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# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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



Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.

Associates: } E. C. HOEGLER.  
                  } MARY CARUS.

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HERBERT SPENCER.

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## HERBERT SPENCER.

Born April 27, 1820, died December 8, 1903.

BY THE EDITOR.

**M**R. Herbert Spencer's life is concluded. He died during the last month at the advanced age of eighty-three years. And how happy was his fate! He was permitted to work out his philosophy in all its details and he witnessed its gradual spread over the whole civilised world. Not the least part of his success is due to the interest that was taken in his labors by American thinkers, for he attained fame in his own country only after having found recognition abroad.

In his private life Mr. Spencer was simple and unostentatious. He did not marry and lived solely for his literary work, the furtherance and completion of which was his highest ambition.

Mr. Spencer was a most ardent advocate of evolution, and some of his disciples even declare that he was the inventor and first champion of this doctrine,—a claim which, however, cannot be maintained.

Mr. Spencer is the classical exponent of agnosticism, the philosophy of nescience which characterises the period of transition from blind faith in authority to a world-conception based upon science. He propounded his theory of the Unknowable as a means to deny the assertions of the established religion, but became scarcely himself aware of the fact that he dug the grave for any kind of affirmation, untrue and true, wrong and legitimate, irrational and scientific, leaving nothing but negations. He cut off not only the pretensions of superstition, but also the life of all genuine knowledge. While his philosophy did not fulfil the expectation which progressive thinkers expected from it, it served the needs of

the time and created a demand for something better and higher than the self-satisfied dogmatism of tradition.

Mr. Spencer's great merit consists in having for the first time worked out for the English speaking world the comprehensive system of a synthetic philosophy. The enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to this task, the personal sacrifices which he brought for it, and the diligence and energy which he showed in its completion, are worthy of our highest admiration.

The ideas which Mr. Spencer set forth were so novel in his English surroundings that they were felt to be revolutionary in almost all the walks of life, and his pen was trenchant whether he wrote on ceremonial institutions, on education, on ethics, on first principles and kindred questions of abstract thought, or on topics suggested by the natural sciences. If the propositions which he suggested did not always find ready acceptance, they certainly set the world to thinking and in this respect his influence was wholesome, because stimulating. In his younger days he was quite iconoclastic, but with the advance of years he grew more conservative. His disciples and admirers, of whom he has many, recruit themselves from the ranks of liberals and radicals, and mainly from the multitudes of unprofessional thinkers.

The time has not yet come for the historian of philosophy to pronounce a final verdict on Mr. Spencer's system and adjudge its place in the evolution of human thought. He belongs too much to the present generation, and it is difficult to form an impartial opinion while the battle is raging. But that much will be granted, that most assuredly, Mr. Spencer has become a factor in the history of philosophy which none, be he his friend or antagonist, can afford to pass by unnoticed.

<sup>1</sup>Our frontispiece, the portrait of Mr. Herbert Spencer, is reproduced from the "Philosophical and Psychological Portrait Series" published by The Open Court Publishing Company.

# CHRISTMAS AND THE NATIVITY OF MITHRAS.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. ROBERT SINKER.

[Christmas is a festival that, long before the Christian era, has been celebrated as the birth of the new sun. Christianity adopted it from Mithraism, and in northern countries many customs of the merry Yule-tide were incorporated in its celebration.

Christmas has become the main family-feast among all the Teutonic nations, and to us the idea that it is originally a pagan festival does not detract from its significance but on the contrary adds to it, and its greater age makes it the more venerable.

We here reproduce the statement of a Christian scholar, a theologian, who has collected the most important passages that throw light on the history of Christmas and its adoption as a church festival.—P. C.]

**A**S Mithraicm gradually blended with Christianity, changing its name but not altogether its substance, many of its ancient notions and rites passed over too, and the Birthday of the Sun, the visible manifestation of Mithras himself, was transferred to the commemoration of the Birth of Christ.

Numerous illustrations of the above remarks may be found in ancient inscriptions, e. g., SOLI INVICTO ET LUNÆ AETERNÆ C. VETTI GERMANI LIB. DUO PARATUS ET HERMES DEDERUNT,<sup>2</sup> or ΗΑΙΩ ΜΙΘΡΑ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΩ<sup>3</sup> (Gruter, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, p. xxxiii). In the legend on the reverse of the copper coins of Constantine, SOLI INVICTO COMITI,<sup>4</sup> retained long after his conversion, there is at once an idea of the ancient Sun-God, and of the new Sun of Righteousness.

The supporters of this theory cite various passages from early Christian writers indicating a recognition of this view. The ser-

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from William Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (pp. 357-358).

<sup>2</sup> "To the unconquerable sun and the eternal moon this is given by P. and H., the two children of C. V. G.

<sup>3</sup> I. e., to Helios (or the sun) Mithras the invincible.

<sup>4</sup> "To the invincible Sun, the protector."

mon of Ambrose, quoted by Jablonsky, is certainly spurious, and is so marked in the best editions of his works; it furnishes, however, an interesting illustration of an early date. The passage runs thus: "Well do the common people call this somehow sacred day of the birth of the Lord 'a new sun,' and confirm it with so great an authority of theirs that Jews and Gentiles concur in this mode of speech. And this should willingly be accepted by us, because with the birth of the Saviour there comes not only the salvation of mankind, but the brightness of the sun itself is renewed."<sup>1</sup> (*Serm. 6, in Appendice*, p. 397, ed. Bened.)

In the Latin editions of Chrysostom is a homily, wrongly ascribed to him, but probably written not long after his time, in which we read: "But they call it the birthday of the Invincible (i. e., Mithras). Who, however, is invincible if not our Lord, who has conquered death? Further, if they say 'it is the birthday of the sun,' He is the sun of righteousness, about whom the prophet Malachi says, 'Unto you that fear my name shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings.'"<sup>2</sup> (*Sermo de Nativitate S. Joannis Baptistae*; Vol. II., 1113, ed. Paris, 1570.)

Leo the Great finds fault with the baneful persuasion of "some to whom this day of our celebration is worthy of honor not so much on account of the birth of Christ as for the sake of the renewal of the sun." (*Serm. 22, § 6, Vol. I., p. 72, ed. Ballerini.*) Again, the same father observes: "But no other day appears to us more appropriate than to-day for worshipping in heaven and earth the Feast of the Nativity, and while even in the material world (in the elements) a new light shines, He confers on us before our very senses, the brightness of his wonderful sacrament." (*Serm. 26, § 1, p. 87.*)

We may further cite one or two instances from ancient Christian poets: Prudentius, in his hymn *Ad Natalem Domini*, thus speaks (*Cathemerinon*, xi. init., p. 364, ed. Arevalus):

" Why does the sun already leave the circle of the arctic north?  
Is not Christ born upon the earth who will the path of light increase? "

Paulinus of Nola also (*Poema* xiv. 15-19, p. 382, ed. Muratori):

<sup>1</sup>The Rev. Sinker quotes this passage as well as all other references in the original, which is here replaced by English translations.

<sup>2</sup>The preceding lines of this quotation from Chrysostom (Hom. 31) plainly state that Christ's birthday has been fixed upon the day of the birth of Mithras: "On this day (the birthday of Mithras) also the birthday of Christ was lately fixed at Rome in order that whilst the heathen were busied with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their holy rites undisturbed."

"Truly, after the solstice, when Christ is born in the body,  
 With a new sun he will change the frigid days of the north wind.  
 While he is offering to mortals the birth that will bring them salvation,  
 Christ with the progress of days gives command that the nights be declining."

Reference may also be made to an extract in Assemani (*Bibl. Or.*, ii. 163) from Dionysius Bar-Salibi, bishop of Amida, which shows traces of a similar feeling in the East; also to a passage from an anonymous Syrian writer, who distinctly refers the fixing of the day to the above cause; we are not disposed, however, to attach much weight to this last passage. More important for our purpose is the injunction of a council of Rome (743 A. D.): "No one shall celebrate the 1st of January and the Brumalia" (can. 9, Labbé vi. 1548), which shows at any rate that for a long time after the fall of heathenism, many traces of heathen rites still remained.

[The more we study the history of Christianity and its origin, the more are we impressed with the fact that a great part of its growth is due to assimilation. Christianity conquered not only by being the fittest to survive among several rival religions, but also by adopting those institutions and doctrines that, for some reason or another, recommend themselves to great masses of the people. The early Christians considered Mithraism as a pagan religion, but the more we know of the faith of Zarathustra, the more can we appreciate the philosophical significance of its doctrines and the moral earnestness of its ethics.<sup>1</sup>—*Ed.*]

<sup>1</sup>We recommend in this connection a study of *The Zoroastrian Gathas*, translated by Prof. Lawrence H. Mills, as representing Mazdaism in its original purity, and Prof. Franz Cumont's *The Mysteries of Mithra*, a study of Mithraism in its later phase, gathered from the scattered remnants of the Mithraic monuments and other sources. Both books are published by The Open Court Publishing Co.

# THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE JAPANESE are a nature-loving people and frequently give practical expression to their feelings by taking a holiday simply for "flower-viewing." At the proper season, the entire nation, so to speak, takes a day off and turns out on a big picnic, to see the plum blossoms, or the cherry blossoms, or the maples, or the chrysanthemums. No utilitarian views of the value of time or miserly conceptions of the expense of such outings prevail for a moment; for the Japanese are worshippers of beauty rather than of the "almighty dollar." A few pennies on such occasions bring many pleasures, and business interests are sacrificed at the shrine of beauty. And, as one or more flowers are blooming every month, there is almost a continuous round of such picnics during the year. Having lived in Japan for some time, it is my purpose, therefore, to tell my American countrymen something of the flower or flowers popular each month, with some folk-lore, poems, or other description thereof and have it illustrated by pictures. But first we must call attention to the fact, that the Japanese word *hana* includes, not only a "flower" or "blossom" according to our conceptions, but also twigs, leaves, grasses, etc., so that the pine, the maple, and even the snow may come in this category.

We are confronted at the very outset with a chronological difficulty in presenting this subject to Western readers. For the programme of Japanese floral festivals was originally arranged on the basis of the old lunar calendar, so long in vogue in Japan. By that calendar the New Year came in about the 21st of January to the 18th of February; so that it was from three to seven weeks behind the Occidental solar calendar. For instance, the following is a floral programme according to the "old style":

First month . . . (about February) . . .	Pine.
Second month . . ( " March) . . . . .	Plum.
Third month . . ( " April) . . . . .	Cherry.
Fourth month . . ( " May) . . . . .	Wistaria.
Fifth month . . . ( " June) . . . . .	Iris.
Sixth month . . . ( " July) . . . . .	Tree peony.
Seventh month . ( " August) . . . . .	Lespedeza.
Eighth month . . ( " September) . .	Eularia.
Ninth month . . . ( " October) . . . .	Chrysanthemum.
Tenth month . . ( " November) . .	Maple.
Eleventh month. ( " December) . .	Willow.
Twelfth month . ( " January) . . . .	Paulownia.

But, when Japan adopted the Gregorian calendar, many of the floral festival were transferred to the new style without regard to the awful anachronisms that followed. In the case of the pine, which is chosen for the first month on account of the prominent part that it plays in the New Year's decorations, it makes no special difference whether the New Year begins January 1 or February 18. But in many other cases the calendar suffers serious dislocation, because some of the "flowers" cannot conveniently be moved back a month or more. The autumn full moon, too, in whose festival certain blossoms figured, cannot be arbitrarily hurried up. Hence, it is rather difficult for the flowers of Old Japan to run on the new Occidental schedule.

But, taking all these difficulties into consideration, and harmonising them so far as possible, we have been able to construct the following modern Japanese floral calendar :

January . . . . .	Pine.	July . . . . .	Morning-glory.
February . . . . .	Plum.	August . . . . .	Lotus.
March . . . . .	Peach.	September . . . . .	"Seven Grasses."
April . . . . .	Cherry.	October . . . . .	Maple.
May . . . . .	Wistaria.	November . . . . .	Chrysanthemum.
June . . . . .	Iris.	December . . . . .	Camellia.

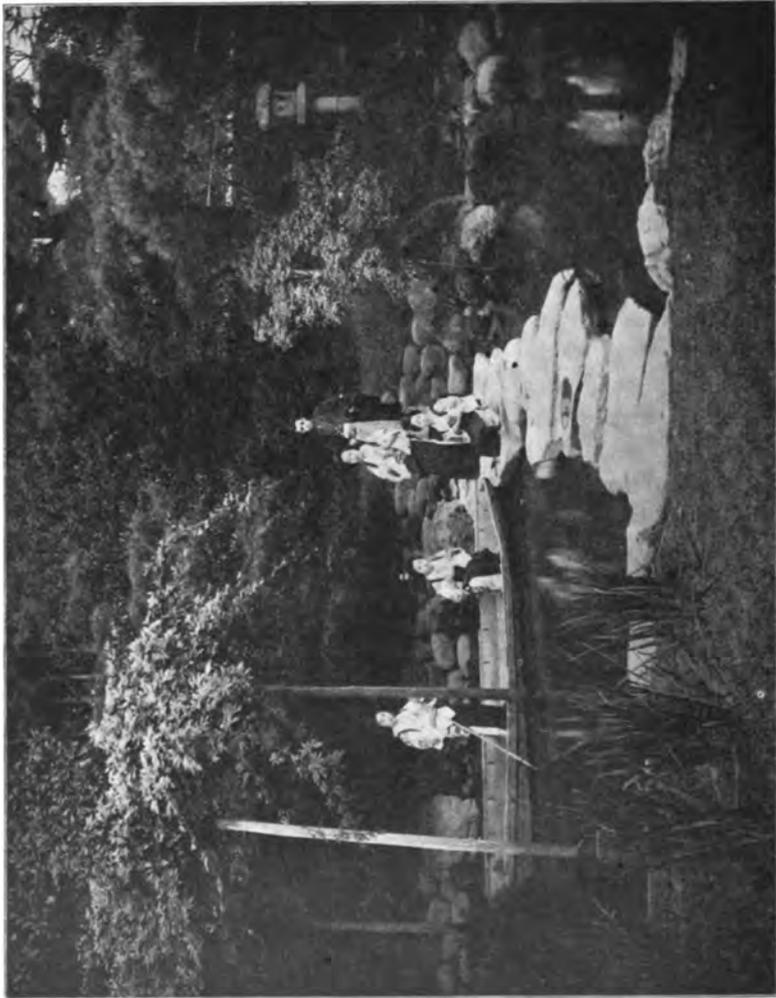
This calendar we shall follow in the articles of this series.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following is an alternative :

January . . . . .	} Pine and Bamboo.	July . . . . .	Morning-glory.
February . . . . .		August . . . . .	Lotus.
March . . . . .	Plum.	September . . . . .	"Seven Grasses."
April . . . . .	Cherry.	October . . . . .	} Chrysanthemum.
May . . . . .	Wistaria.	November . . . . .	
June . . . . .	Iris.	December . . . . .	Camellia.

## I. THE PINE.

For the first month of the year, the pine is the only choice, whether taken separately or in connection with the bamboo and



A PRIVATE JAPANESE GARDEN.

the plum. The decorations in front of every house at the New Year's season are known as *Kado-matsu* (Gate-pines), or *Matsukazari* (Pine-decorations); and the first seven days of the year are collectively called *Matsu-no-uchi*, which may be freely translated

"Pine-week." The pine, like the bamboo, has no "blossom" in the Occidental meaning of that word, but is regarded as a "flower" by the Japanese; and these two are venerated because they keep green in winter and their color never fades. Therefore, they are



THE NEW YEAR'S GATE-DECORATIONS AND THE "MANZAI" PLAYERS.

emblems of constancy, endurance, health, and longevity. And, as one writer has informed me, the pine, the bamboo, and the plum are the "three friends in winter"; and "they are used as the bearers of good wishes for the New Year: the pine for longevity, the bamboo for uprightness, the plum for sweetness."

The origin of *Kado-matsu* is very ancient, perhaps so far back as eight hundred and fifty years ago. The two following poems are said to be about eight hundred years old :

"Kadomatsu no  
Itonami tatsuru  
Sono hodo ni  
Haru akegata no  
Yoya narinuran."

("While busy decorating the pines at the gate, the dawn of the New Year speedily comes.")

"Haru ni aeru  
Kono kado-matsu wo  
Wakeki tsutsu  
Ware mo chiyo hen  
Uchi ni iri-nuru."

("Passing through the pine-gate that has met the spring so gay, I too have entered into the life of endless years.")<sup>1</sup>



THE NEW YEAR'S DECORATIONS WITH *Shimenawa*, ETC.

Two girls playing at battledore and shuttlecock, and the little one with ball.

The pines in front of the gate are placed in pairs : the rougher and more prickly one, called the male, on the left, which is the

<sup>1</sup> From *The Far East*.

side of honor in Japan ; the softer and more graceful one, called the female, on the right. The custom of adding bamboos is of more recent origin. This custom of gate-decorations originated, by the way, with the common people.



A BAMBOO GROVE.

The other decorations include a rope, specially named *shime-nawa*, with the strips of white paper, a cray-fish, ferns, a large orange called *daidai*, a leaf or two of an evergreen tree, dried persimmons, dried chestnuts, etc. Each one of these articles has its

own peculiar significance, and is symbolical of good fortune for the year.

As the pine-tree is an evergreen, it is naturally quite popular in floral compositions in which it is considered very felicitous. One favorite combination, especially for the New Year and wedding ceremonies, is that of the pine, bamboo, and plum (*sho-chiku-bai*). If these are used separately, "the pine is displayed on the first, the bamboo on the second, and the plum on the third day of the year." The pine is also commonly associated with the crane and the tortoise, all of which are symbolic of longevity.

The never-fading color of the pine is compared to the chastity of woman, and O Matsu is a very common name for a girl. The needle-shaped leaves of the pine "are credited with the power of driving demons away."

The remarkable dwarf pines are always an important feature of a Japanese garden; and at Karasaki there is a famous giant pine-tree, 90 feet high, with a circumference of trunk over 39 feet, and length of branches (in all 380) from 240 to 288 feet.

Special mention should be made of Matsushima (Pine Islands), near Sendai. These pine-clad isles are considered one of the "three great views" of Japan. They are said to number 896 in all, and are, therefore, called sometimes the "Thousand Isles" of Japan. But in this calculation the smallest rocks are included, even though they may not be visible above water. Many of them have fantastic names to correspond to their fantastic shapes.

Other places famous for pine trees are Sumiyoshi, near Sakai, and Takasago, near Kobe. Indeed, the shore from Kobe westward for some distance is a rare pine-clad coast. "The spirits of two ancient pine-trees at Takasago, personified as man and woman of venerable age, who are occupied in raking up pine-needles, form a favorite subject of Japanese art." These figures are always prominent in the decorations of a wedding ceremony.

As the word *matsu* may mean either "a pine" or "to wait (pine)," there is an excellent opportunity for a pun in both Japanese and English, as in the following lines, translated by Prof. B. H. Chamberlain :

"Matsu ga ne no  
Matsu koto tohomi, etc."

"Like the *pine*-trees, I must stand and *pine*."

The following poem is from the translation of *Tosa Nikki* by Mrs. M. C. Harris:

"Since I have viewed the pines that grow  
 On Suminoye's shore,  
 I've come my own estate to know,  
 How I have e'en surpassed in years  
 These pine-trees old and hoar."

In the "Hundred Poems," which furnish the chief amusement for the New Year season, we find the following, translated by Prof. MacCauley :

"SOLITUDE IN OLD AGE.

"Whom then are there now,  
 In my age so far advanced,  
 I can hold as friends ?  
 Even Takasago's pines  
 Are no friends of former days."

All Japanese boys and girls, early in life, memorise the Hundred Poems by a Hundred Writers, and can glibly repeat them.

Here is a song generally used on the occasion of a wedding, in the decorations of which the pine plays an important part :

"The oceans four that gird our strand  
 Are calm, and quiet is our land :  
 No branches bend, no breezes blow,  
 These new-set pines in bliss will grow."

We close with a very famous poem, which we give in both Japanese and English, as follows :

"Kado-matsu wa  
 Meido no tabi no  
 Ichi ri-zuka :  
 Medetaku mo ari  
 Medetaku mo nashi."

"At every door  
 The pine-trees stand ;  
 One mile-post more  
 To the spirit-land ;  
 And as there's gladness,  
 So there's sadness."

## DID WILLIAM SHAKSPER WRITE SHAKE- SPEARE ?<sup>1</sup>

BY J. WARREN KEIFER.

**Y**OU are not about to be favored with a definite answer to this interrogatory, nor yet punished by a speculative presentation of the claims of those who believe Sir Francis Bacon was the author of the works attributed to William Shaksper of Stratford. After much research I am only able to say: I do not believe that any known contemporary of Shaksper wrote them or was, alone, capable of writing them; and I more than doubt whether Shaksper, unaided, wrote them. Before reaching these opinions I have examined some of the best evidences in support of his authorship in the light of the fact that for about two hundred and fifty years it was not seriously questioned.

I will try to summarise some of the facts (usually disregarding disputed statements) bearing on the question.

First, not desiring to be classed with those whom a Mr. Dana, for doubting William Shaksper's authorship, pronounces, "but one remove from lunatics," saying, "not a sound intelligence is on their side," unless I have some good company, I beg to name among those who, at least, have doubted, and most of whom have believed Lord Bacon was the real author, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Wendell Phillips, Justices Miller and Field (late of the United States Supreme Court), John A. Bingham, Nathaniel Holmes (late lecturer at Harvard), Walt Whitman, Benjamin F. Butler, Edwin Reed, James Kidpath, Mary Livermore, Charlotte Cushman, and Frances A. Willard in the United States; Leconte de Lisle (French Academy), Dr. Kuno Fischer of Heidleberg, the Scotch astronomer James Nasmyth, Sir Patrick Colquhoun, Lord Palmerston, John Bright, Mrs. Constance M. Potts (reputed the

<sup>1</sup> Paper read before the Literary Club of Springfield, Ohio, February 10, 1902.

most thorough student of Shakespeare in England), Dr. R. M. Theobald, Geo. Stronach, A. M., Alaric A. Watts, Esq., and Percy W. Ames, F. S. A., all more or less learned and thoughtful. I have omitted from the list Ignatius Donnelly, Dr. Appleton Morgan, L. L. B., Judge John H. Stotsenberg, Wm. H. Edwards, Orville W. Owen, M. D., and others who have written with more or less partisanship against the claim that Shaksper was the author; and I have omitted some distinguished doubters like Charles Dickens, who said: "The life of Shakespeare is a fine mystery and I tremble every day lest something should turn up;" and Bishop Charles Wordsworth, who says: "It has been a frequent subject of complaint that so little has come down to us respecting our poet's life," and many others, also distinguished, who have expressed equally strong doubts.

No panegyric is too great for the Shakespeare plays and poems. The author (if one person) was profound in all learning of his time, including knowledge of Greek and Latin, the French and Spanish languages, and of ancient and modern writings. The author was a philosopher, a moralist, an historian, a linguist with a vocabulary larger (15,000 words, while the learned Milton, just after him, had only 8000) than any other writer of his day, and who coined more English words than any other writer, if not all other writers, of all time. He must have read untranslated books and manuscripts (such as Ovid, Homer, etc.), which he unmistakably consulted, quoted, or followed, as occasion required. His knowledge of philosophy and kindred subjects was so great that enthusiastic friends of his at this day not only deny that traces of Baconian philosophy are found in the works, but claim that Bacon sat at his feet, took notes of his wisdom, and "borrowed" much that made him famous. (Edwards 488.) The author excelled all medical men of his day in his knowledge and science of medicine and of the human system, especially in the qualities of the human mind. He is quoted as authority on questions of lunacy, and the moral and psychological characteristics of the intellect.

He wrote, as a naturalist and practical student, of the life and habits of domestic and wild animals, birds and fishes.

His works display, not only the learning of a critical student of the law, but that of an experienced practitioner at the English bar. They show knowledge of the Justinian Code, and a familiarity with Italian, French, and Spanish, as well as English, courts. His descriptions of court procedure are accurate, and, like all other of his displays of learning, go without criticism.

The author's familiarity with the life, habits, social customs and etiquette of those highest in the social scale, including kings and queens, courtiers or royalty in England and other countries (especially Italy) is apparent, throughout the writings, to the least observing.

As a metaphysician, the author was so learned that in this day the most thoughtful wonder at and consult him. His insight into love and the finer sentiments of the human heart excels all other writers.

He, as a moralist, was capable of the clearest and nicest distinctions, involving all the higher duties of man to man, measured by the purest principles of common justice and equity; and he did not hesitate to prescribe the duties of kings to their subjects and subjects to kings.

He had a profound knowledge of ancient and modern political governments, particularly of ancient dynasties, and the reign of the sovereigns of Spain, Italy, England, and other countries. He wrote not alone as one familiar with books of history and biography, but of courts and courtiers, their customs, social habits, and life.

His knowledge of military and naval arts and the science of war as then known and practised is manifest.

His attention to all the details in the life and character of the common, as well as the middle and aristocratic, people of his own and other countries is shown throughout his works.

Who was the author endowed with so much learning and genius? Whence came his opportunities for such proficiency and universality?

Genius may be granted to him; he must have been almost superhumanly endowed, or he would have still failed to write plays wherein so much varied knowledge and wisdom are embodied, and portrayed in character—he wrote for eternity.

Genius may adapt, but cannot dispense with, learning. It does not stand for learning. Genius readily turns to folly, unless grounded in common sense. The ancients said: "Genius cannot *milk a goat*." It is certain that genius, without scholastic learning, could not translate Latin and Greek, display a knowledge of literature, arts, the occult sciences, procedure in law and chancery, and of history and geography, and of the customs and habits of nations, peoples, animals, and of all living things—"running through the whole gamut of human nature."

It will be hard to convince the geniuses of this age that the plots, plans, and arrangements of the Shakespearian plays, with

their versatile literary composition, embodying wit, humor, pathos, tragedy, comedy, and erudition covering all phases of human life were the product of a natural impulse, or, like Minerva, "sprung from the brain of Jove." Toil, application, thought, study, reflection, observation, adaptation, perseverance, etc., only bear such immortal fruits.

Some who concede that William Shaksper of Stratford was almost illiterate, refer to the Scottish bard, "Bobby Burns"; to John Bunyan who wrote *Pilgrim's Progress*, and to Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator, as examples of the unlearned who wrote and achieved much. These characters were not without learning, commensurate with what they accomplished, however deficient they may have been in a scholastic way. But "Burns warbled his native wood notes wild" in language smacking of the heaths of Scotland, her people and their habits. Bunyan, taught in childhood to read and write, was a zealous preacher at twenty-seven, thoroughly educated in the Bible, yet only wrote his immortal work while long in Bedford jail, "in current English, the vernacular of his age." Lincoln, starting with some education, studied and struggled throughout his life for want of it, achieving nothing save through patience and perseverance, pretending to nothing in learning which he had not thus acquired. He came from a brainy, Puritan stock. He made good use of the few books in his reach in early life; later in his profession and in the field of politics and by application he attained much true and practical learning. What he wrote or spoke was in plain, unpretentious, though unsurpassed, English.

Neither of these great characters (so of others) wrote in Latin, Greek, or French, read and translated Ovid or Horace, assumed to write of the sciences, of philosophy, or of anything not naturally comprehended within the scope of his opportunities.

Others liken Shaksper of Stratford to Jesus Christ, assuming that, he too, was illiterate, and yet taught the people of his time, and for all time. Not conceding that our Saviour was unlearned in his native tongue, or otherwise, for his day, and putting his divine inspiration aside, he, too, taught in the plainest language, using parables easily understood, and most familiar illustrations, all within the comprehension of common people.

Wm. Shaksper was born at Stratford, April 23d, 1564, and died there, April 23d, 1616, (O. S.) at exactly 52 years of age. His father, John, was of peasant Warwickshire stock, as was his mother

(nee Arden) and his wife (Ann Hathaway). William had three brothers and two sisters who, in obscurity, lived to mature years.

John Shaksper (nor his ancestors) could not read or write, nor his wife, nor William's wife (Ann) nor any child of either family, unless William could. John was a little of a wool merchant, and accountant, using *counters* only, and was a butcher by occupation. John at one time had some estate but he became poor and so remained through life.

S-h-a-k-s-p e-r (thus spelled) seems not to have been spelled "Shakespeare" until the publication of *Venus and Adonis* (1593). The spelling and derivation of the name are of little importance, save in determining the education of William. The name was originally probably, *Jacques-Pierre* (John-Peter). William never wrote his name, S-h-a-k-e-s-p e-a-r-e, or twice alike. (Some doubt whether he ever wrote his name at all.) The varied spelling in court records and by parish and other clerks proves little. The name was spelled at least fourteen different ways.

At the age of seven (1571) custom required a boy to enter school—a Free Grammar School existed in Stratford where a Horne-Book was chained to a desk; perhaps a few other books. With what success William attended this school, if he attended at all, is only pretended to be known by those who reason conversely—from effect to cause. He quit school (if there at all) in "1577-1578—owing to his father's financial difficulties." (*Annals, etc.*, 12 Vol. Larger Temple Ed.)

No friend claims for him (I believe) a longer period of scholastic days, than seven years. Some friends assume that he was taught, at Stratford, Latin and Greek, which (if he were there taught at all) is possibly true, to the exclusion of English, as was then the custom.

He was never a student in any other school, college, or university, and he was never employed by or with or lived or associated in his house, home, or otherwise socially, with people of education, unless, possibly, by chance, with frequenters of London theaters, alehouses, or inns.

He was, when about fourteen years of age, "apprenticed a butcher," to his father most likely. There are some speculative traditions that William cracked jokes and rhymed over slaughtered calves and sheep, while pursuing, assiduously, his ancestral trade. Certain it seems that his precocity was made manifest when at eighteen years (Nov. 28, 1582) he "married in haste" Ann Hatha-

way, a (grass) widow (Whately) twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old, he giving bond "against impediments."

The children of this marriage were Susanna (born May 26, 1583) who married Dr. John Hall, and Hamnet and Judith, twins (born Feb. 2, 1585). Judith married (Feb. 10, 1616) shortly before her father's death, Thomas Quayney. His only son, Hamnet, died Aug. 11, 1596.

Companies of strolling actors occasionally visited Stratford. Though such actors were in Shaksper's time and long after regarded as vagabonds, outlaws by law, whom judges on the Circuit charged juries to indict, it is reasonable to assume the youthful Shaksper saw, and admired them, and aspired to live their life, and enjoy the applause attending their rude, if not vulgar, public performances. About the year 1586, he was rather severely prosecuted and condemned for poaching—deer-stealing from the park of Sir Thomas Lucy (a friend of Francis Bacon) at Charlecote, about four miles from Stratford. Shaksper is credited by one Rowe (1709) with having lampooned Sir Lucy; and another (Oldys) about the same time, pretended to remember some of the lines, running in part thus:

"A parliament member, a justice of peace,  
At home a poor scare crow, at London an asse:  
If lousy is Lucy, as some folk miscall it,  
Then Lucy is lousy, whatever befall it."

Others have forged still more doggerel for this lampooning.

It is said, fresh prosecutions were to follow when Shaksper, then twenty-three years old, went to London, leaving his wife and children at Stratford in much poverty. His family, nor any member of it, are not known to have been in London, though he sojourned there about twenty-five years; he rarely visited Stratford in that period. He drifted to the play-house—theatres. "His first expedient was to wait at the door—hold the horses of those who had no servants"—"in a short time every man as he alighted called for Will Shaksper." "Shaksper, finding more horses put into his hand than he could hold, hired boys to wait under his inspection," who became known as "Shaksper's boys."

He then had other occupation as a "serviture" in and about a theatre, and was soon admitted into a company of players, "at first, in a very mean rank (says Rowe), but his admirable wit, and the natural turn of it to the stage soon distinguished him."

His vocabulary must have then been Warwickshire *patois*, spoken exclusively by his family and familiars—hardly intelligible

to Londoners—a dialect peculiar to farmers and the common people with whom he had lived.

The members of Queen Elizabeth's Parliament from different parts could not always comprehend each other. So soldiers summoned could not then understand words of command unless given by officers of their own shire.

Macauley (*His. Eng.*, I., 298) describing an English country gentlemen of William III.'s time, says:

"His language and pronunciation were such as we should now expect to have only from the most ignorant clowns. His oaths, coarse jests and scurrilous terms of abuse were uttered with the broadest accent of his province."

This being true then of the English country gentlemen, what must have been the language of the untutored common people of the same period, or of Shaksper's time, one hundred years earlier?

Little is known of Shaksper's employment between 1587 and 1592. As the London theaters were closed in 1586 on account of the plague, it seems certain his first connection with them was somewhat later. He was then poor and doubtless struggling for subsistence—not to acquire an education. On his advent in London there were two theaters—"The Theater" in Shoreditch of Richard Burbage, and "The Curtain" in Moorsfield—both outside of the city civic jurisdiction; neither stage-plays or players being popular with those in authority or the general public, though Lords Leicester and Derby are credited with patronising a company of players (Leicester's Co.) in which Shaksper soon became a member, in some capacity, and, later, as a player in London, and, in summer travelling through the country visiting small towns, when the law was not enforced against them.

The interdicted theatre in London of Shaksper's time, and much later, was a wretched structure. Only the stage part was under cover; the front being an open pit; curtains or stage-scenery were almost unknown, and there was little provision for actors to retire from view. The pit was unseated, and wholly exposed to the weather. A little later a sort of gallery at the top of the pickets or walls enclosing the pit was constructed, alike unprotected. The plays, chiefly for want of means of lighting were conducted in the afternoons, ending when darkness came.

The usual charge for the pit was "two pence"; and a degraded, mixed mass of ignorant people, even for the time, occupied it, who were, during the performances, guilty of dissipations, disorders, sometimes assaulting the players, and by jeers and cries

expressed their displeasure, or by wild shouts their delight. Indecent acts were common in the pit. In the galleries (such as they were) a pretended higher class assembled, including, however, questionable female characters, and their admirers, though they were more orderly. The gentlemen of quality—a few ladies—had seats or stools on the rough stage or in its wings.

Such were the character and order of people for whom the immortal Shakespearean plays are *supposed* to have been written and before whom first performed.

Shaksper appears early to have been provident, and soon came to be a part owner of the Globe and other theaters. He, later, made fortunate real estate investments in London and at and about Stratford, and by a penurious economy, in time, became a man of fortune, with an annual income of £5000.

He did not cease to go about the country as a travelling player in summer, and he was an actor in his own theaters, and, perhaps on a few special occasions, appeared before Queen Elizabeth and royalty, in "*buskin and socks*."

Players in Shaksper's time when "wandering about without license" were liable to be taken up, punished by whipping, fine, imprisonment, and "burned through the gristle of the ear." (Act of 1572, 14 Eliz., *Enc. Brit.*, 9th Ed.) When protected they were called the "Queen's licensed vagabonds." In 1572 noblemen were authorised to license actors to "*stroll and play*," but this was changed (1604) by statute (James I.) which provided that they "*shall authorise none to go abroad*." That Shaksper was the companion of a class who were under the ban of the law and public opinion itself, argues that his associates were not persons who would tend to educate him morally, or mentally, for great authorship. Perhaps men of a higher class acted at times on the stage in London theaters, but they were doubtless few in number.

There were many writers of plays and songs in London in Shaksper's time. Greene, Kyd, Burbage, Peele, Nash, Marlowe, Beaumont, Ben Jonson, Lodge, Chapman, Fletcher, Sir Philip Sidney and Webster are among the most prominent. None of them, though university educated men, wrote much that lived. Shaksper is not known to have been an intimate of, or closely associated with, any of these.

Their authorship and attainments are quite easily shown in contemporary history, and by writings left by each. His association socially seems to have been with persons who frequented inns and ale-houses to eat, drink, and make merry.

One story (by Mannington) only is related in some detail connecting him with an amour (March 13th, 1601) in which he impersonated another player. Its importance consists in turning light on his life and character after he is supposed to have written some of the greater plays. His much-exploited "*bouts of wit*" in "*Ale Houses*" seem, also, to have been, throughout his life, "*bouts of wit.*"

Shaksper lived in a period of eminent men. Raleigh, Sidney, Spencer, the Bacons (Francis and Thomas), Cecil, Walsingham, Coke, Camden, Hooker, Drake, Hobbes, Herbert, Laud, Pym, Hampden, and others were his contemporaries; their history and work are not in doubt; there is no evidence tending to show that he was personally known to one of them, or to any of lesser note among statesmen, scholars, or artists. Nor did they discover *him*.

Emerson says, "not a single fact bearing on his literary character has come down to us," though he had examined with care the entire correspondence covering Shaksper's time, in which almost every person of note of his day are mentioned, and adds:

"Since the constellation of great men who appeared in Greece in the time of Pericles, there never was any such society, yet their genius failed them to find out the *best head in the universe.*"

The testimony seems to show, notwithstanding Shaksper's convivial habits, that he was extremely penurious, and accepted small (£5) gifts from friends. Notwithstanding Shaksper enjoyed, in time, a large fortune, even for royalty in Queen Elizabeth's reign; he was litigious; the records show he mercilessly pursued his poor debtors in the courts even for sums less than a pound. He was involved in a long drawn out chancery case (Shaksper vs. Lambert) in which the family name is (as usual) variously spelled. It involved the forfeiture of an interest in lands once owned by his mother (Mary Arden). This case, commenced in 1597, showed some life until 1599, when an order to take testimony was made by the Chancellor, and thereafter, as to it, there was "*no equity stirring.*" Some who believe William was learned in the law, cite this case as giving him practical knowledge of the chancery side, and as having led him to put in Falstaff's mouth the expression "*There's no equity stirring,*" and to make Hamlet indulge in the grave-yard soliloquy, wherein he, over a *skull*, displays great contempt for a lawyer, and much knowledge of intricate law terms, little used save by those versed in law-Latin (a mixture of bad French and Latin) thus:

"There's another : Why may not that be the skull of a lawyer ? Where be his quiddities now, his quilllets, his cases, his tenures and his tricks ? Why does he suffer this rude knave to knock him about the sconce with a dirty shovel, and will not tell him of his action of battery ? Hum ! This fellow might be in's time a great buyer of land, with his statutes, his recognisances, his fines, his double vouchers, his recoveries : is this the fine of his fines, and the recovery of his recoveries, to have his fine pate full of fine dirt ? Will his vouchers vouch no more of purchases, and double one too, than the length and breadth of a pair of indentures ?"

But did the peasant boy of Stratford pen the strains of wit, wisdom, and philosophy pervading all of "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark?"

Quoting a little more of the grave-yard scene :

"*Hamlet*.—How absolute the Knave is ! we must speak by the card, or equivocation will undo us. By the Lord, Horatio, this three years I have taken note of it ; the age is grown so picked that the toe of the peasant comes near the heel of the courtier, he galls his kibe. How long hast thou been a grave-maker ?

"*1st Clown*.—Of all the days 'i the year. I came to 't that day our King Hamlet o'ercame Frontinbras.

"*Ham*.—How long is that since ?

"*1st Clo*.—Cannot you tell that ? every fool can tell that : it was that very day young Hamlet was born ; he that is mad, and sent to England.

"*Ham*.—Ah, marry, why was he sent to England ?

"*1st Clo*.—Why, because a' was mad : a' shall recover his wits there ; or, if a' do not, tis no great matter there.

"*Ham*.—Why ?

"*1st Clo*.—Twill not be seen in him there ; there the men are as mad as he.

"*Ham*.—How came he mad ?

"*1st Clo*.—Very strangely, they say.

"*Ham*.—How strangely ?

"*1st Clo*.—Faith, e'en with losing his wits.

"*Ham*.—Upon what ground ?

"*1st Clo*.—Why here in Denmark : I have been sexton here, man and boy thirty years.

"*Ham*.—How long will a man lie i' the earth ere he rot ?

"*1st Clo*.—I' faith, if he be not rotten before he die— . . . a' will last you some eight year or nine year : a tanner will last you nine year.

"*Ham*.—Why he more than another ?

"*1st Clo*.—Why, sir, his hide is so tanned with his trade that a' will keep out water a great while ; . . . Here's a skull now : this skull has lain in the earth three and twenty years.

"*Ham*.—Whose was it ? . . .

"*1st Clo*.— . . . This same skull, sir, was Yorick's skull, the King's jester.

"*Ham*.—Let me see. (Taking up the skull.) Alas, poor Yorick ! I knew him, Horatio : a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy ; he hath borne me on his back a thousand times ; and now how abhorred in my imagination it is ! my gorge rises at it. Here hung those lips I have kissed I know not how oft. Where be your jibes now ? your gambols ? your songs ? your flashes of merriment that

were wont to set the table on roar? No one now, to mock your own grinning? quite chop-fallen? . . . Prithee, Horatio, tell me one thing.

"*Hor.*—What's that my lord?

"*Ham.*—Dost thou think Alexander looked o' this fashion i' the earth.

"*Hor.*—E'en so.

"*Ham.*—And smelt so? Pah!

"*Hor.*—E'en so my lord.

"*Ham.*—To what base uses we may return, Horatio? Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander, till he find it stopping a bung-hole? . . . As thus: Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returned to dust; the dust is earth, of earth we make loam; and why of that loam, whereto he was converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?

"Imperious Ceasar, dead and turned to clay,  
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away;  
O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,  
Should patch a wall to expel the winter's flaw."

But how, when, and where did Shaksper study; and what were his opportunities?

How, when, and where did he acquire knowledge of Spanish, French, Latin, or Greek so perfectly as to read and translate from the original of each, is wholly unknown, putting aside the remote possibility of his having had a little training in Latin in Stratford "*free-school*" before receiving any scholastic knowledge of the English language, and before he was apprenticed a "*butcher boy*."

How, when, and where did he acquire knowledge of philosophy, medicine, and medical jurisprudence, of physiology, pathology, and anatomy, of mental and moral science, and of technical and professional terms pertaining to each, so wonderfully woven into the "*Shakespeare plays*," is even more difficult to ascertain than the erudition displayed in them relating to law and languages. The analysis and the theories as to soundness or unsoundness of the human mind, found in the writings, were in advance of the professional learning of Shaksper's age, and are still fundamentally quoted in text-books, and medical jurisprudence.

How, when, and where did Shaksper attain profundity in literature, history, and biography, practically comprehending all then extant. From such knowledge the writer coined, with proper derivatives, more words (5,000 it is said, Ed. 197) for the English tongue than any, perhaps all, other men of learning of any age. Tested by three centuries of progressive learning the author's use of words, and forms of speech, (if not his rhetoric) stand above just criticism. He may fairly be said to have pioneered present English literature.

How, when, and where did Shaksper become familiar with court customs and manners, and generally with all gentility incident to royalty, not alone in England but in the capitals of other countries to which he was never introduced, or even traveled, and about which, little, comparatively, had then been written, useful to a writer, and without which familiar knowledge the author could not have penned the lifelike characters, and portrayed their attributes.

"There were then no public libraries, no encyclopædias, no dictionaries, no magazines, no newspapers, no English literature." Macaulay in his essay on Bacon says: "All the valuable books then extant in all the vernacular languages of Europe would hardly have filled a single shelf."

Plutarch is said to have been the master at whose feet Shaksper sat and acquired history that he adapted to his purposes in writing. But Plutarch wrote gossipy, and often inaccurate lives of great men, and compared some of them, but otherwise his works would little aid an author requiring universal erudition, especially in the technical and poetic display of recondite learning, and human character. Some of the characters may have been built up from *Plutarch's Lives*; also some historical incidents (not always true to history) may have been gleaned from him, yet, if so, it proves nothing. But it is only a guess that Shaksper perused Plutarch; and another poet could also have read him.

That Shaksper ever owned a book, or consulted one, is only an inference. He left no book, not even a Bible, so far as known, at his death. He bequeathed one, though his will did not "despise small things." (One lone book, *Montaigne's Essays* (1603) in the British Museum, has a "Shaksper signature" on the title page, shown to have been forged about 1778, which some sentimental admirers of Shaksper weep over.)

But it was in the universality of *common* knowledge that the author excelled. That genius here had a wide field for display all must agree, especially in being able to discern in detail the things which nature and her laws contain, and what is seen and found on every hand in physical or animal life, or in the universal beauties of nature so bountifully laid about mankind to be appropriated to their purposes and pleasures, but here, too, time and opportunity for observation were required to enable him to absorb and utilise the requisite information. *Genius*, without opportunity, will not familiarise a man with the woods, fields, and rocks, the nature and habits of plants, birds, and animals, any more than it, alone, will

enable a person to translate Latin and Greek. How, when, and where did the "apprenticed butcher boy" acquire all that is painted in poetic beauty on the pages of *Shakespeare's Works*, necessarily gathered from a familiarity with nature and the common affairs and things of life.

How, when, and where did he acquire a knowledge of military and naval affairs, and the proper technical use of terms pertaining to armies, fleets, and sea-navigation. The author critically describes maneuvers of large and small bodies of men, and of ships on stormy seas—in a *Tempest*.

All the wonderful things necessarily attained and brought into requisition by the author were not born of that thing called *genius*, so often found dangerous to the possessor, and so sparingly meted out to mankind, and so little relied on by those who achieve great things. But genius of the superhuman kind claimed for Shaksper has never yet been found in combination with a low, sordid, penurious, litigious disposition—one who, not only loved money, but assiduously devotes himself to making, and meanly saving it.

Opportunity to come in contact with men of distinction, and with courtiers of learning, may possibly have been open to Shaksper, but there is no direct evidence that it was availed of by him. The presumption is that it was not. A "strolling player," under the ban of the law would not easily find access to such men, especially in the then state of English society. He with his "*travelling company*" did have the protecting patronage of one or two royal personages through whom it had a sort of license to travel, but such personages did not render, and were themselves incapable of rendering, aid to Shaksper as a writer. Whatever of snobbish patronage was shown him as part owner of a theater was to gain conspicuous seats on the theater stage. If in contact with playwrights, it was to arrange their productions in his theaters; and if he were a writer of plays, other writers would only have been his jealous competitors for public applause. From none of his possible intimates can it be fairly concluded that he received instruction tending to qualify him as an author. Of another class (habitués of theaters) we shall yet speak.

He travelled to no foreign countries, he attended no night or other schools as far as known, if such existed in his time. His nights seem to have been spent in ale and porter houses. He had no correspondents, as did Bacon and all known writers of his period. It has never been claimed that he ever wrote a letter, or received more than one,—the Richard Quyny letter (Oct. 25th,

1598)—and that asking a loan of money, which, so far as known, he did not answer. He is not known to have ever written a letter not even to his wife or children though absent from them a quarter of a century.

Some of the most profound of the "Shakespeare Plays" were written soon after his advent into London. Aside from poems or sonnets and minor dramas claimed to have been written by Shaksper earlier than any we now name, we give here an accepted chronology.

Love's Labor's Lost, 1589; The Two Gentlemen of Verona, 1591; Comedy of Errors, 1592; Romeo and Juliet, 1592-1593; Richard II., 1593; Richard III., 1593; Titus and Andronicus, 1594; The Taming of the Shrew, 1594; Merchant of Venice, 1594; King John, 1594; Midsummer Night's Dream, 1593-1595; All's Well that Ends Well (before) 1595; Henry IV., 1597. (12 Temple Ed. *Shakespeare-Annals*.)

Other of the plays and poems seem to have a date earlier than 1589, others later than 1595, but learned critics fail to discover in the later ones deeper learning or insight into nature and affairs, though some pretend to find in the later plays and sonnets evidence of higher learning—literary improvement. Others have shown, with apparent success, that in "Love's Labor's Lost" (played first in 1589 according to Flea) and other of the earliest alleged Shakespeare dramas, tragedies, comedies, and poems, are to be found the highest and best conceptions of the immortal writer, particularly in linguistic attainments.

Turning back to Shaksper at Stratford—there we find him in 1587, aged twenty-three, just out of his apprenticeship, five years married, a wife and three children which he was too poor to maintain, save in squalor, just then convicted of crime, and being still further prosecuted for some offense, in disgust and doubtless in dismay, compelled to flee to London from family, home, and friends, scarcely one of whom could read or write. None of his blood had succeeded in anything above the ordinary.

He appeared in London speaking a Warwickshire dialect, almost, if not quite, unintelligible to the native Londoner. He accepted employment about low theaters—a horse-holder for gentlemen, and otherwise serving—possibly soon connected himself with a strolling band of players, then going up and down England, in some subordinate capacity. Within two years (1589) thus coming and equipped, and thus employed, "Love's Labor's Lost" is played on the stage in London. This is a "play of high life, with kings,

princes, lords, ladies, ambassadors, as almost the only characters; full of Latin and French, quotations from Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, bristling with classical allusions and with learned dissertations of philosophy and orthography." The author of this play must have "lived in the best company," for as the Shakespearean author says: "*Thou will not utter what thou dost not know.*" The comedies are genteel, the product of one who had lived in the best society, not of him who had lived in the lowest and most vulgar company—did not smell of the Rose Tavern. Quoting Dr. Lee: "Love's Labor's Lost," "suggests that its author had already enjoyed extended opportunities of surveying London life and manners. . . . embodies keen observation of contemporary life in many ranks of society, both in town and country, while the speeches of Biron clothe much sound philosophy in masterly rhetoric. . . . It (the plot) not known to have been borrowed, and stands quite alone in travesting known traits and incidents of current social and political life." Another (Hazlitt) says of the play: "The style savors more of the pedantic spirit of Shakespeare's time than of his own genius; more of controversial divinity than of the inspiration of the muse. It transports us quite as much to the manners of the court and the quirks of courts of law, as to the scenes of nature. . . . indicates the tone of polite conversation then prevailing among the fair, the witty and the learned. . . . The observations on the use and abuse of study, and on the power of beauty to quicken the understanding as well as the senses, are excellent." The scene of the play—"Love's Labor's Lost," is laid in Southern France with which, and its people, and their character and habits, the author was familiar—Shaksper was not.

"Comedy of Errors" was written as early as 1589 or 1590; so of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," and "Romeo and Juliet" in 1591 or 1592, modern writers now say. All the plays are marvelously accurate in the description of the countries and cities wherein the scenes are laid, and of the courts and people there.

These must suffice as examples of all other of the great play writings. If Ann Hathaway's husband, so fresh from the butcher-shop, and Warwickshire society, thus early wrote these incomparable things, we may well assume he wrote all that is attributed to him.

Of the great author Goethe said :

"He is not a theatrical poet: he never thought of the stage: it was too narrow."

By the best evidence Shaksper had purchased and improved

*New Place*, in Stratford, and settled there as early as 1611-1612, thereafter rarely visiting London, and then only on business relating to property investments—not even as a player. His London life proper was between 1587 and 1612, possibly as much as twenty-five years. He appears to have continued, at Stratford to the end, his litigious character. In at least one instance he entertained a distinguished clergyman at New Place (Stratford, 1614), and demanded of the town reimbursement “for one quart of sack and one quart of claret wine given to the preacher, XXd.” He, though still young enough for work, is not known, after returning to Stratford, to have attempted anything of a literary character. He was never known to have owned or used paper, pen, or ink. He had no library, writing desk, or table, so far as the most diligent can discover. He left to his family or friends, so far as known, no books or manuscript, or print, certainly not of anything now attributed to him. His penurious habits alone would have led him to preserve and value manuscripts, books, or written folios. The most trifling things of and connected with him have been preserved—even the original “Dick” Quynney letter to him has been preserved, and reproduced in *facsimile*, as evidence that Shaksper could read. He never, so far as known, claimed authorship. If he had been the *great author*, he would have appreciated learning, and the value of his writings. His name was seldom mentioned in public records save in those relating to small lawsuits. He is not known to have sold or derived profit from the publication of any writing. His later, as well as earlier, habits of temperance were not the best. Whether or not he died from a fever contracted after a drunken debauch at a neighboring villa, while returning from which he and companions fell by the way by night in seeking their home, is immaterial here. It does tend, however, to show, if true, that the habit of his life was not that of a student.

(In the diary of Rev. John Ward, Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon—1662—this is found: “Shakespeare, Drayton, and Ben Jonson had a merry meeting, and, it seems, drank too hard, for Shakespeare died of a fever there contracted.”)

Francis Collins, solicitor at Warwick, drafted his will, of date of January 31st, 1616—spelling the name “Shackspeare,” the signature thereto being spelled “Shakspeare.” The will was not executed until March following. He died April 23, 1616.

There is inscribed on a flat stone over his remains in the chancel of Stratford Church, said to have been at his dictation :

"GOOD FRIEND FOR JESUS SAKE FORBEARE,  
TO DIG THE DUST ENCLOSED HEARE:  
BLEST BE YE MAN YT SPARES THES STONES,  
AND CURSED BE HE YT MOVES MY BONES."

It remains to speak of the signatures of Shaksper of Stratford. Though not entirely free from doubt, we assume there are five genuine signatures—the most any respectable authority now claims exist—one on each of the purchase and mortgage deeds (Blackfriar's House, London) 1613, one on each of three sheets of his will, perhaps written there for identification of them. These signatures, you, unaided, could not read—and the spelling is dissimilar, and has given rise to endless disputes. They are hardly near enough alike in spelling and chirography to be identified as from the same hand, though three were written at the same time presumably with one pen. They look like his father's, who did not know the letters of the alphabet. He, if a writer, should have long had a uniform signature and a rule of spelling his own name. These signatures are all of the alleged "Bard of Avon's" writing discoverable. Of them Dr. Samuel Johnson said: "I'd rather have a morning-glory vine than one of Shakespeare's autographs. It is far prettier, and quite as legible."

But his last will and testament testifies to some things we may not overlook. I have read it and re-read it with care. He disposes therein of a large estate to children and named persons, in detail, naming small amounts in pounds, shilling and pence, finger rings, plate and "*bole*," old clothes, "household stuff," etc., omitting in the first draft one natural object of his bounty, then had it interlined thus: "*I give unto my weife my second best bed with the furniture.*" So only did his wife come to be remembered with a necessary "*second best bed.*"

But there is no mention of a property right in manuscripts or of the existence of any—none were found in his possession at his death—or of any royalty, present or prospective, on publications from his writings (the equivalent of copyright then existed), nor is the subject of authorship or papers hinted at in his will. It was not hastily written or executed. He was, when it was written, in good health, and comparatively young. His cumulative habits and nature would have suggested to him a money value, if no other, for such manuscripts or rights, if they had existed. All his contemporaries who were writers left indubitable evidence of their authorship. Milton, eight years old when Shaksper died, left his title to *Paradise Lost*, and other writings, indisputable. So of all

his contemporary play-writers and poets, Burbage, Marlowe, Nash, Peele, Green, Fletcher, Webster, Kyd, Ben Jonson, and the earlier Spencer, Chaucer, and Beaumont. So of other great contemporary authors, Bacon, Sir Walter Raleigh and others we have already named. Oliver Cromwell was almost exactly seventeen years of age when Shaksper died; he and the galaxy of soldiers, sailors, statesmen, Puritan and cavalier, can be identified with their work by their letters and contemporary history; not so William Shaksper, the one now generally reputed most learned and renowned of all men of all the ages.

Shaksper, if the author, would have, above other men, understood the imperishable character of his works, and taken pains to perpetuate his title thereto, for he was not without vanity, as shown by his efforts to get the right to a "*coat-of-arms*" for his father, that he, the son, might be called a "*gentleman*." This coat-of-arms was first applied for (1596) on the ground that John Shaksper's "parents and late ancestors had rendered valiant service to King Henry VII"; then in 1599 the application was amended, alleging John's grandfather had been the valiant one; neither claim was accepted as true. William, neither then or later, laid claim to authorship as entitling him to a "*coat-of-arms*" or the rank of "*gentleman*," or to fame, nor did his family.

If Shaksper was so universally learned, why did he not educate at least one daughter, enough to enable her to read the simplest of his poems? What was the matter with the Stratford "*Free School*"? Why could not Susanna Hamnet or Judith learn there to read and write? Judith married two months before her father's death, and made her mark at the marriage altar. He was rich and could have educated his children.

All contemporary biographical writings have been explored to discover something bearing on Shaksper's authorship, but in vain, save inferences and assumptions, with few exceptions.

Some of the plays were published in his lifetime, at first indicating one "William Shakespeare" was the author, then republished, omitting the name. Some thus published are not now claimed to have been written by Shaksper, but proved to have been written by others.

The name Shaksper seems to have been used as a pseudonym for writers earlier than William's day.

In 1593, "*Venus and Adonis*" was published, after being entered in the "*Stationer's Register*," in the name of Richard Field, the dedication to the Earl of Southampton being however signed

"William Shakespeare" (as now generally spelled), from which time such spelling first dates. Shaksper of Stratford, in no extant signature, thus spelled his name. Thus spelled there is a strong probability that the name was used as pseudonym of an obscure but genuine poet, most likely of the travelling, tramp-class, then not uncommon—or for a number of such poets.

The First Folio, of Shakespeare's plays, edited by Heminge and Condell, fellow play-wrights of Shaksper, appeared in 1623, seven years after his death, and contained twenty-two hitherto unpublished and, at least, seventeen hitherto unknown plays. This Folio was dedicated to Earls Pembroke and Montgomery, and inscribed—"Printed by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount." None of the plays therein published were ever entered in the "Stationer's Register" in the name of an author named *Shakespeare*, however spelled. Neither William Shaksper's executor (Dr. Hall) nor any member of his family, had any connection with furnishing the manuscripts or their publication, and if his, they must have been, at his death, lying unclaimed around London or Stratford, neglected because wholly unappreciated by him while he lived. The editors in an accompanying "Address" say, all prior Shakespeare "publications were from stolen and surreptitious copies, and deformed by the frauds and stealth of injurious imposters"—from whom stolen? The Stratford Shaksper never complained of the larceny. They say of the author: "*His mind and hand went together; and what he thought, he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.*" (Who was the scrivener?) Who was the custodian from 1611-1612 when Shaksper retired from London—from 1616, when he died, to 1623, of these (and other) carefully prepared "papers"? Did the great author forget them, after his painstaking vigils in their preparation, without "*a blot*"? (Forty-two plays are credited to the "Bard of Avon.") There was a dedication purporting to have been written by Ben Jonson, a play-writer and poet, in Shaksphere's time. The authorship of this dedication is questioned, with a like dedication prefixed to the 1640 Folio publication, the lines of which are attributed to one Leonard Digges, though he died five years before (1635). Both dedications refer, in high eulogy, to a "Shakespeare" as the author of the published plays. Digges says: "Poets are born, not made."

And Ben Jonson in his dedication sings:

"I therefore will begin: Soul of the Age  
The applause, delight and wonder of our stage:

My Shakespeare rise, I will not lodge thee by  
 Chaucer, or Spencer, or bid Beaumont lie  
 A little further to make thee room.  
 Thou art a monument without a tomb,  
 Thou art alive still while thy books do live  
 And we have wits to read and praise to give."

With much in the same strain, but differing from the dead, dedicatory poet Digges, Jonson further says:

"Who casts to write a living life must sweat  
 (Such as thine are) and strike the second heat  
 Upon the muse's anvil; turn the same  
 (And himself with it) that he thinks to frame,  
 Or for the laurel he may gain a scorn,  
 For a good poet's made, as well as born."

The forms of expressions used by Digges and Ben Jonson were much the same, and had been used to eulogise dead poets earlier than *they* wrote. If Ben Jonson wrote the dedication credited to him, it is plain he wrote for pay, to aid the publishers to sell the Folio; and his testimony, if necessary, might be discredited by his later writings. But did he write of the Shaksper of Stratford? If yes, he misspelled his name for euphony, or knew him not. Jonson, though always impecunious, was a poet of some fame; he later criticised the real author.

It must be, however, admitted that if Ben Jonson is to be understood as referring to the Stratford Shaksper, and he is to be believed, the case is made out that the latter was the most marvellous literary character that ever appeared.

Little else will be found written by men who might have known Shaksper, tending to show him more than a player—what he called himself, and his Stratford neighbors called him. Sam Pepys's Diary was written later in the seventeenth century—he knew not the author "Shakespeare." But he saw played in 1662-1663, etc., "Midsummer Night's Dream," "Romeo and Juliet," "Twelfth Night," and the "Taming of the Shrew," and called one "insipid and ridiculous"; another "worst that I ever heard in my life;" still another, "acted well. . . . but a silly play," and the last "a silly play and an old one."

You will ask, if Shaksper did not write Shakespeare, who did? My answer is, I do not know. I do not know enough to agree with Donnelly's—*The Great Cryptogram*—Baconian theory of authorship; nor am I satisfied with Dr. Owen's or Mrs. Gallup's "Bacon's Cipher Story," all of whom are ambitious American authors who

have discovered much to support the claim that Francis Bacon is the true author. They prove their claim satisfactorily, if it may be conclusively determined in Bacon's favor by pointing out corresponding words, phrases, sentences, and whole paragraphs which are substantially or literally the same as found in Bacon's works. But may not the *real author* have been somewhat of a plagiarist? Might not Bacon, who assumed to draw all learning to himself, have been something of a plagiarist? He never showed particular moral sensibility, not even in his public complaint of the injustice he was subjected to by falsely charging him with taking from a litigant £2000, when he had only received £500 for a favorable chancery decree, while Lord Chancellor. Bacon, like Shaksper, had he been the author, would have claimed the honor of it. The plays do not read like a cold reasoning philosopher had penned them. But he too (as is probable, whoever was the author) might have had help.

Bacon, Shaksper's contemporary (born January 22, 1561, died April 9, 1626), owing to his fall through official bribery (1621) needed much to save him from being remembered only as infamous. He too failed to claim the authorship, though he wrote much of himself, and, without modesty, summarised all his pursuits through life and all his accomplishments and for which he sought credit—this after Shaksper's death and the printing of the First Folio (1623)—and to gain clemency from the King. (*Works of Bacon*, Vol. II., 549.)

The press informs us that another American—a Mrs. Gallup, has been proclaiming, in London, a Baconian (Dr. Owens) cipher theory, and in consequence, through the *Times* and other newspapers, Shakespearean scholars fought over it there with a fury almost unknown to the past.

Collaboration work, common to literary productions in Shaksper's time, may furnish a fairly satisfactory answer as to the authorship. I am inclined to envy those who have *faith* and *cannot* doubt. I almost regret I investigated the subject far enough to become a doubter. No harm can now come from believing in the "Bard of Avon." I am sorry he could not truthfully have dictated his claim to authorship, and by inscription on his tomb.

Had he been able to *do* this, then with less anxiety for his *mortal* "DUST," and "BONES," the first line of the inscription: "GOOD FRIEND FOR JESUS SAKE FORBEAR," would still have been appropriate, and his title to *immortal* fame might have been complete.

It may be reasonable to suppose that Shaksper with his acumen for the business of the theaters in London and the travelling companies with which he was connected, may have employed the best educated, but impecunious play-writers and poets, said to have been numerous in his day, some of whom had travelled in other countries, unsuccessfully seeking fame and fortune. Many of such are said to have been educated younger sons of wealthy gentlemen, whose fortunes went, by English law, to their eldest sons, leaving their brothers only an education which was often obtained at college or university. That Shaksper "*Kept a poet*" has long been believed by many. Perhaps, too, some of the known play-writers and poets worked in collaboration with these just referred to; and it is not impossible that even the writings of a Bacon and a Raleigh, or others of the then learned of England, may have been drawn on for parts, where special and professionally technical or scientific knowledge was required; and this may account for portions of Bacon's writings, cypher included, appearing in some of the Shakespeare plays and poems. It may be true that some of the great men were employed to revise particular parts of plays, the plans for and skeletons of which had been outlined by another or others. Some of these men were doubtless often needy, and might well have written for money.

The friends of Shaksper generally agree, too, that many of the plays—even the names of particular characters in them—were based on previous ones.

It is also true that there has been some revision of the plays, even since first printed, but not so much as to alter their primary character.

It is not, however, proposed to here give an opinion as to the authorship of the greatest of literary contributions to the world. But I cannot accord it to him, who, though rich, did not educate his children, and who, though he sought fame through a "*coat of arms*" claimed to have been earned by the valor of his great-grandfather, nowhere, not even in his last will and testament, claimed the fame of authorship—*such authorship*—and whose sole posthumous anxiety centered on his "*dust*" and "*bones*" remaining undistributed in the chancel of Stratford church.

Since Delia Bacon (1856) (no relation of the philosopher, Bacon), a Boston school teacher, in *Putnam's Magazine*—and she precipitated the never ending dispute—announced her problem: "Why did Bacon and others write the plays under the name of William Shakespeare?" the controversy has raged, and it has wid-

ened and deepened—"it will not down." Most likely the question will never be settled.

Mr. Bangs, in his story of *The House Boat on the Styx*, is responsible for the report of the dispute spreading to "The Literary Club" of the "Associated Shades," and there being taken up by the immortal Shades of Shaksper and Bacon, especially as to the authorship of Hamlet, which, happily, ended by an amicable agreement to settle the matter, and forever, by the disinterested and impartial award of the Shade, Sir Walter Raleigh, who assumed to be arbitrator only as to the authorship of the one play—"Hamlet." He heard, at length the high claimants, each on his own behalf, then weighing all exhibits and testimony, on mature deliberation, delivered himself thus: "*I am not ashamed of it—I wrote 'Hamlet' myself.*"

[General J. Warren Keifer has broached an interesting subject and we intend to take the discussion of it up in the next number, which shall contain an article on the Shakespeare problem, presenting the facts of the case, including a reprint of Shakespeare's will, of documents and other illustrations, so as to enable our readers to form their own opinion.—*Ed.*]

## THE GOSPELS OF JESUS AND PAUL.

BY REV. J. C. ALLEN.

WHEN we set out to examine the doctrines of Paul with a view to comparing them with the teachings of Jesus, it is proper to ask in the first place, what relation did this apostle profess to bear to the man and his word? Did he regard himself as a disciple,—an interpreter of the good message that Jesus brought into the world? Or was it rather a Gospel about Jesus, but not necessarily altogether from Jesus, that he was setting forth? We turn to the introduction of his epistles, and find that he calls himself “a slave (δουλός) of Jesus Christ,” one “called through the will of God,” one “called through Jesus Christ and God the Father,” an apostle “set apart unto the gospel of God . . . concerning His Son.” In these phrases it is not indicated whether the gospel came from Jesus, but it is clearly stated that the gospel is about Jesus Christ. We miss in Paul’s epistles two expressions that are very familiar to us in the synoptic gospels,—viz., μαθητης, disciple, and διδασκαλος, Teacher. Paul is not a disciple, but a “slave” of Christ. Jesus is not Teacher, but κύριος,—Lord. It is interesting to observe how difficult Paul finds it to give to Christians a name. He multiplies phrases to designate them,—“called of Jesus Christ,” “beloved of God,” “called to be saints,”<sup>1</sup> “in Christ,”<sup>2</sup> “they that are sanctified in Christ Jesus,” “the church of God,” “all that call upon the name of the Lord.”<sup>3</sup> But the name disciple was ready to hand. It seems to have been the word Jesus himself used to designate his followers; and that they continued its use among themselves after his death is evident from the Book of Acts. It seems probable that Paul deliberately avoided the term, because the Jewish Christians held it as their exclusive possession, and he was not disposed to contest their claim. If this is the case, Paul, who would never yield an inch unless he had to, must have realised

Rom. i. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. v. 17 *et al.*

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. i. 2.

that he stood on weak ground here. The only other reason we can conjecture for his omission of this term is that it did not occur to him as appropriate.

Next we ask, what acquaintance did Paul have with Jesus? To this the reply must be, little if any. He never quotes Jesus, or refers to him as authority for anything he himself has to say. The only events in the life of Jesus of which he makes mention are those connected with its tragic close. Indeed, to personal knowledge of the life and teachings of the historical Jesus he appears to be indifferent, if not contemptuous. He boasts of his gospel, "It is not after man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it; but I received it through revelation of Jesus Christ. . . . When it was the good pleasure of God, Who set me apart even from my mother's womb and called me through his grace, to reveal His Son in me. . . . I conferred not with flesh and blood, nor went up to Jerusalem to those that were apostles before me; but I went straight away into Arabia."<sup>1</sup> Thus it is throughout his career as an apostle of Christ. He refuses to "confer with flesh and blood." His authority is in "visions and revelations of the Lord,"—the "revelations" being probably what we should call "impressions," or some of us "intuitions." Even in regard to matters of history he depends at times upon "visions and revelations" to confirm, as we must think, what he has heard previously as human report. He declares, for instance, that he has "received of the Lord" an accurate circumstantial account of the Last Supper.<sup>2</sup> Paul's whole gospel was, in fact, "received" in this way "of the Lord,"—that is to say, by "revelations" that he believed to have emanated from the spirit of the risen Christ. Hardly even by implication does Paul profess to be an interpreter of the things Jesus taught in his natural life. If we grant that his revelations were, as he believed, from Jesus, still the thoughts of an emancipated spirit would not necessarily be identical, or even harmonious, with those the same person had held when he lived in the flesh. The gospel Paul "received of the Lord" may have been an enlargement of the message Jesus had taught in the flesh, or it may have been a modification, or again it may have been in part both; but at any rate it did not depend on that message of the historical Jesus.

Let us, in examining Paul's thought, endeavor to trace it, so far as we can, in the order of its logical dependence. First, then, in our consideration must come his doctrine of sin. "All have sinned," he says, and for this reason all men "fall short of the

<sup>1</sup> Gal. i. 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 23 f.

glory of God."<sup>1</sup> At the outset, then, of Paul's theology we have his sense of the imperfection of human nature when judged by an absolute standard,—a fundamental contrast between God who is holy, and man who is sinful. Paul is so deeply conscious of human imperfection that he holds it to be as native to man as holiness is proper to God. Man is, he holds, vile in the sight of God, or in other words, when judged by the highest standard. And what is the reason for this depravity? It exists because of men's fleshly nature. "The mind of the flesh is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can it be."<sup>2</sup> Sin, then, is not with man a superficial thing, but something deep-seated in him, and it cannot be removed except through supernatural means. "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing,"<sup>3</sup> says Paul. However, he admits in the same passage that he "delights in the law of God as respects the inward man." There is, then, an inner core of righteousness in man. He is not totally depraved. Nevertheless, the "inward man," that is, the *νοῦς* or mind, is not strong enough to withstand this power of sin in the flesh; so that no one can attain to righteousness unless deliverance come from outside.

How does this doctrine of sin compare with the teaching of Jesus on the subject? In the first place it is to be noted that Jesus did not concern himself with sin in the abstract or as a principle. He discussed only sins, not sin. He did not regard man as naturally unrighteous, "sold under sin" and unable to free himself from its power. But he taught instead that men are at heart good and godlike, and that every one of his own volition can attain to such righteousness as will make him worthy to be called a son of God. He and Paul agree in recognising a germ of righteousness, an inclination toward the good, in man. But to Paul, unlike Jesus, this is a barren germ until fructified by supernatural aid.

Paul traces the history of sin back to one disobedient act of the first man. "Through one man sin entered into the world," and so "all sinned."<sup>4</sup> That is to say, all inherited a sinful nature, though some may not have violated an express commandment known to themselves, "after the likeness of Adam's transgression."<sup>5</sup>

Jesus apparently knows nothing of an inherited taint of evil, or of the essential sinfulness of flesh.<sup>6</sup> He is content to represent sins as the direct work of Satan or of evil spirits.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. iii. 23.<sup>2</sup> Rom. viii. 7.<sup>3</sup> Rom. vii. 18.<sup>4</sup> Rom. v. 12.<sup>5</sup> Rom. v. 14.<sup>6</sup> But in the parable of the sower three hearts out of four are bad.

The sin of man makes him, Paul thinks, abhorrent to God and an object of divine wrath. "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men."<sup>1</sup> Paul goes on to tell that God, for their sin, gave men up to the most abominable practices. Furthermore, God, he thinks, for the purpose of showing in the opposite way how dreadful sin is, gave to the world His law,—i. e., the law of Moses. "The law," he says, "came in beside, that the trespass may abound."<sup>2</sup> By this he evidently means that the law shows sin up in all its enormity. It is not, then, a guide whereby a man may attain to righteousness. The rather it discourages man, because no one can live up to its requirements. "For as many as are of the works of the law are under a curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law, to do them."<sup>3</sup>

This conception of the law is directly opposed to the view Jesus held of it. When the rich young man asked Jesus how he might have eternal life, the Teacher referred him first of all to the Ten Commandments.<sup>4</sup> Instead of thinking that the law set up an impossible standard of righteousness for the very purpose of discouraging men, he believed it to be in some respects accommodated to their "hardness of heart."<sup>5</sup> But the issue here between Paul and Jesus strikes deeper, beyond the Mosaic law, to the very conception of righteousness itself. To Paul's mind man is a sinner and abhorrent to God if in any respect he falls short of perfect conformity to an ideal standard. Jesus also, it is true, is once reported (by Matthew alone) to have said, "Ye shall be perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect."<sup>6</sup> But generally his attitude was more lenient. Characteristic of him, for example, is this saying: "If ye excuse (*ἀφῆρη*) men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also excuse you."<sup>7</sup> To his mind the soul of goodness consisted, not in obedience, but in love and service. In respect of this issue Paul and Jesus do sometimes approach each other, but in general they are separated by a difference more of temperament than of conviction.

In one respect, however, the views of Paul and of Jesus concerning the law are identical,—namely, in the conception of it as in its essence "spiritual,"<sup>8</sup>—to use Paul's term. This thought both alike enforce repeatedly. Man must refrain not only from murder, but from the murderous passion of anger; not only from

<sup>1</sup> Rom. i. 18.<sup>2</sup> Rom. v. 20.<sup>3</sup> Gal. iii. 10.<sup>4</sup> Gal. x. 17 f.<sup>5</sup> Mark x. 2 f.<sup>6</sup> Matt. v. 48.<sup>7</sup> Matt. vi. 14.<sup>8</sup> Rom. vii. 14.

adultery, but from unlawful desires. So Jesus. And Paul,—“Shall not the uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who with the letter and circumcision art a transgressor of the law? For he is not a Jew who is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh. But he is a Jew who is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, whose praise is not of men, but of God.”<sup>1</sup>

Paul thinks that death is due to man's sin, and to his fleshly constitution. First, it is a penalty. “The wages of sin is death.”<sup>2</sup> This Paul regards as a clear matter of justice, which even God has not the right to set aside. Secondly, death is not only the penalty of sin, but also the natural effect of man's fleshly constitution. “The mind of the flesh is death.”<sup>3</sup> Man is, then, naturally mortal, because he is mainly material. As eternal life is not natural to him, neither has he a right to it. It is merely “the gift of God”<sup>4</sup> to “them that are in Christ,” and is to be given to them at the time of the general resurrection, when they, who are now mortal, shall “put on immortality,”<sup>5</sup> as if it were a new garment to be worn in place of the discarded flesh.

The subject of death and immortality is one in which Jesus was not so deeply concerned as Paul was. His mind, too, was practical, Paul's speculative. Jesus apparently said so little on this subject that no comparison can be made.

Since man is, in Paul's thought, fleshly, “sold unto sin” and therefore subject to death, and the law only “entered in beside, that the trespass might abound,” how then may any be saved from this destruction that awaits all,—the death without hope of resurrection? That is Paul's great problem; but it was, as we have seen, a matter of only secondary importance to Jesus. Paul believed it was through the dying of Christ on the cross that man might escape the doom of a hopeless death. “One died for all, therefore all died.”<sup>6</sup> That is to say, Christ, in dying on the cross, paid the penalty for the sins of men,—“redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us.”<sup>7</sup> But there is a condition attached to this redemption. “If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the word that Jesus is Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved,”<sup>8</sup>—that is, delivered at the day of general resurrection from death to the new life. In what sense did “one die for all”? and on what ground is the benefit of his death appropriated by the believer?

<sup>1</sup> Rom. ii. 28-29.<sup>2</sup> Rom. vi. 23.<sup>3</sup> Rom. viii. 6.<sup>4</sup> Rom. vi. 23.<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 53.<sup>6</sup> 2 Cor. v. 14.<sup>7</sup> Gal. iii. 13.<sup>8</sup> Rom. x. 9.

There seem here to be two lines of thought, the one forensic and the other mystical, which are confusedly blended in the apostle's argument. In the first place, it is argued that Christ paid the penalty of sin, as an innocent person might perchance be sentenced for another's crime. In such a sense it is that Paul says, "Christ died for our sins,"<sup>1</sup>—was "made sin" (that is, treated as the sinner) "for us."<sup>2</sup> And again,—“While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more, then, being now adjudged righteous (*δικαιωθέντες*) by his blood, shall we be saved from the wrath through him.”<sup>3</sup> The believer is “adjudged righteous because of faith,”<sup>4</sup>—that is, his own faith,—as “Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him for righteousness (*ελογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην*).”<sup>5</sup> This does not mean that Abraham's faith is regarded as a virtue and as such accepted, nor yet that it works a transformation in the character; but it means that faith may be accepted as a substitute for the righteousness that God exacts but man cannot attain. And it is only by means of faith in the substitutional sacrifice of Christ that a man may be saved from God's wrath and everlasting destruction.

It has been already shown that this idea of a substitutional sacrifice for sin is repugnant to the whole teaching of Jesus. The idea of faith as a substitute for righteousness is no less repugnant. Jesus regarded faith as a virtue, and as a source of power. But the only substitute he knew for shortcomings was not faith, but love. “Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much.”<sup>6</sup>

Blended with Paul's forensic doctrine of atonement and justification, we find a spiritual mysticism, which indeed pervades all the positive part of his gospel. Christ, in his view, has some mystical relation with the human race. He is “the last Adam”;<sup>7</sup> and the first was a type of him.<sup>8</sup> “As through one man's (Adam's) disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous.”<sup>9</sup> Christians by their act of faith have come into so vital a relation that Paul often speaks of them as “in Christ,” or of Christ as being in them. “For ye are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as were baptised into Christ did put on Christ. . . . Ye all are one man in Christ Jesus.”<sup>10</sup> “If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature; the old things have passed away,—lo, they have become new.”<sup>11</sup> Clearly, then, faith is not in Paul's conception

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. v. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. v. 8-9

<sup>4</sup> Rom. v. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Rom. iv. 3.

<sup>6</sup> L. vii. 47.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 45.

<sup>8</sup> Rom. v. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Rom. v. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Gal. iii. 26 f.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Cor. v. 17.

nothing more than a substitute for righteousness, nor is the atonement simply a substitution of Christ for guilty men. But faith effects, or perhaps we had better say completes, a mystic union whereby a man enters into fellowship with the sinlessness of Christ, his sufferings, his death, and his resurrection.

It is in a mystical sense that Paul conceives of the person of Christ. Christ, "the last Adam," is "a life-giving spirit."<sup>1</sup> As such he may dwell within men and transform their sinful natures. As Spirit, too, he is of divine essence, "out of heaven,"<sup>2</sup> a part or emanation of Deity. "The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the man, which is in him? Even so the things of God none knoweth, save the Spirit of God."<sup>3</sup> And in another place Paul explains, "The Lord (that is, Christ) is the Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."<sup>4</sup> Again,— "Ye are not in the flesh (that is, actuated and controlled by it), but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ ("Spirit of God" and "Spirit of Christ" are here identical) he is none of his. And if Christ is in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, He that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall give life to (ζωοποιήσει) your mortal bodies through His spirit that dwelleth in you."<sup>5</sup> The use of the term Spirit is somewhat vague with Paul, but not ambiguous. Our chief difficulty in grasping his thought is our habit of conceiving personality as a metaphysical unity. Dismiss this conception, and we can appreciate Paul's thought of the Spirit. The Spirit is to God as a man's mind is to himself. The Spirit also constitutes substantially the personality of Christ Jesus, and raised him from the dead. And the Spirit may pass through Christ into the receptive soul, making him that receives it victor over sin and death. It is a Grecian thought, developed through Neoplatonism and the school of Philo, and grafted on the root of Jewish Messianism. Jesus, as we have seen, knew nothing of such mysticism.

Connected with this is the doctrine of the "fruit of the Spirit," and of the opposition of the Spirit to the flesh. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace," etc.,—in short, all the virtues.<sup>6</sup> The Spirit does not compel Christians to practise these things; but it gives them an inclination to do so, and also sufficient strength for

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 45.<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 47.<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 11.<sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 17.<sup>5</sup> Rom. viii. 9 f.<sup>6</sup> Gal. v. 22-23.

this end. The nature of the Spirit brings it into opposition to the flesh. "They that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit the things of the Spirit. For the mind of the flesh is death (that is, conducive to death); but the mind of the Spirit is life and peace. . . . But ye are not in the flesh (that is, under its power), but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you."<sup>1</sup>

The Spirit also gives "liberty,"<sup>2</sup> that is, freedom from any external or hard-and-fast standard of right. For "he that is spiritual judgeth all men, and he himself is judged of no man."<sup>3</sup> And so the law of Moses, like every other external standard, is abrogated for those that "Christ did set free."<sup>4</sup>

The law, for that matter, merely "entered in besides" in Paul's theology. To him it appeared to be merely a makeshift,—a "curse" that was to be done away with by the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. Here we get at the root, deep in his personal experience, of Paul's doctrines in their legal and forensic aspect. The vicarious atonement, justification by faith, the imputation of Christ's righteousness upon the believer,—what is the purport of all this but a way to get rid of the accursed law? It was essentially a revolt against pharisaism, in which Paul gave up his Judaism as well. This was not the vital and durable part of his gospel. It served its purpose, and, that purpose accomplished, it has become meaningless. For Paul the purpose was freedom from pharisaism. For the world it is that the principles of the gospel of Jesus, intended at first for Israel, have become the heritage of mankind.

Side by side with these doctrines, by which he reduced legalism to its *reductio ad absurdum*, is his positive spiritual gospel of the indwelling Spirit, whereby a man comes into a vital relation with God, so that he can say, "Abba, Father,"<sup>5</sup> in a sense of which even Jesus apparently did think. Jesus taught the nobility of man and showed how men might attain to such godlikeness in harmony with the purposes of the Eternal, as to be fitly called sons of the Most High. Paul saw how the divine nature might reside in man so that he, inheriting God, united with him as child with parent, in this deeper, spiritual sense, may say, my Father. They are two gospels. It is unjust to Jesus to make Paul his interpreter. It is equally unjust to Paul, the loving "slave" of Christ, to confuse his speculative and mystical theology with the simple ethical teaching of the man of Nazareth. These two gospels were separately derived, separately worked out; but they were brought into relations with each other through historical conditions, and finally have become merged together, because they are essentially harmonious and each has need of the other.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. viii. 5 f.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Gal. v. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Gal. iv. 6.

## STONE-WORSHIP.

BY THE EDITOR.

**S**TONES are the oldest monuments of religious worship. We cannot say that primitive man worshipped stones, but we know that he regarded some stones with awe as marking the place of theophanies or revelations. Pillars were erected to serve as bethels, or houses of God, and stones were piled up in heaps or put up in the form of trilithons, sometimes circles of trilithons, to serve as monuments or memorials.

Stone-worship is common still among some tribes of the American Indians, and we know that in spite of the crudity of their views their sentiments are marked by a deep-seated religious awe. Those who try to trace the psychology of it, discover at the bottom of this primitive form of worship the groping after a purer and more spiritual faith, for which the untrained mind of the savage is not yet capable of finding a proper expression.

Pillars, stone piles and cromlechs serve idolatrous purposes among the tribes of the islands of the South Sea and also on the Dark Continent; and if we consider that the most ancient pre-historic monuments in European countries are an unequivocal evidence that the Teutons, the Celts, the Slavs, the Mongolians, and also the Semites must, at some time or another, have practiced stone-worship, we come to the conclusion that at a certain phase of man's religious development it must have been all but universal all over the world. We find traces of it preserved in that greatest store-house of religious documents, the Bible. We read in the Old Testament how the Patriarchs set up stones to commemorate a remarkable dream, or a treaty, or some other great event, and Yahveh is even in later times called "the Rock of the Covenant."

Considering the importance of this primitive mode of faith, we shall try to sketch its most characteristic features in order to understand the significance of this peculiar religious attitude.

We shall devote special attention to the stone-worship of the Semites because a comprehension of their religious views will throw



CROMLECH.

Five miles west of Castle Wellan, County of Downe.

much light upon some passages of the Bible which incorporate most ancient traditions of the patriarchal age.

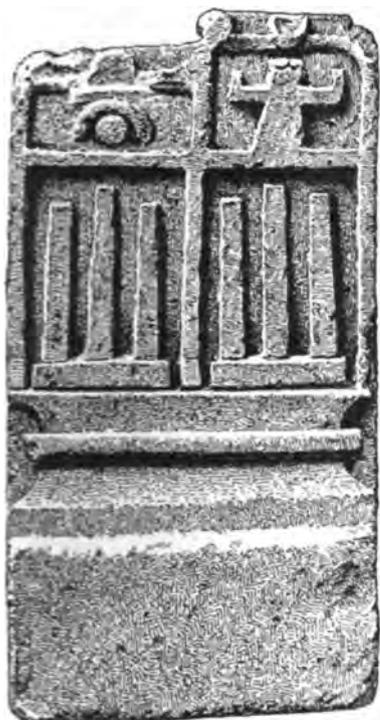
#### THE RELIGION OF THE PHŒNICIANS.

On the site of Phœnician cities, we find great heaps of stones with crude inscriptions and representations of Baal or Astarte or mere stone idols, representing the deity.

Not having any documents, books, or detailed descriptions of Phœnician life, we are limited in our judgment of Phœnician religion entirely to the remnants of statuary and other monuments

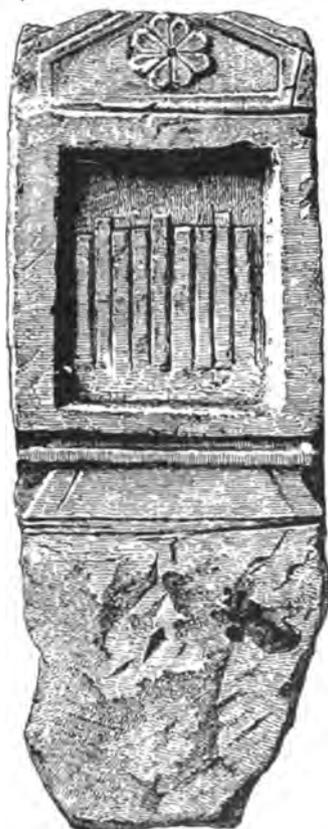
discovered on the site of Phœnician towns, which we have to interpret partly from the stray comments of Greek and Roman authors, and partly from our knowledge of Egyptian, Assyrian, Libyan, and Jewish institutions.

From some of these relics, commonly called "votive tablets," we learn that the people of Phœnician blood, whenever venturing



VOTIVE TABLET OF CARTHAGE.

Dedicated to Baal and Astarte, both represented as triads.



VOTIVE STONE OF HADRUMETUM.

Representing the ennead or the sacred "three times three."

on a long journey or some dangerous enterprise, were in the habit of praying to Baal or to Astarte for success, and if their prayer was granted, the divine favor was duly acknowledged in a tablet as a remembrance for all time to come. We reproduce here the pictures of a few of these monuments which are found in great quantities in Carthage, Hadrumentum and other Phœnician colonies. They are

instructive, for they allow us an insight into the religious spirit of the Phœnicians, which we must interpret by passages of the Old Testament as so many Beth-Els, set up in gratitude and pious devotion.



VOTIVE SLAB OF HADRUMENTUM.

The two pillars are here changed into columns, both bearing the effigy of Astarte.

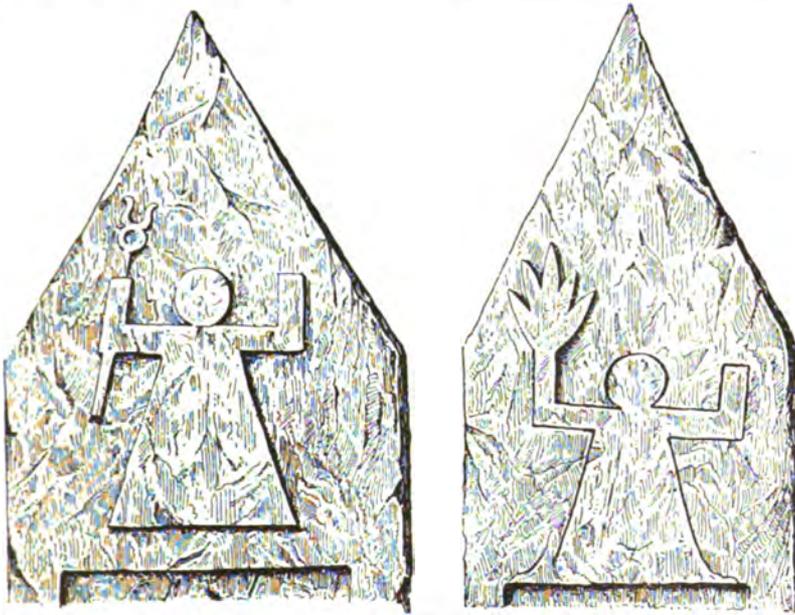
times the word must have been used frequently with reference to God as is apparent from such names of towns as Baal Gad, "God

<sup>1</sup>The proper transcription of בַּאֵל would be *Ba'ad*.

Judging from the stones, we come to the conclusion that the Phœnicians just as much as other nations of Asia and Egypt believed in the trinitarian god-conception, for the stone pillars which here are no longer unhewn but cut in the shape of obelisks appear frequently as triads, which now and then are trebled into an Ennead, or ninehood of pillars. The idea that each triad in its turn constitutes another triad was systematically worked out in Egypt in the theological system of Hierapolis, which was recognised as orthodox, and is preserved still in freemasonry where on the ground of an ancient tradition, "three times three" is regarded as the sacred number.

The word Baal<sup>1</sup> means "ruler" or "lord" and is frequently used in Hebrew in the sense of "proprietor of a house," "husband of a wife," "citizen of a town," "officer of the arrows," "patron" of wisdom or of vice, etc. In the ancient Hebrew of prehistoric

of good luck;" Baal-Hammon (Song of Songs viii. 11), a town where King Solomon owned a vineyard; Baal Hatsor (2 Sam. xii. 23) in the boundaries of Ephraim; Baal-Hermon (Judges iii. 3, and 2 Chron. v. 23), a town on Mount Hermon; Baal-Me'on (Jer. xlvi. 23, Ez. xxv. 9, Jos. xiii. 17), a town of the tribe of Reuben; Baal-Peratsim (2 Sam. v. 20), where David slew the Philistines; Baal-Shaleshah (1 Sam. ix. 4), in Ephraim; Baal-Thamar near Gibeon (Judges xx. 33); Baale-Judah, i. e., the lords (i. e., the gods) of Judah (1 Chron. xiii. 6); etc.



BAAL HAMMON ON VOTIVE STONES.

Found at Cirta, the present Constantine, Algiers. On one of the stones the god holds in his hand a branch, the symbol of vegetation and the rejuvenescence of life, on the other the wand of Hermes, representing the solar disc surmounted by the crescent, an emblem that later on, when no longer understood, was misinterpreted as two intertwined serpents.

In Phœnician the word Baal means "Lord" in the same sense in which our Bible version still uses the word *adonai* (אֲדֹנָי), either for God the Father, or God the Son. Thus Baal may mean Baal-Hammon, identified by the Greeks with Zeus, or Melkarth the Baal of Tyre (מֶלְכָרְתַּח בַּעַל צֵי) identified with the Greek Heracles.

Originally there was no difference between *adon* and *ba'al*; but when the word Ba'al came to denote the god of the Phœnicians,

the Hebrew used exclusively the word *adonai* (my Lord). Yet *adon* remained a synonym of Tammuz, and the Greek admitted to the Greek Pantheon the Phœnician god under the name *Adonis*.

In Phœnicia and Phœnician colonies, we find frequent compositions with the name Baal, thus Hani-Baal (חני בל) means "the grace of Baal." As Johannes (יהוה נח) means "Yahveh is gracious," so an Edomite king was called "Baal-hanan," i. e., "Baal is gracious."

There are many allusions to the Baal cult of the Phœnicians in the Bible, especially to the holocausts or burnt offering of human victims, and we learn that Baal was worshipped under different cognomens as the "Baal of the covenant" (בעל ברית) (Judges viii. 33 and ix. 4), also called "God (*El*, אל קריה) of the covenant" (v. 46). Baal-Zebub (בעל זבוב), the lord of the flies, is a deity whose festival fell in the month when the insects disappear, and so he was represented in a myth as the great fly-catcher, which performance must have been one of the labors which the sun-god, the Phœnician Heracles, performs in his migration over the earth, and this name became among the Jews a common designation for Satan.<sup>1</sup>

From the votive tablets of Carthage, we reproduce one that is interesting in more than one respect. The inscription which stretches over the middle of the slab reads:

"To the Lady Tanit-Pene-Baal, and to the Lord Baal-Hammon, in redemption of his vow Abdeshmun, son of Shafet."

Underneath the inscription is a peculiar religious symbol which according to some archæologists takes the place of the Egyptian "key of life." On either side hovers a dove, the bird sacred to Astarte. Above the inscription we see Astarte, the Lady of the countenance of Baal, holding in her hand the symbol of her divinity, a disc within a crescent.

We have no information why Tanit-Astarte was with preference called "of the countenance of Baal," but we need not seek for a far-fetched explanation. *Pene* (or Hebrew פנה = countenance) means also affection. When in Aaron's blessing, God lifts his countenance upon the congregation, it means that God looks upon the people with kindness, that he loves them, and they possess his favor.<sup>2</sup> Thus the lady of the countenance of Baal is the goddess beheld by Baal; the one whom he loves and cherishes.

The goddess appears in the shape which later on Christian

<sup>1</sup> The word is used by Christ in Matt. x. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, 2d edition, pp. 29 f. and pp. 153-155.



ABDESMUN'S MEMORIAL STONE

Found in Carthage, bearing a dedication to Tanit Pene Baal.

artists gave to angels; the arch above her represents the heavens; on either side stands a pillar which here assumes the shape of a shepherd's crook.

On the top of the slab appears a hand symbolising Providence, the dispensation of Baal-Hammon (the Phœnician name for the Egyptian Ammon), the supreme god and ruler of the universe, corresponding to the Christian God the Father, and it is noteworthy that the symbol of the out-stretched hand, also used as an emblem on top of Roman standards, remained a symbol of Providence among Christian artists almost down to the present day.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### DHARMAPALA'S MISSION.

The Anagarika Dharmapala, a native of Ceylon and the officially appointed delegate of Buddhism to the Parliament of Religions, is visiting again this country, and this time he concentrates his efforts on a peculiar mission, which if he succeeds may lead to important results. He endeavors to rouse the sympathies of Americans for India; he describes the misery of Hindu life, the poverty of the people, their ignorance, and the superstitions which prevent them from accepting the benefits of civilisation; and how easy it would be to help them if they were but educated. Dharmapala therefore proposes to found at Benares, the sacred city of both the Buddhists and Hindus, a simple manual training school for twenty of the Sudra children (the lowest caste) which, if successful, might lead to the future establishment of a college which might become a model institution for teaching agriculture and other practical trades. His aim is set forth by the Secretary of the American Maha-Bodhi Society, Mr. J. H. Grairo, as follows:

"The Indo-American Educational Propaganda aims to transplant American industrial ideas and methods by introducing American agricultural implements and also by starting industrial *non-sectarian* schools like the School of Education in the University of Chicago, the Lewis Institute, the Armour Institute, the Tuskegee Industrial School of Booker T. Washington, in important towns in India, to teach both boys and girls various branches in arts and domestic science, viz.: farming, dairying, gardening, weaving, carving on wood and metal, embroidering, modeling, book-binding, carpentry, smithing, hygienic and sanitary house-building, drawing, cooking, pottery, painting, floriculture, canning, mat, broom and brush making, music, ethics and physical culture, that will make life useful and active."

Mr. Dharmapala visited Booker Washington's institution in order to study the methods by which a lower race is being lifted up and is taught to better its conditions; and he trusts that the Hindu people, being of Aryan blood and the descendants of an ancient civilisation will do as well if not better than the negro, and that beneficent results will be reaped from a systematic schooling. India is as rich as the country of the United States; India's fields are even more fertile; if India could only be taught American methods, she could overcome her present state of degradation and be prosperous.

This is all very true, but it is not so easy to transfer a civilisation from one country to another, especially if in their historical development and social conditions they differ so radically as do the United States and India. Mr. Dharmapala's intentions are good and the purity of his motive cannot be doubted, but there are additional qualities needed in order to render such a movement successful.

The Maharajah of Calcutta gives his opinion on the subject in a letter to the Anagarika Dharmapala as follows :

"There are two sides to every question, and seeing that your letter has been so straightforward and to the point, I may with confidence write mine in the same strain. You will allow that to start a technical college in India on American lines as you propose, would require a vast scheme, necessitating the unselfish and perfect co-operation of many minds and brains, with liberal pecuniary support to ensure the successful issue of the proposition. There can be no doubt that an institution such as you describe could not fail to be of the very greatest benefit to a country like India which is still in a very backward state of development, especially in the line of technical education ; but it must be remembered that India is comparatively a very poor country, and we can hardly point to our Carnegies and Rockefellers here. It is therefore, I think, absolutely impossible to expect to establish successfully an institution of the kind you mention with the aid of the contribution of any single individual. If I could know that the scheme has enlisted the active support and co-operation of at least a goodly number of enthusiastic patriots like your good self, I should be more than pleased to give it every consideration and lend it a helping hand, but at present I am of the opinion that more assistance is wanted from a large number of men who have a practical and working experience of this kind of thing, and who would be willing to accord their hearty, substantial co-operation thereto."

Mr. Dharmapala claims that the British government of India spends too much for war and too little for educational purposes. He regrets that the Christian missionaries do not do more for education and do not make their scholars independent and self-reliant. He thinks they should rather educate than convert them, and in spite of all their efforts the poorer classes are being more and more converted to Mohammedanism. Mohammedanism, however, will alienate them more from civilisation. He believes that Buddhism would be better suited for the needs of the people, because Buddhism is not opposed to progress, to schooling, to education, and education is their first and most urgent need.

Mr. Dharmapala's agitation possesses a practical side to which Mr. Edward Atkinson of Boston calls attention, and it is the advantage which would accrue to the American manufacturers if the Hindu would only know the importance of agricultural and other machinery. India is a country teeming with millions and in dire need of all sorts of implements, but in order to feel their need they ought to be taught the use of machinery, and here the Anagarika Dharmapala ought to have a chance to enlist the help of the American manufacturers for whom India is a field of vast opportunities.

The Buddhist circles of India have the best intentions to accept instruction and are willing to be taught. There is, for instance, a Buddhist society in Madras who are anxious to have advice and if possible, guidance and support for the sake of working their way up in life and improving the conditions of the people. But they have not means enough to help themselves, and they encounter at the same time the hostility of other natives, of the more conservative orthodox Hindus.

It seems that on the question of education, of progress, of lifting up the general standard of life, all religions should join hands and work in brotherly concord. The Christian Churches and Christian missions are of course the strongest, and it is quite an innovation in the history of religion that Buddhism too and even Islam begin to missionarise, but non-Christian missions in Christian countries are still so insignificant, that they do not as yet cut any figure ; nevertheless they exist and

ought to be encouraged not only by those who sympathise with their doctrines, but also by Christians.

Christians should not feel jealous of other religions if they do begin to missionarise. Not only have other religions the same right as the Christian religion, but it will be a help to the general cause of religion if they do appear in the field as competitors, and far from repudiating Buddhist missions, Christians ought to welcome them and offer them the hand of brotherhood on account of the zeal to spread the faith that is in them. In this sense we propose to Christians as well as to Buddhists and in the same way to the devotees of any other religion to join hands in the cause of morality and education which is, or ought to be, common to all of them. The eagerness of the Buddhists in Madras, Siam, Ceylon, Burma, Japan, etc., can only be stimulating and helpful. It will increase the discussion of religious topics; it will invite comparison and criticism, and the result will be a promotion of that which is good, and true, and wholesome.

There can be no doubt that Christian missions have improved and are still improving; they are broadening and become more practical, and as they keep the immediate needs in view, they will be more serviceable and helpful.

Whether the Anagarika Dharmapala will be successful in founding an agricultural college in Benares remains to be seen, but it seems to us that he could do nothing without the assistance of practical men who have experience in the work and would look upon it, not from the religious but the business standpoint, and venture into it as a good investment for which they could solicit and gain the co-operation of industry and trade.

In the meantime Mr. Dharmapala's work has prospered beyond expectation. We learn that the aristocratic *Englishman*, an English (that is to say a non-Native) paper of Calcutta publishes sympathetic comments on Dharmapala's work and Mr. William Jones, M. P. whom Mr. Dharmapala met at Mr. Atkinson's house will welcome him in London and will introduce him to the right persons who may aid him in the most practical way.

Unquestionably the work can prosper only if it is not anti-English and its success will be assured if the English government will appreciate its importance and lend a helping hand.

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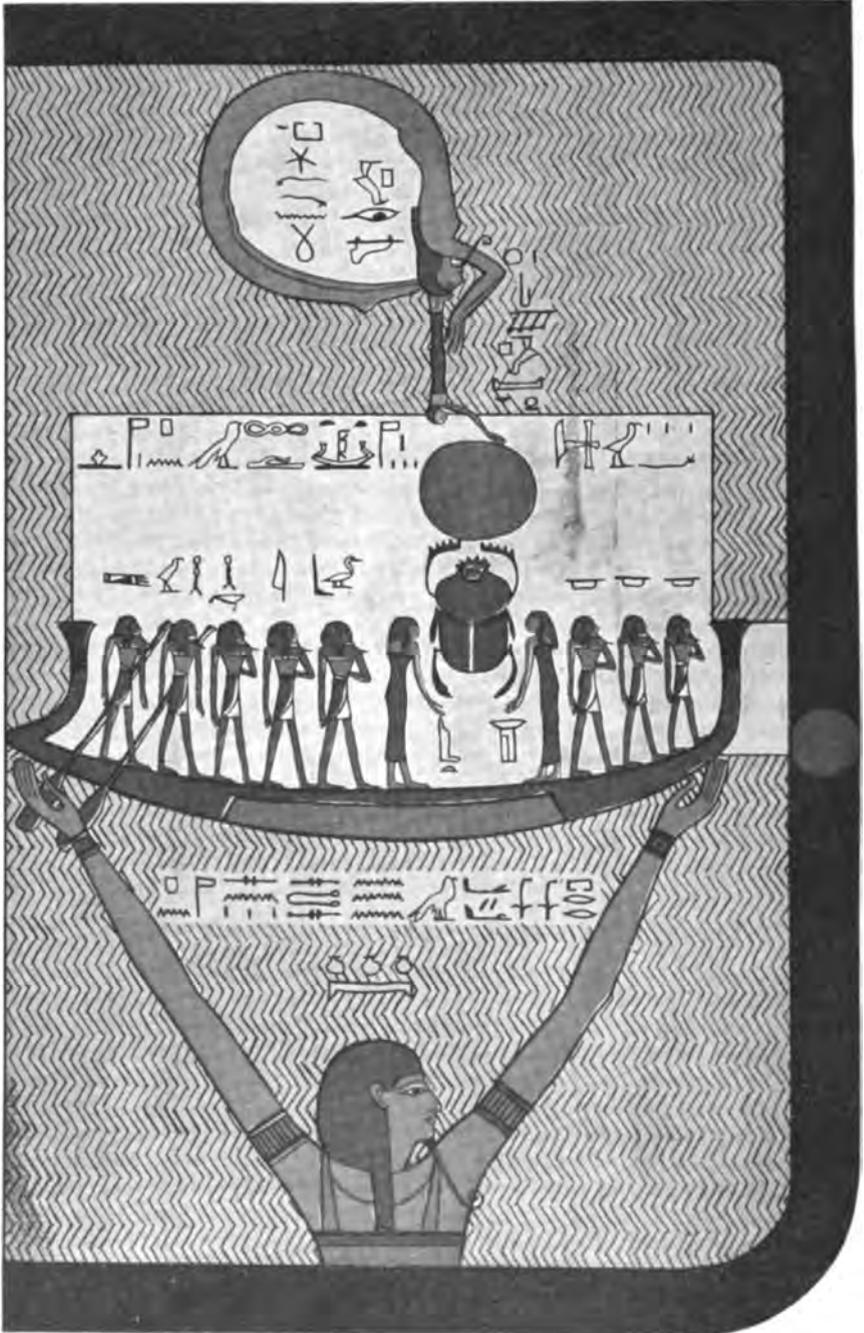
#### PROF. BUDGE'S NEW WORK DELAYED BY FIRE.

The Open Court Publishing Co. hoped to bring out before Christmas the American edition of E. A. Wallis Budge's book, *The Gods of the Egyptians*,<sup>1</sup> manufactured in England under the author's personal supervision, but the delivery of the great work has been delayed by a fire in the bindery which destroyed not only the copies destined for the American market but also the stones from which the color-plates had been made.

The English publishers, Methuen and Co., have at once made arrangements to replace the loss by a reduction of their own stock destined for the European market, and we expect soon to be in a position to fill orders of our American patrons.

The book itself, of which we have as yet only one advance copy in hand, is a most elegant work, bound in two volumes of 988 pages, richly illustrated with 98 colored plates averaging eight impressions each, and containing 131 illustrations in the text.

<sup>1</sup>Price of the two volumes, royal octavo, library binding, will be \$20.00 net.



**THE CREATION.**

A reproduction from one of the colored plates in *The Gods of the Egyptians*.

The author, a leading Egyptologist, is well known as the keeper of the department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities of the British Museum, and his name is a sufficient guarantee that the book will be methodical, and authoritative. His statements are based upon original research and will be thoroughly up to date, incorporating all that is known on the subject.

There is no other book of equal rank on the Egyptian Pantheon, nor is it likely that anyone will appear in the near future to rival it. It is unique not only as being authoritative but also in its artistic makeup and the probability is that the work will soon become rare.<sup>1</sup>

#### A TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE C. C. BONNEY.

Read at the Memorial Meeting at the request of the Chicago Bar Association by his friend and colleague, A. N. Waterman, late Judge of the Appellate Court of Illinois.<sup>2</sup>

For upwards of forty years Mr. Charles Carrol Bonney practiced his profession in Chicago. From the very first he took high rank not only as a lawyer but as a man. No one had a higher estimate of what is required of a lawyer, the services he should render to the community in which he lives, the country of which he is a citizen, and the civilisation by which he is surrounded. Mr. Bonney was more than a lawyer who advises clients, assists suitors and tries causes. To him the profession he had selected was the noblest of all, because it deals most closely with that without which civilisation is impossible. He believed thoroughly in the regnant influences of human law, and consequently, he favored the enactment and enforcement of laws which in his judgment would tend to the preservation, the up-building of moral sentiment, the prosperity and peace of the entire community. He gave much of his time, and great labor, to the National Law and Order League, of which he was for many years President, and in whose services he delivered many addresses in the middle and northern States, as well as in the Canadas.

He was a ready and forceful speaker. Few men were able on all occasions to speak succinctly, consecutively and effectively as did he. I have not known another who spoke as instructively and well upon so great a variety of topics, and I believe his addresses to the various religious, social, scientific, and educational congresses held in Chicago in 1893 to have no parallel.

As a lawyer his briefs and his arguments were models of perspicuity; the right word, the proper expression for conveying the thought he had in mind, seemed to be always at his command.

He prepared and published several law books. Neither of these were designed to be a comprehensive treatise upon any subject. They were intended not so much for the use of lawyers as for persons engaged in the work of which these books treated. One of these was concerning the rights, obligations, and duties of Railway Carriers; the other a summary of the law of Marine Fire and Life Insurance. As convenient works of reference for railway and insurance men they were respec-

<sup>1</sup>The adjoined illustration is an uncolored half-tone reproduction from one of the colored plates. It represents the creation of the world from the primeval waters. The god Nu lifts up the boat of the sun in which Ra the sun-god is accompanied by a number of the Egyptian deities. In the upper portion of the picture we see the under-world encompassed by the body of Osiris on whose head stands the goddess Nut, stretching out her arms to receive the solar disc.

<sup>2</sup>We omit the data of Mr. Bonney's life which was stated in *The Open Court*, September, 1903.

tively most useful and complete. It is almost superfluous to say that all contained in them is stated with such clearness, and absence of technical phraseology as to be readily understood and apprehended by the business men for whose use they were written. Being made by "Mr. Bonney" they could not have been otherwise.

As husband, father, friend, gentleman, and scholar, his life was not only above reproach, but in him sweetness of disposition, gentleness of manner, consideration for others were mingled with perfect integrity. He lived, worked, and wore himself out for others. His sympathies were world-wide. Of a profoundly religious nature, he saw something of good in all men, and in all creeds. He loved mankind, worshipped God, bowed before human and divine law, toiled for the right, and died with perfect faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and through him an eternity of living conscious, intelligent, personal communion with the good who have been and shall be.

A. N. WATERMAN.

### PROF. ERNST HAECKEL'S SOLUTION OF THE "WORLD RIDDLE."

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

The monism of Haeckel is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the idea of a God by proving too much: or in other words, Pantheism = Atheism.

All that is said by theologians, and by ultra deniers, only strengthens the conviction of the present impossibility of accounting for the Cosmos. The unbiassed man can agree with neither, as he can refute neither. He simply *does not know*: and the more he learns, and the more he thinks, the stronger grows the justification for his acknowledgment of ignorance.

He cannot deny the possibility of an anthropomorphic God, however crude and unsatisfactory may be such an attempt to explain the cosmogony. On the other hand, he stands aghast at the knowledge that person must assume to possess who can say "There is no God." Both assumptions are irrational, but of the two the assertion is a shade less irrational than the denial of the existence of a God-Creator, for the reason that the asserter has the slender analogy of our microscopically finite experience to support the view that what is made must have a maker. To the unprejudiced mind it appears impossible to reach conclusions concerning the infinite from a very limited number of observed sequences in the (very small) finite; but the procedure offers at least a faint pretext (however insufficient) for acceptance; whereas the denier has nothing on which to base his tremendous denial but his own inability to find what he denies; and his inability is infinite.

Of the two propositions representing the extremes of assertion and of negation it may be said that *it is perhaps a shade less irrational to assert on the strength of an analogy of unknown value, than to deny on the negative support of our own failure to find.*

Accepting Haeckel's hypothesis, there is still ample room for even an anthropomorphic God (however unlikely that may be) before the existence, or first thrill of the "attenuated jelly" (protyle), and during the course of its evolution from Moneran to Homo sapiens.

But with such a God the mystery of the cosmos is merely transferred to Him, and is just as great as without Him, even if we knew accurately the phylogenetic

chain from prototype to man, and the ontogenetic sequence from germination to death.

PHILADELPHIA, September, 1903.

PERSIFOR FRAZER.

### AGNOSTICISM.

IN REPLY TO MR. PERSIFOR FRAZER.

Mr. Persifor Frazer is an agnostic, and he takes the consequences of his doctrine of nescience. He claims that Haeckel's solution of the world-riddle breaks down because he tries to prove too much. Mr. Frazer says that the unbiased man can agree with neither the theologian nor the atheist; "he can refute neither, he simply does not know." According to these principles any theory concerning the world-riddle (the constitution of the world, the nature of man's soul, and its fate after death, etc.) is on the same footing whether it be the superstition of the savage, or the mythology of Greece, or the dogma of some civilised religion, or the private conviction of a naturalist, or even the assured conclusions of science. If that be so, we had better give up all investigation and acquiesce in our ignorance from which there is no hope of escape.

There are two kinds of agnosticism: one is the agnosticism of modesty; the other, absolute agnosticism. The former is a temporary suspension of judgment, the latter a belief in perpetual nescience. The former is not agnosticism proper, but is the natural attitude of a man who does not dogmatise on a subject which he has not yet investigated. The latter is a declaration of bankruptcy, and it acts as a blight on thought.

In our opinion, the problem of God, of soul, of ethics, or the destiny of man and his duties in life,—in short, all the problems of philosophy, are not insolvable problems, but admit of scientific investigation and solution. As to God, we believe that we should first of all ask the question, not, whether or not does God exist, but (1) What do we mean by God; (2) How did the God-idea historically originate? and (3) What are the underlying facts which suggested the God-idea? Having answered these questions from the standpoint of an impartial investigator, we shall be better fitted to attack the original question, whether or not God exists.

There is no need to enter here into a discussion of the subject. We have only reluctantly yielded to Mr. Frazer's request of giving publicity to his note on Haeckel and will repeat here what we have said again and again that among all conceptions agnosticism is the most unsatisfactory, the most unscientific, and the most unphilosophic.

Agnosticism is an important epoch in the history of philosophic thought, but it is so inconsistent and untenable that even now it is fast dying out and will have to be regarded by the historian merely as a phase of transition.

P. C.

### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

LESSONS IN THE STUDY OF HABITS. For Use in the Grammar School, the Home, or the Sunday School. By *Walter L. Sheldon*. Chicago: W. M. Welch Company. Pages, 270.

The author is a lecturer of the Ethical Society at St. Louis, Mo., who has had a great deal of experience in the instruction of ethics. It is a very difficult subject, since the abstract teaching of ethics easily becomes wearisome to both the teacher and the scholars. The present volume has to do with the habits of life, and

forms one part only of a series which will further deal with the duties in the home and the family, of citizenship, and of practical justice.

In the present book the subject is presented in a series of proverbs and verses, constituting as it were, the text for the ethical instruction, for instance in Chapter IV. on Conceit, we read, "Conceit may puff a man up, but it never props him up," followed by a series of other familiar quotations from the Bible, from Pope, from Dr. Johnson, etc. The quotations are followed by a dialogue which in the present case on Conceit begins as follows:

"You have heard about certain people 'being conceited'? What would it indicate to you if it were said of anybody?"

"What is the chief characteristic of such persons? 'They talk about themselves,' you say. Yes, but how much? 'Oh,' you assert, 'a good deal.' Then you think that being conceited would mean talking about one's self a good deal?"

The dialogue continues in the same spirit and concludes with the remark that "there is a great deal of wisdom in this old proverb."

The points of the Lesson are then summarised in six brief sentences among which we note:

"That a conceited person is not so liable to improve, because he feels that he knows already and will not try to learn from others."

"That the conceited person resembles the rooster crowing, or the strutting peacock."

The duties are summed up in six "oughts" which in the question of conceit read as follows:

"I. We ought not to talk too much about ourselves

"II. We ought not to think too much about ourselves.

"III. We ought not to be offensive to others by showing a sense of our importance.

"IV. We ought not to be vain, lest we stop improving ourselves.

"V. We ought not to be conceited, lest we make people laugh at us or despise us.

"VI. We ought not to be vain, lest we deceive ourselves and lose our self-respect."

Each chapter is finally supplied with suggestions to the teacher. Now and then appropriate poems are inserted which help to relieve the monotony which in moral lessons seems to be unavoidable.

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AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST (New Series). Organ of The American Anthropological Association, the Anthropological Society of Washington, and the American Ethnological Society of New York. July-September, 1903. Lancaster, Pa.: The New Era Printing Company.

A number of Anthropological Societies, the American Anthropological Association, the Anthropological Society of Washington, and the American Ethnological Society of New York, have combined to publish a quarterly under the name of *American Anthropologist*, which has appeared for several years and contains a series of valuable contributions to a steadily growing science. The present number contains the following contributions:

"The Region of the Ancient 'Chicimecs,' with notes on the Tepecanos and the Ruin of La Quemada, Mexico," by Ales Hrdlicka.

"Prehistoric Porto Rican Pictographs," by J. Walter Fewkes. Mr. Fewkes, one of the most prominent anthropologists of this country distinguishes three kinds

of pictographs, (1) River pictographs, (2) Cave pictographs, (3) Pictographs on the boundary-stones of enclosures identified as dance plazas. The first are found in isolated valleys of high mountains and are cut on rocks, the surface of which has been worn smooth by the action of the waters. He describes specimens of all three, reproducing photographs. Without venturing into detailed explanations, Mr. Fewkes declares that the symbols are religious rather than secular, representing powers or beings which were worshipped, especially the sun or sky god, or the whirlwind or the whirlpool. Other symbols represent figures of zemis, i. e., the images of spirits, of either deceased people or the totems of the tribe.

Matilda Coxe Stevenson in her article on "Zuni Games" says: "By enlightened people games are associated with sport and recreation. Among some primitive peoples games are played primarily for divination, but the ceremonial games of the Zuni are for rain, and they constitute an important element in their religion and sociology. They are not played in a haphazard way; each game has its regulations and limitations, and there is deep meaning underlying all Zuni games supposed to have come to them from their gods." The author describes and illustrates with pictures all the games that are important among the Zuni.

Clarence B. Moore in an article on "The So-called 'Hoe-shaped Implement'" speaks of the several "implements" found in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, etc., and concludes that they served ceremonial purposes.

Mr. W. H. Holmes publishes the results of his investigations of the "Traces of Aboriginal Operations in an Iron Mine near Leslie, Missouri."

Mr. William Edwin Safford continues part of an article on "The Chamorro Language of Guam."

Franz Boas writes on "Hereditry in Head Form"; and Samuel P. Verner explains the appearance of "The Yellow Men of Central Africa" as being due to three successive currents of immigration into Africa from the region of the Nile and the Red Sea.

**BUDDHISTIC ESSAYS.** Referring to the Abhidharma. Colombo: Ceylon Examiner Press. London: Luzac & Co. 1903. Pages, 21.

**SATVÓTPATTI VINISCHAYA AND NIRVÁNA VIBHÁGA.** Compiled by *M. Dharmaratna*. Translation. Colombo: Observer Office. London: Luzac & Co. 1902. Pages, 102.

This short essay is remarkable in being written by a serious man who though fairly well informed concerning Christianity remains a Buddhist. The author is none other but the brother of the King of Siam, Prince Chandrdhat Chudhathar, who in spite of his high position at court renounced wealth and honors to become a simple Buddhist priest. Heladiw Ruvana is a speech which he delivered at Colombo, and in reading it, the author wants his reader to take into consideration that English is not his mother tongue. He writes very plainly, however, and his meaning can never be misunderstood. He expresses himself very modestly in giving his view of Buddhism, and declares that he is "ever ready to discuss any criticism thereof."

The Prince-priest discusses the difficult subject of the soul and of Nirvána and expresses a view, quite current among modern Buddhists, that the soul will be reincarnated at death. There is no soul-substance, no atman travelling from one place to another, but a re-birth takes place in the shape of a new formation. While the doctrine of re-birth (in contrast to transmigration) is truly the orthodox Buddhist doctrine, we venture to say that this peculiar interpretation, viz., that man's

re-birth should take place at the moment of his death, is a later conception which cannot be traced back to the oldest sources. The original doctrine is that the process of re-birth is continuous, which means that during his life man impresses his peculiar soul upon others and thus re-birth takes place by his deeds, not at the moment of death.

The Prince characterised the process by an illustration which is very appropriate. He says:

"When an artist paints his own likeness, the materials which he uses for colors are not made from material parts of his body, but from ordinary materials outside; so the process of re-birth is effected by a (dying) man through the assertion of his thinking habits, from the elements outside, just as the action of the phonograph is effected by the motions of the voice."

The word "dying" which we have put in parentheses is an idea which is foreign to the original conception. It is just while the painter is using the brush, that the likeness of his portrait is re-born,—his painting reproduces it. There is no at-man travelling into the portrait, but stroke by stroke it is reproduced. The same is true of the phonograph. While the voice speaks it is reproduced, not when the voice ceases. The Prince-priest justifies his position by saying:

"The process of re-birth, however, takes place at death only, because then the exertion of physical thought being exhaustive is quite fixed for ever."

We know that the Prince-priest's explanation is quite common among Buddhists, but we venture to say that it would resolve Buddhist psychology into mysticism.

The little essay contains much that is good concerning Nirvāna and the law of Karma, and it is accompanied with some German comments signed "A. B.," which is obviously the signature of Adolf Bastian, the venerable father of comparative anthropology and the founder of the German Anthropological Museum at Berlin.

The second pamphlet is written by the editor of a native periodical of Ceylon and the author of many Buddhistic books. It contains elucidations of many intricacies which are difficult to understand for the uninitiated. The article on Nirvāna forms an interesting contribution to this much-mooted subject, being a collection of quotations, all of them verifying the general idea that Nirvāna is an eternal state where there is no birth, decay, or death. This second pamphlet also is accompanied with a German essay written by A. Bastian.

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THE RECOVERY AND RESTATEMENT OF THE GOSPEL. By *Loran David Osborn*, Ph. D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1903. Pages, xxvi, 279. Price, \$1.50.

The general character of this book may be expressed in the following quotations:

"The purpose of the following pages is to show how the gospel of Jesus has become obscured during the course of its historical development, and that it is therefore necessary to go back of this in order to recover the gospel which he taught; and further, that, inasmuch as the world's culture has radically changed during the centuries since Christianity received its first dogmatic expression, this recovered gospel needs restatement in terms of modern thought and life.

"The early ecclesiastical transformation of Christianity involved the substitution of the church for the Christ as the object of faith, and hence as the means of salvation; or, to say the least, Christ could be found only through the church, which therefore conditioned salvation.

"The fundamental idea of the gospel of Jesus is that of salvation. It cannot be better expressed than in the classical passage: 'God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life.'

"Let each age do for itself what the first centuries did: so express this universal gospel in terms of contemporary thought and institutional life that it shall exercise its maximum influence upon the men of that age, and bring to them in greatest fulness the blessings of God's salvation in Jesus Christ."

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**THE STUDY OF MENTAL SCIENCE.** Popular Lectures on the Uses and Characteristics of Logic and Psychology. By *J. Brough, LL. D.*, Professor of Logic and Philosophy at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. Pages, vii, 129. Price, 2s.

Dr. J. Brough, Professor of Logic and Philosophy of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, publishes a thoughtful and conservative series of popular lectures on the study of mental science, and on the uses and characteristics of logic and psychology.

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Speaking of introspection, he says:

"Whether or not there can be a Science of the inner life, there can be by virtue of psycho-physical definitions a scheme of discipline common to mankind under which each man can watch the phases of his own inner life. Psychology can at least be a guide to the sole spectator in his use of 'art and pains.' And if the kingdom we look for is a personal discipline rather than a body of doctrine, we can know the genuine and true, and reject the fraudulent and false."

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**THE DAVIS PARALLEL GOSPELS.** Being the Three Synoptic Gospels and some portions of John. Together with a short commentary. By *E. D. Davis*. New York: Peter Eckler. Pages, iv, 160. Price, \$1.00.

This is a collection of the three Synoptic Gospels in parallel columns with references to the Fourth Gospel, attempting to prove that the New Testament cannot be an inspired book.

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*The Chicago Israelite* publishes a special number in celebration of Chanukah Festival. The contents of the number is devoted to Jewish interests: The Need of Missions to Offset the Missionaries, by Tobias Schanfarber; The Hebrew Union College, by Dr. Kaufman Kohler; The Jewish Encyclopædia; The Jewish Agricultural Aid Society of America, by A. R. Levy, Secretary; The National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives, by Alfred Mueller, Secretary; The Council of Jewish Women, by Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon, President; The Baron De Hirsch Fund, by A. S. Solomons, General Agent (since resigned); The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, by Solomon Schechter; and Zionism and Its Organisation, by Isidore D. Morrison. The number will be of interest also to Gentiles who wish to be posted on the strength, the methods, and the character of Judaism in this country. Not the least attraction of this number consists in the many illustrations, among them portraits of Rabbis and other prominent Jews.

A Japanese version of Dr. P. Carus's *The Religion of Science* has been recently published by the Kô Mē Sba Co., Tokyo. The translator is Mr. Sēya Hasegawa. He says in his Preface: "The publication is urgently demanded by the present condition of Japanese morality and religion, and it will also help scientists to attain an insight into the religious significance of their profession." Unfortunately, Japan is now suffering from the evil tendencies of materialism, utilitarianism, and agnosticism, introduced by those popular scholars who have neither power of insight nor depth of imagination, and it is my sincere hope that the Japanese public would not be slow in appreciating the importance of the thoughts set forth in this booklet. The translation, as the translator himself confesses, is not equal to the original in its force and readableness, but it is plain enough to make the reader understand what the author means to say. As to the title of the book, I should like to suggest that *Kwagaku-kyô* is preferable to *Kwagakuteki-shûkyô*, for the latter is not only "misleading," but actually incorrect. DAISETSU.

*The centenary of Kant's day of death* will take place on February 12, 1904. Hans Vaihinger, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Halle, sends out a circular in which he asks for contributions to a Kant fund for the purpose of establishing on a firm foundation the publication of the *Kantstudien*, a philosophical magazine of which he is the editor.

The *Kantstudien* is a credible undertaking supported by prominent professors, among whom we may mention E. Adickes, É. Boutroux, Edm. Caird, C. Cantoni, J. E. Creighton, W. Dilthey, B. Erdmann, R. Eucken, M. Heinze, K. Reicke, A. Rhiel, and W. Windelband. But the subscriptions to this periodical did not pay the expense of publication which required an annual sacrifice of 500 to 600 Marks, which had to be procured by collection. In order to perpetuate the enterprise in honor of the great German philosopher, Professor Vaihinger, who not only gives his services to the cause free of charge but has also made many pecuniary sacrifices, proposes to found a "Kant Society," analogous to the English "Mind Association" that is supporting the English quarterly *Mind*. Patrons make a donation of 400 marks, and members pay an annual assessment of twenty marks. Both will receive the periodical *Kantstudien* free of charge. The donations of life-members are to be deposited and the interest used for the continuation of the *Kantstudien*. The first general meeting of all patrons and members of the Kant Society is to take place on February 12th, 1904, at the house of Professor Vaihinger, 15 Reichardtstrasse, Halle, a. S., when a committee of three will be appointed to superintend the publication of the *Kantstudien*.

Should the "Kant Society" or the Kant studies be discontinued, the entire property should be turned over to the University of Königsberg on the condition that it be devoted to research work in the field of Kant literature.

Contributions will be received either by Prof. Hans Vaihinger, 15 Reichardtstrasse, or H. F. Lehman, Bankers, both in Halle, a. S., Germany. Prof. J. E. Creighton, Ithaca, N. Y., is authorised to collect contributions to the Kant Society in the United States of North America.

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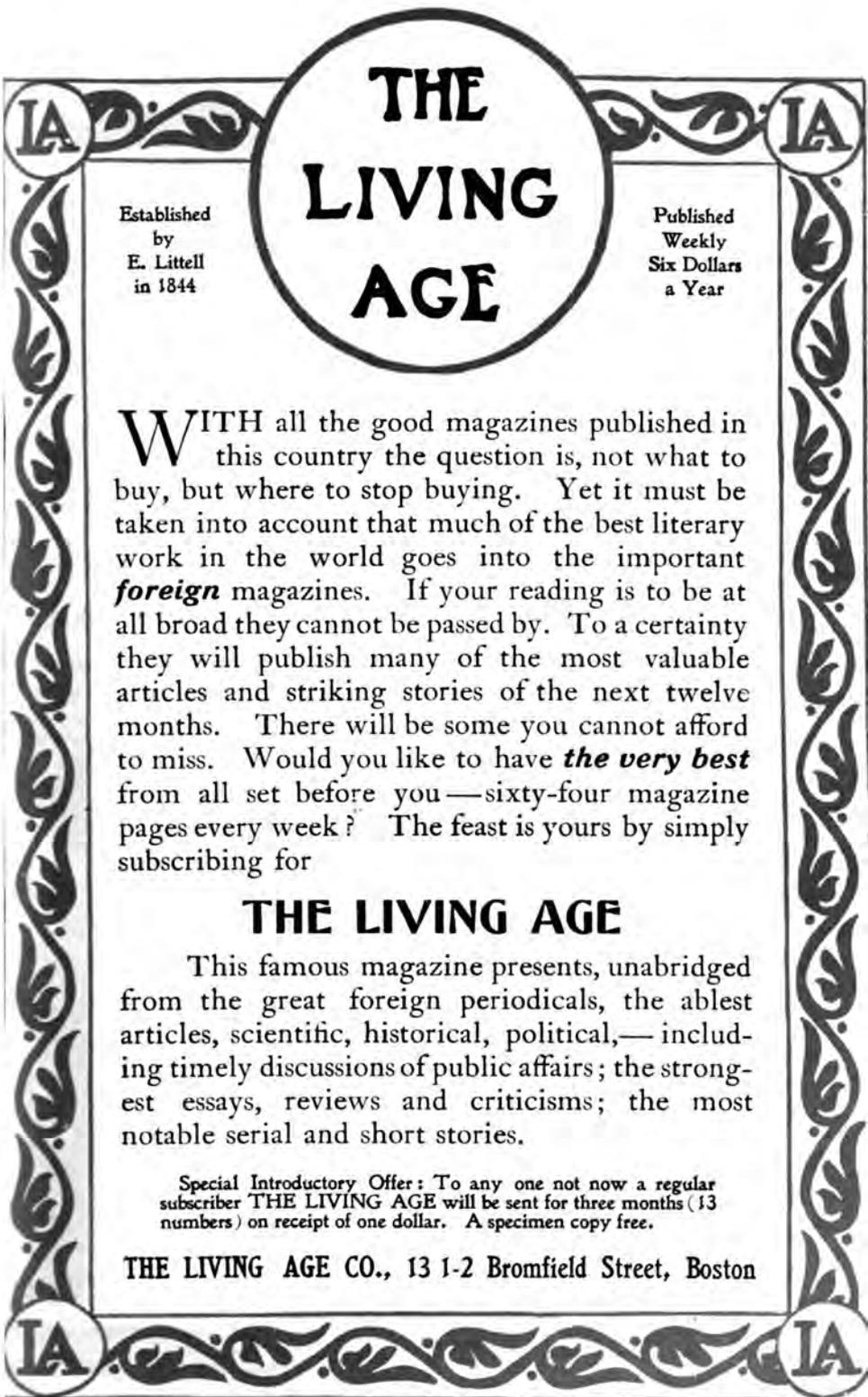
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THE CHANDOS PORTRAIT OF SHAKESPEARE.

Reproduced by courtesy of J. Parker Norris from his *Portraits of Shakespeare*.

*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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FEBRUARY, 1904.

NO. 573

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## WHO WROTE SHAKESPEARE?

BY THE EDITOR.

WHO wrote the works of Shakespeare? is a question that has been ventilated from time to time, and several suggestions have been offered. One thing alone seems sure, viz., that the man who is generally credited with the honor of having written these wonderful dramas cannot be considered their real author. Something must be wrong in the traditions concerning the poet, for documentary evidences seem to contradict the current view; but it is difficult to point out the cause of the discrepancy, and it may be a hopeless task to correct the error, if error there be.

General J. Warren Keifer has condensed the reasons that make him pause, and anyone who investigates the subject and carefully weighs his arguments will come to his conclusion that the owner of New Place in Stratford-on-Avon is not likely to have written the dramas that are commonly accredited to him. In enumerating the main points that make him doubt that Mr. Shakspeare of New Place wrote the dramas that go under Shakespeare's name, he speaks of the will, which is documentary evidence of the most reliable kind. He says:

"Francis Collins, solicitor at Warwick, drafted his will, of date of January 31st, 1616—spelling the name 'Shackspeare,' the signature thereto being spelled 'Shakspeare.' The will was not executed until March following. He died April 23, 1616.

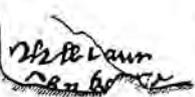
"But his last will and testament testifies to some things we may not overlook. I have read it and re-read it with care. He disposes therein of a large estate to children and named persons, in detail, naming small amounts in pounds, shilling and pence, finger rings, plate and '*bole*,' old clothes, 'household stuff,' etc., omitting in the first draft one natural object of his bounty, then had it interlined thus: '*I give unto my weife my second best bed with the furniture.*' So only did his wife come to be remembered with a necessary '*second best bed.*'

FIRST PAGE OF SHAKSPERE'S WILL.  
(With facsimile of signature.)

Mij  
Vicesimo Quinto Die ~~January~~ Anno Regni Dñi nri Jacobi unice Rx Anglie  
&c. Decimo quarto & Scotie xliix<sup>o</sup> Anno, Dñi 1616

T. W<sup>m</sup> Shakspeare

In the name of god Amen I Willi<sup>m</sup> Shakspeare of Stratford vpon Avon in the countie of warr gent in pfect health & memorie god be prayed doe make & Ordayne this my last will & testam<sup>t</sup> in man<sup>r</sup> & forme followeing That ys to saye first I Comend my Soule into the hands of god my Creator hoping & assuredlie beleaving through th onelic meritts of Jesus Christe my Saviour to be made ptaker of lyfe everlastinge And my bodye to the Earth whereof yt ys made It<sup>m</sup> I Gyve & bequeath vnto my ~~sonne~~ & Daughter Judyth One hundred & fyftie pounds of lawful English money to be paid vnto her in man<sup>r</sup> & forme followeing That ys to saye One hundred <sup>in discharge of her marriage porcion</sup> pounds, w<sup>thin</sup> one year after my deceas w<sup>th</sup> considera<sup>o</sup>n after the Rate of twoe Shillings in the pound for soe long tyme as the same shalbe vnpaid vnto her after my Deceas & the fyftie pounds Residewe thereof vpon her Surrendring, or gyving of such sufficient securitie as the overseers of this my Will shall like of to Surrender or grante All her estate and Right that shall discend or come vnto her after my deceas or, <sup>that shee</sup> nowe hath of in or to one Copiehold teate w<sup>th</sup> thapptenn<sup>s</sup> lyeing and being in Stratford vpon Avon aforesaied in the saied countie of warr being pcell or holden of the manno<sup>r</sup> of Rowington vnto my Daughter Susanna Hall & her heires for ever It<sup>m</sup> I Gyve & bequeath vnto my saied Daughter Judith One hundred & fyftie pounds mo<sup>r</sup>e if she or Anie issue of her bodie be Lyvinge att thend of three yeares next ensueing the Daie of the Date of this my Will during w<sup>th</sup> tyme my executo<sup>r</sup> to paie her considera<sup>o</sup>n from my deceas according to the Rate aforesaied And if she Dye w<sup>thin</sup> the saied terme w<sup>thout</sup> issue of her bodye then my Will ys & I Doe gyve & bequeath One Hundred Pounds thereof to my necce Elizabeth Hall & the ffiftie Pounds to be sett fourth by my executo<sup>r</sup> during the lief of my Sister Johane Harte & the vse & pfitt thereof cominge shalbe payed to my saied Sister Ione & after her deceas the saied l<sup>y</sup> shall Remaine Amongst the children of my saied Sister Equallie to be Devided Amongst them But if my saied Daughter Judith be lyving att thend of the saied three yeares. or anye yssue of her bodye then my will ys & soe I Devise & bequeath the saied Hundred & ffiftie pounds to be sett out, <sup>by my executors & overseers</sup> for the best benefitt of her & her issue & <sup>the Stock to be</sup> not, paid vnto her soe long as Shee shalbe married & covert Baron <sup>by my executo<sup>r</sup> & overseers</sup> but my will ys that shee shall have the considera<sup>o</sup>n yearlie paid vnto her during her lief & after her deceas the saied stock and considera<sup>o</sup>n to bee paid to her children if she have Anie & if not to her executo<sup>r</sup> or assigns she lyving the saied terme after my deceas Provided that if such husband as she shall att thend of the saied three yeares be married vnto or attaine after doe sufficientlie Assure vnto her & thissue of her bodie lands Awnswereable to the porcion by this my will gyven vnto her & to be adjudged soe by my executo<sup>r</sup> & overseers then my will ys that the saied C<sup>l</sup> shalbe paid to such husband as shall make such assurance to his owne vse It<sup>m</sup> I gyve & bequeath vnto my saied sister Ione xx<sup>li</sup> & all my wearing Apparrell to be paid & deliv<sup>d</sup>ed w<sup>thin</sup> one year after my Deceas And I Doe will & devise vnto her, <sup>the house</sup> w<sup>th</sup> thapptenn<sup>s</sup> in Stratford wherein she dwelleth for her naturall lief vnder the yearlie Rent of xii<sup>d</sup> It<sup>m</sup> I gyve & bequeath



"But there is no mention of a property right in manuscripts or of the existence of any—none were found in his possession at his death—or of any royalty.

## SECOND PAGE OF SHAKSPERE'S WILL.

(With facsimile of signature.)

vnto her three sonns Willm̄ Harte Hart & Michaell Harte  
 fyve pounds A peece to be payed w<sup>th</sup>in one year after my deceas  
 to be sett out for her w<sup>th</sup>in one year after my deceas by my exeeutors  
 w<sup>th</sup> the advyse & direccions of my overseers for her best pfitte vntill her  
 marriage & then the same w<sup>th</sup> the inorence thereof to be paid vnto  
 her Itm̄ I gyve & bequeath vnto her All my Plate <sup>the said Elizabeth Hall (except my brod silver & gilt boie)</sup> that I now  
 have att the date of this my will Itm̄ I gyve & bequeath vnto  
 the Poore of Stratford aforesaid tenn pounds to Mr. Thomas  
 Combe my Sword to Thomas Russell Esquier fyve pounds &  
 to frauncis Collins of the Borrough of warr in the countie of warr  
 gent thirteene pounds Sixe shillings and Eight pence to be paid w<sup>th</sup>in  
 one Yeare after my deceas Itm̄ I gyve & bequeath to <sup>Hamlett Sadler</sup> Mr. Richard  
 Tyler sheld' xxvi' viij' to buy him <sup>to William Raynolds gent xxvj' viij' to buy him A Ringe</sup> A Ringe <sup>to my godson Willm̄</sup>  
 Walker xx' in gold to Anthonye Nashe gent xxvj' viij' & to Mr.  
 & to my fellows John Hemyngs Richard Burbage & Henry Cundell xxvj' viij' Apeece to buy them Ringes  
 John Nashe xxvj' viij' in gold, Itm̄ I Gyve will bequeath & devise vnto  
 for better enabling of her to pforme this my will & towards the pformans thereof  
 my Daughter Susanna Hall, All that Capitall messuage or teite  
 in Stratford aforesaid  
 w<sup>ch</sup> thapptenads, called the newe place wherein I nowe Dwell  
 & twoe Messuags or teites w<sup>ch</sup> thapptenns scitvat lyeing & being  
 in Henley Streete w<sup>ch</sup> in the borough of Stratford aforesaid And all  
 my barnes stables Orchards gardens lands teits & hereditam<sup>ts</sup> whatsoev  
 scitvat lyeing & being or to be had Receyved pceyved or taken  
 w<sup>ch</sup> in the towns Hamletts Villags fields & grounds of Stratford  
 vpon Avon Oldstratford Bushopton & Welcombe or in anie of them  
 in the said countie of warr And alsoe All that Messuage or  
 tente w<sup>ch</sup> thapptenns wherein One John Robinson dwelleth scitvat  
 lyeing & being in the blackfriars in London nere the Wardrobe & all  
 oth<sup>r</sup> my lands teits & hereditam<sup>ts</sup> whatsoev To have & to hold All &  
 singler the said pmisss w<sup>ch</sup> their Appptenns vnto the said Susanna  
 Hall for & during the terme of her naturall lief & after her  
 deceas to the first sonne of her bodie lawfullie yssueing & to the  
 heires Males of the bodie of the said first Sonne lawfullie  
 yssueing & for default of such issue to the second Sonne of her  
 bodie lawfullie issueing & to the heires Males of the bodie of the  
 said Second Sonne lawfullie yfsuauge and for default of such  
 heires to the third Sonne of the bodie of the said Susanna  
 Lawfullie yssueing & of the heires males of the bodie of the said third  
 sonne lawfullie yssueing And for default of such yssue the same soe  
 to be & Remaine to the flourish Sonne ffyth Sixte & Seaventh  
 sonnes of her bodie lawfullie issueing one after Anoth' & to the heires

*Wm. Shakspeare*

present or prospective, on publications from his writings (the equivalent of copy-right then existed), nor is the subject of authorship or papers hinted at in his will.

It was not hastily written or executed. He was, when it was written, in good health, and comparatively young. His cumulative habits and nature would have suggested to him a money value, if no other, for such manuscripts or rights, if they had existed. All his contemporaries who were writers left indubitable evidence of their authorship. Milton, eight years old when Shaksper died, left his title to *Paradise Lost* and other writings indisputable. So of all his contemporary play-writers and poets, Burbage, Marlowe, Nash, Peele, Green, Fletcher, Webster, Kyd, Ben

LAST PAGE OF SHAKSPERE'S WILL.

(With facsimile of signature.)

Males of the bodies of the saied fourth fifth Sixte & Seaventh sonnes lawfullie yssueing in such maner as yt ys before Lymitted to be & Remaine to the first second & third Sonnes of her bodie & to their heires males And for defalt of such issue the saied pmissis to be & Remaine to my sayed Neece Hall & the heires Males of her bodie Lawfullie yssueing & for defalt of such issue to my Daughter Judith & the heires males of her bodie lawfully yssueinge And for defalt of such issue to the Right heires of me the saied Willm

Itm I gyve vnto my wief my second best bed w<sup>th</sup> the furniture Shakspeare for ever. Itm I gyve & bequeath to my saied Daughter Judith my broad silver gilt bole All the Rest of my goods Chattels Leases plate Jewels & household stufte whatsoev<sup>r</sup> after my Detts and Legasies paid & my funerall expences discharged I gyve devise & bequeath to my Sonne in Lawe John Hall gent & my Daughter Susanna his wief whom I ordaine & make executo<sup>r</sup> of this my

Last will & testam<sup>t</sup> And I doe intreat & Appoint <sup>the saied</sup> Thomas Russell Esquier & frauncis Collins gent to be overseers hereof And doe Revoke All for<sup>m</sup> wills & publishe this to be my last will & testam<sup>t</sup> In Witness whereof I have herevnto put my hand

Seale the Daic & Yeare first above written.

*By me William Shakspeare*

Witness to the publishing  
hereof, Fra : Collyns  
Julyus Shawe  
John Robinson  
Hamnet Sadler  
Robert Whattcott

Probatum corā Magrī Willmī Byrde  
legum Dcorē Commiss<sup>o</sup> &c. xxij<sup>to</sup> die  
mens Junij Anno Dni 1616 Juram<sup>to</sup>  
Johannis Hall vnus ex &c. Cui &c.  
De bene &c. Jurat.—Resvat p̄tate  
&c. Susanne Hall alt ex &c. cū  
velit &c. petitur.

(Inv<sup>t</sup> ex<sup>t</sup>)

Jonson, and the earlier Spencer, Chaucer, and Beaumont. So of other great contemporary authors, Bacon, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others, we have already named. Oliver Cromwell was almost exactly seventeen years of age when Shaksper died; he and the galaxy of soldiers, sailors, statesmen, Puritan and cavalier, can be identified with their work by their letters and contemporary history; not so William Shaksper, the one now generally reputed most learned and renowned of all men of all the ages.

"Shaksper, if the author, would have, above other men, understood the imperishable character of his works, and taken pains to perpetuate his title thereto, for he was not without vanity, as is shown by his efforts to get the right to a '*coat of arms*' for his father, that he, the son, might be called a '*gentleman*.' This coat of arms was first applied for (1596) on the ground that John Shaksper's 'parents and late ancestors had rendered valiant service to King Henry VII'; then in 1599 the application was amended, alleging John's grandfather had been the valiant one; neither claim was accepted as true. William, neither then nor later, laid claim to authorship as entitling him to a '*coat of arms*,' or the rank of '*gentleman*,' or to fame, nor did his family.

"If Shaksper was so universally learned, why did he not educate at least one daughter, enough to enable her to read the simplest of his poems? What was the matter with the Stratford '*Free School*'? Why could not Susanna, Hamnet, or Judith learn there to read and write? Judith married two months before her father's death, and made her mark at the marriage altar. He was rich and could have educated his children.

