763	287,223,431

and it may be said that throughout the entire peninsula the numerical strength of Mohammedanism bears a much more steady pro-

portion to the total population than in the case of any other religion, not excepting Hindooism.

The exact manner in which Mohammedanism was brought into India is a matter of controversy. It was long supposed that invaders from the north, probably from Arabia, forced it upon the Hindoos at the point of the sword. The well-known character of early Mohammedan missionary enterprise made this supposition entirely reasonable. Nevertheless, there are certain considerations which go to disprove its validity. In the first place, if such had been the manner of its establishment, Mohammedanism would be the religion of all India to-day instead of that of but a fifth of the people. Or, if it be urged that the conquest was left incomplete, then it would seem that Islam would be localised in the districts subdued. Instead of this, as we have just observed, the Mohammedans are scattered quite proportionally throughout the whole empire.

Nor is the number of Mohammedans in India due, as some have supposed, to peaceful immigration. It has been estimated that less than ten per cent. of the fifty-one millions even claim to be descended from foreign peoples.

The conclusion is that Mohammedanism was propagated in India by preaching and persuasion, and that it was accepted by so large a proportion of the people because of conviction rather than compulsion. This fact is of real significance as indicating the fixed and permanent character of the religion in the peninsula.

The advance of Mohammedanism among the people of India has certainly not been rapid. The creed has been known in the country probably as much as nine hundred years, and yet only one-fifth of the population have embraced it. From this it might seem that there is no danger of Mohammedanism gaining the ascendancy in India. Of course, there *is* no immediate danger. But time in the Orient is counted not by days and years as with us, but by centuries and ages. When one considers the conservatism and inertia of the peoples of the East, it becomes apparent that after all Mohammedanism has made progress about as rapid as could be expected of any imported cult. And the rate of progress seems to be increasing. The magnitude of the conflict now on between Mohammedanism and Christianity in Asia, Africa, and the islands of the Eastern seas, is by no means realised by the majority of Western people. On all its boundaries Islam is steadily advancing. Moreover, as a recent writer has pointed out, it is constantly developing an internal cohesion which may in time bring the Moslems

in all the vast region from the Niger to the Ganges into a conscious unity of purpose. When this is accomplished, the world may look for some interesting developments. It is estimated that Islam's gains in India alone counterbalance its losses in all other parts of the world. In Bengal where a third of the population are already Mohammedans, the converts are numbered by the thousands annually. Conditions in India are so peculiar, that comparisons and contrasts with the spread of various religions elsewhere can be of but very slight value. That, for instance, it required only one-third as long to Christianise the Roman Empire as it has taken to make Mohammedans of one-fifth of the Indian people was due rather more to the broken-down condition of the Roman religion and the consequent readiness of the people to turn to something new than to the zeal and interest with which the faith was propagated by its adherents.

The truth is that none of the great religions has ever been spread with the enthusiasm that has marked the Mohammedan advance from its very beginning. And this enthusiasm has been not merely of the militant type. In fact, it is fervor of speech rather than the power of the sword that is now winning the African and Asiatic peoples so rapidly to the Mohammedan fold. Even the Saracen found that force is not the strongest of arguments, or at any rate the most permanently effective. Every believer in Islam is a missionary in the sense that we frequently hear Christians exhorted to be but in which we know they but rarely are. That is, every Mussulman is constantly watching an opportunity to make a convert. He makes use of his trade relations, his social intercourse, his travels, in fact his entire round of experiences, to win men to his faith, in a manner very similar to that employed by the Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It cannot be said that his motives are purely religious. While by gaining converts he by so much increases his own chance of paradise, he thereby also adds to his faction, his tribe, his army, his nation, and increases the power to conquer and rule which is the pride of nearly all Oriental peoples and which the Mohammedan regards as his divine right. "All the emotions," says Mr. Meredith Townsend in his *Asia and Europe*, "which impel a Christian to proselytise are in a Mussulman strengthened by all the motives which impel a political leader and all the motives which sway a recruiting sergeant, until proselytism has become a passion which, whenever success seems practicable and especially success on a large scale, develops in the quietest Mussulman a fury of ardor which induces him to

break down every obstacle, his own strongest prejudices included, rather than stand for an instant in a neophyte's way."

The result of this is that there are few people in India who do not at least have an opportunity to hear the tenets of Islam proclaimed. And of course the greater the number of Mohammedans in a given district, the more rapidly are converts made. In Bengal, containing 74,713,020 inhabitants, a third of whom are Mohammedans and only two-tenths of one per cent. of whom are Christians, the greatest progress in proselytism is under way. Mohammedanism is not advancing in India with the rapidity which characterises Western religious movements. But considering the rigid conservatism to be overcome and the exclusively peaceful means employed, the results must be quite satisfactory to men of the Asiatic turn of mind.

It is not difficult to assign reasons for the progress of Islam among the Indian people. In the first place, it should be remembered that religion fills a greater part in the life and thought of the Oriental than of the Westerner. Nowhere in the world is more attention given to the problems of the unseen than in India. The land is the home of philosophy and abstract thought. The mysteries and perplexities of life and death, of the soul and the hereafter, have long been the commonplaces of speculation and research. It is right at this point that so many people utterly fail to comprehend the situation in India. They persist in thinking of the inhabitants as mere "heathen." Just because they are not Christians, they are thrown indiscriminately into a general class of the unredeemed along with the Hottentots and South Sea Islanders to whom the term "heathen" may perhaps quite properly be applied. That India is a vast empire made up of a congeries of races and peoples having ancient and highly respectable civilisations, with laws, governments, literatures, religions, art, and a finely elaborated social system, is generally quite ignored. The people of India are not aborigines without a history. They are, for the most part, descendents of races whose civilisations far antedate anything Christian,—even anything European. And they not merely have this great past; they glory in it. They are therefore disposed to deliberate long and well before breaking with it in any important particular.

And yet the Hindu can never quite be satisfied with the religion he has inherited. When its message has been completely delivered, life and death and eternity are still left great question marks. All is vagueness and uncertainty,—wild, indeterminate

longings with only the most equivocal promises for the future. Nothing goes so far toward reducing chaos to order in philosophy and religion as the monotheistic conception of deity. All phenomena, all the orderings of human experience, can be explained by referring them to the one Supreme Being. Mohammedanism is of course monotheistic, and it was through its adherents that the Hindoos, groping blindly after the light, first felt the comforting and illuminating force of belief in a single God. This fact in itself is sufficient to explain the grasp which Islam has acquired in India. The Koran adds the quality of certainty and finality to the questionings and falterings of the Hindoo belief.

But it may be asked, why does not Christianity, also a monotheistic religion, meet with the same ready response? The reasons are numerous. In the first place, it may be supposed that owing to the priority and greater universality of Mohammedan propaganda in the peninsula those of the people who were most susceptible to the monotheistic argument were reached first by the bearers of the crescent. Another consideration of much weight is that Mohammedanism was brought to the Hindoos by Asiatics like themselves, not by Europeans or other Westerners, as was Christianity. Explain it as we may, there is an intellectual and spiritual barrier between the Asiatic and the European which no amount of effort has ever yet been able to break down. Due to the ignorance of the Westerners and the self-sufficiency of the Orientals, this barrier is rather raised to loftier heights whenever the two peoples come in contact with each other. Until Christianity shall be preached widely by natives rather than by foreigners, its hold upon India will continue but feeble.

Moreover the rule of life prescribed by Mohammedanism is essentially Asiatic, while that of Christianity is not at all so. This is manifest particularly in reference to the caste system upon which the whole social order of India is built. While Christianity proclaims the natural rights and equality of men, and by so doing strikes a death-blow at the caste system, Mohammedanism merely asks the Hindoo to change caste by entering the great brotherhood of the faithful. No caste in India is more exclusive or more sacredly regarded by its members than is the fold of Islam. Thus the aristocratic concept at the bottom of the caste system is fostered by the Mohammedan Church, and the people to whom caste is everything are on this account the more readily won over.