"All contemporary biographical writings have been explored to discover something bearing on Shaksper's authorship, but in vain, save inferences and assumptions, with few exceptions.

FACSIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE "WILLIAM SHAKSPERE."

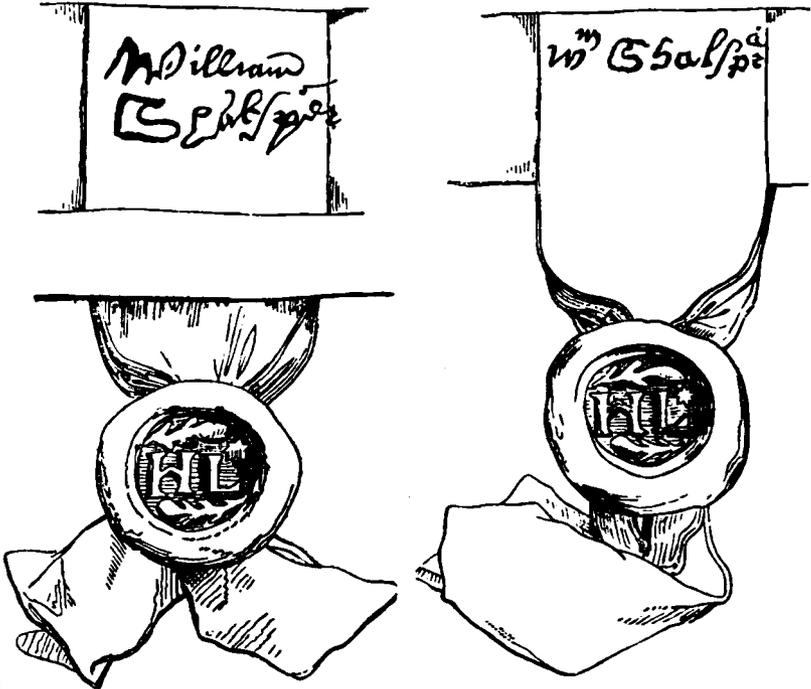
Found in a small folio volume, the first edition of Florio's translation of Montaigne. It is now in the possession of the British Museum, the trustees of which paid one hundred pounds for it. Since nothing further is known of the signature, its genuineness is in many quarters considered very doubtful.

"I cannot accord it to him, who, though rich, did not educate his children, and who, though he sought fame through a '*coat of arms*' claimed to have been earned by the valor of his great grandfather, nowhere, not even in his last will and testament, claimed the fame of authorship—*such authorship*—and whose sole posthumous anxiety centered on his '*dust*' and '*bones*' remaining undistributed in the chancel of Stratford church."

Is the name William Shakespeare a pseudonym, and must we fall back on the theory that Lord Bacon is the author of Shakespeare's works? Or how shall we solve the problem of their authorship?

One possibility only seems left, viz., to assume that the author of the poems, William Shakespeare, and the man who is commonly supposed to have written them, William Shaksper, are two differ-

ent persons. Both appear to belong to the same family; the latter (Shakspere) never wrote his name twice alike but always so as to indicate the pronunciation "Shacksper" with a short *a*; the former always spelled his name "Shakespeare" with a long *a* and frequently hyphenated, so as to indicate plainly that the *s* belonged to the second syllable. Obviously the poet repudiated the original significance of the name, which is "Jack's Pierre" (i. e., "Peter, the son of Jack"), and substituted for it the etymology of "sha-



This was originally attached to a mortgage deed which is now lost.

From a conveyance of property. Now in the possession of the corporation of London.

FACSIMILES OF SHAKESPEARE SIGNATURES.<sup>1</sup>

king a spear," which suggests descent from a family of knights. The spelling "Shakespeare" does not occur in the family of the supposititious author, the owner of New Place, to the time of his very death; but when the poet's publications became generally known it was finally accepted as the only one.

On the tombstones of the widow and the children of the owner of New Place no mention is made that they are relatives of a poet,

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from *Shakespeare's Home and Rural Life* by James Waller London, 1874.

yet they are no longer called "Shaksper," but "Shakespeare"; and there is at least one indication in the lines on the tombstone of Susanna which suggests that the survivors of the Shaksper family were not unwilling to accept the renown that was reflected upon their name, as their own.

The writer of these lines did not make a pilgrimage to Stratford; neither has he rummaged the original documents for new evidences; nor does he claim to be a Shakespeare scholar or a literary specialist. He has simply gone over presentations of the old traditions and evidences. Having sifted and tested the materials of the

*February 20*

*To go Anthony for Judith Shaksper*

JUDITH SHAKSPERE.

*August 11 Hamnet filius William Shaksper*

HAMNET FILIUS WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

*Septemb 8 m<sup>r</sup> Johannes Shaksper*

JOHANNES SHAKSPERE, William's father, (died Sept. 8, 1601).

*August 8 Mrs Shaksper*

MRS. SHAKSPERE, William's wife, (died August 8, 1623).

#### FACSIMILES OF BURIAL ENTRIES.

case, accessible to him, he presents his solution (suggested by a critical consideration of the facts) not as final,—not as a solution at all, but merely as a suggestion for further investigation—for refutation or verification.

#### THE SHAKESPEARE FAMILY.

The name Shakespeare is written in many ways. It appears as Chacksper, Shaxpur, Shaxper, Schaksper, Schakesper, Schaksper, Schakespere, Schakespeire, Schakespeyr, Shagspere, Saxpere, Shaxpere,

Shaxpeare, Shaxsper, Shaxspere, Shaxespere, Shakspere, Shakspear, Shakspeere, Schakspear, Schackspeare, Schackespeare, Schackespere, Shakspeyr, Shaksper, Shakespare, Shakyspere, Shakeseper, Shakespire, Shakespeire, Shakespear, Shakaspeare, and finally Shake-speare, as the poet wrote his name.

We must bear in mind that in those days the spelling of words was not yet so rigorously settled as it is now, and so we must not wonder that names also were written in various ways. There is no reason to doubt that all these names which occur in church entries, court proceedings, and guild registers,<sup>1</sup> have reference to the same family.

There were many Shakespeares living in the neighborhood of Warwick and Worcester. Many of them, says Mr. H. N. Hudson in his edition of Shakespeare's works,<sup>2</sup> "are spoken of as belonging to the town of Rowington, where the name continues to be met with for a long time after; a William Shakespeare being mentioned as one of the jury in 1614, and a Margaret Shakespeare as being married there in 1665. And for more than a century later, the name is met with in the Rowington papers. It appears also that there were Shakespeares living at Balsal, Woldiche, Claverdon, Hampton, and other places in Warwickshire: a John Shakespeare was living at Warwick in 1578, and a Thomas Shakespeare in 1585; and a William Shakespeare was drowned in the Avon, near that town, in 1579; a Thomas Shakespeare, also, was chosen bailiff of Warwick in 1613 and again in 1627."

There is one Richard Shakspeare mentioned in old records, who was a farmer of Snitterfield, a village near Stratford-on-Avon. He had two sons, John and Henry, and may in addition have had nephews of the same name, viz., Shakspeare, or whatever spelling it may have been. One thing is sure, his son John married the daughter of his landlord Robert Arden, of Wilmecote, three miles from Stratford. While the Shakespeare family was of little account, the Ardens belonged to the gentry of the land, and are mentioned as landed proprietors of the Arden district in Warwickshire before the Norman conquest. Their ancestor Turchill (also written Turkill) of Arden was left in possession by the invaders, because he had not helped Harold and did not oppose William's title to the crown of England.

Mary Arden married John Shakespeare one year after her fa-

<sup>1</sup> The name Shakespeare occurs most frequently in a manuscript "Register of the Brothers and Sisters of the Guild of St. Anne of Knolle" from 1407 to 1535.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction, pp. xxix, xxx, *The Works of Shakespeare*.

ther's death, which seems to indicate that the old Saxon nobleman would not have given his consent to so unequal a match, but nothing further is known about it.

We know positively that there were two John Shakespeares (the husband of Mary Arden, a glover, and a poor shoemaker,) living simultaneously in Stratford. We know further that there were at least three William Shakespeares that were almost contemporaneous, one of whom we have just mentioned as having been drowned in 1579.

Under the date of November 28, 1582, William Shakespeare took out a marriage license at the court of the see at Worcester. The bride's name was Anne Hathaway of Shottery, and it is note-



MARY ARDEN'S COTTAGE.<sup>1</sup>

worthy that no friends or relatives of the groom are entered as witnesses, while friends of the bride's family, Fulk Sandell and John Richardson, assumed security in the sum of forty pounds on account of the irregularity of the wedding which might involve the Bishop in difficulties. Further light is thrown on the situation from the church entry of the birth of a daughter Susanna, born to the young couple five months afterwards, May 26, 1583. The young husband was a minor, and his wife whose age is mentioned on her tombstone, was eight years his senior. This William Shakespeare is the man who is commonly identified with the poet Shakespeare.

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from *Shakespeare's Home and Rural Life*, by James Walter, London, 1874.

Another license is recorded having been granted at the same bishop's court on November 27<sup>1</sup> (presumably of the same year) in a similar fashion to another William Shakespeare whose bride was Anne Whately from near Stratford.

The poet Shakespeare is commonly supposed to be the husband of Anne Hathaway, the son of John Shakespeare the glover.

#### JOHN SHAKESPEARE THE GLOVER AND HIS SON.

John started in life with good prospects. Possessed of his wife's goodly inheritance, he was appointed a juror of the court, an alderman, a bailiff, and finally chief among the aldermen. His education had been poor, for we know that he could neither read



ANNE HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE. RECONSTRUCTION.

After an engraving in Richard Grant White's edition of *Shakespeare*.<sup>2</sup>

nor write, yet on that score his wife was not his superior. He had worked as a glover, but he soon abandoned his trade. Several children were born to him, the two first being daughters who died early in infancy. It is reported that on the 23rd of April, 1564, a son was born to him whom he christened William and who is commonly believed to have been the author of the dramas that go under the name "William Shakespeare."

John's prosperity did not last. He mortgaged his estate and grew poor and poorer. When William was only fourteen years

<sup>1</sup> I cannot at the time definitely state the year. The fact is mentioned by Prof. L. A. Sherman in his book *What is Shakespeare?* p. 245. He says: "There were other William Shakespeares in the see of Worcester to which the Stratford parishes belonged at the time."

<sup>2</sup> By permission of Little, Brown, & Co. of Boston.

old, his father was forced to take him from school because he needed his assistance at home. His debts increased, and the former

1564  
April 26

Wholms filius Johannis Shakspere

FACSIMILE OF BAPTISMAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

May 26 Susanna daughter to William Shakspere

FACSIMILE OF BAPTISMAL ENTRY OF SHAKSPERE'S DAUGHTER SUSANNA.

February 2 Hammet & Judith some & daughter to William Shakspere

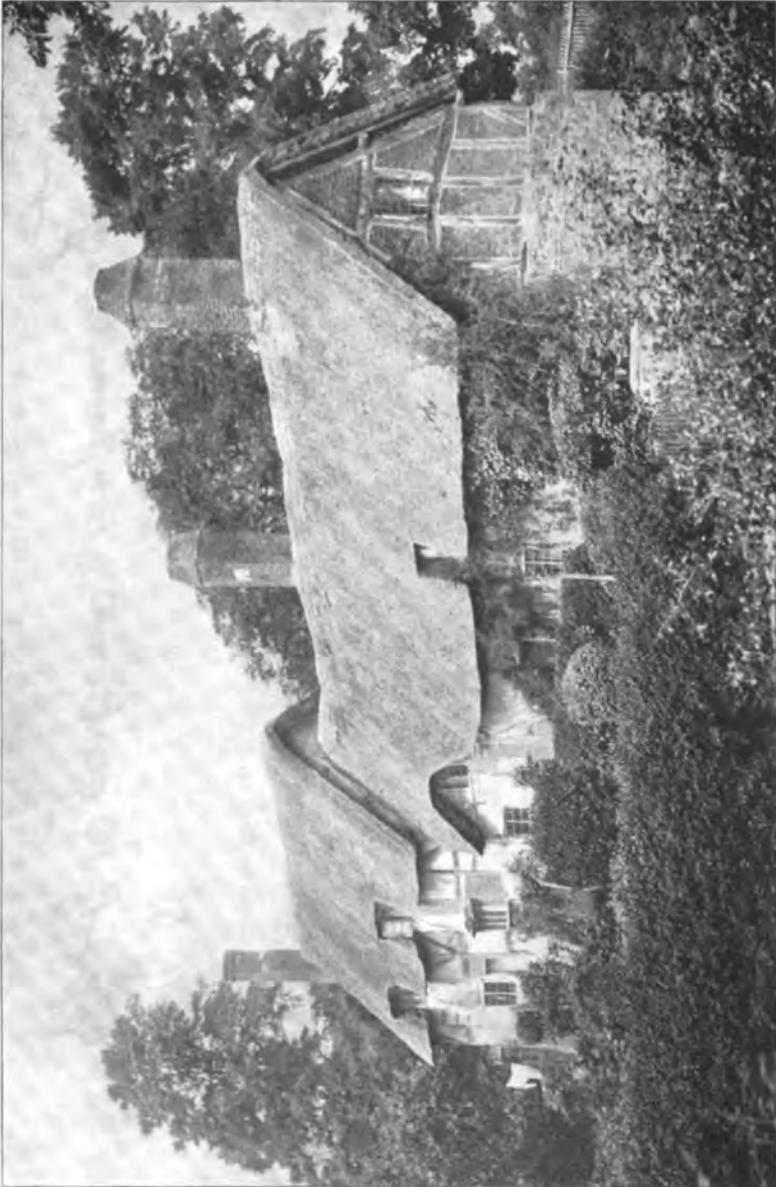
FACSIMILE OF BAPTISMAL ENTRY OF SHAKSPERE'S TWINS HAMNET AND JUDITH.

July 5.  
John Hall gentlman & Susanna Shakspere

FACSIMILE OF MARRIAGE ENTRY OF DR. HALL AND SUSANNA SHAKSPERE.

bailiff was now compelled to abscond. He was deprived of his alderman's office, the reason being given in these words:

" Mr. Shaxpere dothe not come to the halles when they be warned, nor hath he not done of longe tyme."



ANNE HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE, PRESENT STATE. (After a Photograph.)

Finally, he was arrested and imprisoned. His boy in the meantime acquired a bad reputation and is said to have got into trouble

on account of repeated deer-stealing. His early marriage with Anne Hathaway, the daughter of a well-to-do farmer of Shrottery (mentioned above), cannot have improved the chances of the young man who was then only eighteen years old.



TOMBSTONE OF ANNE, WIFE OF WILLIAM SHAKSPEAR.<sup>1</sup>

Anne Hathaway's name is omitted (and apparently on purpose) from her father's will, and in her husband's will it is only inserted in an interlinear correction in which the latter offers her no better bequest than his "second best bed"; but the inscription on



NEW PLACE OF STRATFORD-ON AVON.

After an engraving in Richard Grant White's edition of *Shakespeare*.<sup>2</sup>

her tombstone, apparently written by her learned son-in-law, Dr. Hall, speaks of her in general but tender terms as a mother.

The glover's son went to London, or (as tradition has it) he fled from justice on account of his habit of deer-stealing. There

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from *Shakespeare's Home and Rural Life*, by James Walter, London, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> By permission of Little, Brown, & Co. of Boston.

he became connected with London theaters, not as a poet, but in the less ideal occupation of taking charge of horses. Nor can there



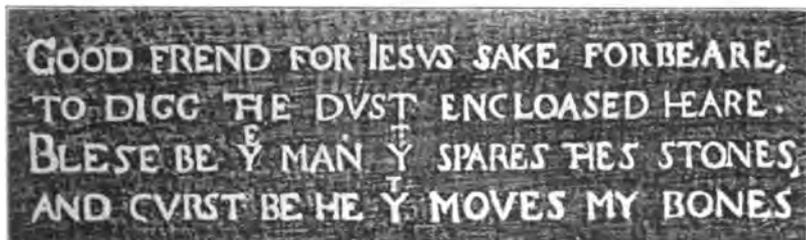
TRINITY CHURCH AT STRATFORD-ON-AVON. (From *Shakespeare's Home and Rural Life*, by James Walter.

be any doubt either that he mounted the stage and became an actor. I am further inclined to believe that, being unusually shrewd in the management of business affairs he (not his cousin

the poet) finally gained control of the Globe Theater. He may have had his faults, but he could not be accused of shiftlessness in money affairs. Obviously he had learned thrift by the straightened circumstances of his father. We know of some of his business dealings and his enterprises must have been successful. He possessed houses in both London and Stratford and became one of the richest citizens of his native city.

We must assume that William not only released his father from debts but also assisted him in his suit for a coat of arms at the Herald College which was granted in 1599.

We have seen that William had business dealings in London and was somehow there connected with the stage, but how long he lived there is not known. At any rate, his family stayed at Stratford and he seems to have remained a citizen of that community. Finally he bought and restored New Place, one of the best residences of the town. When in 1643 Queen Henrietta Maria passed



INSCRIPTION ON TOMBSTONE BEFORE THE CHANCEL RAIL.

through Stratford, the building was considered the most appropriate place for her reception, and Mrs. Hall, Shakespeare's daughter Susannah, had the honor of entertaining the royal guest.

William Shakspeare died at Stratford April 25th, 1616, and lies buried in the Stratford Trinity Church near the chancel rail under the well-known tombstone with the odd inscription cursing any one that should move his bones.

The old parish clerk, Mr. Dowdall, wrote to Mr. Edward Southwell in a letter, still extant, which is dated April 16, 1692, that the epitaph was written by Shakespeare himself a little before his death.<sup>1</sup> If the man buried under this tombstone did so, and if the author of these lines was indeed the dramatist Shakespeare, we

<sup>1</sup> I am sorry that I could not find a facsimile of the letter. The wording of it will be of importance. Yet I assume that the old clerk had met so many persons who identified the poet with the owner of New Place who lay buried in Trinity church, that he had naturally adopted the identification.

must assume that in his last illness the poet's mental spirits had degenerated, and also that his views concerning death, so nobly expressed in many sublime passages of his dramas, were completely changed on his deathbed. However, this seems so impossible that Shakespeare scholars as a rule prefer to assume the epitaph to be the fabrication of a later date. Mr. White says :

" It is more probable, however, that to prevent the removal of Shakespeare's remains to the charnel-house of the church, when time made other demands upon the space they occupied, in compliance with a custom of the day and place, some member of his family, or some friend, had this rude, hearty curse cut upon his tombstone."

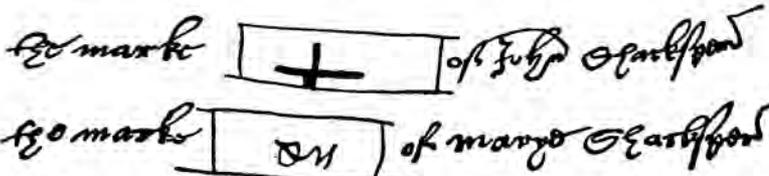
If we assume that Shakspere, the owner of New Place, was another person than the poet, we may after all put some credit in Mr. Dowdall's information that the lines of the tombstone were inscribed at his request—i. e., at the request of the man whose body is entombed underneath. William Shakspere of New Place may either have written the epitaph himself or (and this is more probable) have engaged for a trifling honorarium some local tombstone rhymster.

We may assume for certain that Dr. John Hall, the husband of Johanna, attended on Mr. Shakspere in his last illness. He left notes of his medical practice containing all remarkable cases that came under his observation, but unfortunately his diary does not begin until the year 1617, the year following the death of his father-in-law.



THE MARK OF JUDITH, SHAKSPERE'S DAUGHTER.

Such in outline are the most significant facts of William Shakspere's life. We know nothing about his education except that it seems to have been very scanty. His children remained illiterate, for we have a public document in which his daughter Judith signs her name with a scrawl after the fashion of her illiterate grand-



THE LEGALLY ATTESTED MARKS OF JOHN SHAKSPAR AND MARY SHAKSPAR.

parents. William could write, but his writing is not only illegible but also inconsistent in spelling and plainly indicates an unedu-

cated man. We know of no opportunity at any time of his life when he might have acquired Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, let alone jurisprudence and other accomplishments which the author of the dramas must have possessed to a high degree.

#### THE WILL AND THE TOMBSTONES OF THE SHAKESPEARE FAMILY.

Good fortune has preserved the will which William Shakspeare, the owner of New Place, made. It refers to a number of trifles in his possession which are all duly disposed of, and an interlinear addition shows that on afterthought he remembered his "fellowes John Hemyngs, Richard Burbage & Henry Cundell" each one with twenty-six shillings eight pennies "to buy them ringes," but no reference whatever is made to his dramas, nor to the rights and privileges of his literary remains, while (if he was the poet) he ought to have known that he had left in the hands of two of them, Hemyngs (also spelled Heminge) and Cundell (also spelled Con-dell), the manuscript of his dramas of which not fewer than fifteen had at the date of his death not as yet seen the light of publication.

There is no author who is not greatly concerned about the fate of his writings, especially those which have not yet been published. Shall we assume that Shakespeare was utterly indifferent on this point? Although the owner of New Place is quite particular about the smallest item, he utterly neglects to give any instructions as to what shall be done with his manuscripts.

We ought also to assume that the poet was in possession of at least some books which were more valuable in those days than they are now. Yet apparently no book was found in the possession of the owner of New Place and no interest is shown in literature of any kind.

The poet, as we positively know, had many friends in high positions and received from them many favors. We may be sure that he received letters and tokens of friendship from scholars such as Ben Jonson and Drayton, and from noblemen, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Essex and Lord Pemberton. Keepsakes of noblemen and famous authors would have been as highly appreciated as an old sword by almost any man, but more so by the owner of New Place, as he shows himself in his will. Nothing of the kind is alluded to in the will.

The only indication that the owner of New Place was "Shakespeare," meaning the dramatist whose name became better and

better known, is found in Mrs. Hall's tombstone, whose puritanical piety was tempered with a joyous disposition. We read that she was "wise to salvation," but it is added "something of Shakespeare was in that." Otherwise we have no proof that the owner of New Place was a poet. No scrap of his handwriting, no manuscript poem of his, is known to have been preserved in the hands of the family of the owner of New Place.

#### THE POET.

Now what do we know of the author of the dramas? He wrote his name William Shakespeare, more often with a hyphen between *e* and *s*, as if to emphasise that he was not a Shakspere.

The poet's name occurs for the first time in English literature in the first edition of *Venus and Adonis*, a poem that appeared in 1593.

The poet Shakespeare's name is sometimes mentioned in contemporary literature. Robert Green, a playwright during the latter half of the sixteenth century expressed his jealousy of the rising Shakespeare in a pamphlet entitled *Groat's Worth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance*, published by Henry Chettle in 1592. Green says:

"There is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that, with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Johannes Factotum*, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a countrie. O that I might intreate your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses, and let those apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions! I know the best husband of you all will never prove an usurer, and the kindest of them all will never proove a kinde nurse; yet, whilst you may, seeke you better maisters, for it is pittie men of such rare wits should be subject to the pleasures of such rude grooms."

That the attack on the man who "is in his own conceit the only 'Shake-scene'" was aimed at Shakespeare cannot be doubted as the passage italicised in the quotation is a parody of a line that occurs in the third part of Henry VI., "O! tiger-heart wrapped in a woman's hide."

The glover's son married Anne Hathaway in 1582 and is supposed to have reached London in the eighties as an untutored youth, but in 1592 his fame as a dramatist excited the jealousy of a prominent Oxford bred dramatist.

Robert Green died soon afterwards, and in a little book entitled *Kind Hart's Dreame* Henry Chettle made an apology for Mr. Green's

abuse to which he (Chettle) had given publicity. Shakespeare's name is not mentioned in it but the facts stated above and the con-



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE  
Henrie VVriothesley, Earle of Southampton,  
and Baron of Titchfield.

**R**ight Honourable, I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my unpolisht lines to your Lordship, nor how the worlde will censure mee for choosing so strong a proppre to support so weake a burthen, onely if your Honour seeme but pleased, I account my selfe highly praised, and wome to take aduantage of all idle houres, till I haue honoured you vvith some grauer labour. But if the first heire of my inuention proue deformed, I shall be sorie it had so noble a god-father: and neuer after eare so barren a land, for feare it yeeld me still so bad a haruest, I leaue it to your Honourable suruey, and your Honor to your hearts content vvich I wish may alvvayes answer your ovvne vvish, and the vvorlds hopefull expectation.

Your Honors in all dutie,

William Shakespeare.

FACSIMILE OF THE DEDICATION PAGE IN THE FIRST EDITION OF "VENUS AND ADONIS," PUBLISHED AT LONDON, 1593.

This is the first appearance of William Shakespeare's name in the history of English literature.

text of the passage makes it sure that he is the man referred to. Mr. Chettle says:

"How I have all the time of my conuering in printing hindred the bitter inuey-ing against schollers, it hath been very well knowne; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently prooue. With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be. Tho other, whome at that time I did so much spare as since I wish I had, for that, as I have moderated the heate of

living writers, and might have used my own discretion,—especially in such a case, the author being dead,—that I did not I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault, because myself have seen his demeanor no less civil, than he excellent in the quality he professes;—besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art."

Shakespeare, the poet, was at the same time an actor, for there are some contemporary allusions which suggest the idea that the dramatist sometimes appeared on the stage. A poem by John

## The Stationer to the Reader.



*Set forth a booke without an Epistle, were like to the old English proverbe, A blew coat without a badge, & the Author being dead, I thought good to take that piece of worke upon mee: To commend it, I will not, for that which is good, I hope every man will commend, without intreaty: and I am the bolder, because the Authors name is sufficient to vent his worke. Thus leauing euery one to the liberty of iudgement: I haue ventured to print this Play, and leaue it to the generall censure.*

*Yours,*

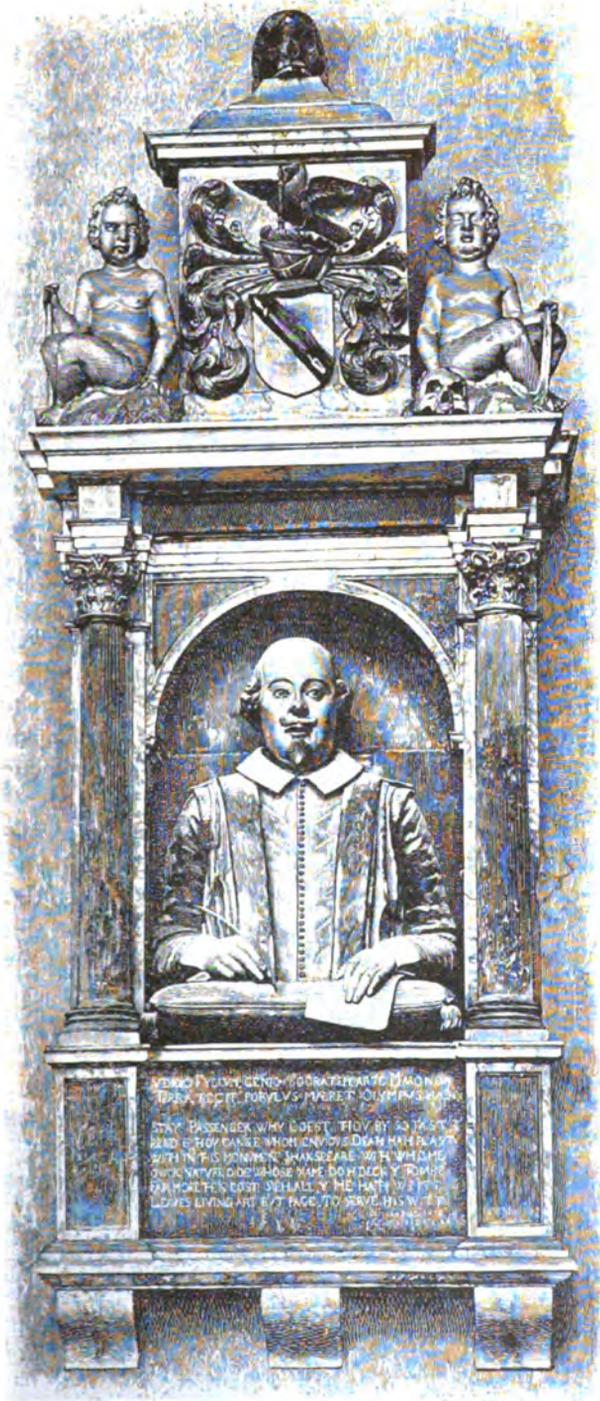
**Thomas VValkley.**

FACSIMILE OF PUBLISHER'S PREFACE TO SHAKESPEARE'S "OTHELLO."

This is a posthumous publication and the first mention that is made in English literature of Shakespeare's death.

Davies entitled "Scourge of Folly" and published in 1607 praises Shakespeare as "the English Terence" and speaks of him as having played the parts of kings.

We may assume that the glover's son and the poet were two distinct persons, but we cannot deny that both of them were playwrights and moved in theatrical circles. We must leave the question open whether the former or the latter assumed the financial



THE STRATFORD MONUMENT.

control of the Globe Theater. Ben Jonson, so far as we know, never refers to the poet as the owner of a theater, nor does he ever refer to the great advantages he ought to have had by being able to have his dramas brought out at his pleasure.

The poet must have died before 1622, for in that year an edition of his *Othello* appeared in the Preface of which the publisher (or as he calls himself, "The Stationer,") speaks of "the author being dead."

#### THE IDENTIFICATION AND THE STRATFORD MONUMENT.

We have many scattered references to the poet Shakespeare, but nothing (except one isolated fact, the Stratford monument) that would positively identify him with the owner of New Place. All the stories that describe his family relations are of late origin, finally based upon assumptions. Further, we know a good deal of the owner of New Place, and various financial dealings are on record which (if the owner of New Place be the poet) would go far to prove that a man can be a dramatist and owner of a theater and at the same time a shrewd (albeit honest) real estate dealer, money lender, and leading financier of a small town. Mr. L. A. Sherman says (*loc. cit.*, p. 280) that "various financial dealings show him to have been anchored beyond the dream side of existence and to have divined business chances as readily and as unerringly as the proper construction of a play." Yet all unequivocal evidence that the playwright and the owner of New Place are one and the same person is missing. There is but one fact that can be adduced as contemporary evidence of their identity. It is the Stratford monument.

The inscription of the Shakespeare monument in the Stratford church reads as follows:

IVDICIŌ PYLIVM, GENIO SOCRATEM, ARTE MARONEM,  
TERRA TEGIT, POPVLVS MÆRET, OLYMPVS HABET

STAY PASSENGER, WHY GOEST THOV BY SO FAST!  
READ IF THOV CANST, WHOM ENVIOUS DEATH HATH PLAST,  
WIFI IN HIS MONVMENT SHAKSPEARE WITH WHOME  
QVICK NATURE DIDE WHOSE NAME DOTH DECKY TOMBE  
FAR MORE TEN COST SIEH ALLY HE HATH WRITT,  
LEAVES LIVING ART, BVT PAGE TO SERVE HIS WITT

DEATH AND 1616  
STATVS, SARRIE J. 1616

The Latin verses that precede the English lines mean :

"[Him who was] a sage like Nestor, a genius like Socrates, and an artist like Virgil, the earth covers, the people lament, Olympus holds."

The sentiment of the Latin verses bears such a striking similarity to the tombstone inscription of Dr. Hall that the idea of a common authorship readily suggests itself. We have either to do here with a professional tombstone writer, or should Dr. Hall himself be considered responsible for all the verses of the Shakespeare family tombstones, except the English inscription on the monument, but perhaps including the eulogy on his own grave?

The Stratford monument is attached to the wall on the left hand side of the altar. It is said to have been made by Gerard Johnson, a professional tombstone manufacturer, but the old Gerard Johnson may have been dead at the time, and the probability is that it was made by his son who with his brothers followed their father's profession.

It is not known who paid for the monument, but the inscription shows that it was intended as an ornament of the tomb. There is no possibility of giving any other construction to the words "within this monument." Obviously the sculptor attended to his job and cared little for historical accuracy.

Mr. Norris in his well-known and elegant work, *Portraits of Shakespeare*, quotes the lines of the monument and adds :

"This inscription was certainly not written by a native of Stratford, for it refers to the body of Shakespeare being 'within this monument,' when we know that his grave is under the floor of the chancel, in front of the monument."

We cannot doubt that the sculptor came to Stratford as an outsider with instructions given him by the poet's unknown admirers, also outsiders. We must assume that at Stratford he went to the parish clerk, Mr. Dowdall, and looked up the church entries for the sake of determining the date of the poet's death. Mr. Dowdall as well as other inhabitants of Stratford knew Mr. William Shakspeare of New Place very well, for he was one of the wealthiest citizens and his residence was one of the most conspicuous houses of the town. We can scarcely doubt that Mr. Dowdall sent the sculptor to Dr. Hall, Mr. Shakspeare's son-in-law, and the latter was presumably glad to learn that his father-in-law had staunch friends who had collected money for a monument. Mr. Shakspeare had been connected with the London stage, and so there was nothing absolutely incredible in the assumption that he was a dramatist.

It is, to say the least, a very strange coincidence that the

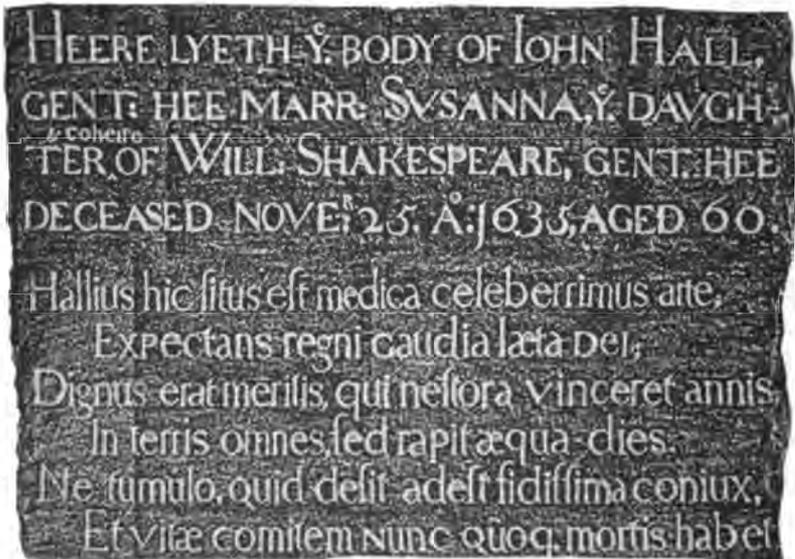
spelling of the name on the monument does not tally with the spelling which the poet had adopted, without any single exception, for all his works, but with the commonly accepted spelling of the owner of New Place.

*April 25 with Shakspeare gent*

WILLIAM SHAKSPERE'S BURIAL ENTRY IN THE CHURCH REGISTER AT STRATFORD.

It reads under the general heading, here 1616, as follows: "April 25,  
Will. Shakspere, Gent."

While the poet always wrote his name either "Shakespeare" or "Shake-speare," the monument reads "Shakspeare." This corroborates the assumption that the sculptor, sent to Stratford to set up the monument, consulted Stratford authorities, presumably Mr. Dowdall, and the latter determined the date of the poet's death



DR. HALL'S TOMBSTONE.<sup>1</sup>

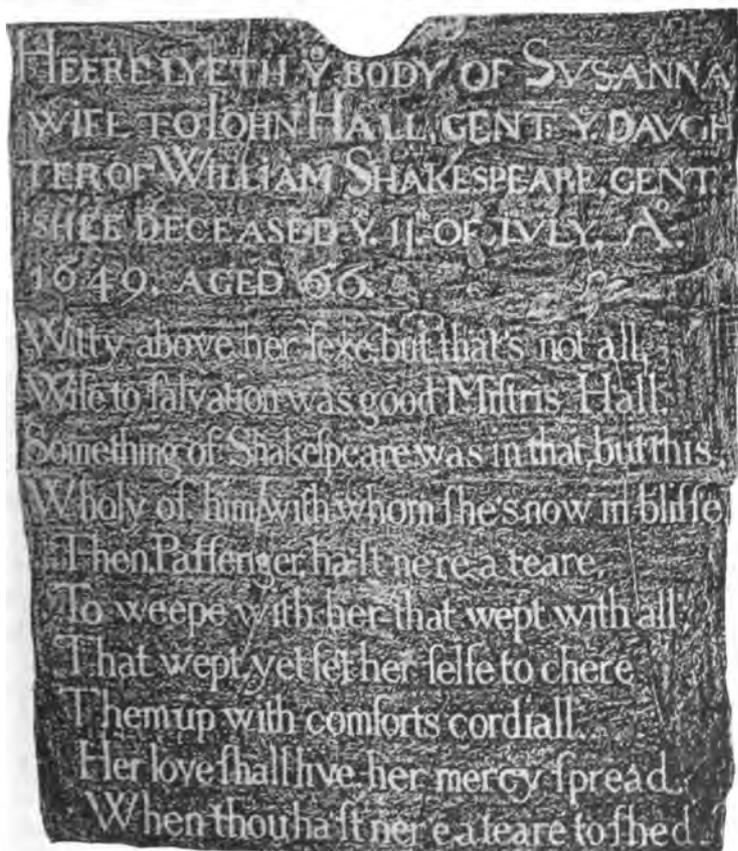
from the church registers. There he found the entry of the burial of William Shakspere, gentleman, the owner of New Place, under the date of April 25, 1616. And since funerals took place on the third day after death, he concluded that Shakespeare, the poet, must have died on April 23, 1616.

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from *Shakespeare's Home and Rural Life*, by James Walter, London, 1874.

On the correctness of the inscription under the poet's bust will depend the identity of the poet Shakespeare (on the monument exceptionally spelled Shakspeare) with Mr. Shakspere of New Place, and the question is, Can we assume that the manufacturer of the monument was well informed?

#### THE TOMBSTONES OF DR. AND MRS. HALL.

It does not seem incredible that Dr. Hall is the author of the tombstones of the Shakspere family including his own, for all of



TOMBSTONE OF SUSANNA, WIFE OF DR. HALL AND DAUGHTER OF MR. SHAKSPERE OF NEW PLACE.<sup>1</sup>

(Presumably written by Dr. Hall.)

them are written in the same stilted and grandiloquous style. His own tombstone reads in a literal English translation as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from *Shakespeare's Home and Rural Life*, by James Walter, London, 1874.

" Hall lies here, most famous in the medical profession,  
 Hoping for the great joys of the kingdom of God.  
 He was worthy of merit who was superior in years to Nestor,  
 But on earth the same fate carries away all.  
 That nothing should be missing in the tomb there is present his most faithful wife  
 And the companion of his life he has now also in death."

If these lines were written by Dr. Hall himself, we may very well imagine how readily he accepted the rumor perhaps first as quite likely and finally as indubitable that his father-in-law had been a great dramatist.

His wife's tombstone reads as follows :

" Witty above her sexe but that's not all,  
 Wise to salvation was good Mistris Hall.  
 Something of Shakespeare was in that, but this  
 Wholy of him with whom she's now in blisse.  
 Then, Passenger, hast ne're a teare,  
 To weepe with her that wept with all  
 That wept, yet set her selfe to chere  
 Them up with comforts cordiall.  
 Her love shall live, her mercy spread  
 When thou hast ner'e a teare to shed."

#### THE POSTHUMOUS FOLIO EDITION.

The folio is the only authenticated, although not authorised, edition of his works, and contains fifteen dramas which are otherwise unknown. They are stated to have been reproduced from the author's original manuscripts. Other dramas are reproduced from the prior publications of the so-called quarto texts. The editors are Messrs. John Heminge and Henry Condell, self-appointed executors of the poet's literary remains. In their edition they denounce all prior publications as spurious and unauthorised, but they themselves reprint them with all the mistakes and without taking any pains with the text, which abounds in mis-spelling and other corruptions.

The author of the dramas is praised by the editors for his clean and neatly written manuscript. They say :

"His mind and hand went together : And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers."

We shall see that the statement is verified by Ben Jonson as a fact "often mentioned" by "the players." We know positively that William Shakspere, the owner of New Place, wrote a very poor hand.

The folio edition is posthumous, the author being referred to in the preface, as well as in the sundry poetical dedications, as being

dead. The editors dedicate the poems to two lords who had "prosequuted both them, and their Author liuing with so much fauour." They add:

"We haue but collected them, and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphanes, Guardians, without ambition either of selfe-profit, or fame: onely to keep the memory of so worthy a Friend, & Fellow aliuie, as was *our SHAKESPEARE*,<sup>1</sup> by humble offer of his playes, to your most noble patronage."

If the poet left a widow or a family of any kind, we should expect that they as the heirs of his literary property should be mentioned by the editors of the folio edition; but as there is no allusion in the will of the owner of New Place to the dramas, of which a small part only had been published at the time, nor any allusion

### To the memorie of *M. W. Shake-speare.*

**W**EE wondred (*Shake-speare*) that thou went'st so soone  
 From the Worlds-Stage, to the Graues-Tyring-roome.  
 Wee thought thee dead, but this thy printed worth,  
 Tels thy Spectators, that thou went'st but forth  
 To enter with applause. An Actors Art,  
 Can dye, and liue, to aſſe a ſecond part.  
 That's but an Exit of Mortalitie;  
 This, a Re-entrance to a Plaudite.

#### I. M.

FACSIMILE OF THE FOURTH AND LAST POEM WRITTEN IN MEMORY OF THE DECEASED AUTHOR, AND PUBLISHED IN THE FOLIO EDITION OF 1623.

Notice the hyphenated spelling of the name which occurs also on several title-pages of the quarto editions, published during the author's lifetime.

whatever to unpublished manuscripts (in spite of the mention of Heming's and Condell's names!): so, *vice versa*, the first edition of the poet's works contains not a single line which would lead us to assume that he was ever married or left any one who was entitled to claim his literary remains.

There can be no doubt about the posthumous character of the folio edition; indeed, the lamentations of the editors and their poetical friends make the impression as if the poet's death were a recent affair. After the lapse of seven years one would expect other expressions than those presented by Ben Jonson, L. Digges, and an unknown poet, I. M.

<sup>1</sup>In the original print the type is as here, *our* in italics and SHAKESPEARE in small caps.

It is noteworthy that the poet I. M. always hyphenates the name "Shake-speare."

The poem by L. Digges, who also spells the name hyphenated (not in the inscription but all through the poem), reads as follows:

## TO THE MEMORIE

of the deceased Author Maister

W. SHAKESPEARE.

*SHake-speare, at length thy pious fellowes giue  
The world thy Workes: thy Workes, by which, out-live  
Thy Tombe, thy name must when that stone is rent,  
And time dissolues thy Stratford Monument,  
Here we aliuie shall view thee still. This Booke,  
When Brasse and Marble fade, shall make thee looke  
Fresh to all Ages: when Posteritie  
Shall loath what's new, think all is prodegie  
That is not Shake-speares; eu'ry Line, each Verse  
Here shall reuiue, redeeme thee from thy Herse.*

*Be sure, our Shake-speare, thou canst neuer dye,  
But crowned wit Lawrell, liue eternally.*

### VICAR WARD'S TESTIMONY.

When or where the poet died we do not know. There is an unverified tradition based upon a manuscript note of Mr. Ward's diary, who was Vicar of Stratford since 1662 and had some hearsay information concerning Shakespeare. At the end of the diary the statement is made that "the book was begun February 14, 1661, and finished April 25, 1663, at Mr. Brooks's house at Stratford-on-Avon," i. e., more than forty-five years after the death of Mr. Shakespeare of New Place. Mr. Ward says:

"Shakespeare had but two daughters, one whereof Mr. Hall, the physician, married, and by her had one daughter, to wit, the Lady Barnard of Abingdon.—I have heard that Mr. Shakespeare was a natural wit, without any art at all. He frequented the plays all his younger time, but in his elder days liv'd at Stratford, and supplied the stage with two plays every year: and for that had an allowance so large, that he spent at the rate of £1000 a year, as I have heard.—Shakespeare, Drayton, and Ben Jonson had a merry meeting, and, it seems, drank too hard; for Shakespeare died of a fever there contracted.—Remember to peruse Shakespeare's plays, and be versed in them, that I may not be ignorant in that matter."

If the statement concerning Shakespeare's death be true and mixed up with the fate of the owner of New Place, we must notice that the place where the poet died is not mentioned, and we may

infer that it was London; for how should these three authors meet in Stratford? Of course, we may assume that the poet had retired to his native city, and that his two friends had simultaneously decided to pay him a visit; but the situation is too improbable.

It is true that William Shakspeare, the glover's son, returned from London to Stratford, which remained the constant home of his family, and it is possible that his stay in London was shorter than is commonly assumed. But we have no positive evidence of the poet's ever having returned to Stratford. All we know is that his admirers who had the well-known monument erected in his honor, thought that he lay buried in the church at Stratford.

The comment on the poet's income and expenditure refutes itself; but we are told that all is hearsay, and the Vicar knows so little of the poet that he makes a memorandum to peruse Shakespeare's plays that he "may not be ignorant in that matter."

The good Vicar's words reflect the general astonishment of the Stratford people, that this Mr. Shakspeare, a man "without art at all," should be a writer of comedies, but they knew that he had been connected with the London stage, and so the report was not impossible, and they arrived at the conclusion that he was "a natural wit."

#### BEN JONSON'S TESTIMONY.

Ben Jonson's testimony is of great importance, because he must have known the poet Shakespeare personally. The folio edition contains two eulogistic poems from his pen, but Jonson's praise seems to have been inspired by mercenary considerations, for the poems do not express his real opinion which is given in his *Discoveries* (pages 245-246) where he censures Shakespeare rather severely as follows:

"I remember, the Players have often mentioned it as an Honour to Shakespeare, that in his Writing (whatsoever he penn'd), he never blotted out a Line. My answer hath been, Would he had blotted a thousand. Which they thought a malevolent Speech. I had not told Posterity this, but for their ignorance, who chose that Circumstance to commend their Friend by, wherein he most faulted. And to justifie mine own Candor (for I lov'd the Man, and do honour his Memory (on this side Idolatry) as much as any.) He was (indeed) honest, and of an open and free Nature; had an excellent Phantasie; brave Notions, and gentle Expressions; wherein he flow'd with that Facility, that sometime it was necessary he should be stop'd: *Sufflaminandus erat*: as Augustus said of Haterius. His Wit was in his own Power; would the Rule of it had been so too. Many times he fall into those things, could not escape Laughter: As when he said in the Person of Caesar, one speaking to him; Caesar thou dost me wrong. He reply'd; Caesar did never

wrong but with just Cause, and such like : which were ridiculous.<sup>1</sup> But he re- deemed his Vices with his Vertues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned."<sup>2</sup>

Ben Jonson adds to Shakespeare's name, mentioned in a Latin marginal note, the word *nostras*, which means "he who is ours,"<sup>3</sup> as if to distinguish him from some other Shakespeare, who did not belong to the narrower circle of his friends.

## To the Reader.

This Figure, that thou here seest put,  
 It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;  
 Wherein the Grauer had a strife  
 with Nature, to out-doo the life :  
 O, could he but haue dravvne his vvit  
 As well in brasse, as he hath hit  
 His face ; the Print vvould then surpasse  
 All, that vvvas euer vvrit in brasse.  
 But, since he cannot, Reader, looke  
 Not on his Piecture, but his Booke.

### B. I.

BEN JONSON'S POEM, FACING AND REFERRING TO THE DROESHOUT ENGRAVING  
 IN THE FOLIO EDITION.

It is possible that he knew two Shakespeares and distinguished the two by calling the literary Shakespeare *nostras*. The term "*our*

<sup>1</sup> Ben Jonson mis-quotes Shakespeare. The passage reads:

"No, Caesar doth not wrong: nor without cause  
 Will he be satisfied."

The clause "without cause" belongs to the following sentence and not to "doth not wrong."

<sup>2</sup> The marginal note reads: "*De Shakespeare nostrat.*"

<sup>3</sup> *Nostras*, derived from *nostrer*, "our," means "one, who belongs to us; ours; our country-  
 man; our compatriot."

Shakespeare" is used also in the dedication and the memorial poems of the folio edition.<sup>1</sup>

Another piece of information, to be derived from Ben Jonson's remarks and from hints contained in the folio edition, is the fact that the author's home must have been Stratford-on-Avon, for the Stratford monument is referred to by the poet Digges, and Ben Jonson speaks of him as "Sweet swan of Avon."

Ben Jonson's poem is headed with this inscription :<sup>2</sup>

To the memory of my beloued,  
the AVTHOR

MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE :

AND

what he hath left vs.

and the most important passages in it read as follows :

*"Soule of the Age!*

*The applause! delight! the wonder of our Stage!  
My Shakespeare, rise; I will not lodge thee by  
Chaucer, or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lye  
A little further, to make thee a roome:  
Thou art a Monument, without a tombe,  
And art aliue still, while thy Book doth liue,  
And we haue wits to read, and praise to giue.*

*He was not of an age, but for all time!  
And all the Muses still were in their prime,  
When like Apollo he came forth to warme  
Our eares, or like a Mercury to charme!  
Nature her selfe was proud of his designes,  
And ioy'd to wear the dressing of his lines!  
Which were so richly spun, and wouen so fit,  
As, since, she will vouchsafe no other Wit.  
The merry Greeke, tart Aristophanes,  
Neat Terence, wilty Plautus, now not please;  
But antiquated and deserted lye  
As they were not of Natures family.*

*Yet must I not giue Nature all: Thy Art,  
My gentle Shakespeare, must enioy a part.  
For though the Poets matter, Nature be,  
His Art doth giue the fashion. And, that he,  
Who casts to write a liuing line, must sweat,*

<sup>1</sup> See for instance the passage quoted from the Dedication (p. 91), and the last but one line of the Digges poem quoted on p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> We preserve the original spelling and imitate as closely as possible the old typography.

*(such as thine are) and strike the second heat  
 Upon the Muses anuile: turne the same,  
 (And himselfe with it) that he thinkes to frame,  
 Or for the lawrell, he may gain a scorne,  
 For a good Poet's made, as well as borne.  
 And such wert thou. Look how the fathers face  
 Lives in his issue, euen so, the race  
 Of Shakespeares mind, and manners brightly shines  
 In his well torned, and true-fild lines:  
 In each of which, he seems to shake a Lance,  
 As brãndish't at the eyes of Ignorance.*

*Sweet Swan of Auon! what a fight it were  
 To see thee in our waters yet appeare,  
 And make those flights vpon the bankes of Thames,  
 That so did take Eliza, and our Iames!  
 But stay, I see the in the Hemisphere  
 Aduanc'd, and made a Constellation there!  
 Shine forth, thou Starre of Poets, and with rage,  
 Or Influence, chide, or cheere the drooping Stage;  
 Which, since thy flight frõ hence, has mourn'd like night,  
 And despaires day, but for thy Volumes light."*

## LEGENDS.

One important source of unverifiable Shakespeare stories seems to have been Sir William Davenant (1605-1668) a dramatist of mediocre accomplishments, fanciful and stilted in his poetry, whose romantic inclinations went so far as to make him pose before his friends as a natural son of Shakespeare.<sup>1</sup> His love of truth is not without suspicion, but later admirers of the poet claim his authority for many details of Shakespeare's career, especially that the poet first served in the mean capacity of a horse-boy at some London theaters and then as a keeper of horse-boys, before he became an actor and a dramatist, and finally the owner of the Globe Theater. A legendary interpretation of tradition is always specially noticeable in all the stories where the destinies of the two men appear blended.

Mr. Rowe in his *Account* has something to tell about Shakespeare's lampooning Sir Thomas Lucy, the nobleman whose deer the young poet was supposed to have stolen. "Mr. Malone thought that he had exploded the tradition by showing that Sir Thomas had no park, therefore could have no deer to be stolen."<sup>2</sup> But tradition once established has a tough life, and strange enough, an allusion to the

<sup>1</sup> See, e. g., *Enc. Brit.*, VII., p. 835.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Richard Grant White's "Memoirs of William Shakespeare," in his *Works of William Shakespeare*, Vol. I, p. xxxix.

pun of Lucy seems to be suggested in one of the Shakespeare dramas, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, where the Welsh parson speaks of "the dozen white louses" which "do become an old coat well," referring to the white "luces" or "pikes" in the coat of arms of Justice Shallow, in whom Shakespeare is supposed to hit Sir Thomas Lucy.

Tradition preserves a few rhymes which are assumed to have been written by Shakespeare on Sir Thomas Lucy in reference to the latter's prosecution of the poet for stealing deer; but they seem to be of a late date and are commonly and rightly regarded apocryphal.

#### BIOGRAPHIES.

Almost a century elapsed before the public at large took an interest in the poet Shakespeare's life. It was not until the year 1709 that the first biography of the great dramatist, written by Mr. N. Rowe, was published. Mr. Rowe's account is based mainly upon statements made by Mr. Betterton, an actor whose life on the stage extends from 1660 to 1700 and who died in 1710.

Mr. Betterton was an enthusiastic admirer of the poet and is said to have been a most excellent impersonator of the leading Shakespeare characters. He undertook a pilgrimage to his beloved master's native city, but the harvest which he gathered there was very meager. He found nothing, not even gossip, worth reporting. There are only a few stories in Mr. Rowe's account which seem to go back to Stratford information, viz., the legend of deer stealing and of the usurer Combe. Accordingly it appears that Mr. Betterton did not meet in Stratford anyone who could give him information of any kind. We know that Judith Quiney, Mr. Shakespeare's second daughter, died in 1662, and Lady Barnard, his granddaughter, in 1670.<sup>1</sup>

A new era began in the history of Shakespeare literature when his works were hailed in Germany by a circle of enthusiastic poets, foremost among whom must be mentioned Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller. With them Shakespeare's name became a watchword representing the standard of Teutonic poetry in contrast to the pseudo-classics of the French stage. Shakespeare had had admirers in limited circles of England from the start, but now his recognition became an object of national pride. Now at last a general

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Rowe's account of Shakespeare's life is very short, and being the oldest and comparatively the most reliable information that can be had, we publish it entire in the present number of *The Open Court* on pages 113-117.

interest in Shakespeare's life was aroused and so it happened that about two hundred years after the poet's demise, and one hundred and eight years after the publication of Rowe's account, an English litterateur by the name of N. Drake undertook the difficult task of presenting the poet's biography, which was done in two stately volumes in 1817. Drake was followed by J. Britton (1818), by Skottowe (1824), J. P. Collier (1835), T. Campbell (1838), C. Knight (1843), and J. O. Halliwell (1848, 1863, 1874), etc., etc., all of them enthusiastic admirers of the poet. Every new generation of writers is adding new volumes to the old ones and the material grows visibly under the hands of Shakespeare's biographers. The less we know, the greater the demand for information.

When the *Encyclopædia Britannica* was planned, an allowance of sixty to seventy columns was made for the greatest English poet, and the work was entrusted to Mr. T. Spencer Baynes, LL. D. How admirably Mr. Baynes acquitted himself of the task can be appreciated by those who read the article in search for facts of the poet's life.

It would be a vain undertaking to enumerate all the titles of the entire Shakespeare literature, so enormously has it been swelled by the results of scholarly investigation. However, none of the later biographies, in spite of their voluminous size, contain anything that may be considered more authentic than Mr. Rowe's meager account. Could the poet, in that country from whose bourn no traveller returns, take note of all his biographies spun from the very lack of evidence, he might write another comedy about "Much Ado About Nothing."

#### OUR CONJECTURE.

It is incredible that William Shakspeare of New Place wrote the dramas that go under William Shakespeare's name, but by constant repetition mankind became accustomed to the idea that a poet is born, not raised, and that a genius needs no education, for he creates the most wonderful works of art out of his soul's own mysterious resources.

Why should there not have been born and grown up, either in Snitterfield, or Stratford, or Wroxhall, or Rowington, or Worcester, or some other place near by, another William Shakespeare than the owner of New Place, who also regarded Stratford his home. All the allusions to Shakespeare as the "Sweet swan of Avon" as having come from Stratford and even the dubious references to Sir Thomas Lucy could be explained on this assump-

tion; and, if there were two members of the same family bearing the same name, how natural does it seem that both should come from the home of the family which was the immediate vicinity of Stratford, that both should have gone to London, and that the one who came second, sought employment at the place where his cousin had gained a foothold. It appears that the glover's son resided more in Stratford, and the poet more in London, than is commonly assumed. The former left wife and children, the latter died unknown and unheeded either in London or Stratford.

The identification of William Shakespeare the poet with William Shakspere the owner of New Place, being once established, was naturally sustained in consideration of the fact that nothing was known of the poet's family relations.

#### PORTRAYALS OF THE POET.

The Droeshout portrait on the title page of the folio edition and referred to by Ben Jonson, is the only picture that can be considered as authentic. The artist was one of those second-rate engravers whose work is always coarse and spiritless. Another of his portraits, that of Fox, Penn's friend, is equally lacking in skill and artistic execution. There is a remote resemblance between the Droeshout portrait and the bust of the Stratford monument. But we cannot tell whether the manufacturer of the monument knew anything about the Droeshout picture which may have existed before the publication of the folio edition, or *vice versa*, whether Droeshout had seen the monument, or finally whether both engraver and sculptor utilised another original picture now lost. Ben Jonson who must have known the poet exhibits an ill-concealed disappointment at the engraver's art of portraying Shakespeare and concludes.

"Reader, look

Not on his picture but his book."

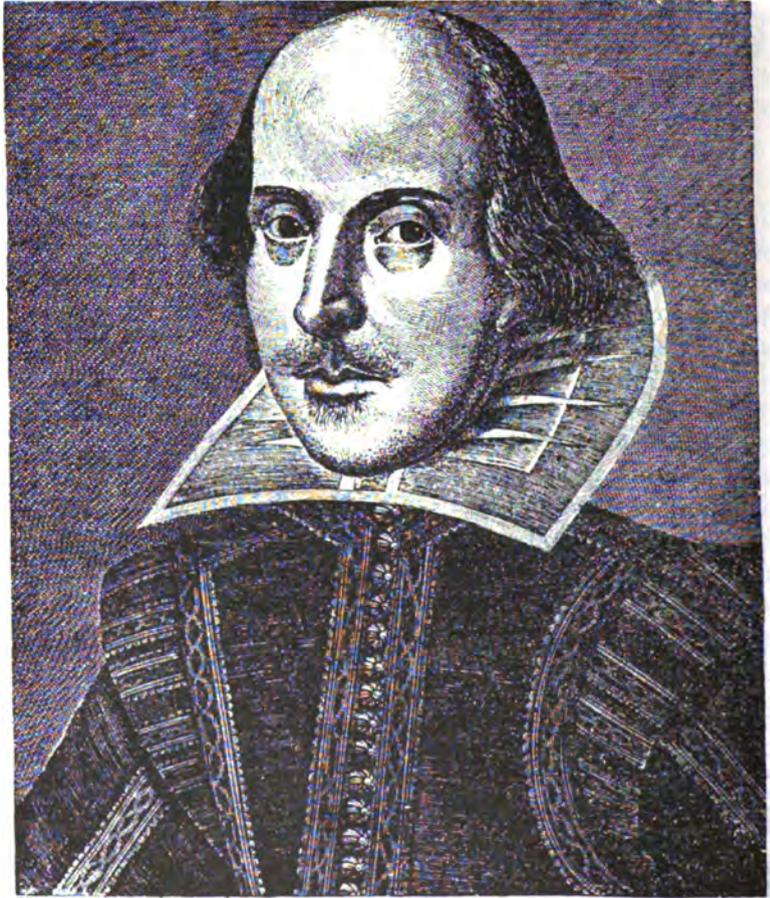
There is a picture which is claimed to be the original oil painting from which the Droeshout engraving and the Stratford monument bust have been made. It bears the date 1609, but it is strange that it could remain hidden so long. It has only recently been discovered, in the year 1892, and it goes without saying that its genuineness is suspected.<sup>1</sup>

The statue erected in Westminster Abbey is a compromise between the bust of the Stratford monument and the Droeshout engraving.

<sup>1</sup> Not having seen the picture, we venture no opinion. We regret being unable to reproduce it.

MR. WILLIAM  
**SHAKESPEARES**  
COMEDIES,  
HISTORIES, &  
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.



*Martin Droeshout, Jussell, London.*

*L O N D O N*

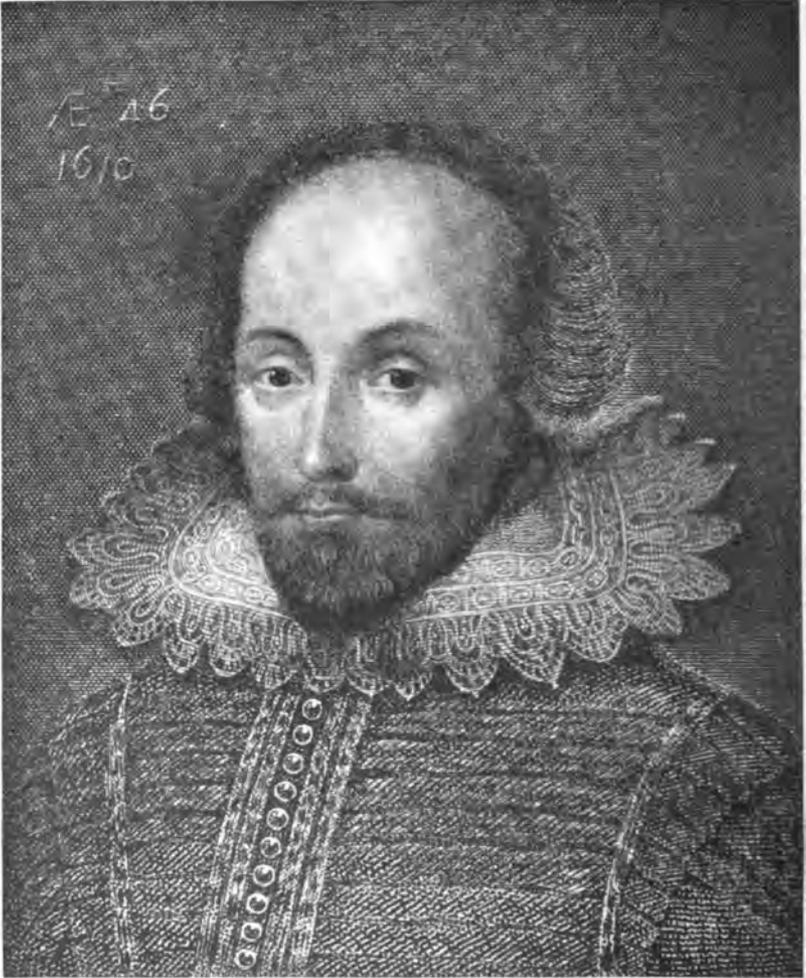
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF THE FOLIO EDITION OF 1623. WITH THE  
DROESHOUT ENGRAVING. (Somewhat reduced.)



Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,  
 And like the baseless fabric of a vision  
 Leave not a wreck behind."

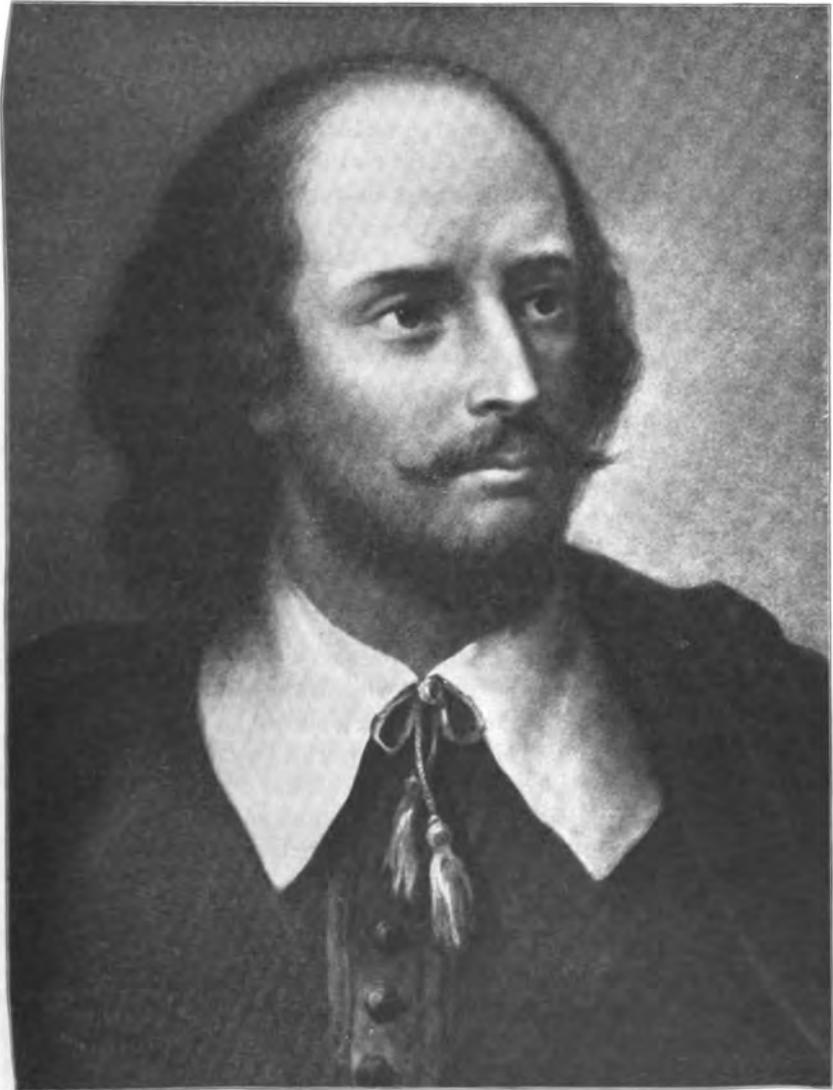
The attitude is expressive, and if your imagination is vivid enough, you will see the marble lips open and say: "Look here, that is quoted from me!"



THE JANSEN PORTRAIT.

The Droeshout picture never appealed to the public, and the bust on the monument still less. Neither of them shows the poet's genius, and the demand for a dignified representation of Shake-

speare was soon supplied in an elegant painting of unknown origin, which commonly goes under the name of the Chandos portrait. It



THE KRAEMER PORTRAIT OF SHAKESPEARE.<sup>1</sup>

is thoughtful and noble, but more Oriental than Saxon, showing a certain family resemblance to Heine and Spinoza, while we should

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from a photograph by the Münchener Photographische Gesellschaft.

expect a face like Egbert's, or Chaucer's, or Bacon's, or perhaps the Teutonic features of Goethe or Schiller.

Another fine, idealised painting of Shakespeare goes under the name of the "Summerset" or the "Jansen" portrait. It is of unknown authorship and purports to represent the poet at the age of forty-six, in the year 1610. It is attributed to Jansen, (also spelled Janssen, Janssens, and Johnson,) a well-known portrait painter of the seventeenth century whose oldest picture is marked 1618, but the tradition is, by common consent of literary as well as art critics, deemed untenable.<sup>1</sup>

These five portrayals of the poet with all their shortcomings and lack of authenticity have forever determined the traditional conception of his appearance. Innumerable pictures of Shakespeare follow this type, and perhaps the most noteworthy among them is an oil-painting by Krämer, which seems to satisfy best the taste of the public, and has the advantage of offering an ideal portrait without deviating too much from the traditional conception. We do not hesitate to say that it is the best reconstruction of Shakespeare's features as they ought to (perhaps even as they must) have been.

#### CONCLUSION.

Here is a brief recapitulation of the facts:

There lived about 1600 a man who wrote under the name of William Shakespeare dramas and other poems. In the year 1623, a folio edition appeared of his collected works, bearing on the title-page the poet's portrait, containing prefaces and dedications which give it the unequivocal stamp of a posthumous publication. Some of the plays are extant in earlier editions, partly anonymous, partly bearing the same name.

The author must have been a highly educated person, well versed in the classics, an Italian and French scholar, and a penman who was distinguished by a clear and legible hand; but a man of slender means in constant need of the favor of noblemen who, at that time, used to pose as patrons of literature, and it seems that he died a premature death, presumably in loneliness and poverty before having attained the fame he deserved. Apparently he left no family nor heirs who could claim his literary remains: and the editors of the folio edition, two men somehow

<sup>1</sup> We omit here the reference to the death-mask of Shakespeare which, presumably fabricated after the Stratford bust, seems to be of very late origin and was discovered in Germany in the nineteenth century.

connected with the stage, mention only his spiritual children—the poems, which they call “his orphans.”

The monument in the church at Stratford-on-Avon was erected not before 1616 and not after 1623 in memory of the poet William Shakespeare. It exhibits a mediocre bust and an inscription with an unverifiable statement as to the date of his death: The bust bears a very remote resemblance to the Droeshout portrait of the folio edition of 1623.

This concludes our evidence concerning the poet William Shakespeare.

We have further good and unequivocal evidence that a man existed who according to the notions of the time possessed the same name. He signed his name “Shackspeare” or “Shakspere” or nearly so, and was apparently a man of no scholarly attainments, wayward as a boy, undisciplined as a youth, but thrifty, and in maturer years, after the acquisition of considerable property, a close-fisted, exacting business man. His parents as well as his children were illiterate, and he himself could write but poorly, for all his signatures are pretty illegible.

For some reason, mainly consisting in the dearth of other evidence, the poet Shakespeare and Mr. Shackspere, the owner of New Place, soon came to be regarded as one and the same person. This identification, even though it may be right, seemed so absurd that literary critics felt inclined to regard the name “William Shakespeare” as a pseudonym, and some of them discovered in Bacon a man who might have been the author of Shakespeare’s works. Their arguments, however, are far-fetched and do not convince; and unless new evidence should be brought to light, the best solution of the problem seems to be to accept the facts and leave out all speculation.

We believe: (1) that a man existed who wrote under the name William Shakespeare; (2) that William Shakspere, (or Shakspeare, or Shackspear, etc.,) the son of John Shaxpere, the glover, and of his wife Mary Arden, was the husband of Anne Hatheway and the owner of New Place; and (3) that Lord Bacon was the author of *Novum Organum* and other philosophical works.

All documentary evidences and statements made by contemporaries concerning the poet are disconnected and indicate nothing by which his connection with the Shakspere family can be determined. We only know that he came from Stratford, and that he was almost contemporary with William Shakspere, the owner of New Place. If they were two different persons, it is most likely

that both were cousins, and it is just possible that the poet was a few years the senior of the owner of New Place and may also have lived a few years longer, scarcely the reverse; but nothing definite can be said on the subject.

An identification of the poet Shakespeare with Lord Bacon is fantastical and without the slightest support, except so far as negative evidence is concerned. An identification of the poet with the owner of New Place is an assumption of doubtful value.

\*            \*            \*

The reader is once more reminded of the statement made at the beginning of this article that the writer has collected the most significant documentary evidences that are apt to give us any direct and undeniable information concerning the life and family relations of Shakespeare; and the solution offered in these pages should not be taken for more than it pretends to be—a mere suggestion, which, however, seems plausible enough to make a revision of the original documents and other materials of evidence desirable.

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

### II. THE PLUM.

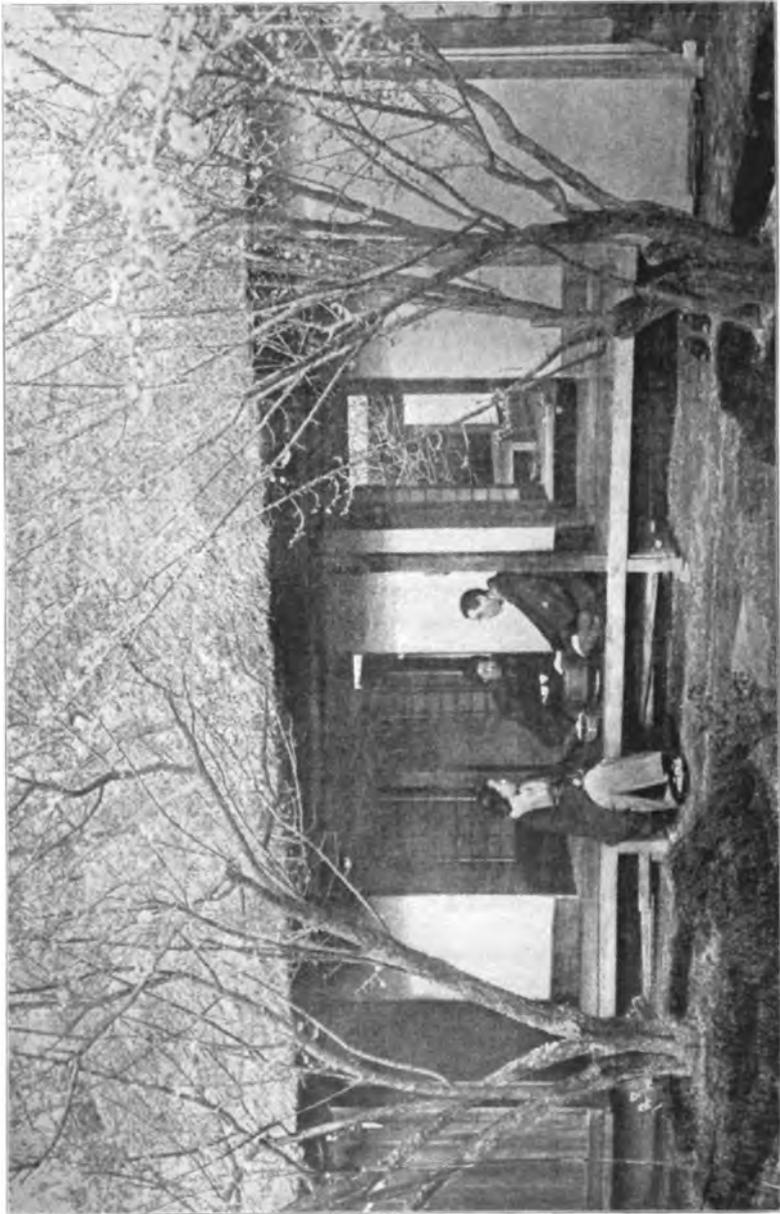
ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

THE plum-blossom has already been mentioned in connection with the pine and the bamboo for New Year's decorations, but it deserves a month by itself. As it begins to blossom, in some parts of the country, in January, and often continues in bloom till March, it might represent any one of the first three months. But, as most of February generally comes in the first month of the old calendar, it is doubly appropriate for the plum. This blossom is emblematic of perseverance, because it sometimes forces its way out through the snow with which its branches are laden. This is illustrated in the following poems, the first from Huish's *Japan and Its Art*, and two from Piggott's *Garden of Japan*:

"Ice-flakes are falling fast  
Through the chilly air, and now  
Yonder trees with snow bloom laden  
Do assume the wild plum's guise,  
With their mass of snowy flowers  
Gladdening winter's dreary time."

"Amid the branches of the silv'ry bowers  
The Nightingale doth sing; perchance he knows  
That Spring hath come, and takes the later snows  
For the white petals of the Plum's sweet flowers."  
(From Chamberlain's *Classical Poetry of Japanese*.)

"The flowers of the plum-trees  
All through the day make snow-light,  
Moonlight through the night.  
Like the icy spray which the breeze  
Scatters from the stream,  
Like the snow-flakes' flight,  
Falling petals seem."



THE SUGITA PLUM-GARDEN.

Probably one element of the popularity of the plum is to be found in the fact that it is the first blossom to appear after *kan*, the period of severest cold, and is, therefore, a harbinger of spring. And, as the plum is the earliest of blossoms, it is called "the eldest brother of the hundred flowers," "the eldest flowers of mother earth," and "the first of flowers."

The plum is symbolic of womanly virtue and sweetness; and "O Ume San" is a favorite name for girls. This blossom is "often drawn athwart the moon"; and it is commonly associated with the nightingale (*uguisu*), which "hides and sings among the flowers." This association, not merely in art but also in literature, is illustrated both in the second poem quoted above and in the following (Piggott's):

"Home friends change and change,  
Years pass quickly by,  
Scent of our ancient plum-tree,  
Thou dost never die.

"Home friends are forgotten ;  
Plum-tree blossoms fair,  
Petals falling to the breeze,  
Leave their fragrance there.

"Cettria's<sup>1</sup> fancy too  
Finds his cap of flowers,  
Seeks his peaceful hiding-place  
In the plum's sweet bowers.

"Though the snow-flakes hide  
And thy blossoms kill,  
He will sing, and I shall find  
Fragrant incense still."

The most famous places for plum-trees are Kameido, near Tokyo; Sugita, near Yokohama; and Tsukigase, about twenty-five miles from Nara. The Ume-Yashiki, or Plum Mansion, at Kameido, is famous for its *Gwaryobai*, literally "Recumbent Dragon Plums," over five hundred in all and very old; the large original tree is said to have resembled a dragon lying upon the ground. Tsukigase is renowned for the plum-trees which line the bank of the Kizu River for more than two miles. It is said that "no other place in Japan can boast such a show of the pink and white flowers of this fragrant tree." The Tokiwa Park of Mito is famous for its large grove of plum-trees, originally one thousand in number, planted in 1837 by the old Prince Rekkō.

<sup>1</sup> The *uguisu* is known in science as *cettria cantans*.

There are said to be sixty different species of plum-trees in Japan. To go and see that blossom is a most delightful pastime and holiday. "Often one sees visionary old men sitting lost in reverie, and murmuring to themselves of *ume-no-hana*, the plum-blossom. They sip tea, they rap out the ashes from tiny pipes, and slipping a writing-case from the girdle, unroll a scroll of paper, and indite an ode or sonnet. Then with radiant face and cheerful muttering, the ancient poet will slip his toes into his clogs, and tie the little slip to the branches of the most charming tree."<sup>1</sup> According to a Japanese poem, "the sight of the plum-blossom causes the ink to flow in the writing-room."



A VIEW IN THE RECUMBENT-DRAGON-PLUM GARDEN.

So prevalent is flower-viewing in Japan, that Prof. Chamberlain tells of a party of "380 blind shamposers who went out to see the plum-blossoms at Sugita," and were made safe by a long rope which held them together!

The following is a free translation<sup>2</sup> of another plum-poem:

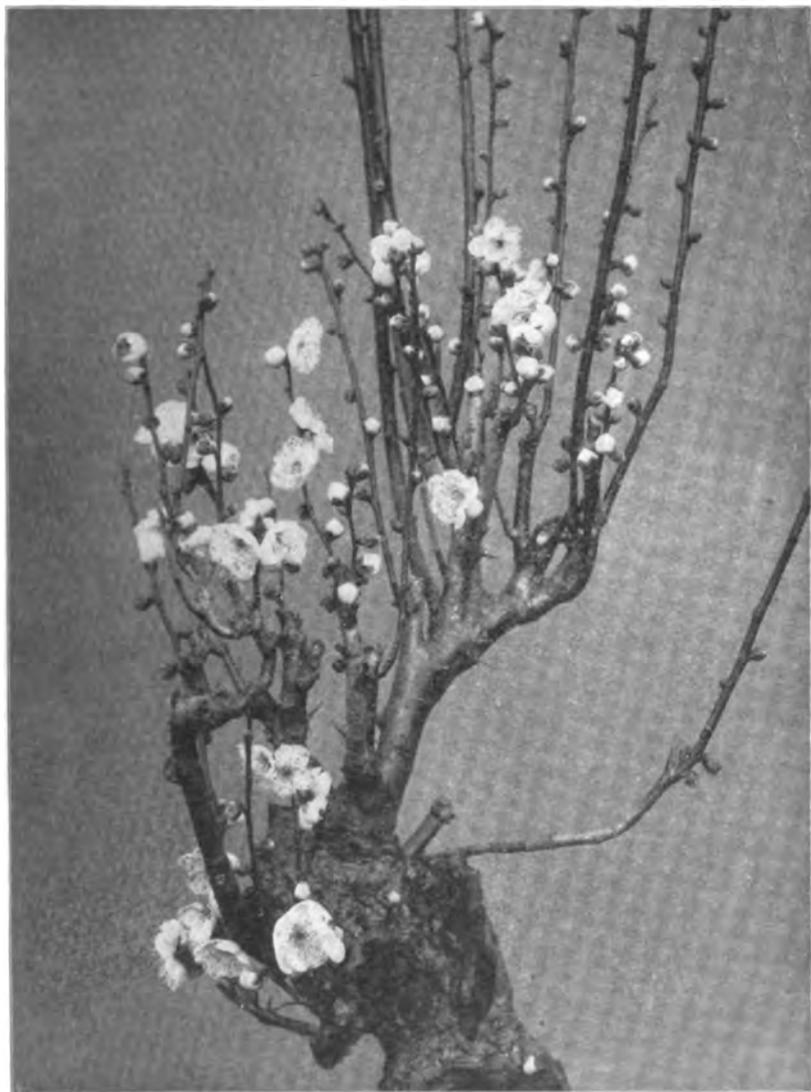
"In spring-time, on a cloudless night,  
When moonbeams throw their silver pall  
O'er wooded landscape, veiling all  
In one soft cloud of misty white,  
'Twere vain, almost, to hope to trace  
The plum trees in their lovely bloom

<sup>1</sup> Scidmore's *Jinrikisha Days in Japan*.

<sup>2</sup> Conder's *Flowers of Japan*.

Of argent; 'tis their sweet perfume  
Alone which leads me to their place."

There is also an interesting story<sup>1</sup> related by Mr. Conder in



PLUM-TREE.

explanation of the name "Nightingale-dwelling-plum-tree," applied even till the present day to a favorite species of delicious odor,

<sup>1</sup> Conder's *Flowers of Japan*.

having pink double blossoms. Sometime in the tenth century, the Imperial plum-tree withered, and, as it was necessary to replace it, search was made for a specimen worthy of so high an honor. Such a tree was found in the garden of the daughter of a talented poet, named Kino Tsurayuki, and was demanded by the officials of the Court. Not daring to resist the Imperial command, but full of grief at parting with her favorite plum-tree, the young poetess attached to its trunk a strip of paper, upon which she wrote the following verse<sup>1</sup>:

" Claimed for our Sovereign's use,  
 Blossoms I've loved so long,  
 Can I in duty fail?  
 But for the nightingale  
 Seeking her home of song,  
 How shall I find excuse? "

This caught the eye of the Emperor, who, touched by the plaintive sentiment expressed, inquired from whose garden the tree was taken, and ordered it to be returned.

Here is still another little plum-poem :

" How shall I find my ume tree?  
 The moon and the snow are white as she,  
 By the fragrance blown on the evening air,  
 Shalt thou find her there."

<sup>1</sup> Brinkley's translation.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

BY NICHOLAS ROWE (1709).

"It seems to be a kind of respect due to the memory of excellent men, especially those whom their wit and learning have made famous, to deliver some account of themselves, as well as their works, to posterity. For this reason, how fond do we see some people of discovering any little personal story of the great men of antiquity! their families, the common accidents of their lives, and even their shape, make, and features have been the subject of critical inquiries. How trifling soever this curiosity may seem to be, it is certainly very natural; and we are hardly satisfied with an account of any remarkable person, till we have heard him described even to the very clothes he wears. As for what relates to men of letters, the knowledge of an author may sometimes conduce to the better understanding of his book; and though the works of Shakespeare may seem to many not to want a comment, yet I fancy some little account of the man himself may not be thought improper to go along with them.

"He was the son of Mr. John Shakespeare, and was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, in Warwickshire, in April, 1564. His family, as appears by the register and public writings relating to that town, were of good figure and fashion there, and are mentioned as gentlemen. His father, who was a considerable dealer in wool, had so large a family, ten children in all,<sup>1</sup> that, though he was his eldest son, he could give him no better education than his own employment. He had bred him, it is true, for some time at a free-school, where it is probable he acquired what Latin he was master of; but the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home forced his father to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his further proficiency in that language. It is without controversy, that in his works we scarce find any traces of anything that looks like an imitation of the ancients. The delicacy of his taste, and the natural bent of his own great genius (equal, if not superior, to some of the best of theirs) would certainly have led him to read and study them with so much pleasure, that some of their fine images would naturally have insinuated themselves into and been mixed with his own writings; so that his not copying at least something from them may be an argument of his never having read them.<sup>2</sup> Whether his ignorance of the ancients were

<sup>1</sup> Here Mr. Rowe must be mistaken. Mr. John Shakespeare, the husband of Mary Arden, who is known as a glover, had not ten children but only eight. It is commonly believed that Mr. Rowe counted in some of the children of John Shakespeare the shoemaker, as children of John Shakespeare the gentleman.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rowe is mistaken when he speaks of Shakespeare's "ignorance of the ancients" and claims that in the poet's works "we scarcely find any traces of anything that looks like an imita-

a disadvantage to him or no, may admit of a dispute; for, though the knowledge of them might have made him more correct, yet it is not improbable but that the regularity and deference for them, which would have attended that correctness, might have restrained some of that fire, impetuosity, and even beautiful extravagance which we admire in Shakespeare; and I believe we are better pleased with those thoughts, altogether new and uncommon, which his own imagination supplied him so abundantly with, than if he had given us the most beautiful passages out of the Greek and Latin poets, and that in the most agreeable manner that it was possible for a master of the English language to deliver them.

“Upon his leaving school, he seems to have given entirely into that way of living which his father proposed to him; and, in order to settle in the world after a family manner, he thought fit to marry while he was yet very young. His wife was the daughter of one Hathaway, said to have been a substantial yeoman in the neighborhood of Stratford. In this kind of settlement he continued for some time, till an extravagance that he was guilty of forced him both out of his country and that way of living which he had taken up; and, though it seemed at first to be a blemish upon his good manners, and a misfortune to him, yet it afterwards happily proved the occasion of exerting one of the greatest geniuses that ever was known in dramatic poetry. He had, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company; and among them some, that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engaged him with them more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and, in order to revenge that ill usage, he made a ballad upon him. And though this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter, that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree, that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time, and shelter himself in London.

“It is at this time, and upon this accident, that he is said to have made his first acquaintance in the play-house. He was received into the company then in being, at first in a very mean rank; but his admirable wit, and the natural turn of it to the stage, soon distinguished him, if not as an extraordinary actor, yet as an excellent writer. His name is printed, as the custom was in those times, among those of the other players, before some old plays, but without any particular account of what sort of parts he used to play; and, though I have inquired, I could never meet with any further account of him this way, than that the top of his performance was the Ghost in his own Hamlet. I should have been much more pleased to have learned from some certain authority which was the first play he wrote: it would be without doubt a pleasure to any man curious in things of this kind, to see and know what was the first essay of a fancy like Shakespeare's. Perhaps we are not to look for his beginnings, like those of other authors, among his least perfect writings: art had so little, and nature so large a share in what he did, that, for aught I know, the performances of his youth, as they were the most vigorous, and had the most fire and strength of imagination in them, were the best. I would not be thought by this to mean, that his fancy was so loose and extravagant as to be independent on the rule and government of judgment; but that what he thought of the ancients.” The poet must have been able to read Latin (and also some modern languages) with fluency. Consider that at his time there existed as yet no translations of the works of Livy, Plautus, Ovid, Terence, and others of the ancients, and yet how conversant must the poet have been with all of them. The drama “Julius Cæsar” alone proves an unusual familiarity with Roman history and Latin authors.

was commonly so great, so justly and rightly conceived in itself, that it wanted little or no correction, and was immediately approved by an impartial judgment at the first sight. But, though the order of time in which the several pieces were written be generally uncertain, yet there are passages in some few of them which seem to fix their dates. So the Chorus at the end of the fourth Act of Henry V., by a compliment very handsomely turned to the Earl of Essex, shows the play to have been written when that lord was general for the Queen of Ireland. And his eulogy upon Queen Elizabeth and her successor King James, in the latter end of Henry VIII., is a proof of that play's being written after the accession of the latter of those two princes to the crown of England.

"Whatever the particular times of his writing were, the people of his age, who began to grow wonderfully fond of diversions of this kind, could not but be highly pleased to see a genius arise among them of so pleasurable, so rich a vein, and so plentifully capable of furnishing their favorite entertainments. Besides the advantages of his wit, he was in himself a good-natured man, of great sweetness in his manners, and a most agreeable companion; so that it is no wonder if with so many good qualities he made himself acquainted with the best conversations of those times. Queen Elizabeth had several of his plays acted before her, and without doubt gave him many gracious marks of her favor, it is that maiden princess plainly, whom he intends by, "a fair vestal throned by the west." And that whole passage is a compliment very properly brought in, and very handsomely applied to her.<sup>1</sup> She was so well pleased with that admirable character of Falstaff, in the two Parts of Henry IV., that she commanded him to continue it for one play more, and to show him in love. This is said to be the occasion of his writing *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. How well she was obeyed, the play itself is an admirable proof. Upon this occasion it may not be improper to observe, that this part of Falstaff is said to have been written originally under the name of Oldcastle: some of that family being then remaining, the Queen was pleased to command him to alter it; upon which he made use of Falstaff. The present offence was indeed avoided; but I do not know whether the author may not have been somewhat to blame in his second choice, since it is certain that Sir John Falstaff, who was a knight of the garter, and a lieutenant-general, was a name of distinguished merit in the wars in France, in the times of Henry V. and Henry VI.<sup>2</sup>

"What grace soever the Queen conferred upon him, it was not to her only he owed the fortune which the reputation of his wit made. He had the honor to meet with many and uncommon marks of favor and friendship from the Earl of Southampton, famous in the histories of that time for his friendship to the unfortunate Earl of Essex. It was to that noble Lord that he dedicated his poem of *Venus and*

<sup>1</sup> The passage occurs in "*A Mid-Summer Night's Dream*," Act 2, Scene 1, and reads as follows:

"That very time I saw (but thou could'st not)  
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,  
Cupid all arm'd: a certain aim he took  
At a fair vestal throned by the west;  
And loos'd his love shaft smartly from his bow,  
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts:  
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft  
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon;  
And the imperial votaress passed on,  
In maiden meditation, fancy-free."

<sup>2</sup> This is a mistake. The name which Mr. Rowe has in mind is Sir John Fastolfe, not Sir John Falstaff.

Adonis. There is one instance so singular in the magnificence of this patron of Shakespeare's, that if I had not been assured that the story was handed down by Sir William Davenant, who was probably very well acquainted with his affairs, I should not have ventured to have inserted, that my Lord Southampton at one time gave him a thousand pounds, to enable him to go through with a purchase which he had heard he had a mind to. A bounty very great, and very rare at any time, and almost equal to that profuse generosity the present age has shown to French dancers and Italian singers.

"What particular habitude or friendships he contracted with private men, I have not been able to learn, more than that every one who had any true taste of merit, and could distinguish men, had generally a just value and esteem for him. His exceeding candour and good nature must certainly have inclined all the gentler part of the world to love him, as the power of his wit obliged the men of the most delicate knowledge and polite learning to admire him.

"His acquaintance with Ben Jonson began with a remarkable piece of humanity and good-nature. Mr Jonson, who was at that time altogether unknown to the world, had offered one of his plays to the players, in order to have it acted; and the persons into whose hands it was put, after having turned it carelessly and superciliously over, were just upon returning it to him with an ill-natured answer, that it would be of no service to their company; when Shakespeare luckily cast his eye upon it, and found something so well in it as to engage him first to read it through, and afterwards to recommend Mr. Jonson and his writings to the public. Jonson was certainly a very good scholar, and in that had the advantage of Shakespeare; though at the same time I believe it must be allowed, that what nature gave the latter was more than a balance for what books had given the former; and the judgment of a great man upon this occasion was, I think, very just and proper. In a conversation between Sir John Suckling, Sir William Davenant, Endymion Porter, Mr. Hales of Eton, and Ben Jonson,—Sir John Suckling, who was a professed admirer of Shakespeare, had undertaken his defence against Ben Jonson with some warmth: Mr. Hales, who had sat still for some time, told them that, if Shakespeare had not read the ancients, he had likewise not stolen anything from them; and that, if he would produce any one topic finely treated by any of them, he would undertake to show something upon the same subject at least as well written by Shakespeare.

"The latter part of his life was spent, as all men of good sense will wish theirs may be, in ease, retirement, and the conversation of his friends. He had the good fortune to gather an estate equal to his occasions, and, in that, to his wish; and is said to have spent some years before his death at his native Stratford. His pleasurable wit and good-nature engaged him in the acquaintance, and entitled him to the friendship of the gentlemen of the neighborhood. Among them, it is a story almost still remembered in that country, that he had a particular intimacy with Mr. Combe, an old gentleman noted thereabouts for his wealth and usury. It happened, that in a pleasant conversation among their common friends, Mr. Combe told Shakespeare, in a laughing manner, that he fancied he intended to write his epitaph, if he happened to outlive him; and, since he could not know what might be said of him when he was dead, he desired it might be done immediately. Upon which Shakespeare gave him these four lines of verse:

“ Ten in the hundred lies here ingrav'd;  
 'Tis a hundred to ten his soul is not sav'd;  
 If any man ask, who lies in this tomb?  
 O, ho! quoth the devil, 'tis my John-a-Combe.”

But the sharpness of the satire is said to have stung the man so severely, that he never forgave it.

“He died in the fifty-third year of his age, and was buried on the north side of the chancel, in the great church at Stratford, where a monument is placed in the wall. On his gravestone underneath is :

“ Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear  
To dig the dust inclosed here :  
Blest be the man'that spares these stones,  
And curst be he that moves my bones.’

“He had three daughters, of which two lived to be married ; Judith, the elder, to one Mr. Thomas Quiney, by whom she had three sons, who all died without children ; and Susannah, who was his favorite, to Dr. John Hall, a physician of good reputation in that country. She left one child only, a daughter, who was married first to Thomas Nash, Esq ; and afterwards to Sir John Bernard, of Abington, but died likewise without issue.

### DR. KNIGHT'S SATIRE, “THE PRAISE OF HYPOCRISY.”

*To the Editor of The Open Court :*

To my mind there has always been a sort of melancholy irony about the duel between David and Goliath. I mean the termination of the affair. The armory of the giant furnished the sword with which his own head was cut off.

This idea came to me with much force during the reading of the article by Dr. Knight in the September number of *The Open Court*. My thought reverted to the days when I was in the early twenties, when, under the influence of self-derived intelligence, I was an atheist of atheists ; and I thought that were I now as I was then, I would ask no more effective cudgel against the Church, Religion, and even Christianity than that same article of Dr Knight's. The fact that Dr. Knight is honest and sincere in his purpose has nothing to do with the effect of his utterances, unless to render his pessimistic, sophistic casuistry the more subtle and dangerous. As I read, I was conscious of a certain vivification of old buried doubts and questionings, that seemed to shimmer and gibe,—like the wicked nuns evoked by Bertram in “Robert le Diable” to tempt Robert, while the bassoon performs a diabolical incantation. And as I read on, these feelings became more intense, until laying the magazine down on finishing the article, I could but feel that the reverend gentleman had not only put a powerful weapon into the hands of the foes of religion, and one that they will not be slow to use, but done much to shake and unsettle,—if not shatter,—the weak and trembling faith of more than one soul.

With the truth or error of his suggestions this review has nothing to do. The question is whether it is judicious to gather up the unexploded shells of the besieging enemy, light their fuses and roll them into the ranks of the defenders

“I have many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now,” and in view of this utterance from The Master, is it not well to remain silent regarding some things?

Dr. Knight makes the trimming religionist say, “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.”

Yes, but He held a conversation with His followers one day, which is recorded in Luke xxii. 36-37. After recalling to their minds that He had once sent them out without purse, wallet, or shoes, and still they wanted for nothing, He proceeded to enlighten them regarding a certain fact, and that fact was, that conditions were going to change. It was to become necessary for them to adapt themselves to these changed conditions, and for their own safety they must grasp the world's weapons. Aye, and underneath this is there not a deeper meaning? Is there not a suggestion that even *His Church* might find herself forced to clothe herself in the armor of policy and apparent subserviency to outward conditions and circumstances that stood as antitheses to her inner life?

And is it not true that "if we would live among men long enough to do any great work, we must adapt ourselves to circumstances"? Is there anything in the vast, comprehensive activity of life that does not kneel to this law of conformity, to some extent? The same power of gravitation that holds your valuable pitcher firmly on the shelf, will shatter it by contact with the floor if you drop it.

The railway that extends from Philadelphia to Chicago is not built in a straight line. It looks so on the folders of the company, but no one is deceived by this appearance. Mountain ranges and deep valleys lie between the two cities, and there are sections of the line where trains going to the same destination appear to be travelling in opposite directions. To one who does not know, *they are*, but this is a necessary part of the process, and is in evidence all along the line from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and always will be until engineering science can bridge the chasm at "Horseshoe Bend," or float the train across through the air.

Just so long as human nature is what it is, the suggestion of the wheat and tares will stand. "Lest haply while ye root up the tares ye root up the wheat also;—*let both grow together until the harvest.*"

Yes, a reformation is needed, but all reformation is from within, and is the work of the Divine Spirit in the individual soul. No "Church" can make a conscience for me, and no "Church" can keep my conscience after it is formed. GOD did not send a host into the world to redeem it,—HE sent HIS ONLY BEGOTTEN SON. JEHOVAH did not send an army to deliver Israel from Egypt,—He sent *one man*, who had been unconsciously training for his work for years. God never sends a "Church" about His work, but HE fills a *man* with His spirit. It is not a question of the "intellectual honesty" of the clergyman, but honesty of purpose and desire *in the heart of the individual* that is to work the needed reformation. Let the creeds stand if they will, to furnish the targets for the missiles of doubt and denial. The redemption of the world will be wrought—"not with observation"—in the heart and life of the man. "Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀθώτου ἠθάτου, καὶ δι' ἀθώτου ἀνίστασθαι νεκρῶν." (1 Corinthians, xv. 21.) And please read this in the present,—not past tense. "Since by man comes death, by man comes—(*must come*)—also the resurrection from death." Work out this problem, and let the "Church" take care of itself.

DR. J. R. PHELPS.

DORCHESTER, MASS.

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#### PROF. KARL PEARSON ON THE LAW OF PROGRESS.

If we but knew the law of progress, we could prevent national degeneration and lay a solid foundation for welfare of the human race. Our naturalists and philosophers are deeply engaged with the solution of the problem, and no satisfac-

tory answer has as yet been brought to light. The propositions made by different schools, Darwinists, Lamarckians, and others, form strong contrasts, and their applications to practical life would require diametrically opposed remedies for our several social ills.

Prof. Karl Pearson takes high rank among modern thinkers. He is not a popular writer but well known in scientific circles for his keen penetration and breadth of view. His theory may be one-sided, or its significance may be exaggerated, but it will be worth while to take notice of it and consider its consequences.

Professor Pearson is a Weismannian, not a Lamarckian; he does not believe in training, and apparently not in the transmission of acquired characters. Bad stock cannot be reduced by nurture and education, he claims, but only by conscious or unconscious selection. Mixture of races is dangerous. There has been progress and civilisation only where the inferior races have been annihilated. Contrast for example the civilisations of the United States of America and Australia, where the native races were driven out, and the civilisations of South America, where the races were mixed. Coexistence is demoralisation. The races soon assume the position of master and servant or even of slave-owner and slave. Where they intercross the good stock is lowered.

"History shows me one way, and one way only, in which a high state of civilisation has been produced, namely, the struggle of race with race, and the survival of the physically and mentally fitter race." If this struggle for existence between races is suspended, the solution of great problems will be postponed; instead of the slow, stern processes of evolution, we shall have terrible social cataclysms. Such, to Professor Pearson's mind, appear to be the problems confronting Americans regarding the Negro population of the Southern States and the English in the Kaffir situation in South Africa.

When at the time of the Boer War England's strength was tested as to her chance of survival in the struggle for life, Prof. Karl Pearson made a stirring appeal<sup>1</sup> to the British nation to husband and increase its stock of brain and muscle for the great international combats with which the closing years of the nineteenth century have brought it face to face. England had measured her strength with "a social organisation far less highly developed and infinitely smaller than" her own. The best minds of the nation recognised that the struggle for existence, whether in war or in peace, is not settled in favor of the biggest nation, "nor in favor of the best-armed nation, nor in favor of the nation with the greatest material resources;" they recognised that what above all was needed was brains. Professor Pearson therefore considers two questions: (1) What from a scientific standpoint is the function of a nation? and (2) What has science to tell us of the best methods of fitting the nation for its task?"

Professor Pearson's recent scientific investigations have, as is well known, been connected with the mathematical probabilities of the law of heredity. He says: "If we once realise that this law of inheritance is as inevitable as the law of gravity, we shall cease to struggle against it. This does not mean a fatal resignation to the presence of bad stock, but a conscious attempt to modify the percentage of it in our own community and in the world at large."

No one, says Professor Pearson, will wish that the whites had never gone to America or that whites and red Indians were to-day living alongside each other as

<sup>1</sup>*National Life from the Standpoint of Science.* An Address delivered at Newcastle, November 19, 1901. By Karl Pearson, F. R. S., Professor of Applied Mathematics, University College, London. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1901. Pages, 62. Price, 80 cents.

are Negro and white in the Southern States and Kaffir and European in South Africa; still less that they had mixed their blood as have Spaniards and Indians in South America. "The civilisation of the white man is a civilisation dependent upon free white labor, and when that element of stability is removed it will collapse like those of Greece and Rome. I venture to assert, then, that the struggle for existence between white and red man, painful and even terrible as it was in its details, has given us a good far outbalancing its immediate evil. In place of the red man, contributing practically nothing to the work and thought of the world, we have a great nation, mistress of many arts, and able, with its youthful imagination and fresh, untrammelled impulses, to contribute much to the common stock of civilised man. Against that you have only to put the romantic sympathy for the Red Indian generated by the novels of Cooper and the poems of Longfellow, and then—see how little it weighs in the balance!... The struggle means suffering, intense suffering, while it is in progress; but that struggle and that suffering have been the stages by which the white man has reached his present stage of development, and they account for the fact that he no longer lives in caves and feeds on roots and nuts." And again: "You may hope for a time when the sword shall be turned into the ploughshare, when American and German and English traders shall no longer compete in the markets of the world for their raw material and for their food supply... But, believe me, when that day comes, mankind will no longer progress; there will be nothing to check the fertility of inferior stock; the relentless law of heredity will not be controlled and guided by natural selection. Man will stagnate; and unless he ceases to multiply, the catastrophe will come again; famine and pestilence, as we see them in the East, physical selection instead of the struggle of race against race, will do the work more relentlessly, and, to judge from India and China, far less efficiently than of old."

After thus considering the struggle of race against race, Professor Pearson takes up the subject of the struggle for existence within nations and communities, and here intervenes the question of the increase of population. Where the number of offspring is artificially limited, how are we to be sure that these offspring are from the better and not from the inferior stock? "If they come equally from both stocks and there be no wastage, then the nation has ceased to progress; it stagnates. I feel sure that a certain amount of wastage is almost necessary for a progressive nation; you want definite evidence that the inferior stocks are not able to multiply at will, that a certain standard of physique and brains are needful to a man if he wishes to settle and have a family." The birth rate of England has been decreasing for thirty years. "Who will venture to assert that this decreased fertility has occurred in the inferior stocks? On the contrary, is it not the feckless and improvident who have the largest families? The professional classes, the trading classes, the substantial and provident working classes—shortly, the capable elements of the community with a certain standard of life—have been marrying late, have been having small families, have been increasing their individual comfort, and all this is at the expense of the nation's future. We cannot suspend the struggle for existence in any class of the community without stopping progress; we cannot recruit the nation from its inferior stocks without deteriorating our national character."

So great, says Professor Pearson, has been the accumulation of wealth in England for the last thirty years that no test of brains or physique was needful before a man multiplied his type. At the one end of society there were no, or at least only feeble, checks "on the endowment in perpetuity of the brainless;" at the

other end of society there has been scarcely any check whatever on the "multiplication of inferior stock." Only the middle classes have made success in the life struggle to some extent a condition of the multiplication.

Now surely, says Professor Pearson, this is a very dangerous state of affairs for any nation. "A crisis may come in which we may want all the brain and all the muscle we can possibly lay our hands on, and we may find that there is a dearth of ability and a dearth of physique, because we have allowed inferior stock to multiply at the expense of the better. And in that day woe to the nation that has recruited itself from the weaker and not from the stronger stocks!" For Professor Pearson everything exists and is to be done for the sake of the nation. "If you have not the means to start all your offspring in your own class, let them do the work of another; if you cannot make them into lawyers and engineers, let them be village school-masters and mechanics. Or, if this should raise an insurmountable, if utterly false, shame, let them go to new lands even as miners, cowboys, and storekeepers; they will strengthen the nation's reserve, and this is far better than that they should never have existed at all."

The author does not say that there was a dearth of brains and physique in England in the recent crisis, but he does say that there has been "a want of them in the right places." Not only has there been a want of them in warfare, which is the crudest form of the modern struggle of nations, but in manufacture and in commerce; and he here has some criticisms to offer on English methods of education. Professor Pearson's ideal of education is to develop brain power "by providing a training and method and by exercising our powers of cautious observation; keep your eyes open and apply common sense." He has taken his examples from the war and found his moral suggested by "lack of English ability in scouting." "The man with a scientific training *scouts* through nature; and one of the first lessons in scouting is independence of equipment, the doing of great things with small means." He says there is too much talk about the national utility of science and too little stress laid on its educational value. "'I want my son to learn what will be useful to him in his profession in life,' is the statement I have heard from one parent after another. 'I want my son to know how to observe and to think,' is the expression of a desire which I have not yet come across." Only a nation trained in the sense indicated can hope to compete in the great struggles now pending.

Professor Pearson is very outspoken in the position that he takes; he contends that if England gives up her contests for trade-routes and for free markets and for waste lands, she indirectly gives up her food supply, she will cease to hold her own among the nations, she will return to the condition of Mediæval England, to the condition of agricultural Norway or Denmark. But the process of selection by which her millions will thus be reduced is too horrible for the imagination to contemplate. This therefore is the reason that she must retain her right to work the unutilised resources of the earth, be they in Africa or in Asia. It is only through suffering and pain that individuals, nations, or mankind as a whole advance. "The path of progress is strewn with the wreck of nations; traces are everywhere to be seen of the hecatombs of inferior races, and of victims who found not the narrow path to the greater perfection. Yet these dead people are, in very truth, the stepping-stones on which mankind has risen to the higher intellectual and deeper emotional life of to-day."

But Professor Pearson's position has its softer side. He is an outspoken champion of the rôle that love and sympathy play in the crowning process of evo-

lution. The earlier evolutionists insisted too much on the survival of the fittest *individual* and too little on the survival of communities of individuals. Man is gregarious by nature. "Many of the characters which give man his foremost place in the animal kingdom were evoked in the struggle of tribe against tribe, of race against race, and even of man as a whole against other forms of life and against his physical environment." It is not the individual instincts but the social instincts of preservation that must dominate in a clan, a tribe, or a nation; it is only by sticking together that we can win. "The race that allows the physically or mentally stronger Tom to make the existence of the somewhat inferior Jack impossible, will never succeed when it comes into contest with a second race. Jack has no interests in common with Tom; the oppressed will hardly get worse terms from a new master. That is why no strong and permanent civilisation can be built upon slave labor, why an inferior race doing menial labor for a superior race can give no stable community." The social instinct was evolved from the struggle of tribe against tribe. The tribe with the greater social feeling survived. Here morality so called took its origin from sheer necessity, and love and sympathy and consideration for others in every form took their rise. "Morality is only the developed form of the tribal habit, the custom of acting in a certain way towards our fellows, upon which the very safety of the tribe originally depended."

#### AN OCTOGENARIAN BUDDHIST HIGH PRIEST.

The Right Rev. Weligama Sri Sumangala, a Buddhist High Priest of Ceylon, has attained his eightieth year and we take pleasure in publishing one of his latest pictures. He exercises a great influence at home and abroad, being respected as a venerable old man and a religious leader, not only by the members of his own church, but also by other Buddhist sects in Japan, Burma, and Siam.

Sri Sumangala is not only a priest, but also a scholar of no mean repute. His name is familiar to Sanscritists and Pāli students. One of his best known works is his Sanscrit edition of the Hitopadesa, accompanied with a Singhalese translation which appeared in 1878. The book became so popular in Ceylon that Mr. Bruce, the director of public instruction, requested the translator to edit another Singhalese translation for the use of the government schools of Ceylon, which was done and printed at the expense of the Ceylon government in 1884. Another work in the interest of science is the Singhalese translation of *Mugdhabodha*, the Sanscrit grammar of Vopadeva, which was also printed and published by the Ceylon government. Many honors have been conferred upon Sri Sumangala by learned bodies and Orientalist societies outside of his country, but we believe that his main pride will remain forever his merits for the elevation of the Singhalese schools and his work of reform in matters of religion and education; and we are glad to notice that his endeavors found more and more the support of the government.

When in 1893 the Legislative Council called for a revision of the Singhalese books prepared for the schools of Ceylon, the Right Rev. Sumangala, together with two other erudite priests and some high official Englishman, were appointed as a committee of investigation, and their judgment was accepted by the government as final. Another evidence of the confidence which the British government placed in Rev. Sumangala is his appointment as examiner in Sanscrit and Pāli of the Vidyodaya College of Colombo, a well-known institution and the foremost school of Oriental languages on the island.



THE RIGHT REV. WELIGAMA SRI SUMANGALA.

It will be interesting to historians and archæologists to know that in distant Ceylon where centuries have passed by without perceptible changes in the social and religious conditions of the country, there are still living worthy successors of the ancient Buddhist Sangha. The venerable High-Priest Sumangala still lives and dresses as did Buddhist monks in the time of Buddha in the fifth century B. C., more than two millenniums ago. He leads the life of a Bikkhu and is in every respect a noble representative of the religion of the Enlightened One, the Buddha, in its most pristine and original form.

We hope that the Rev. Sumangala's strength and health will be preserved beyond the common measure of human life, so as to enable him to continue the good work in the interest of the study of Sanscrit and Páli, and the general elevation of his countrymen.

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### MY HOUSE.

This moving house that you call me,  
 Is growing old and I can see  
 That it is weak, and here and there  
 I find some things beyond repair.  
 You err in thinking it is me  
 For I am what you cannot see.  
 Within, I tread the well-worn floor  
 Or stand beside my prison door  
 That outward swung in days of yore.  
 'Tis useless now, it swings no more.  
 Without my house, I see nor hear  
 Some things that once to me were dear,  
 And o'er my roof the chilly flow  
 Of Winter piles its drifts of snow.  
 Yet all within is still aglow  
 With earnest life, and every thing  
 Wears on its face the joys of Spring.

E. A. BRACKETT.<sup>1</sup>

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### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE GREEK IN ENGLISH. First Lessons in Greek. By *Thomas Dwight Goodell*. Assistant Professor in Yale College. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1889. Pages, vii, 138.

This useful little book will be welcome not only to educators but also to the public at large. It undertakes to teach just enough Greek to afford the reader a pretty thorough comprehension of the Greek ingredients of his mother tongue, and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. E. A. Brackett, Chief of the State Fish Commission of Massachusetts wrote a book, *The World We Live In*, which will be interesting to all who love to dwell on the mysteries of the soul. It contains stories which are presumably imagination and not direct experiences of the author, but back of them is the investigating spirit of the Society for Psychical Research. When Alfred Russell Wallace visited this country in 1886-1887 he sent his picture to Mr. Brackett, requesting an interview, and when they met both found themselves to be in pretty close agreement. Mr. Brackett is approaching his eighty-sixth year and is still hale and strong. We take pleasure in publishing, with his permission, the lines which he sent us in a recent letter.

we learn from the Preface (p. vi) that "the idea of the book and its general plan were first suggested by Mr. Henry Holt. Despite his disclaimer (printed without the author's knowledge in a note to the first edition, and suppressed at his urgent request in the second one), it remains true, that if the little volume accomplishes anything, to him primarily the credit will be due."

While the suggestion came from a business man, the plan has been well executed by Mr. Goodell, who presents just enough to give a fair insight into the nature of the Greek language, even some of its most characteristic details, without overburdening the student. We say "student" not "reader", for it is a matter of course that the book cannot be merely read but must be studied, for, as the author correctly remarks in the Preface, "There is no royal road to knowledge." But, after all, this method is the best attempt at making Greek easy to the English-speaking world. The book can be used without a teacher, and will at the same time rouse the interest of all who care to trace the roots of the English tongue back to their origin. There are constant references to English words of Greek etymology, and thus we become acquainted with those elements of the ancient Greek language which extend down to our own time as living parts of our current English speech. The book is just sufficient for all the needs of an English scholar, and there is enough grammar in it (for whatever is given is exact) to make it serviceable to a high school boy to lay a good foundation for a more advanced course in Greek.

P. C.

**HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN LITERATURE RELATED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.** Issued under the direction of the Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek. Volume I., Part I.: The Virgin Birth. By *Allan Hoben*, Ph. D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1903. Pages, 87. Price, \$ .50.

The University of Chicago is publishing now *Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature, Related to the New Testament*. In the first volume which lies before us, Allan Hoben treats the difficult subject of the "Virgin Birth." The Preface states that the author does not discuss the bearing which the results of his study may have upon the historical criticism of the New Testament and theology proper, but he takes the authority as found in the New Testament, and traces the history of its interpretation and use throughout the ante-Nicean period.

**RESPONSE IN THE LIVING AND NON-LIVING.** By *Jagadis Chunder Bose, M. A., D. Sc.* With Illustrations. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1902. Pages, xiii, 218. Price, 10s. 6d.

The author, a native Hindu, the descendant of a good Brahman family, and possessed of a scientific education, has done creditable work in investigating electrical phenomena, and this book embodies the most important results of his experiences, which are closely related to the work of Prof. Augustus Waller of London, who is frequently referred to. The general conclusion of Mr. Bose may be stated as much as possible in his own words as follows:

"The irritability of tissue. . . for response, electrical or mechanical, was found to depend on its physiological activity. Under certain conditions it could be converted from the responsive to an irresponsive state, either temporarily as by anæsthetics, or permanently as by poisons. When thus made permanently irresponsive by any means, the tissue was said to have been killed. . . From this observed fact

—that a tissue when killed passes out of the state of responsiveness into that of irresponsiveness; and from a confusion of 'dead' things with inanimate matter, it has been tacitly assumed that inorganic substances, like dead animal tissues, must necessarily be unresponsive, or incapable of being excited by stimulus—an assumption which has been shown to be gratuitous.

"Living response in all its diverse manifestations is found to be only a repetition of responses seen in the inorganic. There is in it no element of mystery or caprice, such as we must admit to be applied in the assumption of a hypermechanical vital force, acting in contradiction or defiance of those physical laws that govern the world of matter. . . . There is no necessity for the assumption of vital force. . . . These things are determined, not by the play of an unknowable and arbitrary vital force, but by the working of laws that know no change, acting equally and uniformly throughout the organic and the inorganic worlds."

RAJA-CEKHARA'S KARPURA-MANJARI. A Drama by the Indian Poet Rajacekhara (about 900 A. D.). Critically Edited in the Original Prakrit, with a Glossarial Index, and an Essay on the Life and Writings of the Poet. By *Sten Konow* of the University of Christiania, Norway, and translated into English with notes by *Charles Rockwell Lanman*, Professor of Sanskrit in Harvard University. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1901. Pages, xxvi, 303.

The fourth volume of the Harvard Oriental series is a text-edition of an ancient Indian drama, written in Prakrit, edited by Sten Konow, Professor of the University of Christiania, Norway. It has been translated into English and is commented upon and explained by Charles Rockwell Lanman, Professor of Sanskrit and Pāli of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. The play characterises the taste of ancient India, and will prove interesting in spite of its many crudities. The prologue of the director and the assistant of the stage manager remind one of similar formalities in Shakespeare's time. It opens and concludes with a benediction. The plot is a court intrigue, which originates through a drunken magician who is introduced to the king and produces at his request a beautiful girl, the heroine of the play. The king falls in love with her, but the queen keeps her imprisoned in her palace. Interviews, however, take place, in which the king's jester plays an important part. Finally, the queen insists on the king marrying another princess, her purpose being to draw away his attention from the heroine. The king yields, and when the marriage ceremony is performed the princess turns out to be the same person whom the magician has introduced. Thus, the king and the spectators are satisfied, and the queen who seems to pose as the intriguer in the play is outwitted. Some of the songs and other incidental features of the play are not without beauty. The text is carefully edited, and Professor Lanman's notes, vocabulary, and translation render the study of it easy.

ELIJAH. A Historical Poem. By the *Rev. F. W. Parkes, M. A.* London: S. W. PARTRIDGE & CO. Pages, vi, 59.

The theme of this poem is a little too difficult to be carried out without naturally becoming a failure, and our poet probably feels himself that he has undertaken too much. Its hero is Elijah, the prophet, who flees for his life, and takes refuge on Mount Sinai, where he hides in a cave and hears the Lord pass by. The Lord is not in the fire, not in the storm, but in the still small voice. This same Elijah

is expected to announce the Messiah, a hope that prevails all over the Orient (p. 43):

“And still the question rose from eager lips:  
‘Elijah comes—when will Elijah come?’”

The main lesson which our author wishes to impress is given in the Prologue, where we read in answer to the question of a humble man who fears to have lived in vain:

“None lives for God in vain who humbly strives.  
The pages of God’s book are good men’s lives  
Writ by His hand unseen; forgotten deeds  
Of love and truth despised are buried seeds  
That ripen in the sun of after years,  
When watered by the rain of human tears.”

The poem is accompanied by a prefatory note on Elijah and the lesson of Elijah’s history (pp. iii.-vi.), a list of books on the subject, both geographical and historical, including references to later traditions (pp. vi.-viii.); and finally a few critical notes justifying the poet’s intentions in special cases (pp. 53 ff.). The book concludes with an Epilogue, winding up with the lesson:

“Love made and makes, and Love the world sustains.  
Fear not; the world may pass, yet love remains.”

**PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS FOR THE SUNDAY SCHOOL.** An Essay in Religious Pedagogy. By *Ernest De Witt Burton* and *Shailer Matthews*, Professors in the University of Chicago. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1903. Pages, vii, 207.

The authors have been engaged in Sunday School work for years and have devoted special attention to Biblical instruction. In this volume they present suggestions to others who work in the same line and show the difficulty in applying the new methods of Bible study to Sunday School courses. The authors deem it important to insist that the authority of the Biblical writer, the prophet or apostle, or Christ,—whoever it is that may be the ultimate source of information in a given passage should be upheld, otherwise they believe in allowing free scope for investigation. To express this principle in the authors’ own words: “Appeal to authority, namely, not the authority of the teacher, or of his church, but that of the prophet, apostle, or Christ whose words are quoted—that is, broadly speaking, of the Scripture—will be by most minds recognised as legitimate and felt to be powerful.”

In this way they hope to avoid all difficulties in the religious development of the child or the young man. They say: “As he grows older he will find little temptation to abandon his early faith. The ‘discrepancies’ of the Bible which have played such havoc both with the faith of the literalist and the conscience of the apologist will dissolve before him. A young Christian so trained will, as he reaches maturity, see the growth of the divine element in human experience, and will welcome all truth.”

**JEWISH CEREMONIAL INSTITUTIONS AND CUSTOMS.** By *William Rosenau*, Ph. D. Baltimore, Md.: The Friedenwald Company. 1903. Pages, 193.

The peculiarities of Hebrew life and institutions are fast disappearing. Where the Jews are kindly received they are inclined to adopt the habits of the country,

dropping at the same time their own, and many children of Israelitic families have scarcely any knowledge of their traditional rites. It is praiseworthy that Dr. William Rosenau devotes a little book to the purpose of recording and explaining the several Jewish customs of worship both in the synagogue and at home. He explains the utensils, the worship on Sabbath and week days, the Passover and fasts, the Tishri holidays and half-holidays, the redemption of the first-born, marriage, divorce and mourning, and also the ritualistic slaughtering of animals. The book is neatly illustrated, and will be welcome not only to Jews but also to archaeologists, who are interested in Jewish institutions.

STUDIES IN THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. By *Richard T. Ely*, Professor of Political Economy, etc., in the University of Wisconsin. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1903. Pages, xviii, 497. Price, \$1.25.

Richard T. Ely, Professor of Political Economy of the University of Wisconsin, has been before the public for many years writing magazine articles, and popularising the several topics of his speciality. This book contains the gist of his investigations on the evolution of society, industrial as well as economic, and the recent tendencies in our present conditions. The first part treats the subject in its general aspect, the second one takes up special problems such as competition, progress and race improvement, monopolies and trusts, municipal ownership of natural monopolies, concentration and diffusion of wealth, inheritance of property, labor questions, trades unionism, child labor, the employer's liability, etc., and finally, the possibilities of social reform.

GESAMMELTE AUFSÄTZE ZUR PHILOSOPHIE UND LEBENSANSCHAUUNG. Von *Rudolf Eucken*. Leipzig: Dürr'sche Buchhandlung. 1893. Pages, 242. Price, 4 20 Marks.

Rudolf Eucken of Jena, well known to our readers by his contributions to *The Monist*, and one of the leading philosophers of Germany, has collected in one volume a series of essays and lectures on general topics, and of speeches in reminiscence of several prominent personalities. Professor Eucken is always thoughtful and instructive, even if he touches on problems that would have no interest outside of Germany. He is a typical German professor of highest standing, with all the good and ideal qualities that we are wont to associate with that position. He is a warm German patriot, and he dwells with great enthusiasm upon the advance, which since the classical period of Goethe, Schiller, and Kant, has taken place in the national life of the Fatherland.

In the first part of these essays Professor Eucken deals with philosophical subjects of a general nature. The book opens with discussions on the justification of morality; the moral tendencies of the present age; the inner motive of modern life, an appreciation of Germany's position at the beginning of the new century, etc. The second part which is devoted to a discussion of special personalities, treats of Aristotle's opinion of man; Goethe's relation to philosophy; Fichte with reference to the present age; Fröbel as a champion of soul culture, Runeberg, Seebeck, and Steffensen. A further instalment consists of essays on religious and the religio-philosophical problems, while appendix will be of special interest to professors of philosophy, as it makes some suggestions concerning the study of philosophy and the general advancement of philosophical culture.

# THE KANT CENTENARY

THE members of the American Philosophical Association, by its officers, desire to call the attention of all teachers of philosophy to the fact that next February 12th is the centenary of the death of Immanuel Kant. They respectfully suggest that such memorial notice should be taken of this fact as in each case seems practicable. It is hoped that a more formal celebration of the illustrious services of this great thinker may be arranged for the next meeting of the Association.

(Signed) GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD, *President.*

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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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.

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MARY CARUS.



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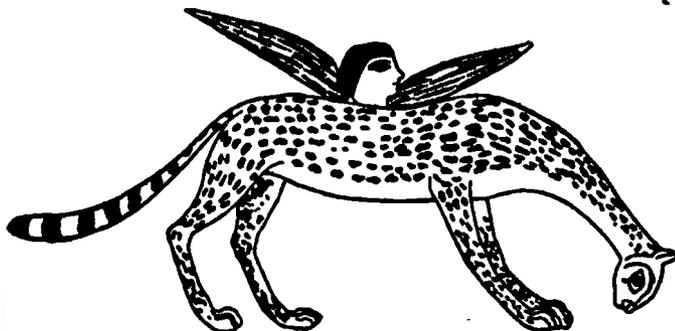
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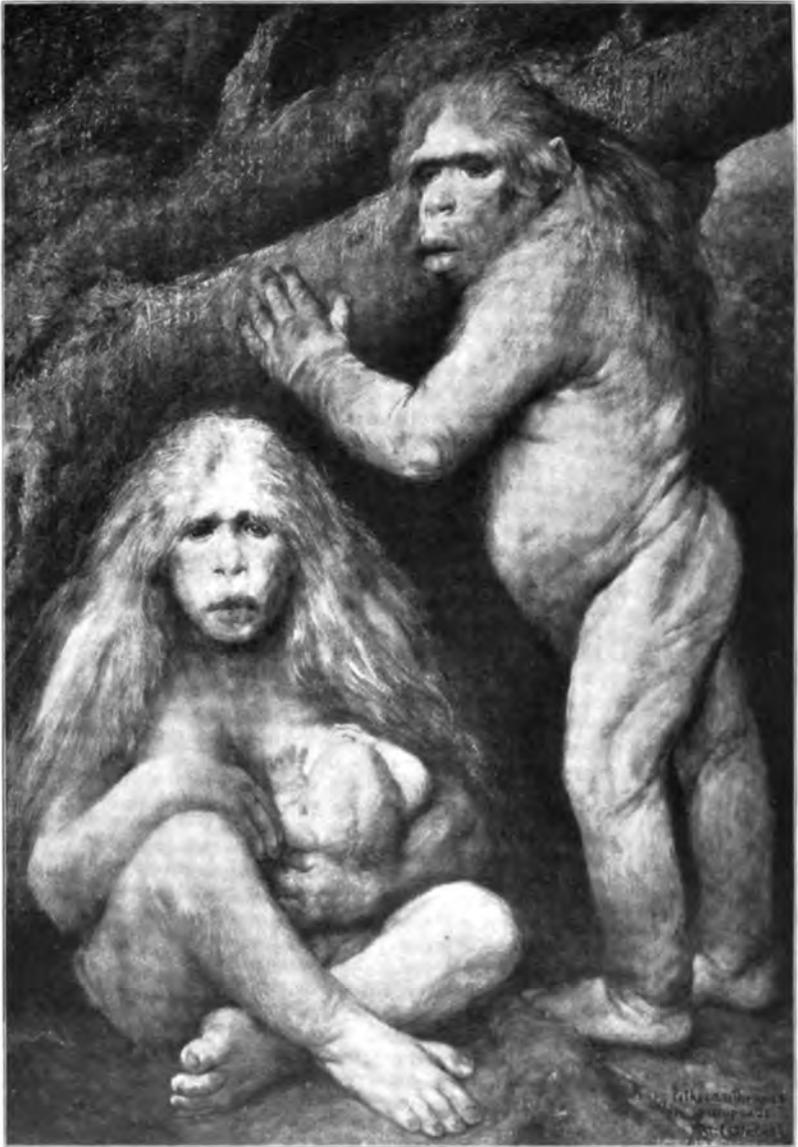
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## PRIMITIVE MAN

BY GABRIEL MAX

A picture of pithecanthropus (*homo alalus* or speechless man) presented by the artist to Prof. Ernst Haeckel, the famous naturalist. (By courtesy of Prof. Ernst Haeckel and the Munich Photographic Company.)

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## PARSIFAL.

THE LEGEND OF THE HOLY GRAIL.

BY WILLIS FLETCHER JOHNSON, L. H. D.

THE production of Richard Wagner's music-drama of "Parsifal" in America, for the first time outside of the Wagnerian playhouse at Bayreuth, is a musical and dramatic incident of high importance. It has also been the subject of much controversy as to the propriety of performing a play which deals so directly and intimately with some of the solemn imagery of the Christian religion. In addition, it performs the not less important and valuable function of calling attention and study anew to one of the greatest masterpieces of mediaeval romance and one of the foundation works of European literature. The libretto of "Parsifal" was written by Richard Wagner. But its theme was not original with him. Neither did he make it a faithful transcript of the old legend from which he drew his inspiration. In those respects it resembles the books of his other operas, especially those of the Nibelungen series, in which the greatest of liberties were taken with the immortal epic upon which they were founded. In these circumstances there is, of course, no reproach nor reflection upon Wagner, who was entitled to deal with the Nibelungen Lied and the Arthurian legends as Shakespeare did with the chronicles of Plutarch and Holinshed.

The tales of King Arthur and the Knights of his Round Table not only contribute at this time some of the chief ornaments of literature and art. They also, as I have said, centuries ago formed the chief foundation of European romantic literature. Before them were numerous classic and pseudo-classic romances, but these were exotics and not native products of Western Europe. The great

legend of Beowulf perhaps antedated them a little, and so did the Nibelungen Lied in its noblest primitive form, uncontaminated by the later monstrosities of the Heldenbuch, so dear to the Wagnerian heart. But neither of these either then or since attained the popularity or exerted the widespread influence of the Arthurian tales. We may concede that the Nibelungen Lied was and is the greatest of them all. Yet Arthur and Lancelot and Merlin and Guinevere have become household words among millions who have scarcely so much as heard of Siegfried and Chriemhilde, of Bruenhilde and Hagen. It is because of their widespread employment in the literatures of the three great nations of Europe, the British, the French, and the German, that we must give primacy to the Arthurian tales.

They were, I have said, perhaps antedated by Beowulf and the Nibelungen Lied. That, however, is not certain. The dates of the actual origins of all three are unknown. Doubtless they existed in fragmentary form, in folk-tales and the songs of minstrels, long before the earliest record we have of their being put into complete form and published. In respect to such latter treatment of them, some of the Arthurian tales were little if any later than the others. They had their origin partly, perhaps, in Wales and partly in Strathclyde, among the Cymri of the former and the Cambro-Gaels of the latter country. It was of Strathclyde that the "Arthur, dux bellorum," of Nennius was king—the King Arthur of the English and the Emperor Arthur of the Welsh. He flourished in the fifth century, or at the time of the Saxon conquest of England. To what extent the old tales of him are real and to what extent mythical, can now be determined no more than can similar details be concerning Achilles, or Romulus and Remus. Doubtless they had their origin in fact, but were embellished and expanded *ad libitum* by the minstrels who for centuries preserved them in memory and transmitted them by word of mouth. The first well-known attempt to put them into permanent literary form was made by Geoffrey of Monmouth, the chronicler who came from that same Anglo-Welsh borderland to which Arthur belonged. In his "Historia" and his "Merlin," in 1136-39, he set down some of the Round Table stories, though he made no mention of either Tristram or Lancelot, who are far more important figures in the romances than Arthur himself. About 1155 Wace, the Norman poet, a native of the island of Jersey, translated Geoffrey's "Historia" into French verse, and made some additions to it, but supplied no new characters. The tale of Tristram, or Tristan, appears to have been first put into perma-

ment form about 1160, by Luc de Gast, a minstrel of French ancestry but of English birth, who lived near Salisbury.

Closely following these early romancers came a far greater one, for whom they merely prepared the way, and who may be regarded as the chief founder of Arthurian literature and indeed of the whole school of British romance.



ISOLT PLAYING THE HARP.

(Illustration of a manuscript of the fifteenth century, preserved in the National Library of Paris.)

This was Walter Map. His name is not as familiar as it should be to the world. Historians have neglected him, though scarcely any attention they might have paid could have been too great for

his desert. Tennyson has given us a suggestive and engaging sketch of him in his "Becket," but it is shadowy and inadequate. Yet we shall go far elsewhere before we find more about him. Scholar, historian, poet, romancer, philosopher, wit, diplomat, jurist, theologian, reformer—he was a veritable Admirable Crichton of his time, and stood second to no other English subject in the time of Henry II. His birthplace is unknown, though it was in Herefordshire or Gloucestershire, in the Anglo-Welsh borderland, so that in his youth he lived in an atmosphere of Arthurian folk-lore. In the later years of his life he was Archdeacon of Oxford, and there he brought to fruition his rich scholarship and fine literary style. The exact date of his writings is not known, but there are good reasons for believing that he wrote his "Lancelot" in his early life, between 1165 and 1170. We know that it was in 1185 a long-published and familiar work, from which other writers were drawing data and inspiration. A little later, probably in 1170-75, Map wrote his "Percival" or "Parsifal," and the "Quest of the Holy Grail." To him we must give the credit of having first put "Lancelot," "Percival" and the "Holy Grail" into enduring literature, and with one possible exception, all other writers on those themes must be regarded as followers of him.

The one possible exception was Robert de Borron, a French minstrel, born at Meaux, in Champagne. He was a contemporary of Map, and possibly a collaborator. It seems more probable, however, that instead of actually collaborating they wrote independently but alternately, each borrowing to some extent from the other. Robert wrote a romance of "Joseph of Arimathea, or History of the Holy Grail," somewhere between 1170 and 1180, of which he made Percival the hero. Next came a younger contemporary of Map and Robert, whose fame has in a measure surpassed theirs, though he seems to have owed his inspiration to their works. This was Chrestien de Troyes, a French minstrel, born at Troyes, in Champagne, and for a time attached to the French court, and also to that of Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders. Chrestien was gifted with a fine fancy, if not for original invention at least for enlarging upon and embellishing the inventions of others, and was master of probably the finest French style of his day. His masterpiece was "Percival le Gallois," a rendering in verse of the legend of the Holy Grail and others, the material for which he drew from the works of Walter Map and Robert de Borron. He died with this work not quite completed, and it was finished afterward by Menassier and Gautier de Denet. Chrestien drew rather more from Robert de

Borron than from Map, and adopted the former's rather than the latter's plot, which was natural, seeing that Chrestien and Robert were both Frenchmen and both natives of Champagne. Mention is also to be made of Guyot de Provins, another French minstrel, who at the end of the twelfth century produced a poetical romance on "Percival," following pretty closely the lines of Chrestien's work, but now entirely lost to us save in a translation.

That translation was made by Wolfram von Eschenbach, who thus adopted the Arthurian legends into German literature, and laid



THE WAR OF THE SINGERS AT THE WARTBURG.<sup>1</sup>

(Reproduced from a manuscript of the fourteenth century, preserved at the University Library of Heidelberg.)

the foundations of German romance. Wolfram was a still younger contemporary of Map and the others, flourishing in the reign of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, in the closing years of the twelfth century and opening part of the thirteenth. He was an impoverished nobleman, a vassal of the Count of Wertheim. His home was the castle of Eschenbach, near Anspach, but he spent most of his life

<sup>1</sup> The inscription, translated into English, reads as follows: "Here are competing in song Lord Walther of the Vogelweide, Lord Wolfram of Eschenbach, Lord Reiman the old one, the virtuous scribe, Henry of Ofterdingen, and Klingsor of Hungary."

at the court of Hermann, Landgrave of Thuringia, and he took part at the famous Wartburg in one of those competitions in poetry or minstrelsy which were characteristic of that age of minstrels and troubadours. Wolfram's romance of "Partzival" or "Percival" was written in 1205-15, and was chiefly a translation of the "Percival" of Guyot, whom he calls "Kiot," with some additions drawn from the works of Chrestien de Troyes.

Among these contemporary or nearly contemporary versions of the legends of the Holy Grail there were some marked differences, which have been perpetuated to the present day. All agreed in beginning with Joseph of Arimathea, whom they curiously confounded in some respects with the Jewish historian Josephus and with the Roman centurion who at the Crucifixion of Jesus bore witness that the victim of the Cross was a righteous man. To him Pilate gave the cup used at the Last Supper, a goblet carved from one huge emerald, and in it he collected some of the blood of Jesus. This cup was the Holy Grail. In the reign of Vespasian, after suffering imprisonment, Joseph carried the Holy Grail to some mystic place in the far west, called Avalon—the place whither the dying Arthur was borne to be healed of his wounds. Thus far all were practically agreed. At that point the great divergences occur. Walter Map made Galahad, who was the son of Lancelot and Elaine, the successful knight in the quest of the Holy Grail, and enshrined the Holy Grail itself at Glastonbury, in England. Moreover, all the actors in the drama were British knights and ladies, so that it was characteristically a British romance. That is the version which has descended to us in English literature, and which has been immortalized in Tennyson's "Idyls of the King."

Tennyson tells us of Percival in three of his Idyls. In "Vivien" the reference is brief, Vivien reviling him and Merlin defending him as "a sober man and pure," all in a few lines. In "Pelleas and Ettarre" there is more about him. He is one of the minor actors in that sombre drama. It is after the quest for the Holy Grail, and the unsuccessful Percival has retired to a monastery. There, at "that round tower where Percivale was cowed," the distraught Pelleas has a brief interview with him, just before his disastrous encounter with Lancelot. Most of all, however, Percival figures in Tennyson's "Holy Grail," which Idyl is almost entirely Percival's personal narrative, given by him in his retirement, to the monk Ambrosius. Percival tells Ambrosius that his sister, a nun of peculiar sanctity of life and character, saw the Holy Grail, and told him of it. He in turn spoke of it to his comrades of the Round Table.

One night, in Arthur's absence, Galahad ventured to sit down in that mystic chair, the "Siege Perilous," which Merlin had made for the Holy Grail, and which had until then ever been vacant, because it was known that if anyone sat in it unworthily he would immediately and forever vanish from sight. But Galahad was worthy to sit in it, and as soon as he did so the Holy Grail appeared in a great flood of light, passed through the hall, and vanished again. All saw the light, but Galahad alone saw the Holy Grail itself, and he alone heard a voice bidding him to follow it. Then Percival took a vow to ride for a year and a day in quest of the Holy Grail, and so did Galahad, and Bors, and Lancelot, and others, Gawain, King Arthur's fickle nephew, vowing loudest of them all. In the ensuing quest, Percival, Bors and Lancelot saw the Holy Grail, but to Galahad alone was it granted to follow it to its shrine and there become its guardian, as his mother Elaine's father, King Pelles, had been before him.

So much for the romance, from Map to Tennyson, including Sir Thomas Malory on the way. The Franco-German version, of Robert de Borron, Chrestien de Troyes, Guyot de Provins, and Wolfram von Eschenbach, which finds its latest utterance in the "Parsifal" of Richard Wagner, places Avalon in Brittany instead of Britain. Thence the Holy Grail is borne not to Glastonbury but to the mysterious city of Montsalvat, somewhere in the Franco-Spanish borderland. The long array of knights and others who figure in the drama are French, Teutonic, and even Moorish or Saracenic. And Percival, not Galahad, is the victor in the quest and becomes guardian of the sacred relic.

\* \* \*

It is not my purpose to give here an abstract of Wagner's libretto. That, I assume, is already sufficiently familiar to all, or to all who are interested in "Parsifal." It will be more to the purpose to relate in brief the ancient legend of the early French and German romancers, from which Wagner drew his inspiration and a large part of his material. According to this legend, long after the Holy Grail had been borne into the west and had been lost to the sight of men, there arose a descendant of Joseph of Arimathea, named Titurione, a nobleman of Gaul. He and his wife, Elizabel, were childless until, at the advice of a mysterious pilgrim, he went to the Holy Sepulchre and laid upon the altar of the church a crucifix of pure gold. Then a son, Titurel, was born to them, who grew up to be a man of great wisdom, piety, and valor in war. After the death of his parents, Titurel inherited a vast fortune, but maintained the ut-

most simplicity of life, and devoted himself to good works. One day an angel spoke to him from a cloud, telling him God had called him to be the guardian of the Holy Grail, and bidding him prepare to go to the mystic and holy hill of Montsalvat. He did so. He was led to the hill by the angel in the cloud. There he found the Holy Grail, guarded by a number of knights, and there he built a castle and a temple to be the shrine of the Holy Grail, and founded an order of knights to be its protectors. The miraculous powers of the Holy Grail provided food and other necessities for the knights, and healed all the wounds they might sustain in defending the place against the heathen.

Divine messages for the knights appeared now and then upon the Holy Grail in letters of fire. Thus Titurel was commanded to marry, and he accordingly married Richoude, a Spanish princess, who bore him two children, a son named Frimutel, and a daughter named Richoude, after which she died. The daughter Richoude in time married the king of some distant land. Frimutel married Clarissa, the daughter of the King of Granada, who bore him five children. These were the sons Amfortas and Trevezent, and the daughters Herzeleide, Joisiane, and Repanse. When Titurel became very old there came a command on the Holy Grail that Frimutel should become King of Montsalvat in his place, and that change in rulership was made. Then Joisiane married King Guyot of Catalonia, and died at the birth of her daughter Sigune. The babe was taken by Joisiane's sister Herzeleide, who brought it up with Tchionatulander, the orphan son of a friend. Herzeleide herself married King Gamuret, and bore to him a son, Percival. Then her husband died and she was driven with the infant Percival into exile, leaving Sigune and Tchionatulander to the care of friends. She and Percival lived in retirement, and she brought him up in ignorance of his origin and without knowledge of arms, lest he should go to the wars and be lost to her.

Meantime Frimutel proved unworthy of his trust. He grew weary of guarding the Holy Grail, went away from Montsalvat, and was killed in battle. In obedience to a message on the Holy Grail, Amfortas became king in his place, but he too proved unworthy, wandered away, and was brought back suffering from the wound of a poisoned spear. From that wound he did not die, but neither could he be cured, so he lived on in great agony. Meanwhile, to his aged gransire, Titurel, the Holy Grail every seven days gave the message that some day relief would come. A chosen hero would visit the castle of the Holy Grail, and if, before nightfall, he

should ask the meaning of what he saw there, the spell which lay upon Amfortas would be broken, the wound would be cured, and the stranger would then be crowned King in place of Amfortas.

The tale now returns to Percival. On growing to manhood he longed for knightly adventures, and finally his mother let him go to seek King Arthur's court, of which his friends had told him. On his way he met the Lady Jeschute, wife of Lord Orilus, and some little love-making occurred between them, which aroused the wrath of Orilus when he heard of it, so that Percival discreetly took to flight. Soon after he found in the woods a maiden weeping



PARSIFAL APPEARING AT THE COURT OF KING ARTHUR.

(Mediæval illustration of Christian's *Conte del Graal*. Lid of an ivory box of the fourteenth century, preserved in the Louvre, Paris.)

over a dead man. She proved to be Sigune, his cousin, weeping over Tchionatulander, who had become a knight of Arthur's Round Table and had done great deeds of prowess, but had been slain by Orilus in a combat over Sigune's pet dog. Percival vowed to become one of Arthur's knights and then to avenge her upon Orilus. On his further way he met a knight in red armor, who jeered at him and bade him carry to Arthur a message of defiance. Percival delivered the message and was banteringly told by Arthur that if he could go back and conquer the red knight he might have his horse and armor. Percival went back, fought the knight and slew him,

and so won the horse and armor. After that he spent some time as the guest and pupil of the brave old knight Gurnemann, and learned from him all the arts of chivalry. In time he was summoned forth to the succor of Queen Konduriamur, who was besieged in her capital, Belripar. He overthrew her enemies, and then married her.

Immediately after the wedding Percival, leaving his wife at Belripar, went to find his mother and bring her thither, too. He lost his way, and by chance wandered to Montsalvat, where to his astonishment he was received with the utmost consideration, as if he were an expected and most honored guest. These attentions were paid to him, he was told, "by Queen Repanse's orders." The name was strange to him, for he did not know that Repanse was his mother's sister. But he forebore, in his embarrassment, to ask any questions. Presently he was ushered into a great hall, of wondrous splendor, where were seated all the knights of the Holy Grail. The King Amfortas welcomed him, and told him he had long been expected. He saw Amfortas, suffering from his wound. He saw a servant bear a blood-stained spear around the hall. He saw Queen Repanse enter, bearing in her hands the Holy Grail. He was led to a room where he saw the aged Titurel asleep. He saw many other strange things, but still forebore to ask the meaning of them. So he was at last led to his room, where he slept ill. In the morning he saw no one, and found every door barred against him save those which led to where his horse awaited him, outside the gate. He mounted and rode away, and as he did so a voice cried to him: "Thou art accursed of God, for thou wast called to do a great work and hast not done it. Depart, return no more, and find thine end in hell!"

Bewildered and depressed, Percival rode away through a land that seemed blighted and accursed. At nightfall he reached a hermit's cell, where he found Sigune, clad in sackcloth and ashes, praying over the body of Tchionatulander and doomed thus to do penance until relieved by Heaven. She explained to Percival that he had incurred a curse by failing to ask the questions that would have healed Amfortas, and she too spurned him from her presence with bitter denunciations. Then Percival went on, blindly and vainly seeking to find Montsalvat again. He met Orilus, leading Jeschute in chains because of groundless jealousy. He interfered, freed the lady, conquered Orilus but spared his life, convinced him that his jealousy was groundless, and bade him go to Arthur's court with the message that the red knight—for such Percival now appeared—had overthrown him. After long further wanderings, Percival

met Gawain, Arthur's nephew and a Knight of the Round Table, who easily persuaded him to go to the court and be enrolled among the knights.

This was done, but at the moment when the heralds were proclaiming the new knight's name and deeds, there came into the royal presence a wretched looking woman, grey and withered, who denounced Percival as one accursed for his sin at Montsalvat, and threatened the king and court with disgrace and woe if they tolerated him among them. This was Kundry, who had been a great sinner, and who was doing penance by serving as a messenger and prophet of the Holy Grail. At her words, Percival, conscience-stricken, fled from the court, and the king and knights stood silent and afraid, all save the impetuous Gawain, who defied Kundry and took Percival's part. Thereupon Kundry cursed him also, and bade him go, if he dared, to the magic castle of Klinschor and free his sister, mother, grandmother and other noble ladies from enchantment.

Gawain accepted her challenge, and rode away upon the desperate errand. Wherever he went he heard tales of Percival and the mighty deeds he was working, but could not overtake him nor find the castle of Klinschor. But he fell in with the Lady Orgueilleuse, a wondrous beauty, and became her lover. He was warned that she was a witch, who was fatal to all who fell beneath her spells, and that it was she who had lured Amfortas to the fight in which he had received his wound. But Gawain ignored these things, and followed his beautiful mistress through many lands. At last she led him to a hill from which she pointed out a strong castle, which, she said, belonged to Gramoflans, her mortal enemy, and she promised Gawain that if he would bring her a spray from the magic tree which grew by the castle, and would conquer Gramoflans, she would become his loving and loyal wife. Without hesitation Gawain rode to the castle and tore a branch from the tree. Instantly Gramoflans shouted him a challenge, to meet him in eight days at Klinschor's castle and fight him. "Your father slew my father," added Gramoflans, "and I shall slay you." Gawain bore the branch to Orgueilleuse, who accepted it, and then led him to a point near two castles. One was her own ancestral home, and the other was Klinschor's magic castle, in which many noble ladies were imprisoned and from which Orgueilleuse had ransomed herself only by giving the magician all her gold.

The next day Gawain approached Klinschor's castle, and found it open and seemingly deserted. He passed from room to room

without finding anyone. At last, growing weary, he tried to lie down upon a luxurious couch. For a time it moved from him as he approached it, being bewitched. At last he sprang upon it, and was instantly assailed with a storm of spears, arrows and great stones, hurled at him by invisible magicians. He defended himself as best he could with his armor and shield. Presently the storm ceased, and a man with a huge club, followed by a lion, entered the room, intending to beat out the brains of the wounded knight and give his body to the lion. But finding Gawain unhurt he fled. Then Gawain arose and slew the lion, whereupon the magic spell of the castle was broken. Klinschor fled, and the captive ladies were restored to liberty, among them being Gawain's mother, grandmother, and sister Itonie. Then Gawain sent a messenger to Arthur, asking him to come and witness his approaching combat with Gramoflans. Arthur came, the appointed day dawned, and a knight, whom all supposed to be Gramoflans, came forward, and the fight began. Gawain was overmatched and would soon have fallen, but his sister Itonie called out to the other knight to spare him, for he was still weak from his former battles. The instant she uttered Gawain's name the other knight lowered his weapon and revealed himself to be not Gramoflans but Percival, and the meeting between him and Gawain was then most loving. Next, the real Gramoflans came forward, not to fight but to seek reconciliation with Gawain and Orgueilleuse. This was effected through Arthur's mediation, Gawain and Orgueilleuse were married, as were also Gramoflans and Itonie, and Percival was again openly received as a Knight of the Round Table.

But Percival could not rest until he had continued the quest for the Holy Grail and had undone the wrong he had unwittingly done at Montsalvat. So he rode forth again, and in time found a lonely hermit in a cell, who revealed himself as Trevrezent, the brother of Amfortas and uncle of Percival. He had once pursued a life of pleasure, but was now doing penance in the hope of winning pardon for his own sins and also of securing healing for Amfortas. He gave Percival much godly admonition, telling him that he must now seek the Holy Grail with a pure heart, and then sent him forward on his quest. Next Percival met a strange knight and was fighting him when he discovered him to be his own half-brother, Feirefiss, King of the Moors—the son of Gamuret by his first wife, a Moorish queen. The two then rode on together in search of Montsalvat, which they soon found.

They were welcomed to the castle of the Holy Grail just as Percival had been before. The bloody spear was carried around.

and Repanse bore the Holy Grail into the hall. Then Percival heard a whisper in his ear, "Ask!" So he boldly asked Amfortas the secret of his wound and what all these things meant. Instantly all the lamps were extinguished, but the hall was more brilliantly lighted than before by the radiance of the Holy Grail, upon which sacred vessel there glowed in fiery letters the message: "Amfortas is healed. Percival is King." Then the aged Titurel came forward with a crown which he placed upon the brow of his great-grandson, Percival, greeting him as King of the Holy Grail. Amfortas also,



CHEVALERE ASSIGNE, THE KNIGHT OF THE SWAN.

(Old Print of Copeland, about 1550, preserved in the British Museum in London.)

his wound healed, rose and acclaimed his deliverer and successor. All the knights swore fealty to the new king, and an invisible choir of angels sang

"Hail to Percival, King of the Grail!  
Once he seemed lost forever,  
Now he is blessed forever!  
Hail to the King of the Grail!"

A moment later, a veiled woman entered the hall, who revealed herself as Percival's wife, Konduriamur, from whom he had so long

been parted. Next it was seen that while all the rest of the company stood in the light of the Holy Grail, the Moorish King Feirefiss alone was enveloped in darkness. Titurel explained that this was because he was not a Christian believer, whereupon Feirefiss



ELIJAH, THE KNIGHT OF THE SWAN.<sup>1</sup>

(Illustration of a manuscript of the fourteenth century, preserved in the National Museum of Paris.)

declared his faith and asked to be baptised. When this was done he too was able to see the Holy Grail and to stand in its light.

<sup>1</sup> Elijah comes to the rescue of the Duchess of Bouillon, a widow whose throne and possessions are threatened by Renier of Nimwegen. Having conquered the oppressor, Elijah marries Beatrice, the daughter of the Duchess, on condition that she would never ask for his name and descent. But after seven years the young wife asks the question, and Elijah departs forever, leaving behind a wonderful horn which remains the palladium of the Bouillon family.

Ida, the daughter of Beatrice, is said to have been the mother of Godfrey of Bouillon, the crusader and first king of the Holy Sepulchre.

It is obvious that in all its most important details the story is the same as the Lohengrin legend.

Titurel and Amfortas were presently translated to the other world, whither also Sigune had preceded them. Feirefiss remained at Montsalvat for a time, and then married Queen Repanse and went with her to his own land. There they had a son who became famous as Prester John and who founded a great Christian brotherhood of Knights of the Holy Grail. Percival and Konduriamur remained at Montsalvat, as King and Queen of the Holy Grail. To them were born three children. The eldest, Kardeiss, became the ruler of his mother's kingdom of Belripar, and also prince over Wales and Anjou. The second, their daughter, Aribadale, remained at Montsalvat and took Repanse's place as bearer of the Holy Grail. The youngest was the gallant knight Lohengrin. He remained at Montsalvat until he was miraculously called forth to be the champion of Elsa, Duchess of Brabant, against the unjust demands of Count Telramund. He vanquished Telramund in battle, in the presence of King Henry the Fowler, and afterward married Elsa. He had been adjured by Percival not to disclose his identity, and warned that if anyone asked him who he was he would have to return to Montsalvat. For a time his secrecy was respected, but at length his wife, goaded by wicked slanders, asked him to reveal himself for his own vindication. He did so, but then was soon recalled to Montsalvat and was seen no more. His wife did not long survive the parting, but died in confidence of rejoining him in the castle and temple of the Holy Grail.

\*                     \*                     \*

Such in brief outline is the ancient legend of Percival and the Holy Grail. It will be seen that Wagner, for stage purposes and for the working out of his artistic and philosophical theories, has greatly modified it. We may, I think, also conclude that he has imbued it with a symbolism quite foreign to the original. I can perceive no good reason for supposing that these ancient romances were framed with any deep, esoteric, ethical or philosophical purpose. They were tales of adventure, of chivalry and of love, and nothing more. Thus there is in them a heterogenous mixture of the commonplace and the magical, of Christianity and heathenry. Ages hence some antipodeal antiquaries may discover in, or rather read into, the romances of Walter Scott some profound and mystic symbolism, and recall his title of "Great Wizard of the North" as evidence that instead of writing romances pure and simple he was occultly developing a vast system of philosophy and theology. That will, if it

shall occur, be no more of an exaggeration than the notion that the poets and minstrels of the Middle ages were in fact occult metaphysicians. Let it be granted that it is well to draw from those old tales material for all sorts of philosophic parables. But let us believe that ten centuries ago, as well as to-day, it was possible for men to write pure romance, and to develop actual history into historical romance, without a thought of occult symbolism, and that Percival, Siegfried, Lancelot, Beowulf and the rest were simply human types of human chivalry, and not symbols of mysterious abstractions.

## ELIPHAS LEVI—MAGICIAN AND MYSTIC.

BY HENRY RIDGELY EVANS.

### I.

THE greatest cabalist and occultist of modern times was Alphonse Louis Constant, who published his elucidations of the mysteries of magic under the Hebraistic pseudonym of Eliphas Levi Zahed. He was born in Paris about the year 1809. His father, a shoemaker, in a small way of business, and apparently in the poorest circumstances, resided in an obscure street of the metropolis. Eliphas Levi received a free education at the seminary of Saint Sulpice, and made great proficiency in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He was destined for the priesthood, but eventually abandoned the idea, owing to his liberal views. His renunciation of an ecclesiastical career was followed by an elopement with a beautiful young girl of sixteen. This union was unfortunately an unhappy one. After the death of his two children, his wife abandoned him forever. He sought consolation in books of a mystical character, and gave himself up to the pursuit of the occult sciences. In the year 1853, Levi went to London, where his reputation as a magician had preceded him, and where he performed his celebrated ceremonial evocation of the shade of Apollonius of Tyana, described by him in his work on magic, which the reader may believe or not, according to his previous training as mystic or scientific man. In London, Levi made the acquaintance of Lord Lytton, the author; and, says Arthur Edward Waite, an expounder of the magician's doctrines, "the absolute identity between the mysterious *vril* of 'the Coming Race' and the universal force of the Astral Light, is conclusive as to the great novelist's acquaintance with the works of his cabalistic contemporary. . . . Among the papers at Knebworth [Lord Lytton's home] there is a letter from M. Constant on the existence of a universal force, and the requisite condi-

tions of its employment for the evocation of spiritual visions and presences."

Eliphaz Levi is best known by his extraordinary works on ceremonial magic and occultism: *Le Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie*, *L'Histoire de la Magie*, *La Clef des Grands Mystères*, *La Philosophie Occulte*, and *La Science des Esprits*. He died in 1875 at Paris. Madame Gebhard, a pupil of the occultist, has left us a pen-picture of him: "He was of a short and corpulent figure; his face was kind and benevolent, beaming with good nature, and he wore a long grey beard which covered nearly the whole of his breast. His apartment resembled a bric-à-brac shop, with specimens of the most beautiful and rare old china, tapestry, and valuable paintings. In one of the rooms there was an alcove in which stood a bed covered with a gorgeous quilt of red velvet heavily embroidered with gold; the curtains were also of red velvet bordered with massive gold fringe, and a red velvet step stood before this magnificent couch, having a soft cushion also of red and gold on the top of it. . . . He lived a quiet and retired life, having few friends. . . . His habits . . . were simple, but he was no vegetarian. He had a wonderful memory, and a marvellous flow of language, his expressions and illustrations being of the choicest and rarest character."

Eliphaz Levi was laid in state upon his gorgeous couch after his decease. Upon his breast reposed a large crucifix, for he died reconciled with the Roman Catholic faith, though secretly repudiating many of its dogmas, or rather, I should say, interpreting the symbology of the Church in fashion to suit his peculiar ideas. His body was viewed by many men of note, admirers of his bizarre genius.<sup>1</sup>

## II.

The writings of Levi have largely influenced the present school of the occult in France and elsewhere. Madame Blavatsky drew much of her inspiration from the pages of the French thaumaturge. She knew little or nothing of Sanskrit, but she read and spoke French with considerable fluency. Alphonse Louis Constant apostrophies the occult as follows (*Le Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie*):

"Behind the veil of all the hieratic and mystical allegories of ancient dogmas, behind the shadows and fantastic ordeals of all initiations, beneath the seal of all sacred writings, amidst the ruins of Nineveh or of Thebes, on the crumbling stones of ancient tem-

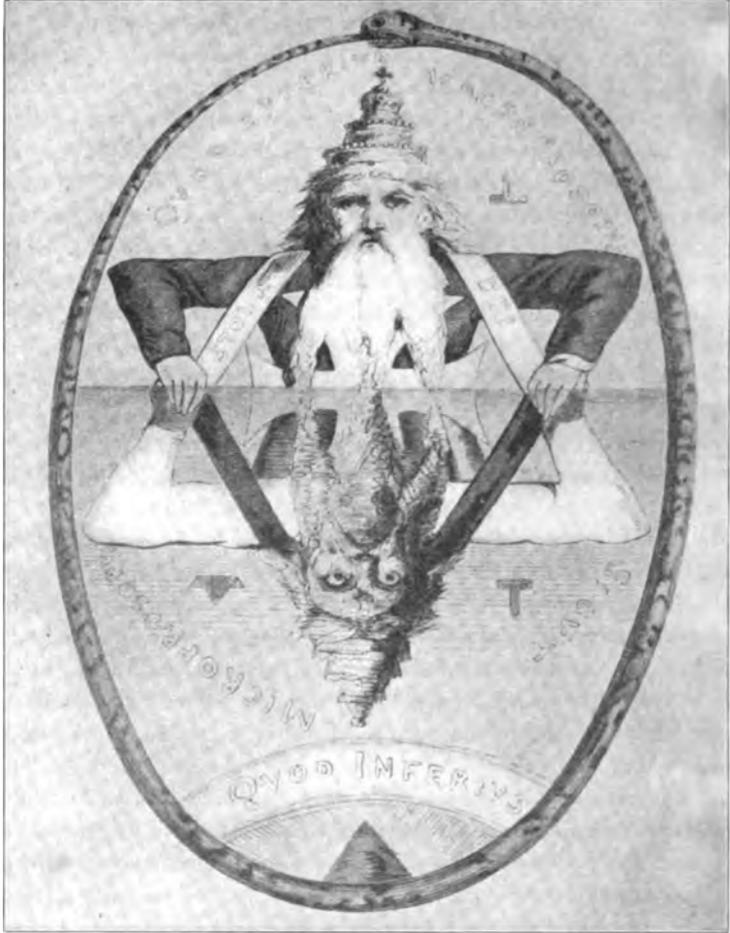
<sup>1</sup> *The Mysteries of Magic: a Digest of the Writings of Eliphaz Levi*. London, 1886.

ples, and on the scorched visage of the sphinx of Assyria or Egypt, in the monstrous or marvellous paintings which translate for the faithful of India the sacred pages of the Vedas, in the strange emblems of our old alchemical works, in the initiatory ceremonies adopted by all secret societies, we find the traces of a doctrine which is everywhere the same and everywhere carefully concealed. Occult philosophy seems to have been the nurse and godmother of all intellectual forces, the key of all divine obscurities, and the absolute mistress of society, in those ages when it was exclusively reserved for the education of priests and of kings. . . . Magic is the traditional science of the secrets of Nature which comes to us from the Magi. It unites in a single science all that is most certain in philosophy and most infallible and eternal in religion. . . . Yes, the supreme and absolute science is magic, the science of Abraham and Orpheus, of Confucius and Zoroaster. Its doctrines were engraved on stone tables by Enoch and Trismegistus. Moses purified and *re-veiled* them—this is the sense of the word *reveal*—when he made the holy Cabala the exclusive heritage of the people of Israel and the inviolable secret of its priests."

Levi claims in the *Dogme et Ritual*, according to his best commentator, to be "in possession of a secret which has once, at least, revolutionised the world; he claims to have discovered a force by which all miracles divine and diabolical have been, and may still be, performed, to possess the key of prophecies, to have traced the exoteric doctrines of all theogonies to one primal and universal dogma. He has recovered the claviculæ of Solomon, and has 'opened without difficulty every door of the ancient sanctuaries where absolute truth seemed to slumber'; he has unraveled the transcendent secrets which mediæval adepts concealed under the more or less equivocal expressions of the *Magnum Opus*, the philosopher's stone, the quadrature of the circle, the universal medicine, and the transmutation of metals. He has discovered, in fine, 'the secret of human omnipotence and of indefinite progression'—he is, in one word, the master of the absolute."

Gigantic claim! The Mahatmas of Thibet pale away into insignificance before the little French magician. Levi has surrounded his teachings with enigmas and mysteries. What is his Great Arcanum? A thaumaturgical symbol of Trithemius, described in the *Histoire de la Magie*, is declared by him to contain the final secret and indelible formula of the Great Arcanum. "This figure is composed of two triangles—one white and one black—which are joined at the base. Beneath the inverted apex of the black triangle

there is a fool crouching, painfully twisting his head, and looking with a grimace of terror at his own image reflected in the obscurity of the black triangle, while a man in knightly garments, in the vigor of maturity, with a steady glance and a strong yet pacific at-



SYMBOLICAL FIGURE.

(From Levi's *Haute magie*.)

titude of command, is balanced on the apex of the white triangle, within which are the letters of the divine tetragram."

Levi gives the following exoteric explanation of the above device: "The wise man depends on the fear of the true God, while the fool is crushed by his terror of the false god made in his own

image." Its esoteric significance is as follows, says Waite: "Un-initiated humanity creates God by a blackened, magnified, and distorted resemblance of itself which it reflects on the illimitable background of stupidity and ignorance, then it crouches and shivers in the presence of the monstrous phantom. The adept also creates God, not however, by reflecting his likeness on infinity, but the conception of his power and knowledge, figured by a symbol. This conception is reflected on the white triangle, that is, on the unknown world enlightened by the analogies of science. The initiate is represented as poised above this triangle, not only because the hypothesis which he has formed becomes the source of his intellectual and moral stability, but because the creation of this hypothesis is a theurgic act, and the intellect is above that which it creates. The initiate is, therefore, God for the profane, he is the actual finite deity who stands on earth for the hypothetical, infinite God, and he has the right of life and death over any particular conception of divinity which may at any time dominate the crowd of men.

The end of magic is thus the *creation of the gods* and the evolution of the Deific conception in the *élite* of humanity. From the Christian standpoint all this is outrageous blasphemy, but it is the outcome of Eliphas Levi's philosophy. If any proof were wanting it would be supplied by the following passage (*La Clef des Grands Mystères*, p. 219): "'Jehovah is he who overcomes nature (understand human nature to be included) as we tame a rebellious horse and make it proceed where we will.' This is the absolute, indicible, theurgic secret. Here Jehovah cannot mean the all-creating God, to whom everything that exists must be necessarily in complete subjection, and who cannot be described as overcoming by force what lies in the hollow of his hand. Jehovah here is the God-creating man, the self-conqueror, who by the *création de soi même* has power over the chaos of human passion and over the blind forces of nature. The Great Magic Arcanum is thus in its primary phase the secret of the power of a completely emancipated mind over the slaves of superstition and ignorance. The unique Athanor, the philosophic and moral alchemy, is the transmutation of darkness into light, in the intellectual order, of gross matter into gold refined, of ignorance into knowledge, of dead substances into substances quickened by the energies of veritable life, of the mere animal into conscious man, and of man into God. 'The stone becomes a plant, the plant an animal, the animal a man, and man greatens into Deity.'" "The secret agent of the *magnum opus* . . . is magnetised electricity." This force Levi usually terms the *astral*

*light*—a name which he borrowed from St. Martin and the French mystics of the eighteenth century. We have seen it exploited by Lord Lytton, in his occult novels, *A Strange Story* and *Zanoni*. It is an important factor in modern Theosophy and hermetism, and is closely related to the “radiant matter” of chemists and the “ether” of physicists. “Astral light is the universal agent, the universal plastic mediator, the common receptacle of vibrations of motion and of the phantoms of form.” It is likewise the *Od* of Baron von Reichenbach; “it is the great *Thelesma* of *Hermes Trismegistus*, and the control of this force constitutes the great arcana of practical magic. It heats, illuminates, attracts, repels, vivifies, destroys, coagulates, separates, crushes, and gathers all things under the stimulus of powerful wills; it is a perpetual and transformable vibration. Its cabalistic figure, represented by the Serpent of Theogonies, is:

“*Od* = +

“*Od* = —

“*Aour* = ∞.”

Says Arthur Edward Waite: “The preservation of the images of all forms in the universal agent which is the mirror of visions, supplies the author [*Levi*] with his natural explanation of all kinds of apparitions, including those which are seen in necromantic evocations. . . The Great Magic Agent, like the *Arcanum* by means of which it is directed, is, at least in one of its phases, a moral one. The power which is promised to the emancipated and enlightened mind is dominion over *Azoth*, the domain of *Magnesia*, the secret of quickening the dead substances of the alchemical symbolists. But, unlike electricity, steam, etc., this mysterious *Azoth* cannot be directed by a man of science working in secret and possessing only his knowledge and his instruments. He must form the magic chain; he must be able to set in motion and direct a current of enthusiasm in unenlightened humanity. It is not, therefore, primarily a physical force. The hopes, the fears, the caprices, the weaknesses, the imaginations of the crowd, in a word, its *FREEWILL*, these are the monster to be conquered, these are the blind force which equally lends itself to good or evil.”

The Great *Arcanum* is the secret of will-power over the minds of men and the plastic substances of nature. In the *Astral Light*, visions and phantoms may be conjured up, but they are not entities.

Says *Levi*: “In virtue of the great magical dogma of the hierarchy and of universal analogy, the possibility of real evoca-

tions may be cabalistically demonstrated; as to the phenomenal reality of the result of magical operations conscientiously accomplished, it is a question of experience; *in our own case we have established it, and we place it in the power of our readers to renew and confirm our experiences.* [The italics are mine.]

“There are evocations of intelligence, evocations of love, and evocations of hatred. There are two kinds of necromancy—the necromancy of light and the necromancy of darkness, evocation by prayer, pantacle, and perfumes, and evocation by blood, imprecations, and sacrileges. We have practised the first only, and we advise no one to devote himself to the second. It is certain that the images of the departed appear to the magnetised persons who evoke them; it is equally certain that they never unveil to them any mysteries of the life beyond. They are beheld just as they would still be in the memory of persons who have known them.

“When the evoked spectres reply to those who address them, it is always by signs, or by an interior and imaginary impression, never with a voice which really strikes on the ears, and this is easily comprehensible—how should a shadow speak? With what instrument could it make the air vibrate by striking it in such a manner as to cause distinguishable sounds?

“Electric touches on the part of the apparitions are nevertheless experienced, and these contacts sometimes seem to be produced by the hands of the phantoms; this phenomenon, however, is wholly subjective, and the power of imagination, acting in concert with the occult force which we call the Astral Light, is its sole and only cause. This is proved by the fact that the spirits, or at least the spectres which pretend to be such, touch us certainly sometimes, but we never can touch them, which is one of the most alarming adjuncts of apparitions, for the visions seem occasionally so real that we cannot without agitation feel the hand pass through what appears to be a body and yet encounter no resistance.

“There is no proof that spirits really leave the superior spheres to communicate with us, and the very contrary is probable. We evoke the reminiscences contained in the Astral Light, which is the common reservoir of universal magnetism. It is in this light that the Emperor Julian beheld the manifestation of his gods, but old, ill, and decrepit—fresh proof of the influence of current and accredited opinions on the reflections of this same magic agent which *causes tables to speak and answers by taps on the walls.*” [Italics are mine.]

It will be seen from the above that Eliphas Levi was an op-

ponent of the doctrines of modern spiritualism, so far as the reality of mediumistic manifestations are concerned. He strongly condemns spiritualism in his works as a species of Black Magic. In his own magical experiments he advocates the use of the pentagram and other symbols as potent talismans in conjuring up phantasms in the Astral Light. "The pentagram," he says, "expresses the mind's domination over the elements and it is by this sign that we bind the demons of the air, the spirits of fire, the spectres of water, and the ghosts of earth. It is the Star of the Magi, the burning star of the Gnostic schools, the sign of intellectual omnipotence and autocracy. . . . If it be asked how a sign can exercise that immense power over spirits which is claimed for the pentagram, we

inquire in turn why the Christian world bows before the sign of the cross. The sign by itself is nothing, it derives its strength from the doctrine it symbolises, and of which it is the Logos. Now a sign which epitomises by signification all the occult forces of nature, and which has always manifested to elementary and other spirits a power superior to their own, naturally strikes them with fear and respect, and enforces their obedience by the empire of knowledge



FIGURE OF THE PENTAGRAM.

(From Levi's work *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie*.)

and will over ignorance and weakness. . . . The pentagram was traced by the old magicians on the threshold of the door, to prevent evil spirits from entering, and good ones from going out. . . . The double triangle of Solomon, forming the six-pointed star, is the sign of the Macrocosmos, but it is less powerful than the Pentagram, the microcosmic sign."

### III.

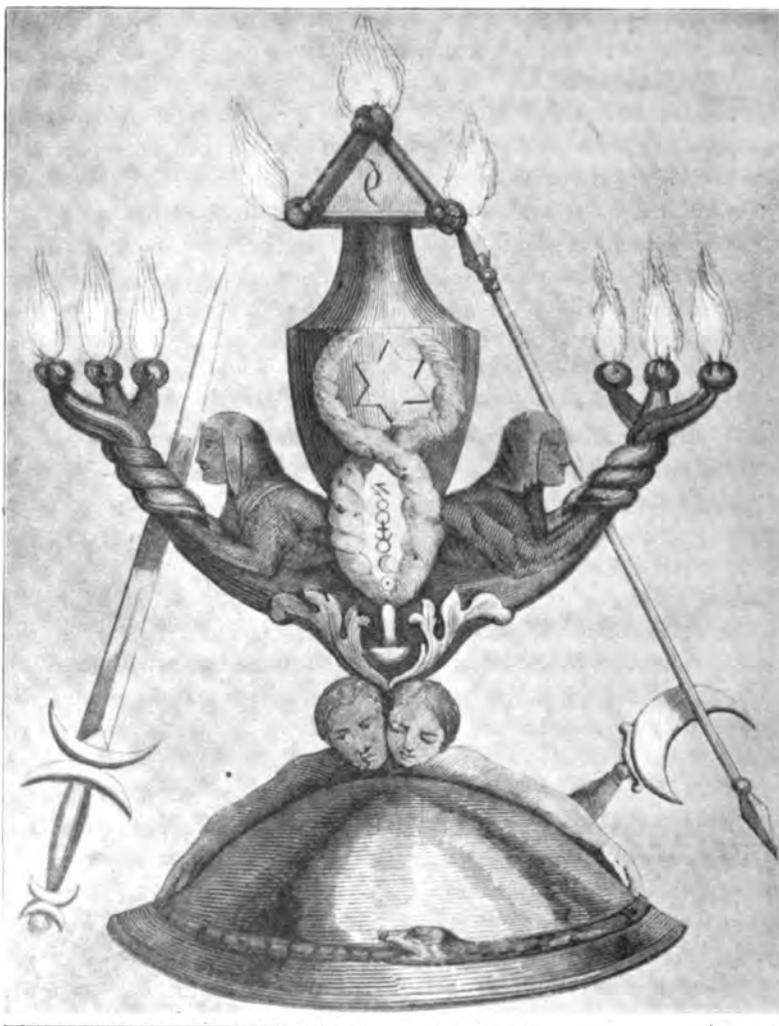
Levi gives us in his various books the ceremonies, vestments, perfumes, characters, figures, and instruments to be used in magical operations, which rites, he declares, "have nothing *fantastic or ar-*

*bitrary about them; they have been transmitted to us from antiquity, etc."*

The following is Levi's account of his thaumaturgical experience in London. It reads like some conjuration in an ancient Egyptian temple, and is related in perfect good faith. Did he dream it, or was it a vision under hypnotic conditions? He says:

"In the spring of the year 1854, I repaired to London to escape from internal disquietude, and to devote myself, without distraction, to study. I had letters of introduction to persons of distinction, and to those seeking communications from the supernatural world. Of the latter I met with several, and, amidst much affability, I discovered in them a fund of indifference and triviality. They immediately required of me the performance of prodigies, as from a charlatan. I was not a little discouraged, for, to speak truly, so far from being disposed to initiate others into the mysteries of ceremonial magic, I had always dreaded its delusions and weariness for myself. Moreover, such ceremonies require a paraphernalia which is expensive and difficult to collect. I immersed myself, therefore, in the study of the supreme cabala, and thought no further of English adepts, when one day, on returning to my hotel, I found a note in my room. This note enclosed half of a card transversely divided, and on which I at once recognised the character of Solomon's seal, with a tiny slip of paper, on which was written in pencil: 'To-morrow at 3 o'clock, in front of Westminster Abbey, the other half of this card will be given you.' I kept this singular appointment. A carriage was waiting at the place; I held unaffectedly my portion of the card in my hand; a footman approached and made a sign to me, opening the carriage-door as he did so. Within there was a lady in black whose face was concealed by a thick veil; she motioned me to a seat beside her, displaying the other part of the card I had received. The door was shut, the carriage rolled away, and the lady raising her veil, I saw that my appointment was with an elderly person, who beneath her grey eyebrows had bright black eyes of preternatural fixity. 'Sir,' she began, with a strongly-marked English accent, 'I am aware that the law of secrecy is rigorous among adepts; a friend of Sir B. L., who has seen you, knows that you have been asked for phenomena, and that you have declined to gratify curiosity. It is possible that you do not possess the necessary materials; I can show you a complete magical cabinet, but I must require of you, first of all, the most inviolable secrecy. If you do not guarantee this on your honor, I will give orders for you to be driven home.' I made the

required promise, and have kept it faithfully by not divulging the name, quality, or abode of the lady, whom I soon recognised as an initiate, not actually of the first degree, but still of a most exalted



INSTRUMENTS USED IN MAGIC INCANTATIONS.

The lamp, sword, wand, and pruning-hook. (From Levi's *Haute Magic*.)

grade. We had several long conversations, during which she insisted always on the necessity of practical experiences to complete initiation. She showed me a collection of vestments and magical

instruments, even lending me certain curious books which I was in want of; in a word, she determined me to attempt at her house the experience of a complete evocation, for which I prepared myself during twenty-one days, scrupulously observing the rules laid down in the Ritual.

"All was completed on the 24th of July; it was proposed to evoke the phantom of the divine Apollonius, and to interrogate it about two secrets, one of which concerned myself, while the other interested the lady. The latter had at first counted on assisting at the evocation with a trustworthy person, but at the last moment this person proved timorous, and, as the triad or unity is rigorously prescribed in magical rites, I was left alone. The cabinet prepared for the evocation was situated in a turret; four concave mirrors were hung within it, and there was a kind of altar whose white marble top was surrounded with a chain of magnetic iron. On the marble the sign of the Pentagram was engraved and gilded; the same symbol was drawn on a new white sheep-skin stretched beneath the altar. In the middle of the marble slab there was a small copper brazier with charcoal of alder and laurel wood, while a second brazier was placed before me on a tripod. I was vested in a white robe very similar to those worn by Catholic priests, but longer and more ample, and I wore upon my head a chaplet of vervain leaves entwined about a golden chain. In one hand I held a new sword, and in the other the Ritual. I set alight the two fires with the requisite and prepared materials, and I began, at first in a low voice, but rising by degrees, the invocations of the Ritual; the flame invested every object with a wavering light, and finally went out. I set some more twigs and perfumes on the brazier, and when the flame started up again, I distinctly saw before the altar a human figure larger than life, which dissolved and disappeared. I recommenced the evocations, and placed myself in a circle which I had already traced between the altar and the tripod; I then saw the depth of the mirror which was in front of me, but behind the altar, grow brighter by degrees, and a pale form grew up there, dilating and seeming to approach gradually. Closing my eyes, I called three times on Apollonius, and, when I reopened them, a man stood before me wholly enveloped in a winding-sheet, which seemed to me more grey than white; his form was lean, melancholy, and beardless, which did not quite recall the picture I had formed to myself of Apollonius. I experienced a feeling of intense cold, and when I opened my lips to interrogate the apparition, I found it impossible to utter a sound. I therefore placed my hand

on the sign of the Pentagram and directed the point of the sword towards the figure, adjuring it mentally by that sign not to terrify me in any manner, but to obey me. The form thereupon became indistinct, and immediately after disappeared. I commanded it to return, and then felt, as it were, an air pass by me, and something having touched me on the hand which held the sword, the arm was immediately benumbed as far as the shoulder. Conjecturing that the weapon displeased the spirit, I set it by the point near me, and within the circle. The human figure at once reappeared, but I experienced such a complete enervation in all my limbs, and such a sudden exhaustion had taken possession of me, that I made two steps to sit down. I had scarcely done so when I fell into a deep coma, accompanied by dreams of which only a vague recollection remained when I recovered myself. My arm continued for several days benumbed and painful. The figure had not spoken, but it seemed to me that the questions I was to ask it had answered themselves in my mind. To that of the lady, an inner voice replied, 'Dead!' (it concerned a man of whom she was seeking news). As for myself, I wished to learn whether reconciliation and forgiveness were possible between two persons who were in my thoughts, and the same interior echo impiteously answered, 'Dead!'

"Here I narrate facts as they actually occurred, I impose faith on no one. The effect of this experience on myself was incalculable. I was no more the same man; something from the world beyond had passed into me. I was neither gay nor depressed any longer, but I experienced a singular attraction towards death without, at the same time, being in any way tempted to suicide. I carefully analysed what I had experienced, and, in spite of a keenly-felt nervous antipathy, I twice repeated, at an interval of a few days only, the same experiment. The phenomena which then occurred differed too little from the former to require their addition to this narrative. But the consequence of these further evocations was for me the revelation of two cabalistic secrets, which, if universally known, might change in a short period the basis and laws of society at large.

"Am I to conclude from this that I have really evoked, seen, and touched the great Apollonius Tyanæus? I am neither so far hallucinated as to believe it, nor sufficiently unserious as to affirm it. The effect of the preparations, the perfumes, the mirrors, the pantacles, is a veritable intoxication of the imagination, which must act strongly on a person already nervous and impressionable. I

seek not to explain by what physiological laws I have seen and touched; I assert solely that I have seen and that I have touched, that I saw clearly and distinctly, without dreaming, which is sufficient ground for believing in the absolute efficacy of magical ceremonies. I look upon the practice, however, as dangerous and objectionable; health, both moral and physical, would not long withstand such operations, if once they become habitual. The old lady I speak of, and whom, subsequently, I had cause to complain



GOETIC CIRCLE.

Used in evocations of black magic and pacts. (From Levi's *Haute magie*.)

of, was a case in point, for, in spite of her denials, I do not doubt that she continually practised necromancy and goetic magic.<sup>1</sup> She at times talked complete nonsense, at others yielded to insane fits of passion, whose object could be scarcely determined. I left London without revisiting her, but I shall faithfully keep my promise to say nothing whatsoever which may disclose her identity, or give even a hint about her practices, to which she doubtless de-

<sup>1</sup> The term "goetic magic" was invented by Porphyry. It signifies "black magic" or "unlawful sorcery."

voted herself unknown to her family, which, as I believe, is numerous, and in a very honorable position."<sup>1</sup>

## IV.

Immersed as he was in the fantastic dreams of the Illuminati, the disciples of the Rosy Cross, and the cabalists, Eliphas Levi was nevertheless a thinker of considerable originality and profundity. We must separate the wheat from the chaff, the thread of virgin gold from the vast mass of quartz in his writings. He has a vigorous and fascinating style. The following fragments, garnered from his philosophy, will doubtless interest the reader, as they have deeply interested me.

Eliphas Levi, as has been said, largely influenced occult thought in France. Occultism to-day in France is represented by a society known as the *Groupe Independent d'Études Ésotériques*. It has over a thousand members, some two hundred branches and correspondents. It embraces members of the following associations: *Ordre Martiniste*; *Ordre Kabbalistique de la Rose-Croix*; *Église Gnostique*, *Société Alchémique de France*. The membership is free. Dr. G. Encausse, whose pseudonym is *Papus*, was a few years ago (and perhaps still is) the President of the Esoteric Group, also President of the Supreme Council of the Martinists. He is the author of sixteen books on magic and hermetism.

## FRAGMENTS FROM THE PHILOSOPHY OF LEVI.

## IMMORTALITY.

"On matters which our science cannot in this life ascertain we can only reason by hypotheses. Humanity can know nothing of the superhuman, since the superhuman is that which exceeds the scope of humanity; the phenomena of decomposition which accompany death seem to protest in the name of science against this innate necessity of faith in another life which has brought forth so many dreams. Science, nevertheless, must take account of the want, for Nature, which does nothing without object, does not endow beings with desires that are not to be satisfied. Science, therefore, though necessarily ignorant of, must, at least, suppose the existence of things which are beyond her, and cannot put in question the continuity of life after the phenomenon called death, since no abrupt interruption is found in the *magnum opus* of Nature, which, according to the philosophy of Hermes, never proceeds by jumps.

"The immortality of the soul is cabalistically proved by anal-

<sup>1</sup> *The Mysteries of Magic*, pp. 309-313.

ogy, which is the one doctrine of the universal religion, as it is the key of science and the inviolable law of Nature. Death, in fact, can no more be an absolute end than birth is a real beginning. What we call death is birth into a new life. Nature does not unmake what she has made in the order of the necessary progressions of existence, and she cannot belie her own fundamental laws. Birth proves the pre-existence of the human individual, since nothing is produced from nothing, and death proves immortality, as being can no more cease to be than nothing can cease to be nothing. Being and nonentity are two absolutely irreconcilable ideas, with this difference, that the wholly negative notion of nothingness is derived from the very conception of existence, whose antithesis cannot even be understood as an absolute negation, whilst the idea of being cannot even be compared with that of nonentity, to say nothing of being derived from it.

“Pythagoras believed above all things in the immortality of the soul and the eternity of life. The perpetual succession of the seasons, of days and nights, of sleeping and waking, sufficiently explained to him the phenomenon of death. The individual immortality of the human soul consisted according to him in the persistence of memory. . . .

“But the immortality of the soul, being one of the most consoling doctrines of religion, must be reserved for the aspirations of faith, and, consequently, never will be proved by facts accessible to the examination of science. Who indeed can be assured beforehand of his eternal destiny? Life here below appears to be a school in which we learn how to live. It is to be concluded from this that we shall live elsewhere. This is a dramatic farce which precedes the grand mystery.”

#### THE GREAT ARCANUM OF DEATH, OR SPIRITUAL TRANSITION.

“We are saddened frequently, by remembering that the most beautiful life must end, and the approach of that terrible unknown called death embitters the joys of existence. Why are we born if existence must be so brief? Why bring up children, who must die, with so much care? This is what human ignorance asks in its most frequent and sorrowful doubts. This also is what the human embryo might vaguely demand at the approach of that birth which is about to usher it into an unknown world by despoiling it of its conserving envelope. In studying the mystery of birth, we shall find the key to the great secret of death.

“Cast by the laws of Nature into the womb of a woman, the

incarnated spirit slowly wakes therein, and laboriously creates for itself those organs which will be indispensable later on, but which in proportion to their growth increase its inconvenience in its present situation. The most blissful period in the embryo's life is that when, under the simple chrysalid form, it weaves about it the membrane which serves it as an asylum, and floats with it in a nourishing and preserving fluid. Then it is free and impassible, it shares in the universal life, and receives the impression of the memories of Nature which later on will determine the configuration of its body, and the individuality of its appearance. This happy age may be called the childhood of the embryo.

"Its adolescence follows, the human form becomes distinct and the sex is determined; a motion takes place in the maternal egg, which is like the vague yearnings of the period which succeeds childhood. The placenta which is the exterior but real body of the foetus, feels something unknown germinating within it and which tends already towards escape by breaking through it. The child at this time enters more distinctly into the dream-life. Its brain, inverted as if it were a mirror of the mother's, reproduces the imaginations of the latter so forcibly, that it communicates their form to its own members. The mother is then for it what God is for us, an unknown, invisible Providence, towards which it aspires, even to the identification of itself with all that she desires. It depends on her, lives by her, but sees her not, it cannot even understand her, and could it philosophise it might possibly deny the personal existence and intelligence of that being, who for it is as yet only a necessary prison and a preserving environment. Little by little, however, this slavery troubles it, it grows restless, suffers, worries, and feels that its life is ending. An hour of anguish and convulsion comes, its bonds drop off, it feels itself sliding into the gulf of the unknown. This comes to pass, a painful sensation contracts it, it heaves a final sob, which changes into a first cry—it is dead to the embryonic life, it is born into human life!

"In the embryonic period it seemed to it that the placenta was its body, and it was actually its special embryonic body, useless in another stage and rejected as refuse at the moment of birth. Our body in human life is like a second envelope which is useless to the third life, and for this reason we reject it at the moment of our second birth. Human life compared with the celestial is truly embryonic. When evil passions destroy us, Nature has a miscarriage, and we are born prematurely into eternity and are exposed to that terrible dissolution which St. John calls the second death.

“... The leaf once fallen from the branch can never be re-grafted. The aurelia becomes a butterfly, but the butterfly never returns into the chrysalis state. Nature shuts the door on all that passes and impels life forward. The same morsel of bread cannot be twice eaten and digested. Forms pass, thought remains, and never does it reassume what it has once cast aside.

“The cabalists compare the spirit to a substance which remains fluidic in the divine environment, and under the influence of the essential light, but whose exterior hardens, like a cortex exposed to the air, in the colder regions of the rational or of visible forms... The cortices of the spirit world are transparent, those of the material are opaque; bodies are only temporary cortices from which souls must be liberated.

“... The dead cannot return to earth any more than a child into its mother's womb. The human soul served, but also limited by its organs, cannot place itself in communication with the objects of the visible world except by means of these organs. The body is an envelope which is proportional to the material environment in which the soul has to abide here below. By limiting the scope of the soul, it concentrates and makes its action possible. In effect, a soul devoid of body would be everywhere, but everywhere is so inappreciable a degree that it could act nowhere; it would be lost in infinity, absorbed, and as it were, annihilated in God. Imagine a drop of fresh water enclosed in a globule and thrown into the sea; so long as the globule remains unbroken the drop of water will preserve its own nature, but if the globule be destroyed, the drop of water must be sought in the vast sea. God in creating spirits could only endow them with individual self-consciousness by providing them with an envelope which centralises their action and prevents it from being dissipated by the very fact of its limitation.

“After death the soul ascends because its envelope ascends, and its activity and consciousness are attached to its envelope, as we have said.

“... The facts of ærial suspension are possible, but for a man to live under the earth or in water is unheard of. It would be equally impossible for a soul separated from its body to remain, even for a single instant, in the heaviness of our atmosphere. Therefore the souls of the dead are not around us, as the table-turners suppose. Those whom we love may still see and appear to us, but only by mirage and reflection in the common mirror of the light. Moreover, they can no longer interest themselves in

mortal things, and are bound to us only by such of our sentiments as are sufficiently elevated to bear some conformity or analogy to their life in eternity. . . . The spirit clothes itself to come down, and strips itself to go up."

#### THE CABALA.

"On penetrating into the sanctuary of the cabala, one is seized with admiration at the sight of a doctrine so simple and at the same time so absolute. The necessary union of ideas and signs, the consecration of the most fundamental realities by primitive characters, the trinity of words, letters, and numbers; a philosophy simple as the alphabet, profound and infinite as the Logos; theorems more luminous and complete than those of Pythagoras; a theology which may be epitomised by counting on the fingers; an infinity which can be held in the hollow of an infant's hand; ten numerals and twenty-two letters, a triangle, a square, and a circle—such are the elements of the kabbalah, such are the primary principles of the written word, shadow of that spoken Logos which created the world.

"All truly dogmatic religions have issued from the cabala return therein; whatever is scientific and grandiose in the religious dreams of all *illuminati*—Jacob Boehme, Swedenborg, Saint Martin, and the rest—has been borrowed from the cabala; all masonic associations owe their secrets and their symbols thereto. The cabala alone consecrates the alliance of universal reason and the Divine Word; it establishes, by the counterpoise of two forces in apparent opposition, the eternal balance of existence; it reconciles reason with faith, power with liberty, knowledge with mystery; it has the keys of the present, past, and future."

[Among all mystics Eliphas Levi Zahed deserves special attention because he is the most modern one, and we can, better than in any other case, study the history of his life and comprehend the philosophical attitude which dominates his theories. The mystics of antiquity, men like Porphyry, or still further back, mystics of Egypt, Babylonia, India, or China, are too remote for psychical analysis; and while Jacob Böhme and Swedenborg hold a position of their own, they are influenced by the gnostic traditions of their religious faith, which had been repressed but not eradicated by the authorities of the church.

The human heart has a hankering after the mysterious, and this longing finds expression in mysticism. Mystic minds have a certain dislike of scientific methods. They attempt to grasp philosophical and religious truths not in clear conceptions but in symbols, not by inductive argument but by the bold flight of fancy which finds expression in sweeping deductions. They lack critical acumen, but they are possessed of a vivid poetical imagination, and thus they may, at the same time, anticipate truths of great profundity.

Eliphas Levi was not a prestidigitateur, not a trickster, but an occultist. No doubt, he attempted to perform feats of magic; but he was serious about it, and his magical experiences were the result of a genuine self-hypnotisation. He believed them himself, and we have no reason to doubt his honesty. He was not an impostor but a dreamer, a visionary prophet.

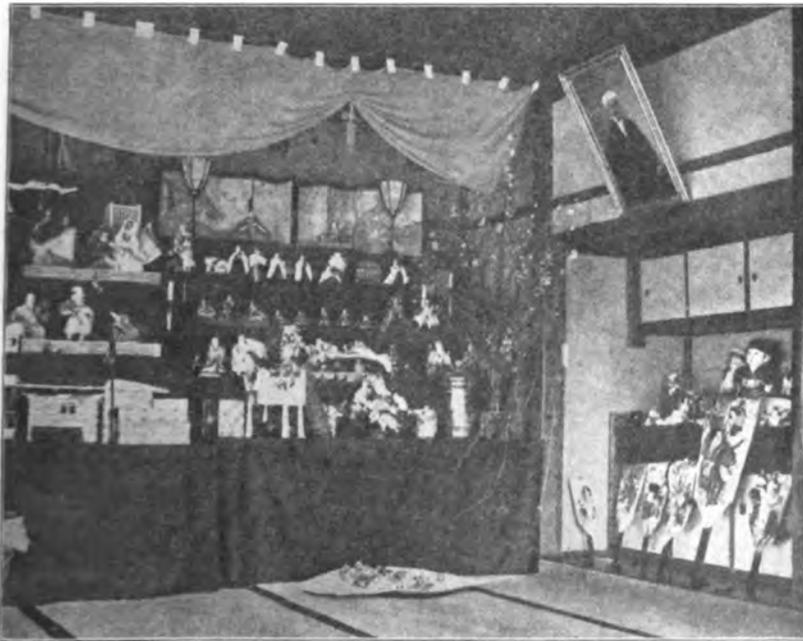
A study of the books of Eliphas Levi Zahed gives us a key to the leading principles of mystic aspirations, and our readers will be grateful to Mr. Henry Ridgely Evans for having condensed from recondite and almost inaccessible sources the views of this interesting man. Ed.]

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

### III. THE PEACH. THE DOLLS' FESTIVAL.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

**T**HIS blossom, coming between the plum, "of classical fame and predilection," and the cherry, "of patriotic boast," is



rather overshadowed by those popular favorites. And yet, as Mr. Conder adds,<sup>1</sup> the peach "excels in size, richness, and coloring. These blossoms are of numerous tints,—white, different shades of pink, and a deep crimson remarkably rich in tone. The peach-

<sup>1</sup>*The Floral Art of Japan.*

blossom in mass, as it appears in groves and orchards, contributes far more to the beauty of the spring landscape than its more honored but severer brother, the plum-blossom." "The orchards of peach-trees in blossom are much frequented by the common people."

Of the different colors, the pale pink is said to rank first. The peach-blossom, the Japanese name of which is *momo*, meaning



"hundred," is considered "emblematic of longevity," and is a greater favorite in China than in Japan. It is generally associated with oxen, as in the following Chinese saying, depicting a peaceful scene of prosperous country life: "Turn the horse on the flower-covered mountain and the ox into the peach-orchard."

In the art of Japanese floral arrangement the peach and the

cherry-blossoms make an "objectionable combination." The peach-blossom is, however, most felicitous by itself, or with other blossoms, on the occasion of the Dolls' Festival, often called the "Peach Festival," on the third day of the third month. Indeed, the peach is especially connected with girls.

The peach is commonly supposed to have the mysterious power of driving away evil spirits, or keeping them at a distance. In China as well as in Japanese folklore arrows made of peach-tree wood are frequently used for the purpose of piercing the otherwise invulnerable hearts of devils.

Chinese doctors sometimes use the extract of the peach leaves or kernels for medicinal purposes.

## THE ENSOULMENT OF NATURE.

BY EDMUND NOBLE.

IF we would adequately realise the conditions under which the teleological ideas about nature were set up, we must begin with a glance at that almost complete removal of modern man from contact with nature which, little as we may recognise it, has become one of the salient results of the stage of culture we are accustomed to call civilised. That we know nature with a completeness which makes all ancient wisdom about it, Greek included, a mere affectation, has grown almost trite by repetition; yet we are none the less excluded from that wisdom by a difference of method, founded to some extent on difference of opportunity, which in one respect at least makes the ancients incomparably our superiors. In the primitive stage of human life the study of nature was everybody's business; under modern conditions this study has become the task of a few specialists. For the modern student—deeply as it may fascinate him who makes it his calling, complete as may be the devotion with which he sacrifices worldly interests in its service—it can never be so closely correlated with the needs of existence as to make success in its pursuit, as it must have been in the case of primeval man, a matter of life or death.

As moderns we find ourselves separated by two all-potent conditions from the early interpretation of nature—by a life more or less sessile, and by the specialisation due to industry. It is only occasionally, and then never for long, that we are enabled to realise how completely these characters of civilisation have separated us from the primitive life of man. We get a suggestion of the differentiation by recalling our still unobliterated antithesis between city and country, and by remembering that, in the older regions of the world, at any rate, few of the mass of modern men who live in villages, towns or cities, ever know anything of country life; that fewer still know by travel much of the physical features of the

country they call their own; and that a much smaller percentage can claim acquaintance with the general scenery of the earth's surface. Yet the lesson of our isolation from nature is perhaps best taught when its physiological implications are kept well in view. Nor is it difficult to formulate these when we bear in mind the millions of city-segregated workers to whom we deny even that exercise of the organism which is essential to the normal maintenance and development of its powers. The muscles, made for the vigorous activities of outdoor life, grow limp and flabby in gas-lit rooms where papers are listlessly pigeon-holed or ledgers languidly moved to and fro; the eyes, which in their brightness should reflect the rich furnishing of a thousand landscapes, become dull and spiritless with following the motions of a pen through mazes of figures; the brain, working with its highest alertness and efficiency in the savage, is specialised in civilised man into expertness for some single form of activity which, once acquired, unfits it for all the rest. Sometimes, moreover, this industrial differentiation shows itself in particular forms of bodily ailment or disease, as in the case of artisans compelled to earn their livelihood in occupations which fill the lungs with deleterious fumes, or with germ-laden dust; which pour into the blood poisons both metallic and vegetable; which crack the hands, stiffen the joints, palsy the limbs, and by excessive demands on the time and strength of the worker, dwarf the powers of both body and mind. What leisure or taste can men thus dealt with by our industrial system retain for the study of nature, even as a recreation? How shall we look to the miner, living in the earth's depths; to the shoveller, chained to the furnace-mouth in the hold of an ocean steamer; to the cotton operative, spending his day amid the deafening rattle of machinery; or to the maker of shoes, growing more and more like the mechanism he guides—for even the glimmering of a desire to lose himself in the pleasures, to say nothing of the utilities of nature study? The answers to such questions are obvious. For we are in each case dealing with men whom civilisation has specialised out of all necessity, as well as beyond all opportunity, of contact with nature.

Another condition which separates the modern man from nature is this cultivated ability of his to get his living away from nature. We do not need to know our natural environment even in the interest of self-sustenance. The food which nourishes us is obtained for us vicariously; we pay for it nominally with money, yet really with work which involves us in no sort of educational contact with the deeper physical forces that really dominate our

lives. Our relation is to the co-operative system within nature, so to speak, rather than to the body of nature powers outside. And though the individual unit of the social organism may "eat in tears" the bread which the system bestows upon him, now lavishly, now grudgingly, he finds the *himmlische Mächte* of his over-world not symbolised for him in the lights of heaven, but objectified in the industrial processes of the co-operative commonwealth of which he is a member. In the primitive condition of society the individual human being, like the individual cell, could perform all the functions of self-maintenance with the same degree of efficiency; and it was as much his interest to study nature as it was to obtain his food or to defend himself from enemies. But with the progressive unification of the "social organism" the task of converse with nature was more and more conferred upon a specialised few on its external periphery, while the great bulk of its members were relegated, so to speak, to the interior for tasks of social maintenance such as effectually excluded them from contact with the world of field and forest outside. The knowledge of natural objects, the whole art of nature, once a universal accomplishment, has thus been more and more taken from the average man, and more and more conferred upon the specialist, with the result that the great mass of humanity have no converse with nature, and do not in any sense become its students.

Nor are men—relieved from the necessity of nature study by their industrial arrangements—impelled thereto by any fear of the environment properly so-called. The multifarious phenomena of the external world have ceased to affright us. The rare comet may still move the savage to superstitious ceremonials—as for the modern, the *Cultur Mensch*, he quickly regains his composure in the reassurances of the explanatory magazine article. The celestial interspaces, depopulated of their spirits, have been filled by our modern knowledge with wonder-working ether; it is the power embodied therein which moves the planets in their courses, and the same source of energy that, in various degrees implicated with matter, long ago exorcised the soul of the magnet, and reduced to terms of physical action and re-action the tiny snap of the induction coil, the deafening crash of the thunder cloud. The ancient "He" who used to be active *super nubibus* is now a spiritless impersonal; we are content to say, even in our religious moods, "It rains," "It lightens," "It thunders." In an age which studies its astronomy with an opera glass, the periodical return of the Leonids, the Perseids, the Lyrids, has ceased to excite even a shudder; so

thoroughly have we discounted the phenomenon that the most spectacular star-shower has become a mere show for the gazing vulgar. The eclipse, solar or lunar, we are content to see in our evening paper; if we happen to be out when it lightens, we remember—in that lucid interval of intellectual lethargy which, strangely enough, is called “stopping to think”—that trees are to be avoided. Amid the loudest crashes above us, our feeling—so sure are we that we know the whole process—is that of Skrymir, under the blows of Thor—“Did a leaf fall?”

It is the same with the earth and all that is therein. Well versed in the science of our time, we think ourselves prepared for anything that may happen, while much which might have happened in earlier periods we now regard as impossible. The submarine monster whose movements used to cause the flow of the tides has vanished into the same limbo as that which received the demon convicted by the ancients of trying to make a meal of the sun. Knowing how the hills have been heaved up, how the continents have come forth from their watery environment, we start not at the landslip or at the inundation; even earthquakes, when pitted for competitive purposes against the interest of prize fights or—*longo intervallo*—national elections, continue, as in the days of Thrasimene, to “pass unheededly away.” And if the more boisterous phenomena of nature fail to obtain recognition, the quieter mysteries of our planet share the fate which, in a world of noise and self-assertion, menaces modesty in all its forms. As the old-time whisperings of grove and fountain are silent, gone also is the piping of Pan; the places that once knew the naiad and the dryad know them no more. The ancient interest in animal life which carried the belief of man's kinship with it into the totem worship of a thousand savage clans, divided by as many seas and mountain ranges, can now be kindled for a brief hour only among our young in the enthusiasms of the peripatetic menagerie. Outside the devotion of the professional botanist, the mysteries of the plant world pass for the mass of humanity unappreciated. In Kant's time the changing of a single seed into a blade of grass was deemed worthy of a judgment which, in its wonder and despair, placed the cause of the phenomenon beyond the utmost reach of the human intellect for all time; yet to-day, trampling the green spears of the tiny host beneath our feet in myriads, or destroying millions of their slender blades with our patent lawn-mowers, we forget that there is any problem. Why, indeed, should we give thought to so simple a case of miracle when the metamorphosis of a well-nigh invisible

germ into a man—the greatest mystery of all—has become the greatest commonplace of all?

Yet we should seriously err if we were to suppose that this modern contempt of things familiar, by discounting phenomena that once filled the life of primitive man with anxiety and terror, implies any knowledge of natural appearances at first hand, still less any intimate or profound contact with nature. Most of us gain our knowledge of the external world from books, or from the teaching of experts; a mere effort of memory, and the stored-up information interests us no more. We realise that the earth is round without once witnessing the experiment of the retreating ship; we know that our planet moves about the sun without noting the annual march of the constellations from east to west. How many of us have ever seen the solar spots, or know as much of the moon and her craters by direct observation as did Galilei? Perhaps we are able to distinguish between such conspicuous planets as Jupiter, Venus, and Mars; but have we, in genuine enthusiasm for nature, ever risen early enough to pick up so elusive a brilliant as Mercury, as it glimmers faintly for moments through the reddening dawn, or after extended struggles with the mysteries of "right ascension" and "declination" succeeded in following Uranus or Neptune to the constellation in which for the time, being she happens to be making her home? Are we really interested in the night skies, and do even our educated—eager as they may be for the reputation of culture—watch the heavens each season for the returning planets as the happy gardener awaits the blossoming of his favorite flowers? Full of lore as we are of the rocks and their fossil remains, do any of us, save a few experts, ever go down into the strata to see for ourselves the wonders of which we talk so glibly? Is the wayside eloquent for us, as we pass through country lanes, with stories of the process which gave us our planetary home, millions of miles from the warm hearth fire to whose gravitating embers we were said (before the advent of radium!) to owe so much of our right to exist? With electricity in the very air we breathe—here multiplying our powers of locomotion a thousand fold, there carrying our voice or expanding our sense of hearing to untold distances—how many of us, repeating the simplest experiments after the great discoverers, know even so much of the properties of the objects about us as to be able to turn a piece of soft iron into a magnet, or to light a gas jet with an electric spark drawn from the carpet at our feet?

It will indeed help us in our effort to realise why certain views

of nature should so long resist the solvent of the objective or scientific method if, turning to the conditions which preceded the differentiation described, we glance at the life lived by primeval man millions of years, it may be, prior to the beginning of recorded history. It was a life of contact with nature the closeness of which has no parallel in modern times, even among savages—a period in which modern forms of coöperative relation between man and man may be said to have scarcely yet begun.

Our ancestor had to fight his own individual battle for self-sustenance, and had to fight it in the open. During periods geological by their very length, his struggle for existence was a struggle which kept him continually on the move—everywhere facing sky and air, everywhere bathed in shine and shower, everywhere drawing in from his environment that knowledge of nature at first hand which was to come to the great mass of his successors through books, or by means of personal instruction. His first acquaintance with the external world was probably gained in the forest, since it must have been in an arboreal environment that, forsaking the quadrupedal for the bipedal attitude, he made his first acquisitions in the realm of human speech. Here it was that, only just cunning enough for the spoken word, he was glad enough to mutter his first incantation—half-prayer, half-apology—to the beast he had been compelled to slay for food; here, too, that he must have emerged from his first successful encounter with a sense of the embodied potencies of animal life of which the modern sportsman feels nothing.

And it was in or near this leafy retreat, which now held off the torrential rain-burst, or now shielded him from the mid-day heats, that well-nigh every species of animal competed with him for the opportunities of sustenance. Athwart his pathway glided the snake, incomprehensible in its powers of motion and disappearance; above him, even more unintelligibly, soared the bird, resting without support, or moving without effort—able to make itself invisible before his very eyes behind leagues and leagues of transparent distance; around him were the lithe, bounding animals of prey—the broad-browed graminivora, the horned runners with the split hoof, the striped forest prowler, or the leaping, cat-like lyers-in-wait—each there to stimulate his imagination and test his strength in cunning or in combat. Roamer in the forest, he was also hunter along the river-bank; as fisherman, he awoke to the still stranger powers of the water-world, with its tidal irregularities, as mysterious as its sudden inundations—with its sources at heights which the vision

placed near the meeting of cloud and mountain top—with its wondrous life concealed in underworld caves and Dom-Daniel palaces whereat the fancy stood aghast.

Nor did his mind find less incitement to activity in the travail which made him alternately an agriculturist, and a raiser of herds, or at a still later stage, gave both those interests into his keeping. In the open field he found himself beneath an open sky, and could store up as daily lessons the sights and sounds of the most primitive meteorology man had ever known. And though the vault above might feed his sense of wonder with the silver phases of a growing and waning moon, he had around him a yet greater miracle—the waxing and ripening of the seed into the mature plant—the gift by earth and sun and air of his daily bread.

Perhaps the grandest of all the objects that met his gaze as more and more he gained opportunities for contemplating it was the earth itself—the solid mass which, extending beneath his feet as far as eye could reach, seemed, according to his elevation, now like a plain of enormous thickness, or now like the same disk sloping from the horizon into a concave beneath him, yet ever cupped over by the same inverted hollow, the same evasive, melting depths which defied the effort of vision to sound them. How the massive-ness of our planet must have impressed him: early enough in his goings to and fro he must have felt the mightiness of its strength, not to be tipped aside by all the weight of the cloud-soaring mountains—the firmness of its foundations, not to be shaken by all the length of the outstretched sea, or the raging thereof. Nor was it any the less mighty because man had as yet created nothing of his own to diminish his wonder at the nature environment—had raised no temples, obelisks, coliseums, aqueducts or amphitheatres to compete with it in the spectacular effects of human handiwork. The far-extending city did not yet exist even in dreams; the only known architecture exhausted itself in those simple lines and curves that went to the making of the rudest domiciles ever contrived for the shelter of man. For then our ancestor had his home in the forest tops, or he wove it aground with the branches of some fallen tree; he crept into some crevice left by the subsiding of rocks once upheaved; sought on the rude, pile-supported platform, the protection of surrounding waters; or appropriated inshore the cave deserted by some wild animal. Yet none of these could seem other than insignificant and contemptible when contrasted with the massive, the tremendous nature that lay everywhere about him—world of crag and valley, of lake, island and stream—an expanse of far-

extending territories which forest might darken or mountain range wall in or divide, but which must none the less have acted on his imagination with a vividness and power of which our own poetry-aided feeling of to-day gives us no more than a suggestion. Nor need we wonder that with the sense of its features in all their luxurious *ensemble* strong upon him—features of breadth and distance, of height and depth, of fixity and movement, of color and form—our forefathers should have given ceremonial expression to their feelings in earth worship, and should have made the bridal of the earth and sky the subject of thousands of their myths.

No less potent in their influence upon the primeval mind were the phenomena of the heavens—the realm into which the bird disappeared, the deeps from which the hissing meteor came forth, the broad gateway through which the dawn made its way. The most important of them—the daily return of the sun—must have been awe-inspiring beyond anything we can now conceive. Sometimes bringing death as well as life in its wake; the devastator of the scorched plain, as well as the giver of life to the sown field—the orb of day called forth the adoration of the agriculturist as well as of the sun-worshipper, and by common mortals everywhere must have been looked for with an eagerness of which our own science-protected humanity knows nothing. If the return of light is striking enough even when it floods the arctic plains after months of absence, what must it have been to primitive man in latitudes where the whole transition from dark to light is accomplished in a few minutes, and where the busy life of wood, stream and plain bursts anew into activity ere one can realise that it is sun-rise? And if into the sun, thus endowed with power over nature, primitive man could not fail to read the characters of will and personality, as of a nature deity daily enthroned and processional, the moon herself, inexplicably growing and fading, could hardly escape a like personification. Nor were the stars wanting in an impressiveness all their own, as, night after night, year after year, the bright luminaries succeeded each other along the same celestial track, sometimes shrunk to points of nebulous star-dust, elsewhere expanded into heaven-circling highways—brightest of all when touched into planetary splendor, here with a blaze in the night sky, there with a white spangle on the brow of morning. That all this mysterious show—of sun, moon, planet and star—should once every twenty-four hours pass away from sight, and only by some sub-celestial necromancy hidden below the earth's rim, should finally reappear

again—this for the primeval world of thought must have been the wonder of wonders.

There was indeed enough in the silent, motionless, unchanging aspect of the environment to impress nature deeply, indelibly upon the fresh feelings of primitive man: to this aspect of the world, with its suggestions of power, magnitude, immensity, endlessness, our ancestor could have accommodated himself without difficulty, with perhaps scarcely an effort. Yet the nature to which there must be adaptation was no world of surfaces, however extensive, nor yet any mere complex of objects, however numerous. Under scrutiny, its steadily burning lights became dissolving patterns that almost might be said to fashion men's nocturnal experiences each night anew: its solid earth, in the stress of life upon and motion over it, became a shifting floor the conditions of sure foothold in which varied from day to day. Not the quiescent, the immovable, but the changing elements it was that made nature terrible to primitive man—for it was a nature ebbing and flowing, seething and bubbling, rising and falling, swelling and subsiding—a nature ready to rise and overwhelm, prepared to fall and engulf—yet withal a nature in the deadliest sense uncertain and unknowable. And it was such uncertainty as this which impelled our ancestor to the search after some method of orientation, some principle of vicissitude, upon which he might depend for the guidance of his change-threatened life. The problem was that of reducing the multifarious mysteries of motion to some intelligible order, principle, or law.

Primitive man failed, not in the knowledge of nature changes, but in the power to interpret them. Within the great commonplace uniformities which brought day and night, which yielded the phases of the circling moon and presided over the return of a few familiar constellations, there were thousands of occurrences as unforeseen and unpredictable as is the cloud pattern of any midday sky which, with its streaks of white, its patches of gray, its blue-bounded hillocks of vapor, its far-extended and threatening sheets of gloom, shifts and moves and flows above us like a panorama. From the realm of phenomena whose incessant stream was even more tangled and causally obscure than are many meteorological phenomena for us to-day—out of that maze of vicissitude whose separate elements traversed each other in countless complexities of intersection—primitive man sought, vaguely and unconsciously that organised sense of definite processes sure to be repeated whenever the conditions recurred which we now call acquaintance with natural law. From the ghostly patter of the wind-driven leaf over

the surface of the snow plain to the writhing of the many-armed forest under the lash of the storm; from the soft flame of the will-o'-the-wisp to the meteor shower threatening with destruction the whole works and race of man; from the simplest changes of plant life to the phenomena everywhere yielded by man himself—the swoon, the long fast, the awe-inspiring delirium, the mysterious death—there were innumerable events which, while appealing with the utmost power to the mind of man, found in that mind no explanatory principle.

What of darkness in such an age, and of the uncertainty which accompanied it? If we would realise the fear-burdened night of primeval man, we have only to think of him with stone-headed spear defending his usurped retreat from the cave bear, or with his fire-girdled bivouac holding off, for a few brief hours of slumber, the whole forest of mysterious sounds hurled at him in mock or in menace. If we would know on what vicarious pains our own safety in life is founded, or appreciate at its true worth the care-void complacency with which we go about our daily tasks, and after sunset in our street-protected cities build up from undisturbed sleep the strength needed for the morrow, we must recall the thorny ways through which, with torn limbs and bleeding feet, amid hardships and perils beyond counting, primitive man—gibbered at by everything anatomically and intellectually beneath him—toiled up the first steps of the ascent to civilisation, hewing a safer pathway in the obdurate rock of circumstance for those who were to come after.

Yet the terrors inflicted upon man by his faulty knowledge of cause were by no means dependent on particular times and seasons. We recognise this in the pains which our ancestor lavished by day as well as by night in order that, with the aid of spells, charms, ceremonies, he might shield himself from the evil influences of objects which he believed capable of acting upon him injuriously. What care he took in the selection of his cave or hut, with a spell for every branch or plank thereof! How carefully guarded were his crops, his implements, his cattle in an age when demons were more plentiful than gnats in midsummer! His very days were made lucky or unlucky for him by influences which only magic could adequately counteract. The same subtle agencies held man's body in constant peril. Spirits disputed the way to the human newcomer throughout the period prior to childbirth, and their baleful influence called for the most powerful exorcisms. Nor did successful birth remove the terrors which filled the life of primeval

man with foreboding. Not an object passed by him in his out-goings which might not, through the subtle influence of analogy or association—doing duty for the knowledge of cause—announce to him the displeasure of one deity, or become the instrument of the deadly, self-executing vengeance of another. So surrounded was our ancestor by demon-like beings, waiting for the opportunity to injure or destroy, that he could not carelessly throw away the tuft of hair from his head, or the nail-paring from his finger, lest these objects should immediately be used against him as the instruments of a maleficent will. His name could not be pronounced save with precautions taken to safeguard him from evil; the rude drawing of him on slate, sand or wax—so absolutely was he at the mercy of his fears—might very well be used in a persecution culminating in his death. The magician was indeed his enemy; yet the most terrible of the sorcerers who beset him was his own mind, the subtle linkings and enchainments of which, added by the physiological demand for a theory of cause, so involved him in the phenomena of his daily object-world that any unusual accident—any occurrence of chance association—a supposed or real likeness—an event happening simultaneously with or after another—the coincidence of a personal experience with some unusual natural event—sufficed for the sorcery of which he was himself so largely the originator. And to-day the whole story of savage magic and modern witchcraft, however we may wonder at it, yields us no more than a pale reflex of the conditions under which early man successfully asserted his primacy in the animal world not only against living competitors, but also against the spirits and demons, the ghosts and deities who, conjured into existence by his own imagination, contested every foot of his way upwards.

Man thus helpless in the presence of phenomena needed an intellectual deliverance, and this could only come through an adequate knowledge of cause. But his mind was unfitted for its discovery. Impressed with only the superficial differences of objects, our ancestor failed to recognise their profounder likenesses, and therefore could not bring into existence the deeper classifications needed for the recognition of cause. Living largely in the feelings of the moment, with only an elementary degree of the power to relate and compare, he was at the mercy of the sense images of objects, and of the disparate glimpses of his environment which they yielded. His view of nature resembled that of one who, eager to see the complete surface of a planet in full sunlight, should be allowed to glimpse no more than the illuminated peaks which it presented to

him at sunrise. And it was because primitive man thus failed to realise those deeper bonds of connection which stretched beneath the luminous points of his system of sense-images—failed to recognise the profounder likenesses, the fundamental causal characters of things which, evading his gaze like great gaps of unfathomable darkness that only centuries later the daylight of science was to fill—that he failed to formulate for the phenomena of change in his environment the principle since given to us under the modern conception of natural law.

The time for confidence in nature had not yet come, and man, distrustful of his surroundings, fearful of his ignorance, turned to the one object which he knew better than any other, turned to the one process with which long and favorable experience had made him familiar—turned to himself and sought in his own body, in his own feelings and thought, the explanations which nature had concealed from him. Lacking the knowledge of cause, the external or objective means of explaining nature processes, he projected into the world around him the soul principle which he believed he had found in himself—invested objects, that is to say, with a soul life, and explained their changes and movements by supposing that they also, like the human organism, were ruled by the powers of life and mind. It was a hypothesis crude in the extreme, yet it gave an explanation of nature such as, for want of something better, not only allayed somewhat that sense of uncertainty which made phenomena a perpetual source of terror to him, but also helped him, however inadequately, to adapt himself in the interests of self-maintenance to the perplexing vicissitudes of his ever-changing environment. And it was the vast period during which this teleological view of Power, this personal view of Nature, swayed the mind of man, amounting to many millions of years in the most impressionable period of the life of the race, which surely accounts, as nothing else ever can, for the strength with which, if in refined forms, it still dominates the thought of the world.

## THE ASCENT OF MAN.

BY THE EDITOR.

**A**N old pious Irish woman (so the story goes) called at the library for Darwin's *Descent of Man*, but returned the book speedily, saying, "I thought it was on a 'dacent' man, but I am dis'pinted, it is mere gibberish about apes and that kind o' things."

Whatever errors the good old Irish woman may be guilty of in spelling, the truth is that in spite of the science of its author, the book is one-sided and attempts only to trace the physiological connection of man with a series of lower animals. If the theory of evolution holds good (which is no longer doubted by any true scientist), the descent of man is continuous since the beginning of life on earth. There is no break in the ladder of life, but when we trace the genealogy of man, we ought not to forget the Apostle's word,<sup>1</sup> who when addressing the Athenians on the market-place of their city, quoted from some of the Greek poets<sup>2</sup> the line:

“Τοῦ (sc. Θεοῦ) γὰρ καὶ γένος ἔσμεν.”  
(For God's offspring are we.)

The idea that we are the offspring of God is Greek, not Hebrew, but the sentiment has become part of our religious ideas. At the time of Christ monotheism had attained its most rigid form among the Jews, and any orthodox rabbi would have scorned the idea of attributing to God offspring in any sense of the word. In the same way Mohammed who had imbibed similar traditions under similar circumstances in opposition to the Christian idea of divine sonship, declared, for the same reason, most emphatically that "God is neither begotten nor a begetter." But the Apostle Paul, being born and raised in Tarsus, was (more than he himself knew) accustomed to the Gentile ways of thinking, and so he was not offended at the Gentile belief that claimed a divine origin

<sup>1</sup> Acts xvii.

<sup>2</sup> The words occur in fragments of Aratus and of Cleanthes.

for man. But to prove it according to the method of the age by quoting Scriptures, he had to fall back on a Gentile authority. Paul quotes not the Bible but a pagan poet, and thus it came to pass in the Gentile Christian Church that the legend of the creation of man from the clay of the ground was given a Gentile interpretation. The whole creation had been made by God, but now we are specially told that the human body was formed by God himself, and God himself blew into the nostrils of the clay figure the breath of life. Whatever the rabbinical meaning of the legend may have been, it was interpreted by Christian exegetists after the precedence of St. Paul in the spirit of the Gentile conception to denote a unique or separate and indeed a divine origin of man. The idea that man had been made of dust and that finally he should return to dust was now limited to his body, as Longfellow says:

"Dust thou art, to dust returnest,  
Was not spoken to the soul."

Darwin's views were bitterly combated, although it would seem more dignified if God had fashioned the first man (not directly from a clod of soil), but indirectly after a long preparation of the material, through a series of intermediate stages of lower animals, from the infinitely more refined organism of an anthropoid brute. We can still insist that man, though his body consists of the same material as the dust of the earth, holds a unique position among the rest of creation. The sway of conservatism, however, is great, and so the people trained in the old views of thought clung with tenacity to a literal belief in the story of Genesis. In spite of all that Darwin said in favor of the kinship of man to the rest of the animated creation, almost half a century passed before the doctrine of evolution gained ground and became universally recognised; and there was no other objection to it, but the implication as to man's descent from lower forms of life, and the denial of the legend that God had formed him directly from the dust of the earth.

At present there may be no one trained in modes of scientific thinking who does not unhesitatingly accept the doctrine of evolution with all that it implies; but having understood the physiological solution of the origin of man, it may be wise to look at the argument of the reactionary party, whose main contention consists in ridiculing the idea that man was descended from the ape.

When the writer of these lines was a child, he knew a pleasant grey haired teacher of a country parish school, who used to tell the story that when he once explained to his children the first chapter of the Bible, one of the boys, the son of a rich farmer, rose and

said: "Mr. Teacher, my father says we are descended from the ape." Our sage old pedagogue cut all further perplexities off by saying: "It would not be proper here to discuss the private affairs of your family." Thus he imputed the blame of a lowly origin to the families of those who believed in evolution, and had the laugh on his side, but what remained for the others? A direct origin from the dust! They were of the earth earthy.

Reactionary minds who upheld a literal belief in the legend of man's creation from the dust of the ground, went too far when they disclaimed the doctrine of the evolution of all higher life from simple beginnings, but they were right in one point, viz., in the sentiment that man is not of the earth earthy, but that the very feature which constitutes man's manhood is of a nobler origin, and that after all man, in this sense, can claim the privilege of divine sonship.

Let us investigate the nature of the problem and understand what constitutes the distinguishing feature of man and in which way the humanity of man made its first appearance on earth.

The difference between man and the brute is reason, and reason, the faculty that sees the general rule in a special example, enables man to foresee the possible or probable course of events, to make plans, to avoid danger, and to sow the seeds in summer with the expectation of reaping the harvest in the fall. All other creatures must adapt themselves to surroundings; man alone can adapt the surroundings as well as all other conditions to his wants.

The question is, whence did the faculty of reason come? Was it innate within the germs of the physiological ancestors of man or did it come to him from without?

We must remind the reader here of the fact that the term "evolution" is really a wrong word. When a common origin of all life on earth was first advocated by naturalists, which was done in the middle of the eighteenth century by Kaspar Friedrich Wolf (1733-1794), and later on by Haller (1708-1777), Gottfried Reinhold Treviranus (1776-1837), Lamarck (1774-1829), Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire (1772-1844), Goethe (1749-1832), Von Baer (1792-1876), and others, there were two theories offered in explanation; one was called "evolution," or in German *Auswickelung*, i. e., unfoldment (literally, "outrolling")—a theory of development from within, the other "epigenesis," or the theory of development by additional growth from without. According to the theory of evolution, the nature of the higher animals was assumed to be predetermined by the mysterious disposition of their original life-

plasma, in about the same way as the chicken, with all its limbs, its bodily and intellectual faculties, is somehow pre-existent in the ovule of the egg. However, according to the epigenesis theory, new properties are acquired by experience, and thus it would appear that external conditions determine the further development of life. The term "evolution" was used in those days in its original meaning of something being unfolded (rolled out) from a latent state into a visible and plainly perceptible form, but since Darwin's time, we use the word in place of "epigenesis"; for the theory of epigenesis has practically been established on the basis of observation and experiment, and the Germans speak no longer of *Auswicklung*, but of *Entwicklung*. The majority of naturalists of this age hold that the growth of higher life is not directly due to the latent qualities of ancestors, but is the result of new acquirements conditioned by extended experiences under definitely given surroundings. The progress which mankind is making still in its onward march to the higher planes of existence is due to the lessons of life and not to the mysterious potencies of primordial germs.

The chicken's egg is different from the primordial life plasma. Its ovule contains in the latent form of dispositions the experiences of all its ancestors—a kind of race-memory which will reproduce the chick-type by evolution in the original sense of the term.<sup>1</sup>

If the doctrine of epigenesis be true, we must insist that those features which constitute the manhood of man are not contained in a latent form in its brute ancestors, but they are a new acquisition which comes from without, not from within. Of course we must understand that only that animal which has passed through all the preceding degrees can be graduated to the higher sphere of life, and in this sense the experiences of the lower animal are still preserved and must be presupposed in all future advance.

Reason originates through language. Abstract thought becomes possible by naming things. Names stand for whole classes and thus a speaking animal is able to classify his experiences and distinguish the general features of phenomena from that which is particular and incidental. The uniformities of nature, however, are only the manifestations of those factors which scientists formulate as natural laws. They in their totality constitute the world-

<sup>1</sup> This statement is subject to certain restrictions which we do not care to discuss in detail in this connection. The ovule contains the memories of the chick-race, but its growth takes place by repeating the process of epigenesis.

The egg does not contain feathers, or eyes, or a bill, or feet, but certain life-impulses which under proper conditions will change the yolk into the several organs of a chick's body. Thus in the limited sense of the word, the term "evolution" would be misapplied even here.

order, and they, in short, are the divine presence that pervades the entire domain of the creation. Reason is nothing but the tracing of these uniformities, and thus human reason is the divinity of the cosmos reflected in consciousness. In this sense the divine is the more realised in a living creature, the higher its life rises in the scale of evolution, and we can truly say that the upward movement acquires its rationality from above, not from below.

The characteristic feature of evolution is not as Mr. Herbert Spencer has it, a change from homogeneity to heterogeneity, but the gradual approach of an acquisition of truth. Those creatures who have a clearer, and broader, and a more correct conception of the world-order that pervades all things, and whose attitude in life is correspondingly adjusted, range higher than those whose souls are only dimly lit up by reason or obscured by error and passion. Not complexity is the test of progress, but rationality. And our conception of truth ought to be, not a mere theoretical insight into certain laws, but truth practically applied; truth respected, cherished, and followed; truth loved, and truth lived out. Truth in this sense, i. e. truth that has become part of our souls, is not mere rational knowledge, but justice, and goodness, and loving kindness.

Truth, and reason, and goodness are not made of the dust. Reason is a perception of the relational facts, and it supports the ideals of life. Truth and goodness appertain to the immaterial, the purely formal, the spiritual. None of these qualities can be said to be qualities of matter; they do not reside, in whatever latent form it may be, in atoms or molecules. They develop by experience; they are added unto the budding life; they are the product of an epigenesis, which originates under the guiding influence of the cosmic order with all that it implies, and if there is any sense in the expression "divine," that certainly, and that alone, is worthy of the name.

Progress in our days is not made because man *likes* to advance and learn new lessons, but mainly because he *must* progress and discover. Man *must* make new inventions because competition and the struggle for life force him to do better than others and rise higher. It is as if nature were whipping man onward and forward, and there are only a few individuals that have acquired a natural impulse to work, to advance, and to inquire. There are very few indeed that labor for the sake of progress and for the love of it.

We may assume with great probability that the most important step, taken by life in its higher advance, viz., in its transition from brute existence to human existence, was done under compul-

sion and under the penalty of perdition for the unsuccessful. The rational being, called man, is probably the survivor only of a great number of man-apes that died out because they were unable to take the step and fulfil the stern demands made on them by circumstances.

The origin of mankind must most presumably be sought in the North, not in the South; in a place where life is hard, not where life is easy, and we may assume that by some catastrophe, a number of ape-man families were cut off from the sunny regions of the southern countries, and had to fight their way in a dreary northern climate, where they would unfailingly perish unless they acquired the necessary altruism to help one another, and the indispensable intelligence to protect themselves against the inclemencies of hostile conditions.

The word of Christ that "the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force," does not apply to the origin of Christianity alone but is generally true and will find its application whenever an important advance is made in the development of mankind. It must have proved true also when the first intelligent and intelligible sounds were uttered in the little circle of a primitive ape-man family, when cries and shouts changed to words, rendering possible an intercommunication of mind with mind, and begetting in them a purer, a clearer, a more definite, and a truer conception of the world.

Life is like the tree that grows upward. Its roots grow down into the depths of the earth. Its nourishment is from below, but the power that quickens it and imparts to it the strength to rise higher, is the energy furnished by the sunbeams and comes from above.

While it is true that man's body consists of matter and is of the earth, his spirit is spiritual and reflects the divinity of the world which represents itself to the naturalist as the cosmic order of law-ordained conditions. Without taking exception to the truths established by comparative zoölogy, which proves the kinship of man with the lower animals and traces its bodily form back through a series of brute ancestors, assuming the existence of the intermediate type of the so-called *pithecanthropos* or ape-man, we may rightly say that St. Paul's idea of man's divine sonship holds good and will remain true forever.

Having established the two sides of the ascent of man, his rise from below and the help that came to him from above while he was learning the lessons of life, we shall better appreciate the signifi-

cance of the period of transition in which man was just emerging from the brute state and soaring with mighty impulse upward to the higher plane of spiritual life and rational comprehension. No doubt this primitive ape-man must still have been a ferocious creature, and we can very well imagine that he was daring and bold and savage. It must have been dangerous for any weaker mammal to cross his path or to fall a prey to his ruthless hands, for he was still thoughtless and inconsiderate. He had to make his living from roots and berries and nuts, perhaps also by eating the flesh of some birds and animals that he might catch, and life must have been hard on him. Yet we must not forget that the tenderer feelings of friendship, conjugal affection, and parental love must have been at least as strongly developed in him as they are in many



LATERAL VIEW OF THE NEANDERTHAL SKULL.<sup>1</sup>

After Schwalbe.

brute animals, for the probability is that the most essential features that the ape-man acquired in his ascent came not only from his keener intelligence, but also, perhaps even mainly, from an increased refinement of his sentiment.

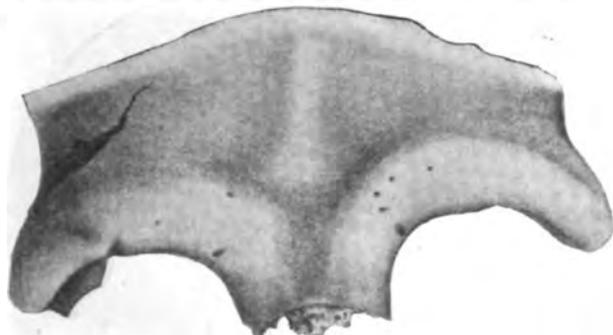
The doctrine of evolution would have been accepted without much opposition, had it not been for its implication with the descent of man from some brute ancestry. All possible arguments have been exhausted to weaken the theory proposed by Darwin and his successors. How much has been said and written about the "missing link," as if the acceptability of the doctrine of evolution depended solely upon the verification of the transition from

<sup>1</sup> Casts of both the exterior and the interior of the Neanderthal skull can be had, securely packed, of Charles H. Ward, Anatomical Laboratory, 594 Lyell Ave., Rochester, N. Y.; both for \$4.50, or either cast for \$2.25.

the brute animal to the intelligent *homo sapiens*. The truth is that there are innumerable missing links in the scale of life, and it will forever be impossible to point out every single phase through which man has passed since he started from the beginning.

In the meantime many discoveries of primitive human remains have been made which indicate that there was indeed no gap between the highest ape types and the lower races of man, which corroborates the assumption that man is descended, not from the ape, but after all from some animal kin to the ape.

In the year 1857 a human skeleton was discovered in a limestone cave (commonly called the "little Feldhofner Grotto") in the Neanderthal near Dornap, between Düsseldorf and Elberfeld. And how hot were the controversies about the character of the bones as well as the formation of the skull! Virchow, so liberal in



FRONT VIEW OF THE SUPRAORBITAL REGION.<sup>1</sup>

After Schwalbe.

politics and reactionary in science, advised caution and declared that these bones might be the remains of an imbecile and degenerate individual.

Professor Virchow claimed that no conclusion could be drawn from one isolated instance; but in the meantime other skeletons and skulls of a similar type have been discovered, which prove that the Neanderthal man was not an isolated individual, but the representative of a race that must have inhabited the caves of Europe

<sup>1</sup> The fracture in the right temporal region is plainly visible and is obviously due to a vigorous blow which, however, may have been made at the disinterment.

A groove is visible over the extreme part of the right eye, slanting over the supraorbital ridge, and ending in an incision. These marks have been the object of much discussion. The incision appears to be the passage for the supraorbital nerve, for it has its analogon, although in a much weaker form, on the right side; but the depression appears on one side only, and thus it is possible that it is the result of an injury received and cicatrised during life. Some of the little holes can be definitely identified as passages for blood-vessels, and none of them seem to be caused by disease.

at the time when mankind had just risen into existence. The skulls of Egisheim, of Brux, and of Cannstatt all characterised by an approach to the ape type, and two skeletons discovered by Messrs. Froipont and Lhoest in 1897 near Spy, Belgium, belong also to a race that was not very distant from the Neanderthal man. The cave in which the latter were found contains in the drift, flint implements of the crudest kind, and bones of the rhinoceros, the cave bear, the cave hyena, and other remnants of the earliest stone age.<sup>1</sup>

Renewed investigations of the Neanderthal skull have justified the theory that it belongs to a primitive man. These new discoveries in connection with renewed and careful investigations of the skull have dispelled all doubts concerning the nature of the Neanderthal remains. We may say without fear of contradiction



OCCIPUT OF THE NEANDERTHAL SKULL.<sup>2</sup>

After Schwalbe.

that the discussion has passed the critical stage, and all anthropologists of reputation agree that we have here the specimen of a primitive race whose forehead still preserves the orbital ridges of lower animals and the facial angle of which is considerably lower than that of the lowest negro type, being only slightly higher than

<sup>1</sup> Prof. G. Schwalbe of the University of Strassburg in Alsace has devoted an especial monograph to the subject, which he has published in the *Bonner Jahrbücher*, No. 106, pp. 1-72, under the title "Der Neanderthalschädel." The article has also appeared in a special reprint.

<sup>2</sup> On the right parietal bone we discover a cicatrised hole made by a pointed instrument, which looks, as says Virchow, as if it were made by a "bayonet," or "a sharp stone," or "any other pointed weapon," perhaps a lance, or an arrow. It was healed during the lifetime of our subject.

The occipital bone shows further a rough depression which Virchow suspected to be the result of a disease, but anatomists (among them Recklinghausen) declare that similar formations are not of unfrequent occurrence among normal skulls.

The *linea nucha suprema dextra* is strongly marked. We notice further an unusual development of those parts from which the neck muscles originate.

that of anthropoid apes. The Neanderthal skull measures  $62^\circ$ , the two skeletons of Spy  $57.5^\circ$  and  $67^\circ$ , while the highest apes reach  $56^\circ$ . The facial angle of the human race of to-day averages from  $80^\circ$  to  $85^\circ$ .

While the forehead of the Neanderthal man is narrow and low, the occiput is well developed, and though judging from his bones he must have been a strong creature and presumably ferocious in fight, he may not have been lacking in kindly sentiments, as indi-

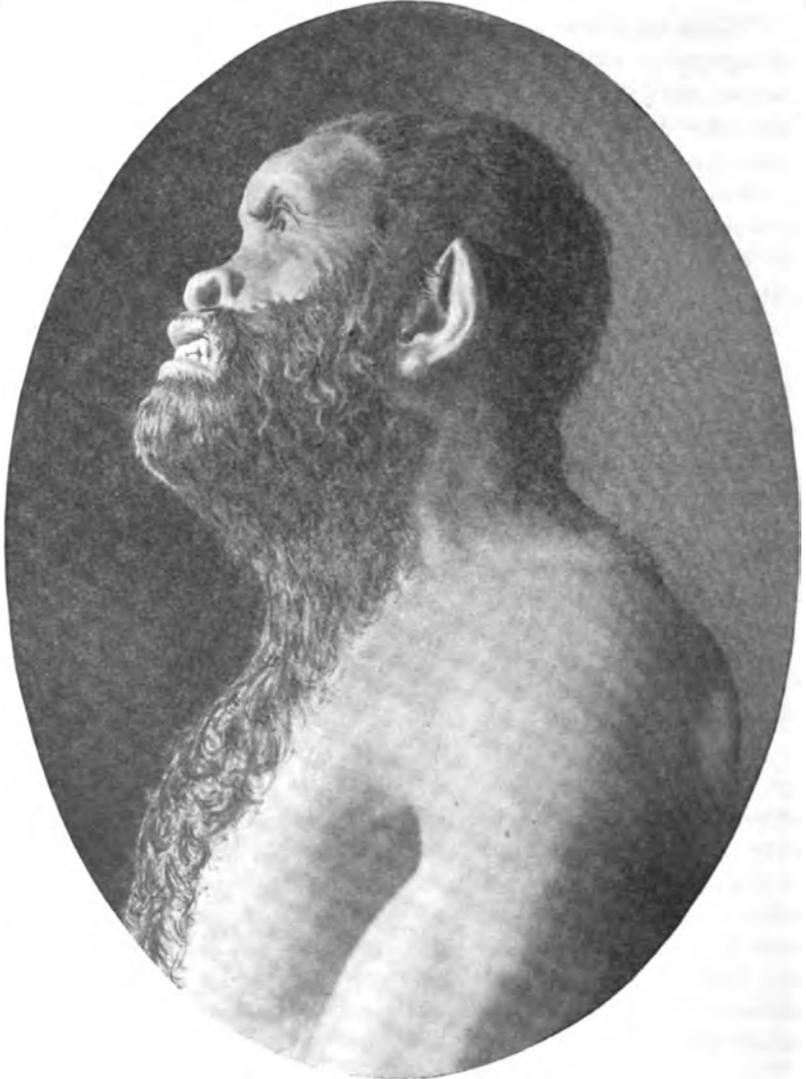


cated by the width of his cranium. And what a story do the remains of the Neanderthal man tell! One ulna received an injury which was healed during the life time, but must have considerably

<sup>1</sup> The left ulna shows that the individual to which this bone belonged received a severe injury during lifetime the cure of which was left solely to nature. The right ulna is normal and its surfaces of the *processus coronoides* are well preserved, but on the left ulna a fracture is visible. Here the *incisura radialis* is filled up with newly formed bone substance and thus brought this spot, destined to receive the *capitulum radii*, into direct contact with the *humerus*, the bone of the upper arm. The result must have been that the arm could not be fully extended.

Above the left ulna we reproduce the end view of the pathological *processus coronoides*. The cicatrised injury appears on the left side.

hampered the use of his arm. The right parietal bone of the skull shows the mark of a cicatrised injury which appears to have been made with a pointed weapon, an arrow or a lance. A furrow in



A RESTORATION OF THE NEANDERTHAL MAN.<sup>1</sup>

the right superciliary ridge is another irregularity which seems to have been caused by some violent blow and must have been an

<sup>1</sup>This picture is a retouched photograph taken of a model made by Guernsey Mitchell according to the instructions of Prof. Henry A. Ward of Chicago.

ugly gash over the right eye. Finally we notice a fracture near the right temple which was presumably done by the spade of the laborer who unearthed these ancient bones. Otherwise it would justify the post-mortem statement of a violent death.

Accordingly the life of the Neanderthal man must have been one of fierce struggle either with rivals of his own type or with the cave bear and other ferocious beasts, perhaps with both, and finally he succumbed in the battle for life, perhaps also in a fight with his own or his tribe's enemies.

The artist Gabriel Max has dared to reconstruct an image of the ape-man, and having devoted many years of study to the shape of the anthropoid simians as well as to the doctrine of evolution, he has thrown his ideas on canvas and dedicated his picture to his friend Ernest Haeckel of Jena.

The picture is at first sight repulsive. There we have a couple of the ape-man, kin to the species found in Neanderthal, Cannstatt, and Spy, who must have been more savage than the savages. The symptoms of his brutish nature still show in his bodily appearance and yet the more we look at the picture the more it gains on us!

Verily, we discover a close resemblance of the scene represented by Gabriel Max to pictures of the holy family. And considered rightly, the similarity is by no means fortuitous, for here we have indeed a holy family. It is an uncultured primitive couple of a speechless tribe of forest men, yet the hope of progress and a brave determination to take up the battle of life for the sake of the babe that is born to them becomes visible in the mother's eyes.

Gabriel Max was equal to the great task of showing man at the beginning of his career in a low state, but he understood how to make us comprehend that we behold here, not the downfall to a state of degradation, but the rise to a higher and nobler development of life. We can plainly see that these creatures, half animal, half man, contain in their aspirations the grand possibilities of humanity. The picture is of extraordinary exactness if judged from the standpoint of anthropology, but even if it were not, the main idea of the artist comes out clearly and is vividly pictured before us—a brute rising into manhood! This much is certain, that the artist has understood how to portray the ancestors of man not as mere brutes, but as aspirants for a higher life, at a moment when their souls were blossoming out into that fuller mentality, which, with its intellectual depth and moral breadth, we call human.

Gabriel Max was prepared for his task in a two-fold manner; first by his study of the physiology and anatomy of the ape and his

knowledge of the doctrine of evolution, and secondly by his previous work in the line of Madonna paintings. The influence of the latter is so strong that the weak point noticeable in all the Christian representations of holy families (the depression of the ideal father into a mere foster-father) is still apparent here. The father of the babe looks too much like St. Joseph, like an old reliable servant and an uninterested guardian, not like a husband and parent, who takes a personal interest in his wife and child and would burn with rage at any danger that might disturb the peace of his little family circle.

In concluding this sketch of the ascent of man we will only insist on one important truth which is frequently misunderstood, viz., that man rose from a brute condition by virtue of superior qualities, not by brutishness and viciousness. Professor Huxley, strange to say, insists on the immorality of nature, and he is fain inclined to attribute the rise of man to his tiger-like fierceness and fox-like cunning, which, it is claimed, man learned in the stern school of life. But there is a flaw in Professor Huxley's reasoning, and while we are fully aware of the fierceness of the struggle for existence we cannot account for the gradual rise of nobler and moral instincts, except by the fact that they gradually improved his condition and made him what he is to-day. The infuriated savage may be cruel to his enemies but we must not forget that the fury with which he takes up the combat is prompted by the love of his fellows, of his wife and child, or of his whole tribe, and the rise of mankind would not have taken place without a growth of the more refined sentiments of sympathy, kindness, and love.

Man's ascent is due to a rise, not a fall. Civilisation has not been brought about by an oppression of the weak or by fraud and rascality. It is the product of honest work, of a hard yet fair struggle, of noble aspirations.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### THE NEANDERTHAL MAN.

The pithecanthropoid whose remains were found in the Neander Valley, although no longer an isolated instance of primitive anthropology, still commands a special interest and will, in addition to the comments and pictures presented to our readers in the article "The Ascent of Man," justify the publication of some pertinent quotations which were collected by Mr. Charles H. Ward of Rochester.

Dr. Fuhlrott describes the locality where the remains were discovered in the early part of 1857 as follows:

"A small cave or grotto, high enough to admit a man, and about 15 feet deep from the entrance, which is 7 or 8 feet wide, exists in the southern wall of the gorge of the Neanderthal, as it is termed, at a distance of about 100 feet from the Düssel, and about 60 feet above the bottom of the valley. In its earlier and uninjured condition, this cavern opened upon a narrow plateau lying in front of it, and from which the rocky wall descended almost perpendicularly into the river. It could be reached, though with difficulty, from above. The uneven floor was covered to a thickness of 4 or 5 feet with a deposit of mud, sparingly intermixed with rounded fragments of chert. In the removing of this deposit the bones were discovered. The skull was first noticed placed nearest to the entrance of the cavern; and further in the other bones, lying in the same horizontal plane. Of this I was assured in the most positive terms by two laborers who were employed to clear out the grotto, and who were questioned by me on the spot. At first no idea was entertained of the bones being human; and it was not till several weeks after their discovery that they were recognised as such by me, and placed in security. But, as the importance of the discovery was not at the time perceived, the laborers were very careless in the collecting, and secured chiefly only the larger bones; and to this circumstance it may be attributed that fragments merely of the probably perfect skeleton came into my possession."

Dr. Fuhlrott condenses his conclusions in these three statements:

"First: That the extraordinary form of the skull was due to a natural conformation hitherto not known to exist, even in the most barbarous races. Second: That these remarkable human remains belonged to a period antecedent to the time of the Celts and Germans, and were in all probability derived from one of the wild races of North-western Europe, spoken of by Latin writers; and which were encountered as autochthones by the German immigrants. And thirdly: That it was beyond doubt that these human relics were traceable to a period at which the latest animals of the diluvium still existed; but that no proof in support of this assumption, nor consequently of their so-termed *fossil* condition, was afforded by the circumstances under which the bones were discovered".

Darwin mentions the subject in *The Descent of Man*:

"The belief that there exists in man some close relation between the size of the brain and the development of the intellectual faculties is supported by the comparison of the skulls of savage and civilised races, of ancient and modern peoples, and by the analogy of the whole vertebrate series. Dr. J. Bernard Davis has proved, by many careful measurements, that the mean internal capacity of the skull in Europeans is 92.3 cubic inches; in Americans 87.5; in Asiatics 87.1; and in Australians only 81.9 cubic inches. Professor Broca found that the nineteenth century skulls from graves in Paris were larger than those from vaults of the twelfth century, in the proportion of 1484 to 1426; and that the increased size, as ascertained by measurements, was exclusively in the frontal part of the skull—the seat of the intellectual faculties. Prichard is persuaded that the present inhabitants of Britain have 'much more capacious brain-cases' than the ancient inhabitants. Nevertheless, it must be admitted, that some skulls of very high antiquity, such as the famous one of Neanderthal, are well developed and 'capacious.'

Huxley in *Man's Place in Nature* says:

"Under whatever aspect we view this cranium, whether we regard its vertical depression, the enormous thickness of its superciliary ridges, its sloping occiput, or its long and straight squamosal suture, we meet with apelike characters, stamping it as the most pithecoïd of human crania yet discovered. . . . And indeed, though truly the most pithecoïd of human skulls, the Neanderthal cranium is by no means so isolated as it appears to be at first, but forms, in reality, the extreme term of a series leading gradually from it to the highest and best developed of human crania."

Finally we quote the statement of a distinguished anthropologist still living, Prof. Paul Topinard, who in his *Anthropology* makes the following statement:

"Human palæontology commences with the Post-pliocene or Mammoth epoch. Examples of it are few in number, and not readily capable of classification. De Quatrefage and Hamy, however, have not flinched from this difficult task. By joining together fragments of male skulls from Cannstatt, Eguisheim, Brux, Denise, and the Neanderthal, and female skulls from Stroengences, L'Olmo, and Clichy, they succeeded in discovering in them certain common characters; that is to say, dolichocephaly, a remarkable sinking of the vault of the skull, or platycephaly, a great recession of the frontal bone, and a very marked development of the superciliary arches. Of all the specimens, the most remarkable are the calvarium of the Neanderthal and the jaw of La Naulette. Any one accustomed to handle the skulls of the anthropoid apes will be immediately struck with the great resemblance between them. The Neanderthal especially reminds one of the calvarium of the female gorilla, which is similarly staved in, as it were, or of the skull of a hylobate. The superciliary arches are altogether simian, although the skull is clearly human. Its capacity, estimated at 1200 cubic centimetres, dissipates all doubt on the subject."

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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.

Associates: { E. C. HEGELER.  
MARY CARUS.

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HUGO DE VRIES.

Professor of Botany in Amsterdam.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court*

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## A NEW THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

BY J. ARTHUR HARRIS, PH. D.

OF the making of theories there is no end, but of theories very few are destined to influence profoundly all phases of thought throughout the civilized world. Such a one was that, proposed by Charles Darwin about the middle of the century just gone, which attempted to explain the origin of species by natural selection and the survival of the fittest. Merely a theory, it explained so many facts otherwise inexplicable and explained them so logically and clearly and satisfactorily that it found, immediately, champions of the greatest ability. And while it seems hard, indeed, to suggest an hypothesis which cannot be proven to the perfect satisfaction of a large number of people, the ability of the men who upheld it, the rapidity with which it spread and made its influence felt and the bitterness with which it was opposed, at once clearly proved that the theory proposed by the now illustrious naturalist did not belong to the same class as those conceived, accepted, and championed by fanatics, but that it was to be a consideration of the most universal and vital importance. That opposition has ceased no one who is at all acquainted with the facts would suggest, any more than he could deny that for years among those whose opinions are most worth consideration the Darwinian theory in its broad sense has had almost universal acceptance. At first, besides those whose general learning or special knowledge of the subject in hand lent no weight to their bitter denunciations, there were many of the older and most able of scientists who accepted the new explanation of the development of organisms only in the most conservative way or who opposed it altogether, but time has since taken these men from the

ranks of the world's scientific investigators and their peers who now occupy the scientific chairs in the great universities of Europe and America accept in one form or another the theory of the evolutionary development of the forms of animals and plants, not as a working hypothesis but as a well established theory, or, to be perhaps more exact, they think of the *fact* rather than the *theory* of evolution. That "Evolution" is accepted by all or even a moderately large majority of people, especially in many localities, is certainly not true, but it has passed the period of bitter controversy, being so generally accepted among well-educated people as to cause little discussion, while those who might oppose it most bitterly are often so ignorant of the subject as to be unaware that the little discussion they hear is not due to lack of interest, but to the fact that the theory in its broad sense is almost universally accepted, and that now the attention of scientists is being devoted to profound investigation of the method of evolution rather than to controversies to establish its possibilities.

While few scientists of note of our present day have doubted the general correctness of Darwin's theory, there have been many who have been very conservative in accepting it just as he left it. Darwin recognized a universal variability in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. He laid great stress upon the fact of the generation of more individuals than could possibly develop to maturity and emphasized the idea that those which were weakest—that is to say, the most poorly prepared to meet their life conditions—would be the first to perish, while those which fortuitously varied in a way to fit them for life in the conditions under which they lived would reproduce their kind, and so, by a slow and gradual process, species with sharply differentiated hereditary characteristics would develop. In nature it was impossible to observe this process, but in domesticated plants and animals, where a much keener artificial selection might be supposed to replace the slower process of natural selection, the great modifications suffered by characteristics were easily demonstrated and advanced in illustration of the process which might occur more slowly in nature. Of course other points are considered, but this is the central idea. Since the appearance of the *Origin of Species* many attempts have been made to prove or disprove the possibility of the origin of species by such a process. Some have insisted with greater boldness than Darwin that natural selection in the production of species and artificial selection in the production of garden varieties are similar processes, while others have maintained that the step from natural to artificial selection is one entirely

too great—"the true danger reef of the Darwinian theory is the transition from artificial breeding selection to natural selection."

It has been supposed that the theory of the origin of species by an evolutionary process must rest on comparative studies—that is to say, it must remain merely a theory, since the process by which species originate by natural selection is so exceedingly slow that the changes are below the limits of direct observation. The strongest point of those who have opposed the Theory of Evolution has always been that the origin of a species has never been observed. I think I have the quotation not far from correctly stated: "Natural selection may explain the survival of the fittest but it cannot explain the arrival of the fittest."

In a theory advanced by Professor De Vries it is maintained that the experimental treatment of the problem of the origin of species is not impossible but that this important process may be the subject of direct observation.

The title of this paper is misleading in so far as it might suggest that it deals with a proposition entirely new, but its use is considered legitimate since it is only within the past few months that an exhaustive work devoted to the promulgation of a theory of the origin of species fundamentally different from that generally held has been given to the public. This work, *Die Mutationstheorie. Versuche und Beobachtungen über die Entstehung von Arten im Pflanzenreich*, by Hugo De Vries, Professor of Botany in Amsterdam, is certainly one of the greatest importance and universal interest—an epoch-making work, perhaps,—so that a review of the salient points of the theory which it so carefully elaborates may be well in place. In the first volume is considered the theory of the origin of species by mutation, while the second volume is devoted to Elementary Hybridity, a subject which I do not care to discuss at this time, so that the theory in its essential points is now open for consideration.

The sense in which the term *species* is used by the elaborator of the present theory is a restricted one. It is a fact recognized by everyone that species, as such, do not exist in nature, but that they are simply artificial groups of forms of individuals, the limits of such groups depending upon the judgment of the author. After the more noticeable groups in the flora of any region have been observed and characterized in the systematic literature, a careful study of the more adequate herbaria available as the region is more thoroughly explored, and especially field study of the living plants, showing many clearly defined characteristics which are lost in the

preparation of material for herbarium purposes, reveals the fact that the species in its wider sense is composed of a large number of forms showing small but clearly defined differences, not of one organ alone, but often of many or all the parts, so that a careful description must often be quite extensive. So long as the problem is one of purely descriptive systematic botany there seems to be no way of definitely determining what rank should be accorded to these forms, and the matter must necessarily remain one of judgment on the part of the person occupied with the elaboration of any group; and how widely at variance such opinions may be is only too well known to those acquainted with the literature of systematic botany, for the "species question" has always remained one of the most vexed. Long ago an attempt was made to solve accurately some of the questions by experimental means, and many of these minor forms were brought into the garden and cultivated for sometimes many years and it was found that under this treatment the offspring showed itself perfectly true to the parental characteristics, and the conclusion was warranted that the "small species" or "varieties" just as truly merit the designation of *species* as do the larger group of forms. Probably the best known example of this kind is that of the European *Draba verna*, a species described by Linnaeus himself, which has been split up into about 200 minor species, the most of which have shown themselves true to seed under cultivation. It is of the origin of these minor species, "small species," which Professor De Vries treats in the large volume just published. He does not insist that general systematic works should be made too cumbersome for use by increasing their size five or ten-fold to include ample descriptions of all the clearly differentiable forms which compose a species in the Linnean sense, but he does emphasize the idea that "species," as they are commonly recognized, are only groups of a greater or less number of clearly distinguishable forms which are true to seed, just as genera and the higher groups are only artificial conveniences.

A sharp distinction must be made between the origin of species in the broad and in the limited sense. In its limited interpretation the species is the smallest differentiable unit which is true to its characteristics in reproduction. In its broader sense the species is a group of such forms which have been united under a generic and specific name for convenience of reference. The origin of one, the origin of specific characters, ought to be, if one accepts the Mutation Theory, capable of experimental treatment; while the other, being an historical process, as will be explained later, can never be a

matter of direct observation. Many examples to illustrate this point are known to systematists. Many species are "compound" in that they are composed of a number of forms distinguished by small but clearly defined differences. When material is scant only certain of these forms may be available to the botanist, and since his series of material show great gaps in places where those which have not been collected are absent, he must make two or more species each containing one or more of the smaller units. But collection in other regions, sometimes hundreds of miles distant, may bring to light the missing elements and the whole becomes one complete series of very slightly differing types and must be recognized as *one* species, even though it shows a wider range of form than do all the other species of the genus to which it belongs. The Mutation Theory is concerned with the origin of these minor species, or of specific characters, not with the origin of the species in its broader, Linnean, sense, for this must be an historical process and consist in the breaking of the continuity of the slightly differing series by an elimination of some of its parts.

It may be readily seen that a number of separate groups of forms might originate by the loss of certain regions of a large and quite uniform series. This may account for the origin of species in the broader sense as it is considered in historical or morphological descent, but the origin of the differences in the original series must be explained. To do this it is necessary to examine very carefully the constancy and variability of plant characteristics.

"No two individuals of any planting are entirely alike" expresses the universal variability of living forms, but variability must be divided into two kinds—variability in its narrow sense, and mutation. The first is known as common, individual, fluctuating, or gradual variability, and from it mutation is distinguished by occurring not flowingly but in steps, without transition, and by being much more rare than the common variations universally present. In common variability there is present a continuous series of forms, while mutation occurs in steps or starts and transition forms connecting the parental and daughter forms are absent. "The contrast between the two kinds at once appears if one considers that the attributes of organisms are built up of fixed and sharply defined units. These units combine in groups, and in the kindred of species the same units and groups are reproduced. Every addition of a unit to a group constitutes a step, originates a new group, and separates the new form sharply and fully as an individual species from the one out of which it has been produced. The new species is at once

such, and originates from the former species without preparation and without gradation."

In evolutionary speculation so much stress has been laid on the evidence offered by domesticated forms that a consideration of this subject is necessary. There are to be distinguished in artificial plant breeding two different processes, the improvement of races and the production of new forms. The improvement of races may occur by crossing with a type more desirable in some respects or by selection of only the best individuals for the purposes of propagation. By the latter process forms may be very greatly improved, as may be well illustrated by the sugar beet in which the percentage of sugar contained has been about doubled in half a century. In the improvement of cultivated plants by selection, however, the process is not a uniformly gradual or unlimited one. The greater part of the betterment may be secured in a very few generations, after which the smallest desirable change is obtained only with the very greatest difficulty. In the case of the sugar beet the most of the remarkable modification was in the first few of the fifty years of selection, while to maintain the high percentage of sugar which has been secured during this time requires the keenest selection, hundreds of thousands of specimens being polarized each year for the purpose of choosing examples for propagation in a large sugar manufactory. What is true of the sugar beet seems to be true of other forms brought into cultivation—a very great improvement may be obtained in the first few generations, after which any further improvement is secured only by means of the most careful and persistent selection. In general, from three to five generations is sufficient to bring the betterment of any characteristic to its maximum, after which selection can maintain the degree of perfection attained, but cannot carry the modification on indefinitely, so that by natural or artificial selection the origination of a new characteristic is impossible. After the attainment possible in the first few generations, selection can only maintain what has already been secured and so soon as this persistent selection is removed the subject reverts, in the same time or less time than that required for its improvement, to the original type. In general, little more than a doubling of the value of any characteristic can be obtained by selection, and no matter how sharp or long the selection this value drops to that of the original type so soon as selection ceases to act.

With the improvement of forms by hybridization we need be concerned no further than to call attention to the fact that this means is one of great importance and that many of the examples

which have been offered of common variability exceeding the limits of specific characters may be referred to accidental crossing.

The origination of new forms in horticultural work is a matter quite different from the improvement of races. This is entirely beyond the direct control of the plant breeder. Sometimes the new form may occur as a bud variation, one branch showing characteristics markedly different from the others, in which case propagation is continued by cuttings in a purely vegetative manner, or there may occur among a large number of typical plants one or more individuals with distinct characteristics, in which case they may be freed from crosses with other forms and propagated by seed. In either case the origin of the new form is an unexpected and unmediated one. All the cultivator knows of his find is that it is there and may be preserved and will reproduce true.

Before leaving the discussion of cultivated plants, attention may be directed to one point upon which Professor De Vries in his book lays great emphasis. This is the danger of drawing scientific conclusions from work which is carried on merely for practical ends. The plant breeder wants new and improved sorts and cares nothing about the way in which they originate so long as they are satisfactory and profitable. For the most part his extensive experiments are carried on without adequate record for any scientific conclusions, and except where data are complete and unimpeachable there should be the greatest hesitancy in using as evidence in theoretical biology results which have been obtained for other purposes and by methods which gave thought only to the practical side of the result and not to its theoretical significance.

Since in cultivation the materials offered to selection in the form of common or universal variability cannot form the basis of new and constant characteristics while many examples of sudden and unmediated appearance of new and sharply distinguished forms which reproduce true are known, the idea that species have originated in nature in this same manner, by mutation, seems very suggestive.

Over fifteen years ago Professor De Vries, convinced of the validity of the hypothesis that elementary species originate by sudden starts, or mutations, and not by the selection of individuals varying gradually in some direction, began a search for material favorable for direct observation, and, while the task seemed almost a hopeless one, he has been successful in a very gratifying and convincing degree. About one hundred species of plants from the local and foreign flora were transferred to his garden, not for the purpose

of selection or horticultural improvement but merely to have them in a convenient condition for observation. The account of these experiments occupies a large part of the ponderous volume before us and can only be touched on here. One species, an Evening Primrose, *Oenothera Lamarkiana*, of American origin, seemed to offer favorable material for his purpose; so almost all the others were discarded and the most painstaking observations made upon this species for fifteen years. His results may be stated very briefly. During this time several new species were produced. These appeared suddenly, with no transition forms, and were so sharply distinguished from the typical plants that they could in some cases be recognized even in the seedling stage of development. Some forms occurred only a few times, others were produced anew year after year and in considerable numbers. Not only do these new species show themselves sharply distinguished from the parent type, but when fertilized with pollen from the same species reproduce true year after year with no tendency to revert to the type from which they were derived. The original species during this time shows no change, but the most of the offspring are true to the ancestral characteristics. The new forms are not produced from the old by gradual modification but are sharply differing side branches, so to speak, of the parent stem, given off year after year according to some law not yet understood, and capable of continuing their sharply defined characteristics generation after generation, just as the original species does.

Observations of great interest were also made on other subjects, especially abnormalities which usually originate suddenly and show themselves in a high degree heritable, but these cannot be discussed in this brief review.

While the discussion given here is inadequate as representing the scope of the volume which has appeared it indicates some of the more important considerations and must suffice, for the little space still available must be used in summarizing the principal conclusions and contrasting them very briefly with those of the prevailing theory.

Professor De Vries holds the view that a species is always subject to common or fluctuating variability, but only at certain times is it in a mutable condition. Most species are in an immutable condition, and, while selection may take the material offered by universal variability and produce local races or secure acclimatization, the development of new characteristics is impossible. But when a species enters the mutable state a large number of new species may

be produced from it in a comparatively short time. The length of this mutable period is not known, but in the Evening Primrose it was studied for fifteen years and this may represent but a small part of its duration. If one accepts the Mutation Theory the universal variability of organisms has no significance so far as the origin of species is concerned, while the statement, "species have originated by natural selection in the struggle for existence," falls into two parts for consideration. The struggle, or competition, for existence occurs between the individuals of one elementary species and also between the different species as such. In the first case individuals best adapted to their environment are least liable to perish, and so local races, or, where artificial selection replaces natural selection, improved sorts, are developed and acclimatization is possible; but so soon as the special selective influence is removed there occurs a reversion to the type of the constant species. In the second case the weakest species, as in the first the weakest individuals, are the first to perish. In the same way the classic expression, "the survival of the fittest," embraces two distinct and clearly defined propositions: the survival of the fittest individuals in the constant species, and so the production of local races or the securing of acclimatization by selection, and the survival of the fittest species. But in order to enter the struggle for existence—to come into competition for existence—or to survive, species, as individuals, must exist. These species originate not by the gradual modification of a parent type during the course of hundreds or thousands of years, but by sudden steps, and since the new characteristics which they show are in a high degree heritable the individuals of the new form multiply and a struggle for existence ensues in which the weaker species are rooted out. But the struggle for existence has nothing to do with the origin of the new form, for, if one accepts the Mutation Theory, species have not originated but perished in the struggle for existence. In the Evening Primrose studied some species were formed which were entirely too weak to survive in a life of competition, and it seems altogether probable that vast numbers of such have originated during past ages and have been crowded to the wall by stronger forms.

Each point might be considered in greater detail and with more elaborate statement of the data upon which it is based, but the essentials of the new theory which has been so carefully developed have been stated. What the ultimate decision of biologists as to its value may be, time only can tell. Here, I have made no attempt to give a criticism of the theory, but have sought to present it from

the point of view of the author. But whatever may be the ultimate judgment of the scientific world concerning the theory, it is presented in such an elaborate and painstaking form that it is bound to receive the careful attention of all concerned with evolutionary theory. While the acceptance of the Mutation Theory necessitates a very profound change in some of our ideas, one must not forget that it is simply a difference in the method of evolution which the new theory postulates, and, while the conception of the method of the origin of species is fundamentally different from that so generally held, the fact of the evolutionary origin of living forms still stands as ever.

## THE SHAKESPEARE CONTROVERSY.

BY EDWIN WATTS CHUBB.

I N analyzing General J. Warren Keifer's Shakesperean creed as declared by himself at the beginning of his article, "Did William Shakesper Write Shakespeare?" in the January number of *The Open Court*, one is delightfully confused upon finding that Mr. Keifer really believes what every simple-minded and orthodox believer in Shakespere believes,—I say confused because a full reading of the article leads to the conclusion that Mr. Keifer thinks he thinks differently. What is his creed as plainly published to the world?

1. "I do not believe that any known contemporary of Shakesper wrote them or was, alone, capable of writing them."

2. "And I more than doubt whether Shakesper, unaided, wrote them."

I confess myself to be what Mr. Keifer would call a simple-minded and credulous believer in the old-fashioned notion that Shakesper is Shakespeare, and yet I believe in Mr. Keifer's creed. For instance, I do not think that any contemporary of Shakespere wrote the dramas. I think Shakespere himself wrote them, so we agree on article *one* of the creed; then *second*, I do not think that Shakespere unaided wrote all the plays attributed to him, and I have never found anyone familiar with the Shakesperean drama that did think so. We know that he used old plays, re-writing them; that he laid hands upon everything from historical chronicles to fiction and tradition and made the common the uncommon by the power of his genius.

But the general trend of Mr. Keifer's paper is to show that some "Great Unknown" wrote the dramas commonly called Shakesperean. How much shrewder our doubters are now than they were some years ago. They no longer have the cocksurenness of Judge Holmes, one of the High Priests of the Baconian cult, who said in

1884: "A comparison of the writings of contemporary authors in prose and verse proves that no other writer of that age, but Bacon, can come into any competition for the authorship." The doubter has become more wary. As long as Bacon was the great "It," it was easy for modern scholarship to show that Bacon as Shakespere is an absurdity; that it is just as probable that Shakespere wrote the *Novum Organum* as that Bacon wrote *The Merchant of Venice*. When Spedding, the great biographer of Bacon, the man who knew more of Bacon than was known by any other man in the 19th century, was challenged by Judge Holmes as to his opinion, he replied: "I have read your book on the authorship of Shakespere to the end, and . . . I must declare myself not only unconvinced but undisturbed. To ask me to believe that Bacon was the author of these dramas is like asking me to believe that Lord Brougham was the author not only of Dickens' novels, but of Thackeray's also, and of Tennyson's poems besides. I deny that a *prima facie* case is made out for questioning Shakespeare's title. But if there were any reason for supposing that somebody else was the real author, I think I am in a condition to say that whoever it was, it was not Bacon."

The doubters have been so mercilessly and completely driven from their first position that the more wary have repudiated Bacon as the author of the plays. But here the plays and poems are, and a hard-headed world insists that they must have been written. When we ask who is the author, your nimble doubter looks wise and with Delphic solemnity announces "The Great Unknown." In his conclusion Gen. Keifer writes that he does not intend "to give an opinion as to the authorship of the greatest of literary contributions to the world." Of course he does not. I challenge him to name any man other than William Shakespere of Stratford, England. Every repudiator of Shakespere knows that he is under the necessity of naming somebody as the author. Judge Webb, Regius Professor of Law in the University of Dublin, in a book on the Mystery of William Shakespeare, published in 1902, intending to prove that Shakesper is not the author, comes to the same conclusion. "But the only thing that will satisfy the world that he was not the author of the plays is a demonstration that another was."

But if Shakespere wrote the dramas, why did he not let the world know it? Presumably Shakespere thought the world did know that he was doing business in London and accumulating enough money to make his latter days days of prosperity. Evidently the Baconians think Shakespere should have left a signed statement

attested by a notary public that he and not some other person was really the author of his writings. Like the late governor of a great state who, upon signing an obnoxious bill, sent out the statement, "I was not bribed," so Shakespere should have anticipated criticism by scattering documents about certifying to his character as a *bona fide* author. And Mr. Keifer intimates pretty strongly that just before his last illness he should have hired a stone-cutter to engrave the same fact upon the slab covering his tomb. This concern the Baconians and agnostics have about Shakespere's carelessness about posthumous fame is certainly delightful. It is Falstaffian in its humor and suggests what Saintsbury calls the "subsimious absurdity" of man. For if Shakespere was careless, what shall we call the conduct of the "Great Unknown?" Where is his record?

One begins to doubt General J. Warren Keifer's Shakesperean learning when he unreservedly prints: "William Shakespere was born at Stratford, April 23, 1564." Where did the General get this information? Fifty years ago the school-texts and primers of literature contained that statement, but no accurate modern scholar says Shakespere was born on the 23d of April. All we know is that he was baptized on the 26th. This inaccuracy, slight as it is, casts some doubt upon the General's familiarity with his subject. I also wish Mr. Keifer had given his evidence in support of his declaration that Emerson, Oliver W. Holmes, and Dickens are on the side of the Baconians, or at least among the doubters. It has always been a matter of interest to me that I have never found a well-known man of letters who sided with the Baconians. Nor has ever to my knowledge a prominent professor of literature in England or America been found in their camp. Emerson uses Shakespere as his representative poet in his *Representative Men*; and Charles Dickens was a member of the London Shakespere Society and often attended its meetings. His intimate friend and best biographer—Forster—relates that when a committee was formed to undertake the purchase of the Shakespere house in Stratford—this was before the Town Corporation decided to make the purchase—Dickens entered heartily into the project. More than this, he played the part of Justice Shallow in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* in a company organized to raise funds for the purchase of the house. The company gave nine performances in the principal cities of England and realized 2551£ 8d. after deducting all expenses. Does this make Dickens a doubter? No, the Baconian is not a man of letters nor is he a specialist in literature. The Baconian, and I use the term with sufficient latitude to include the doubter who believes in the Great

and Mysterious Unknown as the author of the dramas, is usually a lawyer, or some one engaged in non-literary work. George Brandes is more forceful in his characterization than I care to be. He writes: "It is well known that in recent days a troop of less than half-educated people have put forth the doctrine that Shakespere lent his name to a body of poetry with which he had really nothing to do. Here it (literary criticism) has fallen into the hands of raw Americans and fanatical women." But even if Emerson and Dickens were Baconians or doubters—which remains to be proved—the weight of their testimony could be met by that of a hundred literary men from the time of Ben Johnson down to Browning.

William Cullen Bryant echoes the sentiment of a thousand fellow craftsmen of ten generations when he writes: "I am sure that, if those who deny to Shakespeare the credit of writing his own dramas, had thought of ascribing them to the judicious Hooker or the pious Bishop Andrews instead of Lord Bacon, they might have made a specious show of proof by carefully culling extracts from his writings. Nay, if Jeremy Taylor, whose prose is so full of poetry, had not been born a generation too late, I would engage in the same way to put a plausible face on the theory that the plays of Shakespeare, except, perhaps, some passages wickedly interpolated, were composed by the eloquent and devout author of *Holy Living and Holy Dying*."

The assumption throughout Gen. Keifer's paper is that the plays display so much erudition that Shakespeare could not have written them. Even if the assumption were true, our friends are placed under the necessity of showing why it was impossible for Shakespeare to have acquired this learning. Because there is no record of his attendance at one of the Universities are we to infer that he could not become learned? But some of the profoundest scholars have not been University-bred. Is the assumption, however, true? Is Shakespeare a learned writer? No modern Shakespearean scholar pretends that Shakespeare was a learned man. The plays abound in evidence to the contrary. When in the *Taming of the Shrew* (1 l. 167) he quotes from Terence he is using a modified form as found in the commonly used Lilly's grammar. No scholarly man would be likely to take his Latin from a school-boy's grammar. Shakespeare's plays are not learned in the sense in which *Paradise Lost* and the dramas of Ben Johnson are learned. In his Roman plays his characters are men and women with English customs. Shakespeare makes many mistakes in allusion, in history, in geography, in classical reference. Had he been a scholar like Bacon

or Jonson he would "not have introduced clocks into the Rome of Julius Cæsar, nor would he have made Hector quote Aristotle, nor Hamlet study at the University of Wittenberg, founded 500 years after Hamlet's time; nor would he have put pistols into the age of Henry IV., nor cannon into the age of King John; and we are pretty sure he would not have made one of the characters in *King Lear* talk about Turks and Bedlam. Shakespere is one of the wisest and profoundest of men, but he is not learned. And in acknowledging this, I am not saying that Shakespere was illiterate. Ben Jonson acknowledges he knew Latin and Greek. Of course he intimates that Shakespere had not gone very far into either, but to a classical scholar like Johnson, "little Latin and less Greek" would be enough to explain all the classical lore we find in the writings of the dramatist. Nor are we bothered or excited because Shakespere would be incompetent to serve as a professor of penmanship in a business college, and because his name is spelled in different ways. Richelieu, Montaigne, Hugo, H. Greely, and Rufus Choate were all miserable penmen. And as to the various ways in which the name is spelled, John Fiske says: "The real ignorance, however, is on the part of those who use such an argument. Apparently they do not know that in Shakespeare's time such laxity in spelling was common in all grades of culture. The name of Elizabeth's Lord Treasurer, Cecil, and his title, Burghley, were both spelled in half a dozen ways. The name of Raleigh occurs in more than forty different forms, and Sir Walter, one of the most accomplished men of his time, wrote it Rauley, Rawleyghe, Raleigh, and in yet other ways."

Another illustration of the falsity of the assumption that Shakespere is too learned to be the author of the dramas is found in the statement that his knowledge of law is too exact and varied to be the knowledge of a layman. But is Shakespere's knowledge of legal phraseology greater than that of some of his contemporary dramatists? The passage in *Hamlet*, so frequently quoted, can be matched again and again with more technical use of legal knowledge in the Elizabethan dramatists. An American judge has well said that if Bacon wrote *Hamlet* then Coke himself must have written some of the dramas accredited to other Elizabethan writers.

But is Shakespere's knowledge of law superhuman? Is it even humanly accurate? He knows no more law than a bright man of business, a buyer of land, part owner of theatrical establishments, interested in legal proceedings against theatres and sometimes at law for the recovery of debts and no stranger to proceedings in chancery, would be expected to know. Judge Allen, of the Supreme

Bench of Massachusetts, has carefully examined every legal term used by Shakespere and he finds many inaccuracies. He finds that the *Merchant of Venice* is full of bad law. "By the will of Portia's father, all of her suitors must submit to the test of the caskets, and if unsuccessful must forever renounce marriage. This testamentary provision in restraint of marriage, with no means of enforcing it, would seem to have been the invention of a story teller rather than of a lawyer." Again: "The condemnation of Shylock to death, without presentation of charges against him, or giving him any chance to be heard, is probably the most summary, informal, and irregular judicial trial for a capital offense known to history or fiction." "Portia's rules of law will not bear examination. Such a condition of a bond probably would not even at that time have been valid, as it involved a homicide. But if valid, it would be in no violation of the condition to cut off less than a pound, and the incidental flowing of blood could not make Shylock's act unlawful, since the cutting could not be done without it. Shylock would not lose the right to accept money by a refusal at the outset of the tender in court." So also we find in *Julius Caesar*:

"On this side Tiber; he hath left them you,  
And to your heirs forever, common pleasures,  
To walk abroad and recreate yourselves."

"In a devise or dedication of lands to the public," says Judge Allen, "the words 'to your heirs forever' are misplaced, as they would imply individual ownership, instead of a right invested in that indefinite body, the public. As these particular words are not found in any of Shakespeare's authorities he likely inserted them. No good lawyer would thus have phrased it."

As an illustration of how easily Shakespere's reputed learning can be explained we have the passage of Henry V. in which we hear:

"*Canterbury.*

There is no bar  
To make against your highness' claim to France  
But this, which they produce from Pharamond,—  
'In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant;'  
'No woman shall succeed in Salique land;'  
Which Salique land the French unjustly gloze  
To be the realm of France, and Pharamond  
The founder of this law and female bar.  
Yet their own authors faithfully affirm  
That the land Salique is in Germany,  
Between the floods of Sala and of Elbe;

Where Charles the Great, having subdued the Saxons,  
 There left behind and settled certain French ;  
 Who, holding in disdain the German women  
 For some dishonest manners of their life,  
 Establish'd then this law ; to wit, no female  
 Should be inheritrix in Salique land ;  
 Which Salique, as I said, 'twixt Elbe and Sala,  
 Is at this day in Germany call'd Meisen.  
 Then doth it well appear the Salique law  
 Was not devised for the realm of France :  
 Nor did the French possess the Salique land  
 Until four hundred one and twenty years  
 After defunction of King Pharamond,  
 Idly suppos'd the founder of this law,  
 Who died within the year of our redemption  
 Four hundred twenty-six ; and Charles the Great  
 Subdued the Saxons, and did seat the French  
 Beyond the river Sala, in the year  
 Eight hundred five. Besides, their writers say,  
 King Pepin, which deposed Childeric,  
 Did, as heir general, being descended  
 Of Blithild, which was daughter of King Clothair,  
 Make claim and title to the crown of France.  
 Hugh Capet also, who usurp'd the crown  
 Of Charles the duke of Lorraine, sole heir male  
 Of the true line and stock of Charles the Great, —  
 To fine his title with some shows of truth,  
 Though, in pure truth, it was corrupt and naught,  
 Convey'd himself as heir to the Lady Lingare,  
 Daughter to Charlemain, who was the son  
 To Lewis the emperor, and Lewis the son  
 Of Charles the Great. Also King Lewis the Tenth,  
 Who was sole heir to the usurper Capet,  
 Could not keep quiet in his conscience,  
 Wearing the crown of France, till satisfied  
 That fair Queen Isabel, his grandmother,  
 Was lineal of Lady Ermengare,  
 Daughter to Charles, the foresaid duke of Lorraine :  
 By the which marriage the line of Charles the Great  
 Was reunited to the crown of France.  
 So that, as clear as is the summer's sun,  
 King Pepin's title and Hugh Capet's claim,  
 King Lewis his satisfaction, all appear  
 To hold in right and title of the female.  
 So do the kings of France unto this day ;  
 Howbeit they would hold up this Salique law  
 To bar your highness claiming from the female,  
 And rather choose to hide them in a net  
 Than amply to imbare their crooked titles  
 Usurp'd from you and your progenitors."

Here we have what the doubters would call another evidence of learning impossible to the Stratford player. This presupposes intimate acquaintance with French, with Latin, with the law of succession, with obscure history, and no one but a scholar could write like that. But in this case we need presuppose nothing of the kind. Turn to *Holinshed's Chronicles*, the second edition of which was published in 1586-87, and read and compare:

"The verie words of that supposed law are these, In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant, that is to saie, into the Salike land let not women succeed. Which the French glossers expound to be the realme of France, and that this law was made by King Pharamond; whereas yet their owne authors affirme that the land Salike is in Germanie betweene the rivers of Elbe and Sala; and that when Charles the Great had overcome the Saxons, he placed there certaine Frenchmen, which having in disdeine the dishonest maners of the Germane women, made a law, that the females should not succeed to any inheritance within that land, which at this day is called Meisen, so that if this be true, this law was not made for the realme of France, nor the Frenchmen possessed the land Salike, till four hundred and one and twentie years after the death of Pharamond, the supposed maker of this Salike law, for this Pharamond deceased in the yeare 426, and Charles the Great subdued the Saxons, and placed the Frenchmen in those parts beyond the river of Sala, in the yeare 805.

"Moreover it appeareth by their owne writers that King Pepine, which deposed Childerike, claimed the crowne of France, as heire generall, for that he was descended of Blithild, daughter to King Clothaire the first: Hugh Capet also, who usurped the crowne upon Charles Duke of Loraine, the sole male heire male of the line and stocke of Charles the Great, to make his title seeme true, and appeare good, though in deed it was starke naught, conveyed himself as heire to the ladie Lingard, daughter to King Charlemaine sonne to Lewes the emperour, that was son to Charles the Great. King Lewes the tenth, otherwise called saint Lewes, being verie heire to the said usurper Hugh Capet, could never be satisfied in his conscience how he might justlie keepe and possesse the crowne of France, till he was persuaded and fullie instructed that queene Isabell his grandmother was lineallie descended of the ladie Ermengard daughter and heire to the above Charles duke of Loraine, by the which marriage, the blood and line of Charles the great was again restored to the crowne and scepter of France, so that more cleare than the sunne it openlie appeareth that the title

of king Pepin, the claime of Hugh Capet, the possession of Lewes, yea, and the French kings to this daie, are derived and conveied from the heire female, though they woulde under the cover of such a fained law, barre the kings and princes of this realme of England of their right and lawfull inheritance."

I have quoted these parallel passages at length as they show how easily much of Shakespere's reputed learning can be explained. Shakespere, wide-awake, energetic, living in London and coming in daily contact with its throbbing life, had means of gaining information that was as valuable to him as a university training. Because we can not always tell where he got his information is no proof that he could not get it.

"I am inclined to envy those who have faith and cannot doubt. I almost regret I have investigated the subject far enough to become a doubter." So writes Mr. Keifer as he nears the conclusion of his paper. This is certainly almost pathetic in its *naïveté*. In much knowledge there is always much grief. The penalty of learning is that we lose our illusions. Then again it may be that a little learning in Shakespere is a dangerous thing. Perhaps if Ben Jonson, and Milton, and Goethe, and Coleridge, and Carlyle, and Schlegel, and Furness, and Lowell, and John Fiske, and a hundred others, scientists, philosophers, critics, and actors, had only investigated this matter as deeply as Mrs. Gallup and General Keifer, they too could envy those simple-minded who are so credulous, and blissful in their harmless illusion.

The truth, however, is that the credulous are not the believers in the accepted belief; the Baconians and they that put their trust in the mythical "Great Unknown" are the gullible. Their argument is always based upon a "suppose." What do they ask us to do? It is this:

To cast aside as worthless all the weight of tradition extending in unbroken line back three hundred years; to believe that all Shakespere's contemporaries were grossly deceived; that the writer of the greatest literary productions in the English language, perhaps in all languages, could live and write and grow in power and yet not leave the slightest evidence of his existence, not even a grave.

What is the evidence presented to cause a reversal of our present opinion? Surely here we should expect some positive evidence of a most convincing character. But what is our astonishment to learn that we are to disbelieve in Shakespere because his daughters were not well-educated, because he does not mention his plays in his

will, because the verse serving as inscription on the slab covering his grave does not testify to his authorship, and, usually the most astounding of all, because it is rumored he was concerned in a poaching lark in his youth and lived in a town whose streets were apt to accumulate Elizabethan filth! Surely the children of darkness ask the children of light to exercise a faith that is childlike indeed. If there are thirty-nine reasons against believing in Shakespere and forty equally good for believing, the reasonable man will be obliged to believe where the forty good reasons are found. But in this case the Doubters have been unable to produce one sound argument based on fact. When the Doubters can agree as to who the "Great Unknown" is, and persuade us that Ben Jonson was either a fool or a knave," says Henry Irving, "or that the whole world of players and playwrights at that time was in a conspiracy to palm off on the ages the most astounding cheat in history, they will be worthy of serious attention."

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

### IV. THE CHERRY.

THIS is the prince of flowers in Japan.

*"Ihana wa sakura;  
Hito wa bushi."*

*"The flower [is] the cherry;  
The man [is] the knight."*

Just as the *bushi*, or *samurai* (knight), was the *beau ideal* among Japanese men, i. e., the "gentleman" of the nation; so the cherry, with its spotless blossoms, "symbolizing that delicacy of sentiment and blamelessness of life belonging to high courtesy and true knightliness," is the Chevalier Bayard of Japanese flowers.

The wild cherry is said to have existed in Japan from time immemorial; and from this "have been developed countless varieties, culminating in that which bears the pink-tinged double [*yae-sakura*] blossoms as large as a hundred-leaved rose, covering every branch and twig with thick rosettes. A faint fragrance arises from these sheets of bloom." (Scidmore's *Jinrikisha Days in Japan*.)

The pale pink is the only one that takes first rank among cherry blossoms. "When, in spring, the trees flower, it is as though fleeciest masses of clouds faintly tinged by sunset had floated down from the highest sky to fold themselves about the branches. \* \* \* The reader who has never seen a cherry-tree blossoming in Japan cannot possibly imagine the delight of the spectacle. There are no green leaves; these come later: there is only one glorious burst of blossoms, veiling every twig and bough in their delicate mist; and the soil beneath each tree is covered deep out of sight by fallen petals as by a drift of pink snow." (Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*.)

It is also to Prof. Hearn that we are indebted for the following: "About this mountain cherry [*yamazakura*] there is a humorous saying that illustrates the Japanese love of puns. In order fully to appreciate it, the reader should know that Japanese nouns have no distinction of singular and plural. The word *ha*, as pronounced, may signify either 'leaves' or 'teeth'; and the word *hana*, either 'flowers' or 'nose.' The *yamazakura* puts forth its *ha* (leaves) before its *hana* (flowers). Wherefore, a man whose *ha* (teeth) project in advance of his *hana* (nose) is called a *yamazakura*. Prog-



BLOOMING CHERRY TREES ON SUMIDA BANK.

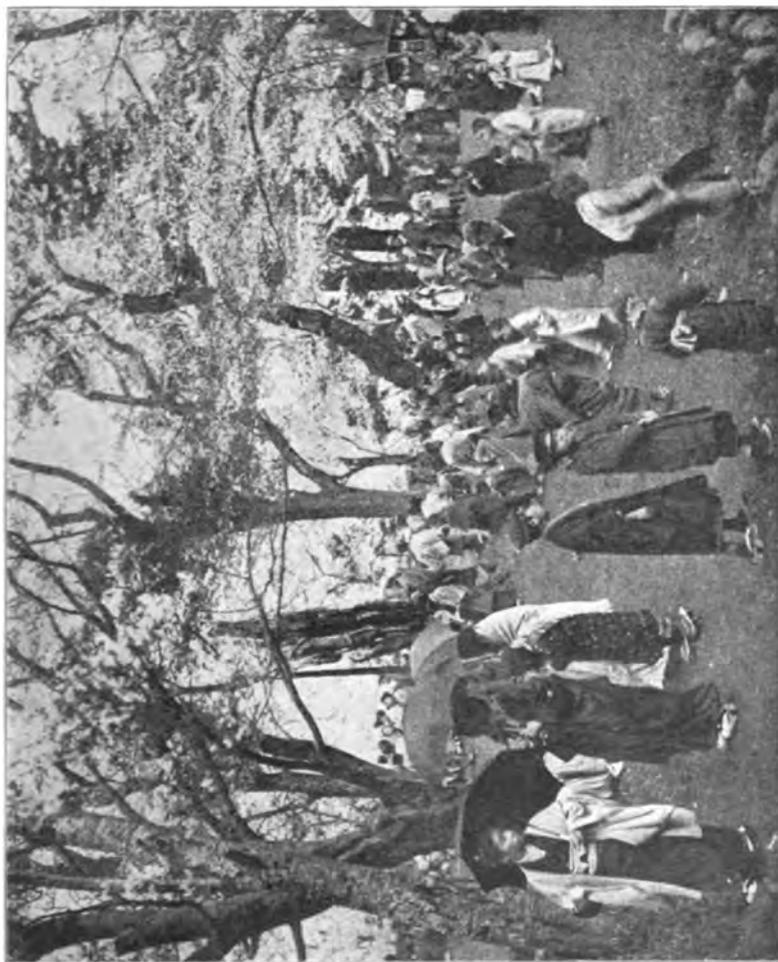
(After a photograph.)

nathism is not uncommon in Japan, especially among the lower classes."

The cherry blossom is symbolic of loyalty and patriotism, and is generally associated with the pheasant.

No important locality in Japan is without its special park or grove with cherry trees, to which the people resort in immense crowds at the proper season. The inhabitants of Tokyo, for instance, flock to Uyeno Park, or Mukojima, or Koganei, or Asukayama; while the Kyoto people visit Arashi-yama. But a more than local reputation attaches to Yoshino in the province of Yamato:

there "a thousand trees line the patch and cover the hillside." And some poet has said: "The cherry blossoms on Mount Yoshino deceive me into thinking they are snow." But Yoshino's fame is disputed by other places: Asukayama, near Tokyo, is called the "new Yoshino;" and an Imperial poet has said that "not second to Yo-



VIEWING THE CHERRY BLOSSOMS AT UENO PARK, TOKYO.

shino is Arashiyama, where the white spray of the torrent sprinkles the cherry blossoms."

It is unfortunate that cherry-viewing is marred by dissipation, and that its "carnival rivals the Saturnalia of the ancients." It is almost dangerous, for instance, to visit Mukojima on account of

the rude and boisterous conduct of those who have been freely imbibing *sake*, beer or whiskey. The following story (Conder's *Floral Art of Japan*) tells the origin of the connection between *sake* and *sakura*: [The Emperor Richiu] was disporting himself with his courtiers in a pleasure-boat, on a lake of the Royal Park, when some petals from the wild cherry trees of the adjoining hills fluttered into the wine-cup from which he was drinking. This circumstance is said to have drawn His Majesty's notice to the beauty of this neglected blossom, and from this time arose the custom of wine-drinking at the time of cherry-viewing. To the present day there is a popular saying: "Without wine, who can properly enjoy the sight of the cherry blossom?"

"No man so callous but he heaves a sigh  
When o'er his head the withered cherry-flowers  
Come fluttering down. Who knows? The spring's soft showers  
May be but tears shed by the sorrowing sky."—Chamberlain.

The Koganei cherry trees, which, for two miles and a half, line both sides of the aqueduct conveying water into Tokyo, are said to have numbered originally ten thousand, but there are now only a few hundred. They were planted there with the idea that they had "the virtue of keeping off impurities from the water."

Night cherry flowers [*yozakura*], "seen by the pale light of the moon," are a great attraction, one of the special sights of the year.