It is easy enough to say that the caste system is an evil and ought to be eradicated. Few people realise the beneficent restraints

which it imposes upon society. A man's caste is his safeguard. If he can rarely raise his estate, he can just as rarely fall from it. The whole system belongs to an order of things far from modern, but it is at least one method by which a society devoid of modern political appliances can protect itself against its own internal destroyers. To become a Christian in India to-day means to break caste; and to break caste means ostracism, failure in business, and life-long ignomy. Until the whole system shall be uprooted—and this will be in the no wise immediate future—the breaking away from it in individual cases must always be attended by many hardships and sacrifices.

Among numerous other reasons for the slow advance of Christianity in India the following are of chief importance: (1) The ease with which Hindoos accept and believe things deemed by Western people quite contradictory. "A Hindoo," says Mr. Townsend, "will state with perfect honesty that Christianity is true, that Mohammedanism is true, and that his own special variety of Brahmanism is true, and that he believes them all three implicitly." Thus Christianity gains many "converts" who cannot properly be called Christians. It is almost inconceivably difficult to deal with a people whose metaphysical subtleties enable them to believe all that the missionaries tell them and yet with quite as much sincerity believe things exactly the opposite. (2) The life and character of Christ do not appeal to the Hindoos as to most other peoples. His earthly career and quasi human character render him if anything too tangible and not sufficiently mysterious to please the fancy of the Hindoo lovers of the occult. His gentleness and humility are accounted to him for weakness. Why the Son of God should not have availed himself of all the glories and powers of the universe is quite incomprehensible. It is the majestic—the outwardly and visibly majestic—that appeals to the Hindoo. Therefore he is more impressed with the Mohammedan motives of sovereignty and conquest than with the Christian ideals of meekness and social helpfulness. (3) The method of proselytism by the Christian missionaries needs to undergo modification. In the first place, the conscious effort to "civilise" the natives should cease. If it is necessary to make Europeans or Americans of them before, or even while, making Christians of them, not another dollar should be spent or another missionary be sent out. In the second place, and along the same line, just as large a proportion of the preachers and teachers should be native Hindoos as possible. Only in this way can the past mistake of approaching the people as if they were

barbarians of the most primitive type be remedied. Christian proselytism, if it is to be permanently successful, must leave the people Asiatics still, just as does Mohammedan proselytism.

Thus the battle is on. How it will result, no one can foretell. One thing is sure,—India will be neither Mohammedan nor Christian for many centuries to come. But even the early stages of the contest with which we are contemporary are by no means lacking in interest and importance. All history would go to indicate that the prosperity, and even the very life, of India hangs on the outcome. Mohammedanism has thus far invariably ended in stagnation and death. Christianity, we fondly believe, is fraught with the elements of life and growth. Unlimited patience and discriminating effort may secure to India the heritage of the cross. But if so, it may not unlikely prove to be because the Christian went to school to the Mohammedan and learned of him the avenue of approach to the Hindoo mind and heart.

P'A-LEK.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONCLUDED.]

THE beautiful buildings of Philæ which add so much to the natural charm of this sequestered spot are all of comparatively late origin. The pylons of the temple of Isis bear the name of Nektanebos, but other portions of the sacred building were erected under the Ptolemies.

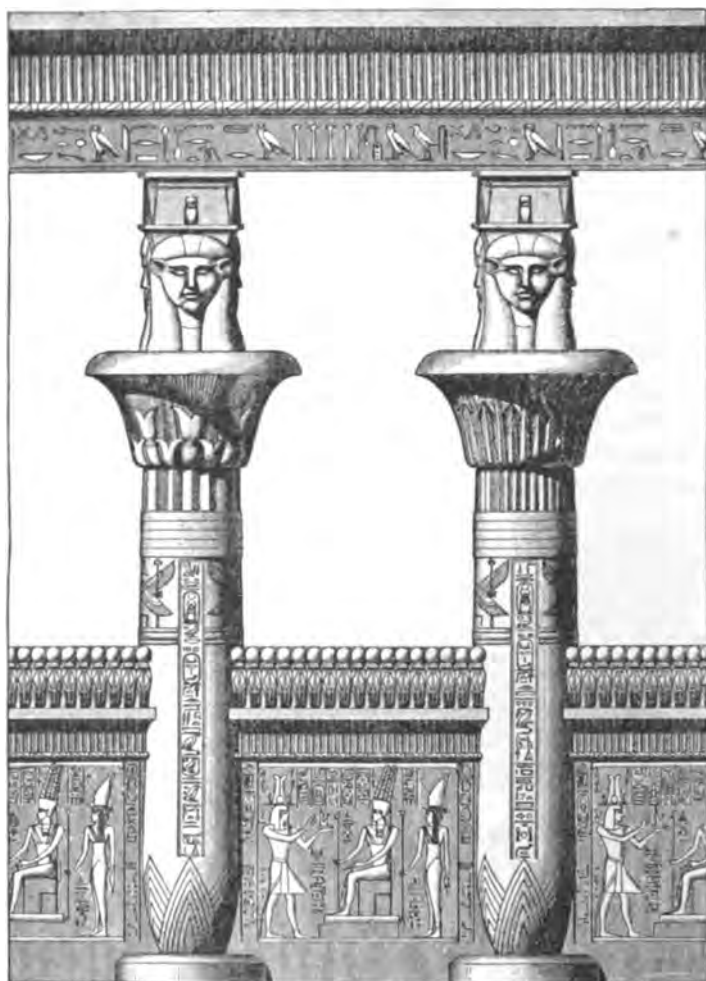


LANDSCAPE OF THE NILE.

None of the buildings are older than 350 B. C., yet all of them have preserved a truly Egyptian character, even the latest additions of the Roman emperors, with the sole exception of the Coptic ruins of later date and also of the triumphal arch of Diocletian on the north-east (XI), who was the last pagan emperor to visit the island.

Processions of pilgrims and embassies that visited the island were obliged to approach it down stream from the south, where stood a special building (I) for their reception, bearing the name of Nektanebos. On landing, the visitors were welcomed by some

of the priests, and were accompanied through a courtyard (II) between two colonades, the one toward the west (*a—b*)¹ built by



COLUMNS OF THE PAVILLION OF NEKTANEBOS.

(Reproduced from *Prisse d'Avennes*.)

The vestibule of Nektanebos, originally served as the entrance to a temple. It is dedicated by Nektanebos to his "Mother Isis, revered at Abaton, Mistress of Philæ, and to Hathor of Senmet."

the Roman Emperors, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, the other toward the east (*c—d*) of later date and still unfinished.

¹A subterranean stairway here leads down to a Nilometer.