It may readily be understood that so popular a blossom as this would figure largely in Japanese literature. The famous "Hundred Poems" contain five on that subject; and several are included in the *Manyōshū*. But we have room for only two, of which the first is remarkable for its brevity, and the second is Motoōri's famous one, dear to all Japanese:—

1. "A cloud of flowers!  
Is the bell Uyeno  
Or Asakusa?"

Or, expanded, "The cherry-flowers in Mukojima are blossoming in such profusion as to form a cloud which shuts out the prospect. Whether the bell which is sounding from the distance is that of the temple of Uyeno or of Asakusa, I am unable to determine." (Aston's *History of Japanese Literature*.)

2. "*Shikishima no  
Yamato-gokoro wo  
Ihito towaba  
Yama-zakura-bana:*"

"Isles of blest Japan!  
Should your Yamato spirit  
Strangers seek to scan,  
Say—scenting morn's sunlit air  
Blows the cherry wild and fair!"  
—Nitobe's *Soul of Japan*.

(Or) "If one should ask you concerning the heart of a true Japanese, point to the wild cherry flower glowing in the sun."

## COREA.

BY THE EDITOR.

JAPAN has received the use of Chinese script, the arts, the sciences, culture, and religion by way of Korea which in the tenth century, A. D., was the seat of a highly developed civilization and the most prosperous country of Eastern Asia. Many inventions in which both the Chinese and Japanese excel to-day were made in Korea at the time of the country's golden age.

At the end of the fourteenth century a revolution broke out and Ni-Tai-Jo, a private soldier, succeeded in 1392 to the vacated throne. His successors, however, did not show great military ability, for Korea succumbed to Japan during a protracted war (1592-1598), and the independence of Korea was saved only through the intervention of China, but it was not of long duration. Very soon the Manchu invaded the country (1637) and the Korean king was obliged to swear allegiance to his warlike neighbors who soon carried their victorious army against Peking, where in 1644, the Manchu chief was crowned Emperor of China under the name of She-Tsu.

Under Manchu rule, Korea fell into decay. Foreigners were kept out just as much as from the other parts of the Chinese Empire, and thus the country became a shadow of its former prosperity.

The present emperor, I-Höng, a descendant of Ni-Tai-Jo, was born in 1852, and succeeded in 1864. Japanese influence increased and the jealousy between the Japanese and Chinese led to the Sino-Japanese war in 1894-1895. Japan was victorious, but owing to a general jealousy of the European powers, especially Russia, she could not maintain her conquests on the continent. The independence of Korea was recognized by both Japan and China, and the King of Korea assumed the title of Emperor.

M. de Nezières, a French artist, has painted I-Höng, seated on the throne in the Imperial reception hall of his palace. In the background rise the five sacred mountain peaks of Korea and above

them appear the sun and the moon, emblems of his Imperial sovereignty.

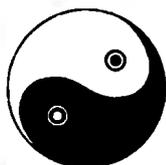
The coat of arms of Corea is a philosophical emblem, the *Tai K'ih*, the symbol of the great origin, representing the aborig-



I-HÖNG, EMPEROR OF KOREA.

inal, undifferentiated state of existence from which all things have arisen. It is composed of two portions representing the positive and the negative principles which on the Korean coat of arms are colored red and blue. This symbol of the great origin is surrounded

by four *kwas*, or trigrams, figures consisting each of three lines, some being whole, and some broken, and in the present case these four *kwas* surrounding the Tai K'ih mean the four quarters of the world, viz.:



☰	☷	☰	☷
<i>Ch'ien</i>	<i>K'wun*</i>	<i>Li</i>	<i>K'an</i>
East	West	North	South

#### THE GREAT ORIGIN.

The *kwas* or trigrams are also composed of the two principles, the positive and the negative, contained in the *Tai K'ih*, the symbol of the great origin. The entire lines represent the positive principle, the broken lines, the negative principle, and by combination of these two, all the myriad things of this world are believed to have originated.\*

The highest decoration of Corea is the order of the Golden Rule. Others are the orders of the Plum Blossom, of the National Flag, of the Purple Falcon, and of the Eight *Kwas*.

\* For details see Carus's *Chinese Philosophy*.

## A MODERN WICLIF.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

IT is reported that on one occasion Dean Swift, after giving out as a text of a Charity Sermon: "He that hath pity on the poor lendeth to the Lord," opened, developed and concluded his exhortation with the single sentence: "If you are satisfied with the security, my brethren, down with your money." Some historians will have it that "down with your dust" was the expression employed. It may be so, for the author of *Gulliver's Travels* had a fondness for the picturesque.

After a lapse of nearly two hundred years, a successor to Dean Swift seems to have arisen in the Anglican Church, who also believes that brevity is the soul of wit, not only in talking but in preaching. And this successor has his own claim to originality besides, since he has discovered a pulpit where not even the Dean of St. Patrick's would have dreamed of seeking. He has discovered it in the "Agony Column" of the *London Times*. Here for the last half dozen years or more, perusers of the great London daily have been able to read, if so inclined, in this particular corner, almost weekly homilies, compressed into a couple of lines, and containing a consistent doctrine. The phenomenon is a sufficiently curious one to merit notice, especially as the preacher of these sermonettes, the Rev. T. G. Headly, is a man with a history, a fully ordained clergyman who entered the Anglican Church some thirty years ago and has ever since been working at the Herculean task of converting it, bishops and all, to what he conceives to be the only true conception of Christianity.

Unfortunately for the Rev. Mr. Headley, his protest comes at a time when the average-minded layman, in presence of the hundred and one creeds that each claim to be the only genuine religion, is disinclined to regard their difference otherwise than as tweedle-dums and tweedle-dees. Whether the average-minded lay-

man is right is another question. If he is not, he may at least urge as an excuse that these differences are more subtle and more difficult to be appreciated than in Wiclif's days or in Luther's, when the issues were more visible. Friars or no friars, pope or no pope, every one understood what the two alternatives meant.

In justice to Mr. Headley, it should be admitted that his contention is not one of straw-splitting. With a large measure of truth he may be likened to the early reformers, since he arraigns what orthodox Churches, up to the present day, have concurred in accepting as the basis of their faith, namely, that the sacrifice of the cross was a scheme planned and required by the Almighty for the redemption of the human race. This Mr. Headley denies, and, in his denial, bases his arguments on the language of the Bible itself, a book which, as he says in a brief summary of his life, has always been his favorite study.

"Some boys," begins our modern Wiclif, in a letter that he once wrote me, "are born with a bent, gift, mind or taste for engineering, music, painting, singing, etc. Mine was for the Scriptures. But after leaving Rugby, instead of my parents educating me for the Church as I expected, they educated me for the Law. However, I afterwards entered the University of Cambridge with the idea of taking Orders, only to be diverted from my purpose by the breaking out of the Crimean War, during which I served in the Hants Militia. Subsequently I became engaged in stock broking, and enjoyed for a time great expectations, which were ultimately disappointed. A friend, to whom I went for advice, reproached me for not having entered the Church Ministry, which he said was my true vocation. I listened to his exhortations, studied theology at King's College, London, and presented myself for ordination as an ultra-broad Churchman and archheretic, after the manner in which St. Paul was accused of heresy.

"Bishop Jackson of London accepted and ordained me, without assenting to or dissenting from my views, in which I declared it was not Christ's work to confirm a sanguinary religion as good and true, by giving himself as a sacrifice after the manner in which Abraham was tempted to offer Isaac; but it was Christ's work to spare no sacrifice to deliver and save the world from such a sanguinary worship, as being evil and false, by leaving nothing undone that love could do or suffer, to persuade the world to believe that this testimony was of God. This was the Gospel of glad tidings which I was ordained to teach. But my first Vicar, the Rev. G. H. Wilkinson, of St. Peter's, Great Windmill Street, took alarm on my

hinting at my views, and, when he understood them, he stopped me from preaching. Soon after, he forbade me even to read the lessons in church, and then altogether boycotted me. I appealed to the Bishop, but in vain, and from that date until now my life has been one long struggle to get a hearing in the pulpits of the Church to which I belong."

This struggle, prolonged for thirty years, has not been so far a very successful one; as a rule, incumbents of churches have been chary of lending Mr. Headley their pulpits. Last year, it appears that the Rev. A. W. Oxford, of St. Philip's Church, Regent Street, consented to open his pulpit in the week-day to Mr. Headley, who preached on ten consecutive Wednesdays in June and July "without the aid of choir, organ, or the presence of the Vicar," he remarked to me on one occasion. The attendance was good, and the sermons popular, so much so that a second series was arranged for the months of October and November. But this time the Bishop of London stepped in and forbade the Vicar to allow Mr. Headley the use of the church, unless the latter obtained a special preaching license. This license, of course, the Bishop refused, when application was made. "I told the Bishop," says Mr. Headley when relating this incident to me, "that he was an assassin and as guilty of crucifying me as Caiaphas was of crucifying Jesus, but he did not seem to care one straw about wrecking a brother clergyman's life."

It was this exclusion from ordinary pulpits that made Mr. Headley resolve to seek a hearing elsewhere. "In despair," he writes me, "I have put doubly-distilled, condensed essence of sermons at the top of the Agony Column in the *Times*, on Saturdays, as 'Ecclesiastical rockets' indicating that a vessel is wrecked and needs help, not money, but to be heard." Even this modest manner of proclaiming his conception of the truth—it is a fact that the sermonettes do not always use the mildest language—has procured Mr. Headley a fair share of anonymous replies, "vile, filthy, abusive cards and letters," as he characterises them. Mr. Headley acknowledges himself to be a fighter. The abuse he should accept, therefore, as a tribute to his strength.

This first series of *Times* sermonettes were in prose, and so continued for two or three years. Out of a long list before me, I select two or three as typical of Mr. Headley's style and method. The subject of each, he announces in a head line; sometimes, it is an antithesis, such as

"A False and True Church;"

followed by the exposition: "A false Church is ever fearful of discussion and forbids it! Jesus challenges discussion! Who dare follow Christ? Who? When? Where?"

Sometimes, it is a simple title, with a regular sub-division of the matter; for example:

"Christ's sacrifice! A false view of Christ's sacrifice passes current as truth, which

"*a.* mars Christ's Gospel!

"*b.* divides the Church!

"*c.* bars all progress: and makes it a stumbling-block to the Jews and foolishness to the Gentiles."

Some of the sermonettes are decidedly bizarre in their wording: "The Echo," for instance, the development of which is: "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité, for the dead to rest everywhere! But for the living to speak in the church, bah! nowhere!" or again, "Christianity checkmated: The World's abject submission is demanded by Rome! Who dares allow a sermon to be preached on the removal of the checkmate?"

In 1895, Mr. Headley began his rhyming couplets in the *Times*. After reading a very fair sample of our modern Wiclif's second manner, I have come to the conclusion that the couplets are better than the rhymes, the verses more remarkable for force than rhythm. Take, for instance, the one on "Christ's Gospel."

"Though sinful, yet forgiv'n, uncondemned!  
Sure, such love from heaven must descend."

Or the one on "Saints and Sinners."

"When a Saint is beguiled to be a deceiver:  
The greater the Saint, the greater the Sinner."

I think when Mr. Headley wrote this, he must have been half-conscious of another couplet:

"When the Devil was sick, the Devil a saint would be:  
When the Devil got well, the devil a saint was he."

But somehow he has missed the lilt of the latter verses. The next I select is still less perfect in form. It is the one on "Controversy":

"Divisions breed diversity, needing controversy,  
Ere there can be either peace or unity."

Much the same is the one on "A Rotten Church."

"When evil's called good, and good is called evil,  
That Church, though it's fair, is rot at the kernel."

I have quoted, I believe, the worst. Some are much better. The opening one on "Antichristians" is not at all bad:

"They slay the just : they add a lie,  
Then boycott all who dare reply."

The next, on "Hear all sides," is about up to the same mark :

"Whilst the churches, like foes, each other deny,  
Where's freedom for truth to be heard in reply?"

Perhaps the best is the one on "False Prophets."

"The coward that fears to meet the face of man  
Knows nought of God or of his holy plan."

Occasionally Mr. Headley becomes slightly Hegelian. I have tried to comprehend the following, and humbly confess that it is beyond me. It is on "The Christ."

"If not miraculous ! 'Tis more miraculous,  
So much miraculous is not miraculous."

Now and again, too, he becomes tragic and sombre in his tone, asking, for instance, in his "Conspiracy of Silence" :

"Must a man either murder or be murdered  
Ere he is either heard or considered ?"

Since I am not writing as a controversialist, I prefer not to take sides in the Rev. Mr. Headley's quarrel with the Church. There is one thing, however, I should like to point out to him, and which he seems to have overlooked, namely that he would probably have met with a readier hearing, if he had left bishops and parsons alone, and opened a church for himself.

There is another remark which I cannot forbear making, to wit, that Mr. Headley is too profuse in his accusations. He does not seem to realise that the Anglican body may be quite sincere in its enunciation of the dogma of sacrifice, the Roman Catholic body quite sincere in its dogma of transubstantiation. These things may be attacked as contrary to reason and absurd, or as not being justified by the Bible, without the men who teach them being considered assassins, anarchists, anti-Christians, etc. I grant that in the good old times Mr. Headley should have risked figuring in a bon-fire for my lord the bishop of some diocese or other. But to-day these reverend gentlemen have mended their manners. They curse him in church, it is true ; but I imagine they do it only in a Pickwickian sense ; and little by little, under the influence of beneficent dissent, they are coming to the view that orthodoxy is "my doxy," heterodoxy, "your doxy," a consummation devoutly to be hoped for, and which our modern Wiclif may contribute to hasten by establishing a conventicle of his own, or even by his *Times* sermonettes, if the rhymes continue to improve.

## GUNKEL VERSUS DELITZSCH.

BY THE EDITOR.

ASSYRIOLOGY came prominently before the public when Professor Delitzsch delivered his lectures on Babel and Bible before the Emperor. It was an unprecedented advertisement for higher criticism and Biblical research in general, and many good Christians were in this way, for the first time in their lives, informed that a new conception of the Bible was all but universally acknowledged within the academic circles of theological scholars.

We have published Delitzsch's lectures on "Babel and Bible" because they are one of the most interesting publications of the present time and give us much food for thought. In order to enable the reader to form his own opinion, we incorporated in our edition the letter of Emperor William and the most significant criticisms of Delitzsch's position, partly entire and partly in extract. A few weeks ago we took occasion to notice a translation of Koenig's "Bible and Babylon," and now find that some anonymous scholar has ventured into translating Professor Hermann Gunkel's reply to Delitzsch, which appeared some time ago under the title of "Israel and Babylon." Gunkel is a representative theologian, well versed in both Babylonian religion and Old Testament theology, and if any man ought to be called upon to have his say on the subject, it is he.

The pamphlet as it lies before us is a painstaking and even pedantic translation of Gunkel's essay. The translator seems to be aware of the shortcomings of his labors. In the preface he says of his translation:

"In the first place it has been made to conform to the original as closely as possible. Hence what is to our eyes an unusually lavish use of italics and exclamation points. The long paragraphs have been interfered with but little, but occasionally it has been necessary to split some sentence into two or three. In the second place, remembering that the results of the higher

criticism are not very familiar to most persons in this country, many notes have been inserted (in square brackets) to explain references known usually to the expert alone."

In addition to the preface and the supplementary note, these insertions in square brackets, here referred to, are the only indications which we have of the position of the translator. Sometimes he applauds a successful argument of Professor Gunkel as if a second accompany the blows of his own champion with the shout, "Well hit!" Here are some instances:

"And most dogmatically it is by Delitzsch."

"The justice of the point made is unquestionable."

"Prof. Delitzsch's ignorance of the whole theory appears to be absolute."

Gunkel is sometimes hard on Delitzsch, but the translator is severe. When Gunkel chastises him with whips, the translator applies scorpions. When Gunkel blames Delitzsch for quoting a verse from the New Testament without reference to a critical edition of Mark, the reading of which differs from the current version, the translator speaks of "a blunder in quoting the New Testament that a German school boy should be ashamed to make."

When Professor Gunkel goes a little far in his radicalism, the translator softens his exposition by quoting more conservative theologians, among them *Steuernagel* and *Driver* are favorite authorities.

When Gunkel speaks of the old conception of revelation imbibed by Delitzsch in the circles from which he comes, as "rather mythological," the translator sees in this comment a disparagement of Delitzsch's father, the venerable theologian, *Franz Delitzsch*, and adds:

"The present translator feels bound to say that if Prof. Gunkel could have avoided this apparent insinuation, it would probably add to the good temper of all parties concerned. However, the reference was needed to emphasize his argument here."\*

The translator does not conceal his delight at having found a man of Gunkel's learnedness who enters the lists against Delitzsch. He trusts that he has found the David who will smite Goliath. He introduces Gunkel as the champion of theology. But Gunkel's

\*There is no evidence that Gunkel actually referred to *Franz Delitzsch*, the father. It is more probable that he thought of the general atmosphere which prevailed in theological circles in the younger days of *Friedrich Delitzsch*. *Franz Delitzsch*, although devout and reverent, was quite broad and also progressive for his time, and the son, *Friedrich*, simply continued to develop in lines laid out by his father. We do not hesitate to claim that the older *Delitzsch* would not have disapproved of the attitude editorially maintained in the columns of the *Open Court*.

theology is not the translator's theology and the latter will soon discover that he caught a Tartar.

Anyone who knows Gunkel's thoroughness will understand that he is serious in the application of science to religion. Delitzsch is a mere dilettante in the domain of Higher Criticism when compared with Gunkel.

We have called the attention of the philosophical public to the fact that theology has become a science of late,\* and Gunkel is one of the best representatives of modern theology. We have further pointed out that modern theology employs a language of its own. It uses the old terms, "God," "Christ," "miracle," "revelation," etc., and fills them with a deeper and a more spiritual meaning. Every theologian does so, and he has to do so because the world is conservative. Those who are initiated into the craft understand one another perfectly, while the uninitiated are sometimes misled. We fear that the translator of Gunkel belongs to the latter class. Undoubtedly he has studied theology, but he must be very unsophisticated to play out Gunkel against Delitzsch.

Professor Delitzsch's lectures made a great stir not only in the circles of old conservative believers who were greatly astonished that the Emperor, well known for his sincere Christian convictions, could countenance these heterodox views, but also among the colleagues of the lecturer, among professors in theology, and representatives of the higher criticism, the cause of which Delitzsch himself had espoused.

The reason of this "storm in a tea-kettle" is not far to seek. Professor Delitzsch is an ingenious orator and his lectures are distinguished by their elegance of diction. They are calculated to be impressive for an unschooled audience, but they contain many mistakes and reflect much superciliousness. Obviously they were carelessly prepared, and the men who knew better felt indignant to see a number of statements become current which were obviously untenable and even indefensible.

The antagonism which Professor Delitzsch roused is very different in different quarters. There are, first, the conservatives who are opposed to what they consider the destructive character of Delitzsch's views. This party still holds to the idea of a special revelation in contrast to the natural development of evolution. In addition, there are scholars who have no fault to find with the principles of Delitzsch's scientific convictions, but who feel compelled to pro-

\*See the author's article, "Theology as a Science," in *The Monist*, Vol. XII., p. 544. Vol. XIII., p. 24.

test against his lack of scientific thoroughness, and here he finds himself confronted with antagonists of every shade of theology.

Still further, a good deal of opposition is of a personal nature, being elicited by the attitude of Professor Delitzsch, in which the personal element is very prominent. The assured facts presented in "Babel and Bible" are the result of a generation of scholars, and are well known to all Assyriologists, but here they appear newsy as if they had been just discovered by the lecturer, whose enthusiasm for his special branch of inquiry seems to dwarf all other studies either to preliminary introductions or to mere side issues. Thus Delitzsch antagonizes at once his colleagues of other faculties, especially the Old Testament scholars, and those who believe in the specific mission of Israel, the *Eigenart* of the Jew, and God's revelation through Judaism.

There are rabbis who feel offended that the glory of Israel should be a mere reflex of Babylonian civilization, and Gunkel says: "He exalts the Babylonian, and debases Israel as far as possible."

"The impression might be created that the Biblical account, because dependent on the Babylonian, is *worthless!* In fact, Delitzsch himself has spoken of 'the purer and more original form' of the Babylonian traditions."

"Delitzsch actually wishes that the Babylonian origin and 'the purer and more original form of this story' should be imparted to the young as soon as they hear of the corresponding Biblical story!"

"We Old Testament theologians are accordingly admonished to learn from the Assyriologist when he teaches matters Babylonian, even when he explains the usages of the Hebrew language from the Babylonian."

"The Bible is disposed of, once and for all—Assyriology has proved that all its fundamentals are Babylonian."

Whatever be the merits of Assyriology, we cannot shelve the study of the Old Testament. Says Gunkel:

"May the Assyriologist, who wishes to speak on Old Testament matters, call the theologian into consultation if he does not feel himself absolutely firm in this subject! So Delitzsch, whom we prize highly as Assyriologist and Hebraic philologist, would have done well, perhaps, if he had used the advice of some expert and cautious specialist in the Old Testament before he offered his opinion on Old Testament religion to the general public."

Gunkel is a thoroughgoing modern theologian who knows that the specific nature of Israel's mission, which not even a secular historian will doubt, is due to the specific conditions under which Israel naturally developed. His God is the God of history, not of a portion of the human race, and revelation, according to Gunkel, is not limited to Israel.

The controversy on "Babel and Bible" has been less acrimoni-

ous in this country, but even here Delitzsch excited much antagonism through his sudden attack on Professor Hilprecht of Philadelphia, which was of a purely personal nature and was characterized by many impartial authorities as absolutely uncalled for.

Professor Gunkel proposes to discuss the subject "with favor to none and with malice to none," and he does not hesitate to recognize the good in Delitzsch's lectures and to criticise what he deems mistakes or exaggerations. He enumerates several blunders which ought not to have been made by a popularizer of the results of Semitic scholarship. Delitzsch uses *Sheol*, the Hebrew word for Hell, in the masculine gender, while the Hebrew word is feminine. This is perhaps a mere misprint, or a *lapsus linguae*, but if the latter, it shows that Professor Delitzsch is not sure of his Hebrew grammar. Further, Delitzsch translates Genesis xii, 8, that Abraham "preached in the name of the Lord," while the original reads that he "called upon Yahveh." Gunkel adds:

"*Preached?* Preached to whom? In all good sooth, not to the Canaanites! The word in question means in that place, as all moderns will agree, not 'to preach' but 'to call on,' as in ancient worship."

Delitzsch's etymology of the Semitic word for God, *El*, as meaning "Goal," has been pointed out by almost all of his critics as a strange aberration, nor does Gunkel forget to mention it, and there is no question that Delitzsch's critics are right.

It would be similar if we derived the word God, because in German it is spelled and pronounced "*Gott*," from the verb "to get," and if we said that "God" means that which is to be got, or our aim and goal. No philologist would venture to uphold such a method of etymologizing.

The identification of the name Yahveh in the ancient Babylonian inscriptions with *Jahu Ilu*, which means "*Jahu is God*," is not impossible but doubtful, and Gunkel mentions it merely to condemn the confidence with which Delitzsch proposes a bold assumption as an assured fact.

The translator has been obviously attracted by Professor Gunkel's affirmation of the uniqueness of Israel's position in history, but we feel inclined to think that he misunderstood the statement. Professor Gunkel is a theologian and his specialty is Old Testament history. He knows very well that the religion of Israel is a most significant chapter in the history of mankind. As Greece is the classical country of art and the fundamental conceptions of science; as Rome is the classical center for the development of law,

so Palestine is the classical soil of religion. The churches of Europe are the direct lineal descendants of the religious institutions matured in Judea. Therefore, Israel's religion is a revelation that holds a particular and unique place in the development of mankind. Professor Gunkel says:

"What sort of a religion is it? *A true miracle of God's among the religions of the ancient Orient!* What streams flow here of all-overcoming enthusiasm for the majestic God, of deep reverence before His holy sway, and of intrepid trust in His faithfulness! He who looks upon this religion with believing eyes will confess with us: To this people God had disclosed Himself! Here God was more closely and clearly known than anywhere else in the ancient Orient, until the time of Jesus Christ, our Lord! This is the religion on which we depend, from which we have ever to learn, on whose foundation our whole civilization is built; we are Israelites in religion even as we are Greeks in art and Romans in law. Then if the Israelites are far beneath the Babylonians in many matters of civilization, none the less are they far above them in religion; *Israel is and remains the people of revelation.*"

It is obvious for the sake of passages of this kind, the translator espouses the cause of Gunkel against Delitzsch. All the mistakes of Delitzsch are only subservient to prove that while Delitzsch is a good Assyriologist, he is a bad theologian, and has no right to utter an opinion on either the Bible or Christian doctrine.

The translator says in the preface:

"As an Assyriologist his work can scarcely be questioned. The proper question is: Do his results in Assyriological study form a sufficient basis for his conclusions in theology? Not that this has been overlooked by any means—cf. Budde, especially—but the need was felt for a thorough scientist who should be at once a master of the Babylonian legends and a theologian of the first rank.

"For this reason the work of Prof. Gunkel appears most opportunely. Probably no one is better qualified to speak with authority on the matters involved. In his work 'Schöpfung und Chaos' (1895) he displayed a most perfect acquaintance with the theology and legends of Babylonia and his critical handling of the material was such as to mark an epoch in the study of this subject. In 1900 he published the first edition (second in 1902) of his commentary on Genesis (in the Nowack series), which, beyond all question, is now the authoritative work on this book. His mastery of Babylonian mythology and its influence on the religion of the Old Testament needs no further demonstration than that afforded by this work."

The mistakes of Delitzsch must be freely granted. We have never concealed them and do not hesitate to grant that most of the objections made by Professor Gunkel, although sometimes exaggerated, are well founded, but on the main point, which exactly appears to be the contention of the translator, Professor Gunkel

agrees with his adversary much better than may be generally assumed from the vigorous expressions of the controversy.

We will let Gunkel define his position in his own words. He believes in revelation, but he objects to the antiquated view so vigorously attacked by Delitzsch. Gunkel says:

"The belief that the ancient Israelite religion has arisen not historically but *purely super-historically, super-naturally*, is defended by hardly a single evangelical German theologian. That is not unknown even to Delitzsch."

"Delitzsch thinks he has overthrown *revelation entirely* by proving 'revelation' in this sense to be impossible. 'Revelation' to him is nothing but the supernatural; he *does* know that another concept of revelation has existed among theologians for a long time; but he can regard this as only an 'attenuation' of the old ecclesiastical belief."

"Scientific theology of to-day believes it possesses a deeper understanding of revelation, according to which the divine and the human do not exist together in mere *external* relations, but are bound together internally. The history of revelation proceeds, therefore, among men, according to the same psychological laws as govern other human events. But in the depth of this development the eye of *faith* sees God, who speaks to the soul, and who reveals Himself to him who seeks Him with a whole heart. We recognize God's revelation in the great persons of religion, who receive the holy secret in their inmost hearts and announce it with tongues of flame; we see God's revelation in the great changes and wonderful providences of history. The faith of children thinks, of old and now, that God wrote the tables of the law with His own hand and passed them to Moses; the faith of the mature knows that God writes His commandments with His finger in the hearts of His servants."

"We acknowledge cheerfully and honestly God's revelation wherever a human soul feels itself near its God, even though that be in the most arid and strange forms. Far be it from us to limit God's revelation to Israel. 'The seed is sown on the whole wide land!'"

Delitzsch denies the belief in a special divine revelation; but (says Gunkel) he fights a man of straw, for there is hardly a theologian of standing left who still believes in a special revelation. Theology that is up to date believes in a universal revelation. Delitzsch regards the broadened view an attenuation, but Gunkel says:

"Now is that really an 'attenuation' of the concept of revelation, as Delitzsch thinks? No, we believe that that is a *spiritualisation and deepening of it!*"

The new view of revelation is not only deeper, not only more spiritual, but is also based upon a nobler kind of faith, and it includes not only the history of Israel and the Old Testament but also the New Testament. Here Professor Delitzsch's position (according to Gunkel) is doubtful. Professor Delitzsch seems to re-

serve a special position for Jesus in history, while Gunkel boldly takes the consequence of his contention that God's revelation is universal. He says:

"Is our faith in God imaginable without the belief that this God reveals himself to man in history? Or does Delitzsch acknowledge in Jesus an absolutely supernatural revelation? We may perhaps assume so from the manner in which he speaks of Jesus, in any case it will be a great inconsistency if he admits an exception into his philosophy of the universe. For that and not details is the real question."

Gunkel contends that consistency in the philosophy that underlies our scientific labors is most indispensable and he complains of Delitzsch that, leaving one of the most significant problems unsolved, his work is "a very labyrinth of contradictions."

Gunkel may or may not be right in his contention, but he is here in the same boat with Delitzsch. He, too, uses sometimes expressions when speaking of Christ which are apt to make people understand that he still believes in Jesus to find a purely supernatural revelation. Further, Professor Gunkel goes too far when he claims to represent theology, not of today alone, not of Protestant countries only, but of Christianity. He calls his view "the Christian," implying that the old conception is purely "Jewish." "The fathers of the Christian Church," he declares (a view which is not tenable without great limitations), "saw in the great and noble heroes of Greek philosophers, bearers of the seed of the divine word, seed sown everywhere," and adds:

"Let us Christians likewise not\* commit the impertinence of Judaism, which thinks to honor its God by despising and abusing all other religions."

"What are the national claims of Judaism to us?"

Those who claim a unique revelation for Israel in the sense that they would exclude the human element and especially the Babylonian influence, find no support in Gunkel's theology, who proposes faith in the "God who reveals himself in history," not in the God who reveals himself to one people only. Gunkel declares that we must submit to the facts revealed in science, for the facts of history are footprints of God. Gunkel says:

"Does not faith in God's revelation fall away if we find Babylonian elements in this religion? Orthodox opponents of Delitzsch have answered these questions affirmatively and have striven with all energy against the assumption of Babylonian elements in the Bible. But the extremists on the other side are of the same opinion also, and for just that reason are rejoicing over the downfall of the Bible and religion. What then is our position to be as opposed to this? A faith—we must say—that is worthy of the name

\*The translator here writes "not likewise" instead of "likewise not."

must be *brave* and *bold*. What kind of a faith would that be which is afraid of facts, which abhors scientific investigation! If we really believe in God, who reveals Himself in history, then we are not to dictate to the Highest what the events are to be in which we find Him, but we have only to kiss humbly His footprints and to revere His dealings in history. If we have to alter our views of God's ways in history, because the facts teach us, well, we simply have to do so!"

Gunkel and Delitzsch are here on common ground. Gunkel praises Delitzsch for having "avowed the results of the modern Old Testament study; he had, for instance, designated as a scientifically irrefragable and enduring fact the assertion that the Pentateuch is composed of literary sources very different in kind. He had asserted a primitive Babylonian origin for some of the most familiar portions of the traditions of Israel—in especial for the narratives of creation, the deluge, and even of Paradise—and accordingly declared himself of the opinion that these stories are to be regarded as myths and legends, but not as objective descriptions of real events. The Sabbath, likewise, is of Babylonian origin, and for monotheism itself an analogy is to be found there."

Gunkel freely concedes the paramount influence of Babylonian civilization. He grants that Hammurabi's laws are "a code embodying refined and developed distinctions, which, in part, were far more civilized than those of Israel in the so-called Mosaic code."

Gunkel declares:

"The Babylonian individual also followed the precept: 'Eye for eye and tooth for tooth.'"

"The story of the slave Hagar, who so became a mother and exalted herself over her mistress, is a striking example of Babylonian law."

"And this law was codified about 2250; it comes from a time a thousand years before there were any people of Israel at all. It is as far removed from Moses as we are from Charlemagne!"

Gunkel further recognizes the significance of the correspondence that was discovered in Tell Amarna in Egypt. He says:

"In that place the archives of Amenophis IV. were excavated, and in them was revealed the correspondence of the Pharaohs with the kings in Babylonia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus and with the Egyptian vassals in Canaan. From this international correspondence, which was carried on in the Babylonian language, it was seen that Babylonian was then the international diplomatic language of all hither Asia. The petty kings of Canaan themselves, who then lived under Egyptian suzerainty, wrote to the Egyptian lord not on Egyptian material, i. e., papyrus, nor in the Egyptian language, but on Babylonian material, i. e., on stone tablets, and in the Babylonian language! Let us consider what the predominance of a foreign language in diplomatic communications must mean for the entire civilization. Syria and

Canaan must then have been subject to the influence of Babylonian culture, in much the same way, perhaps, as in the eighteenth century the whole refined world—and the diplomats as well—spoke French! This correspondence, however, which displays an extension of the Babylonian civilization as far as Canaan, dates from the time 1500-1400. Canaan was, as concerns its culture, a Babylonian province, before Israel had forced its way into the country."

There are many Babylonian notions preserved in the Bible; the sacredness of the number "7," the idea of the seven arch-angels, and the speculations which we choose to term agnostic. In addition we have inherited from the Babylonians many methods of mathematics and metrics. We still follow Babylon when we divide the zodiac into twelve signs and the circle into 360 degrees. We still call the seven days of the week after the seven planet gods of the Babylonians. The Babylonian names were translated into Latin, and among the Germans and Saxons into their native speech. Still we must concede that they came originally from Babylonia.

Gunkel's views of the Sabbath will certainly not support the interpretation that is current in the Christian churches of English-speaking countries, and Gunkel fondly imagines that the ancient Jews celebrated the Sabbath, not in the Anglican fashion, by abstaining from work or "avoiding certain transactions," but in the Continental fashion as "a joyous holiday." Gunkel says:

"The ancient Babylonians observed the Sabbath as a fast-day, on which certain transactions should be avoided. The ancient Hebraic Sabbath contains nothing of such ideas, but was held as a joyous holiday."

"Jesus boldly transgressed the Sabbath law, and the Apostle says: 'Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days.' (Colossians II, 16.) The Christian Sunday is not a transference of the Sabbath, but something new and different."

In all things that make Delitzsch heretical in the opinion of old-fashioned theologians Gunkel agrees with him absolutely. Gunkel says:

"We, therefore, agree absolutely with Delitzsch, when he assumes the dependence of the Biblical account of the flood upon the Babylonian; indeed, we regard it as no small merit of Delitzsch that he has been courageous enough to announce in the presence of that illustrious assembly this result of research and, at the same time, to acknowledge without reserve his adherence to the modern criticism of the Pentateuch."

In many respects Gunkel goes far beyond Delitzsch. Gunkel admits the enormous influences of Babylon upon the Jews in post-exilic times. He says:

"The Judaeans again came under Babylonian influence when Nebuchadnezzar deported all 'the officers and the mighty of the land' to Babylonia and so brought them into the immediate sphere of Babylon. Post-exilic Judaism is completely subjugated by the influence of this civilization in all domains of the external life. In the centuries following the exile the people had actually forgotten its native tongue and adopted the Aramaic language, which was then ruling in the whole culture of the Semites. It has become finally in this way a completely different nation, which to the old Israelite people is bound by only a slender thread."

Consider the fact (not here specially mentioned by Gunkel) that the religion of the ancient Israelites was replete with pagan beliefs and pagan institutions and that the Temple of Jerusalem was filled with pagan paraphernalia down to the date of Josiah's Temple Reform in the year 622 B. C. Consider further that the historicity of this Temple Reform itself is discredited, and that at any rate the redaction of the Canon was made either in the Babylonian exile or in the post-exilic days and you will better appreciate the concession here made by Gunkel.

We have no information as to the manner in which Babylonian civilization affected the religion of the Jews, but we happen to have positive information on one point which touches not the least significant doctrine, the belief in resurrection. Gunkel says:

"The ancient Babylonians and Hebrews agreed in the belief that the soul after death enters into the dark under-world [She'ol], from which there is no rescue for ordinary men. The belief in the resurrection does not yet belong in general to the Old Testament, but arose first in the post-canonical times and in any case not under the influence of the *old* Babylonian religion."

Summing up Delitzsch's views on the higher criticism of the Old Testament, Gunkel says:

"We may adopt this reasoning of Delitzsch most properly, even if we must make exception in some particulars. We hail Delitzsch as a colleague in the battle against the delusion of assuming that the Old Testament is verbally inspired."

"But," adds Gunkel, "this colleague comes somewhat late." He regards Delitzsch's rationalism as antiquated, for modern theology is radically changing. Gunkel continues:

"The theologian who knows the history of his science knows that such polemics against supernaturalism have existed for two centuries, and often have been uttered with much greater material than the scanty store that Delitzsch has hastily raked together. And these century-old polemics bore their fruits years ago. The opponents whom Delitzsch combats exist no more—at least not in academic circles; and the doors he breaks apart with such beautiful zeal have stood open for years. Theology has on all sides dropped that orthodox belief in inspiration, and dropped it long ago."

Let us look closely at one of the differences between Delitzsch and Gunkel.

Delitzsch tends to appreciate what he calls "the purer and more original" traditions of Babel, while Gunkel extols the later Israelitic versions because they are religiously more serious and decidedly monotheistic. Here the difference between Delitzsch and Gunkel must be regarded as a purely personal equation. It is a matter of taste and depends on the purpose which we have in view, whether we prefer the Babylonian epoch (which was a poem pure and simple, not records of a dogmatic religion), or the Jewish legend rationalized on the ground of the belief in one God.

Delitzsch points out that the Babylonian hero of the deluge expresses his compassion for the terrible fate of the drowned people, and so he thinks that the Babylonian version is more humane. Gunkel replies that this feature of the Babylonian epoch "is perchance pleasing to modern sentimentalism," but he adds, "the narrative of the Bible which founds the deluge on the sins of mankind is entirely too earnest to know pity for justly punished sinners." Gunkel sums up his views as follows:

"Accordingly the Israelite tradition had by no means simply adopted the Babylonian, but on the contrary it transformed the story with the utmost completeness; a true marvel of the world's history, it has changed dross into gold. Should not we then as Christians rejoice, that in these primitive Babylonian recensions we have found a line to measure how much nearer the God in whom we believe was to ancient Israel than to the Babylonians?"

Note here Gunkel's use of the word "marvel," which is here introduced in a similar sense as in another passage quoted above, the phrase, "a true miracle of God's." It goes without saying that the miracles of which Gunkel speaks happen daily before our eyes, and should Goethe change the old folk-legend of Faust into a grand philosophical drama, he also is inspired of God, his work is a marvel, and a miracle, and he changes "dross into gold." Gunkel is right that all depends upon "the manner in which the subject has been transformed." Gunkel says:

"Our great German poets have adopted repeatedly old material for their greater creations: Goethe's 'Faust,' for example, rests as everyone knows on an older German legend. But who thinks that Goethe's poetry becomes of less worth if we have pointed out to us the book of folk-lore as the source of 'Faust'? On the contrary, his power is seen for the first time when we observe what he has made of the uncouth material. And so it is with the Biblical and Babylonian stories of the deluge."

The difference between Delitzsch and Gunkel is not a difference

in the recognition of facts themselves as it is in the manner of their exposition. Gunkel insists that in spite of all that can be said in favor of Babel, Israel remains a peculiar people with an idiosyncrasy or *Eigenart* of their own, just as the Greeks, the Romans, the Egyptians, etc. They are not mere Babylonians, and while Delitzsch calls the Babylonian report of legends "the purer because older tradition," Gunkel insists that the Hebrew version has to be regarded as the nobler because based on a higher and further developed monotheistic view. Gunkel says:

*"The religion of Babylon is, on the other hand, indubitably polytheistic, and, in fact, it has a thoroughly crass, grotesque pantheon. If then in Babylon something should be found that savors of monotheism, that is the exception. The great historic effect which results from it is, in this point, not due to Babylon, but to Israel."*

Gunkel grants that traces of monotheism can be found also in Babylonia. He says:

*"Babylonian priestly wisdom, at a certain point of history, has recognized that the different deities are at the bottom manifestation-forms of the same Divine Essence, a view which the Greek popular philosophy held also at the time of Jesus."*

On the other hand, Gunkel does not deny that there are traces of paganism in the Bible. Gunkel says:

*"Even in the Old Testament there are occasionally marked anthropomorphisms, but these are in no way as crass as is customary in Babylon; that 'J' eats and drinks never was said by historic Israel. Such downright anthropomorphisms are in the Old Testament archaisms, which have remained in the primeval legends of the Deluge and of Paradise, but which have been surmounted by the advancing religion."*

Gunkel adds:

*"We have in no way the need of finding everything noble and fair in Israel. The Jewish monotheism, for example, this we frankly admit, is frequently sullied by a hate, and often a blood-red hate of the heathen, a fact that we may understand historically from the miserable condition of the continually oppressed Jews, but one which we in no case wish to adopt into our religion; a bigot may defend the prayer 'pour out Thy wrath upon the heathen' but not so we."*

While Professor Gunkel grants that the Babylonians have achieved much that is grand and noble, he ranks Israel's religion incomparably higher than "all other religions of the ancient Orient." He says:

*"The fairest possession of Israel, however, is the theme of her prophets, that God desires no offering or ceremonies, but piety of the heart and justice*

of deeds; this most inner connection of religion with morality is before all the reason through which Israel's religion mounts exalted above all other religion of the ancient Orient! This is Israel's power over man and it remains so, even if Judaism has become again untrue to this mighty idea."

"The prophets of Israel in the exile felt themselves high exalted above the religion of Babylon, which they had before their eyes, despite the pomp and parade with which it was clothed, despite that these gods were the gods of the world-kingdom, despite that Judah was thrown in the dust. They certainly have not judged it *justly*, even as is wont to happen in the strife of religion, but fundamentally they were right. Bêl boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, but through the millenniums resounds the joyous shout of the Singer of Israel: 'Who, O Yahwè, is like Thee among the gods?' The gods of the Babylonians passed away when their time came; to the God of little Judea the hearts of the heathen turned when the time was fulfilled. This most mighty historical event, under whose influence the whole world-history afterwards is developed, must have had a most mighty cause; and what is this cause, what else can it be than the decisive pre-eminence of this religion over the other?"

We do not propose to deny that "this most inner connection of religion with morality" is indeed "the fairest possession of Israel," but when we praise the Hebrew prophets, we need not disparage the other Oriental religions. Does Gunkel not know that Buddha and Lao Tze soared to the same height?

Gunkel upbraids Delitzsch pretty severely for the comment, that "mankind does not deserve a special revelation." The Bible tells us that God wrote the law upon stone tables with his own finger, and yet Moses broke the writing, and made God do the work over again. And where are the tables now? Think of it! Here we have God's own handwriting and the original is lost! It has not been preserved and the copies made of it exhibit most lamentable variations. If we had indeed been in possession of God's own handwriting, what gross irreverence, what carelessness not to keep them and preserve them at any cost!

Delitzsch's intention is obviously to point out that God never wrote the law with his own finger. The Biblical account is not history, but legend. Gunkel blames Delitzsch for not explaining "the history of religion," and he adds in a note:

"How much higher is the standpoint of the old folk-legend, which represents the anger of the hero of Israel at Israel's sin as so great that he threw the Divine tables to the ground in blinding wrath. What would Michael Angelo have said if he had known of this remark of Delitzsch's?"

Delitzsch of course wants to point out that we should not believe in the letter of the Bible, but that we should be allowed to interpret it as folk-legend, and on this point Professor Gunkel and

Professor Delitzsch agree thoroughly, only Professor Delitzsch points out the impious behavior of Moses on the supposition that the legend be true, while Gunkel scorns the rationalistic interpretation and appreciates the beauty of the ancient venerable tale as "old folk-legend."

Gunkel declares that in academic circles the old narrow orthodoxy has died out. Not quite! for even in the German universities there are a few venerable relics of it left, and outside of the academic circles the fact that there is a new theology is not sufficiently known, neither among the clergy engaged in practical church work, nor in the circles of the laity. If they had been so well established as Gunkel assumes, Professor Delitzsch's lectures would not have created such a stir, nor would our translator have ventured to translate Gunkel. The truth is that Delitzsch's statements were new to the Emperor as well as to the large masses of the faithful Christians, and Professor Gunkel knows it very well, for he says at the conclusion of his articles:

"There remains, we must fear, a mistrust in wide circles of the church which has, alas, so long ignored theological science and its assured results."

We conclude. The Babel and Bible controversy has stirred up once more the old *furor theologicus*, but how much milder in its virulence than formerly! The controversy has been bitter on both sides and much that is small has flown in—envy, vanity and rancor. How human we are—even those of us who move in the ethereal heights of divinity and science. Yet in spite of the personalities that occurred, the thunderstorm in the realm of Biblical science has cleared the air, and the oppressive sultriness of the atmosphere is gone. We may grant the statement that:

"Delitzsch's lectures, which neither have added new material nor have been able to say anything especially novel in theology, will soon be forgotten by the public; and future histories of science will hardly mention them."

We may grant that theology has broadened and has been a genuine science; yet we do not grant that the fact is generally known. Delitzsch said nothing new, but it was new to the multitudes of the Christian world, and if we collect the statements on which, tacitly, or confessedly, the most prominent champions of both sides agree, we may grant that Delitzsch was mistaken in many details, but that no one has contradicted him in the point which excited the surprise of the laity, which is on the one hand the denial of revelation in the old sense as a literal inspiration of the Scriptures, and on the other a recognition of the universal revelation of

God in the appearance of truth, wherever it may be, among all the nations of the earth.

We know now that God does not reveal himself after the fashion of a human monarch by dictating his proclamations to special secretaries; God has revealed himself to Israel as he did to Greece, to Rome, to the Brahmans, to the Chinese, to ancient Iranians, etc., everywhere differently yet in the selfsame way; and God is still revealing himself not otherwise than of yore in Israel. God speaks to us wherever truth, or duty, or justice find recognition.

God spoke not through Moses alone nor through Jesus alone. He spoke also through the mouth of Luther, and not less through Goethe, and Schiller, and Shakespeare, and today through inventions and scientists—nay, God does not speak through great men alone, He reveals Himself also in the weak and the humble. He is present wherever a man, even in the common walks of life, attends to his duty. He is present in the nursery, where the children are reared under a mother's care, and even the most trivial household affairs need His affections and consecration. God is present wherever we witness effort upward, or justice trying to do right, or love and forbearance with those that go astray, or patience and charity with those that are lost.

# NATURAL MAGIC AND PRESTIDIGITATION.

BY HENRY RIDGELY EVANS.

"What, Sir! you dare to make so free,  
And play your hocus-pocus on us."

—Goethe, *Faust*, Scene V.

## I.

THE art of natural magic dates back to the remotest antiquity. There is an Egyptian papyrus in the British museum which chronicles a magical séance given by a certain Tchatcha-em-anph before King Khufu, B. C. 3766. The manuscript says of the wizard: "He knoweth how to bind on a head which hath been cut off, he knoweth how to make a lion follow him as if led by a rope, and he knoweth the number of the stars of the house (constellation) of 'Thoth.'" It will be seen from this that the decapitation trick was in vogue ages ago, while the experiment with the lion, which is unquestionably a hypnotic feat, shows hypnotism to be very ancient indeed. Ememoser, in his *History of Magic*, devotes considerable space to Egyptian thaumaturgy, especially to the wonders wrought by animal magnetism, which in the hands of the priestly hierarchy must have been miracles indeed to the uninitiated. All that was known of science was in possession of the guardians of the temples, who frequently used their knowledge of natural phenomena to gain ascendancy over the ignorant multitude.

Egypt was magic mad. The Book of the Dead, that strange old Bible of the land of Mizraim, is practically a work on sorcery. When a man died, his soul was supposed to wander through the dark underworld, there to meet with many adventures by flood and field, until it was finally judged by Osiris and his forty-one judges. To ward off the demoniacal influences that beset its path, it was necessary for the errant soul to have recourse to magic spells. These charms were elaborately set forth in the Book of the Dead, a copy of which, or parts of copies, was deposited with the mummy

of the deceased—that is if the surviving relatives of the dead person were rich enough to pay for it.

Strange people these ancient Egyptians. Besides the official magi or priests of the temples, there were hundreds of small fry soothsayers, witches, and wizards, who retailed love philters, told fortunes, and conjured up the shades of the departed.

In Greece and Rome thaumaturgy was a recognized profession. The temples were storehouses of magic and mystery.

In the Middle Ages the art of magic was ardently cultivated, in spite of the denunciations of the Church. Many pretenders to



ORIENTAL CONJUROR PERFORMING THE CUP AND BALL TRICK, WITH SNAKE EFFECT INTRODUCED.

From an old and rare book called *The Universal Conjuror or the Whole Art of Legerdemain as Practised by the Famous Breslaw, Katterfelto, Jonas, Flockton, Conus, and by the Greatest Adepts in London and Paris, etc.* London. (From the Ellison Collection, New York.)

necromancy made use of the secrets of optics and acoustics, and gained thereby a wonderful reputation as genuine sorcerers. Benvenuto Cellini, sculptor, goldsmith, and man-at-arms, in that greatest of autobiographies,\* records a magical séance which reads like a chapter from the Arabian Nights.

\* *Memoirs of Cellini*, Book I, Chapter LXIV.

He says: "It happened through a variety of singular accidents that I became intimate with a Sicilian priest, who was a man of very elevated genius and well instructed in both Latin and Greek letters. In the course of conversation one day we were led to talk about the art of necromancy, apropos of which I said: "Throughout my whole life I have had the most intense desire to see or learn something of this art.' Thereto the priest replied: 'A stout soul and a steadfast must the man have who sets himself to such an enterprise.' I answered that of strength and steadfastness of soul I should have enough and to spare, provided I found the opportunity. Then the priest said: 'If you have the heart to dare it, I will amply satisfy your curiosity.' Accordingly we agreed upon attempting the adventure.

"The priest one evening made his preparations, and bade me find a comrade, or not more than two. I invited Vincenzo Romoli, a very dear friend of mine, and the priest took with him a native of Pistoja, who also cultivated the black art. We went together to the Coliseum; and there the priest, having arrayed himself in necromancers' robes, began to describe circles on the earth with the finest ceremonies that can be imagined. I must say that he had made us bring precious perfumes and fire, and also drugs of fetid odor. When the preliminaries were completed, he made the entrance into the circle; and taking us by the hand, introduced us one by one inside of it. Then he assigned our several functions: to the necromancer, his comrade, he gave the pentacle to hold; the other two of us had to look after the fire and the perfumes; and then he began his incantations. This lasted more than an hour and a half: when several legions appeared, and the Coliseum was all full of devils. I was occupied with the precious perfumes, and when the priest perceived in what numbers they were present, he turned to me and said: 'Benvenuto, ask them something.' I called on them to reunite me with my Sicilian Angelica."

It seems the spirits did not respond. The magic spells were found inoperative, whereupon the priest dismissed the demons, observing that the presence of a pure boy was requisite to the successful accomplishment of the séance.

Another night Cellini and the sorcerer repaired to the mines of the Coliseum. The artist was accompanied by a boy of twelve years of age, who was in his employ, and by two friends, Agnolino Gaddi and the before-mentioned Romoli. The necromancer, after describing the usual magic circle and building a fire, "began to utter those awful invocations, calling by name on multitudes of de-



CONJUROR PULLING A TOOTH BY PISTOL.

From a rare book called *The Whole Art of Hocus Pocus, Containing the Most Dexterous Feats of Sleight-of-hand Performed by Katerfelto, Breslau, Boas, etc.* London, 1812. (From the Ellison Collection, New York.)

mons who are captains of their legions \* \* \* ; inasmuch that in a short space of time the whole Coliseum was full of a hundred-fold as many as had appeared upon the first occasion." At the advice of the wizard, Cellini again asked to be re-united with his mistress. The sorcerer turned to him and said: "Hear you what they have replied; that in the space of one month you will be where she is. The company within the magic circle were now confronted by a great company of demons. The boy declared that he saw four armed giants of immense stature who were endeavoring to get within the circle. They trembled with fear. The necromancer to calm the fright of the boy assured him that what they beheld was but *smoke and shadows*, and that the spirits were under his power. As the smoke died out, the demons faded away, and Cellini and his friends left the place fully satisfied of the reality of the conjurations. As they left the Coliseum, the boy declared that he saw two of the demons leaping and skipping before them, and often upon the roofs of the houses. The priest paid no attention to them, but endeavored to persuade the goldsmith to renew the attempt on some future occasion, in order to discover the secret treasures of the earth. But Cellini did not care to meddle more in the black art.

What are we to believe about this magic invocation? Was Cellini romancing? Though a vainglorious, egotistical man, he was truthful, and his memoirs may be relied on.

John Addington Symonds, one of the translators of Cellini's autobiography, remarks: "Imagination and the awe-inspiring influences of the place, even if we eliminate a possible magic-lantern among the conjurer's appurtenances, are enough to account for what Cellini saw. He was credulous, he was superstitious."

Sir David Brewster, who quotes Cellini's narrative, in his *Natural Magic*, explains that the demons seen in the Coliseum "were not produced by any influence upon the imaginations of the spectators, but were actual optical phantasms, or the images of pictures or objects produced by one or more concave mirrors or lenses. A fire is lighted, and perfumes and incense are burnt, in order to create a ground for the images, and the beholders are rigidly confined within the pale of the magic circle. The concave mirror and the objects presented to it having been so placed that the persons within the circle could not see the aerial image of the objects by the rays directly reflected from the mirror, the work of deception was ready to begin. The attendance of the magician upon his mirror was by no means necessary. He took his place along with the spectators within the magic circle. The images of the

devils were all distinctly formed in the air immediately above the fire, but none of them could be seen by those within the circle.

"The moment, however, the perfumes were thrown into the fire to produce smoke, the first wreath of smoke that rose through the place of one or more of the images would reflect them to the eyes of the spectators, and they would again disappear if the wreath was



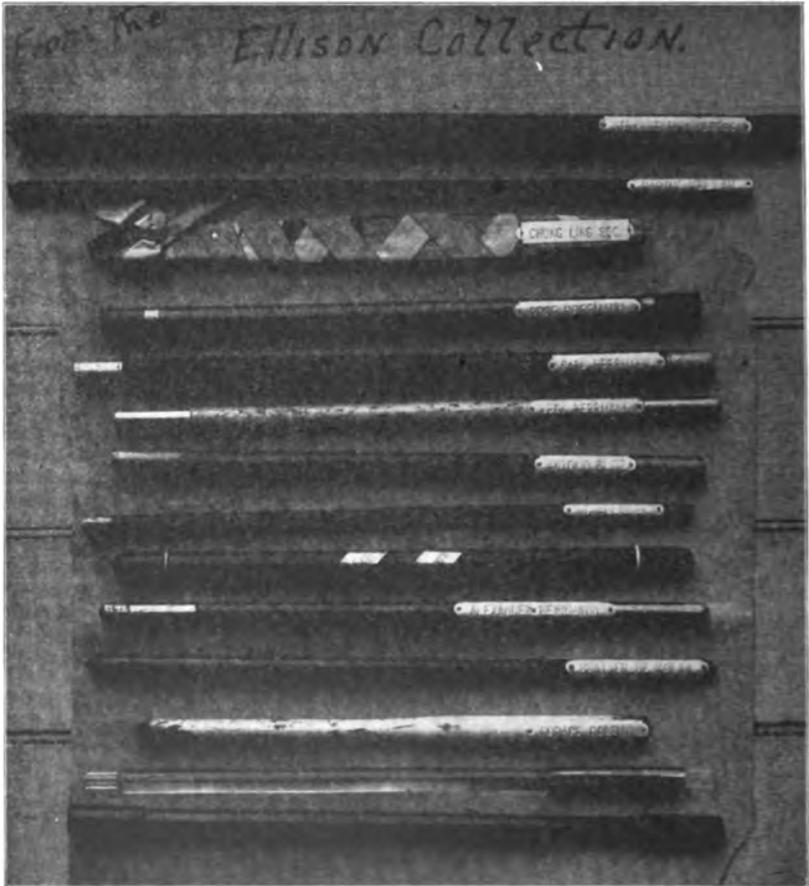
ROBERTSON'S ILLUSION ON A SMALL SCALE.

(From a French print.)

not followed by another. More and more images would be rendered visible as new wreaths of smoke arose, and the whole group would appear at once when the smoke was uniformly diffused over the place occupied by the images."

Again, the magician may have been aided by a confederate amid the ruins, who manipulated a magic lantern, or some device of

the kind. The magician himself may have been provided with a box fitted up with a concave mirror, the lights and figures of the demons. The assertion of the boy that he saw demons skipping in front of him, etc., would be accounted for by the magic box being carried with them.



WANDS OF FAMOUS MAGICIANS.  
(From the Ellison Collection, New York.)

Says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in speaking of Cellini's adventure: "The existence of a camera at this latter date (middle of 16th century) is a fact; for the instrument is described by Baptista Porta, the Neopolitan philosopher, in his *Magia Naturalis* (1558). And the doubt how magic lantern effects could have been produced in the 14th century, when the lantern itself is alleged to have been

invented by Athanasius Kircher in the middle of the 17th century, is set at rest by the fact that glass lenses were constructed at the earlier of these dates,—Roger Bacon, in his *Discovery of the Miracles of Art, Nature, and Magic* (about 1260), writing of glass lenses and perspectives so well made as to give good telescopic and microscopic effects, and to be useful to old men and those who have weak eyes."

Chaucer, in the *House of Fame*, book iii, speaks of "appearances such as the subtil tregetous perform at feasts—images of hunting, falcony, and knights jousting, with the persons and objects instantaneously disappearing."



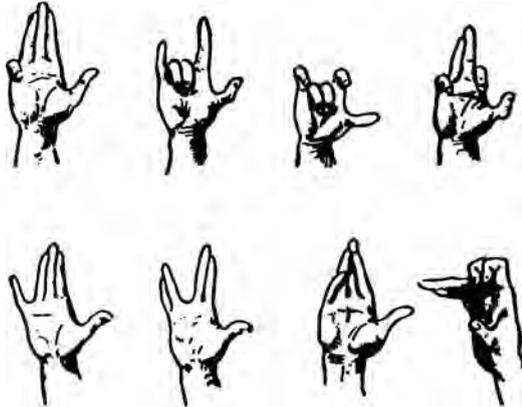
PROF. WILJALBA FRIKELL'S CHRISTMAS ENTERTAINMENTS  
As exhibited before Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle.

Later on Nostradamus conjured up a vision of the future king of France in a magic mirror, for the benefit of Marie de Midecis. This illusion was effected by mirrors adroitly concealed amid hanging draperies.

In the 16th century conjurers wandered from place to place, exhibiting their tricks at fairs, in barns, and at the castles of noblemen. They were little more than strolling gypsies or vagabonds. Reginald Scott in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), enumerates some of the stock feats of these mountebanks. The list includes, "swallowing a knife; burning a card and reproducing it from the

pocket of a spectator; passing a coin from one pocket to another; converting money into counters, or counters into money; conveying money into the hand of another person; making a coin pass through a table or vanish from a handkerchief; tying a knot and undoing it 'by the power of words'; taking beads from a string, the ends of which are held fast by another person; making a coin to pass from one box to another; turning wheat into flour 'by the power of words'; burning a thread and making it whole again; pulling ribbons from the mouth; thrusting a knife into the head of a man; putting a ring through the cheek; and cutting off a person's head and restoring it to its former position."

Conjuring with cups and balls belongs to this list. It is very ancient, dating back to the early Roman period.

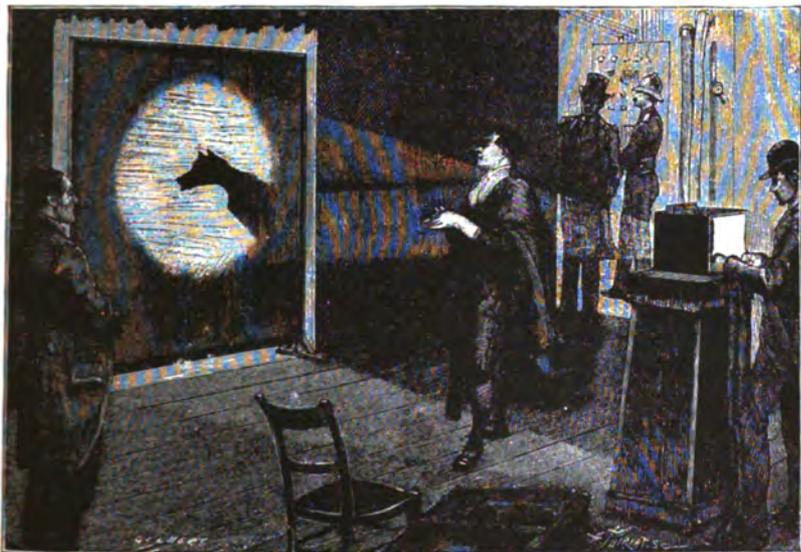


EXERCISES FOR THE FINGERS BY TREWEY.

The conjurers of the 16th century, and even later date, wore about their waists a sort of bag, called the *gibécière*, from its resemblance to a game bag, ostensibly to hold their paraphernalia. While delving into this bag for various articles to be used in their tricks, the magicians succeeded in making substitutes, and secretly getting possession of eggs, coins, balls, etc. It was a very clumsy device, but indispensable for an open air performer, who usually stood encircled by the spectators. Finally the suspicious-looking *gibécière* was abandoned by all save strolling mountebanks, and a table with a long cloth substituted. This table concealed an assistant who made the necessary transformations required in the act, by means of traps and other devices. Conus, the elder, in the 18th century, abandoned the long table covers, and the concealed assistant for the *servante*. But his immediate competitors still adhered

to the draped tables, and a whole generation of later conjurers, among whom may be mentioned Comte, Baseo, and Phillippe, followed their example. Robert-Houdin struck the keynote of reform in 1844. He sarcastically called the suspiciously draped table a *boite a compere* (wooden confederate).

Conjurers in the 17th century were frequently known as *Hocus Pocus*. These curious words first occur in a pamphlet printed in 1641, in which the author, speaking of the sights of Bartholomew fair, mentions "*Hocus Pocus*, with three yards of tape or ribbon in



TREWEY EXHIBITING UPON A STAGE.

his hand, showing his art of legerdemain." The 17th century is the age of the strolling mountebank, who performed wherever he could get an audience; in the stable, barnyard, street, or fair. From him to the prestidigitator of the theatre is a long step, but no longer than from the barnstorming actor to the artist of the well-appointed playhouse. There is evolution in everything. It was not until the 18th century that conjuring became a legitimate profession. This was largely owing to the fact that men of gentle birth, well versed in the science of the age, took up the magic wand, and gave the art dignity and respectability.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### HOCUS-POCUS.

THE word "hocus-pocus" is now a common designation (at least in the English language) for "a cheat or impostor" and refers originally to the conjurer who by legerdemain deceives the people and pretends to work miracles. In German the word is used mainly in the sense of "sleight-of-hand," designating not the performer, but the deception by which a trick is done, and this seems to be the more original meaning of the term.

The word is probably a corruption of the Latin words *Hoc est corpus meum*, which is the formula spoken by the priest over the sacramental bread and wine, which thereby is claimed to be transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ.

In its modern sense the word can be traced back to the seventeenth century, but the use of the formula *hoc est corpus meum* in the sense of jugglery is mentioned as early as 1579 in Fischart's *Beehive*.

Johann Fischart, the famous satirist and reformer who lived in the middle of the sixteenth century and died about 1590, speaks of the sacramental transubstantiation as "bread jugglery" (*brotvergaekelung*),\* and compares the power of the five words † to the magic word which Satan uttered when creating monks ‡ and adds:

"Be steadfast in it (the faith) that these five words do the work and transubstantiate the bread." §

R. L'Estrange (1616-1704) is familiar with the Latin derivation of the word saying (in *Ansiv. Diss.*, 18, published in 1687):

"I never lov'd the Hocus-Pocussing of *Hoc est corpus meum*."

Tillotson (1630-1694) in one of his sermons (XXVI) accepts the etymology of the word, saying:

"In all probability those common juggling words of *hocus focus* are nothing else but a corruption of *hoc est corpus*, by way of ridiculous imitation of the priests of the Church of Rome in their trick of Transubstantiation."

We need not assume with Tillotson that jugglers actually intended to ridicule the sacrament. When pretending to transform anything, they simply imitated the process of transformation and naturally used the same words as the priests did, merely because the people believed them to be potent charms, and since the

\* *Beehive*, 87.

† He reads: *Hoc enim est corpus meum*.

‡ "Die fünf wort haben ein kraft wie dz wort *ffuat* dasz der teufel sprach da er mōch machte."—*Beehive*, 82.

§ "... pleibt fest darbei dasz die fünf wort das spil verrichten, und das brot transsubstantiiren."—*Beehive*, 85.

audience did not consist of Latin scholars, they naturally corrupted the words into a formula that was easier pronounced.

The verb "to hocus-pocus" thus acquires the meaning "to transform, to metamorphose," or "to disguise a change."

That the formula itself became the name of the man who pronounced it, is a change in the meaning of words that occurs frequently. Even as early as 1655 Ady in his *Candle in Dark* (29) speaks of a man

"That went about in King James his time. . . . who called himself, The Kings Majesties most excellent Hocus Pocus, and so was called, because that at the playing of every Trick, he used to say, '*Hocus pocus, tontus talontus, vade celiter jubeo,*' a dark composure of words, to blinde the eyes of the beholders, to make his Trick pass the more currantly without discovery."

#### ELECTRICITY AND THE BODY OF RESURRECTION.

Mr. Charles Hallock's proposition made in the November number of *The Open Court* has produced quite a stir in certain circles. Letters on the subject were received both at the editorial office of *The Open Court*, and by the author, and we publish here some of the correspondence that has reference to the subject, together with a few editorial comments.

##### A LETTER FROM A COLLEGE PROFESSOR.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

I have read with great interest the article by Mr. Hallock, on "The Body of the Future: Is It Electrical?" and also the editorial comments, in the November issue of *The Open Court*. Permit me to ask why Mr. Hallock's theory in its main features may not be eminently reasonable, if the new view of the electrical nature of matter be true?

Authorities in physics like Sir Oliver Lodge, and Professor Fison, and others equally as eminent, have said within a few months that the "so-called atom," which has played such an important part in modern science, "is now displaced from its fundamental place of indivisibility." It has been divided and shown to be composed of electricity. Very recent investigations point to the conclusion, which these scientists are announcing as true, that "the fundamental ingredient of which . . . the whole of matter is made up, is nothing more nor less than electricity, in the form of an equal number of positive and negative charges." This is the doctrine toward which the best modern scientific research surely points. It will be at once seen that it secures that "unification of matter such as has through all the ages been sought; it goes much farther than had been hoped, for the substratum is not an unknown and hypothetical protyle, but the familiar electric charge."

If, as these authorities in physics, are beginning to say, the essence of matter is electricity, why may not Mr. Hallock's main position that there will be a future body and that it will be electrical be reasonable? The electrical nature of matter is likely to lead to a radical change in some modern scientific views, and among them the conception of death and the existence of the body after death.

My main point is this: on the supposition that the New Testament statements about a body after death, or the resurrection body, are true, why may not the electrical theory of the nature of matter give us some idea of the nature of that body and make credible some passages in the New Testament that have hitherto been regarded as inconsistent with what has been supposed to be true of matter?

It is announced that experiments conducted very lately in England show that one form of matter, one so-called original element, has been actually changed into another element. Some very eminent scientists, it is reported, declare that they have accomplished this result. This would be in harmony with the electrical nature of matter and would also have an important bearing on the subject under consideration.

It seems to me that recent discoveries in physics require us to develop a very different philosophy from that formulated years ago under erroneous ideas of the nature of matter. Not a little dogmatic science of other days will have to be abandoned, it seems to me.

H. L. STETSON.

KALAMAZOO, MICH.

#### A LETTER FROM AN ASTRONOMER.

Mr. Hallock received the following interesting communication from Mr. Edgar L. Larkin, Director of the Lowe Observatory, a man "who constantly looks heavenward":

"Dear Sir:

"I read your article with interest. I have been writing for months in the papers that nothing exists but electricity. *It is matter* and may assume protean forms. Of course our spiritual bodies are merely one phase of electricity, souls, minds, spirit also—every entity in existence. Thousands of verses not only in the Hebrew but in many other Oriental scriptures are cleared up by this cardinal fact. Many mystical facts in 'spiritualism' are also explained by electrical hypothesis. I allude to 'refined' matter in my book *Radiant Energy*.

EDGAR L. LARKIN."

#### A LETTER TO THE EDITOR FROM MR. CHARLES HALLOCK.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

I told Professor Larkin that electricity is *not* matter. It is a *substance*, an element, capable of being changed into another element, as has been demonstrated by eminent English scientists. It pervades the whole system of created things, the air, the sea, the land, objects organic and inorganic, animate and inanimate, animals, plants, marine forms, insects and all the rest, manifesting itself transcendently in the lightning and in the aurora borealis, and extending beyond the confines of the universe into the unknown realm of the infinite. Matter rots, decays, perishes, but electricity is imperishable.

Hitherto the Creator has manifested Himself to mankind through material objects, because man is "of the earth earthy" and perceives with his physical senses. In his spiritual existence his faculties will be different, and he will see marvellous phenomena which are not perceptible now. Christ has promised this. Electricity is the connecting link between the material and the immaterial. It is the most potent, subtle, and mysterious of all palpable and impalpable media. Our carnal bodies are already charged with it: then why may not our spiritual bodies or soul-envelopes be composed of it entirely? "As the lightning cometh out of the East and shineth unto the West, even so shall the coming of the Son of Man be." (Matt. xxiv. 23.)

Electrical phenomena are constantly occurring which point toward the final consummation and explain the problem of the immortal body. Suggestions to this end are ever present; but our mortal comprehensions are so obtuse that we fail to perceive their significance. These phenomena, both in nature and in invention, are

marvellous and inexplicable, unless my theory be accepted; but they forecast the existence which is to come. They are "mighty in operation."

The word "body" implies something visible and tangible, and electricity is transcendently palpable when applied.

If spirit or soul exist here, or anywhere, expressing itself through body or substance (other than matter), then individuality and personal recognition may continue for eternity, otherwise recognition would not be possible. Immortality is conceivable with electricity *in esse* as a factor.

CHARLES HALLOCK.

#### EDITORIAL COMMENTS.

It is true that all the facts of physics go far to suggest (perhaps even to support) the theory that matter is condensed ether, and we may add, it is also quite probable that electricity, which, barring light, is the most important phenomenon of ether in motion known to us, will be found to play a more prominent part in nature than could be anticipated in former times. But all these theories are far from substantiating the assumption that the body of the resurrection is electrical, or, to go further still, that there is any body of resurrection at all in the sense of traditional religious conceptions. On the contrary, if these theories concerning matter and ether be true, it would only indicate that our present world-system built up of atoms might finally be dissolved again into its primordial ether. The atom has so far resisted analysis and it is likely that all the methods at the disposal of scientists will fail to resolve it, but if the atom be a compound we may be sure that in the long run of world cycles, it will finally be dissolved again into its elements. All compound bodies within the reach of our experience, even the eternal rocks, so called, break up into their ingredients, and there is no reason to doubt the universality of the law (so energetically enunciated in Buddhist metaphysics), that all compounds are subject to disintegration.

Professor Dubois-Reymond proved that electrical phenomena play some important part in muscle-activity, and Prof. Augustus Waller of London has brought to light further interesting facts. He proves that electric fluctuations take place so long as a substance (be it animal or vegetable) is still alive, and the absence of electricity indicates absence of vitality. But all this does not prove that electricity alone without any bodily substratum may constitute a person, that such a person after death should retain the shape of the material body, and that his electrical body should float about after the manner of the ghosts of folk-lore.

Mr. Hallock succeeded in proving the presence of folklore in the Bible, but no amount of Biblical quotations will prove that the folklore view is tenable before the tribunal of science.

I will not venture here to state the reasons that prevent me from accepting the theory of an electrical body of resurrection, for that would lead me too far and it is difficult to say why a thing is not. I will limit myself only to the positive statement that the monistic drift of modern science, especially our revised notions of ether and electricity, contain not the slightest argument in favor of proving that the soul should be possessed of an electrical resurrection-body. We might as well assume that a dynamo which has been built to change molar motion into electricity would, if broken to pieces, continue as a purely ethereal dynamo, and that it would thus form a superior kind of machine, a *maakheru* dynamo.

The theory of a transfigured body, *maakheru* as the Egyptians called it, is so natural a fabrication of human fancy that it originated among all nationalities

finding expression in the folk-lore tales of ghosts. It embodies in a mythological form the truth of man's immortality, and gives it a concrete and tangible shape. Yet after all, the theory that ghosts, spirits, or whatever you may call the disembodied souls, may be electrical phenomena, is a bold assumption which appears to me only a modern expression of a very ancient, not to say antiquated, belief, based upon a wrong conception of the soul.

The most remarkable attempt at verifying the belief in ghosts has been made in recent times by F. W. H. Myers, in his posthumous book *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*. It is a stupendous work written with great earnestness and quoting many strange events and psychic experiences. And yet we cannot say that Mr. Myers has succeeded.

P. C.

#### NOTES.

Mrs. T. R. Foster of Honolulu has donated one thousand dollars to the educational enterprise of the Anagarika Dharmapala, and Mr. Charles Viggers has gone to India to take charge of the school.

A memorial of Dr. Marie Elizabeth Zakrzewska has been published by the New England Hospital for Women and Children, Boston, Mass., and is to be had in paper for 20 cents, cloth 40 cents, at the hospital, Dimock Street, Roxbury. Dr. Zakrzewska was the pioneer of woman physicians, and her death, together with her last message which was read by a friend at the funeral, was published some time ago in *The Open Court*.

Modern theology is so little known outside of academic circles that publications of theologians of scientific standing are commonly regarded as rank "freethought" and as "bold attacks upon the most sacred tenets of the Christian faith." One instance will suffice. An article written on the origin of Christmas and published in William Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, (pp. 357-358,) was reprinted in *The Open Court*. The author, a theologian of good standing, quotes the sermon of Ambrose, Pope Leo the Great's letter on the subject, a homily of ancient date attributed to Chrysostom, etc., which prove that the birth of Christ was celebrated on the day of the birth of Mithras, and that the choice was done deliberately because it was most appropriate for the purpose. The collection of these historical facts, made by a representative Christian scholar, is commented upon in *The Daily Picayune* as "an assault on the principal mystery of the Christian faith," and comments of this kind are not uncommon. While among European theologians the god-conception of the editor of *The Open Court* is commented upon in a friendly way, there are circles among the laity (of course not among academical theologians) in which his work is considered as decidedly irreligious.

Among the theological scholars there are many who have adopted the scientific world-conception; among the clergy there are a few, but the laity, and among the laity those elements which predominate in the vestry, are a brake on the wheel of progress. The fact is stated not to blame them, but as a fact that is not always clearly understood.

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# 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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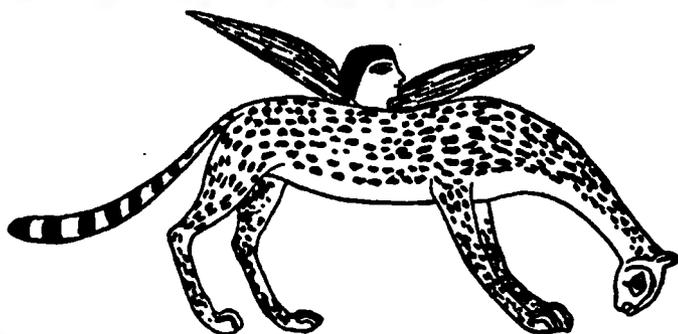
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MONUMENTAL TOMB OF ASIA MINOR.

(After a photograph of the tomb in its present condition.)

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## CASES OF INSANITY IN SHAKESPEARE.

BY AUSTIN FLINT.

*Professor of Physiology in the Cornell University Medical College; President of the  
Medical Board of the Manhattan State Hospitals for the Insane.*

### A STUDY OF HAMLET.

**I**N the tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, Shakespeare intended to present either a picture of simulated insanity, with a logical and adequate motive, or a mind agitated and distracted by sudden grief and apprehension, to the extent of producing loss of reason. The question involved has been the subject of abundant and varied speculation at the hands of commentators, critics and actors, including many alienists. If Shakespeare intended to represent Hamlet as insane, he undoubtedly attempted to illustrate some definite form of insanity, recognized by alienists of his day; or if Hamlet is to be regarded as simulating insanity, it would become necessary to make such simulation clearly apparent in the action and situations incident to the play. It seems to me to be simply a question as to the impression which Shakespeare intended to convey in the development of Hamlet's character. As bearing upon this question, the sources of the story are important. Hamlet was the mythical hero of legends dating back as far as the twelfth century. It is generally conceded that the basis of Shakespeare's Hamlet is to be found in Saxo's "Amleth." In this story, the father of Amleth is murdered by his brother, who promptly contracts an incestuous marriage with Amleth's mother. Amleth feigns madness in order to avenge his father's murder. Amleth is sent by his uncle to England, where he was made way with. In the "Hystorie of Hamblet" (Belleforest, translated about 1570) it is related that an attempt was made by the king, his uncle, to entrap him by

means of a woman (Ophelia) whom he was led to meet "in a secret place;" but Hamlet was warned against the wiles of this "faire and beautifull woman" by his friend (Horatio) and did not reveal to her his intention to revenge the death of his father.

If the significance of the incidents related in these stories was not radically changed by Shakespeare, the meaning of the tragedy is simple enough. Hamlet is determined to revenge the murder of his father. To accomplish this end, he endeavors to throw his uncle off his guard by feigning madness. His uncle fears him and becomes suspicious. He conspires with a devoted courtier (Polonius) to entrap Hamlet into an avowal of his intentions, by means of Ophelia. Hamlet escapes the wiles of Ophelia through the advice of Horatio, but he is sent to England, where the king intends he shall be murdered. These, the prominent incidents in the tragedy, are sufficiently coherent; and Hamlet's conduct is entirely logical and comprehensible, the motive of the feigned madness becoming plain.

Shakespeare introduces Hamlet as a prince, of lofty and dignified character, highly educated, and with ideas and aspirations suitable to his exalted station. It is assumed that he was about thirty years of age. The sudden death of the king, his father, causes his return from Wittenberg. Within a month after the death of his father his uncle has become king of Denmark and has married with his mother. In the tragedy the prince first appears in Act I, Scene 2. He is reproached by his uncle, the king, and by his mother, the queen, for his somber apparel and his excessive grief for his father, but two months dead. However, at the loving request of the king and queen, he consents to remain in Denmark and to forgo his intention to return to Wittenberg.

Following the exit of the king, queen and others, is the soliloquy beginning:

"O, that this too too solid flesh would melt,  
Thaw and resolve itself into a dew!"

In what follows Hamlet reveals a profound melancholy expressed in a comparison of the king with his father and in reflections on the indecent haste in the remarriage of his mother, which he characterizes as incestuous.

"It is not, nor it cannot come to good:  
But break, my heart, for I must hold my tongue."

This well-known soliloquy is not intrinsically evidence of a morbid melancholy that is not justified by the situation. It must

be remembered that the succession to the crown of Denmark was elective; and that the natural and legitimate ambition of Hamlet had been frustrated by his uncle:

"He that hath killed my king . . .  
. . . popped in between the election and my hopes."

On the entrance of Horatio and Marcellus, his schoolfellows at Wittenberg, Hamlet greets them cordially, inquires the news from Wittenberg, and afterward speaks of the noble character of his father and the haste of his mother's wedding. Up to this time the conduct of Hamlet is entirely rational. He is then told by Horatio of the appearance of his father's ghost to the guards, Francisco and Bernardo, on the previous night. Hamlet resolves then to watch with the guard and to speak with the apparition should it present itself. It is then that his father's ghost reveals to Hamlet the story of his murder "most foul" and calls upon him for revenge. The ghost accuses his brother Claudius of seducing his "most seeming-virtuous queen," but says:

"Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive  
Against thy mother aught, leave her to heaven,  
And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge,  
To prick and sting her."

Hamlet then resolves to "wipe away all trivial fond records"—presumably his love for Ophelia—he swears Horatio and Marcellus to secrecy, and it is then that he says:

"How strange and odd soe'er I bear myself,  
As I perchance hereafter shall think meet  
To put an antic disposition on,  
That you at such times seeing me, never shall,  
With arms encumber'd thus, or this head-shake,  
Or by pronouncing of some doubtful phrase,  
As 'Well, well, we know' or 'We could, and if we would,'  
Or 'If we list to speak' or 'There be, an if they might.'  
Or such ambiguous giving out, to note  
That you know aught of me: this not to do,  
So grace and mercy at your most need help you,  
Swear."

The introduction of apparitions is not infrequent in Shakespeare's plays, probably as a concession to the love of the public for the supernatural. In the times of James I. the belief in visions was quite common. James I. was regarded as an expert in demonology and wrote a work on that subject. Coke, Bacon and Hale believed in possibility of witchcraft, and a law forbidding any per

son "to take up any dead man, woman or child out of his, her or their grave . . . to be employed or used in any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or enchantment," was on the statute books from 1536 to 1636. The apparition of the king, indeed, was quite within popular comprehension and belief in the year 1600; and Shakespeare was abundantly justified in using this method to acquaint Hamlet with the manner of his father's death. The ghost first appeared to Francisco and Bernardo, afterward to Horatio and Marcellus, all believing they had seen the dead king. Hamlet, also, not only saw but spoke with the apparition and from it received an account of the murder. The subsequent action of the play, however, shows that Hamlet was incredulous, and that he used other means to convince himself, a fact that argues in favor of a normal and well-balanced mind rather than the reverse. Still, Hamlet attached enough importance to the communication from the grave to enjoin Horatio and Marcellus to secrecy, and, in furtherance of his project to learn the truth, to form the plan of simulating insanity and entire ignorance of the supposed crime.

Instances of the invocation of apparitions are frequent, also, in other plays of Shakespeare. In the first part of *Henry VI.*, *La Pucelle d'Orleans*, before Angiers, calls upon her familiar spirits for aid. The unfortunate maid, who firmly believed in her supernatural power and guidance, was burned at the stake as a sorceress, at Rouen, in 1431. The ghosts of Prince Edward, Henry VI., Clarence, Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan appeared to Richard and to Richmond in dreams, before Bosworth field. Richard and Richmond also had visions of the young princess smothered in the tower, of Lady Anne, Hastings and the murdered Buckingham. Posthumus saw his father and his two brothers in a dream, and learned from them the secret of his birth (*Cymbeline*, V, IV, 30). Brutus had a waking vision of the ghost of Julius Cæsar and talked with the apparition. Pericles saw Diana in a dream. Macbeth has a waking vision of a dagger:

"The handle toward my hand? Come, let me clutch thee.  
I have thee not, and yet I see thee still.  
Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible  
To feeling as to sight? or art thou but  
A dagger of the mind, a false creation,  
Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?"

Macbeth also sees the murdered Banquo's ghost in his place at the feast, although the apparition is unseen by others. The sleeping vision of angels to the good queen Katherine, with the

queen's awakening, is one of the most touching and beautiful creations of Shakespeare.

Shakespeare certainly never intended that the persons to whom these visions appeared should be regarded as insane, unless he had solved the mysterious action of the mind in sleep. Hallucinations, illusions and delusions often become a part of the mental history of sleep; and sleep, troubled with such mental operations, is insanity. During sleep the mental concepts become real, the most extravagant situations excite no surprise or astonishment, but sanity returns on awakening, illusions fade into forgetfulness, and sleeping delusions are at once corrected. During sleep old concepts take new form and arrangement, but they are soon forgotten, unless the memory makes a new record by the relation of dreams and their translation into language.

It is evident that Hamlet's interview with his father's ghost left his mind in a condition of great agitation and apprehension. He seemed from that time to distrust all but Horatio. Polonius he treated as a meddling fool, devoted to the interests of the king and hostile to his aspirations. It can hardly be doubted that this distrust extended to Ophelia, whom he regarded as probably the willing tool of her father, Polonius. His treatment of Ophelia, however, has been considered the strongest indication of an unbalanced mind. Ophelia relates her interview with Hamlet in the following words:

"My lord, as I was sewing in my closet,  
Lord Hamlet, with his doublet all unlaced,  
No hat upon his head, his stockings foul'd,  
Ungartered and down-gyved to his ankle;  
Pale as his shirt, his knees knocking each other,  
And with a look so piteous in purport  
As if he had been loosed out of hell  
To speak of horrors, he comes before me."

POL. "Mad for thy love?"

OPH. "My lord, I do not know,  
But truly do I fear it."

POL. "What said he?"

OPH. "He took me by the wrist and held me hard;  
Then goes he to the length of all his arm,  
And with his other hand thus o'er his brow,  
He falls to such perusal of my face  
As he would draw it. Long stay'd he so;  
At last, a little shaking of mine arm,  
And thrice his head thus waving up and down,  
He raised a sigh so piteous and profound  
As it did seem to shatter all his bulk

And end his being : that done, he lets me go ;  
 And with his head over his shoulder turn'd,  
 He seemed to find his way without his eyes ;  
 For out of doors he went without their helps,  
 And to the last bended their light on me."

POL. "Come, go with me: I will go seek the king.  
 This is the very ecstasy of love."

It is almost impossible to believe that the conduct of Hamlet in the presence of Ophelia was not simulation. The disordered dress seems to have been studied. A lunatic would have hardly appeared in such guise before the woman he loved, nor would he have failed to give some verbal expression to what was in his mind. This scene indeed seems to be a rather clumsy and absurd effort on the part of Hamlet to impress Ophelia with the notion that his reason has yielded to some sudden shock. That both Ophelia and Polonius believe this, there can be little doubt. Ophelia, in obedience to her father, had denied herself to Hamlet and repelled his letters, but it is not to be supposed that such a proceeding would so far disturb Hamlet as to lead to conduct so extravagant and unnatural. It is more logical to imagine that Hamlet intended that his actions should be reported to the king and queen, who, as he hoped, would attribute them to unrequited or disappointed love, that, as Polonius says, "hath made him mad." But from that time the king speaks "of Hamlet's transformation." Although Polonius says: "I have found the very cause of Hamlet's lunacy," the queen doubts "it is no other but the main; his father's death and our o'erhasty marriage."

Hamlet's interview with Ophelia in Act III, in its coarse brutality, is regarded by many commentators as evidence of an unbalanced mind. In the action of the play the impression is given that Hamlet at least suspects that he is overheard by Polonius. Hamlet asks, "Where's your father?" He has said to Ophelia, "I did love you once," and immediately after, "I loved you not;" he refuses to receive back his gifts; he speaks of what he has heard of Ophelia, of her wantonness, and says, "It hath made me mad." If Hamlet believed that his meeting with Ophelia had been planned by Polonius, who overheard him, and if he had in his mind the intention to convince Polonius of his insanity, what he said to Ophelia was not inconsistent, and the motive for his disconnected tirade was sufficient. But the king does not really believe in Hamlet's madness or that his peculiar actions are due to love for Ophelia. His guilty conscience scents danger in Hamlet's presence in Elsinore, and he decides to send him "with speed to England."

In Act II, Scene 2, Hamlet meets Polonius, whom he fails to recognize. Is this real or assumed? He says to Polonius, who asks, "Do you know me, my lord?" "Excellent well; you are a fishmonger." Such mistakes as to identity are not uncommon in the insane; but throughout the play Hamlet makes no other error of this kind. Immediately after the exit of Polonius he recognizes and greets by name Guildenstern and Rosencrantz. When Polonius reënters Hamlet no longer speaks to him as a fishmonger, but jokingly calls him "Old Jephthah." He recognizes one of the players, who is then introduced. After he has arranged to have the players represent the murder of the king in his garden, Hamlet meets Horatio. To Horatio he discloses his plan:

"There is a play to-night before the king;  
 One scene of it comes near the circumstance  
 Which I have told thee of my father's death:  
 I prithee, when thou seest that act a-foot,  
 Even with the very comment of thy soul  
 Observe my uncle: if his occulted gilt  
 Do not itself unkennel in one speech,  
 It is a damned ghost that we have seen,  
 And my imaginations are as foul  
 As Vulcan's stithy. Give him a heedful note;  
 For I mine eyes will rivet to his face,  
 And after we will both our judgements join  
 In censure of his seeming."

As a matter of fact, a study of Hamlet, from his first interview with Ophelia, in which he was mute, his second interview, in which he loaded her with reproaches, his apparent mistaking of Polonius for a fishmonger, his cordial recognition of the player, to the rational and logical plan to surprise his uncle into some evidence of his guilt and the communication of this plan in reasonable and connected terms to Horatio, does not afford a picture that belongs to any recognized form of insanity. If we include in this the soliloquy beginning, "To be or not to be," it becomes almost inconceivable that Shakespeare could have intended to represent Hamlet as insane. A few rare instances are on record, one of which came under my own observation, in which persons, actually insane, have feigned insanity, but it is not supposable that this idea occurred to Shakespeare.

It is not difficult to analyze the mental condition of Hamlet up to the time when he practically accused Claudius of the murder of his father. He is now considered mad. The king, horrified at the representation of the murder in the garden, precipitately leaves the

scene in terror, and makes preparations to send Hamlet at once to England with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. He says:

"I like him not, nor stands it safe with us  
To let his madness range. Therefore prepare you;  
I your commission will forthwith despatch,  
And he to England shall along with you:  
The terms of our estate may not endure  
Hazard so near us as doth hourly grow  
Out of his lunacies."

The events in the few months since the return from Wittenberg had plunged Hamlet into a profound melancholy. The apparition of his father revealed the manner of the murder, and this was rendered certain by the conduct of the king at the close of the play. With this melancholy came distrust of all about the king. Hamlet distrusted Polonius, Ophelia, his mother, the queen, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. This distrust was not delusional, but was based on logical premises. It amply accounts for his treatment of Polonius and Ophelia. Horatio is his only trusted friend. To him he had confided all his plans, including the project of feigned madness, a condition that he had simulated so well as to deceive the entire court. He resolves to kill the king, but refrains, as the first opportunity that presented itself found the king at prayer.

In his interview with his mother Hamlet lays bare his inmost heart. His mother, at first alarmed at his words, calls for help, a call which Polonius, hidden behind the arras, echoes. Hamlet makes a pass with his sword through the arras and kills Polonius, whom he mistakes for the king. He then reveals the story of his father's murder; at this instant the ghost enters, who is seen but by Hamlet. As the apparition steals away Hamlet denies his madness:

"My pulse, as yours, doth temperately keep time,  
And makes as healthful music; it is not madness  
That I have utter'd: bring me to the test."

The queen says:

"Be thou assured, if words be made of breath  
And breath of life, I have no life to breathe  
What thou hast said to me."

In the scene that follows the queen relates to the king that Hamlet, in his "brainish apprehension," has killed Polonius. The king commands Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to embark with Hamlet for England that very night:

"How dangerous is it that this man goes loose!  
Yet must we put the strong law on him:  
He's loved of the distracted multitude."

Hamlet, then, is embarked for England, with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, who bear letters enjoining :

"The present death of Hamlet. Do it, England ;  
For like the hectic in my blood he rages,  
And thou must cure me: till I know 'tis done,  
Howe'er my hopes, my joys were ne'er begun."

The form of insanity known as melancholia is a depressed mental condition, usually without adequate cause, and is attended with varied delusions. Among these delusions are prominent delusions of suspicion, persecution, conspiracy, often visual and auditory illusions and hallucinations. The access of true melancholia is seldom sudden, and the delusions are not systematized. In the case of Hamlet, his melancholy undoubtedly dated from the death of his father and was sudden; the apparition of the ghost was seen by others, who certainly were not insane; his suspicion that the king murdered his father was justified by the declarations of his father's ghost and afterward confirmed; it was true that he was surrounded with enemies at the court, and his distrust of Polonius, and even of Ophelia, was amply justified. There is no good reason, indeed, to believe that Hamlet was subject to delusions of any kind, and certainly he had reason to regard with suspicion all with whom he was brought in contact. His temporary exile to England was to be in company with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, schoolfellows, indeed, but "whom I will trust as I will adders fang'd." Under these conditions, was it reasonable that Hamlet should simulate madness? Hamlet mad, especially if mad from love of Ophelia, is simply a crazied and disappointed man, incapable of plotting against the king in his insane follies. Hamlet sane, and "loved of the distracted multitude," is an element of danger. It seems to me an error to regard Hamlet as weak and vacillating in purpose. His cloak of madness, assumed calmly and deliberately, covers no lack of personal courage. If he hesitates to kill the king, it is because the time is not yet come. In the agony of death, at the grand climax of the tragedy, Hamlet's thoughts are of Denmark :

"But let it be. Horatio, I am dead ;  
Thou livest ; report me and my cause aright  
To the unsatisfied."

.....  
"The potent poison quite o'er-comes my spirit ;  
I cannot live to hear the news from England ;  
But I do prophesy the election lights  
On Fortinbras: he has my dying voice :

So tell him, with the occurments, more or less,  
Which have solicited. The rest is silence."

The meeting on the plain in Denmark with the captain in Fortinbras' army reveals nothing important in regard to the mental condition of Hamlet. He goes with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to England. Then follows the letter to Horatio in which he gives an account of his capture by pirates and asks Horatio to repair to him "with as much speed as thou wouldst fly death. I have much to speak in thine ear will make thee dumb; yet they are much too light for the bore of the matter. These good fellows (the sailors) will bring thee where I am. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern hold their course for England; of them I have much to tell thee." This letter to Horatio gives no evidence of a disordered mind, nor does the letter addressed to the king.

"High and mighty, you shall know I am set naked on your kingdom. To-morrow shall I by leave to see your kingly eyes, when I shall, first asking your pardon thereunto, recount the occasion of my sudden and more strange return. HAMLET."

It is not pertinent to this inquiry to recount the madness of Ophelia. Crazied by the tragic death of her father, her loss of Hamlet's love, and probably by remorse for the part she played in obedience to her father, she is drowned, but not by her own act. Her madness had taken the form of acute mania, with fleeting and changeable delusions.

From the scene with the grave-diggers to the end of the tragedy there appears nothing to show that Hamlet was not sane and coherent. He relates to Horatio his discovery of the packet enjoining England to kill him forthwith and his change of the instructions so that the bearers, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, should be put "to sudden death,

"Not shiving-time allowed," which Hamlet sealed with his father's signet. The scene at Ophelia's grave, Hamlet's grappling with Laertes, the fencing scene with the unbated and envenomed foil, the poisoned cup, ending with the death of Laertes, the king, the queen and Hamlet himself close the tragedy. To the very end, however, Hamlet maintains that he is mad and offers madness as an excuse to Laertes:

"Give me your pardon, sir: I've done you wrong;  
But pardon't as you are a gentleman.  
This presence knows,  
And you must needs have heard, how I am punished  
With sore distraction. What I have done,

That might your nature, honour and exception  
 Roughly awake, I here proclaim was madness.  
 Was't Hamlet wronged Laertes? Never Hamlet:  
 If Hamlet from himself be ta'en away,  
 And when he's not himself does wrong Laertes,  
 Then Hamlet does it not, Hamlet denies it.  
 Who does it then? His madness: if't be so,  
 Hamlet is of the faction that is wrong'd;  
 His madness is poor Hamlet's enemy.  
 Sir, in this audience,  
 Free me so far in your most generous thoughts,  
 That I have shot my error o'er the house,  
 And hurt my brother."

This should be contrasted with what Hamlet has said to Horatio:

"But I am very sorry, good Horatio,  
 That to Laertes I forgot myself,  
 For, by the image of my cause, I see  
 The portraiture of his; I'll court his favours:  
 But, sure, the bravery of his grief did put me  
 Into a towering passion."

What Hamlet said to Horatio is sane. The actual apology to Laertes confesses madness, but no madman ever had so clear and intelligent an idea of his madness or made so full and complete an avowal. In chronic delusional insanity the "insight" or self-appreciation of a morbid mental condition is absent. It is more reasonable to assume that Hamlet wished, to the very last, that Horatio should heed his injunction, given after the first meeting with his father's ghost.

In Act I, Scene 2, Hamlet is in the presence of the king, queen, Polonius, Laertes, Voltimand, Cornelius, lords and attendants. It is in this scene that Hamlet consents to remain in Elsinore and not to return to Wittenberg. His conduct here is natural and consistent. At the end of the scene is the noble soliloquy beginning, "O, that this too too solid flesh would melt." While Hamlet, in this soliloquy, compares the reigning king with his father and deploras the "most wicked speed" of the marriage of his mother, there is no word or expression that is not rational.

In the course of this scene is the meeting of Hamlet with Horatio, Marcellus and Bernardo, who say that they have seen the ghost of the late king. In Scene 3 Laertes takes leave of Ophelia before his return to France. In Scene 5 Hamlet meets his father's ghost. In Act II occurs the meeting of Hamlet with Ophelia, which she relates to Polonius. This is the first evidence of Hamlet's as-

sumed madness. From this time, it is impossible to find in the play any evidence of Hamlet's madness in his interviews and conversation with Horatio; but to the king, the queen, Polonius, Ophelia, Rosencrantz, Guildenstern and to all others, Hamlet appears insane. Hamlet, indeed, carries on this deception—if deception it be—to the end of the play and throws off the mask only in his interview with the queen and with indifferent persons, such as the players. In Act III, Scene I, is the wonderful soliloquy, "To be or not to be," the intellectual expression of which rises to the highest point of grandeur. One must be bold indeed to call this insanity.

If we contrast what Hamlet says to Horatio with his conduct toward all others we have the picture of a man, perfectly sane in his relations at all times and under all circumstances, with a single friend whom he trusts, but a rambling, incoherent lunatic with all others, whom he distrusts, having, at the same time, avowed his intention to simulate insanity. It is impossible that such a mental condition should exist, and the only rational explanation of Hamlet's conduct, from the point of view of an alienist, is that his insanity was simulated for a rational purpose.

In the preparation of this article I have taken the pains to read carefully the hundred or more quotations from Hamlet given by Bartlett, which have become a part of our language. In no single quotation is there any evidence of an unbalanced mind, and I venture to say that no one can read these familiar words and avoid the conviction that Shakespeare's "Hamlet" is one of the grandest and most thoroughly sane intellectual conceptions to be found in English literature.

#### KING LEAR.

The tragedy of King Lear presents the contrast of an old man, affected with senile dementia, and the young Edgar, assuming the character of a Tom o' Bedlam. When Lear resolves to divide his kingdom and apportion it between his three daughters and their prospective husbands, relieving himself of the cares of state, the action plainly shows the mental condition under the influence of which this decision was made. Lear reserves for himself simply his hundred knights and provides for their entertainment by his daughters in turn. This sudden resolve, although in itself, perhaps, not irrational, in its execution betrays a lack of judgment that is inconsistent with a "sound and disposing mind." His furious denunciation of Cordelia reveals an impatience and irritability that does not belong to a normal intelligence. Such unreasoning and

extravagant conduct pervades the entire tragedy, from the banishment of Cordelia to the scene in which the unfortunate king appears, fantastically decked with flowers, incoherent, delusional and maniacal.

As a study of the form of insanity known as senile dementia the conception of Shakespeare is not entirely accurate. Torn by violent and conflicting emotions—a logical sequence to the base ingratitude of Goneril and Regan—the unhappy king abandons himself to the most abject despair, and the loss of reason is complete, as is shown in the scene with Edgar in the hut. The touching incident of meeting with Cordelia in the French camp, whom he fails to recognize, with the restoration of reason following sleep, is the only part of the picture which falls short of reality. A senile dement may present all the characters of mental breakdown depicted in Lear, including the intense melancholia, followed with illusions and hallucinations; but the condition known as transitory mania is never observed in the aged, and transitory mania is the only psychosis that is rapidly and suddenly arrested by a profound sleep. Lear, however, fourscore and upward, awakes, with fresh garments on him, to perfect reason and to recognition of his surroundings, but it is fair to say that the tragedy would be far from complete without this inconsistency. It became at the end a necessary part of the action of the play that the king should be restored to a full appreciation of the wickedness of Goneril and Regan, as well as the devotion of Cordelia.

The simulated madness of Edgar is a more careful and consistent study. Toms o' Bedlam were well known in England in the time of Shakespeare. It is related that in 1644 only forty-four lunatics could be admitted into what was known as Abraham's ward in Bedlam. Lunatics at large were called Abram men, a class of wandering mendicants, who terrorized the country with their mad freaks, laying violent hands on what they could find to steal. Edgar could have assumed no more convenient and secure cloak for his purposes. Under the guise of Poor Tom, he could live where and how he chose and no one took account of his movements. Shakespeare depicts the form of insanity assumed by Edgar with admirable fidelity, and, although but a sketch, it is consistent throughout.

#### THE WINTER'S TALE.

It is curious to note that while Shakespeare represented in Hamlet a character that commentators have been unable to under-

stand, in *Lear* there is a fairly good picture of senile dementia, contrasted with a faithful study of simulated insanity in *Edgar*. No commentator, however, has analyzed carefully the mental condition of *Leontes*, a victim of what certainly was an insane jealousy. The jealousy of *Othello* is easily enough understood and is consistent with the savage character of the semi-barbarous Moor. But with *Leontes* it is different. Unconsciously, as it appears, Shakespeare has depicted, in *Leontes*, an exaggeration of jealousy that is incompatible with mental balance, from its inception to the close of the play.

There is absolutely nothing in the conduct of *Hermione* that is not consistent with the character of a virtuous and faithful wife. It is in obedience to the wishes of *Leontes* that she urges *Polixenes* to prolong his stay in *Sicilia*, but at once, and without the slightest foundation, *Leontes* gives way to a jealousy that all around him regard as insane. He doubts the paternity of his son *Mamillius* and indulges in a disconnected and irrational tirade that leads *Polixenes* to inquire:

"What means *Sicilia*?"

*Hermione* replying:

"He something seems unsettled."

*Leontes* at one time says that:

"Next to thyself and my young rover, he's  
Apparent to my heart."

In the next breath he urges *Camillo* to poison *Polixenes* and openly accuses the queen of infidelity. When *Antigonus*, one of the lords of *Sicilia*, remonstrates with the king and says to him, after the escape of *Polixenes* and *Camillo*:

"And I wish, my liege,  
You had only in your silent judgement tried it,  
Without more overture."

*Leontes* replies:

"How could that be?  
Either thou art most ignorant by age,  
Or thou wert born a fool. *Camillo's* flight,  
Added to their familiarity,  
Which was as gross as ever touched conjecture,  
That lacked sight only, nought for approbation  
But only seeing, all other circumstances  
Made up to the deed,—doth push on this proceeding."

Paulina, wife to Antigonus, firmly believing in the innocence of the queen, says:

"I dare be sworn:  
These dangerous unsafe lunes i' the king, beshrew them!"

The insane jealousy of the king leads to farther excesses:

"This brat is none of mine;  
It is the issue of Polixenes:  
Hence with it, and together with the dam  
Commit them to the fire!"

To Paulina, Leontes says:

"I'll ha' thee burnt.  
I care not:  
It is an heretic that makes the fire,  
Not she which burns in't. I'll not call you tyrant;  
But this most cruel usage of your queen—  
Not able to produce more accusation  
Than your own weak-hinged fancy—something savours  
Of tyranny, and will ignoble make you,  
Yea, scandalous to the world."

PAUL.

Moved by the vigorous remonstrances of Antigonus, Paulina and the lords of Sicilia, Leontes brings the queen to formal trial on the charge of adultery and conspiracy with Camillo to take away the life of her husband, King of Sicilia. Leontes, however, admits:

"Your actions are my dreams;  
You had a bastard by Polixenes,  
And I but dreamed it."

In the course of the trial, an appeal is made to the oracle of the great Apollo. The reply of the oracle is:

"Hermione is chaste; Polixenes blameless; Camillo a true subject; Leontes a jealous tyrant; his innocent babe truly begotten, and the king shall live without an heir, if that which is lost is not found."

Leontes, in his mad fury, refuses to believe the oracle:

"There is no truth at all i' the oracle:  
The sessions shall proceed: this is mere falsehood."

All writers on mental diseases concur in the opinion that one of the most dangerous forms of mental disturbance is delusional insanity associated with jealousy. In the case of Leontes the jealousy assumed the form of an insane delusion. In the first place, his suspicion of the queen had no logical foundation and was not shared by anyone. Associated with the delusion of infidelity was a well-

marked delusion of poisoning, a combination that is not uncommon. Yielding to these imperative delusions, the king denies the paternity of his child and resolves to put both the infant and the mother to death, the one by abandonment and the other by means of an absurd form of trial, a homicidal outcome that also is not unusual. It seems impossible, indeed, not to regard all these acts and feelings as the natural results of a highly delusional mental condition. The best definition of insane delusions—one that exactly fits the mental condition of Leontes—is the following, borrowed from Kraepelin: "Delusions are morbidly falsified beliefs which cannot be corrected either by argument or experience." Delusions are not the result of experience, and they persist so long as and no longer than the morbid mental condition upon which they depend. It is quite within the history of insane delusions, especially delusions of jealousy, that they should suddenly disappear under the influence of violent emotions. The delusions cherished by Leontes, indeed, did suddenly disappear when he was informed of the death of his son and saw "This news is fatal to the queen." As is usual, the disappearance of the delusion was followed with the most poignant remorse:

"Apollo, pardon  
 My great profaneness 'gainst thy oracle!  
 I'll reconcile me to Polixenes;  
 New woo my queen; recall the good Camillo,  
 Whom I proclaim a man of truth, of mercy;  
 For, being transported by my jealousies  
 To bloody thoughts and to revenge, I chose  
 Camillo for the minister to poison  
 My friend, Polixenes: which had been done,  
 But that the good mind of Camillo tardied  
 My swift command, though I with death and with  
 Reward did threaten and encourage him,  
 Not doing it and being done: he most humane  
 And filled with honour, to my kingly guest  
 Unclasp'd my practice, quit his fortunes here,  
 Which you know great, and to the hazard  
 Of all uncertainties himself commended,  
 No richer than his honour: how he glisters  
 Through my rust! and how his piety  
 Does my deeds make the blacker."

It does not seem possible that Shakespeare did not realize that in Leontes he presented a complete and accurate picture of insane jealousy, followed with penitence and remorse; a striking contrast to the jealousy of Othello, which had a basis resting on the diabolical machinations of Iago, was not, therefore, an insane jealousy, but

a perfectly sane, and, from this point of view, justifiable delusion. These two tragically emotional pictures speak for themselves.

The interest in Leontes ceases with the fancied death of Hermione, and when he exclaims to Paulina :

“Go on, go on:  
Thou canst not speak too much; I have deserved  
All tongues to talk their bitterest.”

The repentance of Leontes endures for the sixteen years which elapse between the exposure to death of the princess Perdita, her adoption by the shepherd, the resurrection of Hermione and her reunion with the king. Thus the comedy ends, with Leontes restored to reason, Paulina married with Camillo, and the kingdoms of Sicilia and Bohemia united through the marriage of Perdita with Florizel.

## BUDDHIST VIEW OF WAR.

BY THE RIGHT REV. SOYEN SHAKU.

[Extracted from the author's article "Senso wo nantoka miru?" published in the January number of the *Tai Yo*, Tokio. Translated from the Japanese by Teitaro Suzuki.

Mr. Shaku is Lord Abbot of the Engakuji and Kenchoji, two large temple institutions at Kamakura, branches of the Zen Sect. There are about eight hundred monasteries subject to his jurisdiction. In 1893 he visited the World's Religious Parliament in Chicago and was rightly esteemed as the most prominent delegate of Japanese Buddhism. His views may be considered as representative not only of his own sect but of all Japanese Buddhists.—ED.]

“THIS triple world is my own possession.\* All the things therein are my own children. Sentient or non-sentient, animate or inanimate, organic or inorganic, the ten thousand things in this world are no more than the reflections of my own self. They come from the one source. They partake of the one body. Therefore I cannot rest quiet, until every being, even the smallest possible fragment of existence, is settled down to its proper appointment. I do not mind what long eons it will take to finish this gigantic work of salvation. I work to the end of eternity when all being are peacefully and happily nestled in an infinite loving heart.”

This is the position taken by the Buddha, and we, his humble followers, are but to walk in his wake.

Why then do we fight at all?

Because we do not find this world as it ought to be. Because there are here so many perverted creatures, so many wayward thoughts, so many ill-directed hearts, due to ignorant subjectivity. For this reason Buddhists are never tired of combatting all productions of ignorance, and their fight must be to the bitter end. They will show no quarter. They will mercilessly destroy the very

\* The "triple world" (*triloka*) is a common Buddhist term for "universe." The three worlds are "the world of desire" (*kāmaloka*), "the world of bodily form" (*rūpaloka*), and "the immaterial world" (*arūpaloka*).

root from which arises the misery of this life. To accomplish this end, they will never be afraid of sacrificing their lives, nor will they tremble before an eternal cycle of transmigration. Corporeal existences come and go, material appearances wear out and are renewed. Again and again they take up the battle at the point where it was left off.

But all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas never show any ill-will or hatred toward enemies. Enemies, the enemies of all that is good, are indeed wicked, avaricious, shameless, hell-born, and, above all, ignorant. But are they not, too, my own children for all their sins? They are to be pitied and enlightened, not persecuted. Therefore, what is shed by Buddhists is not blood,—which unfortunately, has stained so many pages in the history of religion,—but tears issuing directly from the fountain-head of lovingkindness.

The most powerful weapon ever used by Buddha in the subjugation of his wayward children is the practice of non-atman (non-egotism). He wielded it more effectively than any deadly, life-destroying weapons. When he was under the Bodhi-tree absorbed in meditation on the non-atmanness of things, fiends numbering thousands tried, in every way, to shake him from his transcendental serenity; but all to no purpose. On the contrary, the arrows turned to heavenly flowers, the roaring clamor to a paradisiacal music, and even the army of demons to a host of celestials. And do you wonder at it? Not at all! For what on earth can withstand an absolutely self-freed heart overflowing with lovingkindness and infinite bliss?

And this example should be made the ideal of every faithful Buddhist. Whatever calling he may have chosen in this life, let him be freed from ego-centric thoughts and feelings. Even when going to war for his country's sake, let him not bear any hatred towards his enemies. In all his dealings with them let him practice the truth of non-atman. He may have to deprive his antagonist of the corporeal presence, but let him not think there are atmans, conquering each other. From a Buddhist point of view, the significance of life is not limited to the present incarnation. We must not exaggerate the significance of individuals, for they are not independent and unconditional existences. They acquire their importance and a paramount meaning, moral and religious, as soon as their fate becomes connected with the all-pervading love of the Buddha, because then they are no more particular individuals filled with egotistic thoughts and impulses, but have become love incarnate. They are so many representative types of one universal self-

freed love. If they ever have to combat one another for the sake of their home and country,—which under circumstances may become unavoidable in this world of particularity,—let them forget their egotistic passions which are the product of the atman conception,—of selfishness. Let them on the contrary be filled with the lovingkindness of the Buddha; let them elevate themselves above the horizon of the *mine* and *thine*. The hand that is raised to strike and the eye that is fixed to take aim, do not belong to the individual, but are the instruments utilized by a principle higher than transient existence. Therefore, when fighting, fight with might and main, fight with your whole heart, forget your own self in the fight, and be free from all atman thought.

It is most characteristic of our religion, as we understand it, that while Buddha emphasized the paramount significance of synthetic love, he never lost sight of the indispensableness of analytical intellect. He extended his sympathy to all creatures as his own children and made no discrimination in his boundless compassion. But at the same time he was not ignorant of the fact that there were good as well as bad people, that there were innocent hearts as well as guilty ones. Not that some were more favored by the Buddha than others, but they were enabled to acquire more of the love of the Buddha. One rain falls on all kinds of plants; but they do not assimilate the water in the same fashion. Buddha's love is universal, but our hearts, being fashioned of divergent karmas, receive it in different ways. He knows where they are finally led to, for his love is unintermittently working out their salvation, though they themselves be utterly unconscious of it.

Above all things, there is the truth, and there are many roads leading to it. It may seem at times that they collide and oppose one another. But let us rest confident that finally every ill will come to some good.

## JAPANESE SONGS AND FOLK-LORE.

BY JAMES IRVING CRABBE.

THE songs of a nation afford a fair idea of the standard of culture and æsthetic taste as well as of the social peculiarities of the singers. The more insular or isolated the nationality or race the greater will be the poetic peculiarities. And of no race is this more noticeable than of the Japanese. They are poetic by reason perhaps of the scenic beauties of their island home and because they are endowed with an instinctive love of the beautiful in nature. No other people in the world have a keener appreciation of the æsthetic or so greatly love the land of their birth. It is not an affectation for the peasant or coolie to pause on the ledge of a romantic ravine and draw the attention of the American or European traveler to the beauty of the scene. From the prince to the beggar there is a sincere love of the shapely Fuji San, one of the most graceful mountains in the world (if one may be allowed the use of the adjective), a love and affection developed in earliest youth which endures till death.

"What is my last wish?" said a Japanese poet, "It is that my last sight, ere I change my world, may rest on Fuji's beauteous cone!"

This intense love of nature finds abundant expression in the artist as well. It is noteworthy, then, that the popular songs are filled with references to the beauty of rock, mountain, stream, or tree, and these are always found combined with protestations of love and friendship.

One of the most popular song-books is that of Teika Kio, a songs and folk-lore of Japan, and more it is the brand motive of the nobleman who flourished about seven hundred years ago. He collected and compiled odes that had been sung for at least two centuries prior to his time. His book, called *Steps to the Summit of the Hundred Odes of a Hundred Poets*, (or, in Japanese, *Hyak Nin*

*Is-shiu Mine No Kake-hashii*) can be found in every home in the Island Empire. Some of these have been translated into English, but not very successfully, for one reason because classic Japanese is so replete with double meanings, similes, and references to flowers and scenery as to allow a variety of renderings.

Naturally this redundancy of meaning has made punning a fine art, so to speak, in Japan. Even in the affairs of everyday life the student of the Japonesque will note this tendency. For instance, the lover who changes his mind sends to the former object of his devotions a maple leaf which tells the story of his change of heart, for "momiji" (maple) also means change, probably because the maple is the first tree to feel and show the effects of the approach of winter. This method of "getting the mitten" is certainly more poetical than the Western plan, though perhaps not more satisfactory to the fair recipient.

An example of translation of one of the most familiar odes may be of interest. It is called "The Cherry Blossom" and was written by Ki No Tsurayuki, who was a court poet in Japan when King Alfred of England was a child.

"The comrades of my early days  
 Their former friend indifferent view,  
 Who with a wond'ring eye doth gaze  
 On th' village that of old he knew  
 So well. O flower! thy fragrancy  
 Alone familiar seems to me."

The poet after a long absence from home returns to find himself a stranger and the only familiar object is the fragrant wild cherry.

In the following ode, written by Fujiwara (A. D. 910-974), the genuine love-song is given:

"*Kimi ga tame*  
*Oshika razarishi*  
*Inochi sahe*  
*Nagaku mo gana to*  
*Omoikera kana."*

"Ere I, dear maid, had worshipped thee,  
 A sad, uncared-for life was mine:  
 O may long years be granted me  
 Now that my heart, O maid, is thine."

These odes will afford a fair idea of the culture attained by this interesting nation at a period of the world's history when the Anglo-Saxon race was emerging from savagery.

The poetic instinct has not died out among the Japanese, although since the feudal system passed away and the mercantile and commercial spirit has been introduced, much of the poetry and the inspiration of nature-love has evanesced. It is too often so in the workaday world that utilitarianism and the beautiful whether in art or in song are found to be incompatible.

A striking instance of the lyric tendencies of the Japanese was given to the writer. One summer's day he was acting as cicerone to a young Japanese gentleman in Jackson Park, Chicago. The floral wealth of the parterres filled the young man's heart to the brim; "O, if I had but enough English to write a poem of those flowers!" he exclaimed, when we went from one beautiful display to another.

No other nation has so rich a treasury of folk-lore as the Japanese, or has such a wealth of myth and romance. With them the national religions, Shintoism and Buddhism, have been so intertwined that it is impossible to separate myth, romance, and history. (As an example of this we find that His Imperial Majesty, the Mikado, is descended in an unbroken line from the sun.\*) These religions although differing in nearly every other respect the one from the other are alike in encouraging the belief that the lower animals are psychologically associated with mankind. The Shintoist believes that the fox, the tiger, and other animals occasionally assume human form sometimes for good, sometimes for evil purposes. A Totemism has thus been evolved which finds abundant expression in the realm of legend, song, and art. The Buddhist, likewise, has a great regard for our dumb friends. Transincorporation (sometimes spoken of as transmigration) of souls is reason sufficient for his friendliness for the animals and for the keen interest taken in them by the authors and artists of Japan. The strict Buddhist deems the killing of one of the lower animals, unless in self-defense, a crime equal to homicide, because the soul of a relative, perhaps, at all events a human soul, may be in the animal slain. With this vast realm of bird, beast, and fish to draw upon, it is little wonder that the folk-lore is rich and imaginative.

The Japanese variant of the story of Rip Van Winkle, a version of which may be found in the folk-lore of many nations, illustrates the Totemistic idea alluded to:

"Once upon a time there was a man who was so very pious that he spent most of his time between meals in praying. He

\* There is in England a very intelligent class of people which believes that the present king is the lineal descendant of King David, the psalmist.

spent all his leisure, that is when he wasn't eating or sleeping, upon his knees. His wife was a practical sort of woman and drew her lord's attention to the fact that while he was praying she and the children were starving. The saintly man paid no attention to her remonstrances except to remind her that salvation was more important than food and so continued his devotions.

"At last, patience ceased to be a virtue and the 'Katrina' of the Orient, disgusted with her prayerful spouse, drove him from the home and bade him continue his prayers in the mountains. Thus evicted, the pious man wandered into an upland glade in a range of hills near his native village and was soon engaged in his favorite occupation of praying. Suddenly his attention was diverted from spiritual to temporal things.

"In a sheltered nook near where he knelt, two ladies attired in the rich garb of members of the Imperial Court sat in front of a small table playing a game of 'Go,' the Japanese equivalent for checkers. So ravishingly beautiful, so graceful and so skilful in their play were the fair ladies that the village saint forgot his prayers, his home, everything, and was soon absorbedly watching the game and the players. And as he watched, the sun set and the moon rose and then disappeared, and the seasons came and went and still he watched.

"At last came a crisis in the game. One of the ladies made a bad move which our pious friend noticed. 'Fair lady,' he exclaimed, 'you have made a mistake!' At the sound of his voice the players started in alarm, the 'Go' table went and the ladies became foxes and scurried away in a twinkling.

"Rising from his knees the saintly man returned to his native village. Not aware that he had been gone very long he finds that his family has passed into oblivion, and that he has been absent one hundred years!"

The story exists in several versions and different morals are educed from it—one of which is characteristic of the Japanese love of ceremonious propriety, pointing out the bad taste of criticising another person's play.

\* \* \* \*

The *Mono-gatari* are the standard editions of Japanese romance, one of the most reliable being the *Taketori Mono-gatari*. This work was first issued about 1,000 years ago.

The heroine was discovered by a venerable man when she was but three inches in height and had her habitat in a joint of a bamboo. The old gentleman adopted the fairy as his daughter and had

her finely educated. When she eventually made her debut in the upper circles of society her celestial beauty and rare accomplishments turned the heads of all the marriageable noblemen of the day, even the reigning Mikado being among her suitors. To the astonishment and grief of her father she refuses all offers. Pressed for the reason for this singularity she explained that she was an exile from the moon whence she was banished for an act of disobedience. When the period of her banishment had expired her moonly father sent a flying chariot and a fairy army to conduct her home in formal procession. This was accomplished in spite of two thousand soldiers who at the command of the Mikado guarded the house. As a parting gift she left to her Imperial lover a poem explaining the reason why she could not marry him and the elixir of immortality. However, the love-sick monarch did not care to prolong his life. He ascended the Fuji-Yama, the loveliest spot of all Japan, where he read once more the maiden's farewell message which he burned, and wearied of life poured the elixir into the flames. Thus, the fire of Fuji-Yama acquired the immortality which the Mikado refused to possess.

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

### V. THE WISTARIA.

FOR this month we had a choice between the peony, the azalea and the wistaria, and selected the last on account of its uniqueness. It is generally "reared upon large trellises, arranged to cover

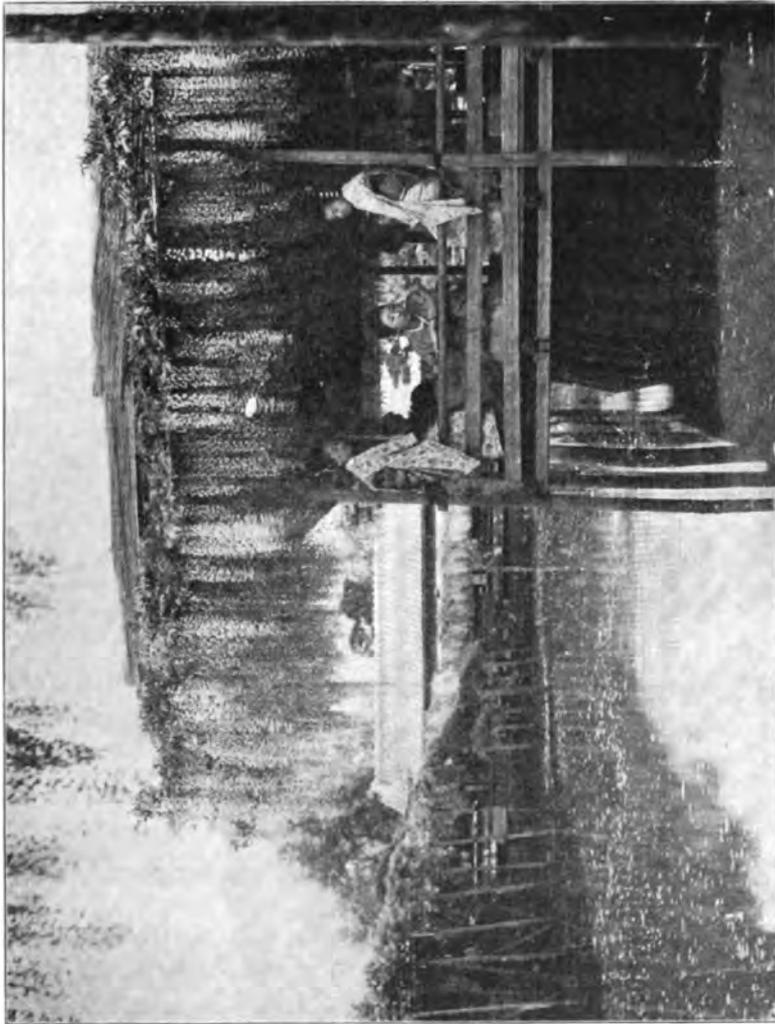


AZALEA BLOSSOMS.

long walks, bridges or arbors, in pleasure grounds and gardens." "The sprays of its flowers often exceed three feet in length, whilst a hundred persons may rest under its shadow, and its stem grows to the thickness of a man's body; its branches are used as cables."

The purple blossom is the commonest and also the most highly esteemed. This flower, like the cherry, is associated with the pheasant. It typifies youth.

"A belief exists that this flower attains great size and beauty



WISTARIA TEA HOUSE, KAMEIDO, TOKIO.

if its roots are nourished with *sake*; and there is, at Kameido, a tree producing specially fine blossoms, at the base of which visitors are accustomed to empty their cups."

"At Kashukabe, north-east of Tokio, is the most famous wista-

ria in the empire. The vine is 500 years old, with pendent blossoms over 50 inches long, and trellises covering a space of 4,000 feet." "Though much honored and used for felicitous occasions, the *fusji* must not be employed at weddings on account of its purple color."

This blossom often gives its name to girls; one of the heroines of the *Genji Monogatari* is the Princess Wistaria. Concerning another heroine of that book, Prince Genji, the hero, sung as follows:

"When will be mine this lovely flower  
Of tender grace and purple hue?  
Like the wistaria of the bower,  
Its charms are lovely to my view."

It has become famous in Japanese history through the Fujiwara family.

The following are other examples of wistaria\* poems from Japanese literature:

"I come weary,  
In search of an inn—  
Ah! these wistaria flowers."

"O lovely wistaria, now in bloom,  
Twine thy twigs, even though broken,  
To those people who pass by thee,  
Without stopping to admire thy beauty!

"Men dare not pass away without looking  
At the wistaria, in a wave of beauty,  
Though my small garden be humble,  
With nothing attractive for the eye."

"In blossom the wistaria trees to-day  
Break forth that sweep the wavelets of my lake:  
When will the mountain cuckoo come and make  
The garden vocal with his first sweet lay?"

And Piggott quotes a prose version of another poem, as follows:—

"What," says he, "though I be outside the ring-fence and can not sit beneath thy shade, thou sendest, gentle Wistaria, thy fragrance across it to me, treating me like a friend."

\*Often misspelled "wisteria"; this is incorrect, because the flower was named for a Caspar Wistar.

## PRE-CHRISTIAN CROSSES AS SYMBOLS OF CHTHONIC DEITIES.

BY THE EDITOR.

**T**HE figure which we would now call an equilateral cross was never, in pre-Christian times, regarded as a martyr instrument, a cross in the original sense of the word, but was commonly used as a symbol of good luck, perhaps of life and resurrection.



THE DURIS VASE, PICTURING TEACHERS AND SCHOLARS.

There are four lessons given : (1) on the lyre, (2) on the abacus in arithmetic, (3) singing to the accompaniment of the flute, and (4) composition, the teacher being just engaged in correcting an exercise. On the walls we see the utensils of the schoolroom hung up, lyres, scrolls, and a kind of bookcase. The whole vase is divided into three parts by three symbols of unknown significance, one cross and two dotted circles placed upon disks with handles.

At any rate, we find it is mainly used in connection with chthonic deities, with gods of the lower world, of Hades.

As an instance, we reproduce two illustrations, one of the god, Tum or Atum, the other of Bes, and it may be no accident that both deities otherwise so different, are connected with the under world ; both are chthonic gods.

The god Bes presides over death and decay, and may need the

cross for the preservation of the spirit or the restoration of the body. He was introduced into Egypt from Arabia, and was worshipped at Thebes, Tentyris, and also in Ethiopia. He is frequently in the *Book of the Dead* identified with Seth, and his image was used as a talisman to ward off evil spirits.



A ROMAN DENARIUS.

Bearing figures of intersecting lines on either side, an instance in which the form of the cross is positively known to be accidental.<sup>1</sup>



CYPRIAN COIN.

The obverse shows a bull. Above the animal appears the winged solar disc with some illegible writings. In front of the bull we see a symbol which reminds one of a cross hanging on a rosary. It may be a form of the Egyptian key of life or the solar disc with a cross attached to it underneath. The reverse shows a pigeon and a leaf.



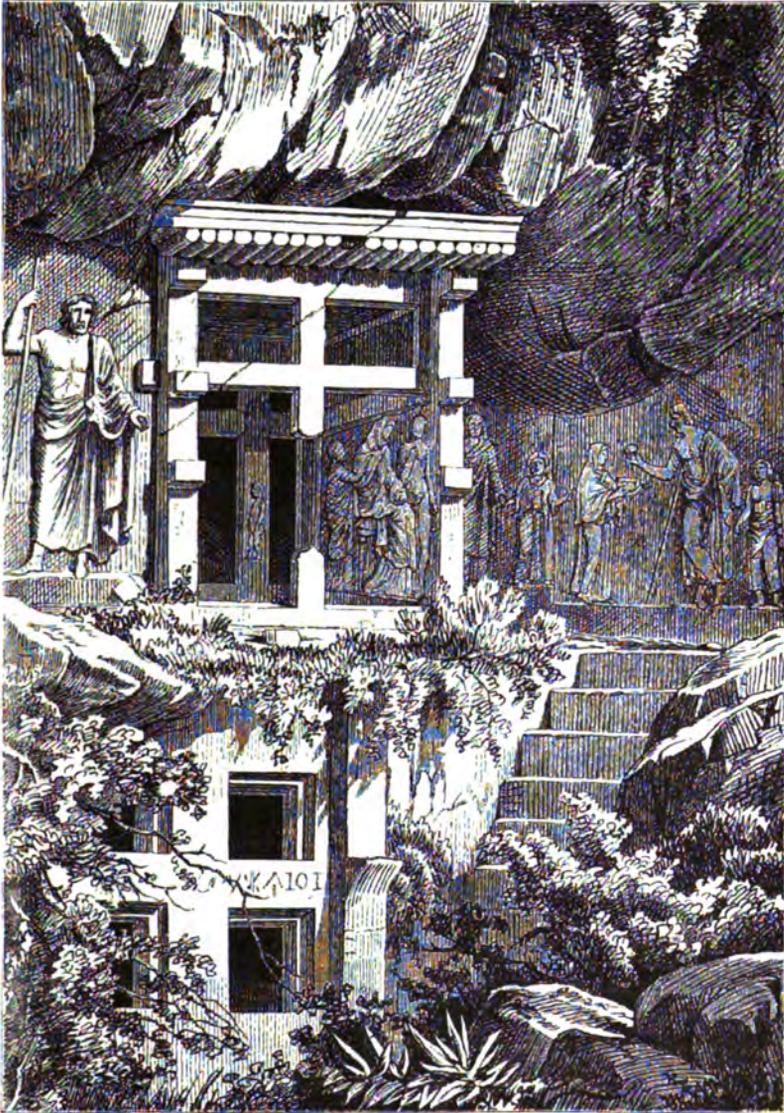
TARAN, THE GALLIC ZEUS.

(After Gadoz.)

For unknown reasons his garment is covered with slanting crosses.

Tum or Atum is the god of the sun below the horizon, and the souls that pass into Amenti must pass him. He is called "the Maker of Men" and "the Universal Lord." He wears the double crown, and he is worshipped as "the Good." His place of worship was Heliopolis (An), where his temple, the House of Tum, was famous as one of the richest and finest buildings of Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> The slanting cross on the obverse means X, an abbreviation for denarius, for in the best times of the Republic it was worth 10 asses of silver = 1 lire, or about 20 cents. The cross in the hand of the man driving the quadriga, which appears on the reverse of the coin, is obviously meant for a Roman standard.



ROCK TOMB IN MYRA, LYCIA.

A hymn of the Nineteenth Dynasty, preserved in the *Anastas Papyri*, addresses him in these words:<sup>1</sup>

"Come to me Tum! Hear me, Great God!  
My soul yearneth for thy temple<sup>2</sup>: Still thou my longing,  
Fill my heart with joy, yea the core of heart with gladness,  
Listen to my vows, to my humble prayer at day-break,  
And to my adoration at nightfall.  
My anguish [take away, and the sobbing] that is in my mouth,  
Rising within me, again and again!"



Atum.<sup>3</sup>



Bes.<sup>3</sup>

The cross appears frequently on tombs in Asia Minor. Its use may be accidental, being the transverse beam in a window or door, but considering the repetition of the same figure, the probability is that it was introduced on purpose and served a definite symbolism.

Among the tombs of Phrygia, the so-called Tomb of Midas is especially noteworthy as exhibiting an elaborate cross-design. This

<sup>1</sup> From the *Anastasi Papyri* of the British Museum (II., leaf 10, lines 6-13). First translated by M. F. Chabas into French in the *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, 1870, p. 117. For an English translation by C. W. Goodwin see *Translations of Biblical Archaeology*, 1873, and *Records of the Past First Series*, Vol. VI., p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "An," which is Heliopolis, the City of Tum, where his temple stood.

<sup>3</sup> After a colored reproduction in Budge's *The Gods of the Egyptians*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.



MONUMENTAL TOMB OF ASIA MINOR.

Restored as it must have appeared in its place of erection.

(Compare Frontispiece which represents the same tomb in its present condition.)

pattern may appear purely ornamental to us, but in ancient days, no ornament was used, least of all on tombs, except it had some significance, and we may fairly assume that the artist intended either to protect the tomb by a good omen or to comfort the sur-



ROCK TOMB OF PHRYGIA.  
(The so-called Tomb of Midas.)

vivors by reminding them of their religious faith and the hope of immortality. It is not unlikely that the figure of intersecting lines served both purposes at once.

## GILGAMESH AND EABANI :

### THE TRUSTS AND THE UNIONS.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHEN the trusts first made their appearance in this country, the people were afraid of their power and cried, "Who will save us from the tyranny of this fearful octopus?" But as capital became organized the laborers themselves banded together and formed unions. The unions grew and made ready to fight the octopus of trusts. In fact, they did so for a while, but soon the two quieted down and lived in peace.

This is a world-old tale and seems to be a repetition of an incident of the ancient Babylonian epic. Gilgamesh, identified with the Biblical Nimrod,\* was a mighty ruler in Babylonia, and the people groaned under his scepter, saying,

"Gilgamesh leaveth not the son to his father,  
Nor the maid to the hero, nor the wife to her husband."

They prayed for protection to the goddess Aruru, who, with the help of Marduk, had made mankind. She decided to create Eabani, a powerful monster, who would rival Gilgamesh in strength and be bold enough to undo the tyrant.

Gilgamesh, on hearing of Eabani, sent out a hunter to capture or kill him, but the hunter returned, frightened, saying: "He roams over the mountains, feeding with the beasts and slaking his thirst with them where they drink, and I am afraid to approach him. He filled up the pit which I dug, and he tore the nets with which I surrounded him and set free the beasts of the field that I had caught. He does not suffer me to hunt or to make war upon them."

Gilgamesh decided to change his tactics and sent the hunter out again with Ukhat, a beautiful hierodule; when Eabani caught sight of her his heart was touched with her beauty, and he loved her. Then Ukhat told Eabani of Gilgamesh, saying; "Thou art of great stature, Eabani and like unto a god. Why dost thou live with the

\*Mentioned in Genesis x. 8-10.

beasts of the field? Come with me to the stronghold Erich, come to the palace of Gilgamesh, whose power is great and who governs many people," and Eabani, listened to her words, and, longing for a friend, he answered: "Come, then, Ukhat, and lead me; show me the palace of Gilgamesh, whose power is great and who governs over many people."

The result was that Gilgamesh, seeing Eabani, contracted a great liking for him, and the two rivals became the best of friends. The suffering of the people was no longer thought of, and the story continues to tell of the adventures of the two heroes; for instance, the slaughter of the bull, the monster that was created at the request of Ishtar to punish Gilgamesh. Finally Eabani meets somehow with a tragic death,\* and Gilgamesh would not be comforted. He laments for his dead friend and descends into the world of shades to call the spirit of Eabani back to life.

We need not enter into further details—how Gilgamesh meets the wise Tsit-Napishtim, who advises him and tells him the legend of the deluge, and how, with the help of the plant of life, he recalls Eabani's spirit back to the upper world, etc., but we may point out a lesson in the story of the two rivals: You cannot cast out devils or Beelzebub.†

The people groaned under the tyranny of the trusts and hailed the formation of the unions. But the two rivals have made peace and both do their best to oppress the public. Trusts are combinations of capital, and unions are combinations of labor, both for the sake of monopolizing the market. It is natural that the two should become friends and, instead of waging war, the one on the other, find pleasure in each other's company. Indeed, should it come to pass that one of them should die, we cannot doubt that the other will be sorely grieved and do all he can to call the spirit of the defunct brother monster back to life.

There is nothing new under the sun. The guilds of the middle ages were combinations of artisans that in all details resembled the unions. They were gradually abolished during the nineteenth century and branded as mediæval institutions. Yet under the new name of unions, they originated again in the United States and are praised as the most modern and effective method of offsetting the tyranny of capital. But history repeats itself; Eabani became the best friend of Gilgamesh.

\*The tablets that contain the story of Eabani's death exist only in small fragments, and so this chapter of the epic is lost.

†Matt. xii, 24-28.

## MOSES.

BY EDITH STOW.

CROWDED into the southern part of the peninsula of Sinai is a terrific group of sandstone rocks, a rising tableland cut across by jagged ravines and edged by shivered mountain peaks. In a few places these ravines hold little, cup-like plains, but down into them no mountain torrents rush, no lakes mirror the sky. This lack of water on the tableland breeds an oppressive silence there, a stillness that heightens inconceivably the awful grandeur of the rocks. Moreover there can be heard at times strange noises up among the mountain tops and flapping winds rush down the ravines; and then such stray sounds are reverberated, hurled back and forth from peak to peak. The tribes call it the Mount of God and shun it.

Up the crevice of one of the ravines a shepherd leads his flock seeking a pasture for them. Behind him is the lower wilderness where men wander; before him, the mountain rugged and bare. Up the steep path they climb slowly until they reach the lip of a little plain. The sheep wander off nibbling about him in zig-zag lines and he begins to sing to himself a low, monotonous shepherd song. Men do it for dread of the silence. So the night comes on him. Then follow days of this one after another in which he leads his sheep from plain to plain as the herbage is consumed, these dumb, breathing things, until the loneliness of the place presses upon him. The silence conquers; the song ceases.

In his solitude he turns inward upon himself for companionship, rehearsing the tales he has heard in the tents, tales of the old home of their fathers to which these children of poverty and oppression clung so proudly, tales of vast possessions which this homeless tribe fed hope upon. In those dragging hours of solitude these grow very real to him. His imagination touches them with the qualities

of his own great soul; with quick impulse, with indomitable courage, with sweeping generosity. They take plot and sequence in his mind. The longing for the old home, the crying belief which was an inheritance in his blood that some day they should acquire it all again, this is his theme.

Then upon that mind brewing within itself the associations of the place begin to work their effect. He is alone in the innermost recesses of a wilderness where a God has his dwelling; alone, they two; what if— Out of the superstition of that awful grandeur, out of the emptiness of his hands from labor, out of the loneliness of his one mighty soul, a vision arises and a voice speaks. So the silence becomes a vital thing. Something is touched for a birth within him. He feels God stoop near in the mystery of it. With anguish of spirit, with ecstasy of hope he feels it shape itself for the end until it is born—an immortal purpose.

With a mighty swing like the swinging of a lever he turns to his brethren and from the depth of his mountain fastness he can (in thought) see them and can hear their exceeding bitter cry swelled into a chorus of despair. The limits of his personality are swept away: he spreads through the tribe, bearing every burden, enduring every anguish.

"Go rescue them from this!" commands the voice. "Go lead them forth!"

"Forth?"

"Yes, to the land they shall inherit."

So he accepts the mission opened before him. God-like through confidence, magnetic through sympathy, he leads them out, his motley thousands following him as men always follow such a leader. And what a throng they were, those ignorant, herding things; men with kneading-troughs on their shoulders and the pilfered wealth of Egypt in their hands, women carrying their children, the restless mob of the nation; stupid, timid, earth-bent, clamorous.

"God, God, the remembered of generations," this is the cry of the leader. "Come to God and hear him," he urges eagerly, leading them on towards Sinai. But the enthusiasm of his tribe, being only a reflected passion, filters away.

"Are there no graves in Egypt?" they cry in their terror. But he does not heed this.

"Come, come," he urges joyously.

They break forth in rebellion against him, but he pleads with them, anxious only to bring them where he may share his great

prize. So at last he stands with his throng before Sinai. All thought of self has risen from him and been swept away like mist by the wind.

"You have seen what I did to the Egyptians and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you unto myself," he shouts triumphantly in the words of the God whose voice sounds in his ears. O great heart! you cannot lead them up the sheer heights of ecstasy!

But they cannot understand him, poor things how can they! He had taken them from a drowsy, mellow country, a land shadowed by flitting wings and they had fainted on burning deserts and drunk from wells of bitter water until now at last he had brought them to desolation complete. What wonder that in their terror they long for the comforts of the old religion and beg to return to servitude where at least was food.

There is a shock of disappointment in his voice and then a ring of anger. "See thou sayest unto me 'Bring up this people,'" he cries out against his God.

Then a sense of helplessness settles upon him.

"I pray thee show me thy way that I may know thee," he pleads.

It is a desperate struggle.

"My presence shall go with thee and I shall give thee rest."

"If thy presence go not with me carry me not up hence."

"I will do this thing."

"I beseech thee show me thy glory."

So he prays alone, welding his answers out of the very metal of his soul. And when he comes to them this man has grown yet mightier from the fullness of that experience.

"I will tell you what it is he speaks to me," he says, stifling a regret for the loss of a tribe-wide revelation which until then he had anticipated for them.

"Thou shalt inherit the land," he still asserts, but there sounds in his voice a new ring of human courage.

There was never a greater victory through the reaching soul of a man, for out of his own ecstasy he divined the interpretation of God and held it a fixed thing which moved always before him. He vowed himself to a serving companionship with this soul-divined God and lived with Him on transcendent heights of human possibility where few can even breathe. And more than that, he held Him up before the eyes of a whole unwilling nation, he forced them to bow down and worship Him, to serve Him, to follow Him through sufferings innumerable.

I hold this to be true that God reveals Himself to man in the measure that man is able to realize the truth. God is a constant, not a pulsing force, and the man who accomplishes great things for the rest of his brethren climbs the heights of human possibility and on the summits of life he converses with God.

## THE DECADENCE OF FRANCE.

[Louis Dumur, editor of *L'Européen*, a Paris international weekly, has put to a number of celebrities the question: "Is France in its decadence?" The replies, as we are informed, are to be published in his periodical during the month of April, and having procured through Mr. Theodore Stanton of Paris some advance copies of these most interesting documents, we here publish them in *The Open Court*. It is noteworthy that they are unanimous in taking the negative side of the issue.—Ed.]

CARMEN SYLVA.

(Her Majesty the Queen of Roumania, Bucharest.)

"DECADENT FRANCE" has produced Leconte de Lisle, Ernest Renan, Sully Prudhomme, François Copée, Anatole France, Melchior de Vogue, Edmond Rostand, Léon Dierx, Heredia, Théophile Gautier, Flaubert, Pierre Loti, Richepin, Jean Aicard, Edmond Harancourt, Epraim Michael, Louis Bouilhet, Verlaine, Baudelaire, Cesar Franck, Saint-Saens, Fauré, Leon Moreau, etc., and further, the sages, the painters, the sculptors, whom we all know. I did not mention Rodenbach and Maeterlinck because they are not born in France. Nevertheless, they write French. Accordingly it is well if the decadent sky still shows such stars.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSSON.

The French people who are always brimfull of life, in decadence? Can one at all put such a question? I do not understand how any one can believe it seriously. The boulevards and their debauches are not France!

CAMILLE LEMONNIER.

(A famous Belgian novelist)

In order to judge of a people from the view-point of the proposed question it would be necessary to put aside all preconceived ideas which the politics, the morals, the literary condition of the

arts, as they appear in isolation in their immediate manifestations, would render predominant.

If one keeps in mind the prodigious moral influence which France has not ceased to exercise upon the world and the reaction which always follows the oscillations in which it seems temporarily deprived of the high-souled spirit which characterizes the nation, it would not be proper to compare her to nations threatened with imminent decadence.

JOSEPH REINACH.

(Ex-member of the French legislature, author of *L'histoire de l'affaire Dreyfus*.)

The day after Sedan, the Duke of Aumale wrote before Claretie: "What a shame! What pain! Such a beautiful year! Such a grand country! A country which had an '89, which had an 1830,—and after a pause,—which had an 1848!"

Further this country was the one which stood the siege of Paris and made the national defence. It has founded the Republic; it has made public instruction accessible to all classes, and has given a magnificent start to all works of charity and solidarity as well as to all public labors. It has fully paid the debt of its colonies. It has rendered inefficient the factions of dictatorship, of anarchy, and of reaction. It has again taken its rank in the European Concert. It has made of the Dreyfus affair, more a moral reform than a political one.

Another proof of vitality and wisdom: France has renounced her dreams of leadership, but she has not renounced the grand reparations which, as said Gambetta, "can be derived from her right."

MAX NORDAU.

Whether France is in decadence? The question itself seems blasphemous. There are in France social groups, or classes if you please, which obviously are decadent, and that is good for your country, but France herself is moving rapidly upward, and witnesses at present one of the most brilliant eras of her history.

Economically, France enjoys a marvelous prosperity. She has overcome by her energy and tenacity the terrible danger of phylloxera, a danger which would have utterly ruined and perhaps unretrievably, any other country; she has understood how to adapt herself to a protectionism which could have strangled her; she has reconciled by her good taste the patronage which she was about to

lose in her market; she has increased in a few years, the average production of wheat, from 14 to 18 hectolitres per hectar.\*

Politically she has regained the prestige of her most glorious days. If one no longer fears her because she is known to be peaceful, one respects her, one admires her and solicits her favor. Russia is happy to have her as an ally. Italy and England seek her friendship. Spain is approaching her. The United States treats her as a friend of first rate. Her position in the world is enviable indeed.

As to territorial expanse, her boundaries are wider and richer than during the time of Napoleon at the height of his power. Her flag flies over the most beautiful part of Asia. Her African empire, scarcely separated from the metropolis, cannot be compared in importance and accessibility to the Asiatic possessions of Russia.

Morally and intellectually, she takes first rank among the various peoples. Her science, her art, her literature, are superior to those of most of her rivals and she does not rank inferior to any one of them. She enjoys the great fortune once more to march in the van of mankind waging a struggle against obscurantism and reaction, and she seems to be bent, through an enormous effort of which any other nation would at present be incapable, on the completion of the work of the encyclopaedists and of the great Revolution.

France, a sovereign and noble nation and a powerful democracy, works for the emancipation of human thought and for the legal organization of a national solidarity. She is to-day what other peoples will be to-morrow, or much later, very much later.

The sole black point on her horizon might be the reduction of the increase of her birth rate, but even here she seems to be ahead of the times. This sociological phenomenon accompanies throughout the progress of civilisation, and France should perhaps here also lead other nations. When generalised, the phenomenon ceases to be a disturbing factor. It simply seems to be the expression of the fact that in consequence of the nation's intellectual development, reason and foresight extend their influence upon a domain where in a lower stage of civilisation blind instinct alone holds sway.

A Frenchman who would not be proud and happy of the actual condition of his country appears to me singularly odd and ungrateful.

\* 1 hectolitre = 100 cubic decimetres = 2.838 bushels (dry). 1 hectar = 10,000 square metres = 2.471 acres.

EMILE VERHAEREN.

(A famous Belgian poet.)

The word decadence is irritating. It has been so much misused by mediocre pedagogues and publicists that it should no longer be mentioned when one speaks of things great and noble.

The supremacy of France is centered since several years in her art. There she reigns in all her greatness. All other nations submit to her leadership. Her authors, her painters, her sculptors, show themselves the artistic masters of the world and see how in spite of all, musical geniuses arise! The light of French art shines at present in its purest radiance. I do not believe in the abatement of the vital forces of a country when it produces great men in such abundance! In politics a mode of bold and well-directed thinking gains the ascendancy. All other countries still rely on the solemn feebleness of dogmas and the venerable but antiquated sentiment of faith. France frees herself from this hollow power. She was the first to make for truth. Man becomes the master of his laws and institutions in the place of God. In this struggle against secular illusion, France has again become the incarnation of the hope of the world. To speak of decadence would indeed be more than ever to indulge in twaddle.

CH. GIDE.

(Famous economist and professor at the University of Paris.)

It seems to me that foreigners alone are qualified to reply to the question which you propose and to me the French ought to be excused. Indeed in this international consultation it would certainly not behoove them, either to affirm or to deny that their country is in decadence.

Nevertheless, if we limit ourselves to statements of fact, we have the right according to statistics to affirm that no part of France is on the path of retrogression. The curve of her evolution remains ascending. It neither declines or halts, nor does it even noticeably change from the angle of inclination except in its movement of population where after all the line still feebly ascending tends to become horizontal.

The last third of the 19th century is marked by an extraordinary advance in population, wealth, and economic activity of almost all nations, and in this advance France has not strongly participated.

It is not impossible that this general advance is only temporary. It is only a billow that will pass by, and the time will come when the other countries will retard their steps, but if that moment would not come soon, France would be easily outdistanced.

J. NOVICOW.

(A famous Russian sociologist, Odessa.)

One can speak of the decadence of France by a perversity of the human mind that would attach all the most complex social phenomena to one single cause. In agriculture, industry, science, the arts, and belles lettres, France is not inferior to any of her rivals. Her only inferiority manifests itself in war. I understand better than any one else how false this phrase sounds and how it contradicts the most obvious facts. Let me explain.

France during the last two centuries has come out vanquished from her great campaigns against her neighbors. The fight of the 18th century against England ended in defeat and cost her India and Canada. The fight against the European coalition during the Revolution and the Empire ended in another defeat and cost her not alone all the acquisitions of the time of the directory and of Napoleon, but also a piece of territory which had belonged to her kings. The fight against Germany was ended by the treaty of Frankfurt and involved the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. One is therefore justified in saying definitively that France has shown herself inferior in these struggles, but on the other hand it would be ridiculous to use such an expression with regard to one of the most warlike nations of the entire world, which counts hundreds of most decisive victories, of which we will only mention a few: Rivoli, Marengo, Hohenlinden, Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, Wagram, Borodino, L'Alma, Inkermann, Magenta, and Solferino.

Whatever it may be, France of to-day has acquiesced in a defeat, and for this reason alone she is said to be in decadence.

It is true, however, that one should appreciate still another reason, her feeble birth-rate, but this phenomenon appears also in the race that is generally proclaimed as the most flourishing one, the Anglo-Saxons of the United States; consequently if the Americans should *not* be regarded as degenerating on account of their feeble birth-rate, why should the French for the same reason? There is a lack of logical consistency which proves that we have to deal with a preconceived notion, and it leads us back again to the military defeat. Indeed if the French had not been vanquished on the

battlefields, her reduced birth-rate would be considered no more as an evidence of decadence with them as with the Americans. Otherwise the small birth-rate is a phenomenon which seems to make its appearance in proper season in all civilised countries, and France is presumably in this respect only in advance of other nations. I have said that in the midst of her defeats France has gained the most dashing victories, but if her inferiority in the art of war should be irreparable and definite, would that prove her decadence? By no means! War is one of those numerous forms of activity which develops a nation. It is a profound error to consider it as a resumé of the entire national life. France has as the first one rid herself of her mediaeval swaddling clothes. Both in political institutions and as to religious ideas France marches at the head of the nations and in numerous respects by far surpasses them. To speak of her decadence under these conditions is only evidence of an astonishing frivolity, or a still more astonishing hypocrisy.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### DR. PHELPS'S LETTER\* ON "THE PRAISE OF HYPOCRISY."

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

The position of Dr. Phelps is apparently indicated in his third paragraph, to the effect that he has "nothing to do with the truth or error" of what I had said, but "the question is whether it is judicious to gather up the unexploded shells of the besieging enemy, light their fuses and roll them into the ranks of the defenders."

Why he should raise such a question is not at once manifest; for, in fact, the "shells" were not taken from the enemy but from the defenders of Christianity. The men and churches whose confessions and defenses of hypocrisy form the basis and substance of all that I have said are orthodox Christians—for examples: Newman, Rashdall, Hodge, and the Communions they represent. One might indeed quote a host of heretics in favor of deceit; but the non-Christians whom I did quote on the subject (Achilles, Mohammed, Rénan, Huxley) spoke in praise of truth and sincerity, and against hypocrisy. But it might be expected that one who purposes to have nothing to do with questions of truth or error should misconceive the essentials of the situation.

Perhaps, however, Dr. Phelps will do better with the conclusions of his reasoning than with the premise.

His text is from the words of Jesus: "I have many things to say, but ye cannot bear them now." His thesis is, that "it is well to remain silent concerning some things." He proceeds thereupon to suggest that the things about which Jesus remained silent were that the changed circumstances soon to take place would make it necessary for the disciples "to grasp the world's weapons" and not be content with the sword of the Spirit. There is even a suggestion that the Church must hereafter "clothe herself in the armor of policy and apparent subserviency," and no longer avoid the appearance of evil. It must "kneel to the law of conformity," and not to God alone. In short, the straight and narrow way that leads to heaven may henceforth be as crooked as the way that leads from Philadelphia to Chicago—to adopt the expressive simile of Dr. Phelps.

\*Our readers will remember Dr. Knight's article, "The Praise of Hypocrisy," in the *Open Court* for September, 1903, which created quite a stir and was upon the whole very well received by several clergymen, see for instance the letters published in the *Open Court* for October, 1903. Dr. Phelps' criticism appeared in the February number, page 117.

This is remarkable exegesis, to say the least, especially in view of the fact that immediately after the occasion of the words in question, Peter did grasp one "of the world's weapons" and smote the High Priest's servant. But he was rebuked for it, with the warning: "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." Nor when circumstances had still more changed, did the Apostles carry any such weapons. To the end of his life, St. Paul would not "kneel to the law of conformity," but advised that we should "*not* be conformed to this world, but transformed." Authority in the New Testament seems to thoroughly refuse Dr. Phelps' understanding of the words of Jesus.

Dr. Phelps is not much happier in interpreting the divine method than the divine word. In his concluding paragraph he grants that a reformation is needed, but thinks that an individual only can do the work. For "God never sends a Church about his work, but He fills a man with his spirit." Is that quite true? God does indeed at times send a single individual, but does not the one soon join with others to form a company or communion, and are they not all together sent also? Christ is represented in the New Testament as purposing to form a Church, and Paul was sent to "make known through the Church the wisdom of God;" and we are repeatedly exhorted to "hear what the Spirit saith to the Churches." The Church is called the embodiment of the Kingdom of God, or of the Spirit of Christ, and we are called members of that body. Whereof "if one member suffer, all individuals suffer with it, and if one is honored all rejoice." The value of the Church of Christ may be small, in the judgment of Dr. Phelps; and yet there are those who love it, and who feel so keenly the dishonor of some of its members, that they cannot "remain silent," as the doctor advises.

Dr. Phelps says "it is not intellectual honesty . . . but honesty of purpose and desire in the heart . . . that will make the needed reform." But would not honesty of purpose be more effective if joined with intellectual honesty—which I suppose means consistency? Perhaps, however, Dr. Phelps does not believe in being consistent. For I observe that, in strange contrast with his estimate of honest purpose just quoted, he says on the previous page, "The fact that Dr. Knight is honest and sincere in his purpose has nothing to do with the effect of his utterances," and so on. At one time honest purpose has *nothing* to do, at another, *everything* to do.

By the way, which kind of honesty is it that purposes to hold up the standard of a creed which one does not believe, and will both subscribe to it one's self and require others to do so? It seems to be of "purpose," but it sounds very unlike the doctrine of Jesus. Nor am I persuaded that it was this kind of thing which he might have taught but withheld, out of regard for the weakness of his disciples. Yet if it be that, one can easily see why they "could not bear it." It would have been a great shock to them after certain very severe remarks about those who pretend to open the Kingdom of God, yet really shut it, to hear him go back on his teaching and praise them.

Such is Dr. Phelps' argument in favor of silence. He seems also to intend at the same time to answer the editor's call for a remedy for the disease of the Church. His answer is, "*do nothing*." Indeed the only suggestion of action in his letter is ironic, by which his first paragraph likens me to "Goliath whose armory furnished the weapon to cut off his head." But

even this suggestion he does not follow out, unless it was in pious imitation of David that he omitted to furnish his own armory with anything having either point or edge. If his resemblance to that doughty Hebrew had extended further there might have been *something* doing, though, perhaps, at my expense.

However, it is not for anything so far said that I now write. It is rather that Dr. Phelps is a type of many who, without being hypocrites themselves, yet in effect apologize for hypocrisy, and who, when a man confesses that he practices deceit and defends it, are so shocked that they refuse to believe the confession. And if another calls attention to it, they accuse him and not the sinner. They customarily refuse to face unpleasant facts, they "have nothing to do with truth or error," they strive to minimize the occasion, they turn aside to discuss policy and invent strange exegesis and interpretation. By a law of the mind they before long succeed in concealing the issue, for self and followers. "None so blind as those who will not see." Of course a moral decline follows the defeat of the intellect, taking the form, now of cringing saintliness, and again of open hypocrisy. More often, perhaps, there is bred a kind of despair of ever being able to arrive at truth, leading to an undervaluation of truth and of loyalty to it or of honesty. Hence, many Christians actually suppose that religion is of the emotions alone; that it is independent of creeds, facts and truth; that it can consist with any creed or no creed. Who was it that said he "could sign all the creeds in Christendom"? They are his kind to-day to whom it makes no difference whether Jesus lived and did as recorded in the New Testament, or who, with Dr. Phelps, say "let the creeds stand if they will," a good purpose will save us, and meanwhile we wait for something to turn up.

In other words, an important symptom of the disease of the Church is the neglect of the truth, the unwillingness to apply intelligence to the facts. Such is the meaning of the experts.

Presidents Eliot and Harper have lately said (if reports be correct) that "the Church is losing connection with intelligence." President Paine in his last book said, "Can we wonder that the churches are honeycombed with elements of insincerity and hypocrisy, or that the world is ready to ask whether Christianity itself in its organized form, judging by its moral exhibitions, is not an imposture and a sham?"

Dr. Phelps himself is not entirely blind to the facts; he does by implication allow that there is something wrong in the Church. But, he says, let the good and evil "grow together until the harvest." But have we not harvest enough already—counting up those who openly advocate deceit and crookedness, with those who apologize for it and those who are in hopeless apostasy from the truth? Or must we, as the doctor advises, wait for a more bitter harvest yet? That depends on whether the Christians will still hold to their confusions and sins, and will resent the summons to sincerity—a summons which, however imperfectly, I have tried to echo from the stronger voices of the good and wise.

One thing is sure. Those voices have not been raised against the true "Church, Religion, and . . . Christianity." These great institutions are not in the slightest danger from men who assail hypocrisy. On the other hand, they are in danger from traitors within the camp, who boldly attack the citadel of sincerity, and from those trembling saints who apologize for

treason, minimize its offense, or deny its existence, however manifest. These are they who "with melancholy irony furnish weapons against themselves and against Christianity," to use the doctor's own phrase.

I am sorry to have shaken the faith of a good man, and therefore beg the privilege of suggesting a means of relief. I would remind Dr. Phelps that there are two kinds of faith. One, mistaking sect for the Church, sentiment or ritual for Religion, and tradition for Christianity, is naturally liable to overthrow or distress on every occasion of advance of knowledge, for the very reason that it has attached itself to the transitory which it mistook for the permanent. This is the faith that has nothing to do with truth and which scoffs at consistency.

The other kind of faith, while it recognizes the value of sect, custom and tradition, yet is also aware of their subordinate character, and is so much more attached to the truth which is eternal, that it scarcely suffers at all by the passing of a transitory form. Least of all does it suffer by an assault on falsehood; it rejoices in that.

In short, the same prescription which in another connection I suggested for the Church in general, I would now suggest for Dr. Phelps. Let him take large doses of truth, honesty and sincerity. He will soon begin to mend. Before long he will be able to distinguish friend from foe, to distinguish an attack on sin from an attack on Christianity; he will not be driven to fictitious interpretations of divine things; he will find no occasion for the policy of inaction or concealment, or for otherwise stultifying intelligence and conscience; and at length he will come to a solid and enduring faith, with increasing health, courage and joy in every new truth.

#### RELIGION IN FRANCE.

The August (1903) number of *The Open Court* contained a letter of mine, which requires certain corrections and explanations. This letter was not originally intended for publication, and the proofs intended for my revision failed to reach me. My knowledge of the English language is limited and I may, on that account, not be clear in certain statements, but I will do my best to make myself understood.

My first comment is of little importance. In using the expression, "It was written," I meant to say that "it was foreordained," that sooner or later the people of France would get rid of "the congregations" (i. e., the religious societies having their own rules and regulations in contrast to the secular clergy). The natural progress of civilization is such that whatever form of government we may have had, whatever our national and social state may have been, France was compelled by the requirements of her history to rid herself of these religious corporations. Things might have been otherwise had Protestantism become the prevailing religion of our country, or had Louis XIV. not signed the edict of Nantes.

My second comment is of a more general nature. It refers to the paragraph marked (i) page 507. I answer the question "What is religion?" by saying: "It is simply the adoration of, and prayer to, someone, anthropomorphically conceived, who is capable of seeing our adoration, of hearing and answering our prayers." But, someone may claim that no person exists

who is able or will transcend the laws of nature to fulfill my desires. Explanations, therefore, are required.

There are two kinds of religion, accepting the word in its wider significance. One is a philosophy such as Plato and other sages offer to enlightened people, the purpose of which is the regulation of one's own conduct and thought. It aims at an artificial or ideal conception of some beatific end of man's growth,—both purpose and aim intended to elevate man's spirit and satisfy his mental and moral needs, bringing him happiness.

The other kind of religion is adapted to the needs of the common people, serving to regulate their actions in accordance with the demands of the general social interests.

The question now arises as to the possibility and desirability of perfecting a union between these two kinds of religion. The educated classes can do without the conception of an anthropomorphic deity, but the masses cannot. The former will be satisfied with ideals, the latter fail to recognize their significance.

Religion, or rather, its representatives, the priests, have not satisfied the wants of the lower classes, and that is the reason why the socialists of this age can take as their formula: "No God, no Master."

We know that in Egypt the upper classes were furnished with fine and solid graves for their "doubles,"\* i. e., their souls, but the laboring classes did not even have a sepulchre. They had no place in the religion on the Nile, and, as elsewhere, their religious wants remained unsatisfied.

For my part, I acknowledge that there are many discoveries for science yet to make; that back of that gigantic word of August Comte and Herbert Spencer, "unknowable," there lie many untrod pathways. Yet, I verily believe, that there will be a continual increase of knowledge until, by and by, mankind will determine a true statement of the harmony of things and reveal the secret of the universe. Because of this belief I admit a general primal principle and accept your word *nomotheism* as the most appropriate expression to designate a conception of the Godlike character of the laws of nature as stated in Physics, Psychology, Biology, Cosmography, etc. I also accept the doctrine that there is a Universal Energy to which all the forms of energy, such as, light, sound, electricity, magnetism, radiation, thought, etc., may be reduced. That which constitutes my own life and thought is a part of that universal energy also. This individual vitalizing energy or power begins with me at my birth, increases with the growth of my body, manifesting itself chiefly in my brain activity, and at the death of my body returns whence it came, i. e., to the sum-total of universal energy spread throughout the entire world. Such a doctrine can be understood in the light of the ancient philosophies of India, and yet it certainly must be regarded as at least based on scientific facts.

You will readily understand, now, why I cannot adore this universal energy, which is by Spinoza regarded as the Supreme Substance, whether it is revealed in the external world or as it animates my own body. For the same reasons that I cannot adore it, I cannot pray to it.

\*In M. Topinard's letter of August, 1903, the sense of this sentence was spoiled by a typographical error. In place of the word "double" the word "doubt" was printed. M. Topinard's letter was inserted without revision, because the editor was under the impression that M. Topinard had seen and returned the proofs.—Ed.

Thus far I have dealt with the religion of the enlightened classes. For the average person, however, other views must be entertained which will bring him into harmonious social relations with every other individual.

Society, it must be remembered, is not a production of nature. It is an artificial and arbitrary product of man himself,—a *modus vivendi*, an attempt to conciliate two opposite principles; the right of man to do all that is beneficial for himself, all that his own organism demands for his welfare, and the obligation to restrain his actions so that the same right may be exercised by others. Mutual concessions on these points are necessary to make society safe. Morality is measured in accordance with man's fidelity to the mean of these two principles.

But our human, I would prefer to say, our animal nature, is essentially egoistic, some might even say anthropocentric. "Everyone for himself" is the first biological law. Society is, therefore, impossible without a political law, and the policeman is indispensable. However, circumstances may arise in which neither have any hold over the individual. Therefore, right conduct, i. e., the habit of thinking and acting in such a manner as to have peace and not molest another one in society, becomes necessary. My question is then, can those moral rules be established without a theory or philosophical system? Is it sufficient to say to the people, "Aside from the political law, you must obey your conscience in your actions?"

However, it is claimed, that religion is not only a guide in life, not only a stimulus toward morality, but it is also a consolation in misfortune, and answers a certain psychological need in many lives. It satisfies a desire that man be not merely a higher development of the animal kingdom, but more,—more than an ant, more than a grain of sand. Such a belief gives man courage, adds dignity to this trust in himself, and makes him more considerate of public opinion. For these reasons, I conclude by saying that religion is useful to the average man, but it is difficult to support it by logical argument.

I will not speak of the authority of the prophets or sages, such as Mahomet, Zoroaster, Shakyamuni, Hammurabi, Confucius, Manco-Capac and others. I wish only to add a few words on some principles which might be regarded as a basis for religion. First, the idea of natural and universal justice. By this we mean that every man will reap what he sows, will receive what is due him, will bear "the consequences of his acts." This is the justice sought by Plato, Cicero and so many others, among whom is our lamented prophet, Herbert Spencer. It is all Vanity, says the writer of ecclesiastes. I know no better argument of what this justice is or ought to be than that of the Melians against the Athenians as related in Thucydides Book V, pp. 85-118. Your readers know my own opinion on the subject. Nevertheless, it must be adopted as a dogma, for no society, either public or private, can exist without it.\*

The second principle is that of reciprocity. Reciprocity is, in reality, the criterion of just conduct toward one another. Negatively expressed it means: "Do not to others what you would not have done to you," and positively: "Do to others what you would have done to you." Unfortunately these two

\*I have not said all I think about the absence of Justice to-day and the promise of its fuller realization in future times. I find that others and myself have talked too much on the subject and admit that it must be taken as a dogma in social life; it is a mystery, not to be increased nor discussed.

maxims are only rules and rest ultimately upon egotisms. Nevertheless they may remain as complementary dogmas.

A third principle might be self-respect, supported by conviction, innate or taught, of our high psychical freedom (*libre arbitre*) and responsibility. I have, however, less confidence in it, for it leads rather to stoicism than to morality.

Another, and the best principle will be found in altruism, or more exactly in a natural faculty of our nervous system, more or less developed in the majority of men,—a psychological need which I will call, the need of loving and being loved. This faculty may be increased and exceedingly extended in every man and in his whole species by hereditary habits in families, and by the education of mothers, as I described in my book, "Science and Faith," and also by proper institutions and laws. The cultivation of this dual disposition—to love and be loved—would lead, naturally, to rules of morality in ordinary intercourse in the first place, and secondly to the enforcement of those rules, and in the third and highest place, to an esthetic adoration of the good and beautiful, in other words, to the idea of supreme perfection.

Is it not true, after all, that what Plato called God is a subjective and metaphysical conception of the good, the wholesome and the beautiful? "Your conduct," he said to his enlightened ones, "must be made to approach perfection. This is for the individual the supreme wisdom (Sophia)." So Plato taught. But it is my private conviction that he really felt it was but an artificial expedient. He looked for some tenable ethics, and created his philosophy in such manner as to attract the leading men of his times, and to cause them to follow the best light they had in their private life. In public life a man's conduct was to be such as would be most useful to the welfare of the city. Read his discussion on "injustice" or "incorrectness" in his philosophical dialogues. Compare them with passages in his "Republic" and "Laws," and you will discover that he had many doubts about the actuality of justice on earth, as we understand it to-day. The utilitarian conception of a practical philosophy must above everything else advance the welfare of the individual; political regulations must promote the welfare of society. This would be a religion for the enlightened, as well as for the common people. We desire only one, if possible, and, assuredly, we must have the same morality for all.

But one word more. November 8 a festival took place in Paris, at the palace of the Trocadero, under the name of La Fete de la Raison. This gathering was presided over by Berthelot, of the *Institute*, and organized by Charbonel, an ex-priest, now a social reformer and editor of two journals, "l'Action" and "la Raison." Both men delivered addresses, anti-clerical in tone, especially anti-Roman Catholic. They were, however, actuated by a different spirit. Charbonel desired to celebrate the Revolutionary reason of 1794, derived from the writings of Rousseau and Condorcet, and later from those of Voltaire and Diderot. Berthelot had in mind the geometrical reason of Greek philosophers, modified by modern science, and signifying the best adaptation of human ideals to actual conditions, i. e., the maximum of rights compatible with the several conflicting interests of society. "Like our ancestors," said he, "we are for truth, justice and fraternity."

We can say this also, and yet we maintain that the actual entire concilia-

tion of truth and necessity is impossible in social life. Justice remains only as a dogma, and fraternity as a great aim. Is there a religion or a philosophy that can give us these two?  
DR. PAUL TOPINARD.

### HOW WESTERN SCHOLARSHIP AFFECTS THE EAST.

Many complaints are made by missionaries that Christianity is not acceptable to Orientals. It is too Western to their taste, and converts are both few in number and limited to the lower classes of society. It would be wrong, however, to think that the West does not exercise an enormous influence on the East. Western ideas are like a leaven, and, though the process is slow, the results will unfailingly be a transformation, or better, a reformation of Eastern conditions. One instance of it is modern Japan, but we see similar effects in all Eastern countries, and we will quote as another instance, an event in India, which is a significant straw in the wind, viz., the reformation that is going on at present among the Parsees.

We read in an English paper that a society has been formed in Bombay, the object of which is to study the "Holy Gâthas" of the Zend Avesta, the ancient hymns of Zarathushtra. The Parsees having become better familiar through the writings of Western scholars, especially Prof. Lawrence Mills, with the original meaning of their sacred scriptures, propose to reform their faith on the basis of their own sacred books.

The movement was started under the name of "the Gatha Society," and at the first meeting Mr. J. C. Coyajee delivered a lecture on the "Spirit of the Gâthas." The friendliness with which these Parsee aspirations were greeted by their Christian fellow citizens appears from the fact that the Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M. A., D. D., LL. D., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, was in the chair as president of the meeting.

The text upon which the lecturer based his studies, and from which he made his quotations, was the translation of the Gâthas made by Prof. Lawrence Mills of Oxford, England.\*

The Gâthas are the most sacred and most venerable documents of Parseeism. They are hymns many of which, according to the higher criticism of the Zend Avesta, have been written by Zarathushtra, the great prophet of the Zend Avesta, himself. They reflect a pure monotheism, a belief in Ahaura Mazda, the Lord Omniscient, and show the founder of this noble religion (commonly called "Mazdaism") in his struggles and aspirations sometimes in a state of dejection, sometimes elated by the thought of a final victory; and our interest in the Gâthas will certainly not be lessened by the consideration that Mazdaism has repeatedly influenced our own religion, first under Cyrus, at whose order the Temple of Jerusalem was rebuilt, and then in the form of Mithraism at the beginning of the Christian era.

It is even not impossible that the name of the main orthodox sect of the Jews, Pharisees, means originally "Parsees," being the sect of Persians since they represented the orthodox monotheism established at Jerusalem through

\**The Gathas of Zarathushtra* by Lawrence H. Mills, D. D., Hon. M. A., Professor of Zend Philology in the University of Oxford. F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1900, 2d. edition. American edition. The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago.

the favor of Cyrus, the king of Persia, whom Isaiah calls "the anointed one of the Lord" (Isaiah xliv. 1).

### JESUS AND PAUL.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:—*

In my article, "The Gospels of Paul and Jesus," in the January number of *The Open Court*, I declared, "Jesus apparently knows nothing of an inherited taint of evil, or of the essential sinfulness of flesh." Upon this statement you have commented in a footnote, "But in the parable of the sower three hearts out of four are bad."

The parable of the sower does not speak of three hearts out of four, but of four sorts of people, without reference to their respective numbers. It is not implied that the best of these are in a minority. To the contrary, we might gather, if the analogy were carried into this detail, that the hearts that receive the seed of the kingdom and let it fructify in their lives are more numerous than all the others. For the sower does not sow seed on the highway, or on the rocks, or among the thorns, from choice; but he chooses the arable field, and only a little of the seed falls by chance on the infertile ground—not three out of four, but just a stray kernel now and then.

So much for numbers. Further, the parable does not speak of bad hearts, but says that some of the seed did not fructify. And why? Not because it was bad seed, but because it was sown in bad places. This parable, then, does not imply that man inherits a taint of evil. But it is one of many illustrations that Jesus regarded human nature as fundamentally good, and its imperfections as due to outside influences—typified in the birds, the rocks, and the thorns.

The Synoptic Gospels report only one saying of Jesus that seems to imply the essential sinfulness of human nature. "There is nothing from without the man that going into him can defile; but the things that proceed out of the man are those that defile the man." (Mk. vii, 15.) This is obviously directed against the Pharisees, because of their distinctions of food. To them he was bitterly opposed, and he was apt to speak without moderation when they were concerned. The private explanation of the parable to the disciples (Mk. vii, 17-23) we can dismiss as probably apocryphal, especially the latter part of it, which is obviously tacked on. Jesus always appears to teach that sin lies in the thought or motive, rather than in the act; and perhaps it is mainly this that he meant by the saying. So far, however, as it may imply that human motives are apt to be bad rather than good, it may be considered as directed against the Pharisees, and not against human nature in general.

It is, moreover, not safe to base our opinion as to whether Jesus did or did not teach a certain doctrine, on one saying alone, considering how uncertain it is that he is in any particular instance reported correctly. But in nearly all of his sayings, as they are given in the Synoptic Gospels, he seems to imply, as I have said in my article, "that men are at heart good and godlike." He seldom disparages the flesh as weak or corrupt, and never hints that sin is due to heredity, but time and again speaks of it "as the direct work of Satan or of evil spirits."

JOSEPH C. ALLEN.

## THE BACON-SHAKESPEARE THEORY.

In my article on Shakespeare, I spoke of the Baconian theory as "fantastical and being without the slightest support except so far as negative evidence is concerned." My expression provoked some adherents of the Baconian theory and I am sorry that I gave offense, but the statement expresses my sincere conviction, at which I arrived after a due consideration of the arguments. When I first became acquainted with this startling theory, I was struck with some very strange coincidences dug out by Mr. Donnelly, Mr. Bormann and others. But the more I weighed the evidences, the less did they impress me.

The most remarkable result of Mr. Donnelly, in my opinion, is attained in his ninth chapter, where he expresses his formula thus:

$$"516 - 167 = 349 - 22 \text{ b and h} = 327."$$

He expressed it in words as follows: "Every word of all the sentences in the following chapter grows out of the number 327."

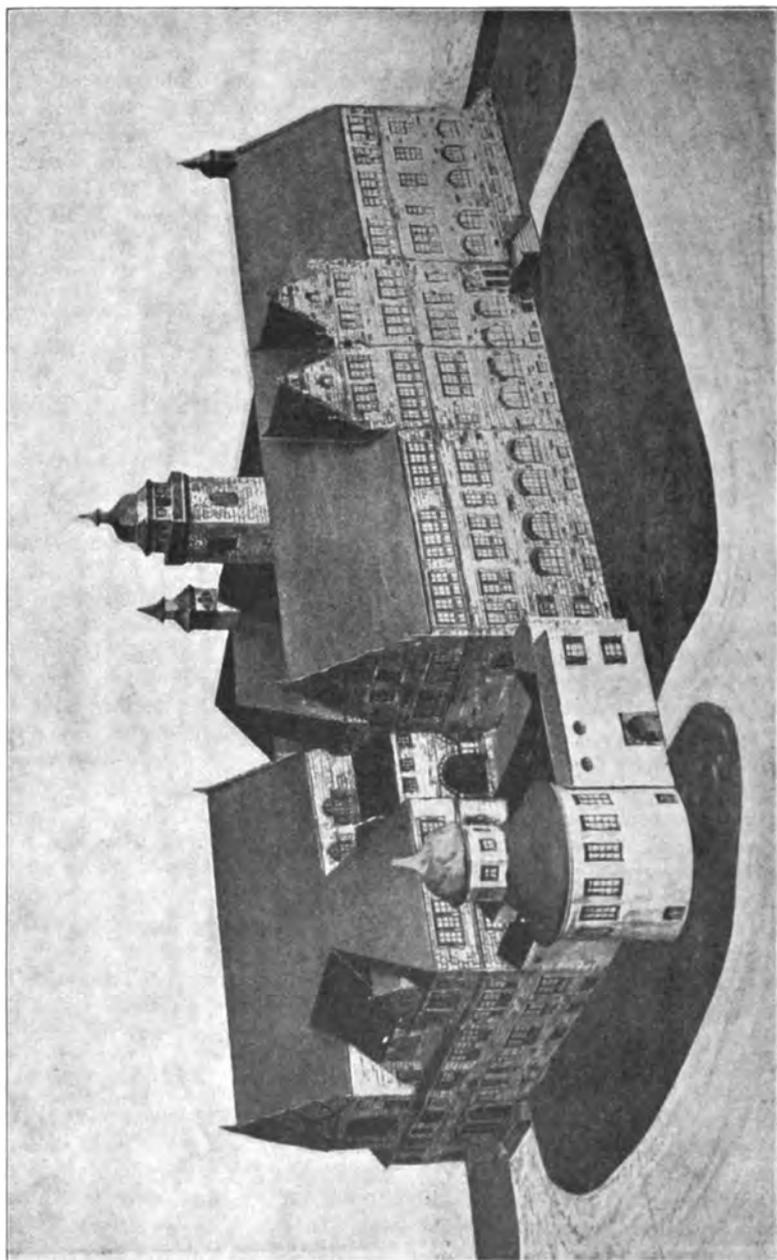
The sentences which result from this complicated method of figuring out words is as follows:

"Seas-ill\*-said-that-more-low†-or-Shak'st-pur-never-writ-a-word-of-them—  
It-is-plain-he-is-stuffing-our-ears-with-false-reports-and-lies-this-many-a-year—  
He-is-a-poor-dull-ill-spirited-greedy-creature-and-but-a-veil-for-some-one-else-  
who-had-blown-up-the-flame-of-rebellion-almost-in-to-war-against-your-Grace-  
as-a-royal-tyrant."

The results of Mr. Donnelly are truly startling at first sight, but anyone who is familiar with cabalistic devices will not easily be imposed upon. The strangest combinations and hidden meanings in words can be discovered, if, according to definite rules, letters or syllables are transposed and replaced, either because they possess the same number value, or are for some reason or other assumed to be equivalent. If we proceed according to prescribed rules and definite methods, such as are employed in the Cabala, to discover cyphers in ancient books, we may discover the most unexpected revelations, sense and nonsense, and we shall have to confess that the Donnelly scheme proves nothing more than cabalistic devices. If we only seek we can find innumerable mysteries revealed, or oracles proclaimed, in any book to which we would be pleased to devote sufficient attention in a similar search. It would not be impossible to discover a key in the Bible, in Homer, or in other ancient or modern books which might reveal to us their hidden meaning or the secret of their authorship. But what would the argument amount to if, for instance, we would evolve from one of the Psalms the statement that the Bible was written by Homer or that Hesiod's "Theogony" was the work of Isaiah?

There was a man who made polished cuttings from gneiss, granite, and other rock formation of volcanic origin, and he claimed to have proved that a rich vegetative life must have covered the earth while it was still in its fiery state. He produced the flowers which appeared on the surface of his sections as evidences that could not be contradicted, because they were facts; and facts, he claimed, cannot be argued away. Indeed, facts are actual. Every *lusus naturæ* is a fact, and so is our error arising from a wrong interpretation of facts.

\*This is supposed to mean "Cecil." †This is supposed to mean "Marlowe."



## THE UNIVERSITY OF JENA.

Theodore Fischer, a German architect, has won the first prize for the plan of the new buildings of the University of Jena. The intention was to have it erected in some old German style and yet adapted to modern methods. The annexed illustration shows how well the architect has succeeded, not so much by detail work as by the *ensemble* of the whole complex of houses, in appearance like a mediæval castle with tower and walls and court yards, yet suited to the needs of university work.

## AN AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF GERMANICS.

THE Northwestern University of Evanston, Ill., has always made efforts to be well equipped in its German department and its present president, Prof. Edmund J. James, proposes to push this feature with special vigor. We have received an announcement which proposes the foundation of an "American Institute of Germanics," to be closely connected with the Northwestern University. "The fundamental purpose of this institute shall be," as President James states, "to cultivate a knowledge and appreciation of, and consequently a love for, the intellectual and moral achievements of the German race. The institute will present an opportunity for the student to get in a brief time a cross-section, so to speak, of the entire product of German culture as worked out and achieved through the ages by the efforts of German scholars, poets, artists, writers, scientists and statesmen; it will be a monument in the midst of this rising people to the glorious achievements of a kindred race beyond the sea, and will be a standing inspiration and source of power and influence to that vast and important German element which has entered so largely into the life-blood and history of this people; it will stir the pride of the German-American and the German-American's children in the history and achievements of the stock from which they come; it will be an incentive to all other Americans to emulate the example of honesty, faithfulness, uprightness, idealism and thoroughness which are associated with the German name.

"Such an institute may well become, not merely the Mecca of the young American student who wishes to learn something of the secret of German life and power; not merely a place where the descendants of the German-American can go to receive a touch of that inspiration which comes from the study of the history of their ancestors in their great world beyond the sea—resulting surely in a quickened sense of power and vigor in our own people; but it may easily become a matter in which the Germans throughout the world will be interested and a standing monument to the achievements in science and art, in institutions and in arms of that people which has kept in its purest forms the qualities which gave it the victory over the Roman Empire at the time of Rome's greatest power and magnificence."

President James studied for a long time in Germany. He is in close touch with German science and German sentiment. His wife is a native German and she has always endeavored to make the influences of German thought paramount in her home, as well as in her husband's sphere of influence. Evanston—near enough to Chicago, where the German element is so predominant, and at the same time far enough not to suffer under the disadvantages and drawbacks of the big city to student life—will be the best

place where German culture can be taught in its most genuine, and also in its noblest form, and where the German spirit of German thinkers—German philosophy, German poetry, German music—will prevail and be thoroughly assimilated to the American spirit. President James proposes to have a suitable building erected, which shall be a specimen of German architecture at its best. It shall contain a library of German literature, German history, German philology, German law, German philosophy, a stage for the performance of the most important dramatic masterpieces, and also a museum of German civilization, with professorships of all these branches. From time to time scholars should be invited from Germany to lecture at the institute and thus afford the chance of a personal contact with representative Germans of the living generation.

It may be doubted whether the time is favorable for the foundation of institutes of learning, but at any rate the plan is excellent and we wish that President James may be successful. Undoubtedly he is the man to do it if only the necessary means are forthcoming.

#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

##### THE ETHICS OF THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS, SOCRATES, PLATO AND ARISTOTLE.

A Lecture given before the Brooklyn Ethical Association, season of 1896-1897. By *James H. Hyslop*, Professor of Logic and Ethics, Columbia University. Edited by *Chas. M. Higgins*. New York, Chicago and London: Charles M. Higgins & Co. 1903. Price, \$2.00.

Prof. James H. Hyslop, late Professor of Logic and Ethics at Columbia University, has delivered a lecture before the Brooklyn Ethical Association on Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, and we have here an extended publication of it with valuable appendices, sufficient to give one a very clear insight into the nobility of classical philosophy.

The lecturer summarizes the pre-Socratic philosophy of Greece, as exhibited by Pythagoras, Thales, Democritus, Anaxagoras, and describes Socrates, his environment, personality, method, doctrines and influence, especially his opposition to Sceptics and Sophists. He discusses his sagacious assertion of Ignorance; also his ingenious and misunderstood doctrine of Knowledge as the basis of Virtue, and characterizes him as a marvelous conversationalist and profound reasoner, opposed to all cosmic speculation or abstract science, who emphasizes practical ethics, or the laws of true human conduct, for happiness in this natural life and beatitude in the future supernatural life of the soul. Hyslop regards him as one of the greatest moral and religious teachers of the world, pre-eminent in teaching unworldliness and immortality in the Christian sense, and standing as a unique personality—mystic, theistic, rationalistic and utilitarian, the father of modern utilitarian theories and of many ancient philosophic sects. The most ingenious disciple of Socrates is Plato, an all-around genius in philosophy and abstract thought, idealistic, transcendental and universal in the scope of his philosophy. Plato is not merely a mouthpiece of Socrates, but has modified his master's ideas. He constructs an ideal state of a communistic and socialistic republic which embodies propositions of civil service reform. Plato's system of morality depends upon eternal and abstract law, inherent in the nature of things, and is

not made dependent upon caprice or authority, be it human or divine. His theory of the soul resembles that of Oriental sages, involving pre-existence, reincarnation and the final reabsorption in God. He shows an inclination toward asceticism, dislikes the sensual and loves the ideal, praises the good above the pleasurable, and has deeply influenced the Jewish and Christian sects at the very beginning of their history.

Aristotle, a pupil of Plato, was in many respects different from his master. He was pre-eminently modern in his methods and theories. He blended Socratic and Platonic thought with his own original scientific rationalism, and thus became the great scientist of the Greek schools and the father of modern scientific and evolutionary methods.

Professor Hyslop concludes with a sketch of Pythagoras and his school, the famous pre-Socratic philosopher, whose doctrines exercised a great influence upon both Socrates and Plato.

The value of the lecture is greatly increased by the appendix, which is more than twice the size of the lecture (pp. 75-333). Here the student of classical philosophy has a convenient anthology culled from the works of Plato and Aristotle. The extracts contain quotations concerning the supreme God; the antiquity of Egypt, the principle of love and Plato's *Symposium*; Plato on the Golden Rule; death a good, not an evil, an opinion of Socrates as set forth in the *Apology*; the Immortality of the Soul, future rewards and punishments, best texts from the Old Testament on immortality compared with Plato's *Phaedo*, the doctrine of Purgatory, Pagan as well as Christian; the Greek Conception of Soul and Diety; the Platonic Doctrine of Ideals; Aristotle on the Idea of God; Aristotle on the Theory of Evolution, etc., etc.

The choice of these passages has been made not without a certain tendency to prove the superiority of Greek philosophy over dogmatic Christianity, but even to those who would not agree with the author on matters of belief, the collection will be welcome and prove useful.

In addition to pictures of purely private interest, such as the house of The Brooklyn Ethical Association and portraits of Mr. Z. Sidney Sampson, a late president of the Brooklyn Ethical Association, to whose memory the book is dedicated, we have the classical portraits of the ancient philosophers, Plato, Epicurus, etc., including best felicitous reproductions made during the eighteenth century.

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THE PRINCIPLES OF HINDU LAW. By *Jogendra Chunder Ghose, M. A., B. L.*, Pleader of the Calcutta High Court, etc., etc. Calcutta: S. C. Auddy & Co. 1903. Pages, xix, 794.

The author of this book, a native lawyer of the Calcutta High Court and a Professor of Law at the Calcutta University, a man eminent not only because of his vast learning, but also because of the prominence which he enjoys both in the circles of his native compatriots and in the opinion of the representatives of the British government, here represents in a stately volume of almost 800 pages, the summary of Hindu law, with all the texts of the Rishis now extant. He quotes freely on each of the following particular subjects: Inheritance, the Rights of Women, the Joint Hindu Family, Adoption, Marriage, Gifts, Wills, Endowments, Estates and Customs, the texts of Manu, Gautama, Vasista, etc., etc., collecting

also digests, and commentaries of later lawyers and incorporating the modern decisions of the Privy Council. Sanskrit quotations are made in the original and translations are added as found in the *Sacred Books of the East* series. The book, accordingly, is of great value to the Hindu lawyer and to all residents of India who have to deal with the law, but it will prove useful also to the student of Indian lore, to Sanskritists and historians. An examination of the work in its detail proves that it is a work of love and that the author takes pride in exposing the institutions of this most ancient civilisation.

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AUFSÄTZE ZUM VERSTÄNDNISS DES BUDDHISMUS. Von *Paul Dahlke*. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn. 190. Pages, iv, 157. Price, 2.50 M.

Under the unpretentious title *Essays*, Paul Dahlke has written a series of articles in explanation of Buddhism, and we must confess that it is one of the best expositions of this rather difficult subject. Throughout, the author falls back upon the best sources, mainly ancient Pāli texts, and in a second line Sanscrit sources. He discusses: (1) The Life of Buddha; (2) The Main Doctrines of Buddhism; (3) Characteristic Features of Buddhism; (4) Pessimism and Suffering; (5) Nirvāna; (6) God; (7) Karma as the World's Judge; (8) Buddhist Morals; (9) Almsgiving; and (10) Knowledge. The present pamphlet, of only 157 pages, will be followed by a second one.

We wish Dahlke had considered a broadened view of God, and also of the soul question which might have put the differences of Western and Eastern modes of thought in a better light; but upon the whole we feel always that he understands the subject correctly, and explains it faithfully as well as sympathetically. This is especially true concerning the difficult topics of Nirvāna and of pessimism,—difficult not because they are intricate, but because our Western modes of thought are so different from the Eastern!

P. C.

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LA CHIMIE PHYSIQUE ET SES APPLICATIONS. Huit Leçons faites sur l'invitation de l'Université de Chicago. Par *J. H. Van't Hoff*. Ouvrage traduit de l'allemand par *A. Corvisy*, Professeur agrégé au Lycée de Limoges. Paris: Librairie Scientifique. 1903. Pages, 79. Price, fr. 3 50.

Prof. J. H. Van't Hoff of Berlin, the leading authority on physical chemistry had been invited to deliver a series of lectures before the University of Chicago. He treated his specialty in four aspects with references to chemistry, to industry, to physiology, and to geology, and we do not hesitate to say that they are highly important for all students of physical chemistry in its application. We hoped in vain for their publication either in the original German or in the English, and so we are surprised to see them in a French dress. We congratulate A. Hermann's *Librairie Scientifique* on having outstripped both the Americans and the Germans in bringing them out first in the excellent translation of M. A. Corvisy, Professor of the Lyceum at Limoges.

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L'ART ET LA BEAUTÉ. KALLIKLÈS. Par *Louis Pratt*. Paris: Felix Alcan. 1903. Pages, 286.

This book on Art and Beauty, called *Kalliklès*, is an ingenious imitation of the Platonic style of dialogues for the purpose of philosophical explanation. The character of Kalliklès, whose name serves as title of the dialogue, is a dilettante inquiring into the nature of beauty and the significance of art. Mr. Pratt introduces

Platon, the master and teacher, Antisthénès, a cynical philosopher, and a young lady, Aréta, daughter of Aristippos, the well-known philosopher of Cyrene. The conversation flows on in the placid style of Greek beaux-esprits, and we hear them discuss the nature of the beautiful and the philosophy of art. Many incidents, fables and allegories are woven into these dialogues and help to relieve the monotony of their æsthetic atmosphere. Σ.

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ORIENT UND OCCIDENT. Hundert Kapitel über die Nachtseite der Natur. Zauberkraft und Hexenwesen in alter und neuer Zeit von Prof. Dr. J. N. Sepp. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn. 1903.

Professor Sepp has collected a great number of interesting data of superstitious beliefs, practices, legends, from all sources and all times, which he here publishes under the name *Orient und Occident*. The book draws on the store of folklore from all parts of the globe and explains some of the Biblical expressions in the light of comparative folklore, but it is only to be regretted that the author is not always reliable. Some data of his are based on sound authority, and on other points he is either uncritical or does not appear to be sufficiently informed. The book would gain in value if in a second edition Professor Sepp would throughout the book add his references and authorities, and also if he would make the index more complete.

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SAKUNTALA. By R. Vasudeva Row, B. A. Madras: G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade. Price, one rupee.

The purpose of Mr. R. Vasudeva Row in publishing "Idylls of Ancient Ind" is to bring to light some of the many hidden treasures of the literature of his country, and he has wisely chosen "Sakuntala," that gem of ancient Hindu poetry, so highly appreciated in Germany by Goethe and Rückart, as the first contribution to this series. The new enterprise promises to be a great service to both the preservation of Sanscrit culture and the enrichment of modern English literature. While it may be true that it is all but impossible to do justice to the beauty of the original, we must confess that Mr. Row's treatment is worthy of the great subject. His English is pure and dignified, and the English reader has at least an excellent surrogate for the ancient Sanscrit poem.

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THE CRUSADE AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS. Consumption a Curable and Preventable Disease. What a Layman should know about it. By Lawrence F. Flick, M. D., Founder of the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, etc. Philadelphia: David McKay. 1903. Price, \$1.00.

This is a popular treatment of consumption caused by tuberculosis; how it originates; how it spreads in schools, boarding houses, churches, railways, etc.; how it can be prevented by fresh air, by disinfectants, by sterilizing the places and things contaminated by consumptives.

The book is well written, and its aim, to spread, in the interest of general welfare, a thorough knowledge of the disease, deserves recognition.

**ANIMAL EDUCATION.** By *John B. Watson, Ph. D.*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1903. Price, \$1.25.

The author is Assistant Professor in Experimental Psychology at the University of Chicago, and he has chosen for his investigations an animal easily procured and easily observed, the white rat. The aim of the experiments is to study the growth of the animal's mental life and compare it with the correlated growth of its nervous system with its increasing complexity. Professor Watson's investigations are interesting and instructive.

Dr. Arthur Pfungst has collected a number of essays which he published in several German periodicals, especially in *Das Freie Wort*, a liberal periodical published at Frankfort-on-the-Main. The subjects which our author treats are the Philosophy of the Veda; the Upanishads, the Oldest Philosophical System of India; the Castes of India; Progress of Buddhism; a Buddhist Catechism, What Does the Buddhist Nirvana Mean? the Sutta Nipāta; the Question of King Milinda; the Jātakas, the Oldest Book of Fables; Mental Reservation in Indian Literature; Legends of the Moon; Of the Good We May Learn from the Pagans; A German Buddhist; The Shin-Shu Sect; the Thirty-two Tales of the Throne of King Vikra-māditiya; A Modern Indian Saint; Women in Burma; How Buddha Became a Saint of the Catholic Church; and Personal Recollections of F. Max Müller.

The reader of these essays becomes acquainted with the author, his interest in Indian, especially in Buddhist lore, and his sympathy with the philosophy of the East in general. He is the translator of the Dhammapada in German verse and he has done much to make Indian thought accessible to the German public.

The collection of these essays will be welcome to many, for the book contains many helpful thoughts and good suggestions.\*

We are in receipt of a collection of Tamil religious poetry which appeared under the title of *Godward Ho! A Symposium*, and was published by the Ananda Mission at Triplicane, Madras. It is published by C. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, and we find in it traces of Christianity and Brahmanism as well as Buddhism, presented in the light of the Advaita philosophy which is the monistic conception among the Indian schools, with a decided preference of the Vedānta view of the soul. Whatever position readers take, we must admire the energy and the enthusiasm of those who support this movement, "Devoted to the Diffusion of Truth and Knowledge," among the Tamil people.

The pamphlet is divided into nine sections among which "The Gospel of the Holy Mother" takes a prominent place. The Christian idea of "the Holy Ghost" as "the comforter" has apparently taken strong hold of the Tamil mind, and here we find the idea dwelled upon with great enthusiasm.

The same mail brings us a reprint from the *Madras Review* of an essay on the necessity of religious education in schools and colleges and expresses the wish suggested to the authorities "to deal fairly with the religious question in India." We hope that the Tamil people will have a bearing and that the government will be reasonable in allowing them to develop their religious conditions in a way that is best suited to their own minds.

\**Aus der Indischen Kulturwelt.* Gesammelte Aufsätze von Dr. Arthur Pfungst. Stuttgart: Fr. Frommann Verlag (E. Hauff). 1904.

The second number of *Buddhism* contains a long article on the "Thathana-being, the highest authority of the Buddhist church in Burma." Other contributions are on "The Noble Eightfold Path," by James Allen; "The Legend of Upagutta," by Maung Kin; the description of the Pagoda Bo-ta-Taung Paya, by E. H. Seppings; an essay by Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids on Pāli and Sanscrit texts; "Processes of Thought," by Shwe Zan Aung, in which the author, taking as a text a passage in the *Visuddhi-Magga*, explains the transitoriness of the Ego on account of its being a combination of *Sankharas*; the continuation of the article, "In the Shadow of Shwe Dagon," descriptive of Burmese temple life; "Transmigration," an editorial explanation of the Buddhist view of rebirth, transmigration being a misnomer for the reincarnation of the soul in new existences.

From the notes we learn that the magazine *Buddhism* has been established on a solid basis and its continuation is assured solely by the local interest of Burmese Buddhists.

Paul Elder & Co., the enterprising publishers of San Francisco, are publishing a number of booklets and pamphlets which are new in taste and contents. One of their latest publications is a pamphlet called *Consolatio, Ode in Memory of those Members of the Class of Nineteen Hundred and Three of Stanford University who Died During the Month of their Graduation*, by Raymond MacDonald Alden. The ode was read at the commencement of the University.

A series of other pamphlets are made up artistically, printed in fancy style, and bound in colored stiff paper, enclosed in envelopes of the same tint and ready to be sent to friends as souvenirs or Easter greetings. The titles of these several pamphlets are *Happiness, Friendship, Nature, Success*.

Havelock Ellis, who for many years has made a specialty of the investigation of almost all the subjects connected with sexuality in its normal as well as abnormal phases, has written a monograph of fifty-five pages, entitled *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, published by F. A. Davis Company, Philadelphia. It contains an analysis of the sexual impulse and is the first instalment of a series of three, which shall treat on love and pain, and the sexual impulse in women. The pamphlet before us is a scholarly collection of facts methodically arranged and not too much overburdened with detail.

Prof. Jacques Loeb, formerly of the University of Chicago, now of the University of California, Berkeley, has published again a series of biological studies: *The Limitations of Biological Research; On the Relative Toxicity of Distilled Water, Sugar Solutions and Solutions of the Various Constituents of the Sea-Water for Marine Animals; On the Segmental Character of the Respiratory Center in the Medulla Oblongata of Mammals; and, the Fertilization of the Egg of the Sea-Urchin by the Sperm of the Star-Fish*. All are published by the University of California.

An interesting monograph on the philosophy of Ernest Renan, written by Herman G. A. Brauer, M. A. instructor in French, has been published as a Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin.

Prof. Julius A. Bewer's opening address, delivered before the students of Oberlin Theological Seminary, is "The Psychological Study of the Words of Jesus, Especially of His Parables," and is meant as a contribution to the study of the inner life of Christ. The author is to all appearance an orthodox believer in Christianity, and it is characteristic of the spread of the psychological methods that even the sanctissimum of religious faith, the personality of Christ, is invaded by it. Published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1904.

Another interesting essay that comes from the same source and is closely connected with Prof. Loeb's work is a lecture delivered at the dedication of the Spreckels Physiological Laboratory by William Ostwald, professor of Physical Chemistry at the University of Leipzig, translated from the German by John Bruce MacCallum. The subject which the famous Leipzig professor chose for his oration is a discussion of the relations of biology to the neighboring sciences.

The University of Chicago has brought out the following decennial publications: *The Elements of Chrysostom's Power as a Preacher*, by Galusha Anderson; *Practical Theology*, by Gerald Birney Smith; *The Definition of the Psychical*, by George H. Mead; and *The Unity of Plato's Thought*, by Paul Shorey.

The Lakeside Press of Chicago, R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, have published the "Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin" as the first volume of *The Lakeside Classics*. This book is a little gem of elegant binding and book-work.

Dr. Wilhelm Spiegelberg, professor of Egyptology at the University of Strassburg, has published a brief sketch on the history of Egyptian art\*, which has appeared at Leipzig, by J. C. Hinrichs.

European Freethinkers will convene in Rome on September 20, 21, 22, 1904. They will discuss questions of the religious dogma before the tribunal of science, the relation of the state to the churches, and the means of organizing a propaganda for Freethought. People of the English-speaking world interested in the congress will please address William Heaford, a journalist of London, 29 A, Mersham Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey, England.

Dr. Paed. Maximilian P. E. Groszmann, formerly of the Ethical Culture School of New York, and now the owner of the Groszmann School of Nervous and Atypical Children in Pinehurst, New York, in seeking new quarters for his institute, has purchased a new place on Watchung Mountain in Plainfield, N. J., which will be specially adapted to the purpose. Dr. Groszmann devotes special attention to exceptional children who for some reason or other demand special treatment. It is a branch of pedagogy of its own, and a specialist in that line will be greatly appreciated by many parents whose children are in danger of being stunted in their mental and moral growth through the accident of some unfortunate condition.

\*Geschichte der Aegyptischen Kunst im Abriss dargestellt, mit 79 Abbildungen.

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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS

Associates: { E. C. HOEGLER.  
MARY CARUS.

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JUNE, 1904.

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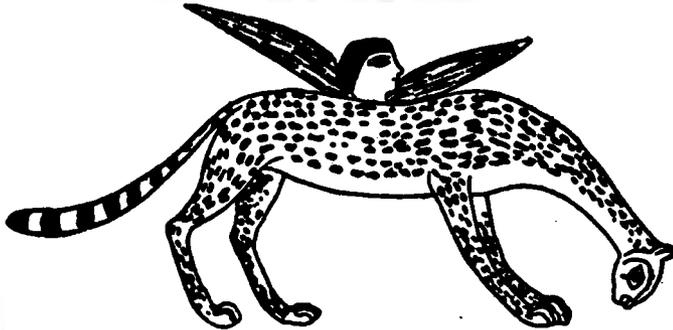
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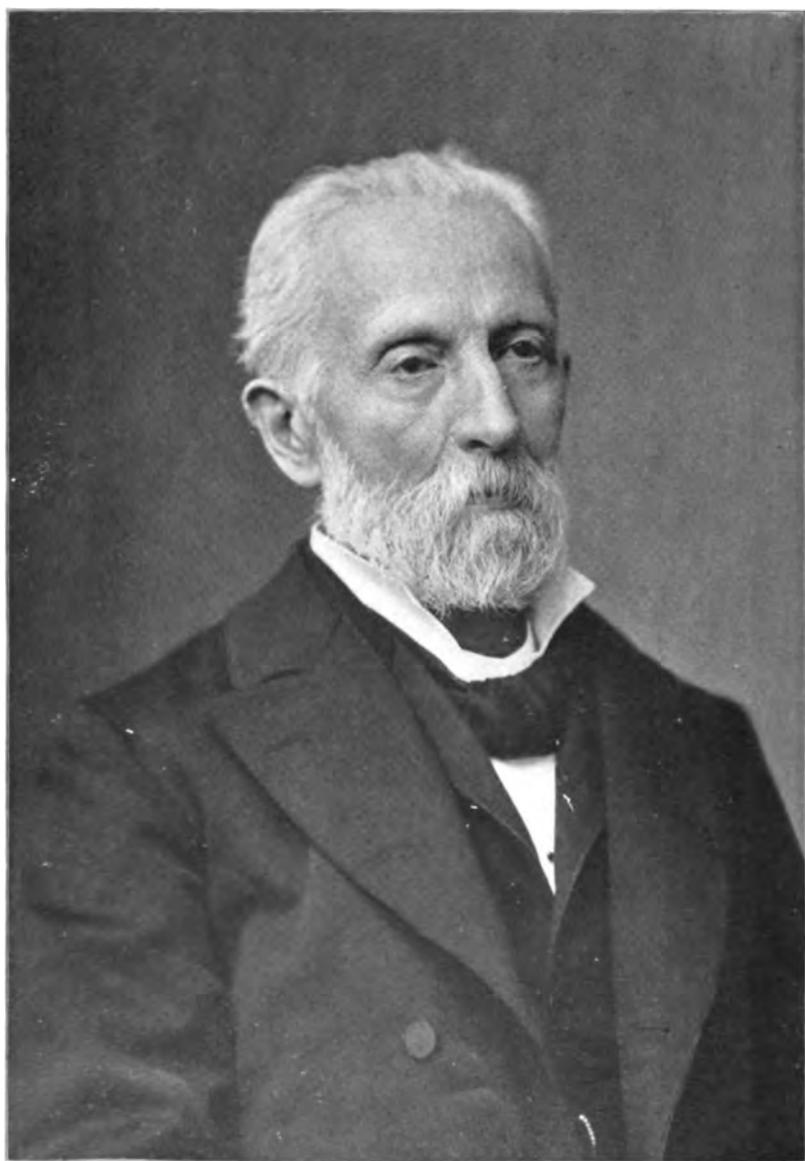
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ADOLF BASTIAN.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court*

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## ADOLF BASTIAN.

BY W. H. CARRUTH.\*

THE growth of the conception of a unitary Universe is illustrated nowhere more strikingly than in the rise and spread of the science variously called ethnography, ethnology, anthropology. Or perhaps it should be said rather that this science has strengthened and established the notion of a unitary Universe. It is unfortunate that the name anthropology should have been restricted, as it commonly is, to the study of man as an individual, for by its root meaning it represents the very broadest sense that can be attributed to this science or group of sciences, the science of mankind, of man the race. Thus it is really broader than ethnology and ethnography, both of which hint at the division of mankind into tribes and nationalities. Although the Germans favor somewhat the latter of the two terms and the English and Americans the former, ethnology seems to be gaining ground as the accepted name for the science. Among themselves the Germans have their expressive word *Völkerkunde* and the word *Mensch*, corresponding to Greek *ἄνθρωπος*, for man the species. These words make it easier to express oneself with simplicity and precision on the subject under consideration. The attempt to distinguish ethnography, as the more outward locating and delimiting and description of races, from ethnology, as the research into the nature and origin of races and race characteristics, seems more feasible to the German with his beautiful word *Völkerkunde* to include them both.

However, the really significant matter is the existence of this science, based like other sciences upon confidence in the universal

\*From data furnished by Dr. Th. Achelis.

reign of law, a law not imposed from without but working in and through the forms which manifest it—a science that has felt after and found the solidarity of the human race. It is noteworthy that the new science of biology, like the science of ethnology, was fostered by an exploring expedition around the world, and that the *Origin of Species* appeared in the same year with the first fruit of Adolph Bastian's researches into the natural history of primitive races and was followed the next year by the epoch-making *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*. It may almost be said that evolution and ethnology were born in the same year.

One of the most interesting figures among German scholars of to-day is Adolf Bastian, the pioneer of the science of ethnology, who is approaching his 78th birthday. He was born in Bremen, May 26, 1826. Turning from law to medicine, he took his doctor's degree in 1851 and promptly engaged himself as a ship's surgeon for a trip to Australia. The trip was extended into an eight-years' journey of exploration including in addition to Australia, Peru, the West Indies, Mexico, California, China, East India, Babylon, Nineveh, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, the Cape Country and the Guinea Coast. Upon this, as upon his many subsequent extensive travels, Bastian was a keen observer and a diligent collector. He was from the beginning a very different being from a mere curio-gatherer; he had early learned not to despise the seemingly meaningless and unimportant, and that no product of human activity was without significance in interpreting the nature of man. In his first extended work, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, published at the conclusion of this great journey, Bastian tells how the project matured in his own mind:

"Far from Europe and for a long time restricted in personal communication, these views matured gradually as a result of observation on the various conditions in which mankind lives on this earthly ball. In the silence of the deserts, upon solitary mountains, on trips across wide seas, in the sublime natural beauty of the tropics, they matured in the course of years and united into a single harmonious conception." And at the same time was maturing in the soul of the explorer a firm confidence in his calling to develop a new science, which kept him true to his work through the many trials and dangers of his long life. Not only was the young explorer sailing an unknown scientific sea, but what had seemed to be fixed stars of faith and philosophy began to wander from their courses. "The spirit may long to return to the days when a fixed firmament arched above our heads, where dwelt a loving Father; it may lin-

ger fondly over the dreaming dawn of its childhood, but would it be content to become a child again? Will that man fulfill his destiny, who, just as he is about to enter into the struggles of existence which will call his capacities into action, would flee back to his mother's lap to seek in her arms protection from the violence of the storm? Into many a heart, indeed, there enters bitter grief, the painful distress of despair, when it finds everything about it suddenly empty and desolate, when all the pleasant pictures of imagination, the friendly divinities upon whose lips he hung so trustingly as a boy, the shining words which stirred his enthusiasm as a youth—when all these vanish into nothing and dissolve in mist." But these, Bastian says, are the lamentations of the weakling. If our generation had been schooled in psychological principles we should have been spared this period of sentimental woe over things as they are. "True, we see about us the operations of laws which in their last analysis we do not understand, but we see them working in harmonious accord; we have, indeed, no fixed goal toward which we labor, but we have at least unmasked the lie that tried to deceive us with mirages; we no longer have to bear the tyrannical whims of a jealous God; if a powerful enemy expels our protector from Heaven, we no longer fear to fall with him into the abyss of annihilation; we no longer tremble at the dreadful spectacle of the almighty creator of the world compelled to give himself as a sacrifice to ward off impending dangers. \* \* \* The yoke is broken and we are free. \* \* \* And what is it that the human heart desires? To know the whole, of which it is an integral part. And can it hope to know this in any other way than by coöperating in the common activity? Can it find a surer and loftier consolation than to know itself to be an atom in eternity and infinity, infinite and eternal with these? \* \* \*

"Our eyes look out into infinity: why deny its existence? Seek to be infinite yourself, if infinity surrounds you. Soon you will feel your thoughts and ideas streaming out into the eternity of the Universe, you will feel them taking root everywhere in the laws of the harmonious cosmos, you will grow into it, unending, eternal, unceasing like it, and fulfill your law of life in conscious harmony. Not only every look that connects us with the stars and every breath that absorbs the ever renewed atmosphere, guarantee eternally continued existence, but still more the divine ideas, free from all planetary and cosmic limitations, whereby we reproduce within ourselves the laws of the Universe."

Such were the reflections of the scholar of thirty-two arising

from the material of his first great work\* and the experiences leading to it. It was evident to him already, not only that his researches would take him largely into the realm of religion historically considered, but also that they were destined to affect profoundly his own and others' views of religion in general. As religion deals with man's relations to the Unknown, it naturally occupies a larger part of the consciousness of the primitive man, since the field of the known is comparatively so much smaller as we go further back in the history of the race or of the individual. Thus it is but natural if Bastian's next great journey was prompted expressly by the desire to pursue one great religious problem—that of Buddhism—to its sources. This expedition occupied the years from 1861 to 1866, the greater part of the time being spent in Burmah and Siam, but included considerable periods in Japan, China, the Desert of Gobi, and the Ural region. The printed results of this journey were: *Der Buddhismus in seiner Psychologie* (not published until 1882), and *Die Völker des östlichen Asiens*, the latter in six large volumes.

On his return from this expedition Bastian located at the University of Berlin as *Privatdocent* and was soon appointed professor of ethnology and in 1868 Director of the Museum of Ethnology, which developed so nobly under his management that the splendid structure in the Königgrätzerstrasse was erected for its collections in 1886. But scarcely had he begun his activity as instructor when in 1873 he joined the African Congo expedition to establish a station at Chinchoxo, and in 1875 made an expedition of two years to South America. Again an interval of two years and the tireless traveler began another trip around the world, visiting Persia, India, Australasia, New Zealand, Oceanica, California, and Yucatan, reaching Germany again in 1880. The plans for the new museum and an enormous amount of publication prevented further travel for ten years. The publications of this period include fourteen titles and eighteen volumes, not reckoning serial contributions. Then again the "Wanderlust" came over the veteran and a previous expedition was traced nearly in reverse order: Caucasus, Turkestan, Armenia, Further India, Polynesia, Tasmania, and Australia, on a trip of three years' duration. Finally at the age of 70, Bastian undertook one more long journey to Indonesia, to escape, it is said, the embarrassing honors prepared for his Jubilee by his appreciative countrymen and fellow-scholars.

\* The first publication, preceding this, was, *Ein Besuch in San Salvador, Hauptstadt des Königreichs Kongo: ein Beitrag zur Mythologie und Psychologie*. Bremen, 1859.

In addition to these seven great expeditions, with the making and care of the attendant collections, to a list of forty-seven volumes of independent publications, not counting contributions to journals, to his work as an instructor and director of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Bastian has assisted in founding several learned societies, as the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, the Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, the Africanische Gesellschaft, serving for considerable periods as president of the first two, and in founding and editing the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*.

Like most great scholars, Bastian is modest, almost shrinking, when his personal achievements and merits are involved. He is frank and straightforward, perfectly simple in habits and manners, and absolutely self-sacrificing when his science is to be served. It might be difficult to say whether his pronounced personal charm is innate or comes from his enthusiastic devotion to his subject and the vast interests of his experiences.

Bastian began by insisting on the accumulation and interpretation of facts, in contradistinction to the prevailing speculations regarding the childhood of mankind. He saw that the races which still preserve anything like primitive conditions are rapidly passing away, or that they lose their primitive character rapidly on coming into contact with more highly developed races. Hence his appeals to scholars to gather everything accessible that might throw light on these primitive conditions, and hence his own nervous haste to reach all the primitive races and to study them in their native environment before they had been modified by contact with a foreign world, before their spiritual identity had been attacked and undermined by the resulting self-consciousness and deliberate adaptation.

In view of the recent discussions of the effect of the contact of inferior with superior races, Bastian's utterances on the subject twenty-five years ago are interesting, made as they were from the historian's point of view and not at all from the statesman's: "From the moment when primitive peoples make our acquaintance the 'breath of the death-angel is upon them; stricken by him they bear 'within themselves thenceforth the germs of dissolution.'" In the case of weaker peoples this is actual physical destruction, but even in the case of more vigorous races there is psychic extinction: the race may be improved, but it loses its race individuality.

Bastian early observed that it was necessary to break utterly with the psychology of his day, which was largely evolved from the inner consciousness. His travels and observations had taught him the immense import of the fact that man is a social animal. Both

history and psychology had too largely ignored this fact or failed to understand it. Man cannot be studied and understood in his isolation. "Mankind, a conception than which there is no loftier, is to be taken as the initial point, as the harmonious whole, within which the individual figures only as an integral fraction. \* \* \* "History has given hitherto the development of individual races instead of that of mankind; the glaring light that issued from the social summits threw into the shade the broad foundations of the great masses, and yet it is in them alone that creative forces spring and the lifeblood circulates."

Thus Bastian demanded a new psychology, a social psychology, which should comprehend the fact that we do not even think "unto ourselves alone," but rather, as he put it, "that it thinks in us." And with this thought was given the watchword for a group of new sciences, or for re-construction of old sciences which made them practically new: Social science, social ethics, social psychology, social pathology, social everything pertaining to man; comparative law, comparative religion, comparative everything pertaining to the social animal man. Comparative philology had, indeed, anticipated Bastian's labors, but the impetus proceeding from him may even have broadened the spirit of philology.

Bastian originated the expression "race thought" (*Völkergedanken*). He observed that there is an extraordinary similarity and uniformity of conceptions among all the races of the earth, beneath all the seeming diversity, and that these conceptions are developed according to uniform laws. Similar conditions produce similar thoughts. And so, while within differing geographical horizons there are certain modifications in the form of these thoughts, on the whole they manifest the unity and the uniform development of mankind. "To get at these fundamental uniform conceptions, and to establish them in their elements together with the law of their development, in religion as well as in law and esthetics, in a word, the investigation of the laws of growth of the human mind as manifested in social collective thoughts—this is the function of ethnology, its contribution to the establishment of a science of mankind." And in this spirit Bastian calls his own work "Thought-statistics comprising a survey of what has been thought on this earth always and everywhere about religion and philosophy."

Applying the general principles already outlined, Bastian attempts in each field of human interest: law, religion, ethics, etc., to ascertain first the universal human elements and the laws therein

manifested, and then to ascertain the modifying power of environment in the various great "geographical provinces." Only in the second of these spheres does Bastian concede the place and function of history and chronology. History has always erred in constituting an hypothetical primitive man out of the writers' own consciousness.

"Das ist im Grund der Herren eigener Geist,  
In dem die Zeiten sich bespiegeln."

There is no need of this, for primitive man is still to be found and studied on the earth. After ethnology has established his universal characteristics and the laws of his development, then chronology may assist in ascertaining the order of the development of the various geographical deviations from the type.

The matter of primary interest is the primitive man's conception of the universe, and here we find the critical fact to lie in the difference between the known and the unknown, and especially in the envisagement of the latter. The primitive man's analytical power is slight; and as soon as it relaxes and he recognizes the Unknown as an entity, gives it a place in the category of his conceptions and gives it a name, he has deliberately set up a despot whom he will have to serve humbly and slavishly until the developed intellect of a later time shall dissolve this Unknown into its elements and master them. Man lives within the horizon of his own views. He is constantly dominated by the conceptions that for the moment have the upper hand within him, whether in the higher stage of humanity's intellectual flower or in the cryptogamic stage of savagery.

With the recognition of the Unknown the savage has admitted an indefinite quantity into his scheme of thought, an  $x$  of undefined and undefinable value, which will yet be the determining factor in all his mental calculations to which it is added. Every object of nature partakes of this feature of the Unknown, so that the savage dares not even pluck the plant he needs for his food without ceremonies to appease the Unknown. Only his fellow-man seems to him a known quantity, and so long as distinctions of rank have not crept in, no ceremonies are employed in the approaches of man to man. Yet, if the man be a stranger with perhaps extraordinary powers of harming or curing, he may, until he becomes commonplace, receive some of the deference paid to the Unknown. But when Death lays his hand upon a fellow-man, the sense of identity with himself is broken for the savage, and the cold and rigid body partakes with all outward nature of the mysterious qualities of the

Unknown. So he pays his homage to the dead with trembling until a growing enlightenment changes the ghostly spooks of the departed into kindly guardian heroes.

Not understanding death as a natural process, the savage regards as equally mysterious its forerunner, disease. Each disease becomes a hostile demon. And if the savage speaks of a demon who falls upon him out of the trees of the jungle and shakes him in the grasp of a fever-chill, while the civilized man looks wise as he discourses of the effluvia arising from the decay of vegetation, the difference between them is after all not so great—a difference chiefly in point of view, for neither knows the nature of the miasma. The savage finds more meaning in the conception of a demon, for he has not as great powers of abstract thought as his civilized brother. And so he sees in every outward object some portion of the mysterious Unknown, while he represents the powers which he can recognize under the forms of beasts or of grotesque distortions of them. Mr. Ingersoll's witty perversion of Pope's aphorism: "An honest God's the noblest work of man" was but another form of the more scientific proposition, "Man is reflected in his Gods." While the nature of the personification under which the unknown powers are represented grows nobler and higher as man's intellectual horizon widens, yet the same instinct underlies all religion, and survivals of fetishism may be detected in even the loftiest religion of the world, Christianity. To the understanding eye all attempts to grasp and realize the Unknown are but reflections of the known, are based upon the earth; the supernatural and the transcendental are but the natural in another light and from a different point of view.

Comparative law, guided by the researches of ethnology, has reversed old notions of private property, of marriage and of the position of woman. We now know that there is no universal law and absolute code at the foundation of all laws. Private property is not primitive and universal, but a comparatively late development of civilization. With the early exception of tools and weapons and of the immediate results of the chase, property rights inhered in the commune or clan. So, too, the primitiveness of the authority and power of the father as head of the family was overthrown by the revelations of the conditions known as the matriarchate, showing that the woman was the natural center of those close primitive organizations known as clans. In fact, the natural history of marriage has been revolutionized.

The dispersion of the idyllic dream of primitive innocence and

purity cherished by the Eighteenth century was succeeded by a tendency to paint the savage as malicious, steeped in the most abominable vices and reveling in revolting spiritual grossness. The one conception is scarcely less one-sided than the other, though it rightly emphasizes the vast difference between our civilization and the earlier stages of life. But more important is the recognition of the law demonstrated by ethnology, that the moral sense depends immediately upon social conditions. There are no universal and absolute moral ideals save such as are based on the social structure and the common character of mankind. The sole arbiter of the permissible, the proper, and the essential is not the subjective fancy of the individual, but the entire structure of the social organism in which these terms are to be applied. In a word, the standard of ethics is not absolute, but relative.

"A striking instance of the onesidedness of our view of the world is the stubbornness with which we insist that our principles, our sacred truths must prevail among men everywhere and are in the very nature of man as such. An arrogant and egotistic pride has long misled the European into regarding himself as the ideal of humanity, and into looking down upon all other times and condemning every race that ventured to derive other views from its social experience. He does not think of the broad continents which cover the rest of the globe, where unnumbered nations have developed their independent civilizations; he does not recall the many brilliant epochs of history that rose and passed away before ever a ray of the light of civilization had pierced the barbarism of his forests. The majority of educated people do not look beyond their own horizon."

But he who respects the facts will hesitate to regard the morality which prevails among us as the only natural system and to try to force it upon other nations. Although the moral system of Europe, on account of the activity of her political life, has reached an incomparably high degree of perfection and development, we hesitate for this very reason to apply this perfection attained through exceptional circumstances to all other nations. "If we expect to find among all nations the principles which are indissolubly connected with European civilization and fail to find them there, an explanation blinded by prejudice will naturally lead to those abstruse hypotheses regarding the origin and permissibility of evil which have confused some of the greatest intellects."

Such are some of the thoughts and conclusions arrived at by Bastian or through the science which he represents to-day as veteran

and past master. The aim of all science is truth, but one-sided truth is almost as bad as absolute error. The aim of true philosophy is to get a grasp of the universe and some notion of the true proportion of things. Toward this end ethnology makes one of the most valuable contributions, and it is evident that such a study lifts and inspires by widening immensely the horizon of human thought. Bastian and those who have labored with him may regard with just satisfaction, if not with pride, the effect of their thought and their conclusions upon the collective sciences of mankind.\*

\* The following is a list of Bastian's published works, not including pamphlets and serial contributions: 1. *Ein Besuch in San Salvador, Hauptstadt des Königreichs Kongo*, Bremen, 1859. 2. *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, 3 Bände, Leipzig, 1860. 3. *Die Völker des östlichen Asiens*, 6 Bände, Jena, Leipzig, 1866 ff. 4. *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Psychologie*, Berlin, 1868. 5. *Das Beständige in der Menschenrasse und die Spielweise ihrer Veränderlichkeit*, Berlin, 1868. 6. *Rechtsverhältnisse bei verschiedenen Völkern der Erde*, Berlin, 1872. 7. *Ethnologische Forschungen*, 2 Bände, Jena, 1872. 8. *Geographische und ethnologische Bilder*, Jena, 1873. 9. *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loangoküste*, 2 Bände, Jena, 1875. 10. *Schöpfung und Entstehung*, Jena, 1875. 11. *Die Kulturländer des alten Amerikas*, 3 Bände, Berlin, 1878 ff. 12. *Die heilige Sage der Polynesier*, Leipzig 1881. 13. *Der Völkergedanke im Aufbau einer Wissenschaft vom Menschen*, Berlin, 1881. 14. *Zur Vorgeschichte der Ethnologie*, Berlin, 1881. 15. *Der Buddhismus in seiner Psychologie*, Berlin, 1882. 16. *Inselgruppen in Oceanien*, Berlin, 1883. 17. *Zur Kenntniss Hawaiis*, Berlin, 1883. 18. *Völkerstämme am Bramaputra*, Berlin, 1883. 19. *Indonesien*, 4 Bände, Berlin, 1884 ff. 20. *Allgemeine Grundzüge der Ethnologie*, Berlin, 1884. 21. *Der Papua*, Berlin, 1885. 22. *Zur Lehre von den geographischen Provinzen*, Berlin, 1886. 23. *Die Welt in ihren Spiegelungen*, Berlin, 1887. 24. *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, 2 Bände, Berlin, 1888. 25. *Ueber Klima und Acclimatisation nach ethnischen Gesichtspunkten*, Berlin, 1889. 26. *Ideale Welten*, 3 Bände, Berlin, 1892. 27. *Controversien in der Ethnologie*, Berlin, 1893. 28. *Loose Blätter aus Indien*, 6 Hefte, Berlin, 1897 ff. 29. *Die mikronesischen Colonien*, Berlin, 1893. 30. *Kulturhistorische Studien*, 2 Hefte, Berlin, 1900.

## MARRIAGE AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY J. CLARK MURRAY.

NO institution has influenced human life more widely or more deeply than the family. All the interests of man—social and political, moral and religious—gather around the family home. These interests, however, reach their highest emotional intensity in that relation of the sexes, out of which the family takes its origin; and therefore the well-being of mankind has always been intimately bound up with the moral and religious usages, the social and civic regulations by which this relation has been safeguarded. Accordingly, in all the highest civilisations the bond of man and wife has been fortified by the most solemn motives that act upon the human soul, the sanctities of a religious rite. Among Christian communities at the present day the marriage ceremony is almost always performed by a minister of religion, purely civil marriages are in general regarded as "irregular," and they certainly form a very small proportion of the matrimonial transactions. Christian sentiment on the subject has taken its most definite form in the Roman Catholic doctrine, which makes marriage one of the "sacraments" of the Church. The technical significance of this dogmatic theory or of the controversies which it has originated does not concern us here; but even the most violent Protestant cannot shut his eyes to the fact, that it gives the Roman Catholic Church a position of peculiar advantage in enforcing the inviolable sacredness of the marriage bond. It has even been claimed at times, and by Catholics of philosophic culture like Mr. W. S. Lilly, that "the only real witness in the world for the absolute character of holy matrimony is the Catholic Church."\* This statement, though it might be qualified, is not here

\* See an article by Mr. Lilly on "Marriage and Modern Civilisation" in *The Nineteenth Century* for December, 1901, p. 919.

called in question. The benign influence of the Catholic Church as a living witness for the sanctity of marriage is rather ungrudgingly recognized. It is in fact for this reason that attention is here drawn to the indications of a tendency which is calculated to mar the general influence of the Church upon the institution of marriage.

This tendency has appeared in the Canadian Province of Quebec, where the Catholic Church holds a somewhat unique position. That position has given her a peculiar power in controlling the marriage-law of the whole Dominion. For, in the Act of Confederation which forms the Constitution of Canada, her influence went with the wisest convictions of Protestant statesmen towards keeping the laws affecting marriage within the sphere of the Federal Government. The Act, indeed, provides that each of the several Provinces entering into confederation shall retain its existing laws till these are amended by subsequent legislation. But four of the Provinces, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia, had Divorce Courts at the time when they joined the Dominion; and as the Federal Parliament has in general avoided unnecessary interference with Provincial freedom, those courts have never been abolished. In the other Provinces, however, divorce is still impossible by ordinary process of law; it can be obtained only by a special Act of Parliament, and only on proof of conjugal infidelity.

But it is in the courts of the Province of Quebec rather than in the Parliament of the Dominion, that the influence of the Catholic Church on the marriage question has taken its most interesting form. To understand this it is necessary to bear in mind that the laws of France at the time of the cession of Canada remain the laws of Quebec, except in so far as they have been modified by change of sovereign or by subsequent legislation. Now, as a Catholic country at the period in question, France governed her marriage-law by the Catholic doctrine, as formulated by the Council of Trent. The provincial law in Quebec has of course been amended to secure the validity of marriage between persons who do not belong to the Catholic Church; and the whole marriage-law, as thus amended, has been embodied in the Civil Code of the Province, which was promulgated in 1867. So far as the marriage of non-Catholics is concerned, the interpretation of the Code seems to have met with no serious difficulty. But a perplexing legal problem has arisen out of the fact, that occasionally persons belonging to the Catholic Church have been married, not (as their Church requires) by one of her own priests, but by a Protestant minister. According to

many legal authorities, this fact does not invalidate the marriage of Catholics before the civic law, as the Code seems to require merely that a marriage must be celebrated before witnesses and by any officer duly qualified; but Catholic jurists in general contend that, in the case of Catholics, the marriage-ceremony must be performed in a Catholic church and by a qualified Catholic priest. This point involves merely a disputed interpretation of provincial law; but the problem is complicated by an additional contention of far more serious import. For, as marriage is for Catholics a religious sacrament, some of the provincial judges have decided that, whenever any question with regard to the validity of a marriage is brought before the civil courts, they should refer it to the bishop of the diocese and await his decision before pronouncing judgment in regard to the civil effects of the marriage. This decision has very naturally been opposed, not only by legal authorities, but by the unanimous sentiment of the community outside of the Catholic Church. Unfortunately none of the cases that have come before the Canadian courts have been appealed to the Privy Council in England, so that no approach has yet been made towards an authoritative settlement of the questions involved. The situation is therefore one that calls for earnest reflection with the view of finding whether some solution of the problem at issue may not be reached without regard to the disputed interpretation of the law.

The whole problem has found its clearest expression in one of the more recent cases, which, in virtue of its peculiar features, excited an unusual degree of interest throughout Canada. Other cases of similar purport had been the subject of legal controversy before, and at least one has been adjudicated since; but as the one specially referred to is singularly free from side-issues in which the main issue might be obscured, it may be taken as peculiarly representative of the principle involved in them all. The facts of the case are these: The petitioner was a young man named Edouard Delpit, who had been baptised and brought up as a Catholic; the defendant, a young woman named Marie Cote, likewise baptised and brought up in the Catholic Church. In 1893, when the former was twenty-three, and the latter only sixteen years of age, they were married by a Unitarian clergyman in Montreal in accordance with all the forms required by law of the officiating minister. After the two had lived together as man and wife for seven years, and three children had been born to them, Delpit applied to the Archbishop of Quebec to inquire into the validity of his marriage; and the Vicar General of the diocese, to whom the adjudication of mat-

rimonial causes was delegated, pronounced the marriage null on the ground of clandestinity. This decision was, on appeal, confirmed in Rome; and an application was then made to the civil court to confirm the judgment of the ecclesiastical court, and to annul the marriage as to its civil effects. The application was of course opposed, and the case went to trial before Mr. Justice Archibald. He had to face several decisions of the court, in which petitions similar in purport to that of Delpit had been granted, and especially one of great learning and argumentative ability, which had been rendered some years before by Mr. Justice Jette. In dismissing the petition Mr. Archibald's judgment became thus, almost of necessity, substantially if not formally, a review of the previous decisions, to which it was opposed in principle. On the other hand, a decision by Mr. Justice Lemieux in a more recent case is substantially a review of Mr. Archibald's judgment. The continuance of such a judicial debate is certainly undesirable; but it is only fair to acknowledge that the tone, in which it has been hitherto conducted, may give some legitimate satisfaction to the Canadian people. It may be questioned whether the judges of any other country could have sustained such a debate with higher dignity or more perfect courtesy. It may be added, that the learning and dialectical skill, displayed by advocates as well as judges, reflect the highest honor on the Bar and the Bench of Quebec; and if the question at issue is ever carried to the Privy Council, the judges of that court will probably find that the whole material has been thoroughly threshed, and every particle of grain carefully sifted, by their colonial confères.

This is not the place, and it would be futile for a layman, to discuss the problem before the Canadian courts in its legal aspects. But even if it were to receive final adjudication from the Supreme Court of the Empire, that would settle merely the actual state of the law, while the moral and religious interests involved would still offer a serious problem, which might call for legislative action. It is therefore worthy of consideration whether, even in the present state of things, nothing can be done either to prevent such marriages altogether or to prevent them from becoming subjects of controversy in the civil courts or in the periodical press. Such a result may be rendered far from impossible by a fair amount of judicious action on both sides.

First of all, on the part of the Protestant people it is but an obligation of justice to accord the fullest respect to those peculiarly sacred sentiments, with which marriage as a religious sacrament

is invested in the eyes of their Catholic fellow-citizens. And it is but fair to the Protestant people to acknowledge that this obligation of justice is ungrudgingly recognized. There is therefore ground for the hope that they will readily do their part to avoid any interference with the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church in regard to marriage. Now, it is not necessary to reflect, in the faintest manner, on the action of the Protestant clergy with regard to Catholic marriages in the past. That may in all cases admit of some reasonable explanation. But now the Protestant minister knows that, if he performs the ceremony of marriage between two Catholics, his action may be declared null by the civil courts after the injury resulting from it has become irreparable. For this injury, 'tis true, he does not appear to be legally responsible. His sufficient warrant for performing the ceremony is the license which the parties exhibit. But this is only a license; it only gives him liberty to perform the ceremony of marriage between the persons whom it names. It does not impose on him any obligation to perform the ceremony if he has any scruples. On the contrary, the Code takes care to provide that "none of the officers authorised can be compelled to solemnise a marriage, to which any impediment exists according to the doctrines and beliefs of his religion, and the discipline of the church to which he belongs." It is therefore perfectly competent for a Protestant clergyman, when persons unknown to him apply for marriage, to inquire whether they are Catholics; and if they profess to be such, he is explicitly authorised by law to refuse to perform the ceremony, for he can plead as an insuperable impediment to their marriage those universal obligations of justice, which are the common doctrines of all the churches. He may even dismiss their application as something of a personal insult to himself. For, unless they are incredibly ignorant, they must be aware that the ceremony, which they ask him to perform, cannot, in their faith, be a marriage at all; that they expect him to sanction, by a solemn farce, their entering into a relation with one another, which must, in their eyes, be profoundly immoral.\*

\* It is but fair to note that, that in the case of *Delpit and Cote*, the defendant in her demurrer denies that she and her husband were Catholics, and alleges "that the petitioner professed to be non-Catholic while he was courting her; that she, as well as the circle of friends with whom he associated, had always considered him as such; that at the time of the celebration of the marriage, the petitioner, professing to be non-Catholic, requested that the ceremony should be performed by a minister of the Unitarian Church, as being the church which came nearest to the beliefs of the defendant; that she, on her part, was non-Catholic, Protestant, and was recognised as such."

While such an attitude would be reasonable on the part of the Protestant clergy, it may fairly be expected that the Catholic Church will do her part in overcoming the difficulties of the situation. And what is that part? In the first place, it is important that the sentiment of Protestant society in regard to this matter should not be misunderstood. That sentiment is in no sense anti-Catholic. It is simply the sentiment of honorable men, whatever their religious faith may be,—the sentiment which forces them to act on the homely principle, that their word is as good as their bond. This sentiment expressed itself in clear and vigorous form with reference to the case of *Delpit and Cote*. And not unnaturally, in view of the facts of the case. A young man, after some months' courting, had persuaded a young girl—a very young girl, just entering on her seventeenth summer—to plight to him her troth. They seek, in a way prescribed by law, a license for their marriage. They appear before one of the officers whom the law authorises to perform the ceremony, and are united in accordance with the usual formalities. The husband enjoys the love of his wife for seven years, and receives the dearest pledge of her love in three children who call him their father. He does not complain of any failure of wifely duty on her part. He never hints at the faintest disloyalty, even in thought. He does not plead the most trivial excuse for seeking to brand his wife and children with the stain of illegitimacy. He merely contends, with a *naïveté* which is astoundingly frank, that, in spite of his monstrous disloyalty to the Catholic faith on the occasion of his marriage, he must still be regarded as having been a Catholic at the time; and, as his marriage was undoubtedly null before the law of the Catholic Church, he petitions to have it declared null before the civil law of his country.

Is it wonderful that such a petition should have stirred a painful excitement in Canadian society? All gentlemen can surely understand the indignant scorn which the conduct of the petitioner has awakened. The revulsion of feeling would not have been so deep if he had frankly gone over to one of the neighbouring States, where divorce is obtained on conveniently easy terms, and rid himself in that way of the encumbrance of his wife. True, it is difficult to conceive what plea could have been urged in his case to satisfy even the most facile of divorce courts; and a divorce, obtained in that way, would not have allowed him to marry another woman in Canada without risk of prosecution for bigamy. But a simple divorce would at least have left wife and children free from any social smirch, and would have avoided the painful shock of using

a sacred doctrine and ritual to evade the honorable obligations of a marriage-contract. For the facts cannot be ignored, that to the ordinary lay mind, untrained in legal dialectic, it is merely the effect of the ecclesiastical judgment that is understood. And that effect is seen to be practically the same as a divorce, with the aggravation that the union is dissolved for a reason which no divorce-court in the world would have entertained, that the woman, who had believed herself to be an honorable wife, is reduced to the legal status of a concubine, and that her children are subjected to the consequent degradation. To all who have the faintest sympathy with the testimony of the Catholic Church to the indissolubility of the marriage-tie, it must surely be a matter of profound regret that she should have lent her influence to assist any man in inflicting such a cruel wrong on an innocent woman and on innocent children by applying her doctrine to provide him with an easy method of escaping from his marriage-contract.

The question is thus forced upon us, whether such tragedies are really unavoidable,—whether they are really necessitated by the claims of Catholic doctrine. The action of the Church in such cases proceeds on the assumption, that, even if two Catholics defy the doctrine of their faith by contracting marriage before an heretical minister, they are still to be regarded as members of the Catholic Church. Now, such conduct may not be called an explicit renunciation of Catholic faith, if explicitness is to be interpreted only as implying expression in words. But it is a familiar commonplace, that a man may at times express what he means far more explicitly by action than by speech. "*Majus est consentire facto quam verbo,*" as St. Thomas puts it in reference to a cognate question.\* This is surely the case with Catholics who elect to be married before an heretical clergyman. Even if they do not verbally renounce their faith, inasmuch as they seek to be married, and know that in this way they cannot be married as Catholics, do they not declare, in a manner more significant than any form of words, that they wish to be considered Catholics no more? As a matter of fact, they are subject to excommunication; and the Archbishop of Montreal has, in a recent pastoral, very properly reminded his people of their danger in this respect. Is it too much to ask of the ecclesiastical courts, that persons, who contract such marriages, shall be by their very act excommunicated? Their marriage would then come under

\* *Summa Theologica*, Suppl., Quæstio 46, Art. 2.

the laws applicable to non-Catholic marriages, and the problem before the civil courts of Canada would be solved.\*

By such an attitude the Catholic Church has nothing to lose, but rather everything to gain. It is not of course implied that persons married in this way would be permanently cut off from the communion of the Church. On the contrary, their reconciliation with the Church would be greatly facilitated by her adoption of the attitude suggested. For obviously a serious and unnecessary obstacle is placed in the way of returning penitents when it is made a condition of their return, that their marriage and its fruits shall be degraded by the social stigma of illegitimacy. Nor does this attitude involve any strained dialectic, from which an honourable mind need shrink in its interpretation of law. The dialectic is rather of a kind which an honourable interpretation of law has always enforced. For it has been recognized from of old that, owing to the imperfection of human foresight and human language, it is impossible to provide by legislative enactment for all the complications of right and wrong, that may arise out of the social relations of men. It is therefore a commonplace of general experience, as well as of scientific jurisprudence, that laws must be interpreted in the spirit rather than in the mere letter of their requirements,—interpreted in the light of the universal principles of justice which they embody rather in the light of any grammatical meaning which may be wrung out of their language, or forced into it, by an ingenious philology. The opposing pleas in any court of justice indicate the conflicting interpretations of law, to which men are led

\* In this article, as already stated, the legal aspects of the question at issue are avoided. But it is not out of place to note, that, while the Catholic Church may formulate the conditions of communion with her, which carry the right to her spiritual blessings, the State has also a right to formulate the conditions under which a man may claim or forfeit the benefits of such communion in its civil effects. This point does not appear to have come up for specific discussion in any of the cases under consideration here. It is, however, incidentally referred to in the judgment of Mr. Justice Archibald. After proving by a great array of authorities, that in law the presumption in favor of the validity of a marriage is far stronger than that in favor of other facts, and can be negated only by disproving every other possibility, he goes on to observe that, "if Catholics could not be married before a Protestant minister, their seeking marriage before such minister would be presumed to be a renunciation of the Catholic faith." I venture to suggest that a celebrated case in Canadian law has already claimed for the civil courts a right to decide whether a person is or is not, for civil purposes, a member of the Catholic Church. A French-Canadian Catholic, named Guibord, a member of the *Institut Canadien*, died while that institute was under excommunication. On appeal the Privy Council decided that excommunication, directed against a corporate body, did not affect its individual members, who must be named individually in the excommunication to give it any effect upon them. Accordingly Guibord was pronounced to have been in law still a member of the Catholic Church, and entitled to the civil rights flowing from such membership. By parity of reasoning the Court might decide when a man is *not* a Catholic for civil purposes.

when they start from different points of view; and the pleadings and judgments in the causes to which this article refers form a singularly interesting illustration of legal dialectic moving within irreconcilable spheres of jural thought, and forced by logical necessity to irreconcilable conclusions.

Now, the Catholic doctrine of marriage itself furnishes the data, by which an honorable interpretation might prevent such cases as that of *Delpit and Cote* from ever disturbing a civil court. For, as has just been pointed out, Catholics, who contract marriage in the way supposed, practically renounce their faith by perpetrating a sin which, they know, renders them liable to excommunication. Their marriage may, therefore, fairly be dealt with by the canons which relate to non-Catholic marriages. But it must be borne in mind that the requirement, which makes the presence of a Catholic priest indispensable to a valid marriage, is a qualification of Catholic doctrine, introduced by the Council of Trent. Moreover, this is a condition of valid marriage only for Catholics, and even for Catholics only in those countries where the decrees of the council have been officially promulgated. For the marriage of non-Catholics, or of Catholics not bound by Tridentine law, the old doctrine of the Catholic Church remains the norm. But in that doctrine the constituent factor of a marriage is the mutual consent of the contracting parties. Even yet the teaching of the Catholic Church continues, naturally and properly, to be dominated by this conception of the spiritual substance of the marriage-bond. Thus Mr. Lilly takes occasion twice\* in the course of his article already mentioned, to observe, that the essence of marriage is the free consent of the man and woman contracting. In the admirable handbook—the *Summa Philosophica*† of Cardinal Zigliara, which is extensively used in the colleges of Quebec, the doctrine, that "*mutuus consensus conjugum est causa efficiens matrimonii*," is expounded as if it still embodied the substance of Catholic teaching. In his preface the Cardinal professes to follow in the footsteps of St. Thomas, acknowledging himself to be "*Angelici Doctoris doctrinis addictissimus*;" and certainly in all literature it would be difficult to find a more spiritual conception of the marriage-bond than that which runs through the teaching of the great mediaeval thinker. For him everything is subordinated to the spiritual fact of the mutual internal consent of the contracting persons, expressed

\* *Nineteenth Century*, Dec. 1901, p. 909 and p. 912, note.

† Vol. III., pp. 196-8.

by some unmistakable external sign. Thus, on the ground of the phrase quoted above, that consent may be expressed by deed more decisively than by word, he held that a mere betrothal, that is, an expression only of future consent, if followed by cohabitation, though without any verbal expression of present consent, constitutes marriage in its spiritual essence. It is not difficult, therefore, to conceive what St. Thomas would have thought of the ecclesiastical decisions which have attracted attention in the Province of Quebec. That two persons, who have declared their consent to be man and wife, who have done so in presence of capable witnesses, whose mutual consent has been officially recorded in a public register kept for the purpose in accordance with the laws of their country, who have lived together, in good faith, as man and wife for years, and given birth to several children, should yet be pronounced to have been never married at all, and so pronounced, not by a civil court on the ground of some technical defect in external forms, but by the Church which is expected to look beyond external forms to the spiritual intent of actions,—such a decision, it is not too much to say, would have shocked the great master of Catholic thought as eliminating the spiritual kernel of the Catholic doctrine of marriage, and making the efficacy of a holy sacrament depend on a comparatively trivial detail in its ceremony.\*

But even if the doctrine of the Catholic Church does not admit of an interpretation which would leave the marriages in question intact, it is still difficult to understand how her discipline could ever allow her courts to render such a verdict as that in the case of *Delpit and Cote*. For that verdict is not merely a formal judgment pronouncing the supposed marriage to be null, but it carries with it a certificate of liberty to the two parties, declaring "that they are freed from all matrimonial ties whatever, and that they may, if they think proper, marry again." This may appear at first to be simply a logical issue of the judgment annulling the marriage. But it is not. For the judgment is not that of a civil court, treating the two parties purely as citizens who had made a civil contract with one another, and not at all as members of any particular church. If the contract had been declared invalid on the ground

\* It is not necessary here to dwell upon the fact, which still ought not to be overlooked in this connection, that church courts are not any more than civil courts exempt from the common frailties of humanity. But it may be observed that Mr. Lilly, in those scholarly studies which he has given us in his *Renaissance Types* has described with historical impartiality the notorious condition of the Roman Curia at the period to which he refers. See pp. 208, 283-4; and compare pp. 54-55. Similar language is used in his *The Claims of Christianity*, p. 140.

of some impediment insuperable in natural or civil law, that would have been an end of it; the contracting parties would have been freed from all the legal obligations of the contract, or rather it would have appeared that there had not been, in fact, any legal contract at all. But it is very different with the case, to which this judgment refers. The judgment is based on the assumption that the contracting parties were Catholics, and it falls to the ground whenever that assumption is invalidated. The petitioner therefore cannot pose as a Catholic in order to claim freedom from the matrimonial tie, and at the same time renounce the Catholic communion because it interferes with that freedom. But such interference is precisely what Catholic discipline enforces. Whatever judgment may be necessitated by Catholic doctrine in regard to the petitioner's marriage, the discipline of the Church is inexorable in refusing just such a freedom as is granted in his certificate of liberty. For the ceremony, in which the petitioner took part, was undoubtedly a contract at least. It is in fact spoken of as a contract of marriage; for Catholic doctrine distinguishes, in the abstract at least, between the contract of marriage and the marriage itself.\* But, in whatever terms the contract be described, it is a contract; and no power in the universe can annul the fact, that the petitioner did make such a contract. A court may, by the logic of its laws, be forced to decide that the contract in itself was not a marriage; but it cannot make the contract to be *not* a contract. Now, the discipline of the Catholic Church, as (it may be presumed) of all churches, requires that her members shall fulfill their contracts, unless they are released from the obligation in an honourable way. But the petitioner in this case makes no pretense of having been released, it is inconceivable in fact that he could be honourably released, from the obligation of his contract. The discipline of his Church, therefore, cannot allow his liberty to marry again. It demands rather that, if he is to be considered a Catholic, and to plead before her courts as such, he must do his duty as a Catholic by fulfilling a contract which he has solemnly made, and which he cannot set aside without inflicting an appalling wrong on his innocent consort and children.

The truth is, that, in claiming to be a Catholic at the time of his marriage, the petitioner knows that he has already done such a wrong. And here again the requirements of Catholic discipline

\* This distinction is referred to repeatedly in the pleadings and judgments of the Canadian courts. Its real purport is explained, with singular clearness, by Cardinal Zigliara in *Summa Philosophica*, Vol. III., p. 209.

are perfectly explicit. The sin of a clandestine marriage, as already stated, exposes the guilty parties to excommunication; and they can retain, or recover, their position in the Church only by solemn absolution from their sin. It is worth observing that, in one of his pastorals on the subject, the Archbishop of Montreal warns his people, that he reserves to himself the power of absolution in such cases. But the discipline of the Catholic Church is strangely misunderstood, if it does not require from every wrong-doer the fullest possible reparation of the wrong he has done as an indispensable preliminary to absolution. To my mind, as already explained, the only adequate reparation, which the Church can enforce in the case supposed, is to treat the marriage as that of persons who had cut themselves off from her communion, and to restore them, on proof of penitence, by the disciplinary procedure which is applicable to persons excommunicated. But if such a complete reparation cannot be enjoined by the Church, her discipline itself stands in the way of a judgment which leaves the wrong-doer free to make his wrong utterly irremediable by contracting another marriage. Instead of such a certificate of liberty her discipline demands that the wrong-doer shall repair the wrong he has done by celebrating in valid canonical form the marriage which he had contracted irregularly. By enforcing her discipline in this direction the Church would have avoided the appearance, which she has created, undoubtedly in the outside world, if not among her own people, of having for the moment forgotten her sacred mission in regard to family-life, and inadvertently lent herself as an instrument to those who are endeavoring to relax the marriage-bond.

## OUR POSTAL SERVICE.

BY THE EDITOR.

HOW THE EXPRESS COMPANIES INTERFERE WITH THE DELIVERY OF  
PARCELS SENT BY MAIL.

ON several occasions books have been forwarded to the Editor of THE OPEN COURT from foreign countries, and postage on the same prepaid in full to destination, and on these several occasions the American Express Company has in some manner intervened between the postal service and ourselves, obtaining possession of the goods and removing the stamps from the packages and then assessed heavy charges for import at New York in addition to storage charges and other items of expense.

Recently a Thibetan English dictionary published under the auspices of the British Government in Bengal was forwarded to the editor of our publications by mail, *postage fully prepaid*,\* and the package was held up at New York by the American Express Company with a charge of \$4.10 for entry fees, etc.

We found it difficult to understand how a private corporation, or quasi-public corporation conducted for private profit, could intercept postal matter and extort fees and charges that are not assessed by the postal authorities, and we took the liberty to inquire at the Treasury Department, the highest authority of the Post Office, but the answer, briefly told, reads:

"The Department can afford you no relief."†

We are not isolated in our experiences with the Post Office. A Postal Progress League has been founded and resolutions were passed, but the prospect of accomplishing a reform is not great. At

\* The Bengal Government had paid \$2.25 in order to have the book delivered to us free of charge, and the delivery would have been accomplished in any civilised country. England, Germany, Japan, Russia, etc., except in the United States!

† Quoted from a letter of February 19, 1904, from the Treasury Department, Office of the Secretary (12224, GS) to The Open Court Publishing Co.

one of their meetings measures were proposed to procure for the United States a parcel post, and the views uttered in the debate, as published in *The Publisher's Weekly*, throw some light upon the situation:

"Mr. John Brisben Walker, of the *Cosmopolitan*, was convinced from thirty years' experience in postal matters, that this would have about as much effect as water on a duck's back. John Wanamaker, when Postmaster-General, had told him that there were four insuperable obstacles to the obtaining of a parcels-post: 1st, the Adams Express; 2d, the American Express; 3d, the Southern Express, and 4th, Wells, Fargo & Co. Mr. Walker predicted that the express companies would always have power to defeat such a bill; that Congress in fact would pay no attention to it. 'Merchants agree,' said he, 'that the government must first buy out the express companies at any price. The Government is probably losing \$250,000,000 by not having a parcels-post.'

"Mr. Walker strongly favored circulating books as cheaply as periodicals. He said that a man like John Wanamaker or Marshall Field at the head of the Post Office Department could, if given a free hand, organize a system that could carry any kind of mail matter profitably at one cent pound. But when Mr. Wanamaker actually did attempt reorganization of the Post Office he found himself bound hand and foot by private interests.

"H. Gaylord Wiltshire, of *Wiltshire's Magazine*, described some of the petty persecutions to which he had been subjected by Third Assistant Postmaster-General Madden, with the result that his magazine is now printed and mailed in Canada to all parts of the United States and to Great Britain and her colonies at  $\frac{1}{4}$  cent a pound. (the Canadian rate having been recently reduced from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  cent per pound on magazines). Mr. Madden refused his magazine entry to second-class rates on the ground that it 'advertised' Mr. Wiltshire, because his portrait was frequently inserted and editorials were signed 'T'.

"Mr. Walker said there was not a single periodical safe from Mr. Madden's rulings as at present put forth."

We here reproduce an article from *The Financier*, New York, a high-class periodical which in business circles is considered as responsible and reliable in its statements. *The Financier* calls the Post Office a national disgrace," and continues:

"The United States Post Office Department is a disgrace to the nation. Eliminating the scandals which have cropped out from time to time as the result of dishonesty and lax administration, the De-

partment is a quarter of a century behind the age in every particular. We are the only large nation in the world without a parcels-post system; we are the only large nation whose postal service is conducted at a loss, despite the fact that our charges for transmitting mail matter are far above those of other countries. In brief, the system from top to bottom is in need of thorough renovation. The United States pays the railways exorbitant rates for carrying mails, and the express companies, favored by lower charges, are actually underbidding the Government and handling at a profit the cheapest forms of mail matter, on which, according to the postal authorities, the Government loses large sums annually. If the express companies can make money handling matter at one-half cent and one cent a pound, why, it may be asked, do they require rates hundreds of per cent. higher on ordinary business?

"The answer is simple.

"The United States has no parcels-post system, and the express companies are at liberty to charge what they will, competition being impossible. The result is that the merchants of the country lose millions of dollars annually in trade which otherwise they might obtain.

"The recent United States Consul in Guadeloupe, Louis H. Ayme, estimates that this country is losing \$2,000,000 a year in small mail orders from the West Indies through the refusal of our Government to enter in the International Parcels-Post Union. The West Indies is a very small portion of the globe, and the losses from other and more important centers of trade must be many millions more.

"If the situation were not so serious it might be well termed ridiculous. The humiliating spectacle of the British Government making a contract with a private United States express company to handle its parcel business in this country because the American Postal Department was too supine to undertake the work, or to urge legislation authorizing it to do so, is too recent to require more than passing attention, but the incident is characteristic of the administration of our Postal system.

"How long will this condition of affairs continue?

"Just as long as the express companies are strong enough to prevent reform, or as long as the Postal authorities continue too weak and vacillating to combat them.

"Contrasted with our advancements in other directions the Post Office Department is a travesty on American business methods.

"Post Office reform, as regards both honesty and intelligence of administration, and the adoption of a common sense system of

transmitting merchandise at reasonable rates, would, if made a party issue, win more votes from the business interests of the country than any abstract theory or political principle.

"The present intolerant conditions should not be allowed to continue much longer. We have had too much politics in the Post Office Department for many years past. What is needed now is a little practical business ability."

#### DISCRIMINATION AGAINST GOOD LITERATURE.

Some time ago the Religion of Science Library was excluded from the second-class mail on the ground of the "completeness in itself," as stated by the superintendent of second-class mail (W. B. Getty) in Chicago. Upon inquiry, addressed to the same superintendent, concerning other periodicals published in different cities, which were still coming through the mails at second-class rates, although in every particular of the same character as the publications of the Religion of Science Library as regards completeness, etc., and conforming in all particulars to the requirements of the postal laws, but differing from the Religion of Science Library only in that they were reprints of classical literature rather than of *scientific* and *philosophical* subjects (among which may be cited an excellent periodical, *Bibelot*, published by T. B. Mosher at Portland, Me.), the superintendent of second-class mails in Chicago replied that not all postmasters or superintendents looked at the matter in the same light, that what he might consider as matter to be prohibited another postmaster might consider permissible, and if the postmaster in Maine did not see fit to exclude *Bibelot* that did not affect his decision in excluding the Religion of Science Library.

Being asked how it was that the citizens of the same country could be subject to different interpretations of the same law, he answered that that was a matter that did not concern him. He was here to interpret the law according to his intelligence, and accordingly he excluded from the mails what he considered to be in violation of the law. In other words, the Religion of Science Library excluded here—if published at Portland, Maine, would be entitled to second-class rates, and *Bibelot* included there—if published in Chicago would not be entitled to second-class rates.

The then superintendent of second-class mails (W. B. Getty) has since been promoted to a more important post at Washington and the postal authorities at Washington, especially Mr. Madden, Third Assistant Postmaster-General, seem to take the position that it is the duty of the officials to cut down the labor of the Postal De-

partment to the utmost—a policy at variance with private business houses (who, according to the increase in business, adjust their forces to handle it) and it is no wonder that the Post Office does not pay.

The Supreme Court has decided in a number of cases that Postmaster-General was wrong in excluding those periodicals that conform to the postal laws and regulations from the mails at the second-class rates, and ordered the papers then fighting for reinstatement to be readmitted.

Among these was a quarterly periodical entitled *The Pocket List*, being a small book about pocket size containing the list of our railway officials in alphabetical order and a list of the various railroads and the prominent officials of each, the purpose of this periodical being to supply manufacturers and others who had business with railroads with a directory to enable them to locate the proper officials by name and address in order to do business with them. As this publication complied with the postal laws as regards specifications of printed sheets not bound in substantial covers and being issued at a yearly subscription price in serial numbers, etc., the United States Court ordered it reinstated. The department acknowledged its defeat in court, but refused to reinstate other periodicals unless they first go to court and get a decision—relying on the expense thus caused to keep out a large number.

## THE SUPREME COURT AND THE POST OFFICE.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE decision of the Supreme Court concerning the reduced book rate of literature that appears in periodical publications is disappointing not so much in the interests of the publishing business as in the interest of the public, and still more so in consideration of the good judgment of the Supreme Court.

It is significant that the Supreme Court decision has been considerably weakened by the dissension of the Chief Justice himself who is joined by Justice Harlan. The two dissenting judges insist that the law classifying mail matter means just what the Post Office department for sixteen years held it meant and what Congress meant when it enacted it and the Chief Justice quoted from the speech of Mr. Cannon (now Speaker of the House) when the bill was passed, showing that the publications of the character referred to should be carried by the mails at a reduced rate. The intent of Congress, he said, was further shown by the fact that, although repeatedly urged to change the law, it had always refused to do so. The ruling of Postmaster-General Payne changes the sense of the law, and this amounts practically to making new laws which ought not to be encouraged or approved.

The intention of the law which allows reduced rates to newspapers, magazines, and all periodicals is obviously to facilitate instructive information. The privilege of a reduced rate is limited to periodical literature to the exclusion of books, because it is not the intention to give special advantage to the book trade or the luxury of elegant editions. The law reads as follows:

"The conditions upon which a publication shall be admitted to the second-class are as follows:

*"First.* It must be regularly issued at stated intervals, as fre-

quently as four times a year, and bear a date of issue, and be numbered consecutively.

*“Second.* It must be issued from a known office of publication.

*“Third.* It must be formed of printed paper sheets, without board, cloth, leather, or any other substantial binding, such as distinguishes printed books for preservation from periodical publications.

*“Fourth.* It must be originated and published for the dissemination of information of a public character, or devoted to literature, the sciences, arts or some special industry, and have a legitimate list of subscribers: *Provided, however,* That nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to admit to the second-class rate regular publications, designed primarily for advertising purposes, or for free circulation, or for circulation at nominal rates. (Act of March 3, 1879, Sec. 14, 20 Stats., 359, Sec. 277, P. L. & R., 1893.)”

The statement cannot be more explicit, and many prominent publishing houses of this country have republished in periodical form works of English classical literature, thus opening a valuable source of information to the people by furnishing the best productions of the foremost authors of the world in cheap form, but our postal authorities have made a discrimination against books, and they define “a book” by any publication that is possessed of completeness, while “a periodical” contains a variety of articles and is characterised by a lack of completeness. This interpretation of the meaning of “book” has been adopted by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court should have inquired into the meaning of the law which contains a plain definition of what is to be understood by books. The law reads that a publication to be admitted to the second-class rate of transportation “must be formed of printed sheets, *without board, cloth, leather, or other substantial binding such as distinguishes printed books for preservation from periodical publication.*” The Post Office clerks have substituted their own definition for that of the law, and the Supreme Court has adopted that of the Post Office clerks.

Instead of appreciating that publications of the better and more refined literature are not only not excluded but should be made more acceptable and should enjoy at least the same right as newspaper information, the postal authorities have thrown them out for the very reason of a feature which constitutes their superiority. They claim that on account of their “completeness” they are not newspaper information but “books” and so they have deprived the public of a most valuable source of self-education, and, strangest of all, they are supported by the Supreme Court.

The decision ignores both the letter of the law and the spirit of the law. It simply falls back upon the meaning of the words "periodical" and "book" as ordinarily understood. The Supreme Court declares:

"A periodical, as ordinarily understood, is a publication appearing at stated intervals, each number of which contains a variety of original articles by different authors, devoted either to general literature or some special branch of learning, or to a special class of subjects. Ordinarily each number is incomplete in itself and indicates a relation with prior subsequent numbers of the same series."

The decision is unjust because it is against the law; it is unwise because it discriminates against books for the very reason of their being superior to periodical literature; and thus it frustrates the main intention of the law.

The study of books has the tendency to make readers systematic and methodical, for books, as a rule, offer a thorough treatment of the subject to which they are devoted. They are possessed of completeness. Periodicals, on the contrary, suffer from incompleteness and thus are apt to make the readers that depend mainly upon them for information incoherent in their thought and superficial in their judgment. Reading of periodical literature is wholesome only if accompanied by proper book-study. Our people are overfed by newspaper reading. Let them have also good book reading, and make good books more accessible.

We hope that the decision of the Supreme Court will lead to a revision of our postal laws, for a reform of our postal service is much needed.

We have great confidence in both the ability and courage of President Roosevelt. He has the best intentions to do what is right, and, at any rate, we trust that finally the cause of reform must win.

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

### VI. THE IRIS.

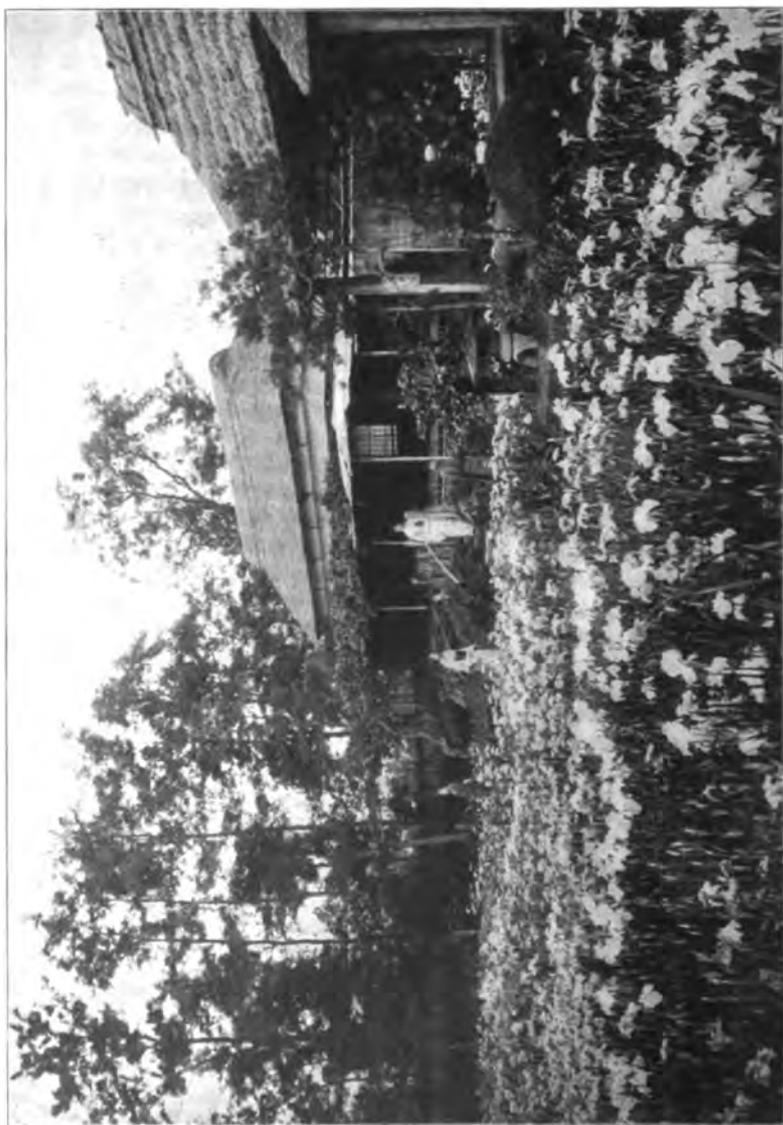
OF the iris there are several Japanese varieties, known as *ayame-hanashobu*, *kakitsubata*, *shaga*, etc. In Tokyo the most famous show of this flower is at Horikiri, "where in ponds and



THE IRIS AT HORIKIRI, TOKIO.

trenches grow acres of such fleur-de-lis as no Bourbon ever knew." In strong contrast to the riotous carnival of the cherry-viewing, "this festival is a quiet and decorous garden-party, where summer-houses,

hills, lakes, armies of royal flowers, and groups of visitors seem to be consciously arranging themselves for decorative effects."



THE IRIS AT HORIKIRI, TOKYO.

The iris is a favorite flower in art. Not only do "we find its among flowers used for ceremonies and congratulatory occasions, except that, on account of its purple color, it is prohibited from wed-

dings. In arranging *hanashobu* according to the complex theory of flower arrangement explained by Mr. Conder "the three center-most leaves should be long and a special leaf called the *Kammuri-ba* or *Cap-leaf* must be placed as a back-ground to the principal flowers."

The iris is a favorite flower in art. Not only do "we find its delicate-colored flowers on stuffs, lacquer, inlaid ivories, and in mother-of-pearl"; but "the metal-worker, too, twists its graceful leaves into delightful patterns for his pierced sword-guards."

From a pretty crepe booklet on *The Japanese Months*, we learn the following folk-lore item:

"There used to be a custom of hanging beneath the eaves, on the 5th day of the 5th month (O. S.), bunches of sweet-flag (*shobu*); and mugwort, and of putting the former into the hot water of the public baths, so that bathers carry away with them its agreeable odor. The sweet-flag is also steeped in *sake*, which, flavored in this way, is drunk on the 5th day of the 5th month,—the plant in question being commonly believed to be efficacious in the prevention of disease."

Piggott adds the following points: "Probably the same superstition led to the common custom of planting beds of iris along the ridges of the thatched cottages in the country. In days gone by, boys wore wreaths of iris leaves, and made ropes of them to dance with, and beat the ground to frighten away the demons from their festival."

A famous Japanese poetess, by the name of Kaga No Chiyo, wrote the following pretty little poem:

"Water was the painter,  
Water again was the eraser,  
Of the beautiful fleur-de-lis."

To illustrate the brevity of Japanese poetry, the original is added here:

"*Mizuga kaki*  
*Mizuga keshikeri*  
*Kakitsubata.*"

We append two more poems concerning the iris, as translated by a young Japanese teacher of English:

"The iris, grown between my house and the neighbor's,  
Is just burnishing in its deepest color and glory;  
I wish that some one would come to see it,  
Before it withers away and returns to the dust."

"On my journey far away from home  
My heart flies to the beloved left at home,  
Who has been as indispensable to me  
As the soft cloth that I put on constantly."

The last poem is, in the original, an acrostic which spells out *kakitsubata*. It is for that reason only that it was selected. This style of poem is quite prevalent in Japanese literature.

## A NEW RELIGION.

### BABISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

**B**ABISM is the youngest faith upon earth and it promises to play a not insignificant part among the religions of the world. It originated, as all other great religions, in the Orient, and is remarkable for many reasons, and worthy of a closer study.

Babists believe in a personal god and positive revelations. They recognize the holy books and miracles of other previous religions, especially Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and their faith may, in a certain sense, be characterized as a product of all three. It contains elements of all Semitic religions and yet it is different and possesses specific qualities of its own. It rose into existence suddenly with an outburst of unparalleled religious enthusiasm, and, like the Christian faith of the second and third century, its growth was favored by the martyrdom of its adherents.

The first Western historian of Babism was Count Gobineau,\* a French traveller and historian who was attracted to it by the dramatic features of the movement and the heroism of its martyrs. His reports were completed and brought up to date by Prof. Edward G. Browne, Lecturer in Persian at the University of Cambridge, England, who studied it with great sympathy and made through English translations the main sources of these remarkable historic events accessible to Western readers.

Concerning the significance of Babism, Professor Browne says: "Here is something, whether wise or unwise, whether tending towards the amelioration of mankind or the reverse, which seems to many hundreds, if not thousands, of our fellow-creatures worth

\* *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale.*

suffering and dying for, and which on this ground alone, must be accounted worthy of our most attentive study."\*

This Episode of the Bab, which is so extremely interesting on account of the development of a religion in the 19th century before our very eyes and under conditions which still allow a careful investigation of the historic facts, is briefly told as follows:

Mirza Ali Muhammed was born in Shiraz, Persia. In 1844, when about twenty years old, he was possessed of great religious enthusiasm and became a source of inspiration to all the people whom he met. When asked whether he was the manifestation of "the Glory of God," he declared that they should not worship him as the one whom God shall manifest, "for," said he, "I am only the gate through which man can come to the love of God." His adherents spread all over the country, and he selected eighteen from his disciples who were considered the main supporters and apostles of the new faith. He called them "the Letters of the Living," referring to the eighteen letters of the Persian alphabet, and included himself as the nineteenth of that number, calling himself the "Point"; and these nineteen persons constituted the sacred hierarchy called "the First Unity."

Now it happened that an avowed Babist, but one of those unfortunates who should be confined in lunatic asylums, made an attack upon the Shah of Persia, and thus Babism excited the suspicions of the Persian government. Although the assailant of the Shah expressly declared that he had committed the crime not at the instigation of any other person, the Persian officials believed in the existence of a great conspiracy and proceeded with great severity against all Babists. The Bab himself and other devotees of the new faith were imprisoned and those only were set free who recanted. Seven of the leaders could not be prevailed upon to abandon their belief, and so they died gladly and joyously for the faith that was in them. Adherents of orthodox Islam, the national faith of Persia, witnessed with admiration the death of the Babists, and many among them became convinced that it was a spark of divine inspiration that gave them the power to face death so boldly and so joyfully.

The Bab himself was also condemned to die. He with one of his favorite followers was hung up on a rope at the entrance of their prison and a troop of soldiers fired a volley at the command

\* *A Traveller's Narrative*, Written to illustrate the Episode of the Báb. Edited in the original Persian and translated into English, with an introduction and explanatory notes by Edward S. Brown, M. A., M. B.

of their officer. When the smoke settled the witnessing crowds saw to their great astonishment the two men quite unharmed, for none of the balls had taken effect, but had only severed the ropes on



A GROUP OF BELIEVERS IN PORT SAID, WITH SAYID\* NOR UL-DIN, A FIRST COUSIN OF THE BAR, IN THE CENTER.

which they had been suspended. The officer in charge declared that he had attended to his duty and refused to continue the execution.

\* Sayid is a title meaning "lord." All members of the Koreish tribe, to which the family of Muhammed belonged, claim a right to the title.

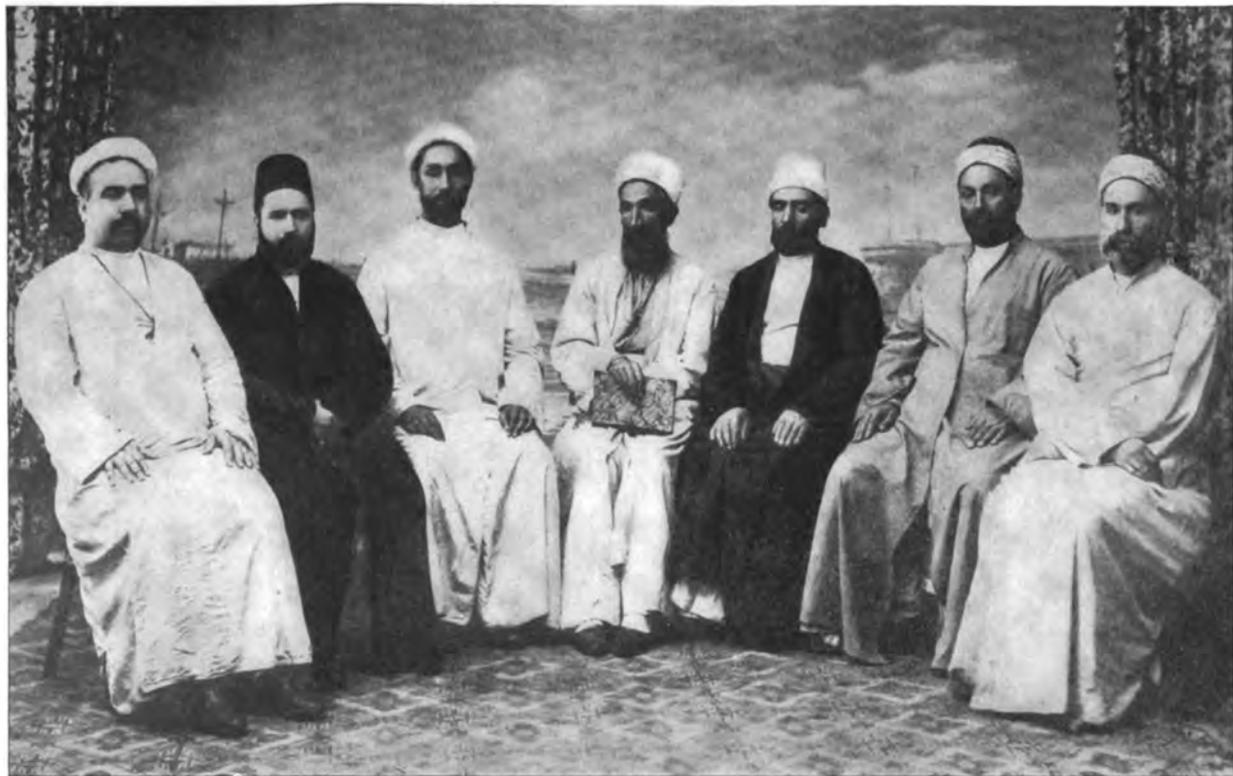
He was supplanted by another and the prisoners were again suspended on ropes. A second volley ended the lives of these two martyrs of the new faith.

The Bab was dead, but his religion had become an established fact by his martyrdom.

During the time of his imprisonment the Bab had frequently written letters to his eighteen favorite disciples whom he called "the Letters of the Living," to strengthen them in their faith under the persecution of the powers of this world. The first and second of the "Living Letters" had died a martyr's death. They belonged to the seven great martyrs and the one who held the fourth place in the Babist hierarchy was Mirza Yahya, called by the Bab *Subh i Ezel*, that is "Morning of the Eternal;" or *Hasrat*, that is "Highness of the Eternal;" or *Ismu i Ezel*, that is "Name of the Eternal." He left Persia, disguised as a dervish, and went to Baghdad, where he joined his exiled brother Mirza Huseyan Ali. When the Turkish government sent his brother to the city of Akka he was sent to Famagusta, Cyprus, where he is still living.

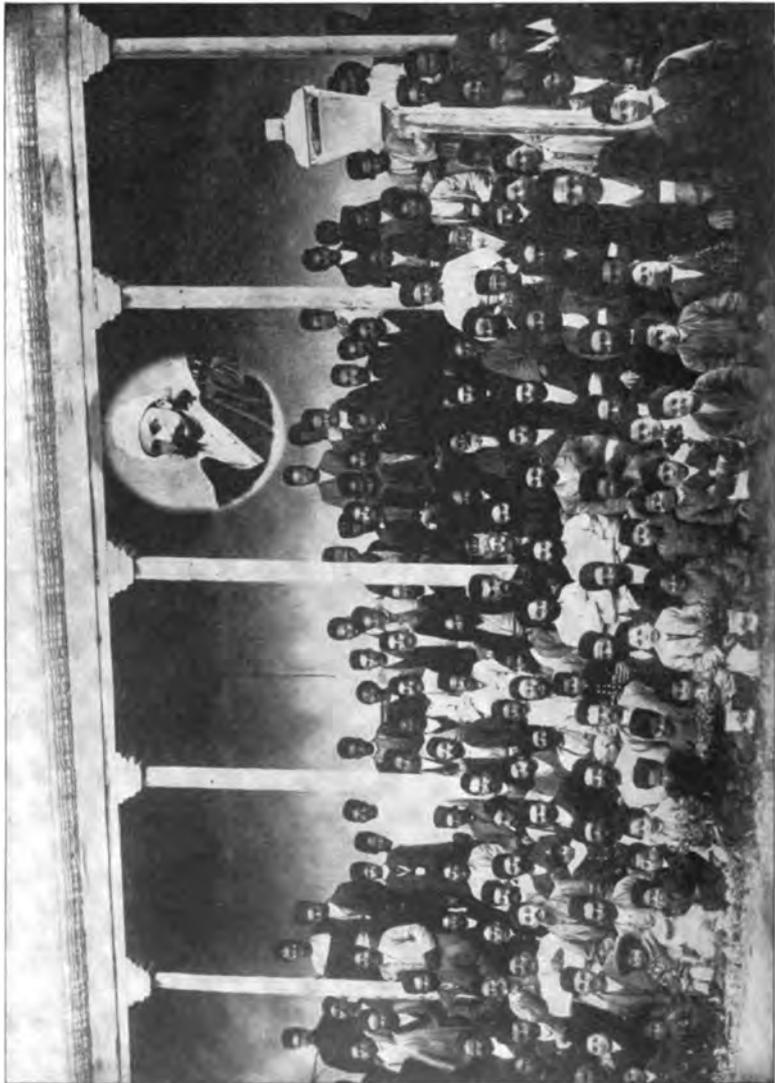
During Mirza Yahya's leadership of the Babists, Mirza Huseyan Ali, a half-brother of Yahya, rose into prominence. He had endured much persecution at the hands of the Persian government, and after imprisonment of a few months he was finally exiled into Baghdad. He stayed there for about twelve years, under the supervision of the Turkish police. Two years out of the twelve of his exile at Baghdad, he spent in the mountains near where the Kurds lived, not a far distance from the city of Souleymaniah. Then he was summoned to Constantinople, and was removed to Adrianople. The Turkish government did not deem him sufficiently dangerous to have him executed, but banished him to Acre, Syria, and he lived comparatively at peace with the government. In Acre he was restrained in all his actions and limited to a special territory, but he showed so much lovingkindness to all the people around him, especially to the poor and suffering, that even the Turkish police respected him and thought him a saint. He lived in poverty. Whatever he owned, he gave away to those whom he saw in need of assistance, and he died peacefully at an advanced age, leaving four sons and three daughters.

This Mirza Huseyn Ali suddenly came to the conclusion during his stay at Adrianople that he himself was Beha Ullah, "the Glory of God," the manifestation whose appearance the Bab had foretold. The members of his party who had followed him



A GROUP OF BELIEVERS IN EGYPT.

into exile recognized his authority and other Babists in Persia followed their example.



A MEETING OF BELIEVERS IN ASHKABAD, RUSSIA.\*

Huseyn Ali is now almost universally recognised as Beha Ullah, that is the one in whom God's glory has become manifest.

\*The portrait which appears above the assembly is that of Abbas Effendi, one of the sons of Beha Ullah.

In the meantime his half-brother Mirza Yahya continues to regard himself as the legitimate leader of the Babists. His adherents have dwindled down to a small minority, but their arguments as to the justice of the claims of the fourth "Living Letter" who by right of



A GROUP OF BELIEVERS AT AKKA.\*

priority has ascended to the first place in the hierarchy of the Babists and was actually recognised as the legitimate successor to the leadership by the Bab himself before he suffered martyrdom, avail

\* The young man in the center is the son-in-law of Abbas Effendi.

nothing. The Babists of Persia interpret the undeniable facts of their history in a different way. They declare that Mirza Huseyn Ali had been recognised by the Bab himself and that for the sake of protecting the one in whom God would manifest himself, from the persecution of the government, he misdirected the hostility of spies and persecutors, and addressed Mirza Yahya with such terms as would indicate him to be the leader of Babism, second in authority to no one but to himself, the Bab. Mirza Yahya according to the partisans of Mirza Huseyn Ali was merely "a man of straw" and the prominence given him by the Bab was a mere blind.

Whatever the truth may have been, Professor Browne believes that Mirza Yahya held the first position among the Babists next to the Bab himself. The Bab did not claim that his revelation was final and demanded of his followers that they should continually expect the advent of him whom God shall manifest. The Bab had extended to his disciples the hope that God would not delay his manifestation for more than 1511 or 2001 years (numbers calculated after a complicated fashion from some significant words), but there is no historic evidence that he had recognised the manifestation of the "Glory of God" in Mirza Huseyn Ali. "Yet," declares Professor Browne, "in spite of facts the future of Babism seems to belong to the latter and the adherents of Yahya are rather decreasing than increasing."

The adherents of Mirza Yahya are called the Ezelis and the adherents of Mirza Huseyn Ali are called the Behais, or Anglicised. Behaists, since they believe that the Glory of God, Beha Ullah, has become manifest in Mirza Huseyn Ali.

It is of great interest to study the growth of the movement and to watch the development of its historical documents. Among the older sources of information is a manuscript entitled *Tarikh i Jadid* which is the history of Babism describing the conditions of Babism at the time of the Bab. Here the difference between the Ezelis and the Behais has not yet made its appearance. The two brothers are merely prominent leaders and both considered as shining lights among the disciples of their great master, the Bab. It is instructive to notice how both the Ezelis and the Behais reject the authority of the *Tarikh i Jadid*, and thus it is probable that no copies will be preserved except the three which by fortunate accidents found their way West; viz.; the one in possession of Professor Browne, one belonging to the British Museum, and the third one acquired by the Institute of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg. It is not likely that the manuscript will be propagated in the original home

of its author, Persia. The author claims to be a foreigner, but as Professor Browne has convincingly shown, he is a Persian who for good reasons has to conceal his name, and Professor Browne seems to think that he knows the name of the author, or, as he suggests, the two authors.



IBN ABHER, A TEACHER OF BEHAISM, IN CHAINS.

Among other histories of Babism, we have the reports of the Persian government, written by historians who, though recognising the courage of the Babists martyrs, misrepresent the movement almost as badly as Christian authors decry the gnostic and other sects which have now disappeared and can no longer be studied in their own original documents.

The Behaist sources, which become more and more numerous, speak of Mirza Yahya with indifference and almost slightly, while they extol from the beginning the name of Mirza Huseyn Ali whom they recognise as Beha Ullah, the manifestation of the Glory of God.

\*                     \*                     \*

To characterise the enthusiasm engendered by Babism, I will quote from a lecture\* delivered before the International Congress of the History of Religions, held at Paris in 1900, by Monsieur H. Arakélian, who had just come back from Persia where he had devoted himself to a study of this new religion. He says:

"The Shah [intent on checking the spread of heresy] tried first peaceful methods. He sent Seid Yahya Darabi, the high priest, (Mousted) of Teheran, and head of the Shiite hierarchy, a wise and great theologian, and of repute, with a great following of eminent doctors of theology for a religious discussion with the Bab to Shiraz. Darabi was sure that even in the first meeting he would succeed in demonstrating to the people that the Bab was a false Mahdi, a charlatan and a distorter of the sacred dogmas of Islam and that he deserved to suffer the punishment of stoning; but imagine the surprise of Muhammed Shah, of his viziers and his mullahs, when after a few meetings Darabi declared that the Bab was the true Mahdi who was expected by the faithful and sent by the omnipotent Allah to preach the truth. Darabi not only gave up his sacerdotal functions, but after the manner of a true and zealous apostle began to travel over Persia and to preach the commandments of the Bab. The scandal for the Islam and Shiite clergy was immense. The clergy hurled its thunders of anathema against every Shiite who would give his adhesion to the new heresy. The government declared that all belongings of a Moslem who was suspected of favoring Babist ideas should be confiscated, and the clergy went further still. They preached that to kill a Babist was an act agreeable to Allah, and the murderer in recompense for his deed would enjoy all the happiness of true Moslems in Paradise. But the persecution, as is always the case, had quite contrary results from those expected. The number of proselytes increased from day to day."

Another incident quoted from the same source is not less characteristic:

"The greatest sensation was caused and an extraordinary im-

\* "La Légende d'Alexandre-le-Grand chez les Arméniens," *Actes du premier Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur. 1902.

pulse was given to the propaganda of Babism among the Persian women by the young daughter of the famous Mousted of Kazvine, a city where are concentrated the theological schools of Shiitism, highly celebrated among the Moslems. The young heroine whose name was Kourrat-el-ayné (i. e. "light of the eyes"), was the first Persian Musselman woman who revolted against the yoke of Islam



MIRZA BADI, THE CARRIER OF THE MESSAGE TO THE SHAH OF PERSIA, IN CHAINS.

and defended the rights of women. She refused to wear the customary veil or *charshave* and appeared in public with uncovered face, a thing unheard of in Persia. She wrote verses and composed songs in glorification of the liberty and equality of men and women. Her songs and verses were of great literary finish. They are today

still read and admired. Her eloquence, her zeal, and the profound ardor with which she preached the new doctrine in the streets of Kazvine, and above all her marvelous beauty attracted multitudes of proselytes; and when her uncle, the successor of her father in rank of Mousted of Kazvine, cursed and excommunicated her, Kourrat-el-ayné was obliged to leave the city, but an overzealous Babist, and admirer of her talent and beauty took revenge by killing her uncle, who was forthwith regarded by the Shiites as a martyr. Kourrat-el-ayné was obliged to leave the city, but an overzealous Babist and persecution of Babists in 1852 on the order of Nassredin Shah and her body thrown into a pit. Her literary works, her religious hymns, her mystic philosophical verses have been published, and are admired by Babists and even by the Moslems."

Monsieur H. Arakélian, whom we quoted above, believes that Babism or rather Behaism will by and by become the religion of Persia. At the same time, he believes that Behaism is a higher development of Babism. Here are his own words, quoted from his lecture delivered in 1900 at the International Congress of the History of Religions:

"Persia, this deplorable wreck of the ancient kingdom of Iran-Turan, of yore so glorious, at present confesses the religion of Shiite Muhammedanism. Shiitism preaches that after the twelve preachers-called Immas, the gate (Bab) of science and truth has been closed to man; and this doctrine engendered various sects and heresies, several of which (for instance, the Sufis, the Dawudis, the Dahris, the Ali-Allahis) continue their existence to the present day, but none of them has attained so great a development or counts so many numbers of adherents as Babism or Behaism, for the number of Babists is actually calculated to be three millions in Persia, and two millions in Caucasia, in the trans-Caspian countries, in Bukhara, Central Asia, and in Asia Minor, among the Musselman countries, which is together about five millions. Since the total population of Persia is merely seven millions we find that almost half of them confess, although in secret, Babism, and, in the opinion of those who have visited Persia and have come in contact with the people, there is no doubt that Babism is the future religion of the country.

"Babism is a reaction against the enslaving regime of Islam, a protest against the moral oppression which it has exercised and is still exercising over the poor Persian people, otherwise so intelligent, so peaceful, so capable of developing a high culture, not inferior to other races. Shiite Islam has, through its antihuman and retrogressive ideas, through its principle that the gate of science and truth is shut

forever to men since the twelve imams, by its disdain and contempt of other nations and of secular sciences, thrown Persia and the Persians into a state of economical poverty and in a deplorable moral and intellectual condition. The yoke of Islam has been so crushing that it has become insufferable, and now Babism rises with vigor against it and opposes to it its two principles *Ihtihade* and *Ittifak*



ONE OF THE LATER MARTYRS.

(the unity and solidarity of the human race), for these two principles constitute the essential doctrines of Babism, principles which are diametrically opposed to the principles of Islam."

Monsieur Arakélian judges of Babism more from the standpoint of the Persians themselves than of Christian outsiders. He recognises Babism as a progress from the traditional Muhammedanism

and thus the significance of Babism appears to him in a different light than it would to Christians of Western countries, who will naturally be inclined to regard it as a rival of Christianity. M. Arakélian points out that the religion of the Bab forms a transition only to the broader religion of Beha Ullah. The Bab is in all essential points still a Muhammedan, while the doctrines of Babism have broadened out into an altruistic and universal religion. Mr. Arakélian says:

"The founder of Babism has not freed himself of several traditions of Islam. The revolution which he inaugurated in the Moslem religion retains certain fundamental principles of the faith of Muhammed. (1) The Bab gives preference to the Arabian language in which the Koran is written and which is considered sacred among the Musselmans. (2.) The Bab preached that one should conquer also the kingdom of this world and that one ought to propagate the new religion by force. One should follow in this respect the example of Muhammed. (3) He recommended the custom of the hadj pilgrimage. (4) He forbade severely the study of foreign languages, above all the dead languages. He even recommended in the *Beyane* to burn secular books and requested his followers not to study the secular sciences. (5) He declared his desire not to tolerate any individual of another religion in the future kingdom of the Babists. Upon the whole he never intended to substitute a new religion for Islam but only proposed to reform the religion preached by Muhammed.

"The work of his successor Beha Ullah was a thorough revolution which upset the foundation of Islam. Beha Ullah endows Babism with a cosmopolitan, a truly liberal humanitarian, and philanthropic, spirit. He modified Babism in the line of the evolution which all universal religions have taken, and if he did not succeed in every point, (for he was not a scholar versed in the history of religions and knew only the religions of Moses, Jesus, and Muhammed,) we must grant that the doctrine preached by him, Behaism, is one of the most altruistic religions.