The pylons, or entrance towers (III), which adorn all Egyptian temples, are ornamented with battle scenes glorifying the victories of Ptolomy Philometor. On entering through the portal between



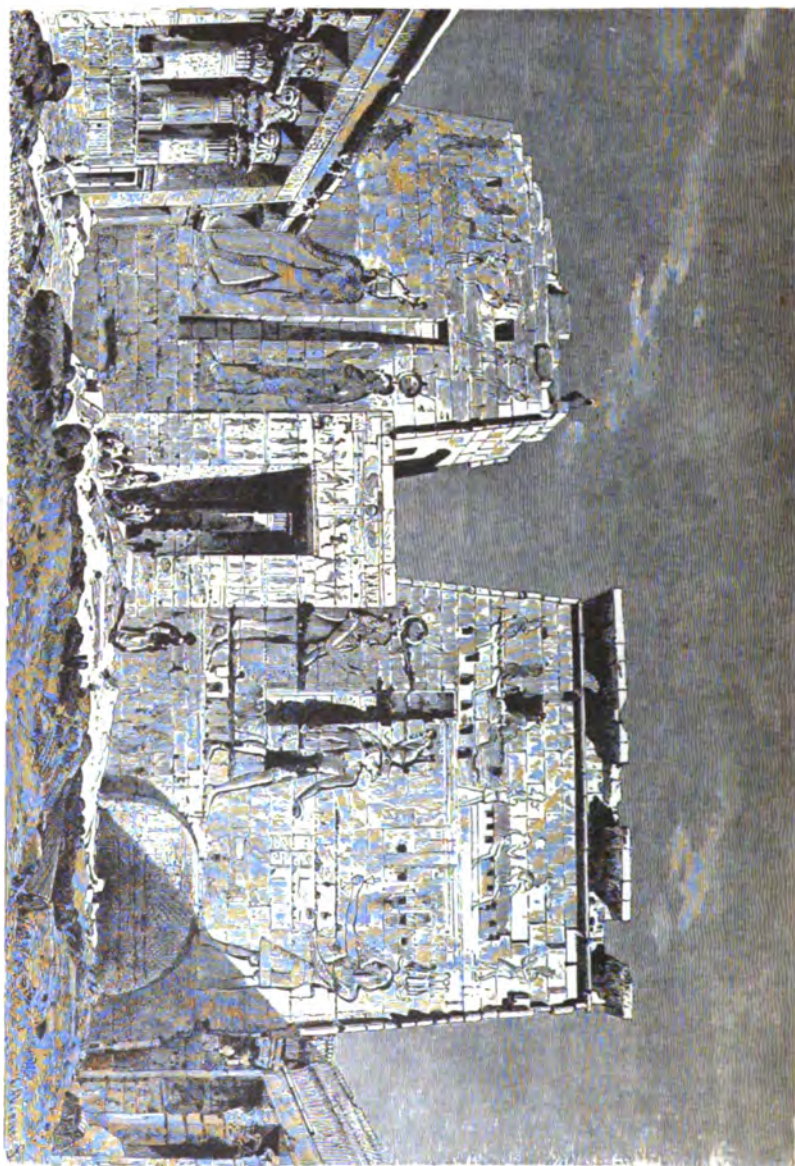
MAP OF PHILÆ.

the pylons one stands in the first courtyard (IV), of the temple surrounded by a solemn peristyle.

Here a detachment of French soldiers was encamped in 1799 and left the inscription in French, "An sept de la République,"

and underneath the name of their leader "Bonaparte." The words "République" and "Bonaparte" were erased but afterwards re-

FIRST TEMPLE COURT.



stored with the comment: "Une page d'histoire ne doit pas être salie."

The building toward the east, called the Mamisi or house of birth (V) is a temple which must have harbored the image of Isis giving suck to Hor. It is called the House of Birth, because the walls of the cella, the third room, exhibit scenes of the life of the god-child Hor, his birth in the marshes and his education. One fresco represents Hathor laying her hand in blessing on the head of the Horus child.

Hathor plays an important part in the events of Hor's childhood. She appears as a sisterly friend of the divine mother, and performs the offices of godmother, nurse, and teacher. The word



COLUMNS OF HATHOR.
Southern part of the Mamisi.

"Hathor" means "the House of Hor," signifying "the dawn of day." She is said to assist at the sun's birth, and we have reason to believe that originally the goddess was only another form of "Isis," for in some local shrines she was worshipped as the mother of Hor. Her face, surmounted by a crown in the shape of a house, is carved on the columns of the colonade surrounding the Mamisi, a design that is frequently repeated in late Egyptian art, e. g., in Dendereh and in the Nectanebos pavillion.

The bas-reliefs in the colonades surrounding the Mamisi represent among other scenes Buto, the goddess of the North playing

the harp to Hor and Isis, and also a chapel in which Isis is seen nursing Harpocrates (Hor the child), the door of the chapel being opened by an Egyptian king, as if he intended to show the goddess to the spectator and point out the good example she was setting to human mothers. On the upper part of the wall we find two inscriptions of which one, referring to Ptolomy Neos Dionysios has become illegible, while the other is a duplicate of the hieroglyphic text of the Rosetta stone.

The smaller building toward the east (VI) contains several rooms. The first one on the south was the apartment¹ of the door-keeper whose duties concerning the admission of strangers are specified on the walls. Another room served as a library. It contained according to its hieroglyphic inscriptions the documents of donations, the archives of the temple, and a number of valuable manuscripts. We are also informed that the goddess of history, Safekh, presided here. A niche in the north wall with a cynoskephalos underneath and a squatting Ibis of Thot above was destined to receive the most sacred papyri. Next we enter the chamber of purification in which visitors underwent the ceremony of cleansing themselves before they were admitted to the temple of Isis.

Passing on through the second gate between two other pylons one enters a most magnificent hypostyle. The sunlight which is admitted freely through a large opening in the roof could be dimmed by veils. The color effect of the wall paintings is cheerful and soothing at once, so bright are the pictures and so majestic are the columns.

The hypostyle leads to the inner temple with the Holy of Holies, the sanctuary of Isis (VIII), surrounded by several small treasury rooms. The inscriptions speak of the munificence of Ptolomy Philadelphus and Euergetes I., who erected this part of the temple and endowed it richly with presents.

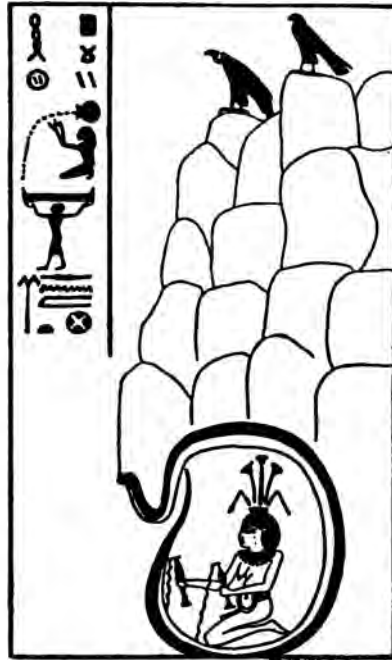
On top of the sanctuary are several rooms all of them embellished with pictures representing events that took place after the death of Osiris. In the largest room called "the Chamber of Osiris" we find the following scenes, beginning at the left with the upper row: (1) Isis and Nephthys by the bier of Osiris; (2) two goddesses beside the dead Osiris, whose head is wanting; further away the tomb before which lies a lion; (3) four demons carrying the hawk-headed mummy. In the lower row we find: (1) the frog-headed Heket, and the hawk-headed Harsiesis by the bier of Osiris, beneath which stand the jars for the entrails; (2) the corpse

¹ A staircase in the antechamber here leads to the roof of the first pylon.

of Osiris among marsh plants, the priest pouring the consecrated water; (3) the jackal-headed Anubis by the bier of Osiris beside which kneel Isis and Nephthys.

Outside the temple of Isis there are a few more buildings, among which the picturesque Kiosk, popularly called "the Bed of Pharaoh," is most characteristic of Philæ. It was built under Tiberius, but left unfinished. The architect infused here into the somber forms of Egyptian art the soaring spirit of Greece, so dainty, so exquisite, so lofty is this little shrine and at the same time so airy as if it were an un-realizable fancy, a mere dream, the petrified orison of a religion of mystery and joy.