"Two principles constitute the basis of Behaism *Ittihade* and *Ittifak*, unity and solidarity (viz., of mankind). Its aim is "the kingdom of hearts." Therefore, there should be no conquest, no dominion, and no adhesion to political ideas. All men are equal and brothers. There are no great ones, no small ones, no nobility, no plebs. All men are children of one great country, the earth. There is no special country,—that is to say, the idea of patriotism does not exist among the Behaists; the cosmopolitan idea dominates entirely. With this respect Beha said that it would be better if all nations, all

mankind, would use one language and one universal writing. All the nations are good before God. There are no preferred ones. There are no chosen people, no such claims are allowed as were made by the Jews and the Moslems. There is no difference between the human races, white and negro and yellow; all are equal.

"Woman is respected, and she enjoys the same rights with man. Marriage cannot be contracted without the consent of the young couple. Monogamy is recommended. There is only one exception made. If a wife be barren, a man is allowed to take a second wife without separating from the first one, but concubinage is strictly forbidden. Women can have property in their own right.

"The study of the secular sciences and of foreign languages is considered indispensable. Babists are held to be under obligations to obey and respect the laws of the country which they inhabit. Among the forms of government, republicanism is deemed the best, or, at any rate, such a form under which all citizens should have the same rights and the same duties. Even war for the sake of the faith, the sacred war, should be abolished, and Beha recommends to regulate the differences between nations by an international tribunal.

"Beha not only forbids lying of every kind, even where it would serve a good purpose, but he remonstrated also against flattery and against a habit of Moslems, that of kissing the hands of the clergy or of persons of respect. He forbade asceticism and declared that the celibate was not agreeable to God. Babists believe in three prophets. Moses, Jesus, and Muhammed, and they regard them to be of equal dignity. The believer in the Bab or Beha must first of all believe in the three prophets. Jesus is called 'the Son of God.' Pilgrimages and masses for the dead or requiems are regarded as useless. Fasts are not required.

"The Babists believe in a future life and in eternity, but they do not admit the existence of Hell, or of Paradise, or of Purgatory. Everyone will receive his rewards and punishments according to his deeds, but no man knows in what way. As a child in the womb of its mother has no idea of the outer world to which it will go, so man of the present world can not have any idea of the life after death."

Monsieur Arakélian concludes his article with the following comments:

"There are many stories invented by the malevolence and fanaticism of the Moslems concerning the Babists, the Bab and Beha, but a careful study of their sacred books puts to naught all these legends. Babism is founded upon altruistic, humanitarian, and peaceable principles. It has nothing in common with Islam and agrees according

to my opinion much better with the character and inspirations of the Aryan Persians. Babism may be regarded as the future religion of Persia and its final victory would in my opinion be a great blessing for that country."

#### BEHAISM IN CHICAGO.

Babism has been introduced into the United States and it may count several thousand adherents. The preacher of Babism at Chicago is Ibrahim Kheiralla, and he has published a statement of his belief under the name "Beha Ullah," which means "the Glory of God."\*

Mr. Kheiralla was born in Mount Lebanon, Syria, and is now a citizen of the United States. He received his instruction from Abd-el-Karim Effendi Teharani at Cairo, Egypt, and restates the belief of the Babists in its purity, adding thereto his own private reasons such as he found necessary to convince himself of the truth of his religion. Mr. Kheiralla's teacher was a Mohammedan and so he stated the doctrine from the Mohammedan standpoint, while he himself was a Christian from Syria, and thus he deemed it necessary to restate the foundations of his faith with a view of refuting Christian errors and establishing the Babist conviction as unequivocal truth. The present book is meant to be a proof of Babism, which, at least to the author, seems irrefutable. Critical minds, however, will naturally find flaws in the few assumptions from which he starts, and so his arguments will fail to be convincing to a great number of people.

Mr. Kheiralla starts his argument with a chapter on the soul. He opposes Rev. Philip Moxom, who declares a scientific proof of immortality at present to be impossible. Mr. Kheiralla proposes to offer scientific proof. He thinks there is no need of resorting to occultism, and trusts that the solution of the difficulties is at hand. He recapitulates the evidence which Babism offers as follows: "We possess nine intellectual faculties. They cannot be the result of the combination of material elements, which compose the body. Back of them must be an intelligent essence, which possesses and exercises these nine faculties, and which they qualify. Something cannot come from nothing. This proves the existence of the soul."

The second chapter deals with the mind, the third with life, sleep, breathing and the involuntary motions, descanting also on insanity. Having established the reality of the soul and its immor-

\* *Beha 'U'llah* (The Glory of God), by Ibrahim George Kheiralla, assisted by Howard MacNutt. 1900. I. G. Kheiralla, Publisher. Chicago.

tality he proceeds to speak of God in chapters 4 and 5, where he rather assumes than proves his existence and perfection. He says: "God is one. From Him proceed all things which exist, and all His laws, spiritual and material, are in perfect harmony."

Babism rejects miracles, but not from unbelief. Babists argue that it would not be impossible for God to do miracles, but God being perfect, His laws must be perfect and cannot be annulled, or changed, or temporarily laid aside. The miracles related to in the Bible are not meant to be understood in a literal sense. They are "symbolical expressions of spiritual truth."

One instance will be sufficient. Mr. Kheiralla says of the burning bush of Moses: "In order to explain to the Israelites, how God had appeared to him, Moses used the 'bush' as a figure of speech to represent his heart. The symbol is a perfect one. As many branches spring from the bush rooted in the earth, so, from the heart, spring the arteries and veins which run through the body. Therefore, God appeared to Moses in his heart, in the form of fire. 'Fire' is the symbol of the spirit of God, and of His love toward His creatures; and as every symbol has two points, positive and negative, so 'fire' means sometimes 'love' and sometimes 'hatred.'"

The stick of Moses and Aaron, Jonah and the whale, Joshua commanding the sun to stand still, the Tower of Babel, the Apostles speaking many languages, Christ changing water into wine, the loaves and fishes, the devils going into the swine, the raising of Lazarus, and the Star of Bethlehem, are explained in a similar way.

Babism is opposed to the doctrine of resurrection. Paul's explanation of the spiritual body in I Corinthians, xv.50, concerning the spiritualised resurrection bodies, is spoken of as illogical and false. Mr. Kheiralla says: "Scripture, science and philosophy clearly prove the impossibility of the resurrection of the body. That souls return to earth in new and different bodies, however, is demonstrable from the light of all inquiry. Furthermore, it can be shown that this is the true resurrection of Scripture."

The Babist view of prayer is perhaps not different from the Christian view. "Prayer is worship \* \* \* God does not need our worship \* \* \* We worship God and petition Him for our own interests and benefits, for powers, gifts, and higher development." God has promised to hear and answer our petitions and thus the benefit we can derive from prayer is "absolutely certain, for He never fails in the fulfillment of His promises."

The Babist views differ most essentially from the Christian

in the conception of salvation and vicarious atonement. Salvation by blood is rigorously rejected, and thus we are told that Christ's death was not a payment of our sins: "The heavy yoke imposed upon Christians of the present day, arises from their claiming Messiahship for Jesus."

Jesus is regarded not as the Saviour of the world but after all as the Christ. Mr. Kheiralla says:

"We fully believe in our great Master, Jesus the Christ, and in all His teachings. He is the highest among all the creatures in the great universe; the first begotten Son of God, and His Agent; the Creator is His God, and He is His dearest Son. But we know that our salvation is not through His death, but through the great mercy of the Father.

"Salvation is not escape or exemption from the everlasting torture of hell. True salvation is the victory of accomplishment by the soul; the attainment of a privilege afforded us by God, in allowing us to come upon the earth.

"Hell is eternal regret for the loss of that privilege; hell is the soul's failure to accomplish."

As to the Bible, we are told that "The truth is in the Bible, but all the Bible is not the truth." The great revelation of God on earth had not been manifest when Christ appeared, and Mr. Kheiralla takes great pains to show that none of the prophecies had been fulfilled on the appearance of Christ. On the other hand he endeavors to prove that the great revelation of God has become manifest in Beha Ullah. Here the typical characteristics of the Babist faith appear.

The Babists in Chicago belong to the branch of the Behaists, that is they believe that Beha Ullah was the manifestation of God, the coming of which the Bab had prophesied. Mr. Kheiralla proves by arguments which seem to be very convincing to him and to Babists that no other interpretation of the signs by which we shall know Him shall be permitted. Beha Ullah, that is "the Glory of God," was exiled from Persia and lived during the end of his life at Akka (Acre), and he must have died there. His sons and daughters have inherited spiritual dominion over the Babists. Beha Ullah left four sons, called the "Branches," and three daughters, called the "Leaves." The oldest son is called the "Greatest Branch," the second the "Mightiest Branch," the third the "Holiest Branch," and the fourth the "Most Luminous Branch." They are not like their father, a manifestation of "the Glory of God," but they are simply men to whom the Babists look up to with reverence.

Mr. Kheiralla's book embodies a number of interesting pictures, among which we will mention portraits of the four branches, a tablet with the handwriting of the Bab in the shape of a pentagonal star, the tomb of Beha Ullah.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### FATHER HYACINTHE LOYSON.

Père Hyacinthe Loyson, the famous French preacher, formerly of Notre Dame, Paris, who many years ago left the Church, thereby creating a sensation, not only in the Catholic world but also among Protestants, has returned from the Orient, where he visited Jerusalem, and is now staying at Rome.

Father Hyacinthe is not only a great preacher and a conspicuous figure in the religious evolution of France, but he is also a man of deep philosophical interest and of a broad education. He married an American lady, a native of Philadelphia, and thus he has strong ties that connect him in sympathy with the United States.

The home of Father Hyacinthe and Madame Loyson at Rome is the rendezvous for all sorts of thinking people, believers and unbelievers. The Father is still Catholic enough to think that the eternal question of religion has its center and perhaps will find its solution in the "Eternal City." Only he thinks it is far off. He is surrounded by friends and has been invited to preach in the American Episcopal Church and also to the Waldenses, who are an Italian Evangelical denomination seven centuries old, the Israel of the Alps. He also spoke at the Centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society and at the Italian Methodist Church before crowded congregations who broke out into enthusiastic applause. More significant still is the lecture which he delivered at the request of the members of the government and the ambassadors before a Roman audience on a neutral platform upon the social, moral, and religious questions which agitate the world.

Father Hyacinthe celebrated of late his seventy-seventh birthday by a fraternal feast in which different denominations participated.

A letter of his, published in *L'Italie*, a French paper published at Rome, sums up the Père's views of the present Pope, and as it is of general interest to hear the opinion of a prominent man who knows the Roman Church so thoroughly as does Father Hyacinthe, we here publish it in an English translation.

Father Hyacinthe says:

"I have come to Rome partly to understand the direction which the new papacy will follow, and I trust that it will be a happy one on account of its approachment to Italy. An official reconciliation is at present not possible. The whole papal power itself would be wrecked by it, but Pius X will very usefully prepare for it by the good precedents which he sets and which are practically a rupture with the intransigentism of Pius IX and Leo XIII.

"As to general politics, the new Pope gives himself credit to leave it alone but where by the nature of his duties he is obliged to interfere, as is the case with the French laws concerning the teaching congregations, he will make, honestly and sentimentally, grave mistakes.

"He may thereby prepare the separation of the Church and State in France, which, however, will — it is to be feared — lead to conditions that will be bad for both Church and State.

"As to the relations between religion and science, relations which according to my view take precedence even over those of the Church and the State, the intellectual horizon of Pius X will presumably be that of a good curé of the country or of a small town who reads the Bible in the Vulgate and preferably in the extracts furnished by his breviary. He has just given us a painful sample of it in his condemnation of the erudite writings of Abbé Loisy.

"Nothing more dangerous in a Pope than piety when it is not sufficiently supported by a broad and independent science; and if you wish to have my unreserved opinion, nothing more dangerous than a piety that is subjected to the influence of a state secretary, more or less Spanish and reactionary.

"You may think me pessimistic, and indeed I am such so far as men are concerned, but not as to God. A higher law governs history and finally leads the errors and mistakes of man, even those of popes, to a good end.

"Under its present form the Church stands condemned. She is not in need merely of a reform, as I thought myself some time ago. She needs a profound transformation, and I ought to add, a radical one. I seem to hear daily in my meditative walks in the midst of Rome's solemn and tragic ruins the voice which according to Plutarch in the decay of paganism cried out over the sea of the Greek archipelago: 'The great Pan is dead.'

"My heart which remains profoundly Catholic answers this voice with a sigh, but my reason and also my faith, my purified faith, show me in the future, at Rome and at Paris and elsewhere, the vision of a higher Christianity, similar to the one which Mazzini hoped for and which he summed up in the two words 'God and the people.' \* \* \*

The son of Father Hyacinthe, Paul Hyacinthe Loyson, is an able and well-known French author, who, after publishing several volumes of poetry, has developed of late into a dramatist with a strong conviction that theaters should be reformed and do what the churches fail in, viz., to attract those who stand most in need of reform. His *Evangile du Sang* has been enacted in different continental cities and his *Droit des Vierges* has just had a run of a month in Paris at the New Theatre Victor Hugo. The director of the *Theatre Français*, which takes the lead over all others, has asked him to write a moral drama for that stage.

#### A LETTER FROM THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE OF BEHAISM.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

This letter, from Mr. Ibrahim Kheiralla, the main representative of Behaism in the United States, refers to portions of our article, "A New Religion," which will appear in the next number.]

With pleasure and full satisfaction I have read the proofs of the article on Behaism. Indeed it is one of the best that I have read on this subject.

It shows your impartiality in regard to the present schism between the two Branches, Abbas Effendi and Mohammad Ali Effendi. You have stated what you believe to be facts, without passing judgment on either side.



*J. G. Kheisalla*

It may interest you, as well as the readers of your valuable magazine, to know that I am expecting the arrival of the grandson of Beha Ullah,

whose name is Shua Ullah Effendi, as my guest during the Exposition at St. Louis.

He is the son of the Mightiest Branch, Mohammad Ali Effendi, whom I represent in this country. The purpose of his father in sending him here is that the young man may study the civilization of the Western countries and realize, in person, the greatness of the American nation and its wonderful development; also, with the intention of organizing in the United States of America a movement, under the headship of his illustrious father and his grandmother, Her Grace the widow of Beha Ullah. The purpose of this organization is to connect the East with the West. This momentous subject and its secrets will be explained and given to you and to a few others after his arrival.



SHUA ULLAH EFFENDI.

I beg to suggest to you, if possible for The Open Court Publishing Company to handle the sale of my work *Beha Ullah* and put it before the public. I know that this is out of your line, yet I know that you are interested in all kinds of religions and philosophies. This book is not published with the intention of money-making. It cost a big sum of money to publish it. The original price of this voluminous work, consisting of 550 pages, was five dollars, but as a greater number was published than the present demand justifies, I am willing to dispose of it for two dollars a book.

Just received the enclosed photo of Shua Ullah Effendi. He is 26 years old only.

J. G. KHEIRALLA.

## THE SHAKSPER CONTROVERSY.

BY JOSEPH WARREN KEIFER.

(Reply.)

In Edwin Watts Chubb's attempt to analyze my article, entitled—"Did William Shaksper write Shakespeare," his denunciation of it as "delightfully confused," is greatly relieved of any sting by his own (twice repeated) unbiased, though charmingly frank, confession that he is not only a "*simple minded*" but a "credulous believer in the old-fashioned notion that Shaksper is Shakespeare"; then declaring his belief in "Mr. Keifer's creed." What follows needs no characterization, as it is in consonance with those who are either forced to abandon the field of sound argument based on indubitable facts, or with that other class that assumes to know everything, and without deigning to give up their assumed infinite knowledge, or a part of it, dogmatically assail all who differ with them as incapable of understanding what they are trying to investigate.

My paper was written for a literary club and not for publication; nor did I then, nor do I now, pretend that it was exhaustive or conclusive. Its merit, if it has any, was in arraying some of the salient facts connected with the reputed great author's life, only one of which—and that of no importance on the question of authorship—is assailed by Mr. Chubb. He inquires where I got the information that Shaksper was born on April 23, 1564, adding that "fifty years ago school texts and primers of literature contained the statement," etc. He says "all *we* know is that he was baptized on the 26th." Mr. Chubb expresses the belief that this is an inaccuracy which throws doubts on my familiarity with the subject. I am gratified that he found something—one thing—that he could, with some plausibility, question, though I doubt his having ever even seen "*primers of literature*," fifty years old, confirming the date given by me. Were there ever such *primers*?

The date is unimportant, but Hamilton Wright Mabie in his recent (1901) life of Shakespeare undertakes to give the date of his birth as occurring on April 22d or 23d, 1564, preferring the later date. Mabie's elaborate book was written as though no person had ever questioned the authorship of the Shakespeare plays. The "*Annals of the Life of Shakespeare*," found in Vol. 12 of the (1901) "*Larger Temple Edition of Shakespeare*," give April 23d, "the day of St. George, England's patron saint," as Shakespeare's birthday.

These authorities may not, however, be modern enough for the self-styled "accurate modern scholar," Mr. Chubb. I hope I will be pardoned for a reference to only one record older than Mr. Chubb's "*primers of literature*."

In an old house in County Sussex, England, a great chair, black with age, with papers faded with age (no manuscript or writing of Shaksper accompanying), to prove the identity of the chair as the one Shaksper used, is carefully guarded as the most interesting of Shakespearian relics. It is accounted as genuine. On the top rail of this chair is an inscription in old English lettering:

" WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,  
 " Born 23 April, 1564.  
 " Died 23 April, 1616."

But Mr. Chubb's great error (or worse) is the assumption in his article that I tried to show a "Great Unknown" wrote the Shakespeare plays; and he then proceeds with equal unfairness to classify me as a Baconian. On such false assumptions he still makes out a bad case. My article expressly repudiates the claim that Bacon or any other known contemporary of Wm. Shaksper was alone the author.

The following paragraphs from my article are reproduced here:

" Collaboration work, common to literary productions in Shaksper's time, may furnish a fairly satisfactory answer as to the authorship.

" It may be reasonable to suppose that Shaksper, with his acumen for " the business of the theaters in London and the travelling companies with " which he was connected, may have employed the best educated, but impecunious play-writers and poets, said to have been numerous in his day, some " of whom had travelled in other countries, unsuccessfully seeking fame and " fortune. Many of such are said to have been educated younger sons of " wealthy gentlemen, whose fortunes went, by English law, to their eldest " sons, leaving their brothers only an education which was often obtained " at college or university. That Shaksper 'kept a poet' has long been believed by many. Perhaps, too, some of the known play-writers and poets " worked in collaboration with these just referred to; and it is not impossible that even the writings of a Bacon and a Raleigh, or others of the " then learned of England, may have been drawn on for parts, where special and professionally technical or scientific knowledge was required; and " this may account for portions of Bacon's writings, cypher included, appearing in some of the Shakespeare plays and poems. It may be true that " some of the great men were employed to revise particular parts for plays, the " plans for and skeletons of which had been outlined by another or others. " Some of these men were doubtless often needy, and might well have written " for money."

But Mr. Chubb has discovered, and pretends to promulgate on authority, a newly discovered principle, or law, of interpretation, in settling disputed questions.

I quote from his article:

" Gen. Keifer writes that he does not intend to give an opinion as to " the authorship of the greatest of literary contributions to the world. Of " course he does not. I challenge him to name any man other than William " Shakespere of Stratford, England. Every repudiator of Shakespere knows " that he is *under the necessity* of naming somebody as the author—a " demonstration that another was."

Here is a new canon for settling a fact in history.

To assert that a named person was the hero of a particular event, the author of a great writing, etc., is, according to this canon, absolutely conclusive that he was the real hero, or author, unless somebody came forward

and demonstrated not only that he was not, but that another named person was; and the latter demonstration must not only be conclusively satisfactory to the general reasoning public, but to those who proclaim this law, and make the unwarranted assertion. It does not suffice with them that the name brought forward was an impossible person, or a person fairly demonstrated to have been incapable of the great thing attributed to him; all this is quite immaterial and the world must still accept him; and those who refuse to do so are only "lawyers, or some one engaged in non-literary work—a troop of less than half-educated people—raw Americans and fanatical women," not entitled to consideration beside the Chubbs, at least not until the latter are satisfied by demonstration satisfactory to their "modern scholarship" and assumed super-human acumen, that some other well-known, named person was the real party.

Here we have a key to the modern wisdom that assails those who doubt that Shaksper was the great author. If Shaksper had ever claimed to have written anything, or called himself other than a playwright, which he was, an issue would be made with him, or if the publishers of the First Folio Edition (1623), including some of the great plays, only seven years after Wm. Shaksper's death (1616), had pretended to have obtained them from him when in life, or his family or legal representatives after his death, instead of from another source (theater archives), there might still be some room for a controversy on which testimony would have to be weighed.

There is so little to be overthrown in the way of evidence tending to show Shaksper was the author of anything that the burden should be on those who are contented to believe, without knowledge, or investigation for knowledge.

That some of the plays were called Shakespeare's in Wm. Shaksper's lifetime, and more when (1623) he was dead (with others shown to belong to then living writers), proved nothing then, and proves nothing now, save, possibly, that they were written and kept in theaters which Wm. Shaksper owned, or partly owned, in London. It is certain that when he retired from London in 1612, and always thereafter, he made no claim to the plays in manuscript or in other form; that his family or executor, never obtained even one manuscript or other writing from him, or left by him. He never himself claimed authorship of anything, and it is certain he, if an author, abandoned, as valueless, all his manuscripts. But what boots all this to Mr. Chubb, or what matters it to him, and others like him, whether Shaksper of Stratford could write a line or not, the world is bound to accept this Shaksper as the sole and only author of the great dramas, because some rational doubter could not clearly demonstrate that another named person, solely, and alone, wrote them.

I made no point out of the varied spelling of the name in records of Shaksper's time. I did suggest that in the five "morning glory" signatures known to be genuine, he should, if the greatest scholar of his, or any age, have been able to spell his name each time the same way, especially on the same day.

I did not, in my article, and will not here, for want of space, give lengthy quotations from Emerson, Dickens, and others, to prove they are classed by Mr. Chubb, and those who believe and reason like him, among "the troop of

half-educated people." My article does give enough, quoted from Emerson and Dickens, and from other English, and "raw Americans," to satisfy most people that "a prominent professor of literature in England or America" *can* be found in the doubter's camp.

How profound is the argument of Mr. Chubb that because Emerson *used*, or quoted, Shakespeare in his writings; that because Charles Dickens was once a member of a London Shakespeare Society and often attended its meetings, and that once he played the part of Justice Shallow in "The Merry Wives of Windsor," proves each a settled believer in the authorship of Shaksper of Stratford? (Others of the present day would excel in performing the character of Justice Shallow.)

So it might be claimed that all the writers, orators, or speakers who quote from the great Shakesperean writings, and all who have been performers of the great plays (according to Mr. Chubb's philosophy of reason), believe Wm. Shaksper was their author.

Because I am not "cocksure" in my belief is another profound reason why my critic should be free from doubt as to his views.

These free-from-doubt believers, as Mr. Chubb shows, are driven to proclaim, to maintain their positiveness, that the Shaksper who wrote the plays, sonnets, etc., was an *ignorant* man; hardly up to the commonest.

Mr. Chubb says:

"Is Shakespere a learned writer? No modern Shakesperean scholar "pretends that Shakespere was a learned man. The plays abound in evidence "to the contrary."

This sweeping statement is attempted to be proved by exceptional or apparent mistakes in allusions to history, the classics, to law forms, etc. In this Mr. Chubb is unfortunately following others whose claims have been overwhelmingly disproved by those who have been willing to take pains to examine each instance. No point is made about bad spelling. This is put forward to appear to have something easy to refute.

Poetic license, quite as great three hundred years ago as now, explains much of what those who claim to be modern learned critics point out.

It will not be safe to rest Shaksper's authorship on his *ignorance* of the best learning and literature; of the sciences, arts, court customs and practices; of the history of the world, ancient and then modern; of the best court society, of kings and princes, courts and courtiers, of wars and their heroes, and of the habits of birds and animals, and a knowledge of plants, and of all the common and extraordinary affairs of life in the Elizabethan period, and prior thereto, etc., including all countries.

The common sense of the common people, possessed of common knowledge, as well as those highly learned in literature, history and the arts and sciences, know well that the author of the Shakespeare plays was possessed of a universal knowledge and of an erudition in technical scholarship far in advance of his time: that he wrote for all time — for eternity.

What is portrayed in the Shakespearean writings, stands yet, and will ever stand, to educate the highest races of civilized man. Who gainsays this, save those who seek by small technicalities to overthrow substantial realities?

To illustrate, Mr. Chubb says that one Judge Allen "has carefully ex-

amined every legal term used by Shakespeare, and he finds many inaccuracies. He finds that the 'Merchant of Venice' is full of bad law," etc.

How singular? Did anybody ever suppose that the author of this play was engaged in writing a treatise on law? He was writing an overdrawn tale to illustrate character, and to point out how the exacting usurer should be defeated in a remorseless attempt to enforce a hard bargain, etc. The poet-author made the rules of law to suit the purposes of his story.

In Mr. Chubb's quotation from "Julius Cæsar":

"On this side Tiber, he hath left them you,  
And to your heirs forever, common pleasures,  
To walk abroad and recreate yourselves."

He claims the phrase, "your heirs forever," is misplaced, and "no good lawyer would have thus phrased it." It is fortunate that no merely good lawyer wrote "Julius Cæsar." A poet wrote it, and adapted, in the best possible way, an English common law, legal formula, denoting perpetual inheritance of the great bounty of Cæsar to the Roman people, and this in a poetic funeral oration. He was writing for English readers.

The quoted passage from "Henry IV" as to the Salic (Salique) law, which prohibits a woman from inheriting a crown, is an historical description of the origin of such law, well stated in poetic language, and cannot be regarded as a disquisition on that, or any other, law. The real author, learned as the text shows in Latin and other languages, gives an accurate, though poetic, history of the Salic law, long enforced in France and other monarchical countries. This quoted passage only demonstrates the author of "Henry IV" as a man of superior learning, capable of accurately adapting the best history to a poetic use.

But what of the examination of the author's legal learning by Appleton Morgan, A. M., LL.B., one of the most learned of Shakespearean scholars and law writers (see his *Shakespearean Myth*, etc., etc.). And Mr. Grant White, of equal learning, says:

"Legal phrases flow from his pen as part of his vocabulary and parcel of his thought. . . .

" . . . . Shakespeare uses his law just as freely in his early plays, as in those produced at a later date."

And Lord Campbell, also a great scholar and writer, a chief justice of England, writes:

"While novelists and dramatists are constantly making mistakes as to the law of marriage, of wills, and of inheritance, to Shakespeare's law, lavishly as he expounds it, there can neither be demurrer nor bill of exceptions, nor writ of error."

That the author was learned in medical jurisprudence conclusively appears.

Mr. Chubb adopts the expedient of setting up unwarranted and assumed claims against the authorship of Shaksper, and then seeks to overthrow them. This is the resort of those who have no faith in the justness of their cause. He says, "Perhaps if Ben Jonson and Milton, and Goethe, and Coleridge, and Carlyle, and Schlegel, and Furness, and Lowell, and John Fiske," and

others "had only investigated this matter as deeply as Mrs. Gallup and General Keifer, they too could envy those simple-minded who are so credulous and blissful in their harmless illusions." What a stately argument this is, to overthrow the facts of history, even though summarized by "raw Americans and fanatical women."

Mr. Chubb would have his readers imply that Ben Jonson and Milton, and the others, had studied, profoundly, the question of Shaksper's authorship. Ben Jonson lived contemporary to Shaksper of Stratford, and knew him as a player in theaters and, at times, on the roads, when the law was not enforced against such then interdicted people. He knew Shaksper to be, what he called himself—a player. Ben Jonson's dedication of the First Folio Edition to one Wm. Shakespeare we have in our former article, sufficiently spoken of.

Milton, too, lived contemporary to Shaksper, and for years after his death, but he knew him not as the great author. He spoke in *L'Allegro* of his Shakespeare's "native wood-notes wild." Surely he did not refer to the stately plays so full of camps and courts, tragedy and comedy, with so little of woods or forests. If, as in *The Iconoclast*, the blind poet referred to Shaksper of Stratford it was—like Ben Jonson—with contempt. Goethe, and others named, never, so far as we know, essayed to study the question of the authorship of the Shakespeare plays; but some of those named were not so "simple-minded" that they could not be doubters.

Nearly all of these great men died before 1856, when the authorship of the great plays was first seriously investigated. The over thirty learned men named in an opening paragraph of my former paper, and other whose names could be added, who were not "*so credulous*" they could not doubt, are a sufficient guarantee that earnest investigation has imbued great men, and scholars, with such reasonable and honest convictions against the right to call Shaksper of Stratford the great author, as not to be justly classed by Mr. Chubb, and his like, as "the gullible."

But Mr. Chubb, correctly, near the close of his criticism, admits Shaksper's title to authorship rests on "tradition extending in unbroken line back three hundred years." He says the people are asked "to believe that all Shaksper's contemporaries were grossly deceived." What contemporary of Shaksper of Stratford knew and recognized him as an author. Mr. Chubb should have given us a few names.

I quote once more from my former paper, and from Ralph Waldo Emerson who was strong-minded, at least enough to doubt.

"Shaksper lived in a period of eminent men. Raleigh, Sidney, Spencer, "the Bacons (Francis and Thomas), Cecil, Walsingham, Coke, Camden, "Hooker, Drake, Hobbes, Herbert, Laud, Pym, Hampden, and others were "his contemporaries; their history and work are not in doubt; there is no "evidence tending to show that he was personally known to one of them, or to "any other of lesser note among statesmen, scholars, or artists. Nor did they "discover him.

"Emerson says, 'not a single fact bearing on his literary character has "come down to us,' though he had examined with care the entire correspondence covering Shaksper's time, in which almost every person of note of "his day is mentioned, and adds:

“Since the constellation of great men who appeared in Greece in the time of Pericles, there never was any such society, yet their genius failed them to find out the best head in the universe.”

Again, Mr. Chubb says he is asked to believe, “that the writer of the greatest literary productions . . . could live and grow in power and yet not leave the slightest evidence of his existence, not even a grave.” This begs the question. Did Shaksper of Stratford “live and write and grow in power”? He lived, and died, and then had a grave with a slab over it, on which is an inscription, chiefly relating to his bones—*nothing to authorship*; nor has the slightest proof ever come to light that he ever wrote a letter, or left to his family a line of manuscript, or that he ever claimed to have written anything.

Is it not a greater mystery to know that this Shaksper left no claim, or evidence of authorship, than that the real author (or authors who worked, perhaps, in collaboration around Shaksper's theaters for pay) should be unknown? Mr. Chubb and his self-styled “simple-minded and credulous” kind, being satisfied that a man called Shaksper had an existence, and left a grave—whether he did, or could, write a play, or anything—are quite satisfied he was the great author. It is enough for Shaksper to have lived, and acquired a grave; all else is unimportant to the controversy.

Nobody claims Shaksper was not an author, alone because the verse on his tomb does not so testify; nor because he poached, in his young manhood, on Mr. Lucy's deer-warren; nor because Stratford was a filthy town. These are things of straw Mr. Chubb sets up, because he thinks *he* can knock them down. He concludes with a climax of profundity, by again saying that the doubters must agree as to who the “Great Unknown” is, or it conclusively follows that Wm. Shaksper did the writing; this whether he was illiterate or not. But Mr. Chubb says it remains to “persuade us that Ben Jonson was either a ‘knave or a fool.’” Why? He was neither. There is no doubt of *his* learning or authorship. He wrote, as we have shown in our former paper, a poetic dedication, using old forms of expression, and for pay, to promote the sale of the plays published or edited by Heminge and Condell, in 1623, seven years after Shaksper of Stratford was dead, and had bequeathed to said Heminge and Condell 26 shillings, 8 pence “apiece” (no manuscript) “to buy them Ringes”; and to his faithful wife, out of his large estate, only his “*second best bed with the furniture.*”

To whom, as the Shakespearean author, Ben Jonson referred in his poetic dedication to the First Folio (1623) we do not know with absolute certainty. There are those who believe Ben Jonson, in his laudatory poetic dedication, referred to the Stratford Shaksper as the theater owner, rather than the writer, of the plays published in the First Folio Edition and, for the writing of which, he was undoubtedly employed, and paid, the principal object being to advertise the Folio.

The ownership of the manuscripts of the play seems to have attached to the theaters in which Shaksper held ownership, as there is no evidence that Heminge and Condell got them anywhere else—certainly not from Shaksper of Stratford, his family, or executor.

It is fortunate for Ben Jonson's reputation that he is not generally credited with the “Epistle Dedicatorie,” to the same Folio, as, after three

hundred years, some investigator—not too “simple-minded and credulous”—has discovered that it is a badly botched and poorly disguised piece of plagiarism, the source of the principal parts thereof being the Preface to Pliny's (the elder) *Natural History*, which is an extravagantly written, laudatory dedication to the great Titus. Did Heminge and Condell, or Ben Jonson scruple at this? They could borrow language eulogizing a great Roman, to characterize another without giving a summary of his life, allowing the apparent facts to take care of themselves. The Folio must sell.

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PETRARCH.

(1304-1374.)

*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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## PETRARCH.

BY THE EDITOR.

ITALY will celebrate this year, on July 20th, the six hundredth anniversary of the birthday of one of her greatest sons, Francesco di Petrarca, poet, humanist, patriot, whose personality is typically Italian and has become an ideal and a prophetic prototype for later generations.

The original form of the poet's family name was Petracco, which, for the sake of euphony, was changed to the Latinised form Petrarca, and in English has been shortened to Petrarch.

In speaking of Petrarch we must remember, that, being born in 1304, he still lived in the Middle Ages and his striking characteristic consists in the modern cast of his mind which distinguished him personally and made him, prophetlike, anticipate both the rise of humanism and the national ideals of the Italian people.

Contemplating the grandeur of ancient Rome, Petrarch dreamed of the greatness of the Italian nation and he exclaimed:

*"Unite, Italia, and dare once more be free!"*

Petrarch was born at Arezzo, where his parents had taken refuge during a civil war, exiled from their native city Florence, then the most powerful and opulent city of Italy. His mother, when allowed to return to the Florentine republic, settled in Incisa, a little village on the Arno above Florence, where she spent seven years with her two children, for she gave birth to a second boy, Gherardo, in 1307. In 1312 the father, a lawyer, removed to Pisa and thence, in 1313, to Avignon, the seat of the exiled Popes and the center, not only of the Christian Church, but also of all the luxuries and opulence of the times.

From his childhood Francesco was an admirer of the ancient

classical authors, especially the Latin poets, Ovid and Virgil, but at the age of fifteen, yielding to his father's wish, he studied law, first at Montpellier (1319-1323) and then at Bologna (1323-1326). On the death of his father he returned to Avignon, and here, on the 6th day of April, 1326, the youth saw in the Church of Santa Clara a beautiful lady, Laura, who impressed him so deeply that ever afterwards she continued to exercise an indelible and decisive influence upon his life and poetry.

Literary critics are even now in doubt whether the figure of Laura was a real person or mere fiction, but a descendant of Laura, the Abbé de Sade, has undertaken the task of definitely settling the



LAURA.

problem by proving the identity of the poet's love with the daughter of Audibert di Nova, wife of Hugo de Sade, a beautiful and distinguished lady, noble both in birth and in mind, whom the arduous poet loved, or rather worshipped, with a rare and fervid infatuation, for she remained to him forever unapproachable, like a star in the sky, or the Virgin Madonna of the Catholic Church.

Though we accept the contention that Laura actually existed, and though Petrarch had been enraptured by her appearance in a real encounter and was carried away by a love at first sight, we may still claim that the greater part of Laura's picture as we find it in the *Sonnets*, is the product of the poet's enthusiasm, who had lit-

the opportunity to become totally acquainted with her and fed his unrequited love at a distance mainly upon the fancies of his own heart.

After Petrarch's *Lehrjahre* (1304-1326), his *Wanderjahre* began, the period in which his character was formed and the foundation laid for his fame as a poet (1327-1337).

At Avignon Petrarch had become acquainted with Giacomo Colonna, who had just been installed by the Pope as Bishop to Lombez at the foot of the Pyrenees in Southern France, and he extended to the young poet an invitation to join him as a kind of secretary and travelling companion, which invitation was cheerfully accepted.



AVIGNON.

Petrarch took orders, but he never held any high position in the Church.

Petrarch was of a restless nature and could never stay for any length of time in one place. He grew restless at Lombez and undertook a longer journey, which brought him to Paris, Ghent, Liege, Cologne and also to Rome, and everywhere he met the most prominent scholars and leading men of the age.

Among the friends of Petrarch we note one, Ludovico, a learned German philosopher, whom the poet in his writings addresses as "Socrates," and another, a native of Rome, by the name of Lelo, whom he calls "Laelius."

Petrarch was a lover of books, and he planned to establish a great library, for which he deemed Venice to be the best place. The Venetian government gladly accepted his offer and received him with hospitality and great honor as a guest of the city. But Petrarch was much embittered by the infidelity of the young Venetians, who were followers of Averroes, and when he rebuked "those freethinkers who have a great contempt for Christ and His apostles as well as for all those who would not bow the knee to the Stagyrite," they retorted on him by a mock trial which they had publicly enacted in order to criticise his philosophical and religious views. The



LIBRARY OF ST. MARK, ON ST. MARK'S PLACE, VENICE\*.

judges of the farcical proceeding returned a verdict that Petrarch was "a good man," but, added they ironically, "he was illiterate!"

Having returned to Avignon in 1337, Petrarch settled in Vaucluse, a secluded spot situated about fifteen miles from the city, where he made his home for several years, devoting himself to literary labors. To this period belongs the poet's relation to a woman whose name for unknown reasons he has concealed with as much scrupulous care as he has extolled the name of Laura. Two children were born to Petrarch, a son, Giovanni, in 1337, and a daughter, Francesca, in 1343. Both of them were adopted by the father and at his request, legitimised by the Pope.

\* The tower on the right has fallen during the last year.

In the year 1341 Petrarch visited the court of King Robert of Naples, and at the initiative of this sovereign was crowned as poet-



VAUCLUSE\*.

laureate at the Capitol of Rome under the applause of the Roman people.

\* This picture, as well as the others of this article (with the exception of the sketch made by Petrarch), including the portraits of Petrarch and Laura, are reproduced from *The Sonnets, Triumphs, and Other Poems of Petrarch*, by Thomas Campbell.

Rome in the meantime became the seat of great political disturbances, and Cola di Rienzi, who, with all his noble traits, was a visionary demagogue, succeeded in establishing what he fondly thought to be a restoration of the Republic of Rome, but which actually was a mob-licensed tyranny, governed by him under the modest title of "Tribune." Petrarch supported Rienzi's cause, but could not prevent the final collapse of his short reign.

In 1348 Laura died of the plague on the same date on which the poet had seen her first, April 6th.



SKETCH OF VAUCLUSE BY PETRARCH'S OWN HAND\*.

The words underneath the picture read as follows: "*Transalpina solitudo mea iocundissima*," which means, "my most delightful transalpine retreat." Petrarch drew this picture on his copy of Pliny's *Natural History*, in remembrance of the pleasant hours which he had spent at Vacluse.

The poet received the news of Laura's death at Selva Piana, and he wrote the following marginal note upon his copy of Virgil, which is still preserved and is by good authority regarded as unquestionably authentic:

"Laura, illustrious for her virtues, and for a long time cele-

\* Petrarch's sketch has been impressed on the cover of *Petrarch, the First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*, by Robinson and Rolfie, and is here reproduced by the courtesy of the publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, London.

brated in my verse, for the first time appeared to my eyes on the 6th of April, 1327, in the church of St. Clara, at the first hour of



SELVA PIANA, NEAR PARMA.



ROME.

Showing the dome of St. Peter at the distance and the Castle of St. Angelo to the right.

the day. I was then in my youth. In the same city, and at the same hour, in the year 1348, this luminary disappeared from our world.

I was then at Verona, ignorant of my wretched situation. Her chaste and beautiful body was buried the same day, after vespers, in the Church of Cordeliers. Her soul returned to its native mansion in Heaven. I have written this with a pleasure mixed with bitterness, to retrace the melancholy remembrance of 'MY GREAT LOSS.' This loss convinces me that I have nothing now left worth living for, since the strongest cord of my life is broken. By the grace of God, I shall easily renounce a world where my hopes have been vain and perishing. It is time for me to fly from Babylon when the knot that bound me to it is untied."

A new period begins for Petrarch. His love for Laura is less



MILAN CATHEDRAL.

passionate and more religious; he is more resigned, bestowing great praise upon monastic life and solitude. He had been appointed Canon of Parma in 1346, which he had visited ever since from time to time. He now, in 1348, accepted an invitation of the Archbishop Giovanni, Viscount of Milan, who was practically the tyrant of that city. In 1350 he became Archdeacon of Parma.

Finally Petrarch retired to Arquà, a little village in the Euganean Hills, about twelve miles south of Parma, where he continued to devote himself to his favorite studies and poetical composition, and there he was found dead on July 18th, 1374, among the books of his library.

Petrarch's last will requests his friends not to weep for his

death because tears do no good to the dead but may harm the living. He only asks for prayers and alms to the poor, leaving all details of the funeral to his friends, adding: "What signifies it to me where my body is laid?" He makes bequests in favor of religious orders and leaves an endowment for an anniversary mass which is still celebrated on the 9th of July. Among his gifts to personal friends is one of fifty gold florins to Boccaccio "for to buy him a warm coat for his studies at night." He appoints Francesco da Bassano of Milan his heir for the purpose of paying out one half of his fortune "to the person to whom it is assigned"—who is commonly supposed to be Petrarch's daughter, Francesca. His brother, Gherardo, the Carthusian monk, is offered an option of either one hundred florins payable at once or ten florins every year.

Though Petrarch had taken an active part in the political history of his time, he was a poet and rhetorician, not a hero and a character. His scholarship, the elegance of his verses, and his amiable personality endeared him to both the aristocratic men of his time and the common people of Italy. Far from being a man of definite and consistent ideals, his life is full of contradictions. Mediæval in thought and principle, he was modern in sentiment. Though an Italian patriot, he invited the German Emperor to continue the Ghibelline policy of imperial interference with Italian affairs. Though an admirer of the classics, he knew no Greek: "he was deaf to Homer as Homer was dumb to him." Though a humanist, he was a devout adherent to the most mediæval forms of Christianity. Though an enthusiastic champion of the cause of liberty, he was an intimate friend of almost all of the tyrants of his time and was instrumental in their retaining their power and usurped privileges. Though indebted to the Colonnas for many personal favors, he became an abettor of the Roman mob who massacred seven members of that noble family of Rome. Rome is to him once the eternal city, and then the impious Babylon. Though he refused lucrative positions of high duties and honor (such as secretaryship to the Pope and the rectorship of the University of Florence) in order to preserve his independence, he practically lived upon favors from the powerful as their retainer and so remained all his life dependent upon their benevolence. All these and other traits would have been fatal to any man but him who in the "vanity fair" of his poetical fancies, was little conscious of his inconsistencies. His very shortcomings seem to have added to the charm of his personality and made it possible that while he was still a child of the Middle Ages, he became one of the founders of modern Italy.

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

### VII. THE MORNING-GLORY.

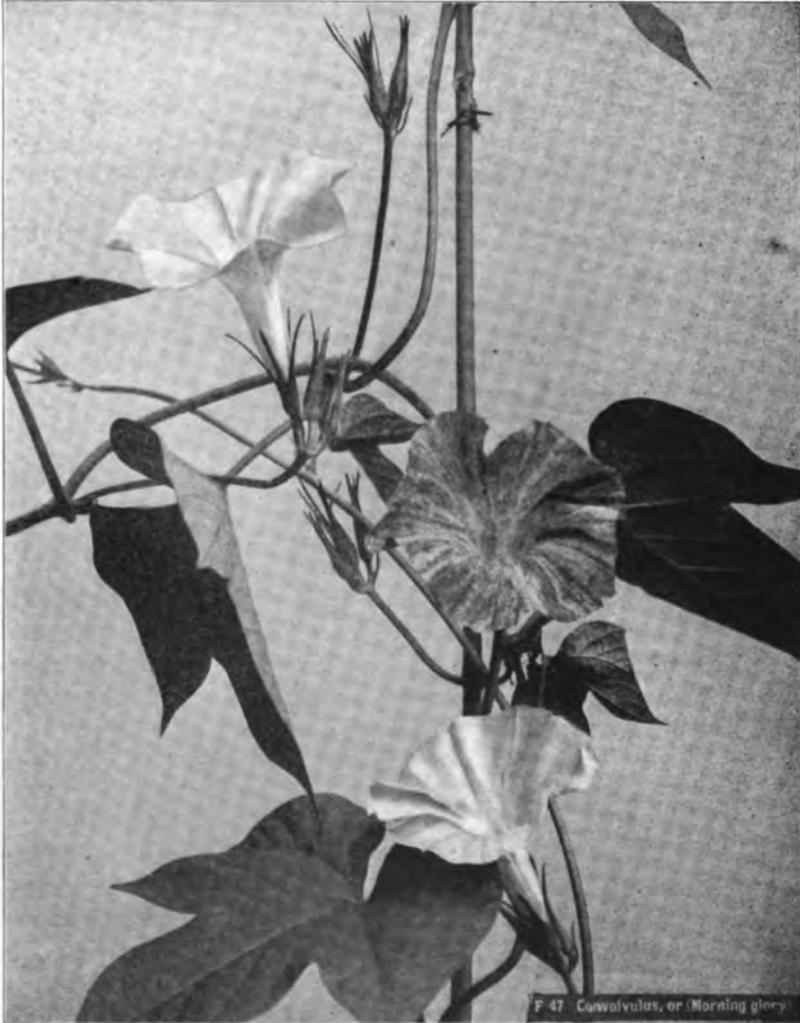
WHAT is known in the Occident as the morning-glory goes in Japan by the name of *asagao*, or "morning-face." But the Japanese variety is far beyond comparison with any other variety, as



A MORNING-GLORY SELLER.

we learned when our Japanese vines were the wonder and admiration of our Chicago neighbors. And the Tokyo master of the *asagao*, Suzuki by name, said to Miss Scidmore\*: "Yes; I know the Korean and the American *asagao* are little wild things, like weeds, not beautiful or worth growing." And Miss Scidmore herself testifies as follows: "For size, beauty, range of color, and illimitable variety

there attained, this sunrise flower precedes all others, until its cultivation has become a craze which is likely to spread to other countries, and—who knows?—perhaps there introduce the current Japanese custom of five-o'clock-in-the-morning teas and garden parties.”



CONVOLVULUS, OR (MORNING GLORY.)

The *asagao* is said to have been brought from China into Japan by scholars and priests who went over there to study Buddhism. And a Chinese priest who came to Japan wrote a poem to the following

purport: "The *asagao* blooms and fades so quickly, only to prepare for tomorrow's glory." It is quite likely this connection with religion as well as the fact that it fades so quickly that makes the *asagao* unsuitable for use on felicitous occasions.

Miss Scidmore states that "the late Empress-Dowager, a conservator of many old customs and aristocratic traditions, and a gentle soul with a deep love of flowers, poetry and art, kept up the culture of the *asagao*, and had always a fine display of flowers at her city and summer palaces during the lotus-time of the year." But in Tokyo the finest morning-glory gardens are at a place called Iriya, beyond Uyeno Park; there wonderful varieties, too numerous to mention, are exhibited. Of the different colors, the dark blue takes first rank.

Two well-known poems about the morning-glory run as follows:—

"Every morn, when the dawn brightens into joy,  
The morning-glory renews its beautiful flowers,  
And continues blooming long in this way,  
To give us hope and peace that wither not."\*

"Oh, for the heart  
Of the morning-glory!  
Which, though its bloom is for a single hour,  
Is the same as that of the fir-tree,  
Which lives a thousand years."

The Japanese also have what they call *hirugao*, or "noon-face," and *yugao*, or "evening-face." The latter, which Occidentals would presumably name "evening-glory," seems to be especially famous for the beauty of its white blossoms. In the *Genji Monogatari*, a lady-love of the hero sings as follows:—

"The crystal dew at evening's hour  
Sleeps on the Yugao's beauteous flower;  
Will this please him, whose glances bright,  
Gave to the flowers a dearer light?"

The most famous verse about the morning-glory is, of course, that of the maiden, O Chiyo San, who, having found a vine with its blossoms twining around her well-bucket, would not disturb it, but went elsewhere to beg some water. The poem, which is in the form of the *hokku*, runs as follows:—

"*Asagao ni*  
*Tsurube torarete*  
*Morai-mizu.*"

\* See the *Century Magazine* for December, 1897.

This means, literally translated, "By *asagao* bucket being taken, begged water." But Sir Edwin Arnold's poetical version is also worth quoting:—

"The morning-glory  
Her leaves and bells has bound  
My bucket-handle round.  
I could not break the bands  
Of those soft hands,  
The bucket and the well to her I left;  
'Lend me some water, for I come bereft.'"

With the recommendation to read Miss Scidmore's illustrated article, quoted above, for an insight into the occult features of morning-glory culture in Japan, we close with her final sentence: "The *asagao* is the flower of Japanese flowers, the miracle of their floriculture, and one may best ascribe it to pure necromancy, and cease to question and pursue."

## A NEW RELIGION.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONCLUDED.]

ABBAS EFFENDI.

Babism counts more adherents in Persia than one might expect considering the fact that it is a proscribed faith. It counts adherents also in Mesopotamia and in Syria and other parts of the world. Even America can claim a goodly number of adherents to the new faith. In Chicago there is a Babist congregation, the speaker and representative of which is Ibrahim George Kheiralla, and a New York lawyer, Mr. Myron H. Phelps, visited Abbas Effendi, the present representative of Mirza Huseyn Ali's family. We shall in the following pages present a *resumé* of both books, that of Mr. Phelps, which gives a description of the life and teachings of Abbas Effendi, and that of Mr. Kheiralla, which describes the faith and doctrines of the Babists who believe in Beha Ullah.

Mr. Myron H. Phelps believes that the Christian idea has lost its hold on the Western nations. Materialism is increasing and the ethical, social, and political standards need some fresh spiritual impulse, but where shall we find it, if Christianity itself cannot give it. Mr. Phelps believes that it may be supplied by the teachings of Beha Ullah and his son and spiritual successor Abbas Effendi. Convinced of the importance of the Babist faith, Mr. Phelps went on a pilgrimage to Acre and visited the present representative of the most prominent branch of the Babist faith, Abbas Effendi, the son of Beha Ullah, and he undertook to write down for Western readers his life and teachings as he had it stated by Abbas Effendi himself.

The introduction to the book has been written by the Nestor of the Babist religion, Professor Edward G. Browne, whom he had the good fortune to meet in Cairo. Professor Browne in the preface dwells on the continued spread of the Babist faith, and he asks:

"How is it that the Christian Doctrine, the highest and noblest which the world has ever known, though supported by all the resources of Western civilisation, can only count its converts in Muhammedan lands by twos and threes, while Babism can reckon



ABBAS EFFENDI.

Gusn-i-Azam (The Greatest Branch). Taken over thirty years ago.

them by thousands? The answer, to my mind, is plain as the sun at midday. Western Christianity, save in the rarest cases, is more Western than Christian, more racial than religious; and, by dallying with doctrines plainly incompatible with the obvious meaning

of its Founder's words, such as the theories of 'racial supremacy,' 'imperial destiny,' 'survival of the fittest,' and the like, grows steadily more rather than less material. Did Christ belong to a 'dominant



MUHAMMAD-ALI EFFENDI.  
Gush-i-Akbar (The Mightiest Branch). Taken 1900.

race,' or even to a European or 'white' race? Nay, the 'dominant race' was represented by Pontius Pilate, the governor, who was

compelled to abandon his personal leanings toward clemency under constraint of 'political necessities' arising out of Rome's 'imperial destiny.'

"It is in manifest conflict with several other theories of life which practically regulate the conduct of all States and most individuals in the Western world.

"Many even of the most excellent and earnest Christian missionaries—not to speak of laymen—whom Europe and America send to Asia and Africa would be far less shocked at the idea of receiving on terms of intimacy in the house or at their table a white-skinned atheist than a dark-skinned believer. The dark-skinned races to whom the Christian missionaries go are not fools, and have no object in practising that curious self-deception wherewith so many excellent and well-meaning European and American Christians blind themselves to the obvious fact that they attach much more importance to race than religion; they clearly see the inconsistency of those who, while professing to believe that the God they worship incarnated Himself in the form of an Asiatic man,—for this is what it comes to,—do nevertheless habitually and almost instinctively express, both in speech and action, contempt for the 'native' of Asia."

There is an additional reason which gives the advantage to the Babist propagandists over the Christian missionary. While the latter explicitly or by implication rejects the Koran and Mohammed's prophetic mission, the former admits both and only denies their finality. Christian missionaries waste most of their efforts in proving the errors of Islam, but they forget that in destroying the Moslem's faith in their own religion, they are mostly making converts to scepticism or atheism, and they very rarely succeed in convincing them of the truth of Christianity. The Babist does not destroy but builds upon the religious convictions of people. He finds a foundation ready laid, but the Christian missionary deems it necessary to destroy the foundation and finds himself incapable of laying another one.

Babism makes a new synthesis of old ideas. It is the entire Eastern civilisation united into a new yet thoroughly consistent system. Not only do the Babists incorporate in their faith the traditions of the Old and New Testaments, and of the Koran, but also some most significant documents of the Manichæans of the Ismaili propagandists, the early Sufis, and also the spirit of profane poets such as Hafiz, the immortal poet of love and wine. Professor Browne in his introductory comments to Mr. Phelps' book further

calls special attention to the attitude of the Babists with whom love of Beha Ullah is paramount. It is interesting to notice first, their uncertainty as to the authorship of many of their own religious



حضرة غصن الله الاطهر ضياء الله

ZIA 'ULLAH EFFENDI.

Gusni-At'har (The Holiest Branch). Departed October, 1898.

books; second the unfixed character of most important doctrines such as immortality of the soul; third, their inclination to ignore

and even suppress facts which they regard as useless or hurtful to their present aims. All these marks are characteristic of a growing faith. The Babists are by no means broad and tolerant. If they came into power in Persia, a case which is by no means impossible, the persecuted would be apt to turn persecutors.

The Behaists are especially fond of listening to the reading of the epistles of Beha Ullah which are mostly rhapsodies, interspersed with ethical maxims, rarely touching on questions of metaphysics, ontology, or eschatology. They show a dislike to historical investigation and says Professor Browne, "Some of them even showed great dislike at his attempts to trace the evolution of Babi doctrine from the Shia sect of Muhammedans through that of the Shaykhi school (in which the Bab and many of his early disciples were educated), to the forms which it successively assumed in the hands of the Bab and his followers." An English diplomat who knew the Babists thoroughly once said to Professor Browne: "They regard you as one who, having before his eyes a beautiful flower, is not content to enjoy its beauty and fragrance, but must needs grub at its roots to ascertain from what foul manure it derived its sustenance."

The first part of Mr. Phelps's book is devoted to Beha Ullah's life which we learn here from the lips of his daughter Behiah Khanum, one of the Three Leaves, so-called, of the new prophet's family. The story is interesting in so far as it adds the zest of a personal narrative to the history of Beha Ullah as related by Professor Browne in his several accounts of the Babist movement. We learn also of the accusations made against Mirza Yahya who is supposed to have poisoned Beha Ullah, the father of Abbas Effendi, but the attending physician walked around the bed of the patient, and repeated three times, "I will give my life—I will give my life—I will give my life." Nine days later the physician died. Another physician was called in, but he looked upon the case as hopeless. Nevertheless Beha Ullah grew stronger and finally overcame the effects of the poison.

A footnote informs us that the Ezelis, the adherents of Mirza Yahya, claim that Beha Ullah had prepared the poison for the purpose of killing Mirza Yahya, but the dish of rice containing the poison was prepared with onions, a taste which Yahya disliked; and Beha Ullah, thinking that his scheme had been betrayed, deemed it best to take a little of the poisoned rice, whereupon he almost died of its effects. Mr. Phelps simply states the narrative without giving his own opinion, and there is no need to believe the accusa-



حضرة غصن الشاه الانوار بدیع الشاہ

BADI 'ULLAH EFFENDI.

Gush-i-Anwar (The Most Luminous Branch). Taken 1900.

tion of either party. It is quite common that fanatics are apt to accuse their rivals in dignity of the absurdest crimes, and we have here a highly colored story on both sides which may be paralleled in almost all the religions of history. The fact that Beha Ullah fell sick cannot be doubted; that he had eaten rice together with his half-brother, his rival in the leadership of the Babist faith, may also be true, but that either had made an attempt to poison the other may be regarded as highly improbable.

When Beha Ullah died a new schism split up the Babist church, and Abbas Effendi, the "Greatest Branch," became the recognised leader of one party, and Mohammed Ali Effendi, the "Mightiest Branch," the leader of another party.

The philosophy of Behaism, especially its psychology and its ethics, are related by Mr. Phelps, and he adds a few discourses all of which are greatly interesting on the standards of truth, on the nature of God and the universe, on spirit, the parable of the seed, reincarnation, heavenly wisdom, on heaven and hell, on love, talks to children, the poor, the prayer, and similar topics.

A most charming picture of Abbas Effendi's daily life is given in the first chapter and brings the personal appearance of the man more home to us than can be done by an exposition of his philosophy and psychology. Mr. Phelps describes the master of Akka in the first chapter of his book.

#### THE MASTER OF AKKA.

"Imagine that we are in the ancient house of the still more ancient city of Akka, which was for a month my home. The room in which we are faces the opposite wall of a narrow paved street, which an active man might clear at a single bound. Above is the bright sun of Palestine; to the right a glimpse of the old sea-wall and the blue Mediterranean. As we sit we hear a singular sound rising from the pavement, thirty feet below—faint at first, and increasing. It is like the murmur of human voices. We open the window and look down. We see a crowd of human beings with patched and tattered garments. Let us descend to the street and see who these are.

"It is a noteworthy gathering. Many of these men are blind; many more are pale, emaciated, or aged. Some are on crutches; some are so feeble that they can barely walk. Most of the women are closely veiled, but enough are uncovered to cause us well to believe that, if veils were lifted, more pain and misery would be seen.



**MOUSA EFFENDI, EL KALEEM. THE ELDEST BROTHER OF BEHA ULLAH.\***  
**\*Mousa means "Moses," and El Kaleem "Speaker With God."**

Some of them carry babes with pinched and sallow faces. There are perhaps a hundred in this gathering, and besides, many children. They are of all the races one meets in these streets—Syrians, Arabs, Ethiopians, and many others.

“These people are ranged against the walls or seated on the ground, apparently in an attitude of expectation;—for what do they wait? Let us wait with them.

“We have not long to wait. A door opens and a man comes out. He is of middle stature, strongly built. He wears flowing light-coloured robes. On his head is a light buff fez with a white cloth wound about it. He is perhaps sixty years of age. His long grey hair rests on his shoulders. His forehead is broad, full, and high, his nose slightly aquiline, his moustaches and beard, the latter full though not heavy, nearly white. His eyes are grey and blue, large, and both soft and penetrating. His bearing is simple, but there is grace, dignity, and even majesty about his movements. He passes through the crowd, and as he goes utters words of salutation. We do not understand them, but we see the benignity and the kindness of his countenance. He stations himself at a narrow angle of the street and motions to the people to come towards him. They crowd up a little too insistently. He pushes them gently back and lets them pass him one by one. As they come they hold their hands extended. In each open palm he places some small coins. He knows them all. He caresses them with his hand on the face, on the shoulders, on the head. Some he stops and questions. An aged negro who hobbles up, he greets with some kindly inquiry; the old man's broad face breaks into a sunny smile, his white teeth glistening against his ebony skin as he replies. He stops a woman with a babe and fondly strokes the child. As they pass, some kiss his hand. To all he says, ‘*Marhabbah, marhabbah*’—‘Well done, well done!’

“So they all pass him. The children have been crowding around him with extended hands, but to them he has not given. However, at the end, as he turns to go, he throws a handful of coppers over his shoulder, for which they scramble.

“During this time this friend of the poor has not been unattended. Several men wearing red fezes, and with earnest and kindly faces, followed him from the house, stood near him and aided him in regulating the crowd, and now, with reverent manner and at a respectful distance, follow him away. When they address him they call him ‘Master.’

“This scene you may see almost any day of the year in the



**KHADIM ULLAH. THE SERVANT OF BEHA ULLAH.\***

**Khadim Ullah served Beha Ullah faithfully for over forty years. He survived his master and died in 1901. We are informed that he supported the cause of Mohammed Ali Effendi.**

**\* The name Khadim Ullah means "Servant of God."**

streets of Akka. There are other scenes like it, which come only at the beginning of the winter season. In the cold weather which is approaching, the poor will suffer, for, as in all cities, they are thinly clad. Some day at this season, if you are advised of the place and time, you may see the poor of Akka gathered at one of the shops where clothes are sold, receiving cloaks from the Master. Upon many, especially the most infirm or crippled, he himself places the garment, adjusts it with his own hands, and strokes it approvingly, as if to say, 'There! Now you will do well.' There are five or six hundred poor in Akka, to all of whom he gives a warm garment each year.

"On feast days he visits the poor at their homes. He chats with them, inquires into their health and comfort, mentions by name those who are absent, and leaves gifts for all.

"Nor is it the beggars only that he remembers. Those respectable poor who cannot beg, but must suffer in silence—those whose daily labor will not support their families—to these he sends bread secretly. His left hand knoweth not what his right hand doeth.

"All the people know him and love him—the rich and the poor, the young and the old—even the babe leaping in its mother's arms. If he hears of anyone sick in the city—Moslem or Christian, or of any other sect, it matters not—he is each day at their bedside, or sends a trusty messenger. If a physician is needed, and the patient poor, he brings or sends one, and also the necessary medicine. If he finds a leaking roof or a broken window menacing health, he summons a workman, and waits himself to see the breach repaired. If any one is in trouble,—if a son or a brother is thrown into prison, or he is threatened at law, or falls into any difficulty too heavy for him,—it is to the Master that he straightway makes appeal for counsel or for aid. Indeed, for counsel all come to him, rich as well as poor. He is the kind father of all the people.

"This man who gives so freely must be rich, you think? No far otherwise. Once his family was the wealthiest in all Persia. But this friend of the lowly, like the Galilean, has been oppressed by the great. *For fifty years he and his family have been exiles and prisoners.* Their property has been confiscated and wasted, and but little has been left to him. Now that he has not much he must spend little for himself that he may give more to the poor. His garments are usually of cotton, and the cheapest that can be bought. Often his friends in Persia—for this man is indeed rich in friends, thousands and tens of thousands who would eagerly lay

down their lives at his word—send him costly garments. These he wears once, out of respect for the sender; then he gives them away.

“He does not permit his family to have luxuries. He himself eats but once a day, and then bread, olives, and cheese suffice him.



A PREACHER OF BEHAISM.

“His room is small and bare, with only a matting on the stone floor. His habit is to sleep upon this floor. Not long ago a friend, thinking that this must be hard for a man of advancing years, presented him with a bed fitted with springs and mattress. So these stand in his room also, but are rarely used. ‘For how,’ he says.

'can I bear to sleep in luxury when so many of the poor have not even shelter?' So he lies upon the floor and covers himself only with his cloak.

"For more than thirty-four years this man has been a prisoner at Akka. But his jailors have become his friends. The Governor of the city, the Commander of the Army Corps, respect and honour him as though he were their brother. No man's opinion or recommendation has greater weight with them. He is the beloved of all the city, high and low.

"This master is as simple as his soul is great. He claims nothing for himself—neither comfort, nor honour, nor repose. Three or four hours of sleep suffice him; all the remainder of his time and all his strength are given to the succour of those who suffer, in spirit or in body. 'I am,' he says, 'the servant of God.'

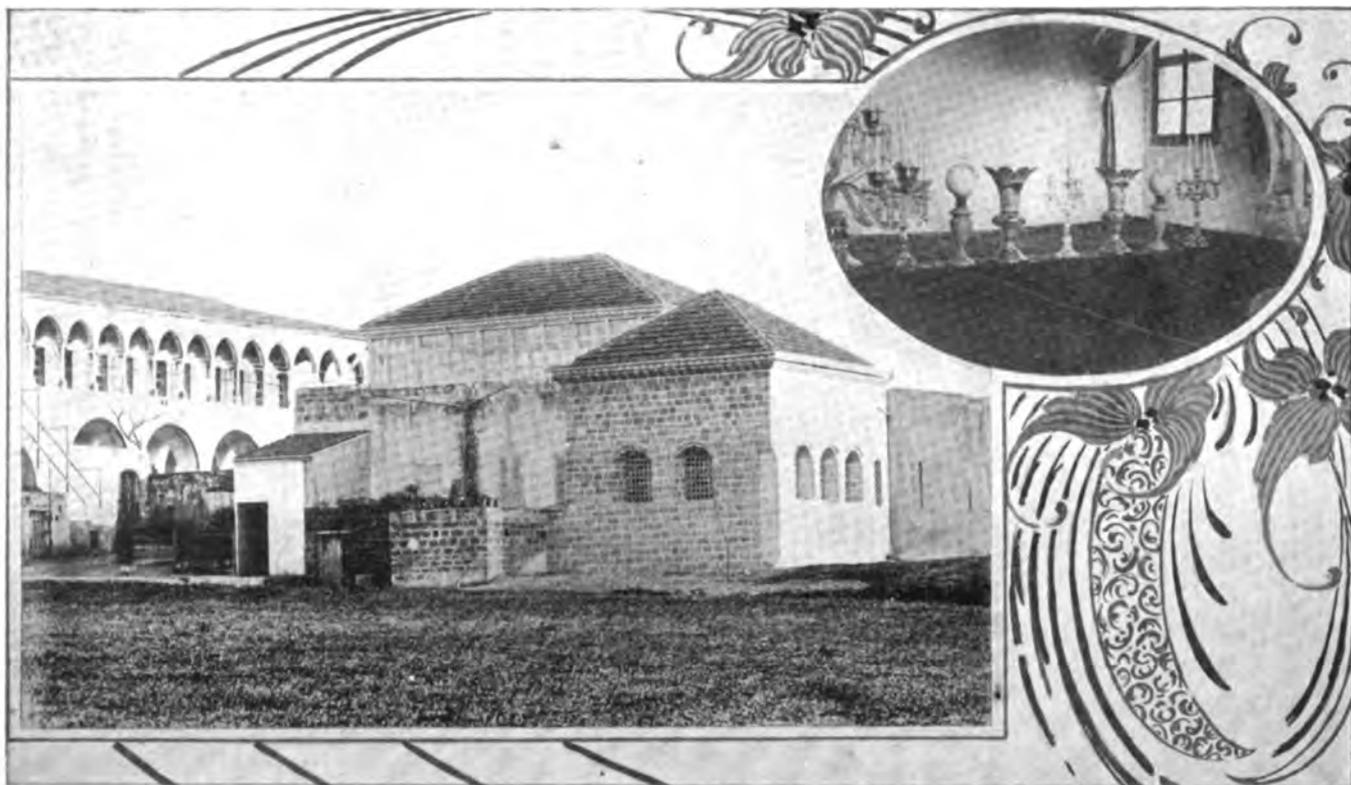
"Such is Abbas Effendi, the Master of Akka."

#### THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS OF BEHAISM.

For the sake of completeness we have to add that the Behaist Church has been rent again by a schism which at first sight seems to be a personal matter,—question of leadership.

For a long time Abbas Effendi, the oldest son of Beha Ullah, has been the recognised head of the Church. He is the son of the wife whom Beha Ullah married first, some time before he had declared himself to be the Manifestation of God, and this Abbas is known to Behaists as "the greatest branch." Three young half-brothers of Abbas Effendi were born to Beha Ullah by another wife and among them Mohammed Ali was called by his father "the mightiest branch."

For a long time the leadership of "the greatest branch" was accepted without objection, but finally a dissension arose between Abbas Effendi on one side and his younger half-brothers on the other, and the Behaists in Persia and other countries began to doubt the divine inspiration of "the greatest branch." In fact some of them declared that Abbas Effendi has changed the doctrine of his father and has introduced some innovations which are contrary to the spirit of Behaism. It seems that several Behaists, including some of the congregations that exist in the United States, no longer recognise Beha Ullah's oldest son "the greatest branch," but look to Mohammed Ali, "the mightiest branch," as their spiritual guide and head of the Church. Abbas Effendi claims that his authority is absolute and that it rests on the testament left him by his father.



THE TOMB OF BEHÁ 'U'LLAH. The Interior of the Tomb. The Palace of Behjá

Beha Ullah, and it is true that Beha Ullah declared that his sons, among them "the greatest branch," should spread his fragrances, but similar declarations have been made of the other branch, and so the opponents of Abbas Effendi claim that Beha Ullah intended to have his son, Mohammed Ali, succeed Abbas Effendi, and that the leadership at present has passed to "the mightiest branch."

We here will omit as much as possible purely personal complaints and limit our report to matters of doctrine.

The report of Mr. Phelps already indicates that Abbas Effendi must somehow have become acquainted with ideas that seem to be Buddhistic, and a critical reader of Mr. Phelps' book might be inclined to think that these thoughts were imputed to him by his interviewer, for Mr. Phelps is well acquainted with Buddhism, and so he might have suggested some of the answers that indicate a similarity with Buddhist doctrines, but such is not the case. Abbas Effendi has actually gone away from the simple Semitic soul conception, and teaches a theory of reincarnation that might not be unacceptable to the disciples of Shakya Muni. On the other hand, he surrenders the rigidity of monotheism, which has always been the cardinal point in the religion of the Semites, the Jews as well as the Mohammedans, and propounds a philosophical trinity that would appeal to Christians influenced by modern philosophy.

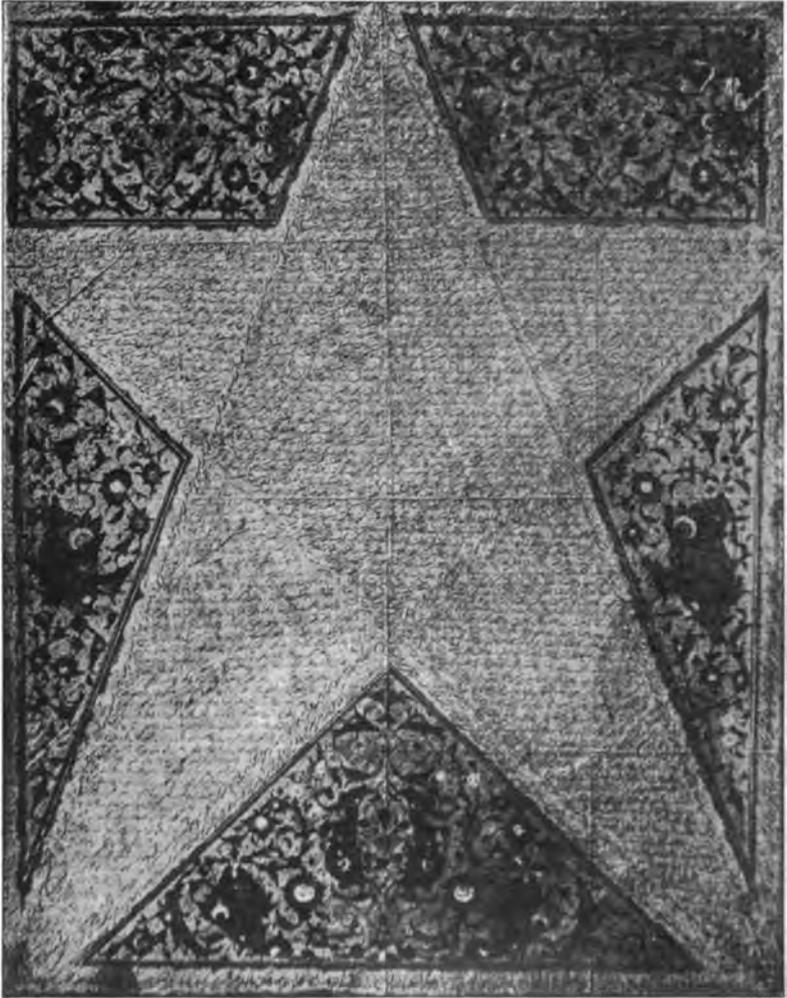
A lady, Mrs. Rosamond Templeton, who visited Acre and showed great interest in Behaism, although she herself is not a Behaist but a Christian, tried to reconcile the two parties and proposed that the brothers should meet on a certain date at the tomb of their father, which is considered as their common shrine, and show their testaments because Abbas Effendi bases upon his testament the claim of leadership. But Abbas Effendi would not accede to the terms. He insisted on his claims and refused to show his father's testament to his brothers. Mrs. Templeton's correspondence is published as a pamphlet\* and we here reproduce the most essential passages of her letter to Abbas Effendi:

"The principal accusation which you made against your brothers was that they have refused to obey you as the chief of the religion of 'Bab' at d'Acre.

"You state that your authority is based on a Testament given by your venerable father, and you say that this Testament is in your possession and that it has been read by Colonel Bedrey-Bey. On leaving your house I went directly to the house of your brothers in order to present to them your objection. Their answer is that they

\* *Facts for Behaists*. Translated and edited by I. G. Kheiralla. 1901.

are absolutely ready to obey the Testament, which has been given by their father on condition that they can see this Testament written by the hand of Beha Ullah. This question, therefore, is a simple one. Effendi; I propose that you, Abbas Effendi, Mohammed Ali Effendi,



A TABLET IN THE HANDWRITING OF THE BAH.

Bedi Ullah Effendi and myself, with three witnesses chosen by you and three chosen by your brothers, an interpreter, an English photographer whom I will bring—I propose that these twelve persons shall meet at the sacred tomb of your father at noon on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of

December to read the Testament of Beha Ullah and to take a photograph of that Testament. You said that I had judged between you and your brothers without hearing the two sides, your side and theirs; therefore, Effendi, in order to avoid this fault with which you justly reproach me I have written to Mohammed Ali Effendi and to Bedi Ullah Effendi, asking that they also shall present their Tes-

محبوب المحبوب

فراغت از این دست خط و صورتی که در دسترس است  
 به افند و آنچه در نظر دارد و به نظر آید از هر دو  
 همگی همگی آنها سفارتهای خود را در کتاب  
 بنیادین این اصناف را در این کتاب  
 عاید من است و در این کتاب  
 استغفار از این استغفار  
 استغفار از این استغفار

A LETTER OF BEHÁ 'U'LLAH TO ISRAHIM KHEIRALLA.

taments during the reunion at the tomb of your father. Will you be good enough to give me your answer, written in Arabic, in your own handwriting, as I have asked the same courtesy from your brothers?

“If you refuse to show and to photograph the Testament upon which you found your authority, you cannot require the acceptance of that authority, for it is certain that if the Testament gave you

this authority you would be quite ready to read it before witnesses and to send photographic copies of it to Persia."

Having refused to submit his father's Testament to the inspection of his brothers, the opponents of Abbas Effendi declare that he cannot make good his claim. Moreover, they believe the Beha Ullah was the great and only manifestation of God and that his sons are only venerable expounders of his doctrines but not new manifestations. In other words, they are regarded as inferior to him, and Beha Ullah alone is believed to be 'exalted above all those who are upon the earth and in heaven.' Mr. Kheiralla in the name of the Behaists that have rejected Abbas Effendi's claim declares:

"Beha Ullah, since He declared Himself, has conclusively proved from all Scriptures that He was the Promised One. He has uttered tablets and written epistles which attracted the hearts and refreshed the souls. The noble life He lived astonished and impressed the people, and His fame spread to all countries. All who knew him acknowledged His Supremacy and were awed by the loftiness and greatness of His character.

"His claim that He was the Promised One of the Holy Scriptures and that His Appearance was the Greatest, and that it will take place only once in every five thousand years, may be found in His many writings. He also proved that a higher virtue and greater grace distinguished His day."

The teachings of Abbas Effendi may be characterised by the following quotations:\*

Abbas Effendi, in reply to a question of a Behaist concerning the return of spirit (i. e. reincarnation), distinguishes five kinds of spirit. He says:

"As to what thou askest concerning the Spirit and its return to this world of humanity, and this elemental space, know that the Spirit in general is divided into five sorts, the Vegetable Spirit, the Animal Spirit, the Human Spirit, the Spirit of Faith, and the Divine Spirit of Sanctity."

For the three first spirits there is no light, for they are subject to "reversions, production and corruption." In other words they are mortal. They originate and pass away. There is immortality only for the Spirit of Faith and the Divine Spirit of Sanctity. Abbas Effendi says:

\* *Tablets from Abdul Beha Abbas to some American Believers in the Year 1900.* The Truth Concerning: (A) Re-Incarnation; (B) Vicarious Atonement; (C) The Trinity; (D) Real Christianity. Published by the Board of Counsel, Carnegie Hall, New York, 1901.

"The Spirit of Faith, which is of the Kingdom (of God) consists of the all-comprehending Grace, and the Perfect Attainment (or salvation, fruition, achievement, etc., as above), and the power of Sanctity, and the Divine Effulgence from the Sun of Truth on Luminous, Light-seeking essences, from the Presence of the Divine Unity. And by this Spirit is the Life of the Spirit of man, when it is fortified thereby, as Christ (to whom be Glory!) saith: 'That which is born of the Spirit is Spirit.' And this Spirit hath both restitution and return, inasmuch as it consists of the Light of God, and the unconditioned Grace. So, having regard to this state and station, Christ (to whom be Glory!) announced that John the Baptist was Elias, 'who was for to come' before Christ. (Matt. xi:14.) And the likeness of this station is as that of lamps kindled (from one another): for these, in respect to their glasses and oil-burners, are different, but in respect to their Light, ONE, and in respect to their illumination, ONE; nay, each one is identical with the other, without imputation of plurality, or diversity, or multiplicity, or separateness. This is the Truth, and beyond the Truth there is only error."

The idea of trinity appeals to Abbas Effendi and he defends it on the following considerations:

"There are necessarily three things, the Giver of the Grace, and the Grace, and the Recipient of the Grace; the Source of the Effulgence, and the Effulgence, and the Recipient of the Effulgence; the Illuminator, and the Illumination, and the Illuminated. Look at the Mosaic cycle—the Lord, and Moses, and the Fire (i. e., the Burning Bush), the intermediary; and in the Messianic cycle, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost the intermediary; and in the Muhammedan cyle, the Lord and the Apostle (or Messenger Mohammed) and Gabriel (for, as the Mohammedans believe, Gabriel brought the Revelation from God to Muhammad,) the intermediary. Look at the Sun and its rays, and the heat which results from its rays: the rays and the heat are but two effects of the Sun, but inseparable from it and sent out from it; yet the Sun is one in its essence, unique in its real identity, single in its Attributes, neither is it possible that anything should resemble it. Such is the Essence of the Truth concerning the Unity, the real doctrine of the Singularity, the undiluted reality as to the (Divine) Sanctity.

"As to the question concerning the Atonement on the part of the Holy Redeemer, I have explained this to thee by word of mouth in a plain and detailed manner, devoid of ambiguities, and I have made it clear to thee as the Sun at noonday. (1.)

"And I ask God to open unto thee the Gates, that thou mayest

thymself apprehend the true meanings of these mysteries: Verily. He is the confirmer, the Beneficent, the Merciful."

While he approaches Christianity in the question of trinity, Abbas Effendi rejects "Vicarious Atonement." He says:

"There is no such thing as 'Vicarious Atonement,' as held and taught by the theologians and 'Churches.' As it was the custom in the old times to offer sacrifices for sins, so did Christ (Glory be to Him!) say in substance, 'I offer myself as an example and as a sacrifice for the safety and salvation of the people, i. e., I am willing to accept every disaster and calamity for the sake of guiding the people'—even death, for He was necessarily opposing everybody. I have accepted all things that the people may know the Truth as it is. If I wish to guide you to Jerusalem, I must personally accept the hardships of the journey first. So Jesus Christ first accepted all the trials, sufferings and death for the purpose of quieting the people. Had He not so accepted He could not have finished His Work."

Reincarnation is explained by the instance of John the Baptist who according to Christ was Elijah. Abbas Effendi says:

"John the Baptist was right in saying that he was not Elijah, considering material body, name, time (he came 900 years after Elijah), place, etc. Christ was right in declaring that John the Baptist was Elijah in Spirit; thus both were right. The Divine Spirit is One only, no matter how many it is manifested in or through."

Mr. Kheiralla had visited Acre after he had become a believer in Beha Ullah. He saw Abbas Effendi and accepted him at the time as the representative of Behaism, but when he became acquainted with Abbas Effendi's doctrine of immortality which to him implies destruction of personal identity, and when he heard of the complaints of Abbas Effendi's younger brothers, he changed his mind and became an adherent of "the mightiest branch." Mr. Kheiralla says in his Behaist pamphlet which appeared under the title "The Three Questions":

"While I was in Syria visiting, I was not allowed by the diplomatic policy of Abbas Effendi to meet any of the Branches, his brothers, or any of the family, or any of their followers, just like all those who went there and visited him. So I remained ignorant of the facts.

"Abbas Effendi had, while there, honored me to the utmost degree in the presence of his followers. This was the chief cause of my delusion. It is the case of all those who have been there to visit him.

For he and his followers are past masters in the art of treating visitors wonderfully fine."

As to points of doctrine the views of Behaism represented by Mr. Kheiralla may be condensed in the following quotations:

"Abbas Effendi has taught plainly that the human spirit is perishable, like the vegetable spirit, and the end of it is corruption or mortality; and that it 'consists of the rational (or logical, reasonable) faculty which apprehends general ideas and things intelligible and perceptible.'

"The Pre-existence of man's soul was taught by Beha Ullah, by the prophets and by Christ.

"Beha Ullah taught us in the book of Heykle, that there are some souls in the Pavillion of Greatness and Might, who though they have never been upon the earth, yet they shall come here to help the Cause of God and promulgate His Word.

"Beha Ullah taught us also, that if we come to this earth and do not attain the truth for which we came, we shall return to the spiritual realms and resume the positions in which we were before our coming to this earth.

"The Bible, as well as the Koran, teaches, that God cometh to judge the living and the dead. How can this be true if there were no Return of the Soul?

"So we see, that the teachings of Abbas Effendi are not in accordance with the teachings of Beha, neither with the teachings of Christ whom he quoted. Christ taught us, as did Beha, that the human soul or spirit is immortal, and that it keeps its identity after death and that it has its own existence and is distinguishable from all other spirits or souls. For Christ taught that the soul of the rich man, after death, went to Hell, and there it kept its own individuality and was separated from the Spirit of Abraham, and from that of Lazarus; and that it conversed with Abraham from Hell to Heaven, and that it was not 'the Spirit of Faith, which is of the Kingdom of God.'

"Beha Ullah taught, that His appearance has ended the manifestations, for one complete thousand years; but He foretold us that somebody will claim to be a manifestation, and warned us from following him.

"Abbas Effendi has proved beyond doubt, that he is the one against whom the warning was uttered.

"Beha Ullah strictly taught us, in nearly every tablet He uttered to observe the Oneness and Singleness of God. He declared Himself to be the Father and Comforter. In the letter to the Pope,

He said: 'This is indeed the Father, whereof Isaiah gave you tidings, and the Comforter whom the Spirit (Christ) promised.'

"Beha Ullah taught, in many of his utterances, that there is no son to Him, no successor, no equal, no agent.

"Abbas Effendi teaches, that he is divinely the son of Beha Ullah, and His successor. If he is the successor of Beha, he is equal to Beha, for the successor is not less than the succeeded. Also the son is not less than the Father. In both cases, Abbas Effendi is a claimant; and the teachings of Beha Ullah do not permit this.

"Beha Ullah had foreseen the probability of the schism and so he left the following rule for the settlement of disputed points in Kitab-i-Ackdas, p. 20; he said:

" 'If ye differ in a matter, bring it to God, so long as the Sun is shining from the Horizon of this heaven; but when He sets, bring it to what he uttered, verily it suffices the worlds.'

"Abbas Effendi, and his disciples teach that Beha Ullah was like all the other prophets; only he was a greater Manifestation, because He was a larger Mirror. According to their teachings we must conclude that Beha Ullah was not what He claimed, and was not the Father whom the Christians expected. If Beha Ullah was like Jesus, He would be merely a vine, like Jesus, though a larger one. But He cannot be the Lord of the vineyard, because the Lord of the vineyard cannot be one of the vines which He planted. Jesus said, that He was the vine, the disciples were the branches, and the Father was the Husbandman. There is a great difference between the vines and the *Lord of the vineyard* or the *Husbandman*. Beha's superiority is not realized by Abbas Effendi, or for some reason he does not wish to confess it.

"This point is the greatest one in this religion; for the followers of Beha must believe, that Yahoah, the 'Everlasting Father,' Beha, is the known God who appeared and spoke in Jesus Christ, in Moses, in Abraham, who were His ministers, and at the latter days He came himself in the flesh, to judge the living and the dead; and that the Unknown Being which cannot be known from the beginning which has no beginning to the end which has no end, hath appeared and spoke in Beha Ullah just as Beha Ullah appeared and spoke in Jesus Christ and in the other prophets. This Infinite being, the 'Unknowable' Creator of heavens and earths is called by Beha Ullah the '*Eternal Identity*.' Beha said: 'Zatul Azel cannot be seen.'"

## THE RELIGION OF PROTO-SEMITISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS of Chicago, Professor of Old Testament Theology at the Chicago Theological Seminary, has spent much time in Syria in studying the religious customs of the modern Semites with the intention of finding a key to the primitive religion of their prehistoric ancestors. The first summary of his studies appeared in a book, published in Chicago in 1902, under the title *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, but in the meantime its contents have been considerably increased, and in this improved form Prof. Curtiss's book has been translated by Pastor H. Stocks of Arnis, Schleswig, and lies now before us under the title *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*, published by Hinrichs, Leipzig, with a preface by Count Wilhelm Baudissin, Professor of Old Testament Theology at Berlin.

Count Baudissin, an authority in the same branch of work, does not agree with several details of his American colleague, yet he does not hesitate to recommend the book as a most important contribution to the study of primitive Semitic religion.

The title of Professor Curtiss's book is aptly chosen, for it suggests the plan of work pursued by the author, who believes that some religious practices of the Proto-Semites are preserved even to-day. Views alluded to in the Bible, ancient rituals, and other remnants of pre-Biblical beliefs which antedate the post-exilic monotheism, are still preserved in remote places of Syria. They agree neither with the orthodox Islam nor with Christianity, yet the people cling to them with tenacity, and it is important for our knowledge of the history of religion, to preserve an accurate account of them before they entirely disappear. Little\* is left of

\* On his first journey Professor Curtiss visited remote places, because there he expected the purest survival of Proto-Semitism. In the mean time he has learned that in the big cities, too, many ancient customs are still preserved. He writes:

these primitive conditions in the great cities, but the villages are to a great extent still pagan. From Professor Curtiss's descriptions we must infer that Christian, Mohammedan, and Jewish institutions are only an external polish and that the inhabitants of Syria in some obscure localities cherish in their hearts, still, the same views as their prehistoric ancestors. When they offer, *e. g.*, a *fedu*, a sacrifice of ransom by blood, the Mohammedans mumble Mohammedan prayers, Christians repeat the Lord's Prayer or the Christian creed, and Jews recite passages from the Old Testament, but the ceremony itself, and the details of the ritual and the expectations connected with it, are the same, and we have reasons to believe that they simply follow the traditional customs of the ancient Semites.

Prof. W. R. Smith has called attention to the importance of the religious life of the present Semites as a source of information concerning the primitive religion of the Semites, but he has not furnished us with the rich material that we have here collected in Professor Curtiss's work. The criticisms which Professor Baudissin has to offer are insignificant and in many respects it seems that the opinion of Professor Curtiss is quite tenable, or at least probable, in spite of his over-cautious German critic. Professor Baudissin describes the book as follows:

"The author has set himself the task to reconstruct, from the views prevalent in modern Syria and Palestine, the oldest religious institutions of the Semitic inhabitants of Canaan and its neighboring countries. He pursues the same course which for a series of problems in the history of the civilization of Arabia, the Nestor of Arabists, J. G. Wetzstein has chosen, who with methods that in their way are unexcelled and final, has after a long sojourn in the Orient learned not only to speak Arabic but also to feel Arabic and to reproduce the true meaning of the Arab. Professor Curtiss, with his remarkable American energy, has endeavored during several prolonged sojourns in remote parts of Syria, to understand, by the felicitous method of quizzing natives and missionaries, the religious customs and ideas of Syria which are not part of the religious systems now prevailing. For this purpose he has preferred to visit such parts which have been least affected by Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

"Undoubtedly he has chosen the right moment, for since we

"Since the publication of my book I have found that all of the old ideas survive in such a city as Beirut. The next investigation I have in mind is to visit at least Hama (Hamalti), Hums (Emesa), Damascus, and Jerusalem with reference to these survivals."

receive new information almost annually through reports of excavations upon Assyrian and Babylonian soil concerning the religion of the North Semitic peoples, we ought to be better posted on practices and religious conceptions, which have endured down to the present day, in order to compare them with the results of our discoveries. At the same time our author supplements the descriptions which Robertson Smith and Wellhausen have made from literary sources concerning the primitive religion of the ancient Semites as well as the Arabians."

The undertaking is fully justified, and Count Baudissin compares the conditions to the state of affairs in Grimm's *Fairy Tales*. In spite of their Christian dress, these ancient tales contain innumerable traits of German paganism. In the same way, the present conditions of Syria and Palestine betray the prevalence of the most ancient faith and customs, especially in those localities where the conquest of Christianity and Islam was only superficial. Under the surface soil of these superadded strata, we can discover institutions of a most primitive age, still unchanged, which are older even than the religion of the Old Testament. There is a belief in holy stones, in holy caves, in holy trees, in holy springs, and rivers, and even if these sacred objects bear Christian or Mohammedan names the ancient paganism becomes apparent in all the rituals connected with them.

Professor Baudissin expresses his doubt whether now and then what appears to be primitive may not be a degenerate form, and he objects especially to the idea that the victim that is sacrificed as a ransom should be considered a sacrifice of "vicarious atonement." He grants that the symbolic action of placing a razor at the throat of a murderer who wants to be freed from the evil consequences of his deed, suggests the idea that he has forfeited his life and that the sacrificial animal is offered as a ransom; also, the words "blood for blood," and other phrases suggest the idea of "vicarious atonement," but he claims that all the expressions and symbolic actions connected with sacrifices need not be explained in the sense of the Christian idea of a "vicarious atonement." While it cannot be denied that the ceremony admits the interpretation of a sacrifice offered merely as a gift for the purpose of gaining the favor of the deity, and while there is no absolute necessity of thinking of the *jus talionis*, we think that after all the difference between the two views is trivial and, even if we grant Professor Baudissin's contention, we cannot deny that the progress from the old Semitic rite to the Christian idea of "vicarious atonement" is but one step. If it

did not prevail among the primitive Semites, we must grant that its development was naturally suggested under the given conditions. At any rate, the idea of the primitive Semite that "without the shedding of blood there can be no salvation" survived in both Judaism (Lev. xvii:11) and in Christianity (Heb. ix:22).

Unfortunately for Professor Baudissin the theory of Professor Curtiss is fully borne out by cuniform documents of ancient Assyria. The idea of a vicarious atonement was perfectly familiar among the Proto-Semites. The sacrifice of animals is most unequivocally interpreted as a vicarious atonement in which an animal takes the place of man. The following quotations made by Professor Zimmern from the cuniform text will be sufficient: A priest, offering a sacrifice for some person who has engaged him for the purpose, says: "The lamb, a substitute for man, he gives for his life; the head of the lamb, he gives for the head of the man; the neck of the lamb, he gives for the neck of the man; the chest of the lamb, he gives for the chest of the man," etc.; and in another place: "A pig he gives in place for him (viz., the patient for whom the sacrifice is offered), the flesh of the pig instead of his flesh; the blood of the pig in place of his blood, he offers and may the gods accept it."

We need not add that all the details of Professor Curtiss's studies are extremely interesting and throw much light upon the Old Testament. In case of trouble the natives of Syria do not pray to God but seek the assistance of the Weli, the local Saint, or their ancestor, or the special genius of the locality whom they revere as their favorite tutelary deity, and these conditions extend even to the places where religion has been strongly modified by Islam and Christianity.

When for instance the Diab Arabians were frightened by a spread of the cholera in Tiberias, they built a Makam, a fane, to their ancestor Diab, and when it was finished every family sacrificed a white sheep and sprinkled with its blood the front wall of the Makam. They prayed their ancestor's forgiveness that they had not sacrificed enough and asked him to preserve them from the epidemic. Every head of a family slew a sheep and besmeared with the blood the foreheads of their sons. Even before the building of the Makam they used to sacrifice a sheep in the middle of the Spring for the benefit of their herds. Every shepherd offers one sacrifice and sprinkles with the blood his whole herd in the hope that the animals will be thereby protected. People sacrifice to their ancestors for the sake of the entire tribe and call their sacrifices "for the tents," a *fedu* (ransom), for "house and herd." Anyone who neg-

lects these sacrifices runs the risk of losing a member of his family or a part of his herd.

The Ruala Arabians, who pitch their tents near the Diab, have preserved also the sacrifice for the tents, but at the outbreak of a war they sacrifice to their ancestor Abo Ed-Duhur, and they believe that this will render them unconquerable. They sing:

" Abu Ed-Duhur unfailingly comes  
To help those who don their garments of war.  
Through his assistance their horses inspire awe."

It is commonly claimed (see e. g. Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam*, London, 1896, p. 554) that Mohammed was opposed to both Christianity and Judaism in not demanding bloody sacrifices, but this is an error. Sacrifices are limited to the month of pilgrimage but after all they are demanded, and Aisha makes the prophet say: "On the day of the sacrifice man can do nothing that is more pleasing to God than the shedding of blood (viz., of the victim). Verily the sacrificed animal shall come on the day of judgment with its horns, and fur, and hoofs, and will weighten the scales of the balances of good and evil deeds. Verily, God is pleased with its blood even before it falls to the ground. Therefore be zealous." (*Mish Kat el-Masabih*, Calcutta, 1809, I, p. 321).

In Nazareth, Professor Curtiss notices a great number of crosses and symbols inscribed in recognition of vows made to *en-Naserije*, the Holy Virgin, as to a Weli, and so firmly are the people there convinced of the truth of the old views that a Christian of Kefr Kenna declared that even the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is a Makam. Even the practice of religious prostitution is still preserved in many places or has been abolished only lately through the interference of the authorities. The book contains much noteworthy information on this point. (e. g., chapters 11 and 16.) In order to understand the Semites as well as their religion we must bear in mind that they are Orientals and that their views as to the relations between the sexes differ from ours. Genuine love is almost unknown in Syria and Arabia (p. 49), but erotic enthusiasm reaches an extraordinary pitch of passion. The songs of Nimr, who was famous on account of the love he bore for his wife, are known and sung near Karyaten, and rank high as poetry. His great love of hospitality, too, is very sympathetic to Arabian minds. Yet the looseness of morals in parts of Syria and Arabia is such that Lot's behavior to a guest, as narrated in Genesis xix, 8, and the deportment of the Levite toward the men of Gibeon, Judges xix, 24, 26,

would be nothing extraordinary to-day (Cf. footnote p. 49). Holy men and women at sacred places serve the same purpose as did the Kadeshas of ancient times (p. 170).

Yet the common people look up to their "holy men" with religious awe and their superstition renders many things possible which stand in strong contradiction to any of the great orthodox religions, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.

Saints and local deities are more prominent than God himself, because they are supposed to be more human and near to mankind. They are quicker in revenge and thus ought to be feared more than God. The Arabs, it is true, believe in God, but their god is more of a Bedouin sheik idealized. They do not look up to God as a father whom they ought to love, but as a powerful and capricious despot. His place of residence is frequently considered the sun. He is more powerful than their own chief but otherwise similar in kind and character. If the monotheism of Islam and of Christianity agrees little with their practices we must consider that the present Semite simply observes traditional practices but otherwise thinks very little about matters of religious importance.

Proto-Semitism as a religion is a power which is not overcome either by Roman or by Greek Christianity, nor by Judaism and the Islam. There is but one faith that can cope with it—Protestantism. Jews, Mohammedans and the Catholics of both orthodox churches remain under the sway of ancient superstitions; they continue to perform the ancient rites and become scarcely aware of the fact that they are incompatible with the spirit of their religion. However, as soon as the natives turn Protestants, they become conscious of the paganism that pervades the sacrifices, and other primitive customs. They cut loose from their ancient traditions and show greater aptitude to learn new truths.

It appears that the Protestant missions through the sober spirit of their schools exercise a most wholesome influence which it is to be hoped may bear some good fruit if not now, yet certainly in the distant future.

Professor Curtiss does not surrender the claim of Christianity to be a special revelation of God which has taken place "not merely through natural development, but through the power of God's spirit co-working with man." Yet at the same time he recognizes the right of science to investigate and does not oppose the doctrine of evolution. He says:

"I think no student who weighs the evidence can question the fact of development in the religion of Israel from elementary ideas,

such as are characteristic of the childhood of the race, to those which we find in the most spiritual utterances of prophets and psalmists. This fact can be as truly demonstrated as the development of the eagle from the egg and the egg from the parent germ, or of the mighty oak from the acorn. None who admits the facts can dispute such a conclusion."—(English edition, p. 258.)

"The theory of the traditionalist, that the teachings of the Old Testament are new revelations direct from God, without relation to past customs and institutions, is not borne out by facts."—(p. 341.)

"We have seen how easily the Semite deifies men, makes the saint his mediator, and for all practical purposes his god. I have shown in another place how there is nothing startling to his mind in the physical fatherhood of deity, that a mortal woman may have a divine husband. Hence there was a prepared people, in these original and natural ideas, for the mystery of the incarnation, which to them was no mystery. That Jesus should be begotten by the Holy Spirit through the Virgin Mary, as son of man and son of God, was no surprise to the Semitic mind, still believing in the possibility of such a connection even to the point of credulity."—(p. 242.)

There are indeed cries in the Semitic world, as we see from the Babylonian Penitential Psalms, which indicate a consciousness of sin, on the part of a few select souls, far deeper than anything we find in primitive Semitism. The Babylonian Psalms reach a height that almost reminds of the Psalms of David. In one of the Penitential Psalms of Babylon we find the following pathetic confession:

"My god, my sins are seven times seven, forgive my sins.  
 My goddess, my sins are seven times seven, forgive my sins.  
 Known and unknown god, my sins are seven times seven, forgive my sins.  
 Known and unknown goddess, my sins are seven times seven, forgive my sins  
 Forgive my sins and I will bow myself before thee in humility."

And the divine response is fraught with comfort:

"May thy heart be glad as the heart of a mother who has brought forth.  
 Be glad as of a mother who has brought forth, as of a father who has begotten a child."

"It is clear," continues Professor Curtiss, "from the above confessions that the Babylonian had made progress beyond the primitive Semite in his consciousness of sin, and if he could have had the teaching of an Isaiah, he might easily have passed on to such a discovery of the true nature of sin as is indicated by the Old Testament saints."—(p. 244.)

"Again, the original idea of sacrifice seems to be one derived from experience in the East, if not in the West, that 'every man has his price.' Hence the gods have their price. If God has brought misfortune upon man, he can be bought off; if he demands a human life, the price may be paid through a substitute; if the price is the 'bursting forth of blood before the face of God,' then the blood of sheep, goat, bullock, camel, the best that a man has of animal life, may avert the misfortune and cover the sin. This is indeed a crude idea. There are many stages between it and that contained in the musings of penitent Israel concerning the vicarious sufferings of the Servant, which strike through every Christian heart with love and sorrow, so that we read them with the same solemn hush, and sometimes with falling tears, as if we stood with Mary and John beneath the cross of Him who bore our sins."—(p. 244.) "In no other way is the divine love, patience, and condescension more manifest than in its method of reaching down to the ignorance and superstition of a group of Semitic families, to teach the lessons needed, until the fullness of the times should come, when He who was to be the mediator of the love, mercy, and justice of God should be revealed."

Such are the results of Professor Curtiss's studies during his sojourn in the East, and such are his views concerning the relation between natural development and revelation. Considering the fact that Christianity originated in Judea, and that Judaism developed in the Orient and from an Oriental surrounding, we must grant that a thorough knowledge of Semitism from its primitive beginning to the development of a pure monotheism is an indispensable condition for a proper comprehension of Christianity, and one of the most important links in this chain is furnished by the labors of Professor Curtiss.

The picture which Prof. Curtiss draws of the modern Semite is not favorable, and if, as he contends and as his critic Count Baudissin grants, the modern Semite furnishes us with a good illustration of the Proto-Semitism, we come to the conclusion that the inhabitants of Canaan and the surrounding countries were an extremely sensual and passionate race, and their religion too was one of blood and superstition mixed with idolatrous ceremonies, many of which betray both impurity and cruelty. Traces of it are preserved in the religions which derive their origin from Semitism, and there is much that Professor Curtiss reveals in his reports which throws a new light upon the stories of the Bible. The ancient Hebrews and the people among whom they moved and lived were true Orientals. more emotional than intellectual, and their impetuosity exhibits a

deep religious sentiment, but also great faults. The Bible itself still reflects Orientalism but the spirit of the Bible is not Oriental; on the contrary it is a protest against, and a condemnation of, Oriental impurities with all the excrescences of its wild imagination. In consideration of the character of the people among whom the Biblical books received their final shape, we must admire the sober, and pure, and wholesome spirit of the Biblical redactors who worked out a nobler religion from which these primitive crudities were discarded, finally making the origin of Christianity possible.

## THE YELLOW PERIL.

BY THE EDITOR.

NEWSPAPERS of the European continent show in many of their comments a fear of what is commonly called "the yellow peril." They see in Japan the representative of the East Asiatic nations and dread the rise of a new power in the world which would not be European but Asiatic. Before the war began, the opinion prevailed that Japan had no chance of winning, for Asiatics cannot beat Europeans and pagans cannot defeat Christians; moreover Japan is poor while the resources of Russia are inexhaustible. But the progress of the war has upset the argument and proves that poor little Japan is quite a match for gigantic Russia with its unlimited wealth, and now again the fear of the "yellow peril" pops up in the minds of the people with renewed force.

Suppose that Japan would take the lead of the Asiatic nations, that it would Westernise the East and educate the Chinese not only in modern industrial methods but also in the science of war. What would be the result? Would not a non-European nation practically come in control of Asia, and would they not be able to compete and cope with the Western powers?

Japan's power is growing, but we can hardly assume that it will ever overtake England and Germany and the United States, not to mention France and other Western nations, combined. It cannot be denied that there is indeed a peril that may threaten to upset the social conditions of the West, if the multitudes of China could as rapidly be educated in Western methods as has been the case with Japan; however, the danger is not military but economical. We may further grant that the Japanese might succeed in taking possession of several points of strategic importance and even hold their own against the intrusion of the Aryan races, and finally there is a possibility that the Chinese and Japanese might turn the tables, and, instead of having foreigners come to their countries, would in the

future settle in America, Europe, and Africa. The probability of the Mongol race taking possession of the entire world lies still in a very dim future, and we do not see that they could easily crowd out the Aryan nations from their own homes. For argument's sake, however, we will grant that the fear of the yellow peril is justified, and we only inquire into the means by which alone the enormous increase of power among the people of Japanese and Chinese nationality can come about. Japan has in its institutions and social conditions actually become a Western nation; it has surrendered several of its most essentially Asiatic features and has broadened out into an international development. It has accepted from the West many methods and principles that are good and recommendable, and to that extent introduced Western civilisation more quickly and more thoroughly than could have been done if it had been colonized by Western settlers. Japan has become like ourselves and this likeness is growing more so from day to day. What do we want more? Trade and commerce is protected in Japan not less than in America or in Europe. Japan has adopted our methods of warfare; it has adopted our views of international law, our views of religious toleration, our views of humane methods in warfare. Why then should we be afraid of the increased power of Japan? It is an obvious truth that Japan has become more European or generally Western than is Russia. Russia is more Asiatic than its Asiatic enemy. Japan has a constitution which closely resembles the constitutions of England and Germany. Russia is purely autocratic. Japan has been more considerate in respecting the rights of neutrals than Russia. Japan favors "the open door" while it is well known that Russia is bent on excluding all other nationalities. Why then should we be afraid of a power that has adopted our own methods and has been schooled in our own civilisation? All that we Americans or Europeans may expect in Asia is to have the freedom of trading and to be sure to have the rights of foreign residents protected.

You may answer that at present Japan exhibits a liberal spirit, but it will change its policy as soon as the Japanese nation has acquired sufficient strength to oppose the Western powers; and I answer that from the day on which Japan would swerve from the liberal course which she pursues at present, her strength will wane again.

But the yellow peril is not so much a fear of the Asiatic civilisation as of the Asiatic race. Our pessimists see in the distant future the world colonised by Chinamen, and an excited imagination represents them in the shape of coolies and haggard-looking laundrymen.

who are expected to pour in to take the place of Western laborers. This fear is in so far justified, as Chinese workmen are more frugal, more trusty, more industrious, more intelligent than Western laborers; and if that be so, the Western laborer will not be able to compete with the coolie.

But is not the truth here rather a warning and a lesson than a real danger to the interests of humanity? Our fear is based not upon a recognition of any fearful quality of the yellow race but upon a recognition of their many virtues, and so we believe that the future will take care of itself. Perhaps we Western races will find it wise if the yellow races have learned from us, to learn in our turn also from them. Perhaps we may deem it best, instead of having a contempt for other races, to understand what gives them their strength, and by appreciating their good qualities we may be in a condition to prevent future defeats by adopting their virtues.

It is true that the destinies of mankind are not entrusted to any one family or to any one race of any one state of the representatives of one special type of civilisation. We have seen how the lead of mankind has changed since the dawn of civilisation. There was a time when the black heads of Akkad and Sumer in lower Mesopotamia developed the foundation of civilised life. Of what race they were we know not; we are only sure that they were neither Semites nor Aryans, and may have been Turanians or members of the great Mongolian family. These primitive people who had settled in the valley of the two rivers were not so numerous as the Semitic tribes, born of the Arabian desert, and they must have recognised the threatening danger when Babylonians crowded them out of their homes, when they supplanted their language by a Semitic dialect and finally inherited their country and civilisation. It may be that the Semitic Babylonians saw the threatening clouds of a yellow peril when the yellow-haired race of Aryans took possession of the empire. The Persians, an Aryan race, took possession first of Iran, then Elam, and finally acquired dominion over Mesopotamia. They became acclimatised in Babylonia and became soon like them in appearance and habits of life. They again saw a yellow peril in the purely Aryan Greeks. The Greeks again were defeated by the Romans upon whom they looked as barbarians, and Tacitus is very pessimistic when pointing out the yellow peril of the North, where the yellow-haired Teutons lived beyond the Rhine. However, when Rome was at the mercy of the barbarians of the North, they took hold of the Roman civilisation and carried it to a higher plane, developing what is now called European civilization.

American civilisation is considered as a purely European development, and yet Europe is afraid of "the American danger" that threatens their holy institutions and may in time Americanise their business and also their public and private life.

All these several fears are blind alarms, and whenever they were well founded, the change that came was for the better. The god of history gives the lead to those nations which in the general struggle for life prove to be the best, the most energetic, the ablest. If the leading nation ceases to be progressive, if she refuses to learn, he calls another one to take its place. There is no nation that ever fell from its dominant position but deserved its fate. Changes in history (at least when we consider all the conditions that lead to them) were always for the better in the general interest of mankind and the evils of the transitional periods were small if compared to the progress that was finally attained.

Now the Western world looks with fear upon the yellow peril that might threaten the world from East Asia. The West need not be alarmed, for China is too conservative to be transformed so suddenly, and then one other thing is sure, that there is danger only if the yellow nations possess sufficient virtues to make themselves formidable, and if they should in the future really become the predominant race, they can take the lead only by excelling and surpassing the representative nations of the West. We believe that this assumption lies at such a distance that the cry of alarm seems unwarranted, but even if there were an actual danger, a possible change in the present balance of power, there is no need of fear, since the sole condition for the yellow race to rise into prominence would consist in the great task (which is by no means an easy one) of outdoing all other nations, not only in military accomplishments, but also, and mainly, in the industrial pursuits of peace.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### WAS HAMLET INSANE?

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

Professor Flint in the May number discusses this question largely from the standpoint of an alienist; and for that reason his judgment must carry weight. But having for years given much attention to this play, and having for some time been of the opinion that Shakespeare intended to depict Hamlet as really insane at times, I for one am not quite convinced by Professor Flint's arguments to the contrary. There appears to be this material fallacy in his reasoning, that he assumes in Shakespeare such an accurate knowledge of the various forms of insanity, as no one but an alienist could have. Yet Professor Flint, in discussing King Lear further on, himself declares that Shakespeare is in error, from the standpoint of an alienist, when he describes the king's sudden return to mental health from senile dementia. There is also, as I believe it is commonly recognized, another scientific error concerning insanity in Hamlet. Hamlet, as proof to his mother that he is not insane, says,

“My pulse, as yours, doth temperately keep time,  
And makes as healthful music.”

Professor Flint may enlighten us on the question, whether an irregular pulse is a symptom of delusional insanity, as Shakespeare here assumes.

There are certain passages which Professor Flint has not mentioned, or to which he has apparently given but slight attention, that seem to me to give evidence that Shakespeare intended to depict Hamlet as at times genuinely insane. First, in his conduct immediately after his first interview with the ghost, he betrays such an excited state of mind as borders on insanity, and sometimes even passes over the border. Horatio is compelled to reprove him for his “wild and whirling words.” Indeed, even before Horatio and Marcellus had rejoined him, there is a trace of whimsicality, when Hamlet, musing on what his father has told him, pauses to write on his tablets what occurs to him as a clever epigram.

“O villain, villain, smiling, damnéd villain!—  
My tables,—meet it is I set it down,  
That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain;  
At least, I am sure it is so in Denmark. (*Writing.*)  
So uncle, there you are. Now to my word.”

Where Hamlet, in this scene, passes beyond the line of sanity, is in his jesting

with the ghost at the time he swears his companions to secrecy. To accost the spirit of his father as, "true-penny," and speak of him as "this fellow in the cellarage," and "old mole," is shockingly irreverent, and at that time peculiarly flippant. Either Hamlet was "not himself" at this time, or else he was beginning already to play the part of a madman. But if he was simply playing mad, it was foolish of him to tell the trick at the same time.

"How strange or odd, soe'er I bear myself;—  
As I, perchance, hereafter shall think meet  
To put an antic disposition on."

It was also, in any case, foolish of Hamlet to attempt to make a jest of the whole transaction, when he could not help showing how agitated he was, nor help assuring them that the apparition was "an honest ghost." In fact, from the interview with his father, to the close of the scene, Hamlet's mind appears to be distracted and wavering.

Passing over the intrusion into Ophelia's room, and the whimsical letter he wrote her, concerning which things something could be said on either side, we come to his conduct with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, at his first meeting with them in the play. Through most of this interview he shows himself very shrewd, sifting their purpose and then with a pretense of frankness telling them just what he would like them to think. But before he gets through with them, he begins to give hints of his secret—speaks of his "uncle-father" and aunt-mother," in allusion to what he considered an incestuous marriage, and in a very humorous way insinuates that he is sane enough when it suits his purpose to be so. Hamlet doubtless chuckles to himself when he tells these spies he can tell a hawk from a henshaw if the sun is not in his eyes; but it was really very foolish of him to say it under the circumstances. It was fortunate for him that these two young men were so stupid they did not even report these tell-tale speeches to the king.

In the interview with Ophelia, when Polonius and the king were concealed behind the tapestry, we must ask, If Hamlet was deliberately acting a part in this scene, what was his purpose? was it to deceive the king? But the king was not deceived.

"Love! his affections do not that way tend;  
Nor what he spake, though it lack'd form a little,  
Was not like madness. There's something in his soul,  
O'er which his melancholy sits on brood;  
And, I do doubt, the hatch and the disclose  
Will be some danger."

True enough it is, that Hamlet's words to Ophelia "lack'd form a little"—especially when they are compared with the sublime soliloquy that had preceded them. It is to be noted that the king does not deny Hamlet's insanity, but only his madness, which would be a violent form of the disease. He gets indeed very close to the prince's secret, but does not suspect that the prince is only feigning to be insane. We too should hardly think of such a thing, were it not that Hamlet himself on several occasions hints of putting an antic disposition on. Professor Flint says, "A few rare instances are on record, one of which came under my own observation, in which persons, actually insane, have feigned insanity, but it is not supposable that this idea

occurred to Shakespeare." Why is it not supposable? The idea is thinkable enough.

But to return to his interview with Ophelia. Hamlet asks, suddenly, as if he had just come to suspect that Polonius was spying on him, "Where's your father?" Ophelia replies, dishonestly, "At home, my lord." Hamlet then says, and probably means it for her father's eavesdropping ears, "Let the doors be shut upon him; that he may play the fool nowhere but in his own house." If Hamlet, then, is conscious he is being watched by Polonius, it is certainly injudicious of him to make the following threatening fling at the king: "I say, we will have no marriages; those that are married already, all but one, shall live."

Now let us go back to that famous soliloquy. Hamlet is at this time deep in a plot to surprise the king into a confession of his guilt. He has also the ulterior purpose, to murder Claudius in revenge for the wrongs against his father. The time is almost at hand to spring the "mouse-trap" upon his uncle. Is not this a strange time for the young man to pause and mediate on death and suicide? Surely here is a defect of will that borders on insanity.

The soliloquies generally, in fact, show such a defect of will. The first ends in the despairing cry, "Break, my heart, for I must hold my tongue!" In the second, he vows to keep the words of the ghost ever uppermost in his mind. In the third, he first reproaches himself for his lack of emotion, till he succeeds in working himself into a wordy passion; then he reproaches himself again for that; and finally sets his brain to work contriving the plot whereby the king's guilt might be discovered. In the fourth, he muses on death and suicide; speculates, with pertinacious pessimism, on the evil "dreams" that may come to the dead, if consciousness persists; and indirectly excuses his own indecision by the reflection that many great enterprises are stopped by dread of possible evils in the unknown hereafter. In the fifth soliloquy, he does at last seem ready for action and "bitter business." But in a few minutes he has an opportunity to kill the king at prayers, and — soliloquizes. In the seventh and last, after meeting the army of Fortinbras, he reproaches himself for his "craven scruples," and consequent delay in the execution of revenge. But even then his resolution is, characteristically, that his "thoughts," not deeds, "be bloody."

Besides this shrinking from action, do not these soliloquies show a morbid tendency to excessive introspection and self-reproach?

In the burial scene, Hamlet's insanity appears to take a violent form. For it is incredible that there could be any element of feigning here. Inhuman indeed he would be, if he could deliberately desecrate the funeral of a lady he had once loved — especially when it was plain to him that her death was peculiarly tragic, and had been caused by his conduct. Hamlet himself, next morning, admits to Horatio that he forgot himself on that occasion, and confesses,

"Sure, the bravery of his grief did put me  
Into a towering passion."

As Hamlet is always frank with Horatio, we may be sure that it was passion and not feigning that caused Hamlet's shocking conduct at the grave. And if it was passion, it must have been insane passion. Hamlet, a few minutes later, apologises to Laertes, and solemnly proclaims that his misconduct

toward him was due to madness. It is difficult to think he was not sincere at this time. Is it not possible that, in a moment of exceptionally clear vision, he was enabled to survey past actions and perceive how irrational they were? I know an insane person that asked me, "Would you like to read about my case? You will find it in the article on Insanity in the cyclopedia."

My opinion, to conclude, is still that Hamlet was a man of exceptional intellectual power, but whose mind was clouded by a melancholy that was very near to madness, and that sometimes passed well over the line. This affliction began before his interview with the ghost, but was aggravated by that and subsequent experiences. This diagnosis may be absurd to an expert alienist. Would it, however, seem absurd to Shakespeare, who, for all his genius, must have depended for his knowledge on the subject to chance observations, some reading, and perhaps mainly to introspection—who, in short, was not a specialist, and had no statistics or laboratory methods to aid him?

JOSEPH C. ALLEN.

#### MR. GEORGE BRANDES ON THE SHAKESPEARE-BACON PROBLEM.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

In your pages for April, 1904, your learned and able contributor, Edwin Watts Chubb, Esq., quotes Mr. George Brandes as follows:

"It is well known that in recent years a troop of less than half educated people have put forth the doctrine that Shakespeare lent his name to a body of poetry with which he had really nothing to do . . . which has fallen into the hands of raw Americans and literary women."

Mr. Brandes is one of the most brilliant of the younger generation of Scandinavian critics. Attracted, as most Continental critics are, sooner or later to Shakespeare, he produced in the year 1898 a work that is universally admitted by English-reading people to be almost the very finest work on Shakespeare ever written outside of England, almost equaling Gervinus in Germany, and certainly surpassing Taine, Stapfer, and Jusserrand in France. But—*Quando dormitat bonos Homerus*; and Mr. Brandes overlooked a passage on page 48 of Sir James Prior's *Life of Edmund Malone* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1859, line 1, *et seq.*). From that passage Mr. Brandes would have learned that the anti-Shakespearean Authorship Theory sprang up, or at any rate existed, in London, in and about the year 1780, among men, and not among women; and among Englishmen and not among Americans (who at that date were not exploiting literary but rather very strenuously fighting for certain political theories). Sir James Prior's work is entirely a record of the first "Shakespearean Revival" (as we should call it now) in England. Up to that "Revival," Shakespeare had been taken for granted and read and praised unstintedly by such great authorities as Dryden, but no examination had been attracted to his biography or environments, his circumstances or neighborhoods.

Mr. Brandes, in putting together a history of Opinion on Shakespeare, should by no means have overlooked this volume, since nowhere else is the subject so detailedly followed as in these five hundred or so pages. To find that, actually concurrent with the examination of Shakespeare's biography, a doubt of his authorship occurred, was a fact too important to have been

overlooked by a historian of Shakespearean criticism, certainly too important to have been concealed, if that historian had come across it. In either case, Mr. Brandes's oversight would excuse a suggestion that there might possibly be other things connected with the English Shakespeare which his Scandinavian critic may also have overlooked. Even in the teeth, then, of Mr. Brandes's authority, Mr. Chubb must acquit the half-baked American and the literary woman of these days of the initiative of the doubt.

May I suggest to him something nearer to his own date and focus?

In January of the year 1900, in the City of New York, two "raw Americans" participated in a joint debate upon the Shakespeare authorship question. The Shakespeare interest in that debate was entrusted to Dr. Appleton Morgan, a dignified and scholarly barrister, for thirty years president of the Shakespeare Society of that city, while the Baconian side was in the able hands of Dr. Isaac Hull Platt, long renowned as a foremost and alert champion of the Heretics, and for a lifetime a student of Elizabethan matters.

This debate was of course not discussive of the problem *ab ovo*, but rather a summary disposition of the postulates already proposed on both sides. And I should recommend Mr. Chubb, before reading it, to fortify himself with Mr. Edwards's *Shaxper not Shakespeare* (which does not mention the name "Bacon" at all, but is confined to an examination of the London playhouses, audiences, etc., etc., of the required dates, to enquire as to their capacity for mounting or supporting the Shakespeare Plays as printed in the First Folio), and then, having read that book, he might care for Edwin Reed's *Bacon versus Shakespeare*, which boldly places Bacon himself in the midst of the vacua created by Mr. Edwards. As to books written by "literary women," Mr. Chubb must communicate directly with Mr. George Brandes. I confess to never having heard of any except Miss Delia Bacon, but her book only announced the theory, and never pretended to be, or, if it did, is certainly not at present considered as an authority upon the problem itself. And I might add that of thousands of books upon this question twelve, all of them written by Englishmen, or at least by subjects of the British crown and not by Americans, have appeared within the last two years, though to none of these does Mr. Chubb refer.

The conclusions arrived at by these two particular "raw Americans" were embodied in the form of a consensus or "protocol"; which, together with a full report of the debate, was published in the *Conservator* and later in *New Shakespeareana*. That consensus was (I abridge the preamble) as follows:

"1. The Plays were produced as William Shakespeare's in London "between 1584 and 1616, and printed as his without cavil or demurrer from "anybody except Richard Greene and perhaps a few other rival playwrights. "2. As they stand in the First Folio the Shakespeare Plays are the "product of either the growth or the augmentation, by their author or "others, of the quarto versions, and contain thousands of eloquent lines "and twelve entire plays which, so far as any record can be discovered, "never saw the light in Shakespeare's lifetime, or until seven years after "his death. 3. There are so many thousands of identities of thought, "opinion, circumstance, error and simultaneous correction of error, in the

" literatures we call respectively Shakespeare and Bacon, and so many coincidences between Bacon's known circumstances, doings, and studies and the material of certain Shakespeare Plays, that it is a well-nigh successful demonstration that Bacon had more or less to do with the issuing of the First Folio Edition of the Plays. 4. The spirit of the whole series of plays is dominated by one man, though he might have had and probably did have, helpers and coadjutors."

I read this debate with peculiar interest for the reason below given and I wrote Dr. Morgan as follows:

" . . . . In our correspondence of December, 1899, which was printed in *The New York Times's Saturday Review* of January 6, 1900, you said: 'I long since accepted the orthodox Shakespeare as the author of the Plays. . . . Shakespeare is a miracle as he stands. But, as he stands, he is a much less complicated miracle than he would be if any of the current explanations of him were accepted.' It seems to me that your and Dr. Platt's Consensus or 'Protocol' is a little irreconcilable with this statement."

To this letter I received an answer in part as follows:

"My Dear Mr. Langford:—I do accept Shakespeare as the 'Author,' etc. But I am anxious to take the opportunity to say that my Debate with Dr. Platt was not a perfunctory agreement between us to put into print what we each thought upon questions that we had both studied and guessed about for so many years, but a genuine effort to convince each other. The Debate was an education to me at any rate. I confess myself staggered by the flood of coincidences which Dr. Platt poured in. Such as that the arms of Nicholas Breakespeare (Pope Adrian the Fourth), who was a native of St. Albans, were used to frame the draft of arms for Shakespeare by the Herald's College, thus bringing Shakespeare in some sort into the neighborhood of St. Albans just as the fact that King Cymbeline, who is the subject of one of Shakespeare's Plays (and who is nowhere else mentioned in English literature except in Holinshed), is brought into the neighborhood of Bacon when we learn that Cymbeline's Court and Royal seat were at Verulam. And what was I to say to the fac-simile of the volume entitled *Baconiana or Certaine Genuine Remaines of Sir Francis Bacon*, etc., printed by J. D. for Richard Chiswell, in London in 1679, in which occurs a reference to some Folio of 1623 as one in which 'the forme of the letters of the Alphabet in which much of the mysterie consisteth' is observed, etc., and in which the letters T. T. in identically the same curious form in which they are used in the first edition in 1609 of the 'Sonnets' printed in London by G. Eld for T. T. occur? Typographers tell us that types are not preserved or do not last in use for seventy years, but must be reproduced. Who reproduced these, and why? Learned book reviewers tell us that these and the like things are mere trifles and mare's nests. But it is my experience that learned Judges in Courts of Justice have called less things than these 'items of circumstantial evidence.' And when Dr. Platt remarked: 'But, Dr. Morgan, do you not think it curious that whenever we scratch the cuticle of a Shakespearean reminiscence we uncover an association with Francis Lord Bacon?' I don't remember that I was prepared just then with any rejoinder to that!

"I think that it would be at least safe for anybody who proposes to be cocksure about these problems to read Dr. Platt's argument in that Debate. And so—being very far from cocksureness myself—I propose, as you quote me, to still 'accept the orthodox Shakespeare as the author of the plays, and so the less complicated form of the miracle,' etc.

"And now let me make one more attempt to close what I have to say in the matter. Let me put it historically:

"1. Several gentlemen have lately been searching the probate (or what answered to probate) records for the inventories of personal property filed by executors and administrator in Stratford-on-Avon during the years covering Shakespeare's lifetime. They have been unable to find mention of a single library, printed book or manuscript in any of those inventories, though books were of exaggerated value in those days and were plentiful enough in London at the time.

"2. Mrs. Shakespeare was buried August 8, 1623.

"3. In the year sixteen hundred and twenty-three the First Collected edition of Shakespeare's plays was published by Messrs. Jaggard and Blount, who first, however, made this entry upon the Records of the Stationers' Company: '8 Nouembris 1623, Rr. Jac. 21. Mr. Blounte Isak Jaggard. Entred for their copy vnder th' hands of Mr. Doctor Worrall and Mr. Cole war-den. Mr. William Shakspeers Comedyes Histories and Tragedyes soe monie of the said copies as are not formerly entred to other men.'

[Here follows the sixteen names of the previously unentered plays.]

"4. In this same year, 1623, Ben Jonson was Lord Bacon's Private Secretary. He contributes to the First Folio of 1623 the Lines to Shakespeare's portrait and the Commendatory verses.

"Now, here again, learned book reviewers say that these are only trifles and coincidences and mare's nests. But I am afraid that if I were professionally employed to search the title to the Shakespeare Plays I should be obliged to advise my client that my conclusions from this array of facts were:

"1. That at Mrs. Shakespeare's death in 1623 some trust or personal possession in or to sixteen Shakespeare plays terminated, and permitted Messrs. Jaggard and Blount to acquire the copyright. (That they or their solicitors spelled the name 'Shakspeer' means nothing, I think. That the Editors of a book should spell its title one way and its publishers another, only indicates that people spelled as they pleased in those days.)

"2. That, therefore, though these Plays could not have been written in Stratford-on-Avon, they had belonged to the William Shakespeare whose wife this Mrs. Shakespeare was; and,

"3. That Lord Bacon, whose Secretary Ben Jonson was, knew of the existence of these Plays.

"So far I should find what seemed to me conclusions of fact. If I should be asked why Bacon, in all his voluminous memoranda, notes, correspondence and printed works, never mentions his most illustrious contemporary, William Shakespeare, though his lordship was constantly 'scouring the Universities' and the community for 'good pens' (which I take to mean, that he was a careful observer of literary matters), if asked this, I think I should discreetly answer that I did not know.

"So now, my dear sir, you have all the facts in my possession. Please go ahead and solve the Shakespeare Enigma. I have been at it for almost thirty years and have given it up. Yours faithfully,

"APPLETON MORGAN."

"New York, March 6th, 1904."

I suppose if Mr. George Brandes sees this, he will add Dr. Morgan to his list of "raw Americans." Will he please also add the name of

HENRY GROSS LANGFORD.

1244 Ridge Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

### THE PRAISE OF HYPOCRISY—A REJOINER.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

I have read the reply to my letter in your issue of May, which reply I presume is by Dr. Knight, and fail to see that he in any way touches the question that I raised. This question was, allowing that the utterances of "the defenders of Christianity" which he so lavishly quotes are true, is his "Praise of Hypocrisy," a judicious or well timed paper? Will it prove helpful to any one, especially to one who,—weakly perhaps, if Dr. Knight is right,—is clinging to his or her church as the only thing that can save that one's faith? Let me commend to Dr. Knight a study of the warning which he quotes from Matthew xxvi. 52: *cmfwyp cmfwyp shrdlu shrdlu shrdlu cmfwyp shrdlu shrd* And looking at the spiritual signification of the ear, may it not be possible that Dr. Knight, in the mighty swing of his sword, has struck off some one's right ear, with no loving power at hand to touch and heal the wound? I think he *has* done this, and in this opinion I am not alone.

When Dr. Knight's article came to hand, I read it with much interest. Its power, whatever his intent may have been, is indubitable. I took it up to the home of a very dear old friend, one to whom hypocrisy, or sympathy with hypocrisy, is an impossibility. Her daughter and grandson, a youth of seventeen, were present, and I began to read the article. I had not proceeded far when I noticed signs of unrest and disturbance, and the mother sent the boy out of the room. A little further on both interrupted me, and earnestly desired me to cease reading it, declaring it "the most unbalancing attack on simple, trusting faith they ever listened to."

Dr. Knight denies Paul's regard for the "law of conformity," but will he favor us with an "exegesis" on I. Corinthians ix. 19-22.

I did not say that reformation is to be effected by *an* individual, but by *the* individual,—*each* individual, if this will make my meaning plainer. It seems to me that too much stress is laid on the reformation of "the church," which is only an aggregation,—and a very incongruous one,—of individuals. If I run up against a case of scarlatina in a family, I do not dose the whole family with aconite and belladonna. I bestow my attention on the *sick member*, and when he or she recovers the whole family is well.

Dr. Knight tenders me a free prescription, "Truth, Honesty, Sincerity," in heroic doses. Many thanks to him,—it is a fine, "all round" tonic, equally good for the layman or the Doctor of Divinity. Doubtless Dr. Knight has used the prescription to some purpose himself, but,—in the interests of

spiritual hygiene,— I suggest to him that in the clearing of his lungs he should be careful where he deposits the sputum.

Dr. Knight "is sorry to have shaken the faith of a good man." If he means *me*, I pass by the apparent irony of his sentence, and hasten to assure him that he may "conserve his sorrow." He is not big enough,—intellectually or otherwise,—to "shake my faith." Nor can all the D.D.'s in "the church," with all the carping atheistic critics outside of its pale, have the least effect on that Faith. Let Dr. Knight "lay this flattering unction to his soul."

I thought to stop here, but I would like to say a word or two further, even if I appear egotistic.

Some years ago, while I was an infidel of the Andrew Jackson Davis stripe, my only sister united with the Baptist church, which was the church of both my parents. I could not understand her acceptance of a creed which we had both of us considered the climax of absurdity. Shortly after this I emerged from my atheism through a study of the philosophy of Swedenborg, and finally joined the Swedenborgian church. After a time my sister, not finding her church answering her spiritual questionings, followed me into the Swedenborgian church, where she found what filled her needs. One day I asked her how she came to join the Baptist church, and she told me that she did it to "save her faith." I remembered this when I read Dr. Knight's paper, and,—iconoclast as I am by nature,—it seemed to me certain to disturb the faith of many who found in "the church" an ark of safety, "honeycombed with hypocrisy," as it may be, and probably is. And one can but ask, if the man is known by the company he keeps, how one who vaunts his integrity and honesty can remain in an organization which he confesses is *hopelessly* corrupt, for Dr. Knight suggests no remedy.

It is on record that our Divine Master was in the habit of attending the synagogue on the Sabbath, and taking part in the services. Did he not know that the Jewish church was "honeycombed with hypocrisy"? One would judge from his utterances on various occasions that he was fully aware of the fact, although his denunciations were directed principally towards the leaders of "the church." He did not pronounce his "woe unto you" on the humble worshipers who thronged the synagogue, but on the Scribes and Pharisees. Is this race extinct in this day? And further He counseled obedience to their teaching and commands, while cautioning His followers against imitating their practices. May not His suggestion on this point have some force in our time? (See Matthew xxiii. 2-3.)

But I have trespassed too much on your space. In conclusion I wish to call Dr. Knight's attention to the fact that I *did* indicate a remedy for the condition of which he complains. And the remedy is that each and every one divest himself or herself of the idea that any human power or organization can effect regeneration. All regenerative work is accomplished within, and when every man and woman is "*True, Honest and Sincere*," it follows, as a matter of course, that the church,—which is an aggregation of these men and women,—will become the same.

DR. J. R. PHELPS,  
Dorchester, Mass.

[The Editor seriously doubts the advisability of publishing Dr. Phelps' rejoinder to Professor Knight, but considering the fact that our correspondent believes his most sacred faith attacked, he shall have the last word in the con-

troversy, which, however had now better be closed. So far as the Editor's personal attitude is concerned, he must confess that while he deems Professor Knight's position justified, he has not lost sympathy with and consideration for the religious conviction of people who cling to faith for faith's sake. But is not this position weak because it involves a despair of truth?—Ep.]

### THE POLYGAMY OF THE MORMONS.

The Mormon problem has again come broadly before the public and we extract the passages here published from a pamphlet\* by George Seibel that appeared a few years ago.

"It will surprise many people to learn that the Book of Mormon in plainest terms forbids polygamy. Here are the words:

"Behold, thus saith the Lord, This people began to wax in iniquity; they understand not the Scriptures. . . . David and Solomon truly had many wives and concubines, which thing was abominable before me, saith the Lord. . . . Wherefore, my brethren, hear me, and hearken to the word of the Lord; for there shall not any man among you have, save it be one wife; and concubines he shall have none; for I, the Lord God, delight in the chastity of women.'

"This passage shows that a multiplicity of wives formed no part of the Prophet's original scheme. Indeed, in the early days of his career he found it difficult enough to support a single wife, much less a harem of forty, as is charged against him later. John Hyde, one of the few apostates who spoke with fairness of the church after seceding, said 'polygamy was not the result of Smith's policy, but of his passions.'

"There is ample evidence of flagrant immoralities practiced by Smith and others at Nauvoo, and perhaps earlier, which gradually transpired, and made necessary the 'special revelation' given in 1843, sanctioning and commanding a plurality of wives. For many years that revelation was kept secret, and the practice was publicly denied—partly because Illinois had laws to punish bigamy, chiefly in order that proselyting might not be hampered; but in 1852, Young at Salt Lake City officially proclaimed the doctrine, and ever since it has been a cardinal tenet of the church, which simultaneously made the startling discovery that 'Jesus had several wives, among them Mary and Martha, the sisters of Lazarus.'

"Simple polygamy was not broad enough for these peculiar Saints, so they invented the doctrine of celestial ensalment, which makes Mormonism almost a revival of the obscene cult of Babylonian Mylitta, of which the practical application means sexual promiscuity under the sanction of the church. A man may wed as many 'spiritual' wives as he can persuade to enter into that relation with him—while they may at the same time be the temporal wives of other men. A woman may have any number of 'celestial' husbands—that is, she can be 'sealed' to some dead person, who has an earthly proxy, with all marital rights, save that the children born are credited to the Saint in heaven.

"The Saints defend polygamy by an elaborate line of argument, the

\* *The Mormon Problem*. The story of the Latter-Day Saints, and an exposé of their Beliefs and Practices. George Seibel. Pittsburgh Printing Co. 1899.

salient points of which are as follows: 'If it is not wrong to have one wife, why should the possession of two, or a score, be stigmatized as a crime?' Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David and Solomon had many wives and concubines, and it was accounted unto them for righteousness — nowhere in the Bible is there a word of disapproval. Besides, according to Mormon theology, all space is peopled with spirits awaiting incarnation; unless there is plural marriage these spirits can not all be supplied with human bodies to join the ranks of the saints on earth, and so attain to salvation. . . . Monogamy, it is further claimed, makes the one wife more truly the slave of her husband than are the many wives of the polygamist; it promotes licentiousness and fosters prostitution; finally, it exists in name only, for among the professedly monogamic communities practical polygamy is just as common as among the openly polygamous.'

"The institution of polygamy enabled the Mahometan tribes rapidly to overrun and conquer a vast stretch of territory; but within two centuries it had sapped the vigor of those races, and the colossal fabric of their empire slowly crumbled into ruins. No polygamous nation is at this day a factor in the world's progress.

"A people's greatness is built upon its homes, and the family is the nation in miniature. Home is a kingdom where love is the supreme law — the love of the one man for the one woman, of the one woman for the one man. From this close union of interests and affections, this loss of self and intermingling of two lives, there springs the highest, holiest ideals that human kind has ever known. Only from such homes, only from the nurture of such parents, only out of the sunshine of such ideals, can issue forth men and women great and strong to do the work of coming time. Without such men and women the Republic is doomed, and the Capitol, like the Alhambra, will be to coming ages only a melancholy wreck and relic of a ruined race."

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#### THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION AND MAN'S PLACE IN NATURE.

The editorial, "The Ascent of Man," has, upon the whole, been well received in theological circles. The theory of evolution, including the idea that man is kin to lower animals and has risen to his present high state through efforts of his own by the acquisition of mental and moral accomplishments, has been broadly accepted by the majority of religious minds and leading churchmen. The opposition to the theory of evolution which still prevails in many quarters is obviously based upon the idea that man ought to hold a place of his own in nature, and back of it lies the conception of a soul theory which has practically been abandoned by the psychologists.

We have received only one criticism of the article on "The Ascent of Man," and the argument is so characteristic of the situation that, with the permission of the writer, we take pleasure in publishing it.

Mr. Kepler Hoyt writes in behalf of his mother, Mrs. Hoyt, wife of John Wesley Hoyt, well known as the advocate of the establishment of a United States university at Washington. The scheme has been before Congress for some time and was approved by many, but it failed to be realized and is at present held in abeyance. Mrs. Hoyt is well known for her great interest in philosophical and religious subjects, and the letter characterizes not only her own conviction, but is typical of the attitude of a whole class of thoughtful religious people.

We recognize the strength of the reason that man's place in nature is unique, but the uniqueness consists not in the start of man's career, but in the aim which he attained, and this aim is the acquisition of reason, the actualisation of the divine logos in man's mental disposition. Man, though kin to the animal world, can truly be called divine, and while his bodily formation is of the earth, his spirit is and will remain spiritual.

The letter expressing Mrs. Hoyt's kindly criticism reads as follows :

"My mother says that, notwithstanding the able presentation which you give of the evolution theory, she is unable to agree with your application of it to man. She is willing to admit that the doctrine may apply to animal life below man, but thinks it more consistent with the distinctive characteristics of man and his personal immortality to believe that he was an absolutely new creation, for whose specific use and mastery the whole mineral, vegetable and animal world had been prepared. To imagine that the divine image, in which the animal world does not partake, was a slow evolution from the lowest forms of life, appears to her less reasonable than that man was created in the divine image *de novo*. It would seem to reflect more honor on the Supreme Intelligence, and to confer more dignity to man, and so would seem the more probable."

#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

**THE TRUTH ABOUT THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.** The Singular Reorganization of the American Branch. By William Copley Winslow, Ph.D., D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Vice-President and Honorary Secretary. Boston: Published by the Author.

The Egypt Exploration Fund was founded in England and Dr. Winslow was the founder of the American Branch in 1883. He has served for all these years most successfully as its head and chief promoter in America. When he found much gross mismanagement of affairs he asked that the objectionable office secretary be replaced. He was met by clever intrigues, with the result that, without consulting the corps of ninety local secretaries and hundreds of subscribers, and against the protest of many of them, those controlling the English committee reorganized the affairs of the American Branch by asking a *single* person, a non-subscriber at that, to form a committee here, which he, unfriendly to Dr. Winslow, proceeded to do. As the London committee continued to pay no attention to protests and inquiries from many eminent American subscribers, Dr. Winslow finally published this, his statement, with evidence, a thick pamphlet of 186 pages embellished with portraits. This he did in defense of himself and the rights of American subscribers to have a voice in their own government here.

We cannot go further into details; the story reads like a detective story or romance, yet abounds in data and evidence. Many eminent names figure in it. All we can do is to express our regret that such a disgraceful condition of affairs could have become possible, and to say that we have quitted membership in the society. Perhaps the remedy will be an out-and-out American society.

**THE PANAMA CANAL QUESTION, A Plea For Colombia.** New York: 1904. Pp., 130.

We are in receipt of a pamphlet entitled "The Panama Question, a Plea For Colombia," published anonymously, and being a denunciation of the United States

policy. Panama, it is claimed, is an integral part of Colombia, and it is insisted upon that the Republic of Colombia is practically the same as the *Confederacion Granadina*. Since the territory had remained unchanged during the transformations of the country, its several names and the change of its constitutions should be regarded as unessential. Accordingly, all the treaties made by the United States with former governments of this tract of land, are binding still. Colombia, the anonymous author states, stands on a sound basis, and in refusing to give up sovereignty over any part of its territory she did not act by any bias against the United States, but simply insists on an inalienable right. The appendix contains reprints of the treaty of 1846 and other official declarations concerning the Panama question, including English press opinions and diplomatic notes.

It is a pity that the publication is anonymous, as it is obviously an *ex parte* statement, and it would have more weight if the author would openly countenance his position.

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**WAYS OF THE SIX-FOOTED.** By *Anna Botsford Comstock, B. S.*, Lecturer in Cornell University Extension, Illustrator and Engraver of the "Manual For the Study of Insect Life," and of "Insect Life," by *John Henry Comstock.* Boston, U. S. A.: Ginn & Company. 1903.

In this little volume Miss Anna Botsford Comstock has compiled for children stories of insects in which she brings the life of these queer little creatures within the comprehension of the young by pointing out their physical life and creating a sympathy for their joys, their sorrows, troubles and struggles. The contents of the book are: Pipers and Minnesingers; A Little Nomad, by which she means the maple-leaf cutter, a moth which attacks maples and produces little oval holes in their leaves; A Sheep in Wolf's Clothes, which is the Viceroy butterfly; The Perfect Socialism, which obtains in the olden cities of the bees; Two Mother Masons, or wasps; The Story We Love Best, which is an account of the *Ceratina Dupla* or Little Carpenter Bee; A Dweller In Tents, or the caterpillar who spins his own house before he changes to a butterfly; A Tactful Mother, a study in *Chrysopa*; The Seine-Maker or *Hydropsyche*, or water-sprite, who catches his prey over brooks, and the Hermit and Troubadour, the little cicada hermit living in caves like Tibetan monks.

The author is a lecturer on the Cornell University Extension Course and shows an ability to present the subjects in the most fascinating style. The illustrations, done by the author and two friends, W. C. Baker and L. O. Foster, are appropriately executed and the subjects very well chosen.

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Mr. Ernest W. Clement, our esteemed contributor and author of the articles on "The Japanese Floral Calendar," which are at present appearing in *The Open Court*, has written a timely work entitled *A Hand Book of Modern Japanese*.<sup>1</sup> It is neatly bound in green and gold, with a bamboo design on the cover, and richly illustrated with appropriate portraits of the leading men of Japan, pictures of Japanese life, Japanese buildings, reproductions of Japanese art, etc., etc. In brief it is Japan, not as it was, but as it is. The past is, however, sufficiently referred to, only in order to explain the present.

The contents of the book are built up systematically. We become acquainted with Japanese physiography, its industries, its modes of transportation and commerce; the food, dress and housing of the people; their manners and customs, and

<sup>1</sup>A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1904.

their typical character. Mr. Clement further contrasts Old Japan with New Japan and sketches its present constitution, which is constitutional imperialism and which gives great sway to local self-government.

Japan has of late emerged as a world power and Mr. Clement devotes a special chapter to this interesting topic. Additional articles of special interest are an explanation of the new legal conditions, the judiciary, prisons, the crusades against vice, the treatment of convicts, the rights of the police, etc., etc.

Ladies will be interested to read the article on the new woman in Japan, which decidedly proves that Japan is not behind the United States on the woman question. Woman in Japan has been more independent than in the Old World, but the relations between the sexes are different, and there are different forms of marriage and concubinage. Professor Clement is professor of a missionary college and thus we may trust that he has a fair knowledge of Japanese Christianity and the missions of Japan. His articles on the subject prove both the interest which the Japanese take in Christianity and the prospects of Christianity in the "Land of the Rising Sun."

The book is so full of interesting materials that it must contain something of interest for everyone, whatever be his special hobby or preferences. In addition to the subjects mentioned he outlines Japanese language and literature, education, art, religion, Shintoism, Confucianism, the moral God of knighthood called Bushido, Buddhism, and the views of modern Japan. The appendix furnishes comparative tables of Japanese measures, money, weights, etc., etc., and notes of general interest, such as fruit-growing in Japan, shipbuilding, the Osaka exhibition, cost of living in Japan, wages of Japanese workmen, railroads, postal service, oil industry, statistical tables, etc., etc.

Not the least valuable feature of the book is its complete list of references added to several chapters.

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Mr. Charles F. Dole has written an essay, "From Agnosticism to Theism," which appeared first in the Hibbard Journal, and is now reprinted by James H. West Company, Boston, as No. 1 of the Liberal Press. Cloth, 25 cents; paper, 10 cents. Postage extra.

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Professor W. S. Andrews has constructed a radioscope which shows the constant scintillations of radium, this most interesting substance of recent invention. It is mounted in a brass ring and armed with a lense on either side. Considering the market value of radium, the price of the instrument at \$2.00 is very low. It can be obtained from Megrowitz, in New York; Williams, Brown & Earle, in Philadelphia, and the Apfel Murdock Company, in Chicago.

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In the November issue *The Open Court* contained a poetical tribute by Mrs. Callie Bonney Marble to the memory of her father, the Honorable C. C. Bonney, stating at the time that she was seriously ill, and now after a few months, she too has passed away. She has never been in good health, yet she accomplished a great deal of laborious literary work, among which we may mention *Wit and Wisdom of Bulwer*, and *Wisdom and Eloquence of Webster*, while other compilations of verse still await publication. Moreover, she was a frequent contributor to *The Youth's Companion*, *The Home Maker*, *Motherhood*, *Wide Awake*, and *The Congregationalist*. Two of her poems have been composed by F. Nicholls Crouch, the composer of "Kathleen Mavourneen,"

and several by Eben H. Bailey, the noted composer of "*Auf Wiedersehn.*" Her "Dear Heart at Rest" was sung at her funeral after the Episcopal service, the last verse of which reads as follows:

"No pain nor sorrow more:  
 All gone with fleeting breath,  
 To live with those we love;  
 And this, dear one, is 'death.'  
 Then, till we meet again,  
 These words are best:  
 His angels keep thee safe,  
 Dear Heart at rest."

Our last issue contains an article on Adolf Bastian, the father of German ethnology, a venerable octogenarian and chief of the Ethnological Museum at Ber-



lin. We here supply a picture of the institution which he called into existence, an institution as rich in anthropological collections as any other museum in the world, except, perhaps, the national museum at Washington.

# WHY "PAGANS" ?

THE term "pagan" literally means *villager, rustic* or *barbarian*, and as used by Christians means an idolatrous or godless man—a heathen: A heathen means a *heather-man*, bushman or savage! Now consider the absurdity of applying this term *pagan* to the old Greek Philosophers, *Socrates, Plato* and *Aristotle*, three of the greatest minds in the history of religion, ethics and philosophy. These men were not rustics or barbarians and not *godless*, but eminently "godly," and represented the highest urban culture and were perhaps the greatest thinkers and teachers on ideal religion, ethics and politics in the history of the world. In their works will be found the most exalted conceptions of God, the Soul, and a life of virtue, and many of their ideas on these lines have been adopted by all subsequent religious and philosophic sects, the Christian included. In the words of Socrates, 500 years before the New Testament was written, will be found a clearer statement of the doctrine of the immortal soul and its future states of probation, reward and punishment than can be found in any part of the Bible. And in Plato's Dialogues will be found a perfect statement of the Golden Rule, 400 B. C., and also a full statement of the modern utilitarian theory of ethics in terms identical with that given by our greatest modern evolutionist, Herbert Spencer. To get a true idea of "pagan" teachings and correct popular misconceptions, read vol. 1 of *Evolution of Ethics* by the Brooklyn Ethical Association, entitled *The Ethics of the Greek Philosophers*. 333 pages, 21 illustrations, including many portraits of the philosophers and a Life of Socrates.

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Devoted to the Philosophy of Science

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AUGUST, 1904.

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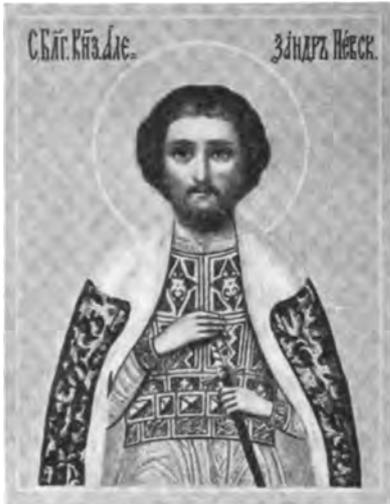
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## RUSSIAN ICONS.

BY THE EDITOR.

RUSSIA is little known in the United States. We know something of the history of Russia and of its government. We possess maps that show the enormous extent of that country, and statistics give the necessary information concerning its inhabitants, their traits and their general condition. Further, there are some Russians living among us, but they are not typical and do not represent the people. Most of them have left their homes because they were dissatisfied with the conditions, and not a few among them are Nihilists. There have been Russians of the nobility visiting our country. Russian naval officers stayed in this country to see the perfection of Russian men-of-war built in American shipyards. Most of them were noblemen who cut an elegant figure in society and made many friends among the rich, but they, too, are not typical of the people. Of Russian literature Tolstoy's works are best known, but he, though in a certain sense a true Russian, is too unique and too original to give us a correct idea of the character of the Russian nationality. The peasant who forms the great majority of Russian people is a good-natured and pious man. True, he is illiterate and credulous, but if he is misguided it is certainly not his fault. He intends the best and is willing enough to submit to authority, spiritual as well as secular. There are scarcely more devout Christians in the world than in Russia, and their Christianity has been less modified by modern ideas than anywhere in the world, perhaps only the Armenian and Coptic Churches excepted. The latter are now recognised as of great importance for the sake of historical investigations as to the views that prevailed among the early Christians. Russian Christianity upon the whole still represents the views that prevailed in

the Greek Empire soon after the establishment of the State Church and the official introduction of the veneration of Saints. The Reformation did not reach Russia, and so the iconolatry, or reverence



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shown to pictures, is still one of the characteristic features of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Our frontispiece represents one of the most famous Russian Icons, which is credited by many pious believers with miraculous



THAUMATURGICAL ICON OF TVERSKI,  
ATHOS.



THE KAZAN ICON.



THAUMATURGICAL ICON OF THE KAZAN  
CATHEDRAL, ST. PETERSBURG.



ST. SERAPHIM OF SAROVO.

powers. It is the famous folding Icon of St. Petersburg and shows in the center one of the most notable Russian Saints, St. Alexander

Nevski, who, in his worldly capacity, was a sovereign that reigned at Novgorod. He waged a victorious war with Sweden and gained a decisive victory on the banks of the River Neva in 1240, hence the people called him the hero of Neva, or in Russian, *Nevski*, under which name he became endeared to Russian patriots and may be considered as the most popular Saint in the Czar's domain.

On the left hand wing of the St. Petersburg folding Icon we see St. Alexis, who happens to be the special patron Saint of Kuropatkin, whose Christian name is Alexis.

On the right hand wing we see another famous Russian Saint, who holds the first place after St. Alexander Nevski in the hearts of good Russian Christians, St. Nicholas, the Miracle Worker, or, as he is more commonly called in Greek, "the thaumaturgist." Above the centerpiece appear the three busts of the Holy Family, Christ, the Virgin Mary, and St. Joseph. A Russian cross surmounts the whole, and incidentally we call attention to the fact that the Russian cross possesses a slanting beam which represents the seating plug on which crucified persons used to be placed, a feature which, for æsthetical reasons, has been omitted in the Western Church or is supplanted by a footrest.

Icons are very extensively used in Russian worship, so much so that every Russian regiment has its patron saint whose Icon is kept in the church of the garrison which in war time may be a tent after the fashion of the Jewish Tabernacle, and is in charge of a clergyman, a deacon and other functionaries who attend to the usual religious duties. The day of the regiment's Saint is celebrated by the regiment, and clergymen carrying a crucifix are sometimes present in battle to encourage the wavering and to comfort the wounded and dying. All people who have a desire to be orthodox, especially the people of the peasantry, carry on a little chain or string around their necks underneath their clothes, a small cross or some sacred image given them on the day of baptism. The Icon of a Saint is tacitly assumed to assure the presence of the Saint himself and so, since the Saint is believed to be a miracle-worker, most of the Icons are credited with miraculous powers. The logic of the argument is primitive but on its own premises quite consistent, and the truth is that an unshaken faith in miracles sometimes under certain circumstances rendered possible the most extraordinary events.

We here reproduce a number of the most famous Icons of Russian Saints and Arch-angels, among whom St. Michel, St. George, St. Seraphim of Sarovo, St. Nicholas, St. Alexander Nev-

ski, and above all the Theotokos, i. e., "the Mother of God," play an important part.

Among the Theotokos pictures, an ancient Icon of the Tverski Monastery of Mt. Athos (a place sacred since the days of Greek paganism) is looked up to with special reverence and has therefore become a prototype of innumerable copies distributed throughout Russia. Though the features of the face vary, the attitude and the general expression are the same in almost all of them.

Much can be said for as well as against icons. Protestantism and, more so, Puritanism, reject them as pagan, while both the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches have sanctioned their use. We abstain here from discussing the subject, and would, from the standpoint of the impartial investigator of facts, only indicate that they play a most significant part in the history of civilisation. One cannot deny that in spite of their indubitably pernicious influence among the superstitious, they have been the means of great achievements, especially in religion and art.

[We learn from the daily papers that the Icon of the Kazan Cathedral has been stolen. The thieves, a man and a woman, are under arrest. They were caught at Nijni-Novgorod, but while the jewels are recovered the picture itself, it appears, has been burned.]

## JAPANESE LEADERS.

BY THE EDITOR.

**M**UTZUHITO, the Mikado, is the one hundred twenty-second sovereign of Japan and is in a direct line descended from the first emperor, Jimmu, who according to mythical traditions was a scion of the gods.

Some of the crowned families of Europe can boast of an ancestry that goes back to the eleventh and tenth, sometimes even the ninth century of the Christian era. The present king of England is a descendant, although not in direct line, from Rollo, the Norse adventurer who in the tenth century settled with his vikings in Normandy. The Emperor of Japan, however, can trace his descent in direct line back to the seventh century B. C., i. e., through two and a half millenniums. In comparison to the hoary antiquity of Asiatic traditions, the Hapsburgers, the Hohenzollerns, the Ruriks, and all other royal houses of Europe are mere modern upstarts. The Japanese naturally look up to their imperial family with pride and reverence, and we cannot doubt that even if times of misfortune should come the population would stand faithfully to their hereditary rulers.

We read in Japanese reports\* that the Emperor's style of living is remarkably frugal, and he is free from ostentation. The decorations of his palace are simple and almost severe. He is fond of riding, and the only luxury which he allows himself is to keep good horses. Like the Prussian kings he devotes much attention to military affairs and always appears at military reviews on horseback.

Mutzuhito, the present Mikado, is the first ruler who has again taken the government into his own hands. Since in 1603 Iyeyasu, the Shogun, or Prime Minister, had after the fashion of the Frankish *major domus* usurped the power of the government and made

\**The Russo-Japanese War*, No. 1, Tokyo, 1904.

the Shogunate hereditary, the Mikados of Japan had been sovereigns only in name; but when Keki, the last of the Shoguns, had yielded to Commodore Perry, the people in their indignation forced him to



HIS MAJESTY, THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

abdicate and called upon their hereditary ruler to resume the government, as it had been customary of yore.

This movement called *Go Isshin*, "the Great Revolution," or,

as it should more properly be called, "the Great Restoration," took place in 1868 and may be regarded as the birth of modern Japan.



HER MAJESTY, THE EMPRESS OF JAPAN.

The Mikado had been reinstated in order to undo the Shogun's policy; but when he with his counselors considered the beneficent

effects of Commodore Perry's plans, he carried out the Shogun's program, which led to an utter abolition of the mediæval conditions and a reform according to the standard of Western civilisation. Since the *Go Isshin* Japan has become a constitutional monarchy. The old nobility has been changed into a modern aristocracy with titles imitating the degrees of English peerage.

Keki, the last Shogun, is still living, enjoying his enormous



EMPERESS JINGO.



EMPEROR JIMMU.

hereditary wealth and the respect of his countrymen. His son is the president of the House of Lords and the Shogun's family ranks immediately after the imperial princes.

The army has been reorganised after Prussian models and the troops were drilled by Prussian officers. The navy was practically created out of nothing, and here English and American examples were followed. Mutsuhito nowhere thrust his person into the foreground, but he took an active and personal interest in all the changes

that were taking place under his auspices, and it appears that he has a high conception of his duties. We have reason to think that Mutzuhito will forever be classed in the history of Japan as one of its most glorious and successful rulers.



MARQUIS OYAMA, FIELD MARSHALL AND HEAD OF THE GENERAL STAFF AT TOKYO.

[He is now leaving for Manchuria to assume the general command of the Japanese armies in the field.]

The proclamation which the Mikado addressed to the army and navy is characteristic of the spirit of his government. It reads as follows:

"We are your Commander-in-Chief. As such, We rely upon you as We do upon Our own hands, and desire you to look to Us as your head, so that the relation between us may be one of absolute and sincere confidence and trust. Whether We perform Our duty successfully or not, depends entirely on the manner in which you



FIELD MARSHAL YAMAGATA.\*

Leader of the Japanese forces in the Chino-Japanese war, now appointed head of the General Staff at Tokyo in place of Field Marshall Oyama.

perform yours. If Our country fails to stand high in the opinion of other nations, We desire you to share Our sorrow. If it rises with

\*Yamagata is now pretty well advanced in years and has retired from active service. His position at the head of the General Staff at Tokyo will pre-eminently be a place of honor, not of work, while the Japanese forces are concentrated in Manchuria.

honor, We will enjoy the fruits with you. Stand firm in your duty; assist Us in protecting the country; and the result must be the pros-



**BARON KODAMA.\***

Second chief of the General Staff at Tokyo and first assistant to Field Marshall Oyama.

perity of the nation and the enhancement of Our country's reputation."

\*General Fukushima is the right hand of Baron Kodama, and thus he ranges in rank third highest in the Japanese army. We are sorry to say that we have not succeeded in procuring a good picture of General Fukushima.

## GENERAL FUKUSHIMA.

Mr. Poultney Bigelow has contributed to *Harper's Weekly* an interesting sketch of Fukushima, the Japanese Moltke, from which we quote the following passages:

"General Fukushima I met first in Germany—he was military attaché at the Court of the Kaiser, and as such was invited to attend the great



GENERAL KUROKI.

Commander in Chief of the First Army, attacking Kuropatkin's position in Mukden from the East.

autumn field operations of the army, which lasted a week or more, and which brought together some fifty to one hundred thousand men of all arms.

"Those were hard days, even for spectators. Whoever would keep up with such a host as his Imperial Majesty of Germany must rise early and

never want to lie down. There is a story current that William II. was once known to take a nap; it is unsupported by any but hearsay evidence. On the contrary, I have personal knowledge of his having passed many days without an opportunity for such an interruption.



GENERAL OKU.

Commander in Chief of the Second Army. Operating on Liao Tung Peninsula.

"Many were the guests whom the Kaiser exhausted completely at these military operations. Even military attachés of other countries were heard to grumble as did Maréchal Lefevre in 'Madame Sans Gêne,' when reciting to his wife a dinner with the great Napoleon. Many a foreign military guest

have I known to sneak away for a nap while his imperial host was on the bridge of a man-o'-war, or in the saddle, or, harder than all, sitting bold upright in the imperial box, listening to an interminable Hohenzollern drama, written with a view of stimulating patriotism.

"But Fukushima was here also an exception. I do not say he listened,



GENERAL NODZU,  
Commander in Chief of the Third Army.

but he sat upright, his baby eyes serenely bent upon Nirvana, ostensibly devouring the turgid lines of a court drama, but in reality repeating to himself a list of the Russian regiments east of Moscow, and the names of their garrison towns.

"Fukushima discussed things with me, because we had friends in common in Japan. He evidently concluded that he could trust me, and when a Japanese gives you his confidence you may bank upon it, as though he were a Boer or a Briton.

"At that time this little Moltke was but a captain, and the smallest sol-



GENERAL NOGORI.

In Command of the forces investing Port Arthur.

dier in uniform that had ever been seen in Germany outside of a museum. The Emperor had raked his stables in vain for a horse that could squeeze between the legs of his little guest. At last one was found; it came from a circus, and had spots all over. It was the smallest mount available, yet

small as it was the witty ones alleged that glove-stretchers had been used before the legs of the Oriental could be made to straddle with ease. Whatever may have been the truth of that, Fukushima managed always to stumble accidentally upon the point of chief interest in the day's operations, whether it was an attack of cavalry, a massing of artillery, the bridging of a river, or something novel in ballooning. On the way to the point of meeting, usually



VISCOUNT ITO, CHIEF OF THE NAVAL STAFF.

Famous through his victories over the Chinese navy during the Chino-Japanese war.\*

about four o'clock in the morning, the important colonels and generals who constituted the main body of imperial guests held forth learnedly on what would be done that day, and where they should go in order to see what was

\*It will be interesting to our readers to learn that Admiral Ito is an intimate friend of Admiral Ting Ju Chang, Commander of the Chinese squadron which he defeated in the Yellow Sea.

important. Fukushima never said anything, but when councils diverged among the great and learned we soon came to seek light of our little Japanese captain; and when we did so, he invariably professed to know nothing, but would, in his childish manner, place his little finger as though at hazard upon a point of his map; and those who steered for that point were never disappointed.

"He passed, however, for feeble in mental capacity, and he took pains to preserve that character. The Russian military attaché took him for stunted



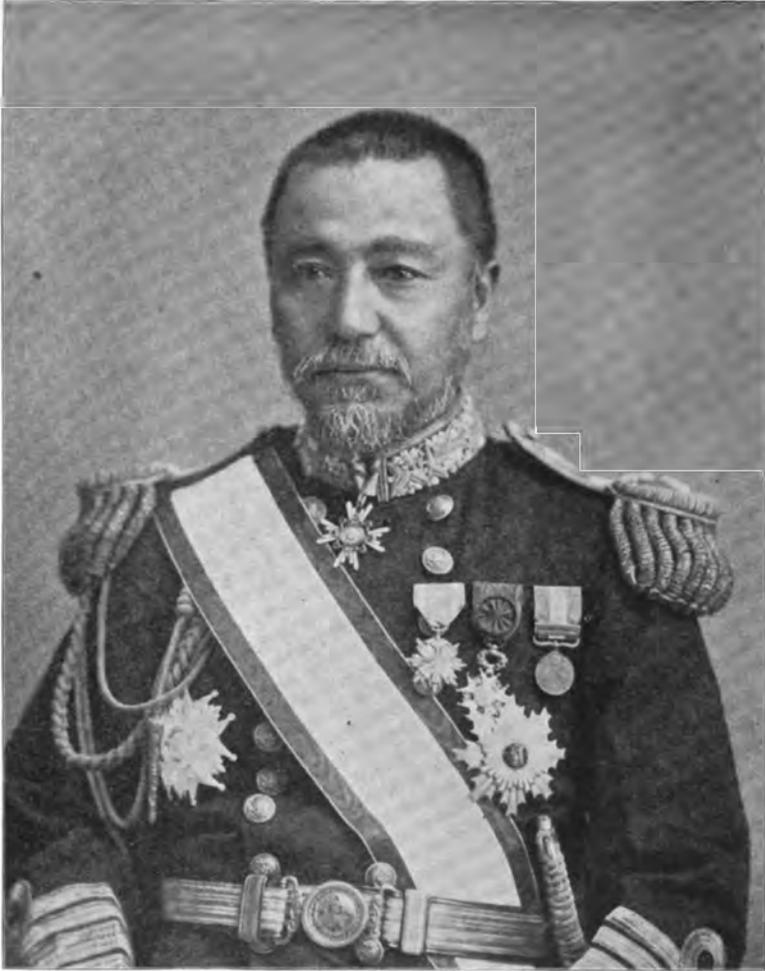
BARON YAMAMOTO.  
Secretary of the Navy at Tokyo.

and stupid. The jovial British delegate regarded him as an idiot, and many of my friends asked me seriously how it was that I managed to waste so much time in his company. I told them I was an alienist, and besides that I was refreshing my knowledge of the language.

"Even then, and I am talking of a few years before the Chinese-Japanese war of 1894, Fukushima showed me photographs he had taken throughout the border country of Russia—about the Black Sea, down the Danube, in Rumania, Turkey, Bulgaria, etc. He knew all there was worth knowing

about the strength of Russia this side of Moscow and the Caspian, and as I had been twice in those territories I found a comparison of data very interesting.

"But he never allowed any one else at the Berlin Court to suspect that he was more than a commonplace piece of uniform. Though he spoke seven



ADMIRAL TOGO.

In Command of the squadron investing Port Arthur.

languages to my knowledge, he never allowed any one else in Berlin to suspect that he knew anything but a few garbled scraps of German. Here is a sample that I overheard:

"German General loquitur: 'Guten Morgen, Herr Hauptmann!'

"Fukushima bowed politely and smiled, while he inhaled audibly.

"The General: 'Tell me, my dear Fukushima, how long would it take you in Japan to mobilize an army-corps and land it in Korea?'

"Fukushima: 'Thank you, Herr General, my health is very good!'

"The General: 'I am very glad to hear it; but I wanted to know something about your mobilization!'



REAR-ADMIRAL KAMIMURA.

In Command of the squadron investing Vladivostok.

"Fukushima: 'You are quite right, Herr General, das Wetter ist heute sehr schön, but it may possibly rain to-morrow!'

"And so this conversation would go on, each day like the last, and each

questioner coming away with the impression that it was a shame for governments to send to Berlin representatives who could not speak a civilized tongue.

"One day little captain Fukushima disappeared from Berlin, and many moons later arrived on the shores of Manchuria, or Mongolia, I forget which. He had bought a little Cossack pony somewhere east of Moscow, and had steered his way across that vast Siberian plain, keeping his ears and eyes well open, and his mouth tight shut. He had note-books, but he wrote in figures that gave no comfort to any but himself. He counted the telegraph



REAR-ADMIRAL URIU.  
Victor of the Battle of Chemulpo.

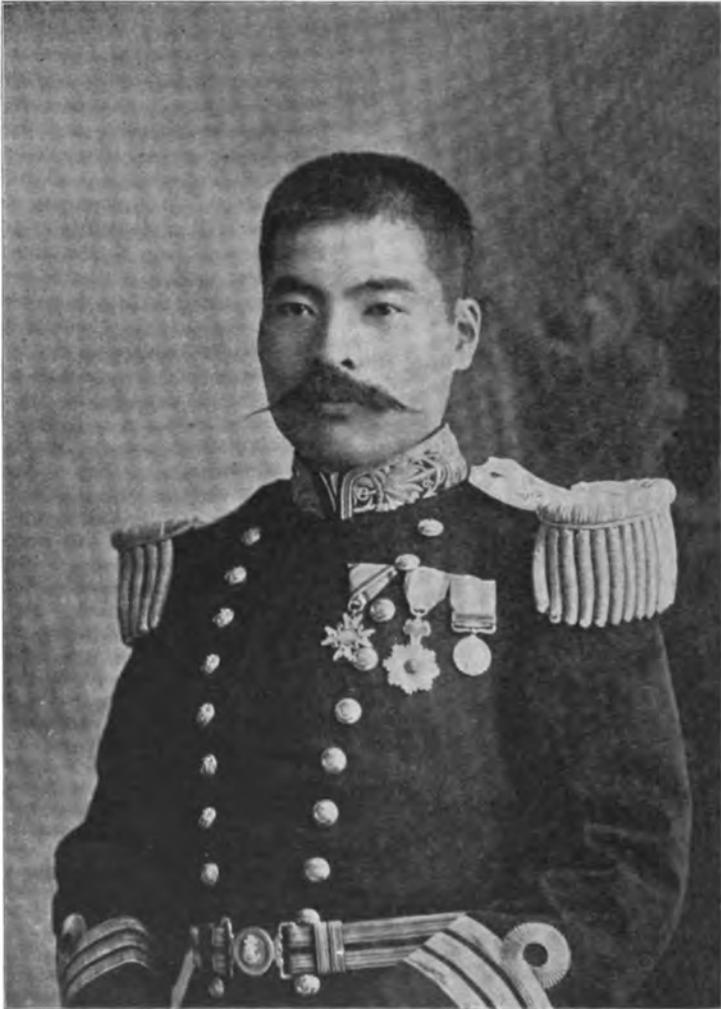
poles as he rode, he noted the bridges, and the wells, and the farms, and everything that might prove interesting to Japanese visitors who might come after him.

"Fortunately for him, Russia also despised his intellect, else he would have met with an accident in some lonely section of his long ride.

"You know the rest, how in 1894 Japan put an army afloat, landed in China, tumbled the forces of that empire head over heels, sank her battle-

ships and dictated terms of peace after a short campaign conducted in such a manner as to call forth the praise of military students no less than lovers of fair play on the battle-field.

"The next time that I saw Fukushima was in his own home; he was



COMMANDER HIROSE.

the same sunny, moony, smiling, and sympathetic Fukushima, but had become a general, and was recognized as the hero of the great Chinese war. But to look at him, he was the very same man that had passed in Berlin and Petersburg for a harmless toy.

"He lived in Tokyo in a bandbox sort of a bamboo bungalow—all lacquer and matting, and fans, and dainty tea things. He wore the native gown spattered with storks or some such design, and in his arms was a baby—just like the Japanese dolls we see at Christmas. General Fukushima, as chief of a nursery, was worth coming to see, and he played his part with the same success as distinguishes him at the head of an army.

"Like all real men, and particularly real great men, he is the simplest of men. When all the world was praising Waldersee as a great soldier, it made me hesitate to accept this verdict, merely because Moltke had the simplicity, the modesty of greatness. At any court ball in Berlin it would have been hard to find Moltke, but harder still to avoid seeing Waldersee.

"And so it is with Fukushima; you find him most readily in his little family circle, playing with his children, or chatting with the few intimates whom he can trust.

"Our talk was interrupted by the announcement of a Chinese Embassy. So the baby was passed on to the nursery, and in came several big Chinese officers to pay their respects to the man who had humiliated their army more than all the hosts of the white man since the first settlement in Macao.

"This was the year 1898—a memorable year to others than to us and Spain, for in that year China sent to Japan thirty military representatives for no other purpose than to learn the art of war from the nation which they had before that referred to as one of contemptible dwarfs."

#### JAPANESE HERO-POETS.

Japan has rapidly acquired the benefits of Western civilisation, and the flourishing condition of the country is by no means limited to victories in war. The military leaders themselves are distinguished by a broad culture, and so it happens that several of their generals and admirals have become famous on account of their literary accomplishments. We will mention only two Japanese poet-heroes: General Fukushima and Commander Hirose.

General Fukushima, the third in rank in the Japanese army, a strategist who (like Moltke) could be taciturn in seven languages, has composed patriotic poems, among which his "War Song Against Russia"<sup>1</sup> enjoys great popularity. A versified translation of some of its verses reads as follows:<sup>2</sup>

"Nippon! Be hailed, my country,<sup>3</sup>  
High famed throughout the world.

<sup>1</sup>The poem has been put to music by Professor Nosho of Tokyo, a native Japanese composer.

<sup>2</sup>To Mr. Teitaro Suzuki of La Salle, Ill., I am indebted for a transliteration of the Japanese text of this as well as the following poems. General Fukushima's war song I have also compared with a German translation published in *Die Wahrheit*, a missionary periodical which appears in Japan and is edited by the Rev. Dr. Ernst Haas of Tokyo.

<sup>3</sup>The first line of the original Japanese reads as follows:

七生報國一死  
心堅再期成効  
含笑上船  
大福井丸ヲ指揮シ再々  
頃々閑坐スルニ上ラントスル時  
三月十九日  
廣瀬丈人

丹心報國一死  
 何辭與航瘞骨  
 旅順之陸  
 報國九拍博之旅順也  
 開基之途ニ上ラントスル時

Thy sun-flag in bright morning  
Is radiant unfurled.  
And of descent, unbroken,  
Thy noble sovereign lord  
Counts fifty million children  
Obedient to his word.

"Humanity and justice  
We take as our foundation.  
True loyalty inspires  
The citizens of the nation.

征露の歌

陸軍少將 福島安正

世界に名高き日本國の  
皇統を以て建てし國の  
仁義を以て建てる敵國の  
之れに反する敵國の  
職を帯として  
各なき家を焼き拂ひ  
逃るゝ婦女子を辱め  
兇惡暴戾神人の  
國は廣きも荒野の  
一億半餘の人口も  
直隸平野の戦に  
歴史に名を得る薩  
旭に解ける雪氷  
いざ起て稲へ我男  
仁義の師に敵は無し  
旅順哈爾濱踏み破り  
旭の御旗を翻へし  
森の畔に追ひ籠めて  
普く宇内に宣揚し

旭に輝く日の御旗  
臣勇勝りし國の民  
其の有様は皆知らん  
他國の領地を掠取り  
罪なき人を撃ち殺し  
乳に泣く小兒刺殺し  
共に救さぬスラツグ  
人は多きも鳥合勢  
六十有餘の異人種  
進み兼ねたる卑怯者  
今は昔の夢なるを  
消てぞ失し露西亞兵  
駒さへ勇む春立てり  
愉快極まる此の戦  
烏拉爾の山の絶頂に  
スラツグの帝都モスコ  
我が大君の御威徳を  
世界の平和を樂まん

JAPANESE WAR SONG BY GENERAL FUKUSHIMA.

How different are the foes,  
Of our beloved Nippon.  
Their unfair policy  
All o'er the world is known.

"The Cossacks' great renown,  
No longer does it last;

*Se-kái ni nadákaki .Nippón kokú.*

The rhythm is the same throughout and might be represented in the following schedule:

0-00 0-00 0-00

And his historic deeds  
 A dream are, of the past.  
 As snow and ice must melt  
 In rays of rising sun;  
 Before the sun-flag so  
 Is Russia's power undone.

"Humanity and Justice  
 No foe e'er overpowers.  
 In this gigantic struggle  
 The victory must be ours;  
 And having fought our battles  
 With spirit resolute,  
 There'll be peace universal  
 And we'll enjoy its fruit."<sup>1</sup>

Commander Hirose Takeo, who sacrificed his life when the Japanese had the channel of Port Arthur harbor blocked for the second time, is a popular figure not only among his own people but also in some aristocratic circles of Russian society. He lived in Russia for some time and made many friends by his congenial manners. In fact, the story goes that a wealthy Russian lady of St. Petersburg was very anxious to marry him, but he remained firm in his resolution to keep himself free from all entanglements, because he foresaw the coming war and was determined to form no attachments which would hinder him from freely sacrificing his life for his country.

It is well known in Japan that Commander Hirose was a poet and a man of broad interests which extended over the fields of philosophy and literature. He wrote poems of the classical Chino-Japanese style, which consists of four rhymed short lines, each of four Chinese characters. When he went out on the Ho-Kok-Maru, the ship destined to be sunk in the channel and block Port Arthur, he did not expect to return. So he wrote down a poem to be sent home, in which he expressed his sentiments at that moment. When unexpectedly he survived and bestrode the second vessel, the Fu-Kui-Maru, he wrote on the same sheet of paper a second poem inspired by the same sentiments, expressing his determination to face death and to succeed in his enterprise.

<sup>1</sup>The first part of the last verse in our translation is, in the original, part of the eighth verse and the conclusion of the last or tenth verse.

One of our subscribers, Miss Mary Very, of San Francisco, sent us from Japan these two poems of Commander Hirose in his own handwriting, which we here reproduce for the benefit of our readers, attaching thereto a translation of the verses. The first poem translated into English reads as follows:

"With heart aglow for my beloved land<sup>1</sup>  
 From death I will not shrink.<sup>2</sup>  
 My body on Port Arthur's strand  
 In this doomed ship shall sink."<sup>3</sup>

"On the way to block the mouth of Port Arthur, in command of the Ho-Kok-Maru."<sup>4</sup>

The second poem of Commander Hirose reads as follows:

"Yea, seven lives for my beloved land!<sup>5</sup>  
 I gladly die at its command.  
 Firm is my heart; I must succeed.  
 With smiles a second ship I'll lead."<sup>6</sup>

"On the way again to block the mouth of Port Arthur, in command of the Fu-Kui-Maru."<sup>7</sup>

Commander Hirose has exceptionally endeared himself to the Japanese people by the consideration which he showed for the men in his command. First of all he looked out for the safety of his men, and when the Chief Warrant Officer, Sugino, who exploded the charge on the Fu-kui-Maru, had been killed by a Russian bullet and

<sup>1</sup> Literally: "With red heart I repay my country."

<sup>2</sup> Literally: "One death (meaning the death of the present incarnation) Why shrink?"

<sup>3</sup> Literally: "With the boat (destined to be sunk) I bury my bones on Port Arthur's strand."

<sup>4</sup> *Maru* means "ship." *Ho-kok* means "devotion to country."

<sup>5</sup> This sentence, "Seven lives I'll lay down for my country," was uttered by General Kusunoki Masashige, when in suppressing a rebellion he was surrounded by traitors and forced to commit suicide. The Emperor, Go-daigo, whose cause Kusunoki defended, lived in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. The faithful general is commonly regarded as the ideal of military patriotism and a statue of his has been erected before the Emperor's palace at Tokyo. His tombstone was reproduced in an article by Prof. Ernest W. Clement of Tokyo in *The Open Court* for October, 1903, on page 606. But by mistake the monument is there stated to be erected in the memory of Tai-mau-ko.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: "Firm is my heart, a second time expecting success of my enterprise, smiling, I embark in my ship."

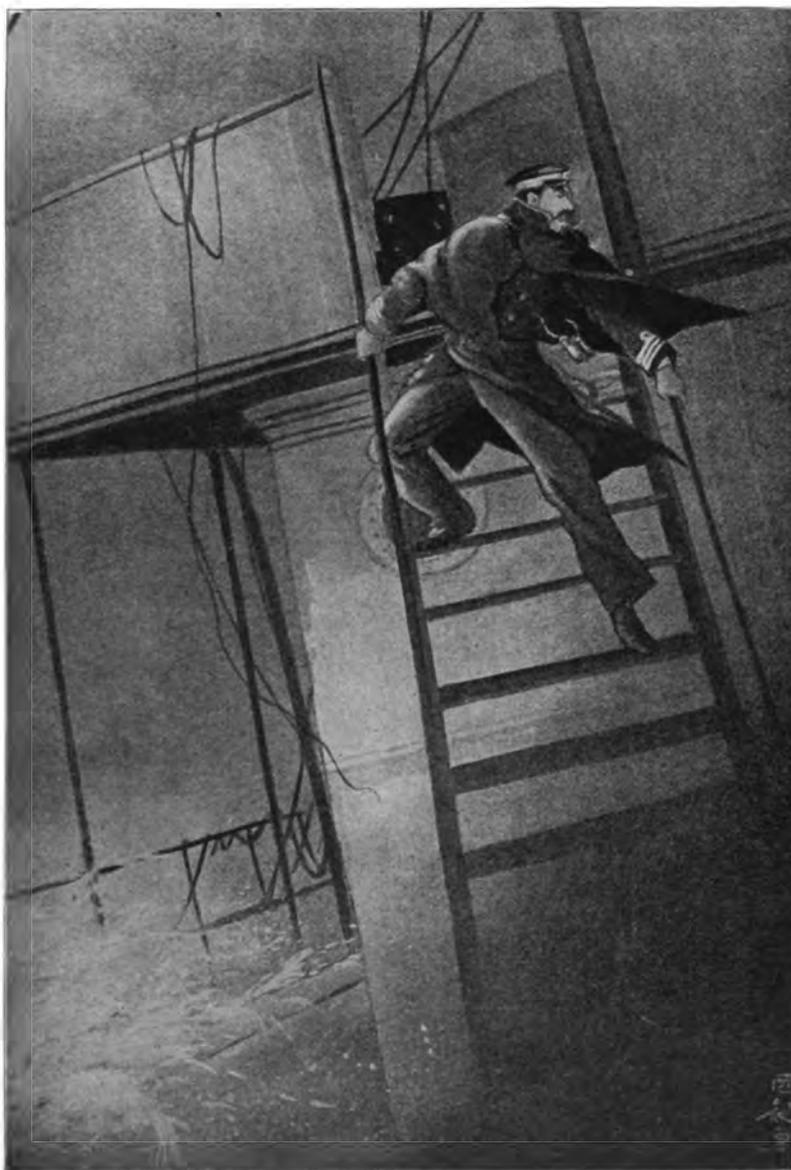
<sup>7</sup> *Fu-Kui*, the name of the second ship, is a Japanese town famous for its silk industries.

did not reappear to take refuge on the life boat, Hirose went down three times in search of him and so delayed his escape. When the Japanese retired, Commander Hirose was hit by a shrapnel, which



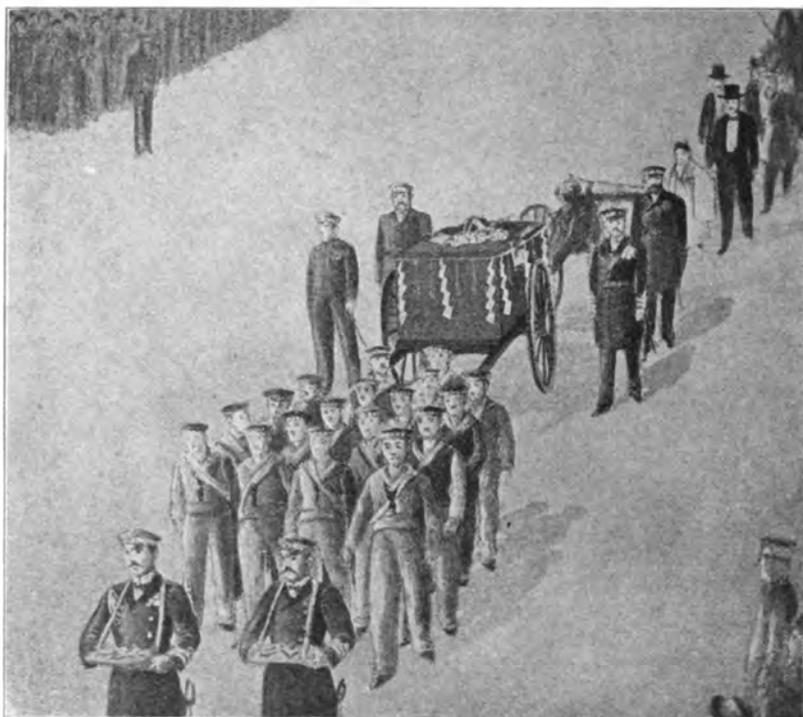
CHIEF WARRANT OFFICER SUGINO EXPLODING THE CHARGE.

literally tore his body to pieces. Part of the remains were identified by the Russians on account of the uniform, and they buried them



SEARCHING FOR THE LOST WARRANT OFFICER SUGINO.

with all military honors. Other parts of the body were taken to Japan and there carried to the grave on the caisson of a cannon.



FUNERAL OF HIROSE IN TOKYO.

The pictures here reproduced have been drawn by Japanese artists and indicate the popular interest which the Japanese people take in their poet-hero.

## A GENTLEMAN OF THIBET.

BY HENRY R. EVANS.

"I could not remember any more than that the hero [Cagliostro] had spoken of heaven, of the stars, of the Great Secret, of Memphis, of the High Priest, of transcendental chemistry, of giants and monstrous beasts, of a city ten times large as Paris, in the middle of Africa, where he had correspondents."—Count Beugnot: *Memoirs*.

"The ancient Orient has given us Magi, Sages who observed and studied the nature of man, the mechanism of his thought, the faculties of his soul, the powers of his physical and moral nature, as well as the essence of the properties and occult virtues of each thing.

"Everywhere we find Magism. In India in Egypt, in Greece, in Ancient Rome it was the basis of the religion of Zoroaster, the principle of the Initiatic Science of Hermes, the spirit of the invocations of the Inrahmanes and hierophants; the symbolism of Pythagoras, the occult philosophy of Agrippa, that of Cardan, and it is known by the name of Magic on account of the marvelous effects it produces.

"Magism is Natural Philosophy, or the Science which includes the knowledge of all things. It is the Science of sciences, or rather it is the gathering together of all the sciences of human knowledge."—Comte de Das (Dr. Albert de Sarak): *Light from the Orient*.

### I.

WHEN Madame Blavatsky, High Priestess of Isis, died, there followed a long interregnum during which magic languished.

Finally there appeared in the East a star of great magnitude—the five-pointed star of the Gnostics and the Oriental Mahatmas, heralding the coming of another mystic. Madame Blavatsky had set the fashion for Thibetan adepts, and had turned the current of modern occultism towards the Land of the Lamas, so it was quite natural that the new thaumaturgist should hail from the Holy City of Llassa. His name was Monsieur le Docteur Albert de Sarak, Comte de Das, who claimed to be “the son of a Rajah of Thibet and a French Marchioness,” and to have been born in the land of marvels.

Monsieur le Comte, in his circulars, described himself as “General Inspector of the Supreme Council of Thibet.” He carried about with him a voluminous portfolio of papers containing “the numerous diplomas which he possessed as member of several orders of knighthood and of scientific and humanitarian associations,” and Masonic diplomas (Thirty-third degree) which bore the endorsement of all the Supreme Councils of the Rite to which he belonged in the nations through which he passes. But he was not a Fellow of the Theosophical Society. On the contrary, he claimed to have been persecuted by the members of that Brotherhood; to have been frequently arrested and denounced by them as a pretender to the occult, as a false magician, etc., etc.

The Count is, at present writing, located at Washington, D. C., where he has founded one of his esoteric centers, described as follows in the organ of the cult, *The Radiant Truth*, of which he is the editor-in-chief:

“Oriental Esoteric Head Centre of the United States of America, under obedience to the Supreme Esoteric Council of the Initiates of Thibet. Social object: To form a chain of universal fraternity, based upon the purest Altruism, without hatred of sect, caste or color; in which reign tolerance, order, discipline, liberty, compassion and true love. To study the Occult Sciences of the Orient and to seek, by meditation, concentration and by a special line of conduct, to develop those psychic powers which are in man and his environment.”

The Count also gives private séances, as we see by his advertisement in the above-named journal:

“Science of Occultism, Double Vision, and Telepathy, Doctor Albert de Sarak, Count de Das, General Inspector of the Supreme Council of Thibet.

“Consultations in Oriental Sciences, Mental Suggestion, Double Vision, Telepathy, Astrology, Horoscopy, etc.

"Consultation of Vision through opaque bodies accomplished in a condition of mental concentration, being blindfolded.

"Dr. Sarak mentally transposes himself to any suggested locality, accurately revealing personages, incidents, events, etc.

"Experiments in Psychic Conception, prophesying the character of the person consulting, as well as all that concerns people absent.

"Experimental Séances given at persons' own houses, and consultations in private or by correspondence.

"Scientific Horoscopes, Thibetan Kabalistic system predicting future events for one year or for life.

"Office hours: 3 to 5 p. m..

"Address, 1443 Corcoran Street, Washington, D. C."

Dr. Sarak's first public exhibition of his alleged psychic powers is thus described in the *Washington Post* (March 16, 1902);

"Dr. A. de Sarak, occultist and adept, a professor of the mystic and the sixth sense, gave a demonstration last night before a Washington audience. Several hundred persons gathered in the beautiful assembly hall of the House of the Temple of the Supreme Council, Southern Jurisdiction, 433 Third street, last evening, to witness his wierd exhibition of occult powers. After three hours spent in the presence of the East Indian, the audience filed out with apparently something to think about and ponder.

"Professor Sarak, while master of fourteen languages, does not speak fluently the English language. Last evening he spoke in French, and a very charming young woman, also an adept, but of English birth, acted as his interpreter. The Easterner, a man of medium height, was attired in a gorgeous gown of white silk, across the breast of which hung certain mystic emblems of gold and silver. A loose, pale-yellow robe covered this garment during most of the evening. He wore a white turban. The adept wears a pointed black beard, which, with large, languid brown eyes, gave fully the effect that one expects in a student of the mystic schools of Thibet.

"The interpreter stated that Professor de Sarak was born in Thibet and was descended from a noble French family. He had devoted his life, she said, to the study of the occult, first in the Thibetan schools and later with the ascetics hidden in the mountains. He had visited almost every country on the globe, spreading the occult science, which, she declared, some time would bring a rich harvest to all mankind.

"As the professor finished his rapidly spoken French sentences the young woman translated them to the hearers. Dr. de Sarak described the sixth sense in man, saying that it was second-sight, a

latent and undeveloped force. He said he merely wished to present the facts of his religion. He explained the wonderful fluid force that existed. He said it is the force that raised the huge stones in building the pyramids and is the same force that brings the bird from the egg, the force which gives man the power of rising as if filled with a buoyant gas, a power which can be concentrated in a tube. He stated that occultism was absolutely nothing but the powers of the will.

"'It is nothing supernatural,' the doctor said, 'but is merely the hastening of nature's work.'

"A small table stood by a leather chair, and on this burned a tiny candle from the mouth of a brazen asp. The professor stood over the table and busied himself with a pungent incense in an odd burner. A glass plate, with a number of fish eggs, was shown and examined. A large glass bowl was filled with water, and one of the members of the audience was told to carefully brush the eggs into the water. In the meantime three men from the audience had with strong ropes securely bound the hands of the adept behind his back as he sat in the chair. Broad, clean, white cloths were wrapped about the seated figure, leaving the head free, and the three men selected held the cloths in place. Music rolled from a deep organ, and the head of the adept sank back and a strange light appeared to cross his face. According to the directions of the interpreter the bowl of water containing the fish eggs was placed by one of the three beneath the cloths and on the lap of the adept.

"After a period of straining and soft moaning from the white-wrapped figure, for perhaps ten minutes, the cloths were removed, and from the lap of the apparently insensible man was lifted the bowl of water, but instead of the eggs which it contained a few moments before there swam about dozens of tiny, new-born fish.

"Dr. Sarak was then blindfolded with a half dozen bandages pressing against absorbent cotton, which rested before the eyes. For a while he remained in his chair, while the vibrating tones of an organ filled the room. Then the adept suddenly arose and walked surely and steadily down the room, turning into narrow aisles through the audience as safely as a man might who had his sight. This experiment was to demonstrate double vision at a distance and through opaque bodies. A blank canvas stood on an easel near the adept. Apparently in a trance, he walked to the easel, mixed colors, and in ten minutes a finished picture was the result. A game of dominoes was played with a member of the audience, and previous to the beginning of the game the doctor wrote something on a bit

of card and his assistant handed it to some one in the audience to keep. Blindfolded and standing, the adept played the game perfectly, and at the conclusion the card was found to contain the numbers of the last two dominoes played by both the adept and his opponent.

"Experiments were given at the close in the disintegration and restoration of matter of psychic perception, in which he aroused the wondering admiration of the audience."

Not many months after this exhibition the Esoteric Centre was founded, and the following extraordinary circular sent out to prominent people in Washington:

DIRECTING COMMISSION OF THE ORIENTAL ESOTERIC  
CENTRE OF WASHINGTON.

UNDER OBEDIENCE TO THE SUPREME ESOTERIC COUNCIL OF THE INITIATES OF  
THIBET.

We address ourselves to those who truly desire to read—to those who truly wish to understand!

For those whose time has not yet come, this page has little value—it will but be scorned and rejected.

But we and our work go onward, with few or with many—Forward, ever forward!

We will, then, be brief, but logical and clear!

THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE ADEPTS OR MAHATMAS RESIDES \* \* \* WHERE IT DESIRES! \* \* \* since it possesses powers still unknown in the West; but it has, in fact, its centre of action in a region *not yet* (!) explored, in the North of Thibet.

This Council, composed of Masters who watch that the *Law of the Lotus be not revealed to the vulgar*, has its General inspectors in the West as in the East, who, invested with the necessary powers to demonstrate the truth of that which they teach and propagate, have different missions, which they must fulfil strictly; and although misunderstood and insulted by those who do not understand them, yet they continue to work actively, to serve worthily the Holy Cause of True, Veritable Fraternity, having ever before their eyes this device: "Forward, ever forward!"

They may suffer all manner of pain and torments, but none of these—no, nothing! can touch them; for the Occult Hand sustains, saves and protects them!

The Supreme Council of the Mahatmas of Thibet has, then, given powers to its Representatives, that they may use them, not to enrich themselves, but to call the attention of every man or woman of high ideals who desires "To go forward, ever forward, and ever higher!"

We care little for their names or their nationality, for name and nations disappear—the Work alone remains!

We have seen some! \* \* \* appear like a shooting star, light up space, and disappear \* \* \* almost without being noticed.

We have *read* and we have *seen* many things! \* \* \* calumnies, sufferings, noble deeds, etc.! \* \* \*

We have *read* that the wicked took them for speculators or sorcerers; and we have *seen* them continue their good works and remain almost poor! \* \* \*

We have *read* that men tried to destroy them, casting the stones of calumny and vengeance; and we have *seen* them, even though weeping inwardly, gather up the stones, asking pardon for those who threw them!

We have, in short, *read* lies, and we have *seen* them present the Truth! \* \* \*

Therefore, this Commission, animated by the most sincere and reasoned faith, strong in the Right which supports it, for Truth and for Justice, makes an appeal to all those who know that to *Think* is to *Create*, to *Create* is to *Love*, and that to *Love* is to *Live*;—to unite themselves with us in a truly fraternal chain, not formed of links of iron which can be broken, but woven of flowers of the soul—a chain which knows neither hatred nor deceit!

From those who come to us we will ask no sacrifices but sincerity and good faith, which we will put to the test; we respect all creeds and customs, but we banish hypocrisy and slander!

*Strong in our Right, invested with the powers bequeathed to us by Him who had the power to give them*, we initiate here in the Capital of the United States, in the heat of the fire of our enemies, this movement of true progress, destined to perpetuate the work of the Adept who has just left us!

They, our enemies, have insulted him, calumniated him, have abandoned him, because he was an obstacle to them; for the Centres which radiate artificial light are afraid of the Radiant Centre of Truth!

"The Radiant Truth" shall be our device, and with it we will go, with our Venerated Master, "Forward, ever forward!"

Therefore let those who truly desire to learn and to elevate their spirit, without fear and without care, and they will find Brothers, true Brothers!

Let those who have betrayed and insulted our Master, whom we will now name,

OUR BROTHER, DR. SARAK,

know: that we have in our ranks persons who, having belonged to Theosophical Societies, have torn up their diplomas, not caring to appear in the list of those who, under pretext of justice and under the false name of Fraternity, defame, calumniate and insult those whose mission is sublime.

Let those, in short, who wish to know \* \* \* many other things, come to us! \* \* \* and we will prove to them both the Supreme Council and the Radiant Truth, and, lastly, also our powers!

We make, then, an appeal, in view of the preceding considerations, to all those who, even if belonging to other organisations, wish to unite with us frankly and sincerely, and we can assure them that later they will thank us with all their hearts.

This will afford them the most conclusive proof of the protection and aid of those Masters or Guides who direct us.

Our Order will publish an official Review, which will have so much success and be so well received that we can affirm now it will be sought after that we shall be compelled to reprint it twice.

In this Review, whose propaganda name will be *The Radiant Truth*, will be found all that the most eager student of Occult Truth can desire, for, aside from the Esoteric work, which we have in reserve, we possess documents of inestimable value, which will be published.

Only the members of our Order will have the right to our studies and Esoteric demonstrations of a more advanced degree.

A Convention will be held at Washington at a convenient time, and a Commission of delegates and members of the Order will be sent to the East to receive instructions and orders from those who direct the spiritual future of the Race of Evolution—this in spite of all Theosophical or sectarian societies and of those who do not desire the Light.

Those, then, who wish to make part of our Order, as Active or Militant Members, or as Correspondents or Delegates, should send in their applications to the General Secretary of the Commission, Miss S. L. Lee, 1443 Corcoran Street, Washington, D. C.

All the members of our Head Centre in the United States have the right to receive gratuitously all the publications and work of the Centre.

For further particulars write to the General Secretary at Washington and to the General Delegates abroad.

May Peace be with all Beings!

Viewed and found in conformity with Superior Orders.

The General Secretary of Gen. Inspection:

A. E. MARSLAND.  
(M. K. S.)

The President of the Directing Commission:

F. C. WILLIS.  
(P. E. S.)

The Secretary-General:

S. L. LEE.  
(M. E. S.)

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The seven Esoteric Members of the Council of the Order at Washington:

S. FITZGERALD.	E. JOHNSON	E. HAY	A. E. MARSLAND
L. S. SCOTT	W. FELTWELL	DR. F. L. WOODWARD	

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Given at our Headquarters this 15th day of June, 1902.

I consulted with my friend, Mr. J. Elfreth Watkins, a clever journalist and interested inquirer into the methods of spiritists and occultists, and we decided to investigate Dr. Albert de Sarak, the Thibetan adept. Mr. Watkins was to go first and have an interview with him, with the idea of exploiting the Count in a newspaper article on modern magic and theosophy; eventually we were to attend one of the mystic's séances together. I shall let Mr. Watkins tell the story in his own words:

"I addressed a letter to Dr. Sarak by post requesting an appointment. I received a prompt response in the form of a courteous note,

headed 'Oriental Esoteric Center of Washington,' and which commenced: 'Your letter, which I have received, reveals to me a man of noble sentiments.' An hour was named and the letter bore the signature, 'Dr. A. Count de Sarak,' beneath which were inscribed several Oriental characters.

"I found Monsieur le Compte's house in Corcoran street late in the appointed afternoon. It was a two-story cottage of yellow brick with English basement, and surmounting the door was an oval medallion repeating the inscription of monsieur's letter-head. A young woman with blonde hair and blue eyes responded to my ring. I was invited upstairs, she following. Before me was the mind picture of a lama with yellowed and wrinkled visage, vested in folds of dingy red, with iron pence at his side and counting the beads of a wooden rosary; a Yogi of the great hills; who should say to me, 'Just is the wheel,' or 'Thou hast acquired merit.'

"I was directed to the door of the rear parlor on the main floor, and as I opened it there sat before me, at a modern roller-top desk a man of slender build and medium height, but with one of the most striking physiognomies I have every beheld.

"The face was that of a sheik of the desert. The hair was of the blackest and so was the beard, sparse at the side but rather full in front and not long. The eyes were huge, languid and dreamy; the forehead, bared by the training of the hair straight back, was high and bisected by a vein falling vertically between prominences over the brows. The nose was strongly aquiline, and the complexion was more that of the Oriental than of the Latin. The man wore a long, black frock coat of the mode and faultless in fit; his trousers and waistcoat were of a rough gray cloth.

"Monsieur le Compte rose. The hand which grasped mine was small and soft. He bowed, pointed to a seat and apologized for his crude English, explaining that he preferred to talk to me through an interpreter. The young woman who had ushered me into the presence of monsieur, seated herself at his side and explained that, although 'the doctor' had mastered fourteen tongues, the English had been the most difficult of all for him to fathom. After a pause, Monsieur addressed me in French. The interpreter rolled her blue eyes slightly upward and assumed the gaze of one seeing far away into the sky, through the wall before her—an expression which she seldom changed during the entire interview.

" 'Through my power of second sight was revealed to me your mission before you arrived,' was the interpretation. 'And now that you come, a good spirit seems to attend you, and I know that you

come as a friend. I assure you also that I welcome you as a friend.' The translations were made a sentence at a time.

"I assured Monsieur that this was deeply appreciated.

"I asked him if it might be my good fortune to witness some of his esoteric manifestations, such as I had heard of his performing.

"'In the beginning,' he continued, 'I gave some public tests. But now I am engaged in the serious work of teaching, and my time is devoted entirely to this work. If Monsieur pleases, we would welcome his presence as an honorary member of our center. The diploma will cost him nothing. It is a rule of the center that none may attend except members. His diploma will entitle him to attend all of our meetings as a spectator. We meet every Wednesday night.'

"'All that we will require of Monsieur is that he endeavor to learn, and to describe what he sees with absolute truth.'

"'I would ask M. le docteur if he be a Buddhist,' I said. The question was suggested by a picture of Buddha upon the wall before me.

"'Yes, Monsieur, I am a Buddhist, as are my masters in Thibet. Understand, however, that this is not a religion which I am here to teach, but a science—the science of the soul—which does not conflict with any religion. I simply demonstrate to them the powers which I have learned from my masters.'

"'What is your opinion of Mme. Blavatsky?' was asked.

"'She was a good person—what shall I say?—was good-hearted. She endeavored to enter Thibet, but was unsuccessful. None of the Theosophists have ever learned from my masters. While Mme. Blavatsky lived, however, the Theosophical Society seems to have worked in harmony. Now that she is dead, they are divided by hatred and ill-feeling.'

"'Once when I was in Paris, the Theosophists, hearing that I was from Thibet, asked me to become an honorary member of their society, just as I invite you, Monsieur. I accepted their diploma, as courtesy demanded. I attended a congress in Paris. One speaker mounted the tribune and stated that there was a gentleman from Thibet present who could vouch for their connection with the masters. I was a young man then—let me see—it was about seventeen years ago, but now the weight of fifty years hangs on my shoulders. My young blood boiled and I rushed to the tribune and denounced the statement as false. The Theosophists expelled me from their society—which I had never sought to enter,' and here he shrugged his shoulders, 'and since then they have waged against me a relentless campaign of calumny. In Europe, in South America—

everywhere—follows me a trail of circulars and letters published by base calumniators. But still I have gone on with my work, founding centers over the world. I have founded many in South America, but this is the first in this country.'

"I ventured to console the count with words to the effect that all great causes had grown out of persecution. When the interpreter, translated these sentiments, Monsieur, who sat at his desk, assumed an expression of extreme pain and half closing his eyes fixed his gaze upon a strange instrument reposing upon the window sill. It was a piece of colored glass with a pebbled surface held upright by a metal support. The interpretation of my words was repeated, but Monsieur raised one finger, continuing his stare of mixed concentration and suffering.

" 'He is now receiving an interpretation from his masters,' the interpreter told me in a low voice. I did not notice it and interrupted him. The doctor maintained his weird stare for a few minutes, during which I heard from his corner of the room a vibrating sound such as is produced by a Faradic battery. Monsieur rose from his reverie with a sigh and hastily wrote something upon a sheet of paper upon his desk. Then he resumed the conversation.

" 'Fortunately I have preserved extracts from all of the journals which have been friendly to me,' he said. I was shown a shelf full of scrap books and the translations of numerous clippings from foreign journals. One of these credited to the *Paris Figaro*, 1885, described experiments in 'Magnetism and Fascination' performed by Dr. de Sarak before a committee of scientists and journalists, during which he hypnotised a cage full of live lions. There were many such accounts, including a description of demonstrations made before the Queen of Spain in 1888; another before the King of Portugal the same year. An article credited to *La Revue des Sciences de Paris*, November 7, 1885, stated that in the Grand Salle de la Sarrbonne, Count Sarak de Das, in the presence of the Prince of Larignons and 1,400 people, caused his body to rise in the air about two meters and to be there suspended by levitation.

"It was agreed that my name should be presented to the council as suggested, and two days later I received a letter notifying me of my election as honorary member of the center, congratulating me thereupon and inviting me to be present at the next meeting. I was given the privilege of bringing a friend with me. I informed Mr. Evans, and we agreed to attend the next séance, and make careful mental notes of the events of the evening."

Mr. Watkins and I went together on the appointed evening to

the house of the Mage, located in Corcoran street. It was a gloomy night, late in November. We were admitted by the interpreter and secretary, whom I afterward learned was Miss Agnes E. Marsland, graduate of the University of Cambridge, England.

In the back parlor upstairs we were greeted by the Doctor, who wore a sort of Masonic collar of gold braid, upon which was embroidered a triangle. He presented us to his wife and child, who were conspicuously foreign in appearance, the latter about five years old. We were then introduced to an elderly woman, stout and with gray hair, who, we were told, was the president of the center. She wore a cordon similar to Dr. Sarak's, and soon after our arrival she rapped with a small gavel upon a table in the bay window of the front drawing-room.

When she called the meeting to order the Doctor seated himself upon her right, and at her left—all behind the table—were placed two other women, wearing large gold badges. The interpreter seated herself against the wall beside the Count. Shortly a fifth woman appeared. The Count's wife and child sat quietly upon a sofa in the corner behind him. In the seats arranged along the walls for the audience sat only myself, my friend, and a reporter for the *Washington Times*.

The *mise-en-scène* was well calculated to impress the spectators with a sense of the occult and the mysterious. The table was draped with a yellow cloth, upon which were embroidered various cabalistic symbols. Upon it stood an antique brazier for burning incense, and a bronze candelabra with wax lights arranged to form a triangle. Against the wall, just back of the presiding Mistress of Ceremonies and the little French Mage, was a gilt image of the Buddha, smiling placidly and benignly at the strange gathering. The walls of the drawing-room were draped with rich Oriental rugs, etc., and hung with allegorical paintings. The faint aroma of incense soon permeated the atmosphere; there was a moment of profound silence while the Thaumaturgist meditatively consulted a big volume in front of him—a work on mysticism by either Papus or Baraduc, I forget which. I closed my eyes drowsily. In imagination I was transported back into that dead past of the Eighteenth century. I was in Paris, at a certain gloomy mansion in the Rue St. Claude. I saw before me a table covered with a black cloth, embroidered with Masonic and Rosicrucian symbols; upon it stood a vase of water; lights burned in silver sconces; incense rose from an antique brazier. And behold—Cagliostro, necromancer and Egyptian Freemason—*"Voilà, messieurs et mesdames."* The phantasmagoria fades away.

I am back again in Washington, and Sarak is speaking rapidly in French. I shall quote as follows from Mr. Watkins' note-book:

"The Doctor spoke of a membership of forty-two persons and his disappointment that only six were present. He then commenced in French a long discourse, citing the alleged experiments of Baraduc on the soul's light, and mentioning the psychic researches of Flammarion. He stated that Marconi had made partial progress in the science of transmitting intelligence without wires, but that his masters had long known of a more simple method. He described the failures of foreigners to penetrate into Thibet, stating that his masters there were able to place a fluidic wall before any man or beast. The women watched their hierophant with intense fascination, save the interpreter, who maintained her saintly gaze up into space, and the wife, who sat by in sublime nonchalance.

"The Doctor then passed into a rear room, donned a long robe of light blue material and returned with the piece of colored glass which I had seen during my previous visit. It was still fitted to the metal support, and with it he brought a bar magnet. He placed the glass upon the table before him, making many passes over it with his fingers, sometimes rubbing them upon his gown as if they were burned. He explained that he had sensitized the glass with a secret fluid which remained thereon as a film. He drew a sort of tripod upon paper and placed the glass and magnet alongside.

"I demonstrated at the last meeting how this power—which I called "yud"—could be exerted against human beings. You remember that I caused the man to fall from his bicycle. Tonight I will exert the power against an animal,' said the fantaisiste.

"He stated that the lights would all be extinguished; that those present would be stationed at the front windows; that at a given signal he would cause a horse passing the street to halt and remain motionless, to the amazement of the driver. Turning to me he asked, 'Would Monsieur prefer that the horse be passing eastward or westward?' 'Eastward,' I said.

"Then the lights were put out, but previously his wife had retired, ostensibly to put to bed the boy, who had grown sleepy. All of the members present and the young man—a stranger, evidently a reporter—were posted at the front windows. My companion and I were stationed at two windows within a small hall room adjoining. We were all asked to maintain absolute silence. Vines covered both windows of our room and a street lamp burned before the house to

our right. The wait was long, probably twenty minutes, before the first vehicle ventured through the block.

It was a buggy, drawn by a single horse, but, alas! it proceeded westward. In it were seated two figures, whom I could not see—both enshrouded in darkness. 'Would Monsieur seriously object if select the next horse passing, whether it goes eastward or westward?' came the interpretation from the other room.

"'Certainly not, the very next,' said I, for my impatience was now well nigh unbearable. In a few minutes I heard the clatter of hoofs from the opposite direction—eastward, as I had at first specified.

"A buggy with a single horse again came into view. One figure wore a white fascinator or shawl about the head. The other was a man. The horse slowed into a walk just before reaching the house. It halted directly in front of us, then backed a few feet and the rear wheel went upon the sidewalk opposite.

"'What's the mattah with that hoss?' said a negro voice. 'Never saw him act that way before!' The horse stood still for a minute; then the driver clucked him up and he proceeded on his way. It was too dark to see the positions of the reins or the features of either occupant of the vehicle. Soon afterward the wife returned with the child and pointed toward him, as if to say: 'See, he has recovered from his sleepy spell!'

"The next test was made in full light. The Doctor produced a book of cigarette paper and gave one sheet to me and one to each of the other two men. He took one sheet and, holding it between the half-open cover of the book, asked in French: 'What am I doing?' 'Tearing it,' we said. He handed my companion and the stranger each a fragment, holding in his own hand a sheet from which two diagonal corners had been torn. Then he asked the stranger to select one of the three paper shades on the central chandelier. He indicated that nearest him. My companion was next instructed to place his foot upon any figure of the rug which he might select. He advanced one of his feet and placed it upon a figure near him. 'The line of the foot is at right angles with the point selected by the other, Monsieur,' said the adept. 'Suppose Monsieur selects one of the other two globes.' The stranger designated another. The Count then walked to the rear parlor, faced us and made several gestures. Then he suddenly advanced his hands with the gesture of throwing. The stranger was instructed to investigate the globe of the light selected, and underneath a cord holding the paper shade he found a scrap of cigarette paper. It was placed on my companions'

knee, and the two corners previously handed to the two men were seen to fit it.

"At this point the Doctor retired and returned gowned in white. He passed to us a canvas such as is commonly used by painters in oil. He placed this upon an easel. At his right was a table bearing brushes and two glasses filled, one with dark blue and the other with white paint. He then distributed large napkins among those present and handed to me two balls of absorbent cotton. These I was told to place over his eyes, and as I did so the two other men and several of the women bound the napkins over the cotton. They were tied very tightly and two were crossed. We inspected the bandages and pronounced them secure. Then the white-robed figure, in this grotesque headgear, asked me to lead him to an arm chair in the far end of the rear apartment, which I did. Seated in the chair, his chin hanging down upon his breast, he remained for some time, until suddenly he arose and walked straightway to his wife and child, who were sitting behind the table in the front room, upon the sofa as previously. He knelt before them and kissed the little one, his back being toward us the while. Then he walked directly to my companion and took the latter's watch from his pocket without fumbling. He now proceeded to the easel, and, selecting a brush from the table, dipped into the blue paint and printed across the top of the canvas 'Fifteen Minutes.' I looked at my companion's watch and it registered half past 10. Evidently the words denoted the time in which the picture was to be painted. One of the women present requested that a moonlight scene in Thibet be reproduced. Sudden movements of two brushes, dipped in the two colors, transformed the letters into a clouded sky through which a moon was bursting. Below was outlined a sort of tower, to the left of which was painted a tree. After some detail in the picture was outlined in blue, for example, the white paint would be applied in lines exactly parallel to the first, and many such touches of the brushes indicated that the painting was not made as the result of memory alone. Near the end of the painting the Doctor again approached his wife and child, leading the latter to the easel and placing him upon a chair before it.

"The child was given a brush and dabbed paint upon various parts of the picture. Sometimes he seemed to be guiding his father's hand, but during this operation the latter was not doing difficult work. All the while the adept was chanting something which the child repeated. The picture was signed with Oriental symbols placed in one corner. Then the painter made a gesture of great fatigue, sighed very audibly and staggered into the rear room. He fell upon

a sofa near the door and motioned to have the bandages removed. I removed some, assisted by his wife, who brought him a glass of water. The cotton was in its place as far as I could see. His eyes remained closed after they were uncovered, and his attitude was that of a man who had fainted. His wife held the water to his lips, and then, lifting each of his eyelids, blew into them. Then the man arose and, complaining of fatigue, resumed his seat behind the table. Shading his eyes with his hand, he looked toward the canvas, saying, 'I have not yet seen it.'

"After a moment's scrutiny he stated it was the house in Thibet where he was given his initial tests.

"He concluded the meeting with a brief speech, in which he stated that it was customary to take up a collection for charity at each meeting. A small cloth bag was passed by one of the women. The secretary announced that \$1.62 had been realized. Then the president pounded with her gavel and adjourned the meeting. The secretary ushered us to the door, and we went out into the darkness.

"Such were the miracles of the adept Albert Sarak, Comte de Das, and such was his propaganda."

Is it not strange that people can take such performances seriously? The cigarette test—an old one—and familiar to every school boy who dabbles in legerdemain, is a mere trick, dependent upon clever substitution and palming. I have seen the late Alexander Herrmann perform experiments with cigarettes and cigarette paper far more mysterious and wonder-provoking. The Comte de Das, if anything, executes his feats of natural magic very clumsily. Any neophyte of legerdemain would be ashamed to exploit such a simple affair as the cigarette trick as anything particularly wonderful or difficult; much less relegate it to the domain of the occult. The absurd splatterdash which the Mage declared to be a replica of his Thibetan home had nothing of Thibetan architecture about it but resembled a ruined castle on the Rhine. That he was able to peep beneath his bandages at one stage of the proceedings admits of little doubt. He arranged this while kissing and fondling the little child. The horse episode was of course a pre-arranged affair, yet I admit it was very well worked up and gave one a creepy feeling—thanks to the *mise-en-scène*. Madam Blavatsky frequently performed the cigarette trick. It was known as the filtration of matter, and was one of her favorite tests. But the Comte de Sarak has other occult phenomena up his sleeve, which I have not yet witnessed—among them being the shattering of a pane of glass by pronouncing the words, "Forward, ever forward!" The instantaneous produc-

tion of vegetation from the seed ; and the immediate development of fish from spawn. He doubtless owes much of his notoriety to the newspapers, which herald his alleged feats of magic in sensational style.

OPINION OF THE PRESS OF DIFFERENT NATIONS ON THE  
WORK IN THE PSYCHIC FIELD OF THE ORIENTAL  
PROPAGANDIST, DR. A. DE SARAK.

(Extracted from his albums.)

LE FIGARO DE PARIS, OCTOBER, 1885.

The press was invited yesterday by a committee of scientists to the Folies Bergères at 2 p. m. to be present at some most extraordinary and altogether novel experiments in magnetism and fascination. A subject asleep under the influence of the suggestion of the Thibetan Occultist Comte de Das, penetrated with him into a cage where were seven lions.

Doctor de Sarak, the magnetizer, succeeded in producing in his subject, the beautiful and intelligent Mlle. Lucie X \* \* \* all the hypnotic states, from ecstasy with the most unstable attitudes, to most terrible catalepsy with contraction of all the muscles and deathlike rigidity.

Then she was placed by the Comte de Das horizontally, feet and head resting on two stools, and the lions lashed by the trainer Giacometti, passed backwards and forwards on this human bridge with uneasy roars and with prodigious bounds.

Then, all at once, Dr. de Sarak, making use of that Occult Force of which he spoke to us in his lecture at the Salle des Capucines, threw the seven lions into a state of fascination, so profound that they fell to the ground like corpses, led Mlle. Lucie out of the cage and awakened her amid the applause of all the distinguished guests who had assembled to witness the experiment.

We congratulate the learned Occultist on the well-deserved triumph he has gained at the risk of his life, and we look forward to his approaching Conference at the Salle de la Sorbonne, when we shall speak again of this indefatigable propagandist of Occult Science, who is the one topic of conversation in our Scientific World today.

LA REVUE DES SCIENCES PSYCHIQUES DE PARIS

says, 7 November, 1885, in a long article on Magnetism, Occultism, and Magic: "The comparative studies which have been made of late years on scientific subjects of extreme delicacy and the diverse criticisms to which these dissertations have given rise, have led our most renowned scientists as well as a chosen and intelligent public to be present at the scientific demonstrations of Occultism made by the learned Doctor, Count Sarak de Das in the Grande Salle de la Sorbonne.

The illustrious Thibetan began by pointing out, with eloquence and the conviction which comes of faith, the utility of the study of the Occult Sciences in all branches of social life.

He passed in rapid review Magnetism, Hypnotism, Magic, Kabbala, Esoterism, and proved that, from all ages and in all nations, these sciences

have been transmitted from generation to generation, in spite of the obstacles and sufferings created by envy and by ignorance.

Saint-Germain, Hermes, Paracelsus, Jontin de Florence, Mesmer, Puy-segur, and all this mass of men of genius and veritable Magi, have been, like the Count of Cagliostro, treated as charlatans.

In pretty good French for a foreigner he raised us into the higher spheres of intelligence and of feeling, and he had moments of true enthusiasm.

His lecture lasted nearly an hour and was interrupted several times by hearty applause. Then the Count de Sarak passed to the experimental part.

To demonstrate the vibratory force of thought he showed us a very transparent sheet of crystal glass, which had been minutely examined by the doctors Bine, F'ere, and Dumontpallier, who declared that it was a pane of glass such as is used for carriage windows.

The Prince of Lorignans held the glass in his hands as high as his head, so that every one could see it—and he is a personage sufficiently well known to be above all suspicion.

The Count expressed himself then more or less in these terms: "Gentlemen, here, in this very city, a hundred years ago, a man, generally considered as a charlatan, but in reality a 'Mage' who had learned many things in the East—here in Paris, at the Palais Royal de Tuilleries, before the Court of Louis XVI., made this same experiment for the first time; to the stupefaction of all present, he shivered a mirror of the Queen, Marie Antoinette, by the effort of his thought alone! \* \* \* and this man died later in the Chateau Saint-Ange at Rome, a victim of the Inquisition!

"To-day, in this age of progress, we do not think of the Inquisition, but men suffer martyrdom by calumny and discredit, however, it is of little consequence, 'Forward, ever forward,'" and the instant he pronounced these words with all the energy of the soul which shines in his eyes, the glass which the Prince of Lorignans held in his hands split in several pieces!

This experiment produced a great impression on the audience, and there were several moments of profound silence, more eloquent than many bravos.

"Let us pass to another class of facts!" said the Mage, "Here is a serpent. I will throw it into a state of catalepsy, and in a few moments I will make of it a veritable rod! It is not in rubber, look well! \* \*" And the enormous serpent, nearly four metres long, which had glided from its cage, where it had lain in woolen coverings, began to uncoil with agility and strength, raising its head almost as high as the grand lamp of the tribune.

The ladies were afraid, but M. Gaboriau approached the Doctor and touched the serpent as if to convince himself that he was not the victim of an illusion.

"Is it really a serpent?" asked the Count de Das with a sardonic smile.

"Oh! yes, sir!" said our friend Gaboriau, "in flesh and bones!"

"In bones," replied the Count; "you mean in wood! Look at it."

And already the serpent was rigid, motionless, and hard as piece of chain-mail.

What had happened we do not know, but the Mage had in his hand a rod, a long rod, with which he gave three raps on the table before the audience, every one of whom had risen to his feet.

Several doctors approached the Count and convinced themselves of the reality of the phenomenon.

A few magnetic passes recalled the serpent to life.

"Now, gentlemen," said the Count of Sarak, "I feel a little tired and wish to rest for a few moments in another plane! \* \* Will you be kind enough to examine me carefully, lest some unbeliever should have slipped a machine into one of my pockets!"

The audience began to laugh, for at this moment the Count had a look impossible to describe; there seemed to be in him two men, or rather another being besides the one we had seen before.

Again our friend Gaboriau approached the Doctor and looked but found nothing in any of his pockets except a pocketbook in Russian leather with the Counts coat-of-arms and coronet, which was laid on the table beside the jewels of the lecturer.

The music played, and all at once the sparkling eyes of the Doctor turned, the pupil had disappeared and the eye-lids were closed! Was he asleep? . . . Was he hypnotized? . . . Was he in ecstasy? . . . We do not know! . . . The mysterious doors of occultism are closed to us, that which we know and can affirm, that which we have seen, and not only we, but fourteen hundred persons besides, is that his body, the whole body, rose in the air to a height of about two metres from the ground.

The Mage descended slowly, sneezed and awoke smiling!

Here is a description of this memorable session of the celebrated Yogui; we can not form any judgment or enter into a field unknown to us but which lies in the domain of the marvellous.

The fact is that the phenomena are real, that the Count enjoyed a well-deserved triumph, which must have cost him many years of study and perhaps many privations and sacrifices, and that there is certainly something grand in this study of occultism.

Time will prove, and progress will undertake the task of throwing more light on it—for we can say here with Goethe with good reason: "Light, more light!"

#### JOURNAL DE L'ACADEMIE.

(Moniteur des Belles Actions et Recompenses, January, 1886.)

Dr. A. de Sarak, Count de Das, has just received the title of member of the Scientific Academy (Southern Section) in recompense for his work in Psychology and Magnetism and as an encouragement in his mission as propagandist for the good of suffering humanity. This is a well merited distinction. We congratulate the learned Doctor.

#### LE CORRESPONDENCIA DE MADRID.

(March, 1888.)

At the invitation of the President of the Centre de l'Armee, we were present last evening at the scientific conference and experiments which the learned Occultist, Count Sarak de Das, has given in this centre of southern nobility.

Although half past nine had been named as the hour for the conference, from seven o'clock onward there arrived so many families, all the generals and officers of high rank, the gentlemen of the Queen's household and the Ministers, that at nine o'clock it was impossible for us to penetrate into the

immense salon, that of the ex-Empress of the French, widow of Napoleon III. Therefore we waited the arrival of the Queen and Court so as to try to reach the seats set aside for the press, which had been all appropriated.

At about ten o'clock the Royal March was heard, Her Majesty arrived and a few moments after the Count de Das entered the estrade, wearing the uniform of the knights of Malta, his breast ablaze with decorations, and around his neck the cross of Commander of Isabella, which the Queen had given him a few days before. He mounted the tribune and pronounced in good Spanish, a truly admirable achievement for a foreigner, a profound lecture on the study of Occult science, which was interrupted many times by the bravo of the Queen and the frenzied applause of the whole audience of about two thousand persons.

He now passed to the experimental part of the session, showing the power of thought transmitted to several subjects whom he hypnotized in a few seconds. These were: a woman, chloro-anaemic, cured by him, named Babbina Carreo; another patient also cured by the learned doctor, named Dolores Artis; Mlle. Esperanza Pedraya of the clinic of Dr. Diaz; and a young man, an epileptic, from the General Hospital.

We cannot describe all the experiments, one more astonishing than another, which the Thibetan Occultist made! We are afraid we might make an error, but in résumé it was really prodigious; he succeeded in doing all that he wanted, whatever any one asked for. The Count of Das transported us into another world, far superior to our poor earth and showed us miracles, prodigies. He was applauded with enthusiasm, and the General President of the Centre de l'Armee presented him with a handsome diploma of Honorable membership and the Queen with a gold medal.

The lateness of the hour obliges us to close for to-day. We shall speak again of this memorable session.

#### COMMERCE DE PORTUGAL.

(Lisbon, Portugal, 24th October, 1888.)

#### OCCULTISM AND HYPNOTISM.

Splendid was the session given by the eminent clinic and occultist, Dr. Sarak, Comte de Das, honorary physician to the Royal family of Spain, in the Grand Salon "da Trindade." The learned doctor has been staying a few days at Lisbon, where he has been the object of the visits of the most eminent of our men of science.

The late hour when the session was over prevents our giving a full account of it, as we will do in the Sunday number. We can only say that the experiments in magnetism and transmission of thought were truly surprising, and the select society and all our physicians who were present applauded most heartily.

His majesty D. Luiz I., who was present at the session, shook hands effusively with the Count, and, taking from his buttonhole the ensign of the Royal Order of the Crish, presented it to him. The experiments of clairvoyance, telepathy and of disintegration were miraculous, and we can not understand them.

A jury of physicians approached Dr. de Sarak and congratulating him, welcomed him as a new honorary member! They were Drs. May, Figueira, Hirsch, Ordas, Mascarenhas, Oliveira, Sousa, Machado, and Lopes.

We congratulate through our columns the eminent doctor who has come among us, bringing us a ray of science of the twentieth century.

"EL NATIONAL" DE MADRID.

(March, 1889.)

THE COUNT OF DAS.

He has returned after a year's travel among us. He has had the greatest triumphs in all the principal towns of Spain and Portugal. Yesterday, in the session at the Medical Hypnotherapeutic Institute, he was appointed Director for the current year.

We congratulate him sincerely.

"LA FRANCE" DE PARIS.

(February 27, 1890.)

Returning from Russia, where he has had great success, the learned Thibetan Occultist, Dr. de Sarak (who four or five years ago showed us so many marvels of the occult world), is here for a few days on his way to Italy. His friends and admirers gave him a banquet of thirty-one covers last evening, at the Hotel Continental.

The Baroness de Clercy and the Duchess de Pomar made eloquent addresses, to which the Count replied with surprising inspiration. Afterward, taking up a glass of champagne, he showed through the liquid the images of several absent persons, of whom their friends were thinking. This caused stupefaction among those present and there was great excitement.

All at once, in full view of every one, the champagne entirely disappeared from the glass, as if by enchantment.

What had happened? The science of the future will tell.

NOTICE—VERY IMPORTANT.

To all whom it may concern and to all those who wish to study the Sacred Science of India.

The Delegation General of the Supreme Esoteric Council of Thibet, duly authorized, makes an appeal to men of learning and to those interested in psychological questions, to unite fraternally and live in community, following the study of Occult Oriental Science under the direction of an Esoteric Thibetan Initiate. The studies will be in three languages: Sanscrit, English and French.

Books and themes will be published by the press of the Centre in three languages: English, French and Spanish.

At an opportune time, after having assembled a sufficient number of adherent members, well-disposed and devoted to the great cause, a boat will be chartered and reserved exclusively for the use of the active members and the Delegates or members of other countries, to make a voyage to the countries of India lasting about three years.

The persons desirous of joining us may address their application to the General Headquarters at 1423 Chapin Street, Washington, D. C., throughout all the month of April, after which the list of adherent members will be closed.

By order of

SEC. GEN. S. WILL.

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

### VIII. THE LOTUS.

THE lotus is pre-eminently the flower of Buddhism. It is "said to be the king of flowers in India, and is consequently entitled to precedence on the *toko-no-ma*. It is often called *Hotoke no hana*, or the 'Flower of the Buddhist Spirits,' and on account of its religious character is disliked for occasions of rejoicing." It is the emblem of purity, because "it grows unsullied out of the mud"; it "forms the resting-place of Buddha"; and "the fortunate entrance to Paradise is seated" upon it. When two lovers used to commit suicide together their motto was as follows:<sup>1</sup> "*Hasu no hana no ue ni oite matan.*" "On the lotus-blossoms of paradise they shall rest together."

The popular conceptions of the lotus are further illustrated by the following quotations:<sup>2</sup>

"Though growing in the foulest slime, the flower remains pure and undefiled. And the soul of him who remains ever pure in the midst of temptation is likened unto the lotus.<sup>2</sup> Therefore is the lotus carven or painted upon the furniture of temples, therefore also does it appear in all the representations of our Lord Buddha. In Paradise the blessed shall sit upon the cups of golden lotus-flowers."

In Tokyo the pond near Uyeno is famous for its lotus; but one of the largest and loveliest ponds in Japan is said to be at Hikone on Lake Biwa. This was visited by Mr. H. T. Finck, author of *Lotus Time in Japan*, in which, however, he attempts no de-

<sup>1</sup>Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*

<sup>2</sup>"Like a lotus-flower growing in the mud" is a common Japanese proverb. Other sayings refer to "a pure and beautiful woman in a haunt of vice" and "a man of stainless honor in a wicked world."

scription of the lotus. He says: "But how can any one be expected to sketch this marvellous flower in words, when even a great painter can give but a vague idea of its beauty?" He then quotes Mr. Alfred Parsons in the following confession: "The lotus is one of



the most difficult plants which it has ever been my lot to try and paint; the flowers are at their best only in the early morning, and each blossom, after it has opened, closes again before noon the first day; on the second day its petals drop. The leaves are so large and

so full of modelling that it is impossible to generalize them as a mass; each one has to be carefully studied, and every breath of wind disturbs their delicate balance and completely alters their forms. Besides this, their glaucous surface, like that of a cabbage leaf, reflects every passing phase of the sky, and is constantly changing in color as clouds pass over."

"Children use the big [lotus] leaves for sunshades, the seeds for marbles or to eat"; and the people eat lotus roots without forgetting their native land! Mr. Finck also states that the conundrum, "When is a pond not a pond?" is answered by saying, "When it has no lotus in it."

The lotus is, of course, a favorite subject of Japanese art: "its leaves are usually gemmed with dew-drops, and this effect the artist seizes upon at once."<sup>1</sup> In this connection Mr Huish also quotes the following poem:

"Oh! Lotus leaf, I dreamt that the whole earth  
Held nought more pure than thee; held nought more true:  
Why, then, when on thee rolls a drop of dew,  
Pretend that 'tis a gem of priceless worth?"

Heuzen, A. D. 836—856.

<sup>1</sup>Huish's *Japan and Its Art*.

## THE THIRD COMMANDMENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE are all familiar with the text of the Third Commandment in Exodus xx. 7, and Deuteronomy v. 11, which reads as follows:

"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain\* for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain."

We have become accustomed to the interpretation of this commandment to the extent that the very phrase "to use the name of God in vain" has become a typical English expression which means swearing or blaspheming, but among Hebrew scholars it is well known that the meaning of the sentence is by no means settled. The traditional interpretation is an unwarranted modernisation of the text, and we may be sure that it is wrong. Ancient habits, customs, and the general world-conception of ancient Israel were different from ours, and wherever then blasphemy has been forbidden the punishments were much severer than a vague threat in general terms that the trespasser "will not be held guiltless." †

Other instances of the translators reading their own interpretation into the Hebrew text are frequent and we will mention one only which is typical. In Genesis xii. 8, we are told that Abraham builds an altar to Yahveh and invokes his name. The word "to call on" or "to invoke" ‡ is the same that is used in pagan worship in the usual sense of adoration combined with sacrificial offerings, but Luther, thinking of his own mode of calling on God, substitutes the Protest-

יָהּ אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְשׁוֹא:

† *qārā*, = guiltless. The root *haqar* means "pure," "free," "empty."

‡ In Hebrew, *qara* (*qara*); connected with the Greek *κράζειν*; the German, *Krähén*, the English *cry* and *crow*, means, "to call out loudly," and is then used in the sense "to invoke" when offering a sacrifice.

ant mode of worship by translation that "Abraham preached on the name of the Lord,"\* as if "preaching" had been a regular institution and the main feature of worship in Abraham's time.

Prof. L. B. Patton seems at last to have solved the problem of the Third Commandment in an article which appeared of late in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*. He interprets the words "to lift up" נָשָׂא (nasha') the name by "calling out in worship" and gives further a plausible explanation of the word לָשָׁוְא (lashav') which is translated "in vain" in the authorised English version, by suggesting that it means nothing more nor less than "empty-handed," "without sacrifice," "without offering a gift."

This interpretation of the sense is supported by a number of parallel passages in Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Leviticus and agrees well with the general tenor of the Hebrew religion. The law which requested that sacrifices should be connected with all acts of worship, is frequently insisted upon and is a thought that would be quite natural in the ancient time of the people of Israel, not only in Judæa, but also among the pagans. We read in Exodus xxxiv. 20 and xxiii. 15, "and none shall appear before me empty." (See also Exodus xx. 23ff., and xxxiv. 12ff.)

Accordingly, Professor Patton proposes to translate the Third Commandment "Thou shalt not cry aloud the name of Yahveh when thou hast brought no sacrifice."

Professor Patton's explanation is more than merely probable and may serve as an instance how different the traditional interpretation of the Old Testament is from its original meaning. The translators of the Hebrew Scriptures frequently read into the text their own sentiments and thus adapt it to the needs of their own times, a procedure which is quite natural, and, for devotional purposes, even legitimate, but cannot very well be countenanced by scholars. Times have changed. Former generations clung firmly to the letter and so were obliged to make the Scriptures conform to their own convictions, but since we are beginning to grow into the estate of manhood, we want to know the truth, and we trust that the truth will do no harm. The truth is holier even than our faith.

\* "Predigte von dem Namen des Herrn."

## “ORIENTALISM.”

BY THE EDITOR.

WHY do we delve into the past and pay so much attention to events and developments that have long since passed away from the earth. Why do we fill many of our columns with explanations of conditions and institutions that have long since ceased to exist or prevail in distant countries? It is simply and solely to throw light upon the problems of the present time and to help us find the right solution of our own difficulties. And why do we introduce into our columns so much of Orientalism, expositions of the results of Biblical research, the rise of Babylonian civilisation, the beliefs of the Egyptians, the philosophy of Brahmanism, the psychology and ethics of Buddhism, and the strange notions of China? It is solely for the purpose of letting us understand our own religious faith, its institutions and ideals. Only by studying the views of others and by comparing them to ours, do we learn to distinguish the essential from the accidental. Comparative religion holds the key to a comprehension of any single religion. There is no probability of attaining a just and judicial judgment of our own beliefs unless we have a thorough knowledge of kindred faiths, and our knowledge of others ought not to remain on the outside, ought not to be a superficial enumeration of externalities, but ought to go to the core of religious aspirations and ought to see the living force that quickens their inmost life.

If we publish so much on Orientalism it is simply because the Orient plays an important part in the history of religion. *Ex oriente lux* is an old famous phrase which states the truth that our civilisation and religion came from the East and have travelled with the sun. If the Orient, as it is now, lies in a state of lethargy and is no longer a living center of an intellectual life, we must bear in mind that the roots of our civilisation lie buried there and we can under-

stand ourselves only when tracing our history back to its beginning.

While the history of Hither Asia, the Bible land, so called, is of importance because its history is closely connected with the history of Christianity, we find a study of India fruitful on account of the parallel development which suggests comparison, and China is in many respects even more interesting because many conditions are so radically different.

China, in addition, possesses another peculiar attraction which is not so much a problem of the past as of the future. Western civilisation in its constant expansion has taken possession of five continents. It not only retains Europe, but it has found a new home in both Americas. It has settled Australia and sways the fate of Africa. In its spread over the world it has finally invaded Asia. Siberia is in Russian hands. Hither India is British, and Further India is practically divided between the English and the French. The Aryan race is now coming into contact with China and we are for the first time aware that we are here confronted with an old, respectable, albeit stagnant civilisation which will not so easily be assimilated as others, and the inhabitants are both industrious and docile; hence the yellow race might refuse to be swallowed up and might even in its turn exercise an influence upon the white man's civilisation—a very unpleasant prospect for all those who believe that their own souls alone have been anointed by the grace of God,—a prospect which has been called "the yellow peril." If we were just we would grant that the white peril to the yellow race is much greater than the "yellow peril" to the white race.

The situation is always critical when two civilisations meet.

It will not be easy to leaven the dough of the Chinese nation, yet the first condition of dealing properly with the Chinese problem will be to be familiar with their characteristic peculiarities.

For all these reasons, the discussions of Biblical and other Oriental, as well as Chinese, topics are not mere fads or digressions into investigations of useless and unnecessary topics, interesting only to specialists, but the themes of the articles published in *The Open Court* are of decidedly practical importance, and if we do not always point out the direct lessons that can be derived from them, it is because it would be too tedious for our readers to state the same truths again and again. Moreover, we think that we can fairly well leave it to them to make their own applications and draw their own inferences. We believe in truth. We believe in the necessity of searching for the truth and in the possibility of finding it. We believe in science; we believe in evolution, and we trust that the laws that

guide mankind are everywhere the same. All men are everywhere confronted with the same problems and they try to solve them by similar methods. We have the same instincts and even the successful phases of our mental growth are everywhere analogous, tending constantly upward and onward. The heart of man is at bottom the same everywhere. There are sages and heroes in every country. There are high-spirited teachers, and at the same time there are powers of evil at work that darken the light and impede the way of progress.

Though we may be the strongest race and be in possession of the most accurate methods of science and also be blessed with the most liberal institutions, religious as well as political, we ought to recognise that other and weaker nations are flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. They are our brothers and their social, political and religious life has developed according to the same laws and is bringing forth similar blossoms and similar fruits, and in spite of our boasted superiority we may still learn from them in many details and if we want to teach them, we must not be too proud first to know them and appreciate the good qualities they have.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### TOLSTOY ON ICONS.

Count Leo Tolstoy has contributed a long article on the Russo-Japanese war to the *London Times*, in which he censures the government very severely for its policy and condemns especially the Greek Orthodox Church saying:

"All over Russia, from the palace to the remotest village, the pastors of the churches, calling themselves Christians, appeal to that God who has enjoined love to one's enemies, to the God of love himself, to help the work of the Devil, to further the slaughter of men."

He is thoroughly disgusted with the reverence shown to icons, of which he does not even appreciate the artistic side. He says:

"All present to each other hideous icons, in which not only no one among the educated believes, but which even the unlearned peasants are beginning to abandon. All bow down to the ground before these icons, kiss them, and pronounce pompous and deceitful speeches in which no one really believes."

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### THE LESSON OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

Mr. Frank Baum, of Chicago, one of our fellow-citizens, who has written a good many excellent children's books, tells in one of his stories of a giant who intimidated the inhabitants of a castle into obedience by his great stature. Originally he had been a small boy, but he had discovered a flask of a magic drink which made people grow. He had partaken of it and had grown to an immense stature, without, however, having acquired at the same time a giant's strength, but everyone who saw him was afraid, and so he succeeded in subjecting to obedience all the inhabitants of the castle. When the hero of the tale, a little fairy prince, approached him and fought him, he was easily overcome being as weak as a child, and everyone was astonished that he was so easily defeated.

Similar instances frequently happen in real life, and we cannot help thinking that the giant Russia is in a similar perplexity. Russia has grown in stature but she has not at the same time developed genuine strength, and what is the reason?

The truth is that the strength of a nation always depends upon the free development of its resources which is done not at the command of sovereigns but by the private and personal exertion of its citizens. State authorities can

be wise in the management of the government.

They can more or less cleverly utilize the strength and wealth of the country, but they do not create it. The foundation of the strength of the government must be by the people themselves, and no country can be developed without co-operation of two factors, liberty and law; the former gives elbow-room for enterprising individuals, and the latter assures them, that they will be protected and reap the fruits of their industry. The more a country possesses both liberty and law in the proper mixture, the more flourishing it will be, and the greater will be its resources for both peaceful competition and the contingencies of war.

The Russo-Japanese war teaches us one lesson, and it is this: Russia has neglected the most important part of its national development. It has neglected to allow its citizens free movement and to give elbow-room to private enterprise. On the other hand its laws, far from having been a protection to its citizens, have crippled the confidence of business men, and so they have failed to encourage industrial enterprises.

The government of Russia has made many promises but has kept few. It has incorporated Finland and the German Baltic provinces on pledges that the union should be a personal union, not a real union, viz., that the Emperor of Russia should be Duke of these duchies, and that these countries should not become parts of the Russian Empire. German immigrants were enticed by the Russian government on condition that they should have religious liberty and the privilege to preserve their mother tongue. How few of these promises have been kept, and we need not wonder that immigration into Russia has ceased entirely and that the Russian authorities are not loved either in Finland or in the Baltic provinces or in Poland.

Instead of developing Manchuria, peacefully taken away from China, Russia closed the door to foreign commerce and trade and thus prevented the development of the country.

The result is that the Russian colonization has not taken deep roots. The Russian government is hated by the Manchurians and is not loved by foreigners who happen to have taken their residence in Manchuria. If it, Russia, has kept the door open, and if it had inspired foreign industries with confidence that they would find protection under the Russian flag, Manchuria would at present be possessed of resources of its own which could be utilized for the operations of war.

As matters are, the Russian army is entirely dependent upon the resources of its mother country in Europe, which at that distance are both difficult and costly to procure.

Will Russia learn the lesson which the study of history teaches and which is preached loudly by the recent events of the Russo-Japanese war? What a blessing it would be for Finland, for the Russo-German provinces, for Poland, and not less for Russia proper!

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#### WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

Mr. Theodore Stanton, of Paris, noticed a strange advertisement in the "agony column" of the *London Times*, and forwarded to *The Open Court* the clipping under the title, "What Does This Mean?" which is here reprinted for the benefit of our readers. Consider that an advertisement of this size in the *London Times*

must be a heavy expense, and the man who published it must have been driven to it by a very strong impulse, which may be the same as the missionary zeal in religious consciousness. He does not publish his name, but signs it with initials only. At any rate it is a symptom worth while noticing, and we ask our readers: "What does this mean?"

Following is the advertisement:

"Rationality, Manifestation of Divineness, its Dominance, Determinance, Eternal Omnipresence, is Light in the Universe, leading all worlds, and their individualities, revealing as truthfulness, by righteousness, unto goodness, displaying as System Providential.

"Rationality, thereof, thereby, is Eternal evolutionary process, determining all issues, appointing all agencies, decreeing propriety in each case; likewise is sole source of Authority declaring truthfulness and its freedom, ordering righteousness unto goodness, end as designed, mutuality of spirituality, imagining divineness, and likening thereto; thereby, therein, fulfilling destiny, Eternal evolutionary process.

"Thus, Rationality, Manifestation of Divineness, mutuality of spirituality, Eternal evolutionary process, is determining eventuality, wheresoever, whatsoever, howsoever.

"So, Rationality, Manifestation of Divineness estimates all faiths and beliefs, churches and states, propriety of each case, stage of its inspiration, evolution, and revelation, determining for all, their morality, religion and philosophy, moved of Divineness unto destiny, imagining of and likening thereto—displaying as System providential, Divineness eternal, evolutionary process—Inspiration, Revelation, Rationality, mutuality of spirituality betokened as truthfulness and its freedom, righteousness unto goodness end as designed, because of Divineness.

"As of the fulness of time, conjunction of influences, spoken of as spirit of the age, portents of earthly potentates, crowned heads, violences and pretences, but subordinate, made to obey Rationality, called to conformity by Authority, Divineness, its Dominance, Determinance, operative on human mindedness as Rationality, Logicalness, teaching Equality of conditions universally, wheresoever, whatsoever, World throughout, Open Door, Equality of opportunity, mutuality of spirituality, suggesting Divineness, imagining of, and likening thereto.

"Rationality, so often degraded and cursed, is now recognized as sole source of Authority, revealing truthfulness, as by righteousness unto goodness, end as designed, fulfilling destiny, Eternal evolutionary process.

"Rationality, as such, is teaching the Nations, all peoples faithfulness unto destiny, credibility of the past as well as of the future, Correcting History, its vain traditions, fables, and foolish imaginings, sustaining truthfulness, righteousness unto goodness, end, as designed, because of Divineness, Eternal evolutionary process.

"Mystical conception with mythical accretion in process, is in the nature of finite beings, needful of infiniteness, Divineness, its Authority, always Rationality, whereof dutiful performance, rendering as truthfulness by righteousness unto goodness, end as designed, Eternal evolutionary process.

"Let men, so beholding and believing, applying Rationality have hopefulness as mutuality of spirituality, because of Divineness, sole source of Authority, realizing destiny, Eternal evolutionary process.

"Man so led on in the path of his duty, sees in the infiniteness of Divineness, eternal love Light of the universe, shining forth, as the beauty of Holiness, leading all worlds and their individualities, realizing destiny, eternal evolutionary process. Man faithful and believing in destiny, relying on Rationality, Master word of all

knowledge, keyword and keynote, mutuality of spirituality, Divineness, whereof imagining and likening unto, man finds his needfulness, dutifulness, peacefulness, hopefulness, sureness as certainty unto destiny.

"As of these presentments, amidst dissolutions of faiths and hesitancies of philosophy. Man finds his belief in Divineness infinitely resourceful, consoling, ennobling and enabling, confirming faith and justifying expectation, realization of destiny, eternal evolutionary process. Thus, as Rationality, Manifestation of Divineness, sole source of Authority, man has his inspiration and revelation, confirming faithfulness, assuring hopefulness unto destiny. A. C. M."

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ESH-SHĀM.

A woman by her last-born's side  
 Watched, at Damascus, heavy-eyed  
 With weeping lest the child should die ;  
 While through the windows open wide

The plashing of the fountain's spray  
 Came with child-voices. At their play  
 Her other children but most loved  
 Was he who on his pillows lay ;

And still she watched when ran a maid,  
 " Mistress, ill news ! " the damsel said,  
 " The widow's son has sickened too  
 And for his life they are afraid."

Then bowed the woman on her face  
 And prayed that God would grant this grace :  
 " Spare, Thou, the widow's son, O God,  
 She has but one." But by the place

Where lived the widow, white-robed Death  
 Had passed and ta'en the weak child's breath.  
 Then God said, " Life and death are good  
 In My pure hands. He suffereth

" No more who much had suffered. Reap  
 Thyself the grace ; thine own child keep  
 Because in thy deep anguish thou  
 For others' greater pain could'st weep."

The woman rose and looked upon  
 Her child and knew the fever gone ;  
 Straightway she called her maids around :  
 " Praise God who giveth back my son ! "

EVELYN MARTINENGO CESARESCO.

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BOOK NOTICES AND NOTES.

Watts & Co. of London are now publishing a series of books for the Rationalist Press Association, an institution which has become possible through the generous

foundation of an English rationalist, and is supported by liberal contributions. They have brought out a series of reprints, thus making some of the standard books of liberal thought, such as Darwin's *Origin of Species*, Renan's *Life of Christ*, etc., accessible to the people at a low price. One of their latest publications is *An Easy Outline of Evolution*, by Dennis Hird, Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, and a well known author in England who has written *Toddle Island*, *In Search of a Religion*, etc. The book before us intends to be a popular statement of evolution, written for those who are not well acquainted with the main facts of its event. Details of the work remind one greatly of Haeckel's *Natural History of the Creation*, from which it produces many illustrations. It has been adapted for the purpose of giving a succinct and systematic account of evolution. The author explains that the doctrine of evolution does not explain everything. Still it has cleared up more mysteries of life than any previous view of the origin of things. As to the moral significance of the new world-conception that is at present dawning, our author says:

"It may be that the dreams of childhood will perish and the idols of youth crumble to dust, but the living truth abides....

"In this redemption of mankind from the necessary but hideous ghouls of a savage past, lies the surest hope of man. At present no man can imagine what human life might become if men were free and reasonable, so that they could pursue truth and righteousness with open eyes and an unterrified conscience.

"Our methods of education might become true and scientific;....we might train an army of men and women to see the laws of the universe, and to reach the highest life in obedience to those laws. This would give us a true Sociology.

"Psychology can only be understood when based on Evolution.

"Even in art, education, ethics and systems, the survival of the fittest prevails, and a new order of life of greater stability, reason, co-operation and refined sympathy will yet become the common heritage of the race. Man does march from his savage past, and, as surely as he has learned to omit cannibalism from his banquet, so surely will he attain to a life of justice and brotherhood."

---

DID JESUS LIVE 100 B. C.? An Enquiry Into the Talmud Jesus Stories, the Toldoth Jeschu, and some Curious Statements of Ephidanius—being a Contribution to the Study of Christian Origins. By G. R. S. Mead, B. A., M. R. A. S. London and Benares: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1903.

The answer to the title question of this book, which the author answers as probably affirmative, cannot very well be established, but the natural problems which the author treats in the successive chapters are of great interest and betray a wide reading and a thorough knowledge of the Talmud and kindred sources that have reference to the legends connected with the stories of Jesus and the origin of Christianity. In several sections, especially with regard to the quotations from Livy, Pliny and Suetonius, the author shows good judgment. His reports concerning the prosecution of the Talmud are told in a very popular way and will not so easily be found elsewhere in such accessible form. The stories of Yeschu (Jeschu), the Mary stories of the Talmud, the Jesus stories and the Toldoth Jeschu, are rarely found except in scattering legends of Jewish literature. Though the author is not always reliable and is sometimes bold in his conclusions, the book is stimulating and interesting.

Professor Vant Hoff's lecture on chemistry, delivered at the University of Chicago, has been translated by Prof. Alexander Smith of the University of Chicago and published by the University of Chicago Press.

A most striking feature of the World's Exposition at St. Louis is the Open Air Ethnological Display under charge of the Department of Anthropology. In it there are gathered together a score of groups of interesting, barbarous and savage peoples from various parts of the globe. The tribes represented have been selected because of some special point of interest which they present. These different groups are living in houses of their own construction, are dressed in native costume, eat their accustomed food prepared by themselves, and pursue their usual avocation, and simple industries. There are fourteen tribes of North American Indians represented: Sioux, Pawnee, Wichita, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Pima, Papago, Maricopa, Navajo, Apache, Pueblo, Pomo, Kwakiutl, and Cocopa—the last from Mexico. From South America there is a capital group of Patagonians, the gigantic race of man. From North Japan has been brought an attractive group of the hairy Ainu; from Central Africa some Batwa pygmies and representatives of three of the neighboring larger populations. These groups are distributed over a considerable area of ground, and just beyond them comes the Philippine Exposition, with its hundreds of native Filipinos grouped into four villages—Negrito, Igorot, Visayan and Moro, where all the native life of these most interesting tribes is fully represented.

Such an aggregation of living ethnological material has never before been brought together. The Exposition has adopted a liberal policy in reference to its utilisation for purpose of study and investigation. Perhaps the first to take full advantage of the opportunity is Prof. Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago, who has arranged to conduct a regular class work on the grounds from September 1 to September 21, using this living and acting material for illustration. The full course will consist of eighteen days of work, three hours a day. At nine o'clock a lecture will be given upon a people; at ten upon a thing, art, industry, custom. At eleven a practical demonstration with a visit to the group representing the people studied. The work will be confined to the mornings, leaving the afternoons free for viewing the Exposition. No outside reading or study will be required. Students may take the full course, or any fractional part down to a single hour's lecture or demonstration. An examination will be given to those who wish on completion of the full work. Students regularly enrolled at the University of Chicago will receive a major credit for the satisfactory completion of the work. Charges are moderate. Full particulars will be given on application by Prof. Frederick Starr, University of Chicago. Readers of *The Open Court* will find this an exceptional opportunity to combine pleasure and instruction.

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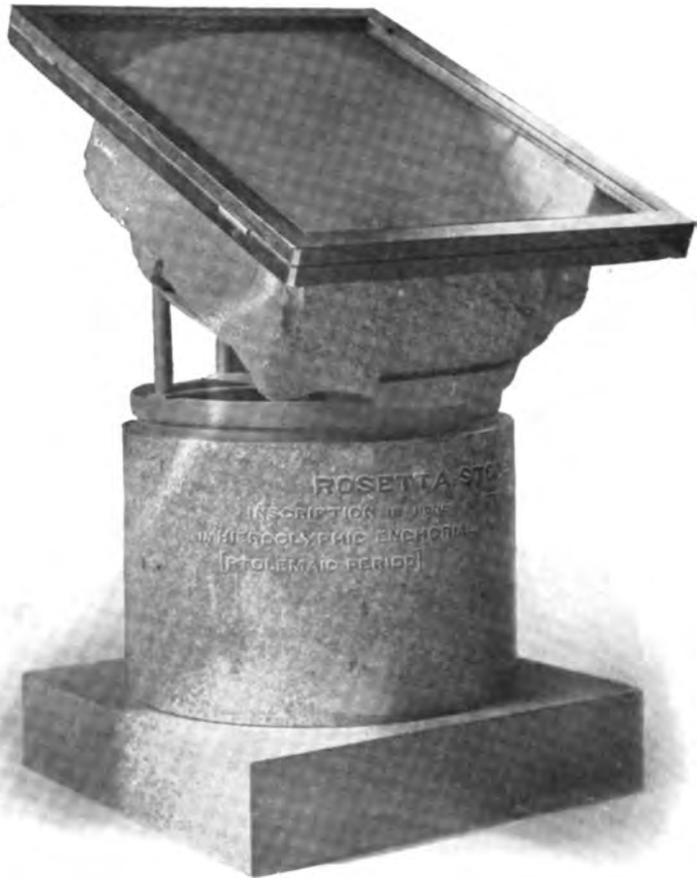
"Fools, it is known, dash in where angels fear to tread, and there are also instances of missionaries dashing in where intrepid and experienced travelers fail. Such was the case with MM. Huc and Gabet, the two mild and modest French priests who, fifty years ago, without fuss, steadily made their untortured way from China across Thibet and entered L'hassa with the message of Christianity on their lips. It is true that they were not allowed to stay there as long as they had hoped, but they were in the Forbidden Land and the Sacred City for a sufficient time to gather enough facts to make an interesting and very valuable book, which on its appearance in the forties (both in France and England) fascinated our fathers much in the way that the writings of Nansen and Stanley have fascinated us. To all readers of Mr. Landor's new book who wish to supplement the information concerning the Forbidden Land there given, we can recommend the work of M. Huc. Time cannot mar the interest of his and M. Gabet's daring and successful enterprise."—*The Academy London*.

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THE ROSETTA STONE.

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*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

# THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

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## TWO LETTERS ON ORTHODOXY.

BY COUNT LEO TOLSTOY.

[Count Leo Tolstoy is frequently addressed by pious Christians to assist them in dispelling their doubts concerning the essential truths of their faith, and we here publish two letters of the great reformer written in answer to such anxious inquiries.

The letters have been translated for *The Open Court* from the Russian by Nicholas de Raylan, one of the employees of the Russian Consulate at Chicago, and are here published for the first time.—EDITOR.]

### I.

**I** FIND that the foundation of your doubts is right, but the means by which you propose to solve them, a Universal Council, will not accomplish your purpose.

All the so-called orthodox churches—including the Greek-Russian, whose doctrines and scriptures are claimed by them to be holy, have long since been known to be, not only unholy, but full of actual nonsense and contradictions which cannot stand criticism.

Therefore there is only one possibility left for the churches to maintain their position and to hold the people, and also for those who belong to the churches; and their leaders attach much value to this method. It consists in avoiding any discussion of doctrine or of the Scriptures, thus resting their faith on tradition alone, and so they have done.

Christians have long ago given up the faith of the Church, which during so many centuries they had qualified as Christian, so that at present any serious investigation as to the foundation of this religion will undoubtedly bring about its utter collapse, just as a rotten tree that has the appearance of a living one, if you but merely touch it, will fall to the ground.

Even a council, if the churches had it convened, would be as tricky and domineering as all so-called œcumenical councils of former times have been. But what may be called the Oecumenical Council of enlightened modern Europe has actually been in existence for a long time. It is working incessantly and with results which are constantly in evidence. This council consists of all men who, in the name of God and the truth, examine the so-called sacred Scriptures and sift out all that is reasonable and good, discarding that which is positively nonsensical and wrong, viz.: that which is untrue in Christian doctrine, founded by a few men who call themselves pastors and shepherds, the same as Christ—by which name he forbade them to be called—and thus the members of this council endeavor to render clear the true meaning of Christianity. And this council comprises an ever-increasing number of people, although some of them often remain in ignorance as to the existence of the others.

For the peace of a man like you, who not only doubts the truth of the doctrine as it has been taught him, but who also understands that it is not originally Christian but Hebrew,—in my mind it is not even Hebrew but purely Pagan,—there are but two ways of silencing the voice of his conscience: either to lean only upon tradition, to become assured that the truth is only in that wherein the majority of men believe, to be bent on submitting to the hypnotic Church influence which unbalances the people's judgment and not to verify with his reason the doctrines that the churches are affirming; or, having recognised that our reason is given us not to throw us into confusion, but to show us the truth, you should yield yourself up to being instructed by reason not for the sake of satisfying ambition or idle curiosity but for the salvation of your soul and for the fulfillment of the will of that God who gave us our reason. And then we must not proceed timidly. We must not expect a decision of the questions of our life, which may be ended at any hour, from a council which could not be convened for a year and will define for us our relations with God; but with the help of all men who have gone before and who, like ourselves, have sought the truth: with the help of these men, the foremost and the most important for us being Christ who left us His doctrine in the Gospel, we must define our relation to God and live accordingly.

So I myself have done, and since I took this step, I have always felt such a great and ever-increasing assurance, as I approach death, that I cannot help advising everyone who lives in this atmosphere

in which we and our unhappy people are bred, to follow the second alternative which cannot lead to evil, but can only produce this belief and this happiness and also a harmonious relation of the people among themselves.

They say that the Scriptures and the traditions of the Church are from God. That may not be true. But that my reason was given me by God, of that there can be no doubt at all. If I agree to accept the Scriptures and the traditions, I should accept them only because my reason recognises the tradition and the Scriptures as being worthy of belief.

Therefore, the authority of reason is stronger than all, and when I believe in reason (I repeat that all writing must be done, not for the sake of personal interest, but simply for seeking the truth and for the salvation of our soul), I cannot be mistaken.

God has given me from above the instrument for knowing Him and I have used this instrument with the sole desire to know and to execute His will. I have done everything I could, and for this reason I cannot be at fault, and I feel unconcerned.

## II.

I do not remember your former letters, but the last one received now, is so good, so loving, and so sincere that it has impressed me, and I want to reply to you, if for no other reason than to show you that I esteem your good feeling towards me.

To fulfill your desire is as impossible for me as to be present in two places at the same time, or to fall asleep when I do not want to do so, or to shut out of my mind the thought which comes into it. By this I mean to say that to return to the dogmatic orthodoxy of Christianity is altogether impossible, not because I *will* not believe in it, but because I *have* believed in it; and although I myself did not serve the liturgy,\* I have experienced the same feelings of emotion which you describe. Having landed on the solid shore from a wrecked boat in which I could hardly hold myself above water, I cannot in any way conscientiously return into that frail vessel.

But the chief thing is that I feel perfect peace in life and death in this my belief. I do not confess it in a conventional way, but have inevitably been brought to it by life, and by reason, and by the traditions, not of the study of one single religion, but by the traditions of all mankind. And, therefore, I have neither need nor right to seek for anything stronger or firmer than that which is

\* Serve the liturgy, i. e., take active part in worship.

given me, not by my own arguments, but by God himself. But, above all, I cannot return to these beliefs which I have left behind since I became convinced of their untenability.

If I did believe in something invented by me, I would listen to the warning of those who declare that I should not place trust in my own inventions, but I should accept what has been accepted and what the entire world admits. But I believe exactly in what the world believes, and my faith is essentially the same as that which you confess to believe. I believe in God the Father who has sent me into the world with the purpose that I may execute His will, and believing in this and knowing that God is love, that I came from Him and that I will return to Him, I need have no fear in life or in death.

And I need no other doctrines. I have no place where to put them and—I cannot help saying so—I look upon all doctrines added to this faith as insults to God and as a sign of distrust toward Him.

Suppose that I, a poor outcast and good for nothing, be received by a good master who promised to feed and support me, if only I would not disturb the regulations of his house, should I then undertake to seek my sustenance otherwise than by executing my master's will? Would it not be clear that the man who did so is an unbeliever who seeks a way of living without fulfilling his master's will? That is the way I think and feel now.

I believe in God, by whose will I am living and shall die, and I propose to do the will of Him who sent me, according to the commands of the Great Teacher of Life, Christ. I know that God is love, and for this reason I believe that I can receive nothing but good for Him, either in this life or in the hereafter. Therefore, I endeavor to do His will, which consists in that, that we must love one another and that we do unto others as we would like others to do unto us; not from fear but because the better I fulfill His will the better it will be for my soul.

To execute His will as much as possible, I must bear in mind not to grow remiss. I should always remember Him, pray to Him every hour, and also remain in connection with the better people of the world, with those who are holy, with both those who are living still but especially with those who have passed away, and this you do by reading their writings.

I do not intend, nor do I even deem it necessary, to discuss or to condemn your faith. In the first place, because I think, if it is not right to judge the actions, the character, and even the exterior of a man, it should be much worse to judge what is dearest to him

his saint, or saints, or his faith ; further, because I am convinced that the faith of a man is developing in his soul in a complicated, secret, hidden way which may not be changed by the desire of men, but only by the will of God.

To your kind letter, for which I thank you very much, I reply only to let you know the foundations of my religious convictions and the reasons why it is impossible for me to confess the faith for which you show so much anxiety. I wish you, from my soul, that this faith of yours may prove to you a good guidance in life and will afford you peace in the hour of death.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE FAR EAST.

BY BARON SUYEMATSU,

Formerly Japanese Minister of the Interior.

THE problem of the East is a wide and far-reaching subject, but its focus, it appears to me, is concentrated in the war now being waged between Japan and her mighty northern neighbor. It also seems wise to approach the subject with the Anglo-Japanese relation as the key-note of this discussion. Japan is now in alliance with Great Britain; she may not perhaps be worthy of that alliance, but you may be assured she is doing and will always do her best to deserve it. Some people might think that that alliance was an outcome of mushroom growths, but, on the contrary, it was the climax of long evolution, the fruit of a tree with deep-rooted trunk. For a long time English policy in the Far East, though subject to the tidal waves of diplomacy, has had a trend in that direction, and what Great Britain has done in the Far East has inevitably resulted in benefit to Japan.

It was in the year 1851 that Japan opened herself to America, and in the course of a few years to England, Russia, France, and other Occidental nations. It was that year when England, together with France, fought against Russia near home, in the Black Sea, and, as its consequence, the combined fleets of England and France chased in the Far East the Russian fleet and attacked the fortified port of Petropavlovsk on the coast of Kamskatka. In its course England lost her Commodore by a most tragical ending of life; in its course also she met with a heavy repulse, sustaining a loss of 200 men. At last with reinforcements she captured and demolished the fort, but, taking advantage of fog, the Russian fleet had escaped a month before. The Russian fleet thus escaped met with heavy shipwreck; the survivors sought the helping hand of Japan. We did not know what was passing between England and Russia, neither were we

concerned in the matter; so, out of sheer philanthropy, we received these survivors kindly. We gave them shelter at a secluded place called Hetta, in the Province of Idzu; there they wished to build some new ships in order to return home. We gave them materials, we lent them our shipbuilders, our artisans, and they succeeded in building two schooners, on board of which they sailed away from Japan, if I remember correctly, after the conclusion of peace.

In 1861 the so-called Tsushima affair took place. Tsushima is an island situated in the mouth of the Japan Sea, a most important strategic point for Japan. In the year in question the Russian fleet suddenly came to that island and landed marines, and occupied part of it with the evident intention of seizing the island. This was done without any cause or reason whatever, without any prior notice or diplomatic negotiations, and in spite of the fact that she had entered into friendly intercourse with us by treaty several years previously, and in spite of our giving them a helping hand in their hour of calamity. Remonstrances were of course made by the island authorities, followed by those of the Central Government, but they took no heed. It was then and there that the English fleet made its appearance on the scene and demanded the instant retirement of the Russians; which they obeyed, and the Island of Tsushima was saved to Japan!

In 1868 the new régime of the Imperial Government was inaugurated. For some years previous Japan was divided into two great factions, one for the Imperial Cause, the other for the Shogunate Cause. At that time England was represented in Japan by the energetic and sagacious Sir Harry Parkes; there were also men like Glover, Lowther, and Ernest Satow, now Sir Ernest; they all espoused the Imperial Cause, led by Sir Harry Parkes, in opposition to the strenuous support of the Shogunate Cause by another foreign power. Most of these facts are contained in the unwritten pages of the Secret History of Diplomacy, so that they are not known even in Japan, still less in Europe. But one thing is certain, that England has done much toward the consolidation of our Empire.

In 1874 we had the so-called Formosa affair arising from the Formosa aborigines murdering a number of Japanese subjects, which ultimately led to some complication between Japan and China. That complication was amicably settled at last through the good offices of the then British representative in China.

In 1885 the Lazareff-Hamilton affair took place, which was briefly this: Russia attempted to snatch Port Lazareff from Korea. England, objecting to this Russian action, at once occupied Port

Hamilton as a counter-check, and thus at last succeeded in compelling Russia to abandon her project. This being effected was all England wanted,—she gave up occupation of Port Hamilton soon after. This affair did not directly concern Japan herself, but she derived benefit from it all the same.

In our war with China, 1894-1895, Great Britain kept her neutrality, and on the whole was friendly with Japan. Some say England might have gone a step further at the time of the intervention of the three Powers, but *we* do not complain of that; her keeping aloof was sufficient for us.

During that war the revision of our old treaties with Occidental nations was effected, which placed Japan on an equal footing with other nations, admitting her for the first time to the circle of civilised nations.

Then came the Boxer rising, and the march on Peking by the allied forces to the rescue of their several legations. The history of this is too fresh to reiterate here. It suffices to say that we, the Japanese, spoken of as Pagans, fought side by side with the troops of Western nations, especially keeping up the best relations with British and Americans. It is not necessary to dwell in detail upon what passed in diplomacy in the Far East, or what was done by Russia after the rescue of the various legations. It seems, however, necessary to me to give a brief resumé:

Russia gave repeatedly to other Powers the pledge that she would vacate her occupation of Manchuria which had taken place during the Boxer trouble as a part of the common action of the Allied Powers when they went to the rescue of Peking, and for which she directly afterwards had received from China for the trouble she had taken, a compensation to an amount far exceeding its value.

At the same time in another direction Russia had been trying to exact from China humiliating concessions, which were quite contrary to, and irreconcilable with the pledges given by her to the other nations. From the beginning to the end the chief efforts of diplomacy in the Far East were directed to check the clandestine attempts of Russia, and make her keep her pledge. In this effort England, America, and Japan stood fast together.

Then came the Treaty of Alliance between England and Japan in 1902,—the Manchurian question had not then come to an end, and it was still the pending theme.

I do not doubt but that much of this has been done out of kindness, and with a sense of justice, but was this all? Was there not also something else behind?

Upon looking at the map you will easily see why England had adopted her policy in the direction described. England has great commercial interests in the Far East; no small political ones as well, and it is necessary for her to protect them. These interests which she has to protect are identical with those of Japan. Japan has to do exactly the same thing as England in guarding and protecting her interests and safety. Such being the case, I venture to say that the Treaty of Alliance between England and Japan is the climax of a long evolution, having for its basis the mutual interests of the two countries.

So far this is a matter of plain fact as concerns the political aspect. There are, however, some insinuations to discredit Japan, set forth in some quarters, I fear, with malignant intent. In the first place it is said that Japan's modern civilisation is only outward, and that there is every possibility of a reaction setting in. Nothing can be further from the truth than this assertion. We have strenuously striven to civilise our country by assimilating ourselves with European methods and ideas in everything, and we have, I believe, succeeded to some extent. It has cost us many lives and much money. We have eaten Western apples and found them delicious, and we are not likely to give them up. No, we are even going to make further improvements and so keep pace with those nations with whom we have friendly intercourse. The adopted material side of civilisation which we have we are not likely to give up. We have electric light in Japan, and we shall never return to oil or wax. We have railways; we shall not go back to pedestrianism. Shall we cut the telegraph wire and again employ messengers?

With regard to the mental parts of civilisation, it may not be so easy to convince others, but with us it is exactly the same. The introduction of Western civilisation into Japan is not limited to its material side only. In laws, in science, in art, and in all the other branches of human activity, we have striven to introduce Western ideas, just in the same degree as we have done in material affairs. All this we shall never give up; they have taken deep root in the Japanese mind, and they have already become essential elements in the making of a compact nation.

Sometimes people express amazement at the changes made in Japan in so comparatively a short period as thirty or forty years, as though doubting its genuineness. It is true that Japan has effected a great transformation, but, without in the least entertaining any idea of self-glorification, I may say that Japan has always had some kind of unique national civilisation and conditions of social organisa-

tion which, together with a considerable precursory preparation, have given her a special power of adaptability to the adoption of the new phase of Western enlightenment; and it will be, I venture to say, a fallacy to think that any aborigines or tribes scattered in different parts of the globe could emulate Japan—raise themselves in the same way as she has done at a moment's notice.

Some comments have also been made about difference of race and religion. Well, the difference of race is a matter we cannot transform except perhaps by gradual intermixture. The difference, however, seems to me not very important for keeping friendly relations, so long as other assimilation could be thoroughly effected. I may also say the same thing with regard to religion. Our moral precepts and ethical rules are exactly the same as those of the West, though some of their points might be more developed in Japan, while others might be more developed in Western nations. Where any matters of charity or virtue are concerned, the Japanese entertain the same ideals and act in the same way, as do their Western brethren. For instance, the organisation of the Red Cross Society is working very well in Japan; its members consist of about one million, and its annual subscriptions amount to about two million yen. It is under the direct patronage of the Emperor and Empress, and of course all this is done irrespective of any special faith, Japan being a most tolerant country as regards religion. Perfect freedom of conscience is guaranteed by the Constitution, and not the slightest difference is made in the eyes of law on account of church affiliations, and in social intercourse it is the same.

Here I may be permitted to relate an instance: Mr. Kataoka, who died last autumn, was a Protestant, and yet was one of the leaders of the largest political party. He was President of the House of Representatives for several terms, and he died while still holding that office. There was a Christian hymn which he liked more than any other, and on his dying bed he asked his friends and relatives to sing it, and he passed away while it was being sung. Even the Salvation Army is parading our streets under the command of its English officers. Nay! even the Mormons are allowed to preach, though under strict conditions which bind them not to make proselytes for polygamy, which is contrary to our laws. With these facts in view, one might even say that we, as a nation, are almost too tolerant.

People speak of the Japanese being brave in war, and fighting well. Perhaps it is true, but we should be sorry if we were regarded a warlike nation. We aspire to be as energetic and as clever in

other branches of human culture as in war—in fact, our endeavor has always been directed to achievements of peace.

The general tendency in Japan is that the more one is versed in the Western ideas, the more chance one has of becoming a prominent figure in all directions, especially in politics and official occupations even in the army and navy. It amounts to the same thing as saying that the brain, as it were, of Japan, which regulates the wheels of the Empire is and will continue evermore animated with the Western modes of thought and reason. And I may also add that a state such as this will make a nation feel her international responsibilities the more, and she will never allow herself to become a kind of wanton bandit, or act with a sudden outburst as if she were an untrained nomadic tribe.

Some fear that the Japanese soldiers might become restless and unruly after achieving great success over their formidable foe. But of that there is no danger. Our army is founded upon the conscription system; the soldiers are patriotic and fight gallantly when ordered to advance, but they are not bellicose by nature, rather preferring peace, and perfect order, and discipline prevails among them. It was just one day after the rupture of diplomatic relations with Russia that I met with General Count Katsura, the Premier of Japan, when he told me that during the long protracted negotiations with Russia not one of our military or naval officers or men had come to him to disturb him with their opinions on diplomacy or politics. This will perhaps give you some idea of what are the characteristics of our army.

It appears also that some apprehensions have been entertained that some kind of amalgamation might be effected between China and Japan, which might cause danger to the Western Powers. But I am far from believing this. China is a very pleasant country. The Chinese are not a warlike or ambitious nation. China is, and has always been, and will be, a good market for all civilised nations, so long as she is left undisturbed and her integrity is respected. The characteristics of China and Japan are of such marked difference that it is a matter of impossibility to amalgamate these two nations, nor does Japan ever entertain such ambitious ideas. All that Japan wishes is to maintain a peaceful, commercial intercourse with her, in common with other civilised nations, and Japan's policy will always be directed on these lines.

Our English alliance does not antagonise other nations; on the contrary we wish to keep up friendly relations with all, which I presume is also the intention of Great Britain, and hence the Jap-

anese are not jealous of Great Britain making *l'entente cordiale* with any of these nations. In fact, I do not doubt that among these nations too, even in France or Germany, there is many a heart which is beating with its sympathy for Japan at this trying hour of her's. By all that I say, however, it must be understood that in these friendships all round there must be some difference of degree. Amongst these other nations we desire the best friendship with the United States of America. Almost all the sentiments I have expressed relating to England are also applicable to the United States, and besides there is no difference in the Far East in the interest and policy of England, the United States, and Japan. The Americans have shown their sympathy with Japan at this momentous hour in no less degree than Great Britain. I would fain that America would advance a step further and enter upon, with us, a closer relationship. Let then Great Britain and America be closely united, and allow Japan to stand by their side—it will be a sight worth seeing. Were England, America, and Japan to stand thus together in the Far East, that fact alone could not but be a great bulwark for the preservation of permanent peace and the furtherance of civilisation without in any way prejudicing the equitable rights and interest of other civilised nations.

Japan has embarked on a great task. She thoroughly recognises its magnitude and gravity. She is, however, convinced that she is not fighting merely for personal political aims, but that she is defending also the interests of civilisation and humanity. She is fighting for her own sake, of course, but she promotes thereby the cause of England and America—the cause of civilisation and humanity.

## ANDROGYNOUS MAN IN MYTH AND TRADITION.

BY CHARLES KASSEL.

IT has been the teaching of the rarer mystics through the centuries that man not only, but Deity as well, is two-sexed,—the Fount and Source of all life combining within Himself the masculine and feminine. As an outflowing of this thought was the belief that man,—the image of his Divine Parent,—was, likewise, in the pristine beauty and purity of his nature, male and female blended together. This thought runs like a thread of light through no few of the faiths and philosophies of time, and a remembrance of it enriches and makes luminous many a dark and doubtful passage in our lay and sacred literature.

It is well, perhaps, to observe before aught more is said that the androgynous or bi-sexual man whose existence upon the planet, in the shadowy ages before recorded time, the mystics teach, was a being wholly other than the hermaphrodite as known to medical science, nor is the latter term used with the meaning given it by physicians in the passages we shall quote, for the existence of true hermaphrodites in the human family is not admitted by physiologists, as is clearly explained in the article "Medical Jurisprudence" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. This prefaced, we may proceed to examine our subject with some detail.

Referring to the Aryan traditions as to the birth of the race, the writer of the article "Mythology" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* observes: "The Aryans accounted for the origin of the species in the following barbarous style: A being named Pairusha was alone in the world and differentiated himself into two beings, husband and wife." From the same source must have sprung the myth found in the opening chapters of the Bible, that in the dawn-tide of creation man was alone and the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon

him and from his side took woman. Both myths are in essence the same, but, strained for centuries through the minds of differing peoples, each took on a form peculiar to itself.

The same idea was taught by the Hebrew sages of old and in the time of Jesus was known to the more learned of the Pharisees. In the writings of their scholars it was said, "Adam was created as a man-woman, androgynous, explaining Gen. 1:27 as 'male and female' instead of 'man and woman', and that the separation of the sexes arose from the subsequent operation on Adam's body as related in the Scripture." (Funk & Wagnall's *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article "Adam Kadmon.") So, too, in the article entitled "Androgynos" in the same work it is observed, "Jeremiah, son of Eleazar, says, God created Adam androgynous \* \* \* \* The opinion of Jeremiah is very old and wide-spread, for we find the fathers of the Christian Church at pains to refute these 'Jewish fables.'" The Jewish philosopher Philo taught that "heavenly man,"—by which he meant the angels as understood in Jewish thought,—"are neither man nor woman," an expression made clear by what has been said regarding the teachings of the Hebrew sages. (See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article "Adam Kadmon.")

This conception, however, is not confined to the ancient Aryans and Hebrews, for we find it given expression by Plato, who, in the *Symposium*, as the writer of his life in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* states, "explains the sexual and amative inclinations of man and woman by the fact that they were at first androgynous beings whom Zeus separated into men and women." The passage mentioned occurs in that part of the *Symposium* where Aristophanes, after referring to the grotesque and fanciful traditions respecting the bisexual nature of original man, says in explanation of the affection between the sexes: "For the intense yearning which each of them has towards the other does not appear to be the desire of intercourse but of something else which the soul desires but can not tell and of which she has only a dark and doubtful presentiment. Suppose Hephaestus with his instruments to come to the pair who are lying side by side and say to them, 'What do you people want of one another?' They would be unable to explain. And suppose further that when he saw their perplexity he said, 'Do you desire to be wholly one: always, day and night, to be in one another's company? For if this is what you desire I am ready to melt you into one and let you grow together, so that, being two, you shall become one and, while you live, live as if you were a single man, and after your death in the world below still be one departed soul instead of

two,—I ask whether this is what you lovingly desire, and whether you are satisfied to attain this. There is not a man among them when he heard this who would deny or who would not acknowledge that this meeting and melting into one another's arms, this becoming one instead of two, was the very expression of his ancient need. And the reason is that human nature was originally one and we were a whole and the desire and pursuit of the whole was called love. There was a time, I say, when the two were one, but now, because of this wickedness of man, God has dispersed us." (Jowett's *Dialogues of Plato*, Scribner's, Vol. 1, p. 483.)

So, too, our own Milton, treating of marriage-love between the beings loftier than man, chants:

"To whom the angel, with a smile that glowed  
 Celestial rosy red, love's proper hue,  
 Answered, ' Let it suffice that thou knowest  
 Us happy, and without love no happiness.  
 Whatever pure thou in the body enjoyest  
 (And pure thou wert created) we enjoy  
 In eminence, and obstacle find none  
 Of membrane, joint or limb, exclusive bars;  
 Easier than air with air, if spirits embrace,  
 Total they mix, union of pure with pure  
 Desiring; nor restrained conveyance need  
 As flesh to mix with flesh, or soul with soul.' "

In the light of what has gone before, a celebrated utterance of Jesus gains a newer and richer meaning. The Sadducee asks whose wife, a woman married more than once, would be in the resurrection, and Jesus, replying, says: "In the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels in heaven." From this passage, perhaps, has sprung the idea that the angels are asexual, and such, probably, is the meaning to be gathered from the saying as it has come down to us through the gospel writer. In view, however, of the belief held by the more learned Pharisees and the opinion expressed by Philo,—who, be it remembered, was a contemporary of Jesus,—and especially in view of the apocryphal utterance shortly to be quoted, we may well believe that the saying, as it fell from the lips of the great Galilean, bore the meaning, not that spiritual man is without sex, but that he is bi-sexual or androgynous. If such be true, the answer of Jesus may be taken as implying that in the grander realms of spirit the ties of earth are sundered, and men and women, risen to nobler planes of being, are united, not by a spoken ritual, but, like the angels of heaven, by the highest and holiest laws of the soul.

When replying to the Sadducee, Jesus prefaced the observation quoted, with the statement, "Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures or the power of God." Do the Old Testament writings really countenance this belief? Strangely enough, we find upon careful reading that the meek and lowly Nazarene had studied the Bible stories more earnestly than those who pay homage to His name, for the teaching is verily found in the opening chapters of Genesis.

In the twenty-sixth verse of the first chapter, it is said: "And God said, Let *us* make man in our image; after our likeness; and let *them* have dominion," etc. "And God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them." Man, male and female, being created in the image of God, the implication is plainly that God (or, as expressed in more recent translations, the "gods" or "strong ones") is likewise male and female. Moreover, it may be inferred that the angels too are male and female. The expression, "Let *us* make man in our image" makes clear that more than a single being participated in the act of creation, and assuming that, as implied in the Scriptural statement, the Creator was a composite male-female being, it is manifest that the term "*us*" refers not to the male and female essences of the Divine Existence but to the spiritual creatures mentioned later as "Cherubim," who, in Semitic thought, belonged to a superior order of angels. This is apparent when it is considered that in connection with the fall of man from Edenic bliss and innocence the Creator is represented as saying, "Behold the man is become *as one of us*," implying more than two. As it is said, therefore, "Let us create man in our image,"—that is, male and female,—it follows that the cherubim or angels, no less than the Creator Himself, were, according to the ancient Hebrew conception, of dual nature.

A strikingly suggestive passage illustrating the fact that, as understood in ancient Semitic thought, man was originally a two-fold being, blending within himself the male and female, and that Deity and the angels, in whose image man was made, partake of the same nature, is found in the fifth chapter of Genesis, which begins a fresh account of creation. There it is said, "In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God created he him, male and female created He them, and blessed them *and called their name Adam* in the day that they were created." The name Adam is applied to both as if they were one being. In this account the name of Eve does not appear, and it is clear that the separation of the two-fold being into man and woman is dealt with in the myth of the rib. The removal of the rib from Adam is evidently a grafting upon the original myth,

which probably taught merely that the two beings before their separation were wholly interblended, for the man exclaims when he awakes from his sleep and beholds woman, "This is now bone of my bone *and flesh of my flesh*: she shall be called woman *because she was taken out of me.*"

By those schools of mystic thought which asserted that man is in origin bi-sexual, it was likewise taught that in the fulness of time at some stage of their spiritual progress, the male and female souls which sprang from the hand of the Eternal as one two-fold being were destined to reunite. Perhaps this thought, in a far and distant way, is contained in these words placed in the mouth of Adam: "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave to his wife: *and they shall be one flesh.*" It is conveyed beyond question, however, in the apocryphal saying of Jesus quoted from Clement of Alexandria in Schaff's *History of Christianity*, Vol. 1, p. 165: "Our Lord, being asked by Salome when His kingdom should come, and the things which He had spoken be accomplished, answered, 'When the two shall be one, and the outward as the inward, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.'" And in this connection it is well to remember the words of Gibbon, "The first Christians were acquainted with a number of sayings of Jesus which are not related in our Gospels, and, indeed, have never been written." (*Decline and Fall*, Vol. 1, Ch. 15.)

What word science speaks regarding the belief which is the burden of the myths we have mentioned it is unnecessary to inquire, but we may observe in passing that, curiously as it may seem, science does in no faint or feeble way lend countenance to the idea. "The androgynous condition,"—we quote, for the sake of brevity, from the *Century Dictionary* under the word "androgynous,"—"is a very common one in invertebrate animals. The two sexes co-exist at the same time in one individual." More pointedly, Dr. Ridpath, in his *Great Races of Mankind*, Vol. 1, p. 116, observes: "We have in human anatomy certain parts, such as the rudimentary breasts of the male which seem to point to a condition still more primitive in the development of our race,—to a time when even the sexes had not been differentiated the one from the other." Haeckel, however, in his great work, *The Evolution of Man*, Appleton & Co., Vol. 2, p. 69, expresses the thought in its broadest phase: "Comparative anatomy shows that hermaphroditism, that is the union of both kinds of sexual cells in one individual, is the oldest and original condition of sexual differentiation: the separation of the sexes did not originate till a later period." So, too, "Just as the lowest plant animals

exhibit this most simple origin of the complex phenomena of reproduction, so, in the second place, they reveal the highly important fact that the earliest and most primitive sexual relation was hermaphroditism, and that the separation of the sexes originated from this only secondarily (by division of labor). Hermaphroditism is prevalent in lower animals of the most different groups; in these each single individual, when sexually mature, each person, contains male and female sexual cells and is even capable of self-fertilization and self-reproduction. Thus not only in the lowest plant animals just mentioned do we find egg-cells and sperm-cells united in one and the same person, but many worms, many snails and many other invertebrate animals are also hermaphrodite. All the early invertebrate ancestors of man, from *Gastræada* to *Chardonia*, must also have been hermaphrodite. So probably were also the earliest skulled animals. One extremely weighty piece of evidence of this is afforded by the remarkable fact that even in vertebrates, in man as well as other vertebrates, the original rudiment of the sexual organs is hermaphrodite. The separation of the sexes, the assignment of the two kinds of sexual cells to different individuals, differentiated from hermaphroditism only in the farther course of tribal history. And these male and female individuals differed only in the possession of the two kind of cells but in other respects were exactly alike." *Id.*, p.396

The last paragraph, however, is merely a digression, for a discussion of the question from the view-point of the scientist is wholly beside the aim of this article. We have sought merely to deal with the traditions for their historic interest, and to show that the belief is veiled within the creation stories of Genesis. And Genesis, let us observe, is a fossil-bed of myths. There lie urned away the remains of faiths and philosophies which kindled the imaginations and shaped the deeds of men in the dim and distant ages before the first glimmer of history! Whilst in the light of riper knowledge the halo of divinity has faded from the Bible, who shall say what wealth of lore is buried within its pages!

## THE ROSETTA STONE.

BY THE EDITOR.

EGYPT, the land of the pyramids and sphinxes, is no longer so mysterious as it was about a century ago. We have learned to decipher the hieroglyphs and have to some extent at least become familiar with the history, habits, and religion of the country. Many details of Egyptian institutions and long periods of the history of the country still remain unknown to us, but we have now a definite knowledge of some phases of the national as well as private life, and are no longer strangers to the peculiar notions of the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile.

The two savants who discovered the key that should unlock the mysteries of Egyptian traditions are Dr. Thomas Young, the discoverer of the undulatory theory of light, and Jean François Champollion, Jr. The former, Thomas Young, succeeded in explaining the Egyptian numbers and in reading several names, while the latter, Champollion, deciphered the hieroglyphs of the Rosetta Stone, for which work the names offered him the key.

The Rosetta Stone is a black basalt, found at Rosetta and preserved in the British Museum. It is inscribed in three languages, Hieratic, Demotic, and Greek. Even a superficial inspection will show that names in the hieroglyphic script are surrounded by a ring, commonly called the "cartouche," which represents the seal of a man, and has thus come to stand for his signature as well as his personality.

Champollion identified the letters of the names Cleopatra and Ptolemy in their respective cartouches,



identifying the single letters of the former thus:

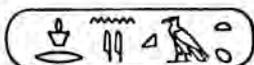


leaving two symbols which always accompany feminine names.

An analysis of the name Ptolemy (Πτολομαίος) yields this result :

□ ◊ ς ρ ρ ρ ρ ρ  
P T O L M E E S

The two feathers, a double ς, obviously represents the Greek AI. Other names verify these transcriptions and add a new stock of letters to our knowledge. For instance in the name



we know the letters R. AIKA and since it must be feminine, we know at once that the cartouche contains the name Berenike and two unknown symbols must be a *B* and an *N*.