Turning toward the west, we reach a kind of vestibule, called "the gateway of Hadrian," which commanded a beautiful view on the island of Bigét, another sacred spot covered with ruins of an ancient temple. The walls on either side are decorated with curious pictures, among which two are of special interest: one represents Osiris in mummy-form crossing the Nile on the back of a crocodile (Isis expecting him on the shore, illustrating the Egyptian prototype of the story of two lovers separated by a river); the other shows Hapi, the god of the Nile, sitting in a snake-encircled cave and pouring water from a vase.



HAPI, THE GOD OF THE NILE, IN HIS CAVE AT PHILÆ.¹

West of the sanctuary of Isis and north of Hadrian's gateway are the walls of a temple of Harendotes (viz.; Hor, the avenger of his father), built by Emperor Claudius, and east of the second pylon directly north of the Kiosk lie the ruins of the temple of Hathor. The sanctuary of the latter is utterly destroyed and only

¹ The god is pouring forth from a libation vase the water of the river. On the top of the rock are perched the hawk of the north and the vulture of the south. The god's head is decked with water-plants and his cave is concealed by a serpent.

the front colonade, restored in modern times, is left. Directly north of the temple of Isis stands a Coptic church, and further north on the hill, the ruins of a temple of Augustus.

The banks of the island were well protected from the annual Nile inundations by substantial walls.

Soon after the suppression of the last vestiges of paganism on the island, the Christian Copts took possession of the temple of Isis and changed the hypostyle to a church. This happened in the year 577 A. D. The beautiful wall paintings were covered with Nile mud, so as not to offend the eyes of Christians by idolatrous representations, and the Virgin Mary was now worshipped in place of the Egyptian goddess. The name and to some extent also the character of the divinity that presided over this sacred place was changed. Instead of the gay and joyous music of the harp, the songs sung to the lute, and the ring of the sistrum, monotonous psalms were intoned and the wickedness of human nature was taught, yet after all the Virgin Mary remained as before the "mother of the Saviour," and was addressed with similar and sometimes the same titles as "Our Lady" and "Queen of Heaven." In spite of the radical changes, the religious sentiment, reverence for a divine mystery, respect for the ideal of maternity, and the pious submission of the devotees to the higher powers of life continued the same as of yore.

Scarcely a century passed when new changes came over Egypt. Islam spread rapidly over the Orient, and Mohammedan conquerors took possession of Egypt. The armies of Arabian fanatics swept over the Nile valley, and now the sacred building of Philæ was turned into the mansion of an Arabaïc Sheik.

The island was not inhabited in later years but served as a resort for travellers who like the pilgrims of yore reached here the end of their journey. Natives living on the neighboring islands served as ferrymen or guides, and many travellers of Egypt that visited this remarkable spot will long be haunted by the memories which the beautiful island left in their minds.

The latest change of the island is a most dreadful cataclysm. On December 10, 1902, the great dam at Assuan was completed, and with the closing of the gates all the islands with their many ruins, and among them the most beautiful of all, Philæ, were doomed. Since the inundation has set in, most of the islands of the Nile above Assuan have disappeared.

Sic transit gloria mundi!

THE WANDERING JEW.

A BUDDHIST PARALLEL.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

IN 1899, a Japanese scholar, Kumagusu Minakata, then sojourning in London, propounded, in *Notes and Queries*, a Buddhist analogue to the legend of the Wandering Jew. It is found in the Chinese version of the Samyuktâgama, one of the canonical collections of Buddha's Dialogues. I have not, however, been able to find it in the Pâli Samyutta Nikâya (or Classified Collection) which is a different sectarian recension of the same or a similar collection to the Chinese one. On the other hand, the story is in the Sanskrit of the Divyâvadâna, a collection of extracts from the Buddhist Canon, together with later additions, compiled sometime between the second century B. C. and perhaps the sixth century A. D. The Chinese translation of the Classified Collection dates from the fifth century A. D., while the Sanskrit or Prâkrit original is lost.

The story is that Pindola, one of Buddha's disciples, being challenged by unbelievers to work a miracle, flew up into the air and brought down an alms-bowl which had been fixed on a pole. Buddha reproved him for this, and forbade his disciples to work miracles for display. Thus far the story is in the Pâli Canon, in the Book of Discipline, and may be found in English at page 79 of *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XX. But the two later sources add the statement that Buddha told Pindola:

"Nā tâvat te parinirvâtavyam yâvad Dharmo nântarhita iti."

"Thou shalt not attain Nirvâna (i. e., die) until the Dharma (i. e., Buddhist Gospel) disappears."

The expression "attain Nirvâna" is applied to the death of an Arahât, for, like other Asiatics, the Hindûs have different verbs "to die," according to the rank of the departed. Buddha therefore said: "You shall not die while my religion lasts." As the

Buddhists believe in a coming Buddha who will be greater than Gotama was, this also means: "You shall not die until the next Buddha comes to earth."

Curiously enough the passage was translated by Burnouf in 1844 in his great Introduction to (later) Buddhism. (*Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, second edition, 1876, p. 355.) But scholars appear to have overlooked the parallel to the Christian legend until the Japanese savant pointed it out.

The first appearance in Europe of the legend of the Wandering Jew is in the Chronicle of Roger of Wendover, where we read that the story was told at the monastery of St. Alban's in the year 1228, by an Armenian archbishop then visiting England. It appears to have been known already in that country, for the English monks begin by asking their visitor about the mysterious wanderer. The archbishop says that he has himself conversed with him, for he roams about the Orient, passing his time among bishops.

Now we know that Persia and Armenia were buffer-states between India and the hither East, and that Hindû legends, like that of Barlaam and Joasaph, passed through those lands on their way to us. Unless we can find a Christian original for the story of the Wanderer earlier than the fifth century, when the Chinese Classified Collection was translated, we must give the Buddhist story the priority, and strongly suspect that, like the Holy Grail, it probably gave rise to the Christian one.

Until the vast literature preserved in China has been translated, we shall have few facts to judge from. Fâ Hien heard the Buddhist Holy Grail story preached from a Ceylon pulpit in the fifth century, and there was great religious and literary activity in China and Chinese Turkestan from his time onward. Christianity and Buddhism met; their legends were interchanged and at times confused, as in the case of St. Joasaph; until at last a Chinese emperor forbade the intermixture and decreed that the Syrian Messiah and the Indian Buddha should be kept distinct.

MISCELLANEOUS.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS ON TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE AND VICTOR SCHOELCHER.

POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATION COMMUNICATED BY THEODORE STANTON.

[The following pages, here published for the first time, were written by the late Frederick Douglass, when he was United States Minister to Haiti. They were intended to form the Preface of an American edition, which was never issued, of a *Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture*, by the late Victor Schoelcher, of the French Senate, the liberator of the slaves in the French Colonies.—*Theodore Stanton*. Paris, May, 1903.]

The lesson taught by Toussaint L'Ouverture should not be lost on the oppressors and persecutors of the negroes of the Gulf States of our Union to-day. There may arise other men of that race not less brave or less fertile in resources than this hero of Santo Domingo. In the language of Thomas Jefferson it should be remembered "That the Almighty has no attribute that will take sides with the oppressor in such a contest." The world to-day is more sympathetic with those who rise against oppressors than when this man led the revolt against slavery in Haiti. The whole Christian world was at that time against him. England, France, Spain, Portugal, the United States, and Holland were all slaveholding. They could only look with horror upon a great negro leading his class in rebellion for its freedom. Their was neither sympathy nor justice for the black insurgents. The moral weight of the world was against them.

The countrymen of Toussaint do not always stop to consider that his errors, if errors they were, should be regarded but as dust in the balance compared to the great services he rendered and the lustre he shed upon the character of their race. His high character, his valor, his wisdom, and his unflinching fidelity to the cause of liberty are an inheritance of which his people should be proud. His lot, however, is not singular. Men are often loved least by those they have served best.

The mountain sin of slavery has disappeared from the nations and in every land the negro has now his friends and advocates. An uprising against oppressors and murderers would not in this age be viewed as it was viewed a hundred years ago. Tyrants and oppressors may well take this change of the world's thought into account. There may be a revolt against the spirit of slavery as well as against slavery itself. That deadly spirit is at bottom of the persecution of the freedmen of our Southern states and men are often amazed that this possible resistance has not already been by it developed.

I have spoken of some difficulties in the way of giving a fair account of the

life and works of Toussaint L'Ouverture. These have all been well surmounted, I think, by the author of this book on Toussaint, who has well observed the injunction of Cromwell, "Paint me as I am," and faithfully portrayed the black patriot, soldier, and statesman. He has given us the most complete and trustworthy account of Toussaint yet placed before the public. He has neither made his hero too great to obtain belief nor so small as to excite contempt. The age is rational and things must be reasonable to gain acceptance. Beyond the measure of the simple truth there is nothing even sensational in this volume. Neither is there any straining after effect. The character of the author made the appearance of this weakness impossible. It is the work of a venerable statesman, a member of the French Senate, one far removed from vain ambition and whose life is already crowned with honors that place him beyond the range of temptations before which other men might fall.

Mr. Schoelcher is not only aged and venerable but he has behind him a long line of valuable services to his country, and to mankind. It has been given to him as it has been given to few reformers to see some of his most radical and deeply cherished ideas accepted by his countrymen and organised into law. Such a man is not likely to give us fiction in place of historic truth.

The present volume may be fairly taken, as I have no doubt it was intended to be taken, as the crowning work of the life of its author. To my simple view he could have performed no service more valuable to the African race or to mankind than the one here completed of refreshing the world's memory of a great man whose example is still needed by the oppressed people with whom he was identified. The world has had at best only glimpses of Toussaint. In this volume it will get a full and fair view of him.

No man of to-day was better qualified for this work than M. Schoelcher. His career began when the memory of the life and deeds of Toussaint were fresh. He read and heard all that was said concerning him and has well remembered what he read and heard. His young heart was doubtless early touched and his sympathies excited by the misfortunes of the black soldier and statesman, and he naturally enough was eager to know all that could be known about him. His work before us may well enough be taken as the labor of love and truth.

While, however, he has spoken well of his hero and of the African race, he has not flattered the vanity of the negro by attributing to his hero higher qualities than he was known to possess;—and yet he has withheld no fact in his career, which sheds lustre on his memory, and honor upon his race. In a word we have here an honest biography of an honest man.

As a philanthropist M. Schoelcher is to France what Wilberforce and Clarkson were to England and what Lincoln and Sumner were to the United States. The position of France on the subject of negro slavery is honorable to her high civilisation, and for this position she is indebted to no man more than to Victor Schoelcher. To him more than to any other statesman of his time is due the act that freed France from the shame and guilt of negro slavery. He had the wisdom to see what should be done, how it should be done, and the time at which it should be done. Many a golden opportunity is lost on some low ground of fancied expediency or lack of manly courage. In the case of M. Schoelcher, neither of these hindrances came between him and manifest duty. In him the hour and the man were well met. The story of his agency in the abolition of slavery in the French Colonies will be better told by his biographer. I will only add that when every throne in Europe was shaking and Louis Phillippe found it necessary to flee from

France, amid the tumult of that stormy period M. Schoelcher found time to urge upon the Provisional Government of France the abolition of slavery in all her colonies. Nor did he urge this measure in vain, for his hand was the hand permitted to open the decree by which slavery ceased to exist in every part of the dominions of France.

It was my good fortune, for so I certainly esteem it, while in Paris four years ago, to have had several memorable interviews with the author of this book. I was first introduced to him in the Chamber of the French Senate by Mr. Theodore Stanton and on several occasions afterward met him at his own house. To say that I was very much impressed by his appearance and interested in his conversation is to say almost nothing of what I really experienced. I look back to my calls upon him as among the most interesting of the many interesting ones it has been my good fortune to make upon public men. At the time I met him M. Schoelcher was already eighty years of age, yet the real living active man was there, and fully abreast with the demands of his time and country. Had he been in middle life, he could not have been more truly alive than he was to passing events at home and abroad. Like many other European statesmen he was deterred from labor neither by declining health nor weight of years, nor seemed to have any more idea of ceasing work than if forty years rather than eighty had been his actual age. It was here that I learned his purpose to write the life of Toussaint, and heard his announcement with some amazement considering the many demands upon his time and considering his advanced age; but he, better than I, knew the amount of work he could yet accomplish. I then ventured to promise that in case his biography of Toussaint should be published in the United States, I would write an introduction to the work, but with little expectation that I should ever be called upon to perform this grateful service.

Much that I then learned of the life and works of our author must be left to his biographer, but I may mention the surprise I felt in finding in Paris such a house as his. The room in which I found myself seated and where M. Schoelcher keeps his busy hand and brain at work was largely decorated with the emblems of slavery. There were old slave whips, which had been used on the backs of slaves in the French Colonies. On the walls were handcuffs, broken chains, fetters, and iron collars with sharp prongs which had galled the necks and limbs of despairing bondmen, but which now gall them no more. These barbarous implements of a past condition were sent to M. Schoelcher by negroes from the Colonies in grateful recognition of his instrumentality in setting them free. One could easily see that the venerable liberator looked upon these iron testimonials with a sense of relief and satisfaction. There were not wanting other and more valuable tokens of negro gratitude to this noble philanthropist, grateful evidences that he had not lived in vain. In these, Martinique and Guadeloupe were well represented. Better these than all the laurels gained on the field of battle and blood. They tell of those victories more renowned in peace than in war, and to which man may look without any heart-piercing thoughts of slaughter and the ten thousand horrors of war.

Several colored members of the Chamber of Deputies called upon Senator Schoelcher on the mornings of my visits. I was pleased to observe that his manner towards them had in it no show of patronage. He received them as one gentleman should receive another, with dignified cordiality. They came, I believe, to consult their venerable benefactor in respect to measures then pending in the Assembly of which they were members. Their manners plainly told that they had the fullest confidence in the wisdom of their adviser.

HAMMURABI AND ABRAHAM.¹

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Why should Hamu-Rabi be confused with the Biblical Amraphel? Each name has four consonants, yet only two in common. It seems to me that it would be easier to identify Hamu-Rabi with Abraham, since their four consonants are the same. Ibra-Hamu is a paranomasism that is not difficult.

Indeed, Khamor-Abi is Arabic for "Moon-father," and Abraham's father is said to have come out of Hur or Ur, which was the best known name of the Moon or Moon-god in Babylonia; as in Egypt the Moon-god Tachut or Decade was like Khamor-Abi, the law-giver, and Bath-Tachuti appears with Jehoah at Sinai and proclaims him, for she is Azab-ea or Sibyl, not "finger," that wrote the ten commandments, since A-Zab and Sebel both mean laborer in the sense of contortion as was the case with the classic Sibyls. But it is a long story.

Our Hebrew writings often show such examples. Thus, Noach or "Noah" is said to have found cHen or "grace"; but the two consonants which we make into Noach are N—ch, and when reversed we have cH—N, which in Egyptian is "prophet," as Khn is prophet in Ethiopic; hence the Hebrew word Cohen or "priest." So Jakob or A-Keb means in Hebrew a "wine-vat," and when read backwards we have Bak ai, which we have in Greek as Bacch-us; hence in the wrestling at Ja-Bock (Bak-ai) he acquires the name I-Sara-El, for he is coming toward Egypt where O-Sar-is first planted the vine; and so the first thing Jacob does when he has supplanted Esau is to build Succ-oth, and Succ-oth was "Tabernacles" or the grape harvest; the Athenian O-Socha-phoria, when there were songs to Bacchus and Ari-Adan-e.

There is more important play on the name of Mosheh, our Grecised "Moses." His name is composed of the three consonants M—Sh—H, which, when reversed, may be rendered into ha—Sh—m or "the Shem," which means "the Name." On pain of death Jews were not to blaspheme "the Name," but it seems that only Mosheh may be meant, for the ancients appear to have concealed their name of Deity from their own populace, and hence these could not blaspheme it by the use of the sacred name.

HAYNEVILLE, ALA., May 16, 1903.

CONSTANTINE GRETHENBACH.

MR. AND MRS. H. L. GREEN, OBITUARY.

With deep regret even in pain and sorrow, we notice in the daily papers the news of Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Green's sudden death.

The old Mr. Green was a Freethinker of the old, honest, and robust type, perhaps a little narrow but always straightforward and truth-loving, fighting the good fight, as he conceived it, always standing up for honesty and truth in religion.

For many years he was editor of *Freethought*, and he had acquired in Freethought circles the reputation of being the most decent and the ablest freethought editor in the United States. He was respected by his adversaries, and so far as we know had no personal enemies. But the cause of Freethought is not popular. Men who have positive religious convictions are willing to make sacrifices for the cause, but those whose conviction consists mainly in the negation of the religion of others

¹For an answer to this letter see the article "Hammurabi and Amraphel" on p. 705 of the present number.

are loth to support the champions of their views, and so Freethought in spite of its loud clamors for recognition makes a poor show in the world, for its devotees lack the earnestness usually found in religious circles. Certainly, Mr. Green had a hard time to make both ends meet, and his only son, a young man of business ability and full of enthusiasm for the cause, the business agent for the *Freethought Magazine* of his father who had made it a financial success, had died a premature death about a year ago. When Mr. and Mrs. Green found themselves confronted with a deficit and the prospect of a failure in their publishing business, they felt that at their advanced age they were unable to carry the burden any longer and decided in a gloomy hour to give up the fight and quit a life which for them, after the loss of their son, had no longer any attraction. Their bodies were found in a room in which they had turned on the gas.

Their fate is sad and we have no doubt that even those who did not agree with their aims and ideals will honor their good intention, the honesty of their conviction and the love of truth which they manifested in their life-time.

Peace be with them and an honorable memory to their endeavor.

ZODIACAL MITHRAIC TABLETS.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Are not the well-known Mithraic tablets entirely zodiacal? At least I have come to that conclusion after examining and comparing the several specimens of the British Museum, the Louvre, the Vatican, the Naples Museum, and the large Mithraic Monument of the Municipal Museum at Metz. The same conclusion follows when we examine the engravings of Mithraic tablets in such works as Monfaucon, Drummond, Maurice, Calmet, etc. The specimen in the British Museum practically ranks with the tablets, being identical with the more usual *alto-rilievo* bas-reliefs, in design and meaning. The same remark applies to the Mithraic sculpture in the Kircher Museum, Rome. Some writers have recognised one or more zodiacal signs on these tablets, as the Scorpion, Crab, etc. But I refer to their being entirely zodiacal, and thus affording a clue (though perhaps a slight one) to their origin and meaning.

It appears to me that writers on the tablets have missed or passed over this conclusion, because they omitted to examine the tablets in connection with the 36 Decans, as well as with the 12 great familiar signs.

But the evidence available all tends to show that the 36 inferior signs are of similar antiquity and equal authority to the 12 great signs. This being so, it is as reasonable to conceive that the former as well as the latter were made use of in the mystic Mithraic symbolism.

I of course refer not to any modern post-Christian constellations, but to the original ancient 25 signs, as handed down by Hipparchus, Ptolemy, *et al.*, and as are to be found on the great Denderah, Isiac planisphere in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. Taking these as our guide, we find each figure accounted for in the tablets as being one of the ancient original 48 zodiacal constellations.

Undoubtedly additions to the tablets have been made by local priests to local Mithraic temples or worship. Thus the Metz tablet has a series of small tablets as a border, depicting mythologic scenes of initiation, etc. But it seems possible to eliminate these later and local accretions from the original zodiacal tauroctonus Mithra.

The zodiacal origin of the Mithraic figures will be seen by comparing those

on existing tablets with the ancient Planisphere. In the Vatican Museum, in the Sala degli Animali, No. 1412 is a Mithraic group entitled "Sagrificio di Mitra." This consists of the following figures to each of which I will attach the technical Latin name of the sign to which it refers: (1) Bull (*Taurus*), (2) Scorpion (*Scorpio*), (3) Dog (*Sirius*), (4) Serpent (*Hydra*), (5) Phrygian (*Perseus*). This being in the round, there are fewer figures, as usual, than are found on the tablets. But every figure there is, is manifestly zodiacal; two are signs, three are decans. It illustrates the former observation, viz., that unless the 36 decans are referred to, as well as the 12 signs, the tablets cannot be explained.

The tablets preserve exactly the central idea of the Mithraic cult in every example; but at the same time the secondary symbols vary. This instead of weakening confirms the conclusion that these mystic tablets are entirely zodiacal.

Thus the British Museum Mithraic group shows this. It is engraved in *The Open Court* (No. 560, p. 2) and appears in *The Mysteries of Mithra* on p. 39. We have here, besides the above five, the two Phrygian youths so common on these tablets. One has the torch up (life), the other down (death). We here have Pollux and Castor, the twins in Gemini: for one was immortal, the other mortal. A more recondite symbol is seen in the blood issuing from the bull. The sculptor has made it to exactly imitate a threefold corn-ear. This is really Spica held by Virgo. We here therefore have obtained seven signs from these two tablets.

The Aquilied Tablet (No. 560, p. 3) gives similar evidence. On it are found the above seven. Spica, however, is on the end of the bull's tail. Besides these is (8) a Goat (*Capricornus*). Sol and Luna are in their chariots. These may be late additions from Roman mythology; but if not, both are intimately connected with the original zodiacal system. (Barrett, *Enquiry Into the Origin of the Constellations*, Dublin, 1800.)

The Borghese Tablet gives us five signs, and seven, Spica on the tail, besides Sol in a quadriga, and Luna in a biga, each with a symbolic herald; but no fresh sign.

In one of the tablets, engraved by Drummond (*Ædipus Judaicus*), is found a Crab (*Cancer*) instead of a scorpion, thus making nine signs.

In the Mayence bas-relief (No. 559, p. 726) Mithra is with a bow, probably here personifying Sagittarius.

In the Konjiga bas-relief is a Raven (*Corvus*). That this refers to the sign Corvus is confirmed by a raven being found, among the other signs, on some tablets (No. 558, p. 675). This banquet is undoubtedly mystical, and to be interpreted in accord with the mystic tablets. Accordingly we here see a lion (*Leo*) as on some tablets; and a tripod-altar (*Ara*), and sacred cakes, each marked with a cross (*Crux Australis*). Prominence is given to a cup of wine (*Crater*), held by the chief person. As this sacrament is highly symbolical, it would seem that Gemini is here adumbrated no less than four times. The two seated, the two on the right, the two on the left, and the two costly mystic pillars. There appears to be the head of a Goat (*Capricornus*), also. Another figure is the soldier (*Perseus*). The two mystic pillars may be compared with Jachin and Boaz, and the two still found in esoteric Masonry. We have here then five fresh signs, or sixteen in all.

On some Mithraic tablets I have seen a fish (*Pisces*); and on the Metz monument is a large urn (*Aquarius*). In some ancient zodiacs this sign is merely an urn; so that the 12 signs and many of the 36 decans are found on the tablets.

That this is not accidental, the number seems to show; but the example (No. 560, p. 9, No. 558, p. 672) confirms this conclusion in a convincing manner; for

here we have Mithra, surrounded by the 12 signs, in order, no longer disguised, but in the usual form. Further confirmation may be gathered from the central figure itself, which combines various signs in union; thus: Man (*Aquarius*), Lion (*Leo*), Bull Feet (*Taurus*), Wings (*Aquila*), Arrowfulmen (*Sagittarius*), Vase (*Crater*), besides Sol and Luna.

Augustine's remark (No. 558, p. 671) confirms the zodiacal origin, for he says that they imitated birds (*Aquila*, *Corvus*, *Columba*), crows, lions (*Leo*). Professor Cumont also informs us that pagan theologians asserted that the masks the initiated wore had "allusion to the signs of the zodiac: a circumstance which these theologians would presumably be thoroughly conversant with. The celebrated Mithra cave-temple in Capri had a fine Mithraic tablet, now in the Naples Museum. Romanelli (*Isola di Capri*) has an engraving and full description of this, and he identifies all the figures with zodiacal signs.

ROME, Italy.

A. B. GRIMALDI, M. A.

EDUARD KOENIG'S BIBLE AND BABEL.¹

When Professor Delitzsch's lecture created a stir among the religious circles of Germany, a flood of criticisms appeared, and among them a pamphlet which in contrast to Delitzsch's *Babel and Bible* was called *Bible and Babel*. It was written by Eduard Koenig, Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn, and the inversion of the title indicated that Bible should take precedence before Babel, and that while Babel may have been the brains of Western Asia, the Bible was after all the product of divine revelation.

Koenig's lecture *Bible and Babel* has reached nine editions, and it was finally translated by Charles E. Hay, D. D., and published by the German Literary Board of Burlington, Iowa. The translator deeming the term "Babel" inappropriate, replaced it by Babylon, and so the book lies before us under the title *The Bible and Babylon*. The change is by no means an improvement.

The translator explains the purpose of Koenig's lectures as follows:

"A thrilling interest attaches to the excavations of recent years in the vicinity of Babylon. They afford us a vivid picture of civilisations antedating that of God's ancient people and thus furnish what has hitherto been lacking—a clearly-defined background for the narratives and revelations of the Bible.

"It is not surprising that in the imagination of some enthusiastic students the central picture should be absorbed in the background—lost sight of as they painfully decipher the dim lines of the ancient past so long shrouded in darkness. When, however, sweeping conclusions drawn from the most meagre and uncertain premises are boldly proclaimed as undoubted facts and used to discredit the inspired records, it is incumbent upon Christian scholarship to display the fallacies of these hasty deductions and indicate the true relation of the new knowledge to the old familiar truth.

"As a contribution to this end, the little pamphlet of Dr. Koenig, here placed within the reach of English readers, cannot but prove welcome to many who are not in position to follow the discussion in all its details. It is well that the most extreme positions have been distinctively stated by so zealous and competent a scholar as Delitzsch. His lectures have challenged attention and focused interest.

¹ *The Bible and Babylon*. A Brief Study in the History of Ancient Civilisation, by Eduard Koenig, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology and Professor in Ordinary in the University at Bonn. Translated from the German by Charles E. Hay, D. D. German Literary Board, Burlington, Iowa, 1903. Price, \$40. Pages, 64.

upon the central questions at issue. While some features of the controversy are but temporary, the results of the agitation will be permanent in a clearer idea of the real extent of divine revelation and a higher estimate than ever of the unique Biblical records."

Delitzsch's lecture served as a great advertisement for Assyriology, because it was delivered before the Emperor, and thus the reading public became for the first time acquainted with the existence of Babylonian literature and its influence upon the Bible. Things which for some time had been known among the initiated were thereby proclaimed from the house-tops. Many people became incidentally acquainted with the fact that the Old Testament can no longer be regarded as religious revelation in the narrow sense of the word. It was plainly brought home to the people that the Hebrew writings could not have been dictated by the Holy Ghost; but the truth is that the doctrine of a literal inspiration has been abandoned by theologians for more than half a century, and the light which Babylonian excavations throw on it, is closely considered only an incidental verification of their changed attitude. Professor Koenig's criticism represents an antiquated position which is no longer maintained by any scientific theologian. Even if he were right in his arguments against Delitzsch how will he explain those passages in the Old Testament which plainly indicate that the Monotheistic God-conception was after all narrow and still on a lower plane of morality. In the interest of religion it is better to concede the truth than to defend theft, the spoiling of the Egyptians, the slaughter of captives, the wholesale execution of Baal priests together with their wives and children, when unsuccessful in a rain-making contest, on the pretext that the nations on whom these crimes were perpetrated were degraded and incorrigible unbelievers. Our views of morality have changed and at present our theologians look upon the Bible as the historical documents and a record of God's progressive revelation.

Delitzsch's lecture is not free from mistakes and they have been pointed out by Halévy, Cornill, and other critics, but the counter-suggestions which Professor Koenig makes are not less unreliable and some of them betray a lack of information, especially in the field of Assyriology.

Professor Koenig's lecture, however, is interesting to see what the old school of theologians have to answer and how they try to defend the old view of a direct and miracle-working divine revelation. It is no exaggeration to say that it is the best that has come forward from the ranks of dogmaticism.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF MODERN JAPAN. By *Karl Kiyoshi Kawakami, A. M.*
Iowa City, Iowa: The University Press. 1903. Pages, vii, 208.

Our interest in Japan is constantly increasing, yet our sources of information are limited. The present volume, accordingly, will be hailed with great satisfaction by all lovers of Japan, the more so as the book is written with great ability, and keeps in mind such points as will be of special interest to American readers.

The first chapter is devoted to the origin of the Japanese nation, its primitive races, the pigmies, the Ainos, the Mongolians, and the Aryans. The pigmies disappeared; the Ainos have been crowded out to remote colonies in the north, and the Mongolians and the Aryans are now in possession of the country. The Aryan admixture is a hypothesis of our author which, however, deserves a more careful

investigation, but even he concedes that the basic stock of Japan is ultimately Mongolian.

In the second chapter the Japanese nation is characterised, and we learn here that chivalry is not an exclusive production of the European Middle Ages. It is paralleled in the history of Japan.

The physical conditions of the country, the flora, the fauna, the topography of the country, the isolation of the islands, its maritime surroundings, its volcanic character left their traces upon the inhabitants, which have developed into a nation impulsive and intelligent with a wholesome tendency towards democracy.

The fourth and fifth chapters contain a brief survey of the political history before the present restoration, a description of the old government, its religion and the decline of its institutions. The restoration is not due to the interference of foreigners but to the following four causes: the decline of the central power; the growing influence of scholarship; the growth of an industrial class; and the innovations wrought by the appearance of foreigners. The restoration led to the reinstatement of the emperor as the real head of the nation and the establishment of a centralised government.

Great as the influence of foreign civilisation on Japan may be, it cannot maintain itself without changing its own character. The author tells us in the sixth chapter how China's culture lowered the position of woman and China's political ideas prevented progress. He rejects Confucianism, but credits it with giving birth to the democratic idea. He grants that a natural love exists between the Emperor and his subjects, but he criticises loyalty as a weakness.

Chapter seven is devoted to the influence of religion upon the political ideals of Japan. He criticises Shintoism as absurd and Buddhism as antiquated. Neither is deemed favorable for the future development of his country, while the religion of the foreigner seems to him more promising. He concludes the chapter with these words: "The white harvest-field is laid open before the Christian workers, whose indefatigable toil will no doubt influence the whole range of Japanese civilisation."

In the further chapters we have discussions of the influences of western ideas upon the political notions of the Japanese, the growth of the idea of freedom, the establishment of political parties with notions patterned after the French, English, and American, the ideas of progress tending more and more to a realisation of self-government by the political program of the constitutional and the imperial party. He recapitulates the various methods of drafting the constitution, Marquis Ito's journey to the West and his interview with Bismarck, the inauguration of the new government with an imperial oath based upon the religious conception of Shintoism and the principle of loyalty toward the emperor, painted here as absurd on account of the peaceful adoption of the constitution and the causes which led to it.

The three last chapters contain more especially the individual opinions of our author, who freely criticises the constitution of his country and sets forth the growth of democratic ideas. In his concluding remarks he mentions that the modernisation is not exclusively due to the interference of foreigners, but thinks that the Japanese themselves were the main factor. He trusts that the agitation of the social democratic movement will exercise a considerable influence upon its future development. "This one thing," he says, "seems undeniable, namely, that the social democracy will very materially assist in the destruction of the survivals of feudalism and the superstitious notion relative to the divine descent of the sovereign."

MOSES UND HAMMURABI. Von Dr. Johannes Jeremias, Pfarrer in Gottleben Sachsen. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1903. Pages, 63. Price, M. 1.50.

The Open Court published some time ago in No. 564, page 274, an article on Hammurabi incorporating quotations from the pamphlet *Moses und Hammurabi* by Dr. Johannes Jeremias. The similarities between the quotations of Moses and the quotations of Hammurabi are indeed remarkable and are increased in the present edition by parallels between the Talmud and the Code of Hammurabi. Dr. Jeremias has read his Hammurabi carefully and ransacks the stories of Hebrew literature to point out the many relations that obtain between the two, but in spite of the fact that the Hebrew legislator is even in many details dependent on the ancient Babylonian law-giver, and further, in spite of the fact that in some respects Hammurabi is more human than Moses, while in others Moses is more advanced, Dr. Jeremias sees in the law of Moses a special revelation of God, while Hammurabi is to him a mere secular and indeed a mere pagan piece of literature.

HOMOPHONIC CONVERSATIONS IN ENGLISH, GERMAN, FRENCH, AND ITALIAN. Being a Natural Aid to the Memory in Learning Those Languages. By C. B. and C. V. Waite. Chicago: C. V. Waite & Co. 1903. Pages, 137. Price, \$1.00.

Judge Waite of Chicago is a learned man and a great traveller. He has condensed his experience of learning foreign languages in a little handbook of conversations, arranged in four parallel columns, which if diligently learned by heart will help others to acquire German, French, and Italian. Mr. Waite based his method upon a study of homophones, i. e., the words that have a like sound and a like meaning in different languages.

AN EASTERN EXPOSITION OF THE GOSPEL OF JESUS ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN. By Sri Parānanda, by the light of Jñāna Yoga. Edited by R. L. Harrison. London: William Hutchinson & Co. 1902. Pages, ix, 311.

Christian missionaries in India may learn a good deal from Sri Parānanda's exposition of the Gospel of Jesus, for it bears the typical Hindu conception and is at the same time truly Christian. The author does not throw new light on the text nor will his exegesis be considered of any importance by theologians, but one may learn how an Oriental will express himself after he has made Christianity his own.

TAT UND WAHRHEIT. Eine Grundfrage der Geisteswissenschaft. Von Hans von Lüpke. Leipzig: Dürr'sche Buchhandlung. 1903. Pages, 35. Price, 50 Pf

Herder has found a new prophet in Eugene Kühneman, at present the Principal at the Academy at Posen. The Rev. Hans von Lüpke calls attention to the significance of this revival of Herder's ideal in a man who promises to have an influence on the religious development of Germany.

The last number of *The Open Court* contains a review of *Buddhism*, a new quarterly magazine edited by Ananda Maitriya. We are sorry to say that the place of publication of the new periodical was not mentioned in our review and is missing even in the magazine. In reply to a number of inquiries we state that the editor's address is 1 Pagoda Road, Rangoon, Burma.

How shall we deal with blackmail? This is a practical question of which we are able to present to our readers a practical example.

Blackmail should be met with rigorous and fearless publicity, and that is exactly what we here intend to do.

For some time the Editor of *The Open Court* was the object of a few spiteful and vulgar attacks, which appeared anonymously in some local papers of the immediate vicinity of his home, at La Salle, Illinois. The secret of their authorship and intention is at last solved, and we see now the face of our foe.

The Editor has received a letter from a former employee, a German compositor, who claims that we owe him part of his wages for some special work done seven years ago—a fact which he had never mentioned during the time he worked for The Open Court Publishing Co. Referring now to the "samples of his English style," which he says "have so far been quite harmless," he suggests that they should teach us to treat him with more consideration. He states that he is hard up for money and has the intention to utilise to best advantage loose leaves torn from old books, being copy of a Kant translation, revised by the Editor of *The Open Court* for the purpose of a new edition of the *Prolegomena*.

For years this man has been spying about in our office and was even found haunting the editorial room at lunch time, when it is usually deserted; and he filched some worthless printers' copy which, he hopes, he can turn to his profit.

The Editor of *The Open Court* published about a year ago a book on Kant, containing a translation of Kant's *Prolegomena*, based mainly upon Mahaffy's and Bernard's versions, which, however, were so much changed that the revised text could no longer pass under their names. The fact was stated in the Preface as follows: "The present translation is practically new, but it goes without saying that the Editor utilised the labors of his predecessors, among whom Prof. John P. Mahaffy and John Bernard deserve special credit." When the book appeared, copy was sent to Professor Mahaffy, but we have failed to hear that he complained about the treatment received at our hands.

We may add for special consideration of the present case, that in our new edition of Kant's *Prolegomena* the republication of the text in a revised version is only part of the book—an important part, but important only as the basis for a critique of Kant's system. The latter alone, the Editor's essay on Kant, (and this appears even on a superficial inspection of the book) is intended as an original and new contribution.

The compositor who set the type deemed the use made of Mahaffy's translation illegitimate. At the time, he did not know that due credit would be given, and it seems probable that he never read the Preface. But even if he did, he still thinks that the usage of former translations (like a schoolboy's pony used as *pons asinina*) indicates laziness and incapacity. May he and his ilk think as they please. It is no empty bragging if the Editor of *The Open Court* says that he is as hard-working a man as any one that is, or ever has been, in his employ. As to his ability of understanding and translating Kant, he does not fear to face the severest criticism of whatever authority, either at home or abroad.

Everything is done openly in our office, and the methods of our work can stand the light of day. We have no business secrets.

The law is severe on blackmail; but the punishment of an offender does not remove the suspicion that his charge may be well founded, and there is only one remedy in a case like this, which is publicity.

IMMORTALITY.

(Giordano Bruno, 1543-1600).

BY EDMUND NOBLE.

I shall leave the place that knew me,—
Soon shall mount beyond the fire
To the sky where hunger ceases,
To the heaven of dead desire.

From the fanes where I have lingered,—
From the books I held so dear,—
From the friends with whom I suffered,—
I shall pass without a tear.

Ye shall seek me, seek me vainly,
In the sounding city street,
'Mid the cries of joy and anguish,
Through the rush of hurrying feet.

In the lanes a blossom gathered;
From the fields a dew-drop gone;
On the shore a wave-worn footstep;
O'er the sea a sail that's flown!

In the winter and the summer,
Like the sunbeam and the frost,
I shall be a vanished presence,—
Never seized, yet never lost!

High on cloud or low in billow;
In the breeze and on the wing;
Soaring with the lark at sunrise,—
With the leaf down fluttering!

Each new season shall repeat me,—
Countless hours my soul prolong,
In the perfume of the floweret,—
In the music of each song!

Day shall wake my name from slumber;
Night shall hold me in its ken,—
I shall live within the starlight,—
I shall haunt the thoughts of men!