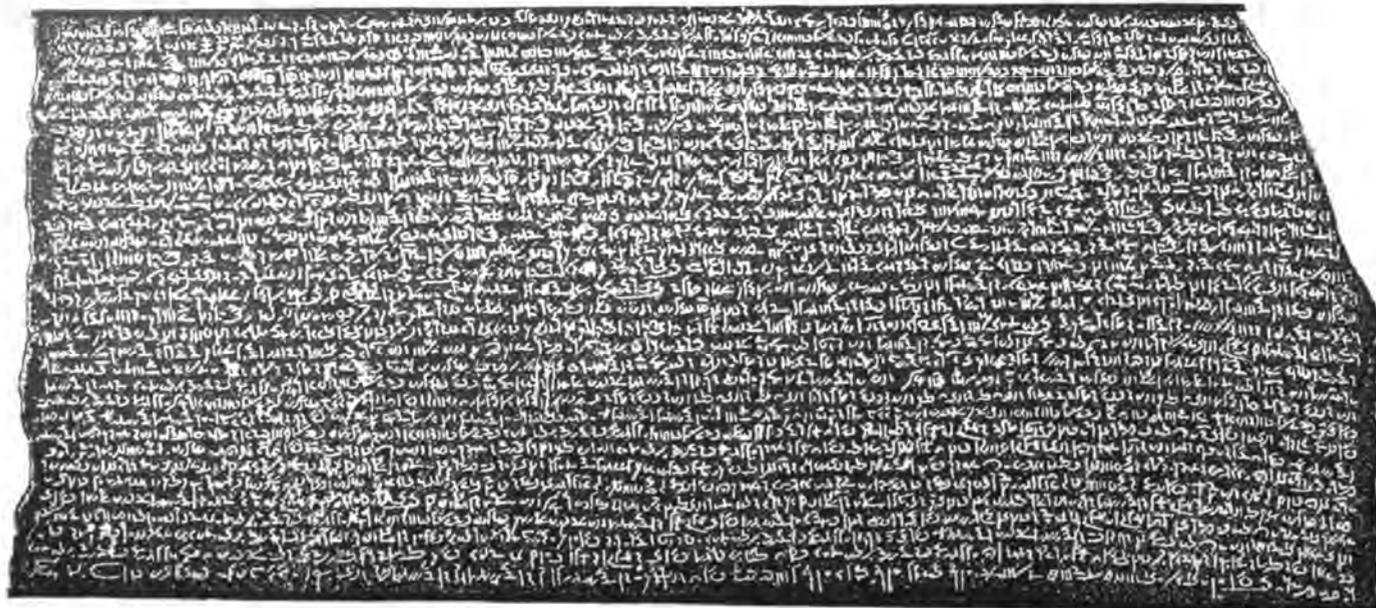
The known letters were inserted in the hieratic inscription which could now be read and translated, the meaning being given in the joined Greek. Here is a list of the most common Egyptian characters reproduced from an Egyptian dictionary<sup>1</sup>:

	A		H
	Ā		Ț (Kh)
	Ā		S
	I		
	U		Ś [Sh]
	B		K
	P		Q
	F		Ķ
	M		T
	N		T
	R and L		θ (Th)
	H		T' (Tch)

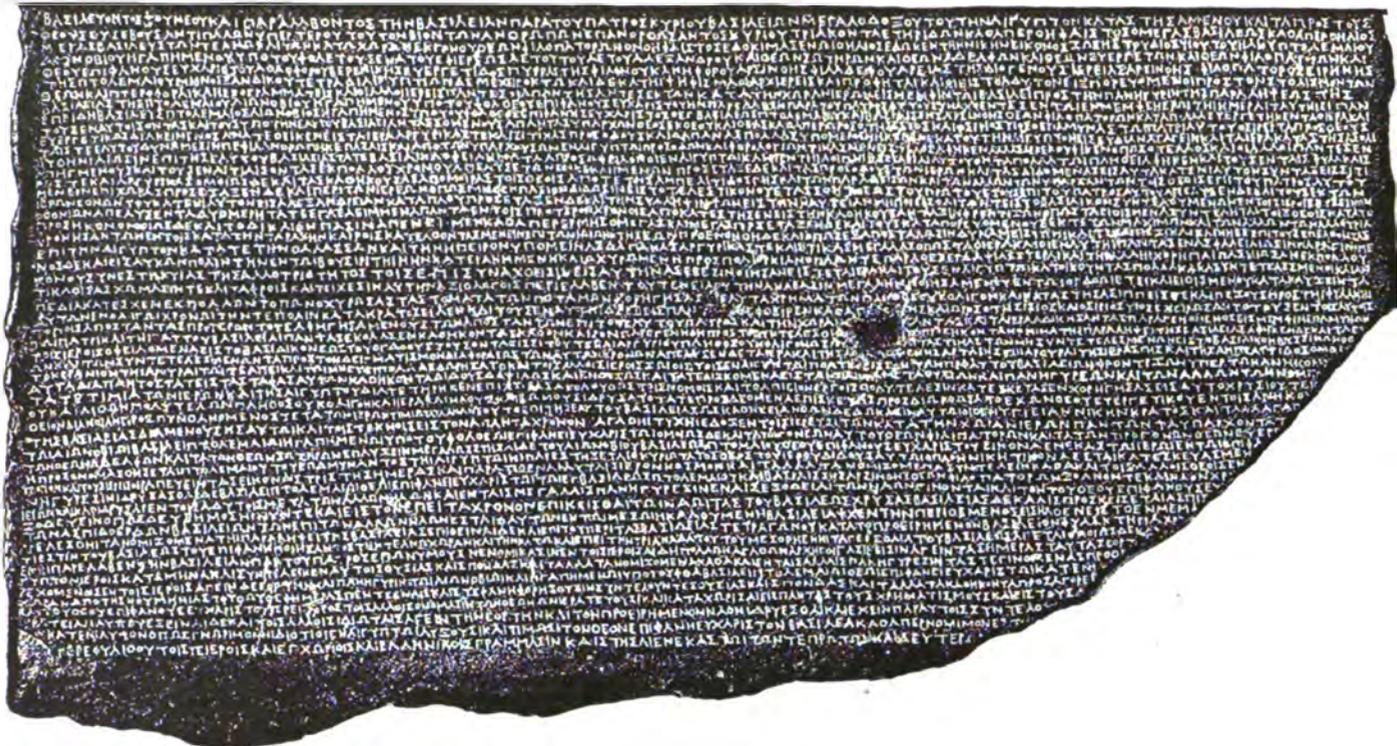
<sup>1</sup>E. A. Wallis Budge, *Vocabulary in Hieroglyphic to the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead*.



**HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTION OF THE ROSETTA STONE.**  
(By permission of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.)



DEMOTIC INSCRIPTION OF ROSETTA STONE.  
(By permission of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.)



GREEK INSCRIPTION OF THE ROSETTA STONE. (By permission of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.)

The success that rewarded Champollion's labors heralded the birth of a new science, Egyptology. His successors have penetrated more and more into the mysteries of the language and history of the country, covering a period of about four millenniums, and showing as marked periods in its development, as we know in the progress of Anglo-Saxon through the Old English to Modern English. Egyptologists of to-day have a fair command of the language, even in its historical growth. Says a late Egyptologist, "The time of apprenticeship is past, we read now," meaning that unless there are exceptional difficulties, the Egyptologists are at present able to decipher any Egyptian inscription. Our scholars have even been able to discover the mistakes which Egyptian scribes made when in their eagerness to forge ancient documents, they wrote in archaic style, the blunders of which now bear witness against them and betray their fraudulent intentions. Such documents that pretend to be ancient, but are later fabrications, are quite frequent, and were made in the interests of the prerogatives of a special priesthood, or the alleged miraculous powers of local deities or their shrines.

\* \* \*

The Egyptian language seems to possess a character, peculiar to itself. While it is unquestionably related to the several Semitic tongues, Abyssinian, Hebrew, Phœnician, and Arabic, we cannot help recognising that the Egyptian grammar and syntax are sufficiently original so as to prohibit its classification with the Semitic language. On the other hand Egyptian is also pretty closely related to Libyan speech, and seems to have adopted some features from the more distant Nubians and also the Ethiopians. The fact is that Egypt lies where Asia and Africa meet, and it is natural that both continents should have contributed their share in building up the civilisation in the valley of the Nile.

[When we wrote to England for a good photograph of the text of the Rosetta stone, we were informed by our London Agents, Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., that Prof. E. A. Wallis Budge was just preparing for them a new book on the subject, for which the stone had been photographed. The print which they kindly sent us is much superior to any other copy that could be procured in the market, and we express herewith our indebtedness to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. for their courteous permission to reproduce it. We have cut the original into three parts, dividing it into its hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek portions.]

## THE SAGES OF INDIA AND CHRISTIANITY:

BY M. H. PHELPS.

THERE have recently been published in London two books of greatest interest to students of human thought, in that they set forth a comprehensive and harmonious interpretation of two of the Christian Gospels by a representative of the highest religious and philosophical culture of India. These works are "Commentaries," by Sri Paránanda, on St. Matthew and St. John, both being large-paged and closely-printed volumes of about three hundred pages each.†

Two things contribute to make these books conspicuously noteworthy. The first is that a native of India—and one, too, thoroughly imbued with the religious and philosophical ideas of his country—

\*Sri Paránanda's *Commentary on St. Matthew* and *An Eastern Exposition of St. John*, published, respectively, by Kegan Paul and William Hutchinson, London.

†A few years ago there appeared two books, *The Gospel of Jesus According to St. Matthew* and *An Eastern Exposition of St. John*, both written by Sri Paránanda. Neither should be considered as an exegetical work, but both are interesting if considered as interpretations of Christianity by an Oriental mind, and their appearance is a noteworthy fact, as it indicates the growing spirit of appreciation of Christianity among the educated classes of the East.

The author, who writes under the name Sri Paránanda, is the Honorable P. Ramanáthan, C. M. G., K. G., a Tamil gentleman of culture and also of great wealth. He holds a prominent position in his native country, Ceylon. For many years he served as the representative of his people in the legislative council of Ceylon, and is now Solicitor General of the island. He commands the unreserved confidence of his countrymen, and his prominence is recognized by the British government. His religious views, therefore, are not only of theoretical interest, but are apt to exercise a great influence upon the native population of his home. This fact alone gives a significance to his publications which cannot easily be overestimated.

here displays a spirit of the highest reverence for the Christian Bible; and the second, that these gospels, as has come to my knowledge, are now no longer neglected by his cultured countrymen. Indeed, since the interpretation of Sri Paránanda appeared, translations of St. Matthew and St. John, following the lines of thought indicated in these works, have been undertaken by the orthodox pundits of India as books worthy of being read and carefully studied by the people of India.

Circumstances led me some little time ago to a meeting with Sri Paránanda, which has been followed by many conversations in the course of which my interest in these books, already known to me, has been greatly enhanced. He is possessed of a sound knowledge of both the East and the West, is a member of an ancient and wealthy family, and holds a high and honored position in the government of his native country. His insight into spiritual things is reputed, and appears, to be particularly great, and his exposition of them is always brought to the touchstone of the hearer's experience.

The full title of the second of the two volumes referred to above is "An Eastern Exposition of the Gospel According to St. John, Being an Interpretation Thereof by Sri Paránanda, by the Light of *Jnána Yoga*," and in the preface Sri Paránanda's chief disciple and editor makes the following statement: "As regards the expression *Jnána Yoga*, which appears in the title page, it means spiritual communion in the holiest sense of the term. The Sanskrit word *Yoga* is derived from the same root as the Latin word *Jungo*, to join, and English *Yoke* (Matt. xi, 29). The fullest and most perfect union of the sanctified Spirit in man with the illuminating Spirit in the universe is *Jnána Yoga*, and the commentary contained in these pages is based, not upon theory or speculation, but upon the actual experience of *Jnáni Yogis*, of those who, whether working or resting, are in constant fellowship with God."

This passage forcibly arrests the attention. What does it mean?

It cannot be understood without an acquaintance with Hindu beliefs and habits of thought not general in the West. A year's residence in India and sympathetic contact with her people have given me that acquaintance, and, since the claims made for these commentaries cannot otherwise be understood, before proceeding to the task of the reviewer, with which this paper is chiefly concerned, I shall endeavor to place before the reader an accurate outline, in the detail necessary for its due appreciation, of those beliefs of the people of India, as I have actually met them and therefore know

them to be, by which such statements as that of the passage just quoted are, if at all, to be justified.\*

I find that there is widely recognized among the more intelligent of the natives of India, those of them, that is, who have preserved their respect for the traditions and institutions of their own land, and their confidence in them, against the materializing influence of Western ideas and education—a science of spiritual things called *Jñānam*, Wisdom. This science is said to deal with the principles which underlie both the visible and the invisible and spiritual worlds, and to be based upon actual and immediate knowledge of spiritual things and of God. It answers the questions which Western science has either confessed itself unable to answer or has answered unsatisfactorily—as the purpose of human life, the reasons for the performance of duty, the nature and limitations of the mind, the existence or non-existence of a soul in man, of God, of a future life. And in answering these questions it necessarily indicates the true relations of man to the external world, and the attitude toward it and the conduct of life in it which are best for him to observe.

The masters of the science of Wisdom are called *Jñānis*, or knowers of God. They are men who are reputed to have attained to that stage of development where they directly perceive God and spiritual things. It is said by them that the soul (*ātma*), the consciousness (*sākshi*), or the true ego of man, terms which they use convertibly, is a thing apart from both the physical body and the *manas* or mind, these latter being only its instruments. The ordinary man does not distinguish between the consciousness which knows and the mind which thinks, because the two are so involved with one another as to seem inseparable. Thought succeeds thought without cessation except in deep sleep, and he is cheated by the “blear illusion” that the thinker is no other than the knower, otherwise called the soul or the self.

The common view, therefore, is that thinking and sleep embrace the whole range of human experience. But the *Jñāni* affirms that if all thought is forced to run down to a perfect calm and sleep is

\*Edward Carpenter's "From Adam's Peak to Eliphanta" deals intelligently and entertainingly with this interesting and, in the West, little understood subject. Of this book a distinguished native of India has said that it contains "the only Western account of India that shows a knowledge of the great undercurrents of Indian life" (P. Prunachalam—District Judge at Kurunegale, Ceylon—in a paper entitled "Luminous Sleep," Westminster Review, September, 1902). See also Max Muller's admirable life of Rama-krishna, generally reputed in India to have been a *Jñani*.

kept off, a new world of experience opens out. When the soul is in association with the mind and is engaged in witnessing the operations of the mind, the materiality of the mind and its worldly nature are reflected on the soul and intensify its original obscurity, so that in wakeful moments it sees nothing but the world, and in sleep unmitigated darkness. If the energy of the soul is withdrawn, as it may be by proper training, from the planes of sense and thought, the soul attains knowledge unconditioned by time, place or other divided existence, and such knowledge, they say, is knowledge of God, knowledge of the infinite, as distinguished from knowledge of the finite or the world.

The attainment of this knowledge is not, it is said, open to everyone who chooses to apply himself to its acquisition, since instruction and training are not the only requisites for reaching it. A certain ripeness of nature, full development of neighborly love and other high virtues, must be present as a foundation. Without these instruction and training would be ineffective, nor would they indeed be given by those competent to impart them.

The distinguishing characteristics of *Jnánis* are said to be kindness, compassion, love for all that lives, patience, forbearance, resignation and contentment under all circumstances whatsoever, non-resentment of injury, unwillingness to exact retribution from those who have harmed them. It is said that they are incapable of hatred or other evil passion, that they are unwilling to judge others, that they are utterly indifferent to worldly power of every kind, whether it be wealth, office, rank or social position; that they have no concern about providing for their future, having perfect confidence in the infinite power and mercy of the Lord, but spend their lives in laboring for others as ministers of God. In brief, the character commonly assigned to them is the same as that associated in the West with the name of Jesus of Nazareth.

It is said that *Jnánis* live in all parts of India, and that there has never been a time when they were not to be found there. They are not, however, numerous, probably, I am told, not more than one to ten millions of the population. They live for the most part in secluded places; sometimes they spend their lives in traveling from place to place. They are usually without property and are cared for by their disciples, or by the people with whom they happen to come in contact. The people of India, as a whole, are most anxious to serve holy men, and no one who is thought to be devoted to the service of religion will be allowed to want. There are also some *Jnánis* who live in towns and cities engaged in the usual occu-

pations of life, generally looked upon as ordinary men, their spiritual status being known only to the few persons who have been drawn to them as disciples. These men are esteemed to be the most exemplary of citizens, the best and kindest of husbands, fathers, brothers—to most perfectly fulfil, in short, all the duties of life. Yet while in the world they never forget that they are not of the world, and all their actions are performed, not with the object of profiting by their fruits, but as service to the Lord. The following lines by one of them, who long occupied a high post in one of the states of southern India, indicates the attitude which they observe toward worldly enjoyments:

"While I live in shady groves, fragrant with fresh-blown flowers;  
 While I drink cool and limpid water, and disport myself therein;  
 While I find enjoyment in sandal-scented breezes, which move through the  
 court like gentle maids;  
 While I revel in the day-like light of the glorious full moon;  
 While I feast on dishes of various flavors, seeming tempered with ambrosia;  
 While I am passing off into sleep, after much merriment, bedecked with  
 garlands and perfumed with scent;  
 Grant to me, O Siva, who art true, spiritual and blessed, all-filling, impartite  
 and substrate of all—grant to me the boon of never forgetting thy grace  
 (so as to avoid the perils of the pleasures of the world)."—*Táyumánavar*:  
*Saccidananda Sivam*, 11.

The *Jnánis* stand for the highest and most sacred ideas of the Indian civilization—for all that is finest, noblest and purest in it. They are the efflorescence of the life of the nation, and the life of the nation as a whole—not of any sect, creed or division of it. To them all external religious forms are alike. The Brahmin, the Buddhist, the Christian, the Mohammedan or the Agnostic are to them the same. Development of character and aptitude for receiving spiritual instruction are the only credentials which they regard. The most enlightened men of India have always gone and still go to the *Jnánis* when seeking spiritual light; for, it is said, they can always be found by earnest seekers for truth. Still, as of old, their prayer is:

"O Saint, teach us, for thou art the way, and there is no other for us.  
 O Saint, thou art the way, thou art the way."—*Maitrayana Upanishad*.

The retirement in which *Jnánis* live may seem extraordinary to the Western mind. Why, we are inclined to ask, do they not proclaim themselves and make their knowledge as widely as possible available to men? The answer is that religion must be adapted to the needs and capacities of the people; that religion or spiritual knowledge must be graduated like worldly knowledge, and that while the exoteric religions of India are well suited for the masses,

the higher aspects of truth cannot be assimilated by them. Were the teachings of the *Jnánis* widely disseminated among the people the effect would not be helpful, but rather confusing and disturbing to those minds which delight in ritual and other forms of concrete thought. Further, it is said that it is not necessary that they should publicly proclaim themselves in order that those who are fit to receive their instruction may learn of them, since he who is prepared for such knowledge always finds them. If one inquires how the *Jnáni* is discovered, one is told that the Lord of the universe draws the seeker to the teacher. Such is the infinite solicitude with which He watches over men, that whoever *needs* a spiritual teacher is certain to be led to one.

On the other hand, the quest of one who seeks to discover a *Jnáni* from mere motives of curiosity will end in naught. A person may, it is said, be in daily association with one for years, even though knowing of the existence of such men and being desirous of meeting them, without suspecting his spiritual status. Several instances of this sort have been related to me, which happened to natives of the country; and it is well understood that *Jnánis* will not disclose themselves except to those who seek them for their spiritual guidance and are fitted to profit by it.

We are now better able to understand the meaning of the words, "The commentary contained in these pages is based, not upon theory or speculation, but upon the actual experience of *Jnáni Yogis*," namely, that we are here offered the interpretation of the gospels required by the knowledge of God and spiritual things derived by *Jnáni Yogis* from actual experience and perception. Howsoever this claim may be regarded, there is no doubt, I think, but that the typical teaching of the *Jnánis*, as held in India, is accurately given by Sri Paránanda, and it is at least certain that he is regarded by some of the most intelligent and spiritually minded of his countrymen as a powerful religious teacher, whose teachings embody the most cherished ideas of India.

As I have already intimated, it should not be inferred, because Sri Paránanda's ideas are considered essentially representative of Indian thought, that they are in any respect narrow. The spirit of the highest Indian culture is exceedingly broad and tolerant—a fact not generally known in the West. He does not give one religion preference over another, but regards them all alike as the means which God in His wisdom and mercy employs to lead men from worldliness to godliness, according to their respective needs and capacities. God, he says, is the great Teacher of men, and He has

by means of human governments and religious organizations evolved well-defined methods of thought for promoting the growth of neighborly love and causing the decline of worldly attachments. Such being the function of law and religion, there should be no disrespect shown by the votaries of one system of law and religion for the votaries of another system. "God exists everywhere, and everywhere He grants His grace to devoted seekers for Him. He may be worshiped by the ignorant savage as a stone or a tree, by the more intelligent as a venerable man, a mighty Spirit, or the All-pervading Essence. Each type of worship represents the aspiration of the soul to Him, and to each worshiper He comes in the very form in which He has been thought."

The Gospel of St. John is regarded by Sri Paránanda as the most valuable part of the New Testament, in that it contains more doctrines stated in clear, concise language than are found elsewhere in like compass in that book. The central theme of this gospel, he says, is worship—worship "in spirit and in truth"—which form of worship alone can lead one to eternal life or knowledge of God. The inquiry which naturally first arises is, therefore, what is his conception of true worship? This he elucidates in commenting upon John iv, 24, as follows:

"With the vast majority of worshipers, worship may be called a *visual act*, because without some *object* outside of themselves to *see* and *gaze upon* with their eyes they cannot put away, even to a small extent, their wordly thoughts so as to arrive at a reverential mood. In many parts of the world wooden figures, molten images, pictures and other forms of representation are placed before the worshipers, who verily believe that those very idols will grant them their prayers.

"With another class of worshipers, who are generally literate, worship may be said to be a *mental act*; because they project *in their minds* a picture of God, as if He were somewhere in the heavens, above the bright blue sky, standing or seated (say) on a throne, surrounded by angels and saints in a place brilliantly lit and otherwise adorned. In the Book of Revelations, for instance, we have varying representations of God, some one of which is more or less in the mind of the devout and intelligent Christian when he worships."

Here follow some passages quoted from the Revelations, after which the author proceeds:

"Thought pictures like these, no less than eye pictures, are idols, for *idols* and *ideas* are alike *forms*. The difference between them—the *mental* and the *visual pictures*—the *idea* and the *idol*—is that an idol is a form objectively made, while an idea is a form subjectively made. . . . The two terms, having a common Greek derivation, mean alike a form; the latter is an image made of thought; the former an image made of grosser material.

"Those who cannot worship without making images of thought or of some

grosser material, such as earth, wood, metal or stone, are alike *Idolaters* (John v., 21). Inability to keep steadily before the mind for some time the mental images enjoined for worship compels the vast majority of mankind to resort to material images.

"A third class of worshipers, standing high above these idol-worshippers, finds it truly an offense and a stumbling block to form any idea at all for the purposes of worship. They do not require the illusive aid of an image, whether within or without the mind, to help them to realize the presence of the Lord. They know how to '*cast down imaginations*'—how to abate thought (2 Cor. x., 5), to put away the impressions or memories which relate to their worldly surroundings—how to pacify themselves or make peace (Matt. v., 9)—and then they feel that they have come into a holy religion. This elimination of the perceptions of the senses and thought from Consciousness for the purpose of being in fellowship with God (1 John i., 3) is *spiritual worship*, as distinct from *visual* or *mental* worship.

"Though spiritual worship is the truest form of worship, because, apart from the limitations of thought and sense perceptions, you as pure spirit hold communication with the Lord as the Eternal and Infinite Spirit that underlies all things, yet it cannot be said that visual and mental worship are needless. In the visual and mental forms of worship the Lord is taken to be a person with limbs, only because the worshiper cannot comprehend the Lord as boundless and formless Spirit.

"Christ Jesus, when appealed to by the Samaritan woman as to how the worship of different nations, as of the Jews and the Samaritans, was to be reconciled, replied in effect (ver. 22-24): 'Neither the Jews nor the Samaritans know the *true* nature of God, and therefore their worship of Him, in Jerusalem or Gerizim, as either an object of thought or sight, is being *ignorantly* carried on. The *highest* and *best* form of worship is neither a visual act nor a mental act, but a purely *spiritual* act. For, though God pervades every form in the universe, none of those forms is God; He is Infinite Spirit, being *in* all and *above* all; and as such He should be *spiritually discerned* (1 Cor. ii., 7-15), that is, by the spirit only, when isolated from the thought and the senses. Now that I have been sent into Palestine, I see that the time has arrived when those who are dissatisfied with the worship of the Lord as an object of sight or thought may learn of me to worship Him as all-pervading, all-knowing, all-loving Spirit—to worship Him as Spirit pure in His own spirit. The one only way of worshipping Him in this manner is by isolating yourself from the limitations of thought and sense perception. By this isolation you become *at one with* God—you, a cleansed spirit, are allowed to be *in union with* God. Then indeed are you said to *know* God spiritually as Eternal Being.'

"Thus worship, in the *highest* sense of the term, resolves itself into the first and greatest of all commandments—love God with all thy soul (Matt. xxii., 37). Loving with all one's soul involves *continuous* love, which, however, is not possible unless the lover and the loved one are precisely of the same nature. Man's spirit must be as pure as the Divine Spirit before it can be at one with It continuously. True worship therefore means attainment of unity between the seeker and the God that is sought spiritually."

The Lord's prayer Sri Paránanda regards as a great aid to worship in spirit and in truth, since it embodies the doctrine of the

Psalms—which is, indeed, the central doctrine of all true religion—The Lord reigneth and all power belongeth to Him.

“‘Thy Kingdom come,’ said Jesus, should be our daily prayer in life so that we may be delivered from the evil or sin of *estrangement from God* (Matt. vi., 10-13)—from the evil of not being one with God. ‘*Thy Kingdom come*’ means mayest thou cause *Thyself* to reign within me, in the place of *myself*.’ And ‘*Thy will be done*’ means, ‘Do thou make my spirit lowly enough to eschew the foolishness that “I” am powerful for any purpose; and grant to me the knowledge that all forms of power, whether in the worldly or spiritual plane, are *Thine*, and *Thine alone*!’ Then indeed does sin vanish, because, being one with the Lord, no thoughts or acts of yours can be said to be tainted with worldliness. They are steeped in godliness” (page 167).

And again, page 190:

“The one prayer that Jesus taught should be in the mind of every spiritual person is: ‘May Thy Kingdom come! *Thine* the Power, *Thine* the Glory for ever!’ (Matt. vi., 10-13). When the Kingdom *has* come—when one *has* awakened to the fact that God, and not man, ‘works in all places of his dominions’ (Ps. ciii., 22)—when one sees that what is called *human endeavor* is nothing more than the power of *God* lent for the attainment of certain objects, and that, whether one desired it or not, the Lord would of His Own accord (because He is the omnipresent Ruler of the Universe) distribute pain and pleasure suitably to the needs of each soul—then indeed will thoughts of every description run down to a calm and leave the spirit within beautifully restful, and yet keenly responsive to the inflow of God’s energy for *His Own* purposes. Then indeed will one recognize the full meaning of the words: ‘Be still and know that I am the Lord.’” (Ps. xli., 10).

Sri Paránanda regards Jesus as a master of Wisdom in the Indian sense, that is, as a *Jnáni* (knower of God). Jesus no doubt, he says, spent the period which elapsed between his early youth and the age of thirty, of which no mention is made in the New Testament, in receiving spiritual instruction and training from masters, probably in the wilderness in or near Palestine. When he had attained the state of Mastership, Christhood, or the overcoming of the worldly spirit, he returned to Judea and began his ministry.

This overcoming of worldliness, this Christhood, is the third stage of human development, that in which man is *in fellowship* with God. The two stages which precede it are those in which the relation of man to God is felt to be that of son to father, and master to servant. In the Pentateuch God is described as an angry ruler who jealously watched over the affairs of the Jews, and who was to be conciliated through the high priest by offerings of various kinds. This is the relation of master to servant. In later times offerings of cakes and sacrifices of oxen were declared to be unnecessary. A loving heart and conduct worthy of acceptance by

God were considered essential. This is the relation of father and son. During these two stages man is under the dominion of the law and subject to sin and punishment for sin. In these stages the predominating motive of human action is selfish love, the nature of which is to ignore and disregard the claims of others.

The third stage, that of fellowship or companionship, can only exist between those whose natures are alike. Therefore if man desires to be at one with God his nature must be so purified as to be essentially like that of God. It is by means of law that God, the great Teacher of men, brings about in them the suppression of selfish love and worldly attachments, by the development of the sense of justice, which expresses itself as neighborly love. This is begun by law and perfected by religion. When neighborly love is developed in man law is no longer an aid for his improvement. It has accomplished its purpose.

"God the Teacher taught the Jews the right way of living in worldly life by the laws of Moses; and many centuries afterward the Lord taught the Jews through Jesus that law was not intended to rule the thoughts of men perpetually, as if it were a guide for all times and conditions of men, but that it was intended only as a provisional instrument for raising men from love of self to love of others—from Self-love to Neighborly Love (page 39). By providing different methods of punishment the law is able to develop in a man a willing disposition to give to each man his due—to cause to rise in him a desire to be just. When selfishness is thus changed to a sense of *justice* when Self-love has transformed itself into spontaneous Neighborly Love," the time for the development of the third condition of man, Christhood, is at hand (page 169). "Hence, St. Paul says, 'Love is the fulfilling of the Law' (Rom., xiii., 10); that is, the Law fulfills its object when it begets Neighborly Love in men. 'All the Law is fulfilled in one word—Love—love thy neighbor as thyself' (Gal. v., 14); 'Christ is the end of the Law' (Rom. x., 4); 'I am the end of the Law'" (Matt. v., 17)—pages 49 and 39.

Coincidentally with the development of man's nature in the respect just considered, the experience of life has been bringing about another change in him equally necessary to the intended result.

Men in this world are for the most part wholly engrossed in their attachment to the things of the world. The pleasures of the senses, the pleasures of the intellect, the gratification of ambition—these are the objects for which most men live. Deprive them of these and nothing is left for them in life. This entanglement in worldly desires is the "darkness" which prevents the soul from seeing and knowing God. In other words, that which obscures the soul is the influence of material things, understanding by that expression not only physical matter, but also that subtle form of matter in which the mind functions. This influence is frequently

referred to in the gospels; frequently as darkness (John i, 5); as corruption, since it is material influence which spoils or corrupts the soul (Gal. vi, 8; see also Psalms xvi, 10); as carnal-mindedness (Rom. viii, 5-7); flesh (*ib.*); the ways of the *old man* or of the son of perdition (2 Thess. ii, 3); the spirit of the world or worldliness (1 John v, 19); the spirit of error (1 John iv, 6), and generally as ignorance, evil or falsity. The possession of the soul by material influences or darkness is what is meant by the captivity or bondage of the soul (1's. lxxviii, 18; Eph. iv, 8; Rom. viii, 21).

God in His providence has provided means for rescuing man from this entanglement. The experience of life tends to destroy the illusion that any real happiness is yielded by it. All material joys are found to be fleeting and to leave behind them dissatisfaction, bitterness or unrest; so that the despairing inquiry "is life worth living?" is one quite familiar to our ears. This state of mind borders upon a profound truth in human nature, for it is necessary that man should arrive at the conviction that nothing material is of any real value to him before he can possibly free himself from it and rise above it; and the world is so ordered that this conviction must in time be reached inevitably. When material attachments have dropped away, so that a man, although perhaps living in the thick of the world, surrounded by and using all the comforts and conveniences of the world, holds himself free from them, does not live *for* them, but makes them *subservient to his use*, "rejoices not when they come and grieves not when they go," and if, besides this, there has been developed in him a sense of the reality of other souls and a willingness and desire to adjust his life to a recognition of them, he has attained to the state where he stands upon the threshold of that revelation in his life known as conversion, rebirth, resurrection, or the arising of Christ within him.

Jesus has enumerated the classes of persons who are thus ripe, who are "entitled or qualified to hear and understand the truths of the Kingdom of God," in Matthew v, as follows (page 178):

"(1) The 'poor in Spirit,' that is, those who in spirit are 'poor of this world' (Jas. i, 5), those who feel emptied of worldly cravings.

"(2) Those who are meek-minded—those in whom the conceit called 'I' and 'mine' have greatly subsided.

"(3) Those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, that is, those who crave for a life free from wrong-doing of every kind, and who therefore anxiously consider the claims and needs of others before their own.

"(4) Those who are merciful, that is, those who do not take advantage of their opportunities to the detriment of others, and ever try to smooth down the difficulties of others and make their position more pleasant for them.

"(5) Those who are pure in heart—who have no guile and are not swayed by self-seeking motives in their dealings with others.

"(6) Those who make peace—who always promote purification of thought or calmness of mind in themselves and others; and

"(7) Those who suffer revilement and persecution with cheerful resignation for a good cause, especially for the sake of a Sanctified Teacher.

"The foregoing classes of persons are suitable spirits for receiving the word of God. . . . The waning of the love of self and what belongs to self, and the waxing of the love for others indicate a certain growth, maturity, or ripeness of the spirit. It is only when the spirit has arrived at this degree of maturity or state of self-denial and neighborly love—in a word of Unworldliness—that it can receive and understand the doctrine of Grace and Truth. . . . Till thy spirit is mature enough to be included in one of the classes specified by Jesus it is said to remain in Darkness, because it cannot understand the principles of Light. Therefore, said St. John in impressive words, 'He that is not of God heareth not us; hereby know we the Spirit of Truth and the Spirit of Error' (1 John iv., 6). The very fact of anyone being unable to hear or unable to understand a Sanctified Teacher is proof positive that he is not of God."

The next step, says Sri Paránanda, is one that requires the aid and instruction of a sanctified teacher—of one, that is, who has completely overcome the worldly spirit by receiving the unction or grace of God. The duty and chief function of these anointed ones or Christs, while they remain in the world, is to ripen, in those who are prepared and drawn to them as their disciples, by their loving instruction and tender care, neighborly love into infinite love, into the love which knows no depth or height, no length or breadth, into Christly love "which knows no distinction between 'your' hand and 'mine;,' which turns the left cheek to the man who smote the right cheek; which gives away the cloak of its body to the man who took away its coat; which loves not only friends and neighbors, but 'enemies' also; which blesses them that curse it, does good to them that hate it, and prays for them that despitefully use it" (p. 169).

"'I am the Resurrection,' said Jesus in John xi, 25, where the Greek word for resurrection is *anastasis*, which means literally 'causing to stand up or rise.' 'I am the Resurrection' thus signifies 'I, Christ, am the resurrecting agent—I can teach you how to rise to, or attain, a realization of God' (see John xi, 26). 'I am the way' (John xiv, 6); 'I am the door,' he once more explained (ib. x, 7, and xiv 6). By *me* if any man enter in, he shall be saved (ib. x, 9). These verses clearly show that it is through the teaching of Christ only that resurrection can take place" (p. 116).

The experience of the arising or awakening of the soul is the resurrection, raising up of the dead, or rebirth. The meaning of

these words has been the occasion of great controversies. "But," says Sri Paránanda,

"Those who have had godly experience, as distinguished from worldly experience, have never disagreed on the subject to whatever race or country they may have belonged. The exposition of the doctrine of the 'awakening of the sleep' or the 'raising of the dead,' commonly known as the Resurrection, may be differently worded by the saints of each country, but in meaning they are always found to be in agreement, for the simple reason that they speak of a great spiritual experience. (Page 115.)

"Worldliness or Darkness is the cause of the natural life of man. It must fall off or 'die' before Godliness or Light can appear. This 'death' of Darkness or Worldliness is a mysterious fact or phenomenon in our constitution, and has its analogy in the life of a plant. Lord Jesus said, 'Except the flesh of corn (*kokkos tou pitou*) which fall into the earth, die, it remains there forsaken (*monos*); but if it die, it beareth much fruit' (John xii., 24). And St. Paul asked, 'How are the dead raised?' and he immediately answered, the dead are raised even as the embryo (*sperma*) is raised after the death of the integument (*soma*). His words are: "That which thou sowest is not quickened, if it does not die; and that which thou sowest (what is it?)—thou sowest not the integument that shall be born, but the naked kernel (*gumnon kokkon*), it may be of wheat or some other grain' (1 Cor. xv., 35-37).

"How mysterious is the quickening of the kernel or flesh in the vegetable or animal seeds! In vegetable life we see that the seed is composed generally of two coats or integuments over the nucleus or kernel called the embryo, and the embryo sprouts only when the integuments disintegrate and die. So, in animal life, when the spermatozoon in the semen enters the ovum and impregnates it, it is carried to the womb and there undergoes several transformations before the embryo appears. In how occult a manner are these changes carried on, without which the birth of the natural life from the flesh cannot take place; but how much more profound is the mystery of the birth of spiritual life from the natural life—of Godliness from worldliness—of Life Eternal from 'Death' or Life Natural!

"And yet this mystery has been made known (Eph. ii., 5) to those who have attained Christhood (ib. 17, 18; ib. iv., 13). It is made known, it is revealed to the ripe spirit in the twinkling of an eye, even as a man who, having gone to sleep in the dead of night and awaking at dawn, finds, the moment he opens his eyes, that the light is shining. In this example drawn from objective life the shining of the sun is around him, is without him; but in the awakening called the Resurrection, the Light of the Spiritual day star (2 Pet. i., 19)—the great Spiritual Light—is seen within man, even though his eyes are shut and his body in a dark room! It is not his carnal eyes that see this Spiritual Light, called *Incorruption* or the Kingdom of God; but it is his cleansed soul that knows it, realizes it, experiences it, the very second its last vestige of corruption falls. This realization, this knowledge, this actual experience of Incorruption, is the Resurrection of man.

"Up to the time of this experience man is of the earth; thenceforth he is of heaven" (pages 118, 119).

Christhood is the perfected state of man—the ideal toward which all men must strive. The predominating characteristic of

man in this stage of his development is all-embracing love—love which knows of no self, love without self in it, love unhampered by the limitations of separate existence. In short, it is infinite love in infinite being. True there is a body, but the body bears the relation to Christly love that a glass shade bears to the light burning within it. It burns within, but its rays extend far and wide beyond the shade. Even so, when the spirit in the body has been sanctified (John x, 36) its light and love extend far beyond the body, and know no height or depth, no length or breadth.

This is the nature of God's love. It is selfless, limitless, but it is also penetrating and searching, so irresistible in its power that it holds all things living in its tender embrace, and adjusts every condition of their existence according to their highest needs. Nothing is great and nothing is small in its estimation. It displays the same infinite care for the blade of grass, the microscopic insect, and the highly evolved and intellectual human being. Every atom, every tiny infusoria, rests upon the bosom of the infinite love in that absolute security which only infinite tenderness and infinite power can insure.

This sublime conception of infinite love is the root and essence of Indian wisdom. If it be grasped, if the idea of the universe reposing in the embrace of the infinitely watchful, infinitely solicitous, infinitely tender, all-pervading, all-powerful God, who provides for every existing thing the conditions of its highest good, leading it with entire certainty and safety to the highest fruition of its nature and ultimately to its assured heritage of absolute knowledge and bliss—if this be understood, the teaching as a whole becomes an open book.

We shall now be able to understand the meaning which Sri Parānanda assigns to the incident of the Lord's supper. This is set forth in the Commentary of St. Matthew xxvi, 26-29 (p. 230 et seq.).

"When Jesus and his disciples sat together to keep the passover, he took the unleavened bread into his hands, invoked a prayer to God that he who eats it should taste of bliss (blessed, v., 26), and gave a piece of it to each of his disciples, saying, 'This is my body, eat it.' And after the supper (1 Cor. xi., 25), taking a cup of the juice of the wine he handed it to them, saying, 'This is my blood of the Covenant, drink it.'

"The terms 'eat' and 'drink' are used here in the sense of not consuming but tasting and knowing. To eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son is simply to know the Son (Matt. xi., 27) thoroughly, as a matter of actual experience. The consequence of *knowing* him is the attainment of eternal life (John. vi., 54; ib., xvii., 3).

"As Christ has neither form nor flesh (Isa. liii., 2), he has neither body nor blood. Eating or drinking him therefore means coming to a *knowledge* of the spirit.

"This knowledge of the spirit is called 'bread,' because, firstly, it satisfies the hunger for righteousness, and secondly, it gives the strength of eternal life to the soul.

"Jesus said, 'I am the bread of life' (John vi., 48). The 'I' he refers to is the spirit or Christ within the fleshly body named Jesus. When his disciples murmured at the difficulty of his saying (John vi., 61), Jesus explained, 'It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit (ib., 63), that is, relate to matters of spiritual experience.' . . . The Gospel of Peace preached by Jesus ordained the worship of God, not in sanctuaries or on mountain tops, but in spirit and in truth (John iv., 21-24). He called this doctrine the New Law, New Covenant or New Testament; and as it invigorated the soul and led it to eternal life, he called it his 'blood,' contrasting it with the blood which the High Priest, who entered the tabernacle once a year, offered in obedience to the law of Moses. His invitation that all should drink of it (Matt. 26, 27) means that it was essential that all should *know* and realize it; that mere hearing of the Gospel would not enable them to *know* Christ or God, and that while Moses enjoined formal worship, his own doctrine needed to be spiritually realized.

"You must not only 'hear' but 'give heed,' or consider what you have heard (Heb. ii., 1). Then by hearing and considering you will understand (Matt. xiii., 19, and ib. xv., 10). As a consequence of hearing and understanding, 'faith' or love of God (Rom. x., 17) comes, and when this love is nourished (1 Tim. iv., 6) by 'exercises unto Godliness' (ib., 7), Infinite Love or Peace known as Christ is experienced (James ii., 22). Therefore Jesus desired his disciples to *experience* Christ and God, and symbolically he handed them a cup of wine and said in effect, 'This is the new dispensation; realize it in actual experience.'"

The view of Christ above set forth is, of course, at variance with the words, "only begotten Son," applied to Jesus in the authorized and revised versions. But Sri Paránanda regards these words as a mistranslation of the Greek. His explanation of the point is, in substance, as follows: When one passes from the state of manhood to Christhood he has to be freed from every vestige and rudiment of worldliness, of attachment to material things. This great spiritual experience is well known to the sages of India, and to it they apply the Sanskrit term *kaivalya*, which means "aloneness," or freedom of the spirit from all that is worldly, earthly, carnal. Jesus having, by virtue of this experience, become a Christ, it is to his *isolation of spirit*, or *aloneness*, that the Greek word *mono-genes*, was applied by St. John. *Monos* means "alone," and *genes*, from *gignomai*, means "become." Primarily, *mono-genes* means "alone-become," but the translators, who had no knowledge of the great spiritual experience called "attainment of Christhood," or "revelation of the

Son of God," have interpreted the term in its secondary sense of "only begotten."

"It is chiefly owing," says Sri Paránanda, "to the wrong translation of this word that Christendom has been led to believe that there can be only one Christ in the universe, though Jesus, Paul and other apostles spoke often of the possibility of other persons also attaining the state of Christhood, also called sonship of God, perfection, peace or rest."

The doctrine of "vicarious atonement," as understood by most orthodox Christians, is also obviously negated. The Commentary on St. John does not mention the doctrine, and Sri Paránanda has said to me that he finds nothing to support it in the New Testament. Yet the primary meaning of the word—at-one-ment (with God)—of course precisely expresses the fundamental conception which he advances.

Neither does this interpretation permit the ascription of saving efficacy to mere *belief* in the divinity and divinely appointed mission of Christ Jesus. This doctrine of orthodox Christianity is also, in the opinion of Sri Paránanda, based upon a mistranslation. His argument (p. 125 et seq.) is too long for reproduction here. His conclusion, derived from the comparison of many passages, is that the Greek word *pistue*, generally rendered *believe* in the accepted versions of the New Testament, should in many places be given the meaning of *love*. At page 129 of his Exposition of St. John he says :

"Such being the true doctrine of *Pistis*, or Faith in God, or Love of God, it would be a great mistake to suppose that verse 24 in chapter v., or verses 28, 40 and 47 in chapter vi., warrant the popular idea that for attaining Eternal Life one need only believe, or assent to, the proposition that Jesus is the Son of God sent to save man. For attaining Eternal Life or the Kingdom of God, neither belief, nor expression of belief in words, is sufficient. You should have something deeper and higher than belief, which, after all, is only thought. You should have, in the first place, poverty of spirit (Matt. v., 3)—a depletion of enjoyment in the pleasures of worldly life, and a yearning for the things of the Spirit. The next thing you should have is the teaching of one who has been sanctified. The Spirit withdrawn from sense-life is the field on which the word of the Sanctified Teacher will take root; and then comes the sprout called Love of God. That germ of love carefully nourished may be made to absorb all other loves, and to last forever, to be abiding (John xv., 4)—to be *so* abiding and *so* constant that your spirit, freed from all corruption, will be actually one with the Lord. 'He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit' (1 Cor. vi., 17). 'Love thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength' (Matt. xxii., 37).

There would indeed be no end to the discussion of the interesting themes to be found in this fertile and suggestive book, but I

have, I hope, called attention to enough of them to indicate the general features of the decidedly new and rather startling interpretation which it advances. Its expositions are supported, wherever exception is taken to the prevalent understanding of a passage, by scholarly and elaborate analyses of the Greek text, and throughout by an inexhaustible wealth of references to all parts of the Bible, which commend the works to the serious attention of scholars and thinking men. Each must form his own conclusion as to their force, but it may be proper to here observe that the interpretation is throughout rational, logical and straightforward; that in dispensing with the two doctrines of vicarious atonement and efficacy of belief, sheet-anchors though they be of the orthodox modern Church, the chief difficulties experienced by thoughtful men in accepting Christianity are removed; that, in fact, there is nothing in the teachings of Christ, as they are here explained, which runs counter to either reason or science; and that here is advanced a conception of the inestimable value of human existence, of the dignity of human nature and of the soul-stirring potentialities implanted in it, before which the commonplace ideas of the orthodox Church "pale their ineffectual fires." We may lend him a willing ear, and remain grateful if convinced.

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

### IX. THE NANAKUSA.

THE word *nanakusa* is the name of three categories in Japan. It means literally "seven grasses" and is sometimes applied to seven kinds of grasses occasionally used together. It is also the name given to the seven vegetables or "greens" eaten on the seventh day of the New Year. And the same name is applied to seven kinds of "flowers" which are used for decorative purposes on the special occasion of "moon-viewing" on the fifteenth day of the eighth month (o. c.) or about the end of September. It will thus be seen that for the present number we have been unable to select any one "flower" as pre-eminently appropriate, although there are plenty of blossoms; and also that this time the "flowers" (which, in this case include "grasses") are a subordinate element in the great festival of viewing the harvest moon.

The authorities differ as to the flowers included among the *nanakusa*; but we have chosen the following list:

*Hagi* (lespedeza or bush-clover); *Obana* (eulalia); *Kuzu* (pueraria); *Nadeshiko* (pink); *Ominacshi* (patrinia); *Fuji-bakama* (cupatorium); *Asagao* (wild morning-glory).

This list has been put into verse\* by an ancient poet, as follows:

"*Hagi ga hana*  
*Obana, Kuzu-hana,*  
*Nadeshiko no*  
*Hana, ominacshi,*  
*Mata Fuji-bakama,*  
*Asagao no hana."*

This verse is meaningless except as a catalogue of the *nana-*

\*Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*.

*kusa*; it contains merely their names, with the repetition of the word *hana* (blossom) and the use of the necessary connections.\*



AUTUMN GRASSES.

In spite of the fact that these flowers are used at the autumn

\*Another list substitutes *kikyō* (*platycodon*) for *fuji-bakama*, and rearranges the order.

moon festival, the *hagi* and the *susuki* (= *obana*) are, according to Mr. Cinder, among "flowers prohibited for auspicious occasions." Of the varieties of *lespedeza* the red ranks first.



FLOWER VENDER.

The *hagi* (bush-clover) is said to have attached to it several "fables, chief amongst them being that in which it is represented as

a maid beloved by a stag."\*It also figures, somewhat more perhaps than the others of this category, in Japanese literature. The following poems are examples:

"The bush-clover wavers tenderly in the morning breeze,  
But the pearls on the leaves enjoy safely their brief happiness,"

or, concisely:

"Ah! the waving lespedeza,  
Which spills not a drop  
Of the clear dew."

"The rotten bush-clover is gathered together,  
In order to construct the fence of the Imperial palace."†

"The deer lying on the bed made of bush-clover,  
Cries out full of pathos and tenderness.  
We can not see the form of the lovely creature,  
But the voice is clear and fascinating."

"The sound of the wind is dull and drear  
Across Miyagi's dewy lea,  
And makes me mourn for the motherless deer  
That sleeps beneath the Hagi tree."

\* It is also associated with the sleeping wild boar.

† A satire on the men of Hagi in Choshu, because they took a prominent part in the Restoration of 1867-8.

## SHAKESPEARE'S BRUTUS.

BY DR. EDWARD FARQUHAR.

AN aged man of letters somewhere said, that he had never found a solution of the contradiction in *Julius Caesar*, 3d scene of Act IV, where Brutus directly denies all tidings from his wife, having a moment before disclosed the news of her death to Cassius. What purpose or impulse governed him in that denial, was the question; not an important matter it might seem in itself, but it cannot be supposed an accident on the part of the author; and the investigation of it may bring us into contact with a good deal that is among the most interesting in all Shakespeare, very much as with the most trivial-seeming phenomena of Nature.

The explanation, we may naturally assume, is to be sought in the peculiar mental state of the hero at the time. The difficulty may have arisen from supposing this state, as conveyed in some expressions of indifference toward passing events, to have been one of imperturbable philosophical serenity. But it appears to have been rather, shall we say, one of a certain alienation, or incipient derangement. Now that we have pronounced the words, they seem too strong; or rather too coarse. To reckon Brutus among Shakespeare's lunatics would be obviously extravagant. It is rather a coloring than a substance, something to be taken in by impression more than by direct observation—a germ or rudiment, not a definite growth. Just here we may find the chief interest and value of *Shakespeare's Delineations of Insanity*. An entertaining book with that title, by Dr. Kellogg of the Utica Asylum, glows throughout with a zeal of admiration, not only for the poet's "unrivalled psychological intuition," in this region especially, but for his views of treatment, so immeasurably in advance of his time, and just slowly and painfully reached by the van of medical science in this past century. Yet this fervent book seems to miss a little that main point of interest we

are noting. There insanity appears to be treated somewhat exclusively as a specific disease of the brain. Physical brain disease, or inherited tendency to it, is of course the cause of very much insanity; but it is not this kind that Shakespeare has occasion to delineate. His world is of the mind, and mental causes alone in his dramas bring about the result, whatever the prior tendencies may have been. He leaves to other workmen the display of knowledge and the stir of sensation in representations of bodily ills. From this it would be clear already, without the need of illustration, that insanity with Shakespeare will be a thing of absolute gradation. There can be no sanity and insanity as definite states, but elements of either will intermix and shade as they do in our human nature, possibly neither ever far from the other; not "thin partitions," but no partitions do their bounds divide, in life and in Shakespeare. Illustrations press upon us indeed from his writings. It would be most interesting to rank the cases from the various plays, especially from those deeper ones which are commonly thrown toward the end of the collection, through all degrees between the lightest traces of inharmony or unbalance, and raging madness. It would then be seen how perfect is the relation of the mental constitution in each case with the conditions that affect it. A satisfying solution of the Hamlet riddle, for example, might be reached. It might be seen that this character, with certain natural tendencies and under powerfully impelling circumstances, forced inexorably out of any position tolerable to himself, is led to assume one as of a disordered mind, till this assumption passes indeterminately into reality; as the fakir, after holding his arm distorted twenty years, has lost the free use of it; an unmeaning question it would be, whether that limb were crippled or not—"it practically is to some extent" would be the practical answer; so is Hamlet's mind.

Repelling all the throng of other instances, we turn to Brutus, and endeavor to grasp the conception of him; noting always that it is Shakespeare's Brutus we have to deal with, being very little concerned with the actual historical personage of that name. He is the genius or later incarnation of the old Roman Republicanism, calling and supposing itself Liberty—how far it deserves the claim is a question not pertaining here, but we are all familiar with the claim; that spirit which had held its course so steadily since the dawn of tradition, and extended from such frail beginnings to the domination of the earth. But now a new spirit is abroad, to be called forever after by the name of its amazing embodiment, just passed from among us, Cæsarism. The one

is Rome, the other is Rome; what is to become of them? There is not "Rome enough or room enough," for both. The new is moving to victory, and the old is beginning to feel that it is, but will the old be likely to yield the place? It is the trite dilemma of the irresistible force and the immovable body. All the historical framework we cannot present; suffice it, that the further this frame were examined, the fitter it would be found to hold the picture of a heroic subject brought to that tension which draws toward the viewless boundary of derangement.

Brutus had walked the course of prosperous greatness, and had borne himself in the simple magnanimity of the olden time. The foremost man of all the world had fallen before him; but instead of ending, the task had scarce begun, and there was greater than the greatest for him to overcome. The spirit laid has reappeared—as is to be seen more vividly a little further on; and dissolution is about his vitals. He and Cassius are the two very hands of the State—and they fly apart, and clash and tear each other. Still nearer is his lot invaded—Portia is dead, and of grief at his adversity. Yet he is not to sink under the trials sent. His powers draw together, and abide prepared to set the hostile universe at defiance. It is the thrilling moment when the hero is strengthened instead of weakened by disaster; it is that commencing alienation, of the powerful, not the paltry spirit, where for the time he seems the more self-contained and effective, not the less; all his fiber drawn so tense and hard that he rings when you strike him. This is one shining instant when his personal strength is at its highest; but he is rushing to inevitable ruin, because he is out of harmony with the movement of events. Insanity is of course a sort of inequality or unmatch with the environment; but at this dividing hour he seems superior rather than inferior to it, with such force are his faculties thrown back upon themselves; which is in itself a sign of the breach. Compare the portrayal of Wallenstein by Schiller, when he blazes into such spiritual glory over the brink of his fall. For a somewhat vigorous presentation of such a phase in recent fiction, we might refer to the closing scene in Black's *McLeod of Dare*; but there the scope is a mere personality, far from the world interest of these examples. Here the hero is fatally assured of his power and of the work to which he is called by the gods. It is well to compare this state with that of man in some of his other finest moments, borne upon his support, of various names, of fortitude, philosophy, religion. The normal hero, saint or sage, assured of his place, replies to hostile fact: "You shall not affect me, or you shall serve me," and he carries it

out, upheld by the strength beyond his own. The condition we have sought to sketch is similar, only instead of defying the power of the fact, defies its existence, from an intenser self-assurance, says, "I am so much more real than you, that you are nothing at all; you shall not be." He gloriously realises himself, but mis-measures obstacles, and plunges into the abyss.

Brutus had indeed been none too perfectly in tune with his environment before, as we learn from Portia's own comments, and the earlier ones of Cassius; he has been with himself at war, and he has lost a great deal of sleep. In such preparations especially, the management of Shakespeare is never at fault. The murder of Cæsar had probably been corroding his mind ever since, with suggestions of ghastly doubt, and much of his will-power must have gone to resistance of these suggestions. The image of the butchered leader, his own father-like benefactor, the only man who could ride the tempests of the Roman world, whose works upon that world had been so marvellous for its good, must have fixed itself on his inward sight. He had not broken with the actual heretofore. The last crisis, now, however, is drawing on. The storm with Cassius has sunk to its calm that is not peace; he has in outward tranquillity mentioned Portia's death. Titinius and Messala enter; great decisions are at hand. A query is raised by Messala about the wife of Brutus; it is not the business now; he repels it. "Nor nothing in your letters writ of her?" asks Messala. Brutus, now at war with fact, again denies. He could not admit the fact as his own, though he was stonily armed to hear it from another. Portia was "himself, his half," as she had claimed, and as he had allowed, "as dear to me as are the ruddy drops that visit my sad heart," an expression which may perhaps be as interesting in this regard as in that of proving Shakespeare was acquainted with the circulation of the blood in advance of Harvey, as so many wise men before Shakespeare were. It would be like shattering his own sharp-crystallized being to say in this public council, "I have lost her," as he had done in the deep unveiling of the hour before with Cassius, when he was already shaken by their conflict; but when Messala tells him so, it is but an external fact, which he can dismiss with a wave of the hand. Under this general or "formal cause" there may be a special or "efficient cause"; he would test the fact—as in all such cases we entertain a certain phantom of suspense or uncertainty, survival of our previous condition—and this he does by denying knowledge of it; but this would have hardly been the method of the straightforward Brutus, except for the inner state in question. He only pursued the subject at all

in response to an interrogative remark of the other. Watch him now in the consultation; blind to the advantages which the more experienced eye of Cassius sees, though appearing all sublimely considerate himself, he rushes toward the catastrophe. The council breaks and he retires. Not rest, however, but hallucination folds him round. There can be no silence, no repose, for that haunted soul. He must hear music, he must read. As under a fate, he grows automatic and mechanical; tongue and hand have lost their helm. The book he searched for, he had already placed in his gown. And now the last seal is opened; Cæsar's ghost appears.

It may be scarcely necessary to remind any student of Shakespeare at much length, that no ghost ever exhibits gratis in his pages; none to the mere carnal eye. They are more a spiritual than an external phenomenon; it is always a state of mind that calls them up. If the comparatively indifferent guardsmen in the opening of Hamlet seem an exception, yet the trouble and transition of the time, their fresh bereavement of a glorious chief, affecting them in good part as it does the more important actors—"I am sick at heart," says one of them, with no other reason given—may relieve the exception, and make out a perfect proportion between the silent apparition to themselves (when deeper stirred they can hear its voice as from underground), the beginnings of response to Horatio, and the speaking shade to the filial prince. At any rate, the blindness of Hamlet's mother to the vision so deadly clear to himself, the like with the miscellaneous guests of Macbeth and the ghost of Banquo; King Richard hearing only the menaces, and Richmond only the encouragement of the spirits that speak at one time and place to both,—are matters quite essential to any proper theory of Shakespeare's ghosts. Very much in the line of probability then is the spectre of Cæsar. It is the new genius, whom these fanatic patriots thought they could smite to death in a single house of flesh; as if a new genius were likely to hold of such leases. Brutus is forced to see a little otherwise now. Its message is; that it shall meet him once again and for all, on the approaching battlefield. The old genius does not shrink; it can break, but never bend.

One point in the conclusion specially tallies with this view of the mental phase—the suicide of Brutus. Such is the close of Black's novel, cited above.

A single word, on the whole, may do our business best. With all his grandeur of spirit. Brutus is a fanatic; a man who follows his "principle" without intelligence to match. That will account for anything unworthy of human right or reason.

## NARAM-SIN'S STELE.

BY THE EDITOR.

**A** MOST remarkable monument of ancient Babylonian art and civilization, a stele about two metres high was discovered in the year 1898 by M. Jacques de Morgan, the French ambassador to Persia, during his excavations at Susa, the ancient capital of Elam. The monument bore two inscriptions, one in Semitic, the other in Elamite. The former is obliterated and the latter sufficiently readable to let us know that Shutruk Nakhunta, one of the greatest kings of Elam, on capturing Sipara, the ancient capital of Akkad, had this monument of Naram-Sin transferred to Susa, the capital of Elam.

The Elamites, a tribe of warlike mountaineers in the east of Mesopotamia, belonged to the most dangerous enemies of the more civilized inhabitants of the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, and we know that from time to time they made inroads into the fertile fields of Babylonia, sacking the cities and despoiling the farms of the country. In the fourth millennium B. C., King Sargon I of Akkad fortified the empire against its ferocious neighbors, and his son Naram-Sin, a worthy successor to his great father, carried the victorious arms of the Akkado-Babylonians into the mountains of Elam. Obviously it is this triumph which is commemorated in our monument, which accordingly must have been erected about 3750 B. C.

But the supremacy of Babylon over Elam could not be maintained. The Elamites regained their independence and the valley of Mesopotamia was again exposed to their raids. Sipara was taken by Shutruk Nakhunta and the monument of Naram-Sin's victory was now taken to Susa, this time in commemoration of the triumph of Elam, and the Elamite inscription proves that revenge was taken for the former defeat.

Thereafter, the stele has remained in the undisturbed posses-

sion of Elam. The empire of Babylon continued to decline and the new power, another Semitic nation, Assyria, came to the front. The



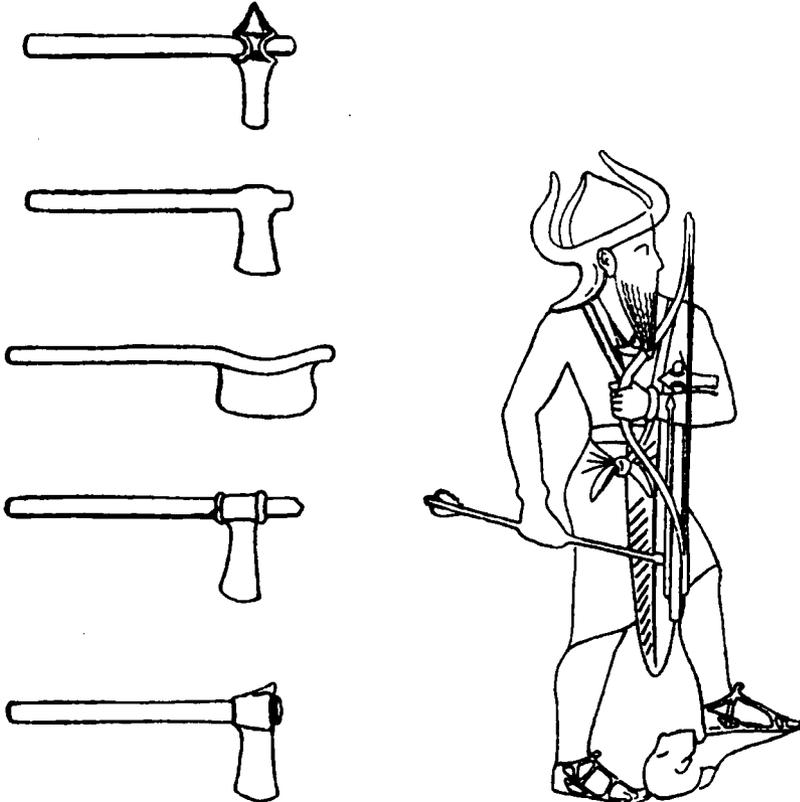
STELE OF NARAM-SIN, KING OF AKKAD.

Found in the ruins of Susa, now in the Louvre.

Assyrian armies descended from the upper Tigris into the valley of Babylon and swept over the countries of Hither Asia like an irre-

sistible cyclone. Elam tried in vain to preserve its independence. Susa was conquered, sacked, and burned, and in the conflagration, the stele of Naram-Sin was buried in the ruins of the city. There it lay forgotten until in 1898 the spades of M. Morgan's diggers brought the monument to light again. It stands now in the Louvre at Paris.

On the top of the stele we see two symbols, one representing the



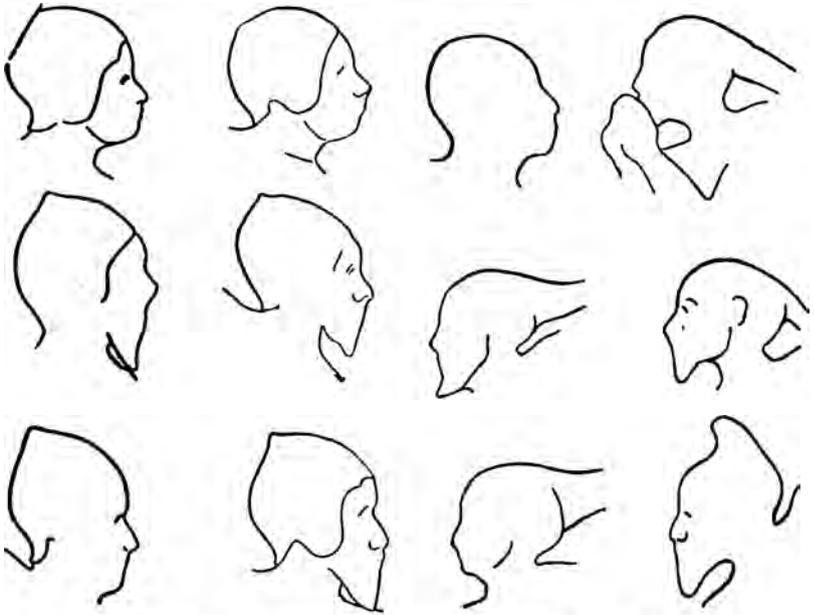
BATTLE-AXES OF THE TIME OF  
NARAM-SIN.

NARAM-SIN.

sun, the other a star, both shaped in the same way as they appear on later Babylonian and Assyrian monuments, and we must assume that the third symbol of the divine trinity, the moon was not missing on Naram-Sin's stele.

For reasons which cannot be here detailed it is commonly assumed that the religion of the Babylonians, including their doctrine

of the trinity, has in all its essentials been shaped by the ancient Sumerians and Akkadians and the monument of Naram-Sin appears to bear witness to the fact. The trinity was represented: first, by the moon, symbolizing the great father, the parent of all gods and the creator of the universe; secondly, by the sun, representing the saviour and governor of the world, the favorite son of the All-Father and privy to his councils; third, by the star, the planet Venus, symbolizing the great queen of heaven, sometimes represented as the divine mother, sometimes as the bride of God, the saviour, sometimes as virgin and mother in one person.



OUTLINES OF FACES FROM THE STELE OF NARAM-SIN.

The Babylonians are facing to the right, the Elamites to the left.

Other features of our monument are not less interesting. We see the king dressed in old Babylonian fashion, and we have reason to believe that it is a portrait true to life. He is armed with bow and arrows, clenching in his left arm a war hatchet. He is shod with sandals and his helmet is decked with buffalo horns. His attitude, as he stands on a heap of dead enemies, is dramatic and well studied. The artist indicates that Naram-Sin is a leader in battle, exhibiting a happy combination of courage and circumspection.

The Babylonian warriors are armed with long lances and

march in soldierly fashion, keeping step. The Elamite mountaineers whose facial types are different from those of the Babylonians are on the point of realizing their defeat. One of them is pulling out an arrow from his neck and has sunk down on his knees before the victorious king while another approaches him with a gesture of supplication.

The state of culture represented in the monument must have been very primitive still as is indicated in the dress and weapons of both parties. The more remarkable is the artistic skill and the freedom with which the figures are represented.

The Elamites were inferior in civilisation to the Babylonians, but we may very well assume that the sturdy mountaineers possessed good qualities, and it may be that they were less subject to corruption than the inhabitants of the plain. We must remember that when the Babylonian empire had played out, first the Assyrians from the upper Tigris took possession of Babylon for the short span of a few centuries, and then the Persians, the neighbors of the Elamites, a monotheistic, pure-hearted, and truth-loving people, descended upon Babylon and assumed the government of the vast empire of Western Asia, which they only lost through the boldness of Alexander the Great, when the rising power of Greek civilisation produced new conditions. Since then not only the ancient cities lay literally buried for more than two millenniums, but also the very best knowledge of the past,—Babylonian language, Babylonian science, and Babylonian history,—until in recent times modern archaeologists began to dig and recover the entombed records of her deeds and accomplishments.

## THE SPINNING DAMSEL

BY THE EDITOR.

**D**URING his stay at Susa, M. J. DeMorgan discovered a bas-relief, ten by thirteen centimeters, which is a beautiful specimen of Oriental art of Ancient Persia. The face of the spinning damsel is decidedly Semitic, and the slave behind her, with fan in



hand, belongs to the same race. The lady is seated upon a tabouret in Oriental fashion. Before her stands an altar-like table, apparently hollowed out on the top so as to serve as a dish, in which lies a fish. The seven indentations which appear above the fish may be the margin of the dish.

The right-hand corner shows remnants of a dress, indicating that there was a third figure, which is broken off and may have been either some person or a statue.

There is no trace of an inscription on the bas-relief so that there is no possibility of determining whether we have before us a family scene or the representation of some ceremonial spinning in a temple. Nor do we know whether the artist was an Elamite or a Babylonian. It may be the product of Babylonian art carried away by the victorious invader into their mountain home of Elam. However, if the sculptor was an Elamite, he must have acquired his skill and cultivated his taste in a Babylonian school.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### "THE DECADENCE OF FRANCE."

Some time ago (May, 1904) we published in *The Open Court* a number of letters on "The Decadence of France," which appeared in the *Européen*, a weekly periodical published at Paris. Mr. Theodore Stanton now sends us a number of letters on the same subject, written by English celebrities, which are here published for the first time in English.

COLONEL SIR HOWARD VINCENT, M. P.

"*La France est-elle en décadence?*" To this question there is only one response: "No! a thousand times No!" I find myself in the happy condition to make this statement. I have just completed a journey through France: Calais, Paris, Angoulême, Bordeaux, Le Médoc, Agen, Toulouse, Carcassonne, Marseille, Nice, Cannes, Antibes, Lyons, Dijon. They are the places visited by a delegation of the British Parliament. Everywhere is order; everywhere prosperity; everywhere a quiet and happy people, well fed, well nurtured, gay, content, hospitable, generous. The poor are not to be seen. Luxury is extensive. Such are the impressions received by my colleagues and myself, and this is the reason why I answer: "No! No! No!"

EDMUND GOSSE,

Librarian of the House of Lords.

*La France est-elle en décadence?*

My reply is, peremptorily, categorically, NO!

What is "decadence"? Is it not a phrase by which the timid often attempt to mask their fear of what is new, active and rebellious?

The only decadent nations are those which do not dare to change, which live on in a constant terror of encouraging audacity of thought or perversity of conduct. The living nations are forever making new experiments, at which conventional people shudder and scream.

We may scour the horizon of the world at this hour and see no nation which seems so little to deserve the rebuke of "decay" as the French. To my apprehension, no country at the present hour is so full of intellectual youth and hope, offers to the observer so great a variety of points of vitality, or draws the attention of the thoughtful to it with so vivacious a sympathy, as France.

"*La France est-elle en décadence?*" If by "decadence" you mean evo-

lution, the painful metamorphosis of life,—Yes! If by “decadence” you mean dulness, apathy, a sinking of the moral and mental temperature, a thousand times—NO!

SIDNEY LEE,

Editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

I hardly feel in a position to express any opinion on the weighty question you propose. I know little of France from the economic point of view; my pursuits have led me to study France exclusively in her literature. Although I believe that France, like all other civilized countries, is at the moment passing through a somewhat sterile period in the history of her literature, I judge the influence that she is still beneficially exerting on the literary style of the world to be great. In clearness of expression and perception French writers still seem to me to set an example to the world.

I am at the moment engaged at tracing, more minutely than has, I think, been done already, the influence of France on our Elizabethan poetry, and I am inclining to the opinion that the extent of French influence on our past as on our present literature has been hitherto underestimated.

LUCAS MALET.

The question which you propose, I, as a lover of France, venture to answer with an emphatic negative. France is not in a state of decadence; but she is, in my humble opinion, in a state of convalescence—and the symptoms of the latter condition may easily, by superficial observers, be mistaken for those of the former. From the middle of the eighteenth century she has passed through a series of convulsions, both moral and material, of experiments, of splendors and disasters, culminating in the cruel tragedy of 1870—1871, which must always remain to the student one of the amazing chapters of human history. That she should have retained her solidarity, her genius, and revived as a nation, shows a vitality so enormous, and an intelligence so adaptable and fertile that it is impossible to entertain misgivings as to her future. But the effects of her past sufferings are still upon her in a certain nervousness and sensitiveness, which result in episodes painful to her admirers. She is taken with unreasoning fears, and these lead to a violence both of feeling and of action which strikes the observer as unworthy and exaggerated. Two very dissimilar episodes, having their rise in these nervous terrors, appear especially unfortunate—I refer to the “Affaire Dreyfus” and the expulsion of the Religious Orders. In the first case there was a fear of abstract justice, in the second a fear of religious liberty. As a Catholic and a Liberal, alike, it is inconceivable to me that the highest interests of any nation can ever be served by the repudiation of such fundamental principles of social existence and of progress. Such repudiation, like all other recourse to artificial and arbitrary remedies, suggests a lack of faith in herself, and in her splendid destiny, which might be alarming, did one not remember that she still bears the scars of the tremendous adventures of the later years of the eighteenth and nearly the whole of the nineteenth century. Her convalescence must of necessity be long; but there are, surely, already signs, that her restoration to health will be complete and lasting. There are, perhaps, nations in Europe whom we “could do without”; but France very certainly is not among these! Indeed, it is not too much to say that never have

the influence and traditions of the Latin races been of more vital importance to the evolution of a true and noble civilization than at the present moment.

GILBERT MURRAY,

Formerly Professor of Greek at Glasgow University.

I hesitate to pronounce any opinion upon a subject so vast and so intricate, but there are two remarks that I venture to make.

1. If France is decaying, then the whole European civilization, as at present understood, is decaying. The same bad symptoms which appear in France appear also in England, Germany, Italy, and, from what one hears, in the nations of Europe. Nor can I see that the United States are much better.

2. France throughout her history has generally taken all her diseases severely and recovered from them vigorously. The present bad symptoms may be more severe in France than elsewhere, the recognition of them is certainly more outspoken, and the effort towards regeneration more resolute and far-reaching.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

A country may be in decadence materially or spiritually. Materially, I cannot believe that a fertile land with such hard-working and intelligent population as France, and the most capable women in the world, can be on the down grade. For foreigners, however, the greatness of France has always lain in the spiritual realm. She has fed the world with ideas and ideals. It has been a bitter blow to the hopes of the human race that precisely the country of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" should have produced a Dreyfus case. Here in Avignon, when I read on the walls "*Mort aux Juifs*" it is not only as a Jew that I feel that France has plunged back into the Dark Ages. I always studied Lemaitre with the greatest admiration for the universalist sympathy and critical intelligence—and lo! one day I find that *Lemaitre du jugement est devenu l'esclave du préjugé*. I was in America when the Dreyfus trial was taking place at Rennes—if Frenchmen could only understand the horror that shook all America at the verdict, they would be able to gage how much they have lost in the opinion of mankind—they who, however distanced in material progress, might still aspire to the spiritual hegemony of the peoples. The license of the French stage and of French literature is another argument for decadence. None but a French playwright would be permitted to place on the stage the caricature of a living personage, though Dr. Nordau may console himself by the remembrance that Aristophanes lampooned Socrates. Moreover, the exploitation of the sex-theme is pushed in France to the limits of silliness. Will Frenchmen never get tired of reading the same joke and seeing the same pictures? There is a total absence of perspective and a total lack of humor in their feverish interest in this subject. One would say a nation of schoolboys gloating over their first discovery of sex. The serious study of life by a Flaubert or a Zola is quite another affair.

Still France is too great to be despaired of, and too necessary for civilization, and if she produced a Dreyfus case, she produced also a Dreyfusard party, and men like Colonel Piccard able to sacrifice all for honor. It is such elements as these that will ever preserve France from decadence.

HERBERT VIVIAN,

Vice-President of the Carlton Club.

I do not believe that France should go further down the slope where so many nations seem to lose their primitive manhood. Since the Revolution, France has gone through many disasters, but has not France at present reached the nadir of her misfortune? To-day she is governed by a democratic clique. She opposes the Church. She is without faith and almost without law. She has lost her rank among the great powers.

Nevertheless, the true Frenchman remains courteous, chivalrous, hard-working, a lover of duty, the drudge of this civilization, which finds its future in the past.

Such a race can only spend itself entirely. Oh, that your legitimate king came with the ancient oriflamme, that the old civilization would re-appear, that the sun of Louis XIV. would rise again from its eclipse, and that France would be the cradle of a reaction filled with glory!

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 BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

**PRIVATE LIVES OF WILLIAM II AND HIS CONSORT, AND SECRET HISTORY OF THE COURT OF BERLIN.** From the Papers and Diaries, extending over a Period beginning June, 1888, to the Spring of 1898, of Ursula Countess Von Eppinghoven, Dame du palais to her Majesty the Empress-Queen. By *Henry W. Fischer*. Fischer's Foreign Letters, Inc. New York: 1904. 2 vols. Pp., xviii, 551, 347. Price, \$7.00, net.

Since William II, the present German Emperor, ascended the throne, he has constantly grown both in intrinsic worth as a ruler and in the estimation of the world. No doubt he has his faults; he is impulsive, easily irritated, and apt to rush into publicity where discretion might advise keeping out of view; but, withal, he is honest, courageous, and always ready to do his duty. He may frequently be mistaken, but we may be sure that he could never act contrary to his conscience. Besides, he is one of the most versatile monarchs that ever sat on a throne, and though, as a painter and composer he may be a dilettante, he is certainly an unusually talented monarch, and the many interests he takes in the arts and sciences have certainly done no harm.

The proverb says that before his valet no one is a saint, nor a hero either, nor a genius or generally great; and that is true, for it takes greatness to appreciate greatness, and a valet is a menial, of vulgar mind and sneaking habits, with mean ambitions, and will always be apt to disfigure the very facts of which he may be a witness. He sees the mud on his master's boots, but knows nothing of his aspirations and ambition.

The book before us is written by Henry W. Fischer, a German-American who claims (and there is no reason to doubt it) to come from a distinguished family. He has drawn his information from a personality whom he calls Ursula Countess Von Eppinghoven. In his information to the reviewer, he says:

"Eppinghoven is a fictitious name, used by the author to shield his informant. For, as the reader will readily believe when he has read some of the disclosures made in this book, the countess (she is in truth a countess of a very distinguished family) could not retain her liberty an hour after the volumes reached Germany.

Fischer's informant was, up to about the date of the coronation of the Czar, *hof-dame*, or lady in waiting, as she would be called at an English court, in the personal service of the Kaiserin. She held most intimate relations with the Empress and Emperor and speaks throughout from personal knowledge."

Further, we are informed that:

"Henry W. Fischer, the well known foreign correspondent, first met Countess Von Eppinghoven (who had just parted company with the Empress) in Moscow at the time of the coronation of the Czar. She talked readily of the Court of Germany and the correspondent, scenting copy, asked why she did not put her reminiscences of more than ten years' service at the Berlin Schloss on paper.

"No, the Countess could not do that. She was afraid and she did not know how to write a book. But she would turn her material over to Mr. Fischer and he could do as he liked.

"A bargain was struck forthwith, and when Fischer returned to this country his mail was burdened for weeks and months with bundles of notes, letters, and diaries. That the Countess was not disposed to hold back any sensational, or disagreeable, information she possessed, is very evident, but that she speaks the truth no one can doubt, for every word she said and wrote was verified by the author of the book, who twice crossed the ocean to trace down certain statements and to consult diplomatic correspondence and other secret sources of information. On the whole this book contains secret information on living personages, such as we are wont to look for in Memoirs, published after the characters described are dead a hundred years or longer."

The business agent of the publisher writes:

"Mr. Fischer wants to say to you that his purpose in writing the book was: to instill admiration for the Republican form of government, by painting the conditions that go with monarchy. Perhaps he overdraw the picture, perhaps he was too one-sided, but Thackery in his 'Four Georges', and Carlyle in 'Frederick the Great,' were guilty of the same fault."

If the author, as he states, wants to instill admiration for the Republican form of government, he has certainly chosen the wrong method, for his book is nothing but servant's gossip, not of the best kind. The book contains nothing tangible or positive, but is full of insinuations and hints at improprieties based upon a most malicious construction of the facts under observation. A judicious reader, who considers that this large two-volumed book of 900 pages is written in the most mal-  
evolent spirit, will come to the conclusion that the German Emperor must be a pretty irreproachable man, and a good husband and family father; and further, that the Empress, too, is above suspicion, for all the stories of her jealousy are obvious inventions. There may be facts that underlie the reports of Mr. Fischer's informant, but judging from purely internal evidence, we may be sure that they are disfigured beyond recognition.

The greater part of the inhabitants of the United States still believe that one main part of our liberty consists in the privilege of attacking the good name and honor of prominent persons. It appears most strongly in the shameless attacks upon candidates for the highest offices in our country. These customs show a certain crudity in our social conditions and prove that the vulgar classes of American society determine to a great extent the character of certain of our habits and institutions. The time will come when the American people will believe that the honor and good name of all persons ought to be as much protected as their lives, liberty and their property. In Europe, and especially in England, slander is severely pun-

ished, even if the slanderer can prove that he speaks the truth, and it appears that a prominent person, even kings and emperors, enjoy the same right as private citizens. There was a farce being played on a stage at Berlin, which ridiculed President Roosevelt and his family, but the German police interfered at once at the request of the Prussian government, and the play had to be altered so as to render the objectionable scene impersonal.

Here in America we do not hesitate to ridicule our own presidents, and deem it a special privilege of our national liberty to do so. We expect that with the spread of more refinement and a keener sense of honor, conditions will change. At any rate, it is devoutly to be hoped for.

No reader who means to be fair can read Mr. Fischer's book without an unreserved condemnation of the spirit in which it is written.

---

THE TRUTH ABOUT JESUS OF NAZARETH, as derived from a Study of the Gospel Narratives. By *Philip Sydney* London: W. Stewart & Co. 1904. Pp. xi, 215. Price, 2s.

This book, which proposes to state the truth concerning Jesus of Nazareth in plain language, avoiding only needless offence, is an outspoken statement of unbelief in the divinity of Jesus. The author has carefully read Dean Farrar's *Life of Christ* and also the Gospels, as well as Biblical Higher Criticism. He criticises the Dean's explanations and finds them throughout wanting, if tested by a fair consideration of the Gospel statements themselves. He discusses the relation of Jesus to John the Baptist, the temptation story, the policy of Jesus, his visit to Nazareth, and his relation to his family, his brothers, and especially his mother, the raising of Lazarus, his triumphant entry into Jerusalem, the flight to Gethsemane and the arrest, the resurrection, the second coming, the teachings of Jesus, the character of Jesus, the apostles and women followers of Jesus, and, finally, Mary as the Mother of God. He thinks that it would be better if his countrymen, the Britons, would recognize the truth of the conflicting statements and abandon their belief in man, who can neither be regarded as the Son of God, nor be claimed as a saint or sage.

---

SRI SANKARA CHARYA. I. His Life and Times. By *C. N. Krishnasami Aiyar, M. A., L. T.* II. His Philosophy. By *Pandit Sitannath Tattvabhushan.* Madras. G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade. 1904. 2s. Pp. vii, 134.

Sankara Charya is the representative thinker of India. The main doctrine of his philosophy is a belief in the self and a final identity of all selves in the supreme self of God. He teaches that there is something immutable in us, the Ego, which is the true soul of man, and all souls are incarnations of the deity. The material world is a purely relative existence, and the world of self is the sole reality.

This doctrine originated in a latent and unsystematic form in the days before Buddha. Buddha denied the existence of the self as an independent being and taught the doctrine of the "anatman," or the doctrine of the "non-existence of the self." Buddhism abolished all rituals and insisted on salvation by "walking in the eight-fold noble path of righteousness." When, in later centuries, Buddhism began to lose its hold on the people, perhaps caused by the faults of the Buddhist clergy, possibly by their enforcement of the prohibition of the slaughter of animals and the eating of flesh food, Brahmanism grew in power, and among the representatives of the believers in ritualism and animal sacrifices the most zealous one was Kumarila Bhatta, who is reported to have waged a relentless war upon Buddhists and Buddhist institutions. In opposition to the doctrine of salvation by moral con-

duct, he re-established the ritual of animal sacrifices. Whatever harm he did to Buddhism he would probably not have succeeded to re-establish Brahmanism, had he not been followed by a broader and profounder representative of Hinduism, Sankara Charya.

Sankara was opposed to the Buddhist doctrine of the "anatman," but he accepted Buddhist ethics. He was a noble personality and became the center of a reformed Brahmanism, the philosophical nucleus of which is, as stated above, the doctrine of the soul as an independent self.

Sankara's interpretation of the Vedas has become the orthodox philosophy of India, and he is highly revered by Theosophists, Vendantists, and kindred movements of the present day.

The booklet consists of two parts; the first one (pages 1-89) contains "The Life and Times of Sankara," written by a scholarly Hindu, Mr. C. N. Krishnasami Aiyar, assistant professor of a native college of Coimbatore; the second part discusses Sankara's philosophy (pages 91-144), written by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan, author of "Hindu Theism."

---

THE LAW OF LIKENESS. By *David Bates*. Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, and Bombay. 1903. Pages, 340.

The author of this book relates the experiences of his religious development, how he was educated as a pious Calvinist, how he felt troubled about his faith, how he lost confidence in it and yet became assured of the indifference of the creed as compared with the doing of the will of God, resting satisfied in modest acquiescence to God's will. His experiences in West Africa are specially noteworthy and illustrate in detail his religious attitude. We find some prolixity in his contemplations of natural history and also his summary of the results of Babylonian excavations. While swerving from the old faith, he still retains the religious sentiment and sees the likeness of God develop not only in the poor children of the Dark Continent but also those that grow away from the literal belief in the Calvinistic faith. He concludes his book with the following words:

"In our apprehension of the infinity of our inheritance in the Father's love; in the consciousness of our spirit of the immaturity of its estate, and of its position as but on the threshold of the Father's home; in all the longing of the soul for conformity to the Divine Righteousness in all its activities, and for the fulfilment of its native desire for at-one-ment absolute with the Divine Rejoicing; we have manifest to us the sure hope of our Likeness."

The book will appeal to all those who passed through a similar development, and in addition it will give to the psychologist a true and detailed insight into a certain important phase of the author's soul. To the general public it will naturally appear verbose; to the pious it is marked by the tendency of drifting away from creed, and to the liberal it will be too pious in tone.

---

Baron Suyematzu, who contributes to the present number of *The Open Court* an article on "The Problem of the Far East," was, until 1901, Secretary of the Interior of Japan. He is the son-in-law of the great statesman Marquis Ito and is at present travelling in Europe in the interests of his country.

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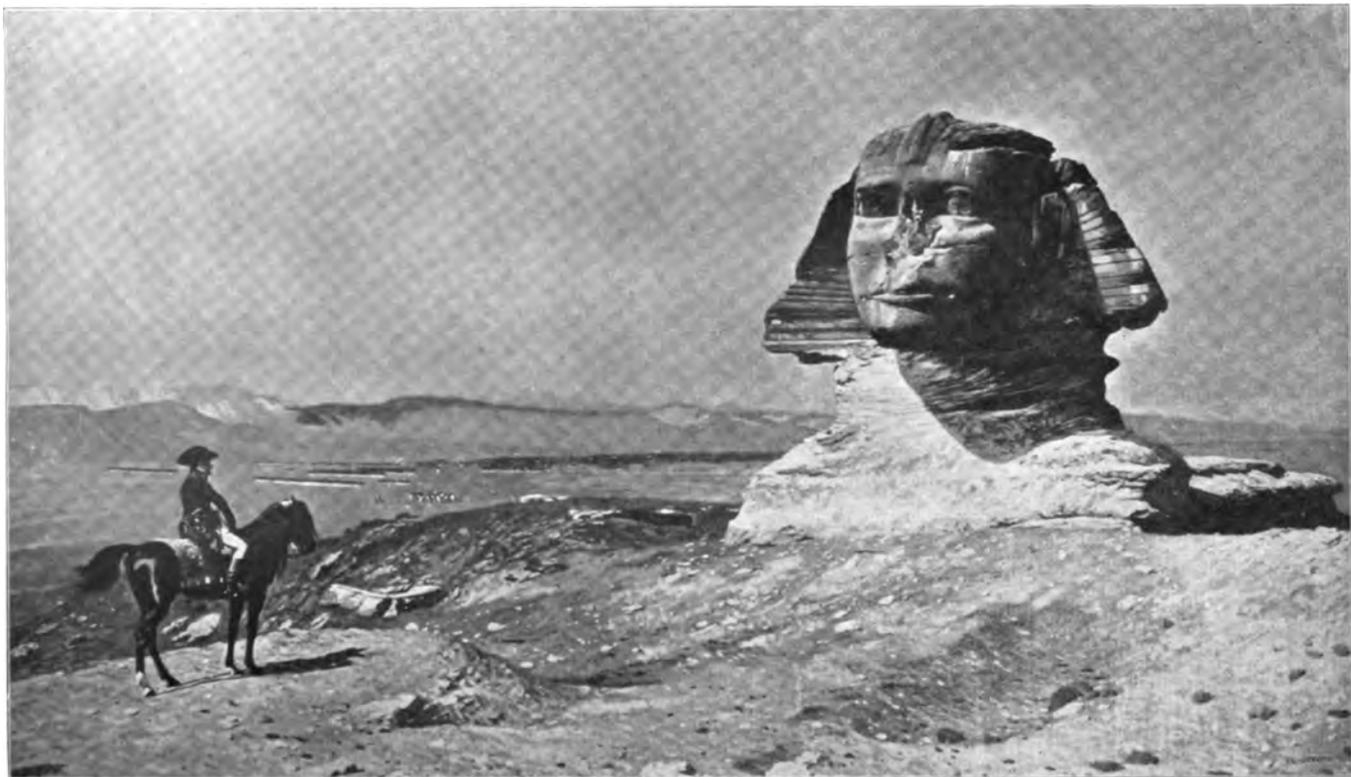
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NAPOLEON BEFORE THE SPHINX. (By L. O. Meson.)

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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

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## WHAT THE DOG IS BUILT TO DO.\*

BY WOODS HUTCHINSON, A. M., M. D.

THE first question which rises in our minds, when we see a new and strange object, is, What is it for? What is it fitted to do? And, as usual, first questions go deepest. Go about answering them, and you will soon find yourself with a fair working-knowledge of your subject. Leave them unanswered and no amount of information will satisfy you.

Let us suppose that our friend and comrade, the dog, was as strange to us as Dick Whittington's cat was to the natives of Khatmandhu. What does he look as if he was "built" to do? Two things strike us at once, the gleaming teeth in his long, powerful jaw, and the look of speed about his clean, well-set, graceful legs.

And his actions show that they are the most important things about him. He is always on the move, at a bounding elastic gallop, or swinging, tireless trot, "that eats up the long miles like fire," as Kipling says, and the joy of his heart is a wild dash after anything, stick, ball, bird, cat, that gives him the remotest chance of getting his teeth into it. Evidently, to chase and to catch have been his principal occupations for many generations.

From the length of his jaws and the size and strength of the ivory hooks with which they are armed, we would say that his usual prey had been animals of considerable size and strength.

And how does he capture these? By a stealthy approach and sudden cat-like spring? Evidently not, for, in the first place, his entire bearing and gait are against such a supposition, and, in the second, a glance at his feet shows that his claws are neither hooked,

\*The first installment of a brief Introduction to the Rational Study of Natural History for Children.

nor sharp enough to hold prey pounced upon in this way, nor has he the shoulder-play and hammer paws suitable for a heavy, stunning stroke. Just watch him trying to catch that robin out on the lawn. Instead of crouching down flat, and crawling from one shrub to the next, taking advantage of every tuft of grass till he is close enough for a spring, then gazing round at the scenery with an air of skilfully assumed indifference if he misses, bang he goes, straight at his intended victim, yelping furiously to let Mr. Robin know he's coming, and when he flies away, chasing him madly as long as he can keep him in sight.

Evidently a frank and open chase, kept up as long as the quarry can possibly be kept track of, by either sight or smell, is the tradition of his race. The longer the chase, the better it suits his powers. His deep chest, powerful loins, and sinewy legs tell of both speed and endurance.

But in broken country, or through woods and copses, endurance will avail him little, if he has to depend upon his sight alone for keeping track of his game. Look at his large and restless nostrils, and see how he uses his nose to test everything that he comes across. How he lifts his head and sniffs the air before he dashes into a thicket, to return with a rabbit in his mouth. Here is the secret of his tough and wiry build, the sense which keeps him on the trail of his prey, long after it has passed out of sight and hearing, even though its scent may be eight, ten, or twelve hours old.

But why this cheerful, musical accompaniment which, from the eager, treble "yap" of the terrier, to the deep, baritone bay of the blood-hound, always announces to the echoing woodlands that the scent is hot? Surely this is not only sheer waste of valuable breath, but a gratuitous announcement to every rabbit and deer within three-quarters of a mile that the hunt is up, and they must run and hide.

But what if they do? The fatal trail of scent is left behind to be followed as we track foot-prints in the snow, while, on the other hand, every dog within earshot of the hunting-cry dashes off in its direction at once, in the hope of heading off, or even running into the tired quarry. When a dog "gives tongue" he goes back to the old wolf-days, before the dawn of history, and summons the listening pack to the chase and a share of the kill.

He is no selfish and solitary hunter like the cat, or otter, and that is one of the main reasons why we have been able to make him so vastly useful to us. With an ingenuity which does us credit, we have succeeded in transferring to ourselves the loyalty and obedience once rendered by him to the pack. He has adopted us into the pack,

and we, I am proud to say, have adopted him into the family, yet the balance of devotion and service is distinctly in our favor. He is at best, to us, but a member of the family; we are to him the embodiment of the whole pack. He probably worships us, much as the savage adores the ancestral spirit of his tribe.

Look more closely at his feet and see how admirably they are adapted for this long-distance racing. Only the balls of his toes, and the central pad, round which they are compactly grouped, touch the ground. The dog moves continually on tip-toe, just as we do when we run fast. This gives both elasticity and increased length of leverage. Each toe is shod below with a thick, leathery pad of tough skin, and tipped by a strong curved nail.

The toes spread just enough to give a secure foothold on every sort of surface; with the aid of his claws he can scramble almost anywhere that a goat can. Though his claws are neither hooked enough to hold, nor long enough to slash with, they have a keen, rounded, cutting edge, and are strong and flat, arched above and hollowed beneath, just like small trowels. Capital burrowing-tools they make, whether to dig the rabbit out of his hole, or to enlarge the hollow under the roots of a stump into a snug chamber for the mother and her puppies.

If you will take up a dog's foot with one hand and press it firmly down upon the palm of the other, you will see that the toes can be spread quite widely apart, and the folds of skin between them put on the stretch. This power of spreading makes it an excellent paddle to swim with, the foot expanding against the water on the down-stroke, and collapsing on the return, just like a duck's foot, so that the dog swims stronger and higher out of the water than any other of our domestic animals. Most animals swim with only their heads above the surface, but the dog carries his neck, shoulders, and often half the length of his back out of water.

Now let us look at his coat, and see what clue that will give us to his profession and occupation. It is evidently a regular hunter's suit, a capital "rough and ready" costume, good for all weathers and temperatures. Much as its length and color may vary in the different breeds, we shall always find it to consist of two kinds of hair: one, long, coarse, and shining, which forms the entire surface, or outer coat; the other, short, fine, and woolly, which grows close to the skin, and forms the under or inner coat. The long, outer hairs give the coat its character and color, according as they are stiff or silky, straight or curly, black, white, or brown. Their use is to protect the dog from brambles and thorns in his gallops through

the underbrush, to shed the rain and keep out the snow, to form a blanket under and a mackintosh over him when he sleeps. Hence they remain practically the same winter and summer.

The soft, short, mossy undercoat, however, is chiefly for warmth, like our own flannels, and hence is much thicker and closer in winter than in summer. Lift up the outer coat and you will see it lying among the roots of the hair like moss under grass, and usually a duller shade of the color of the outer coat. Look at the cat's fur and you will find exactly the same arrangement, only the long outer hairs are so fine and silky that at first glance you think there is only one class of hair present. Separate the coat by blowing into it and you will at once see the dull-colored, lustreless inner-coat at the bottom of the fur.

What could we say of the probable habits of the two animals from a comparison of their coats? That the dog had been accustomed to be out in all weathers and to sleep in the open, while the cat had avoided the rain and the wet and always slept under cover.

Don't apply this line of reasoning to the fur of a seal-skin sacque, or an otter cape, as these are only the dyed *under-coat* of the animals, the long, stiff outer coat having been carefully plucked out, hair by hair. Nearly all animals that are covered with hair have these two coats, though some, like the pig, have lost all but a few of the outer bristles, and others, like the sheep, have only an immensely-developed under-coat, in the form of wool.

If you are curious as to how the dog gets rid of his winter under-clothing, just let him rub against your dark dress or stockings in the spring, or watch the carpets of any room he is allowed to come into, and you'll see that he sheds both coats within a few weeks' time. They both come in again, fresh and bright, but with the under-coat very thin and light, and it is not until the cold nights begin in the fall that it grows thick and long to form his winter flannels.

Nearly all animals shed their winter coats in the spring and get a summer one, which does not thicken up till fall, and that is why their skins are of no value for fur purposes during the summer. Even the sheep would shed if we didn't shear him first, and look how rough and shaggy a pony's coat gets in winter. They all have one great advantage over us in the matter of clothes, for of their spring suits the clothiers' classic guarantee is literally true, "the longer you wear 'em, the thicker they get," and they grow themselves without having to be bought or fitted.

As for the uses which man has made of the powers of the dog-

engine, they are household words. Long before the dawn of history he had become our companion in the chase, then the most important occupation of life. He was far the earliest animal to be domesticated, and hence is entitled to our affection as both the oldest and the staunchest friend of man. How early in the infancy of the race at the Stone Age, man went forth and slew the she-wolf in her lair, but saved her cubs alive, or, as Dr. Carus explains it in his "Philosophy of the Tool," the wolf began prowling round the camp-fire for bones, or following the chase for the offal, we know not and never shall know, for when man appears upon the threshold of history, the dog is at his heels.

In the days when our great-grandfather rose from his bed of dried leaves and bearskins, with his dinner and perhaps even his breakfast still running at large in the forest, the dog was simply invaluable. A man's living and that of his whole family might literally depend upon the speed of his dog. No wonder that he was made much of and that some savages will today share their last piece of meat with their dogs.

There are even gruesome stories abroad, that at times he has been regarded as of more value than some members of the human family. Darwin tells of a conversation that he had with the chief of a little band of natives on the bleak and barren coast of Tierra del Fuego. The old man knew a little English, and Darwin, noticing the famished appearance of his followers, asked what sort of a winter they had had. He was told that it had been frightfully severe and food so hard to get that all the old women of the tribe had died of hunger. Pointing to the score or more of wolfish dogs, which were sniffing suspiciously around the group, he asked in some surprise, why these had not been sacrificed for food? The wizened old chief looked at him for a moment, in contemptuous wonder at such a foolish question, and then with a shrug of his shoulders, replied, "Doggies catch otters, old women no can!"

A convincing testimony to the savage's high regard for his dog, if not exactly to his humanity, tho' indeed his assistance in the struggle for existence, in the hunting-stage, was simply invaluable. From the frozen North, where he trailed the musk-ox and brought the bear to bay among the ice-hummocks, to the sun-scorched South, where he coursed the antelope across the desert, or pulled down the deer in the jungle, half the success of the hunter depended upon him. His speed enables him to catch the game in the open and hold, or delay it, till the hunter can come up, his nose and scenting powers, to find it however skilfully hid in the thickest and most impenetrable

tangles. He can follow the invisible trail of the wounded bull or trace the tottering steps of the dying elk to the thicket where he has dropped in his tracks. His "dogged" persistence drives the hunted deer circling back to the place from which he started, or into the nearest water, there to meet his fate.

So indispensable was he that it is doubtful whether man could have become civilized without his aid. When a little later in history, man reached a stage of greater comfort, where he was not obliged to kill and eat at once everything that he captured and so saved some of the young calves and kids alive and saw them grow and multiply into flocks and herds under his care, the dog begins to play a new part. He becomes the sworn protector of the very animals whose hereditary enemy he had been for countless generations. In their defense he will even turn against his own cousin, the wolf. Wherever the shepherd, the herdsman, has gone, from the plains of Asia Minor to the ranges of Arizona, from the misty Highlands of Scotland to the dusty flats of Australia, the dog has gone with him as his right-hand man. His keen scent for danger, his courage when it comes, his tireless ranging powers, his skill in finding the lost and the strayed, his sagacity and obedience, render him absolutely indispensable.

Even today no farm is considered properly equipped without its dog to frighten the fox or polecat from the hen roost, the wolf from the flocks, and the thief from the granary or orchard. As the ever-watchful and absolutely incorruptible guardian of our property, our homes, and, in troublesome times, even our lives, his place would have been and is yet hard to fill.

Still another way in which he has been of service is as a beast of burden. Whenever the soil or the climate will not let grass enough grow to feed a horse or a donkey, the dog is harnessed to the cart, the sled, or the travaux. As is well known, the Eskimo and our Northern Indians depend entirely upon him for this purpose. Five good Eskimo dogs will gallop forty or fifty miles a day with a sled carrying a man and all his weapons and provisions for a long trip. Some of the northern Indians, who are too lazy to build a cart in summer, take two light poles about six feet long, tie them together at one end with a thong about a foot long and throw this across the dog's back, so that the other ends of the poles trail on the ground. A piece of cloth or leather is slung between them just behind the dog's hocks, and then upon this rude and slanting trail-litter, known as a "travaux," are piled food, cooking pots, bedding, or babies, until the load is about as heavy as he can drag. So much is he used for

this purpose that in the Indian sign-language, the sign for "dog" is made by extending and slightly separating the first two fingers of one hand, and then drawing them, nails downward, along the palm of the other hand, to imitate the poles of a travaux.

Nor need we go so far to find the dog in common use as a draught-horse. Cross over to Holland or Germany, and you will see scores of dogs, in every city, drawing fruit wagons, milk-carts, peddler's trucks, and even towing boats along the canals. And it is an odd sight to see a dog harnessed on one side of the pole of a truck-wagon and a man, or more commonly, a woman, on the other. You probably didn't know that you are repeating a forgotten chapter in ancestral history, when you put a fearfully and wonderfully constructed harness upon patient old Carlo, to his speechless disgust, and drive him in triumph to your little red wagon.

With his record of at least ten thousand years of continuous service and devotion to our race, is it any wonder that our hearts go out to the dog, as they do to no other animal? Although hunting has shrunk from the principal business of life to a mere pastime of our leisure hours, and most of us have neither flocks, nor herds, nor growing crops, nor any property interests, which require protection other than that of the policeman on duty, and the timelock, so that half his practical utility to us has absolutely disappeared, his hold upon our affection is stronger than ever. He is no longer our servant but our friend and companion.

# THE LEGENDARY AND THE REAL NAPOLEON

AN OCCULT STUDY.

BY HENRY RIDGELY EVANS.

"The real hero of modern legend, the legend that towers above the whole century, is Napoleon."—Marc Debrit: *Inter. Quar.*, Vol. VI., No. 1. Sept.—Dec., 1902.

"After Marengo, you are the hero of Europe, the man of Providence, anointed of the Lord; after Austerlitz, Napoleon the Great; after Waterloo, the Corsican ogre."—Victor Hugo: *William Shakespeare*.

## I.

IT has been the fate of the great historical personages—warriors, priests, poets, kings and reformers—to have woven about them a tissue of myths and fables. Miraculous stories have grown up about the Christ, Moses, Mohammed, Buddha, Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Alexander the Great, Charlemagne and Napoleon I, entirely obscuring the true characters of these great men. They remind one of the interminable bandages wrapt about the Egyptian mummy. One has to unwind these cerement cloths in order to get a view of the body—to see it in its staring nakedness. It is, then, the duty of the student of history to dissipate these myths and fanciful stories, to treat men as real beings, and not as demi-gods.

Let us take Napoleon I as an example. There is a Napoleonic legend that persists in spite of the iconoclastic efforts of modern historians to destroy it. Like Banquo's ghost it will not *down*. The name of Napoleon is still one to conjure with. We make pilgrimages to his tomb, under the gilded dome of the Invalides, and offer up our devotions to the ashes of the dead hero. By paying a small fee to a uniformed official, we may gaze upon his little

cocked hat—*le Chapeau de Marengo*, which has been metamorphosed into a symbol or fetish by a French painter. Every few years there is a tremendous revival of the Napoleonic cult. Witness the extraordinary enthusiasm over Rostand's play *L'Aiglon*, with its memories of the great soldier and his ill-fated son, the poor eaglet who beat his feeble wings in vain against the golden bars of his cage.

Says Debrit: "The Napoleonic legend did not arise at once, that is, while he was the all-powerful master of France, and whil:



THE EIGHT EPOCHS OF THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON.

This original series of hats, presented in different significant positions, is from the pencil of Steuben, one of the most fertile painters of the First Empire, and symbolises the eight principal epochs in Napoleon's career: (1) Vendémiaire, (2) Consulate, (3) Empire, (4) Austerlitz, (5) Wagram, (6) Moscow, (7) Waterloo, (8) St. Helena. (From Armand Dayot's *Napoléon raconté par l'image*. Paris: Librairie Hachette & Cie. 1895.

he was crushing Europe under his iron heel with an amount of free-and-easiness, and a contempt for the rights of others that has been equaled or surpassed only by the great Asiatic conquerors, Tamerlane and Ghenghis Khan. At that time he was admired and feared, but he had not yet become, as he did become later, the ideal of grandeur and chivalric majesty. His epic commenced after his fall only

\* \* \* It was developed after Waterloo, especially when the vanquished despot appeared in fallen majesty on that rock of St. Helena, which turned out, indeed, to be a magnificent pedestal for him."

Napoleon's memoirs, by their "vast number of misstatements, many of them evidently intentional," and the effort to foist into history apocryphal documents, have "helped forward," says J. R. Seeley (*Napoleon I*, p. 230), "the process by which he was idealized after his death." This they accomplished by dwelling almost exclusively upon the earlier period and on the Waterloo campaign. "They reminded the world that the Prometheus now agonizing on the lonely rock, who had lately fallen in defending a free nation against a coalition of kings and emperors, was the same who, in his youth, had been the champion of the First French Republic against the First Coalition. They consigned the long interval to oblivion. Hence the Napoleonic legend, which has grown up in the very midst of the nineteenth century, and would perhaps never have been seriously shaken but for the failure of the Second Empire. Look at Napoleon's career between 1803 and 1814, when it was shaped most freely by his own will; you see a republic skilfully undermined and a new hereditary monarchy set up in its place. This new monarchy stands out as the great enemy and oppressor of nationalities, so that the nationality movement, when it begins in Spain and Tyrol and spreads through North Germany, is a reaction against Napoleon's tyranny. But in 1815 he succeeded in posing as a champion and martyr of the nationality principle against the Holy Alliance. The curtain fell upon this pose. It brought back the memory of that Bonaparte, who at the end of the eighteenth century had seemed the antique republican hero dreamed by Rousseau, and men forgot once more how completely he had disappointed their expectations. By looking only at the beginning and at the end of his career, and by disregarding all the intermediate period, an imaginary Napoleon has been obtained, who is a republican, not a despot; a lover of liberty, not an authoritarian; a champion of the Revolution, not the destroyer of the Revolution; a hero of independence, not a conqueror; a friend of the people, not a contemner of the people; a man of heart and virtue, not a ruthless militarist, cynic, and Machiavellian. This illusion led to the restoration of the Napoleonic dynasty in 1852."

Lord Wolsley takes similar ground. He says (*Cosmopolitan Magazine*, Jan., 1903):

"His (Napoleon's) longing for praise was strong, but his de-

termination to secure posthumous fame was still stronger. It was not enough, it did not satisfy his insatiable craving for renown, that all nations should recognize him as the greatest of living men; he would have his name coupled forever with those of Alexander and of Julius Cæsar, and placed beside theirs in the world's great Valhalla. Of all he wrote and dictated at St. Helena, this aspiration was the keynote. Those who assisted him in the compilation of the hodgepodge of interesting untruths, concocted there for publication, helped in this plot to conceal facts and deceive future generations. He would have had us forget the heroes of other ages, and would have history filled with the story of his fame alone. He placed on record in his beautiful island prison, not what he had thought or said or done during the vicissitudes of his unparalleled career, but what he wished history to accept and repeat as facts forever.

"There is no great historical character of modern times whose early life has been more variously recorded than his has been, and none contributed to this result more than he did himself. The large amount of fiction with which his story abounds has so long passed current as fact *that legends have been created* [the italics are mine] *on its foundations to further what I may well term the 'Napoleonic worship.'* These fables are still repeated in many of his most important biographies as facts beyond all dispute. A divine origin was claimed for Julius Cæsar, and he boasted the tradition. But in the early life of Napoleon, and in the history of his family, there was much that evidently accord with his own notions of what should be the story of a Cæsar's youth, and of a Cæsar's parents and nearest relations. As I take it, the aim of this great Corsican romancer was to mystify posterity concerning the occurrences of his early years by relating them not as they were but as he conceived they should have been in the life of the Second Cæsar—Napoleon, Emperor of the French."

## II.

Napoleon's Egyptian campaign was productive of legends.

When the hero of Lodi, after his splendid campaign in Italy, suggested Egypt, to the Directory, as the scene of future conflict and glory for the French arms, the legislative figureheads of France were not slow in taking the hint. They felt themselves insecure in their imitation curule chairs as long as the idol of the people and the army remained inactive at home. The excuse for the expedition was this: To strike a blow at the English in the East, and cut them off from communication with India. It was an extravagant idea alto-

gether, this sending a French army into the Orient, to die by the sword and the plague amid the burning sands of the desert.

But the Directory wanted to get rid of Napoleon—they feared the future Cæsar, and consented to his plans. What splendid dreams of conquest and glory moved the ambitious soul of Bonaparte at this time? Who could fathom the burning and mysterious thoughts of that mighty soul? Did this lion heart aim at the conquering of the world? Who can tell?

Napoleon's efforts to conciliate the natives were theatrical in the extreme. His knowledge of men was profound, but he utterly failed to comprehend the Moslem mind and character—that grave, drowsy, Oriental soul, so deeply indifferent to Western ideas and progress. When Cairo fell into the hands of the French, one of Napoleon's first efforts was to call an assemblage of Arab chieftains and form them into a Divan, or Senatorial body, to assist in governing Egypt, under the guiding hand of France. Then he issued the following remarkable proclamation, which was translated into Arabic:

"We (the French army) also are true Musselmans. Is it not we who have destroyed the Knights of Malta, because these madmen believed that it was God's will that they should make war on Musselmans? Thrice happy those who shall be with us. They shall prosper in their fortune and in their rank. Happy those who shall be neutral; they will have time to know us, and they will range themselves on our side. But woe to those who shall take up arms in favor of the Mameluke and fight against us. There shall be no hope for them; they shall all perish." (July 2, 1798.)

The soldiers only laughed at this bulletin and the Arabs received it with disdain. General Menou embraced Mahometanism, but his example, says Lanfrey, the French historian, "only excited ridicule, and he found very few imitators; but if the soldiers had no religious convictions, they had a proud feeling of their moral superiority. This obstacle made Bonaparte regret that he had not lived in ancient times when conquerors had no such scruples, and, speaking of Alexander the Great, he said he envied him his power of proclaiming himself the son of Jupiter Ammon, which had been worth more to him in his subjugation of Egypt than twenty battles gained. He adopted the sententious and imaginative language of the East, and never spoke to the Sheiks or Muftis without quoting on every occasion verses of the Koran, and continually boasted to them of having 'destroyed the Pope and overthrown the Cross.' He tried hard to strike the fatalist imagination by asserting that human efforts

could not prevail against him, and by attributing to himself a kind of Divine commission to complete the work of Mahomet."

Napoleon's invasion of Syria was the sequel of one of those vast dreams of conquest in which he was wont to indulge. I quote again from Lanfrey: "At one time he studied the map of the deserts which separated Syria from Persia, fought over again the campaigns of Alexander, and wrote to Tippoo-Saib that he was preparing to 'deliver him from the iron yoke of England.' At another time, he pictured himself as raising an insurrection of the Druses and Greek Christians against the Turks, and marching with this immense army upon Constantinople, and then, to use his own expression, 'taking Europe in the rear,' and overthrowing the Austrian monarchy on his way, and finally making the most marvelous triumphal entry into France recorded in the history of man."

During Napoleon's expedition to Syria two rebellions took place in Egypt. One was that of an obscure fanatic, who declared himself to be the Angel El'mody, promised in the Koran to the faithful in the time of persecution. Says Lanfrey: "His only food was milk, in which he merely dipped his fingers and passed them over his lips; and his only weapon was a handful of dust, which he threw in the air, assuring his followers that this alone would disperse our army." Several thousand natives were concerned in this insurrection. It was quelled by General Lanusse, who put fifteen hundred of them to the sword. The angel who expected to make his enemies 'bite the dust' was slain. His weapon proved a failure.

One of Napoleon's adventures at this period was his visit to the Greek monastery on Mt. Sinai, where, it is said, he inscribed his name under that of Mahomet in the register kept by the monks, but Bourrienne discredits the story.

History tells us that the soldiers who went on the Egyptian expedition had their hopes buoyed up with promises of wealth and rare treasures to be obtained in the new Golconda. In this respect they were like the swarthy followers of Cortez and Pizarro. Where were these great treasures to be found? In despoiling the poor fellahen? Hardly so. For we know that it was the intention of Napoleon to propitiate the natives in every manner possible, and to win them over to French interests. Where then were to be found these fabled treasures? Perchance deep down in the bowels of the pyramids—hidden there by the olden Pharaohs centuries ago. This belief antedated the time of Napoleon. Caliph Al Mamoun, Moslem conqueror of Egypt, and son of that Haroun Al Raschid who figures so frequently in the "Arabian Nights," entertained the idea of

precious treasures stowed away in the Great Pyramid, and ordered his army to quarry out an opening into the monument; but nothing rewarded the Arab workmen for their gigantic task save a solitary stone chest, hidden away in the King's Chamber—an open, lidless, despoiled sarcophagus. The soldiers were incensed, but Al Mamoun quieted their anger by the perpetration of a pious fraud. He directed the malcontents to delve to a certain spot, indicated by him, and they soon came upon a "sum of gold, exactly equal to the wages claimed for their work, which gold he had himself secretly deposited at the place."

Napoleon took with him, as is well known, a number of learned and brilliant savants, whose knowledge of Egyptian antiquities, hieroglyphics, and the like was profound. These archæologists went for the ostensible purpose of studying the monuments and relics of the land, in order to report upon the same for the benefit of science, and bring back with them a magnificent collection of curios for the museums of France. Their presence with the army, though a matter of ridicule among the soldiers, seemed to give color to the firm-rooted belief that treasure-hunting was the aim and ambition of the Little Corporal. When a square was formed by a regiment to resist the onslaughts of a fanatical Mameluke cavalry, the order was usually "Savants and asses in the centre." The savants, as the reader will recall to mind, rode donkeys, like the regulation Egyptian tourists of today. The reader will find much curious and interesting data concerning the rumors current during the French occupation of Egypt as to Napoleon's acquisition of immense secret treasures discovered somewhere by him in the pyramids, in the gossipy memoirs of Madame Junot wife of the General-in-Chief's favorite officer.

"Bonaparte," says Bourrienne, (*Memoirs*, Vol. I) "on the 14th of July, 1799, left Cairo for the pyramids. He intended spending three or four months in examining the ruins of the ancient necropolis of Memphis; but he was suddenly obliged to alter his plan. \* \* \* Now the fact is, that Bonaparte never even entered the Great Pyramid. He never had any thought of entering it. I certainly should have accompanied him had he done so, for I never quitted his side for a single moment in the desert. He caused some persons to enter into the ancient tomb, while he remained outside, and received from them, on their return, an account of what they had seen. In other words they informed him there was nothing to be seen." This event gave rise to a silly story that Napoleon entered the Great Pyramid and in the presence of the muftis and ulemas

cried out, "Glory to Allah! God only is God, and Mahomet is his prophet."

History tells us that Napoleon departed hurriedly for Europe, after learning from some old newspapers sent him by his enemy, Sir Sidney Smith, that the French arms on the Continent were suffering reverses, and that the Directory was rotten to the core with its own imbecility. The time had come for the overthrow of this body. Junot, who loved Napoleon as his God, was heart-broken when his general deserted him. He applied to Kleber, the second in command, for leave to follow Bonaparte. It was granted, and the gallant soldier prepared to set out for France in the wake of his beloved leader. The story went like wild-fire through the army that Junot would carry with him an immense treasure—the treasure of the pyramids, which Napoleon in his haste was unable to take with him, and in consequence of the fact had left his factotum to transport, as part of his baggage. Says the Duchesse d'Abrantes:

"A report was circulated in the army that Junot was carrying away the treasures found in the pyramids by the General-in-Chief. The matter was carried so far that several subalterns and soldiers proceeded to the shore, and some of them went on board the merchantman which was to sail with Junot the same evening. They rummaged about, but found nothing; at length they came to a prodigious chest, which ten men could not move, between decks. 'Here is the treasure,' cried the soldiers. 'Here is our pay that has been kept from us above a year; where is the key?' Junot's valet, an honest German, shouted to them in vain, with all his might, that the chest did not belong to his 'Cheneral.' They would not listen to him, Unluckily Junot, who was not to embark till evening, was not then on board. The mutineers seized a hatchet and began to cut away at the chest, which they would have soon broken up had not the ship's carpenter come running, quite out of breath. 'What the devil are you at?' cried he. 'Mad fellows that you are; stop! don't destroy my chest—here is the key.' He opened it immediately, and lo—the tools of the master carpenter of the ship.

"The odious calumny, the stupid invention, relative to the treasures of the Pharaohs, had meanwhile found believers elsewhere, as well as in the army. The English, for example, had been simple enough to give credit to this story. A ship was even cruising off Alexandria, and the merchantman in which Junot had sailed was obliged to bring to at the first summons of the *Theseus*, man-of-war, Captain Steele, while Junot and his aid-de-camp, Captain Lallemand, had not the power to make the least resistance, how well dis-

posed soever they might have been to do so. 'We were waiting for you,' said Captain Steele to Junot and his companion."

### III.

There is then a legendary Napoleon and a real Napoleon. The real Napoleon is gradually coming to light, and the mythical one is fading into the background. Modern historians are taking middle ground. The great Emperor is neither a monster of wickedness nor a hero-saint. Of his genius as a sovereign and as a strategist he has but few equals, if any. "Seldom," says Debrit, "has there appeared on this earth an intelligence better armed, or, in other words, better adapted to the work it had to perform and to the time at which it was to manifest itself. He found society in a state of complete decomposition, and his instinct for organization enabled him to create out of it a new structure, made in his own image, moulded, as it were, on his own frame. \* \* \*

"There are some five or six men in history that may be compared to him, and it will always be difficult to decide which of them all was the greatest, that is, the strongest, the most despotic, and the most feared. If he did not experience the enjoyment of ordering vast executions of men such as those in which his predecessors loved to contemplate their own grandeur and the nothingness of mankind, it is because he lived in Paris in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, and not in Nineveh under the kings, the sons of Sargon. But he caused blood to flow in streams upon the battlefields for motives that were scarcely better, and he humbled more rulers and destroyed more states than any Sennacherib or Asurbanipal. He also had his hecatombs, and in this respect he need envy no one."

As to Napoleon the man, a flood of contemporary witnesses like De Remusat, Pasquier, Chaptal, etc., etc., bear witness to his character. He was the giant egotist of the world. In him the cold-blooded motto of the founder of the Jesuits, "the end justifies the means," was fully realized—and says Debrit, "there was but one inviolable right, the Emperor's will." But violence bears in itself the germ of weakness, and here is the unimpeachable verdict rendered by history, by the mouth of that servant of the empire (Pasquier), on the policy of excess and wilfulness that believed in violence and conquest only, and was constantly directed toward crushing some one,—now France, now the Pope, and now Europe into the bargain.

"'He ended,' says Pasquier, by being unable to secure to France

its former frontiers, and he handed us over almost defenseless to the spirit of ultramontaniam, and the encroachments of the papal power.'"

France was hypnotized by Napoleon, and saw only glory and conquest, instead of madness and ruin.

Cæsar Lombroso, the great criminologist, has this to say:

"Alexander the Great [and] Napoleon I \* \* \* \* \* have the [criminal] type complete, and only the prestige coming from their great deeds (which always augments after death) makes us blind, so that in them, physically and morally, we only see the traits of genius and not those of the criminal. It is certain that in the busts and portraits of Napoleon I, after the Consulate, we find no more the asymmetric face, stern eyes, the exaggeration of the jaw bones, and the alveolar prognathism which he really had, and, in the same way, few busts of Alexander the Great reveal his criminal type, with vertical wrinkles on the forehead, with the acrocephaly, etc. The same thing happens with us in judging their actions; we go to the point of excusing common crimes (murder of the Duke d'Enghein) and even as far as considering the butchery of the Borgias as works of genius, as did Machiavelli, and admiring the most insensate enterprises, such as those of Napoleon in Spain and Russia, and those of Alexander in India, taking them for profound conceptions as though errors and crimes, when made on a large scale, change their nature. Not only do people forgive, but they forget, the cynical indifference of Napoleon to the thousands of deaths which he caused and at the sight of which he did not know what to say except, 'A night of Paris will adjust all this,' and they also forgot the order to shoot *en masse* 300 innocent Calabrese, setting fire to their village, because some one had shot at his soldiers, \* \* \* and the firing of an entire city at the order of Alexander the Great only to please a courtesan, who murdered his best friend."\*

#### IV.

Napoleon has been apotheosized like Alexander the Great, whom he resembles in many points of character. With his arms crossed on his breast, and his little hat on his head, he seems, in all his pictures, to be defying the universe like a demi-god, and imposing his iron will upon the races of mankind. Legend-makers eighteen hundred years from now will perhaps characterize him as a ruthless van-

\* Lombroso: *Inter. Quar.*, Vol. VI, No. 2. Dec., 1902 to March, 1903, page 239.



ALEXANDER THE GREAT.  
(Musée du Louvre, Paris.)

dal from a barbarous island called Corsica, who swept over the civilized world carrying death and destruction in his train. Artists will picture him enthroned upon a huge truncated pyramid of human skulls, the spoils of his enemies. Many will express doubts that he



NAPOLEON ON THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLE.

(After the oil painting of Baron Gros.)

ever existed. He will appear in the light of a mythical hero like King Arthur of Britain. This is not altogether improbable. Archbishop Whately in his essay, "Doubts Concerning the Existence

of Napoleon," and M. Jean-Baptiste Tere's "Grand Erratum, the Non-Existence of Napoleon Proved," have given us curious examples of how this may be brought about. Those who believe in the reincarnations of the soul upon the earth, like the Theosophists, will perhaps endeavor to show that Napoleon was identical with Rameses II. (the Sesostris of the Greeks), with Alexander the Great, and also with Charlemagne. Let us see where this bizarre fancy will lead us.

In the splendid museum of Turin, Italy, among the ancient Egyptian relics, is a statue of Rameses, the face of which strongly resembles that of Napoleon, especially when seen in profile. Georg



BARTELDA, A YOUNG APACHE, RESEMBLING NAPOLEON I.\*

Ebers, the learned Egyptologist and novelist, calls attention to this strange likeness in his novel "Uarda." It is an interesting fact to

\* After a photograph taken by Mr. T. A. Rinehart, Omaha, Neb. Reproduced from the *School Journal*. Courtesy of the photographer and E. L. Kellogg & Co., publishers, 61 E. 9th St., New York.

Concerning this portrait, Mrs. Blanche E. Little writes: "Bartelda, the Apache Indian, whose profile in his younger days so much resembled that of Napoleon, belongs to the San Carlos Apache tribe of Indians, one of the most war-like tribes. They live in Arizona and New Mexico, near the boundary of Mexico. These people are a branch of the Athabaskan family, and their name translated means 'The Men.' It was of them General Crook said: 'They are the tigers of the human species.' This tribe came from the Arctic region. From the ice fields of the north they fought their way

note, that Napoleon frequently remarked to his friends that he was all but certain of his identity with the Gothic hero Charlemagne.

Victor Hugo says (*The Rhine, a Tour from Paris to Mayence, etc.*):

"In 1804, when Bonaparte became known as Napoleon, he visited Aix-la-Chapelle, the birthplace of Charlemagne. Josephine, who accompanied him, had the caprice to seat herself upon the throne of Charlemagne [One of the relics to be seen in the old abbey]; but Napoleon, out of respect for the great Emperor, took off his hat and remained for some time standing, and in silence. The following fact is somewhat remarkable, and struck me forcibly: In 814 Charlemagne died; a thousand years afterwards, most presumably about the same hour, Napoleon fell—1814."

Napoleon's similarity to Alexander the Great has always possessed a fascination for me. Both were possessed with dreams of world-conquest, with the same contempt for human life, the same tireless capacity to labor, and both had the same military tactics—to perceive with an eagle's eye the vulnerable point in the foe's army and to hurl with lightning rapidity upon that spot an overwhelming phalanx of men. Napoleon, like Alexander, conquers Egypt, communes with the Sphinx, and dreams of becoming a species of demi-god, or Oriental despot. Compare the portraits of Alexander, such as we find them upon gems, coins, etc., with that of Napoleon, and the mind is at once struck with the wonderful resemblance. Of course it is all fanciful and bizarre, and one might well say that Napoleon cultivated the Greek type and the artists and sculptors who fixed his likeness upon canvas or in stone flattered him to this extent.

through the possessions of hostile tribes to the warmer climate of Arizona and New Mexico. This tribe of Indians, possibly more than any other, illustrates the accepted idea, that the Indian is physically perfect. They are built like athletes and possess not only great strength, but that other very important quality, great power of endurance under the most trying hardships. This tribe has been made famous by the generalship and prowess of Geronimo, whom it took the Government eighteen years to subdue and capture. During all those terrible years the wily old Indian led our troops a wild and terrible chase.

"Bartelda, with his smooth blue-black hair falling over his shoulders and forehead, bears a remarkable resemblance to the well-known portrait of the youthful Napoleon. In his youth Bartelda had a training, that, had not the Government (through General Miles) subdued and captured Geronimo, might have placed his name next to that of Geronimo as a fighter. Possibly he would have shown the generalship of Napoleon, as the resemblance in his in his face would suggest. These Apaches fought under Geronimo until the atrocities of this hardened warrior became too great, when they withdrew their part of the tribe from his support.

"The photograph of Bartelda that is to be used as an illustration with your article was taken about six years since."

The Russian campaign proved productive of legends. In the famous retreat Napoleon travelled usually in a luxurious coach fitted up as a sleeping-carriage. Says Bigelow (*History of the German Struggle for Liberty*, vol. 2, p. 27): "He only walked for the sake of stirring his blood. Of course he had a complete camp kitchen and an outfit of wine, and lived as well as it was possible to do. That he shared the struggles and sufferings of his men, even to the extent of riding his horse in their midst, is the invention of patriotic painters and novelists. Napoleon respected the doctrine *l'etat c'est moi*, and felt that he was serving the state badly if he neglected his own health." The soldiers during the retreat were burdened down with all sorts of articles taken from the sacred city of Moscow, money, jewelry, furs, costly laces and silks, icons, clocks, etc. Napoleon carried off with him as the *piece de resistance* of the plundering expedition, the cross from the top of the Kremlin—"as though to prove that he had conquered the country by desecrating its capital. But it proved to be nothing but base metal, gaudily gilded for the purpose of deceiving those far away." Notwithstanding this, it was carried along in the strange procession to play its part in the anticipated triumphal entry of the modern Cæsar into Paris. It is related that on the entry of the French forces into Moscow that an eagle was seen entangled amid the chains of this cross, high up on the bulbous-shaped tower of the Kremlin. By some this was declared to portend disaster to the French army. It proved true; the Imperial Eagle of France, Napoleon, was certainly caught in the trap set for him by his enemy, Holy Russia, represented by the gilded cross. Moscow proved Napoleon's Golgotha. His downfall and exile to Elba began there.

Victor Hugo, poet, novelist, and symbolist, has given us the epic of Waterloo, in his powerful story, *Les Misérables*, the foremost work of fiction of the 19th century. He has done for literature what Raffet and Steubel have done for art. Waterloo in Hugo's hands becomes the Supreme Enigma, the Twilight of the Gods. His conception of the subject is worthy of a Michael Angelo. The figures become gigantic. It is a species of Apocalypse. He says: "Was it possible for Napoleon to win the battle? We answer in the negative. Why? On account of Wellington; on account of Blucher? No; on account of God. \* \* \* \* When the earth is suffering from an excessive burden, there are mysterious groans from the shadow, which the abyss hears. Napoleon had been denounced in infinitude, and his fall was decided. He had angered God. Waterloo is not a battle, but a transformation of the Universe." "Did

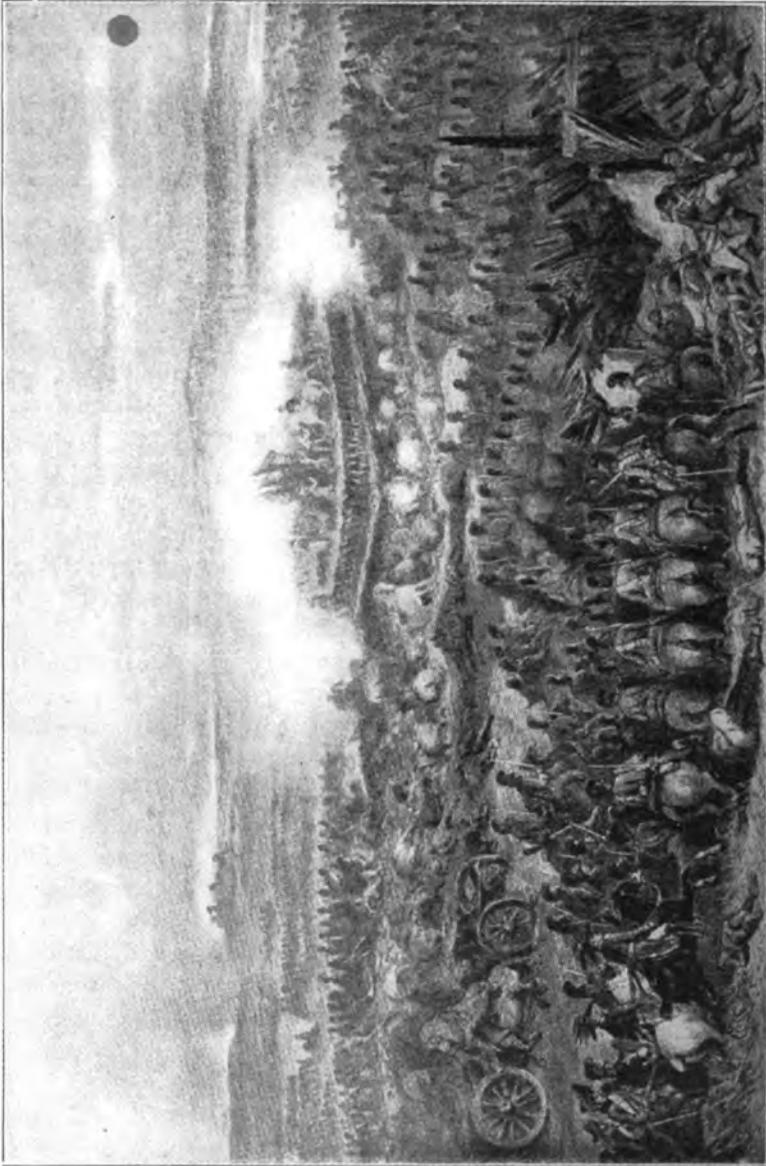
this vertigo, this terror, this overthrow of the greatest bravery that ever astonished history, take place without a cause? No. The shadow of a mighty right hand is cast over Waterloo; it is the day of destiny, and the force which is above man produced that day. Hence the terror, hence all those great souls laying down their swords. Those who had conquered Europe, fell, crushed, having nothing more to say or do, and feeling a terrible presence in the shadow. *Hoc erat in fatis*. On that day the perspective of the human race was changed, and Waterloo is the hinge of the 19th century."

What word-painting could be grander than this bit from Hugo's description of the Cuirassier charge: "At a distance it appeared as if two immense steel snakes were crawling toward the crest of the plateau; they traversed the battle-field like a flash. \* \* \* \* It seemed as if this mass had become a monster, and had but one soul; each squadron undulated, and swelled like the rings of a polype. This could be seen through a vast smoke which was rent asunder at intervals; it was a pell-mell of helmets, shouts and sabres, a stormy bounding of horses among cannon, and a disciplined and terrible array; while above it all flashed the cuirasses like the scales of the hydra. Such narratives seemed to belong to another age; something like this vision was doubtless traceable in the old Orphean epics describing the men-horses, the ancient hippanthropists, those Titans with human faces and equestrian chests whose gallop escalated Olympus,—horrible, invulnerable, sublime; gods and brutes. It was a curious numerical coincidence that twenty-six battalions were preparing to receive the charge of these twenty-six squadrons."

The last stand of the Old Guard is described with equal magnificence. "They are no longer men, but demi-gods hurling thunderbolts." In the disastrous retreat he speaks of Napoleon as follows: "At nightfall, Bernard and Bertrand seized by the skirt of his coat, in a field near Genappe, a haggard, thoughtful, gloomy man, who, carried so far by the current of the rout, had just dismounted, passed the bridle over his arm, and was now, with wandering eye, returning alone to Waterloo. It was Napoleon, the immense somnambulist of the shattered dream, still striving to advance. \* \* \* \* Such is Waterloo; but what does the Infinite care? All this tempest, all this cloud, this war, and then this peace. All this shadow did not for a moment disturb the flash of the mighty eye before which a grub, leaping from one blade of grass to another, equals the eagle flying from tower to tower at Notre Dame." \* \*

"'Napoleon is dead,' said a passer-by to an invalid of Marengo

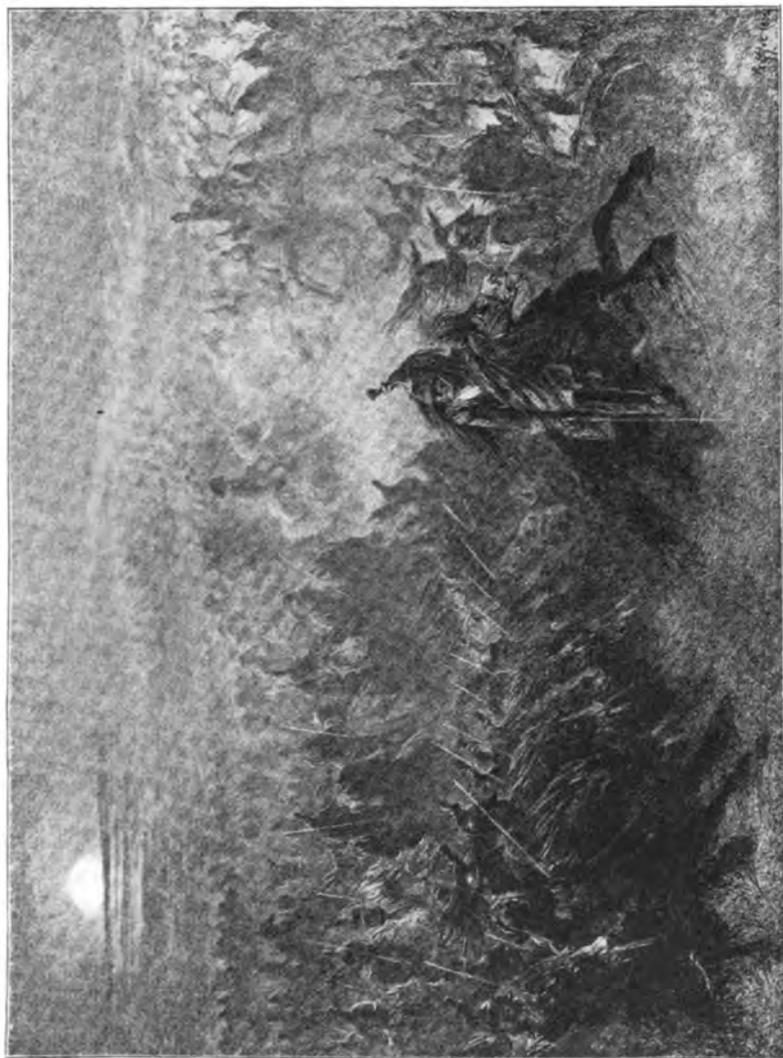
and Waterloo. 'He dead!' the soldier exclaimed; 'much you know about him!' Imaginations deified this thrown man. Europe after



RETREAT OF THE SACRED BATTALION AT WATERLOO. (After Raffet. Courtesy of McClure, New York.)

Waterloo was dark, for some enormous gap was long left unfilled after the disappearance of Napoleon."

Napoleon was superstitious. He constantly referred to his "star of destiny." He believed in the "evil eye." At St. Helena, referring to his first interview with his jailer, Sir Hudson Lowe, he



LA REVUE NOCTURNE. (Courtesy of McClure, New York.)

said to Dr. O'Meara, "I never saw such a horrid countenance. He sat on a chair opposite to my sofa, and on a little table between us there was a cup of coffee. His physiognomy made such an unfavorable impression upon me that I thought his evil eye had pois-



NAPOLEON AT VRIENNE. (By Dumas Realiter.)



NAPOLEON ON H. M. S. BELLEROPHON. July 23, 1815. (By Orchardson.)

oned the coffee, and I ordered Marchand to throw it out of the window. I would not have swallowed it for the world."

Do what we may, the Napoleonic legend will die hard. The masses of the people, who are anything but critical, will still invest the great Emperor with the halo of mystery, superstition, and romance. Painters, poets, and novelists will contribute in the future, as they have done in the past, to this building up of the mythos about him.

The famous lithographic draughtsman, Raffet, years ago, began the symbolical and mystical treatment of the Napoleonic cycle. Take for example, his "Retreat of the Sacred Battalion at Waterloo," "Waterloo, June 18, 1815," *La Revue Nocturne*, etc.

Could there be finer examples of idealization in art than the *Nocturne*? It is the bizarre apotheosis of the imperial drama; a weird and fantastic bit of impressionism. It is midnight in the Champs Elysées. A cold wind blows; the moon is partly hidden by clouds. Suddenly appears a phantom army. The dead Napoleon holds a review of spectres—"aroused for one night from eternal slumber by the sound of the trumpet. An army of horsemen pass by like a whirlwind, and salute with their swords the modern Cæsar on his white charger."

The German poet, Zedlitz, celebrates the scene in some splendid verse; Raffet, in black and white, makes it real for us, conjuring up, like a modern Ezekiel, a second vision of the Valley of Dry Bones. They come, they come, from all parts of the world, soldiers from the burning sands of Egypt, the snowy steppes of Russia, the vineyard dotted fields of Italy, to participate in the review, only to melt away into the land of shadows at the first blush of the dawn in the eastern sky.

Everything connected with Napoleon is theatrical, his coronation, his death, his second funeral. While he was dying, a terrific thunderstorm was raging at St. Helena. It seems as if nature had conspired to make the death of the Cæsar heroic. Amid the crash of thunder, like the sound of artillery, Napoleon cried out "*Tête d'armée!*" (Head of the army.) He doubtless imagined himself again at Austerlitz, or Waterloo. During his sojourn at St. Helena, the English newspapers often hinted at French plots to rescue the Emperor. It is actually said that members of the Old Guard contemplated an attempt to take Napoleon from his rocky prison, but that it proved abortive, owing to the extreme vigilance of the English authorities. The lynx-eyed Sir Hudson Lowe watched his wretched captive too well. Some day in the dim future, legend-makers will

declare that Napoleon was delivered from his enemies. He will be made to sail away in a ship like the mythical Arthur, to disappear forever from the knowledge of mankind.

Napoleon's second funeral created a tremendous furore in France, and did much to perpetuate the legends. It was a great spectacle. On the Esplanade des Invalides, the giant funeral car passed between an avenue of thirty-two statues of great kings and heroes, among whom were Charles Martel, Charlemagne, Clovis, and the Chevalier Bayard. Says Tarbell: "Oddly enough, this hedge of statues ended in one of Napoleon himself: the incongruity of the arrangement struck even the *gamins*. '*Tiens,*' cried one urchin, '*voilà comme l'empereur fait la queue a lui même.*' (Hello, see there how the emperor brings up his own procession.')

## THE OTHER SIDE.

BY H. E. BELIN.

**W**ERE a census to be taken of the disputes which have embroiled the world, it would be found that by far the greater number have been brought about by ignorance of existing facts on the part of one or both of the disputants. To this rule the slavery controversy was no exception. To begin with, the North approached the problem from the wrong side, with an entire misapprehension of its real nature. Slavery in the Southern States was not a proposition to be argued out theoretically as a question of abstract right or wrong; it was a concrete fact, to be reckoned with practically. For better or for worse the negro had been brought into the land, and so many millions of aliens were settled among the whites in a white man's country. What was to be done with them?

To those who knew nothing of negro nature the answer seemed simple enough: Give them civic privileges and convert them from human chattels into self-respecting workers and useful citizens of the Republic.

Good! had the scheme been possible. But the very foundation-stone on which it rested was a false assumption—the assumption of similarity between the races—that the negro was merely “a white man with a black skin.” In those days ethnology was practically an unknown science, and personal observation was the only medium by which a knowledge of the existence of racial differences could be acquired. This source of information—the vantage ground of experimental study—the North of necessity lacked, and the South, equally of necessity, possessed. Consequently, to the North the negro was a sealed book, or, figures apart, he was an object invested by distance with the glamour of ideality. Of the real negro the North knew nothing. Of the real slavery the North knew nothing. But what it lacked in information it made up by imagination; and thus equipped, it entered upon its slavery-crusade against the South.

The object of this paper, however, is not to fight old battles over again, but to give to Northern readers as succinctly as possible a Southern view of the negro character—in other words, the view presented by a life-study of the race at close quarters. To show what might be called the natural correspondence between the negro *as he is* and the system of government under which he is held; and so describe the actual working of the institution of slavery in the Southern States.

One prefatory word of explanation: In all that follows I have reference, not to rare and exceptional cases of negro development, but to the average negro who is the one type and representative of his race.

The most salient points of the negro character may be summarised in a sentence: He is a full-grown child, but a child with an ineradicable substratum of savagery underlying his surface characteristics. Strange as it may seem, the negro's peculiarities are to this day wholly unknown to the great majority of the people of these United States. To the Northern and Western troops of the Spanish-American war their sojourn in the camps of the South was a revelation completely revolutionizing their preconceived ideas of the negro race. And these peculiarities it is, which cast a side-light on that occasional resort to lynch-law for which the Old South was so vehemently abused. It is to be distinctly understood, however, that the "lynch-law" of ante-bellum days stood simply for certain, summary justice, not for the diabolical cruelties now associated with its name.

Briefly we dwell upon this point. Owing to the peculiar mental constitution of the negro, the publicity and formalities attendant upon a trial conducted according to established usages of law make such a trial positively attractive to him, as ministering to his egregious vanity and love of scenic effect. While it is a well-established fact that from the time sentence of capital punishment is passed upon him, the negro criminal (whatever the atrocity of his crime may have been) is regarded by himself and his race as a hero and a martyr who is going from the gallows "straight to glory." In short, the prospect of a public, spectacular death, so far from being a terror to the negro, actually possesses a strange sort of fascination for him! I do not mean to say that a negro would voluntarily elect to be hanged, even with all the pomp and circumstance usually accompanying such a function. But I do say that the fear of being hanged in an orthodox way is not operative in restraining him from crime, while the certainty of being so hanged is a phase of "the

inevitable" to which he resigns himself with a degree of philosophy truly marvellous to the white man. When specially drastic measures were required, therefore, resort was occasionally had to this secret, speedy and (to the negro mind) most terror-inspiring form of justice—lynch-law.

Parenthetically, it has been asserted that the hideous cruelties too often practised nowadays by lynchers at the South are "a part of the horrible heritage of slavery, and all its incalculable evils." But these are rather to be regarded as part of "the heritage" of "reconstruction" and all its attendant horrors, from which—if ever—it will take the South generations to recover. The conditions imposed upon the Southern States at the close of the Civil War were as utterly abhorrent to reason and common sense as they were abnormal, and could only endure so long as force was employed to maintain them. And although this state of things no longer exists the evils it has left behind it as a baleful legacy are sown broadcast over the land.

Chief among these evils may be reckoned on the one side the very marked increase of crime produced by the absence of former restraints which has quickened into life the dormant savagery of the blacks. And, on the other, the growing sense of insecurity on the part of the whites, owing to their loss of assured control. When these two facts are taken into consideration, human nature being what it is, the temptation is great where opportunity arises to exercise undue severity, in other words under such conditions, punishment was a tendency to degenerate into retaliation. That negro criminals are far more severely treated now than in the old days of slavery is an indisputable fact, of which a most striking proof is afforded by the official reports of the attempted negro insurrection in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1820. No provocation to exercise cruelty could ever have been given to the whites greater than that furnished by this plot. Yet, while adopting measures stringent enough to prevent a repetition of the horror, in the trial of the criminals all legal formalities were duly observed, nor was justice untempered by mercy. Only the ring-leaders were sentenced to the gallows. Those next in guilt were deported from the country. And the large majority of the slaves whose complicity in the plot was proved to be the result of ignorance were freely pardoned. Nor was this leniency to be laid to the account of commercial considerations—the dollars-and-cents value of the slaves outweighing in the balance of public opinion the heinousness of their crime against the community, for in true-born Southerners of those old days the com-

mercial instinct was wholly undeveloped. It was entirely the result of fair-minded sifting of evidence under the strongest provocation, with a leaning towards the side of mercy. Such, when full power was hers, was the way in which the slave-holding South dealt with her negro criminals.

But to return to our subject proper from this digression. I have said that in many of his characteristics the negro strongly resembles a child, both his virtues and his vices belonging to an immature stage of mental development. He is affectionate, confiding, dependent, kind-hearted, open-handed, and, in his normal state, easily amenable to control. He is lazy, thriftless, excitable, unreliable, irresponsible, short-sighted—his mental horizon being bounded by the day.

Hence, to the negro, the institution of slavery, so far from being prejudicial, was actually beneficial in its effects, in that, as a strictly paternal form of government, it furnished that combination of wise control and kind compulsion which is absolutely essential to his development and well-being.

"Were the Southern view of the negro the correct view, then was the abolition of slavery the greatest evil that ever befell this country," wrote a Northern journalist, under the impression that he was using a *reductio ad absurdum* argument which effectually settled the whole matter. In point of fact, however, his statement is a correct one as far as the negro is concerned. It is the Southern white, not the Southern black, who has been benefitted by emancipation! For generations the South has sustained the burden of slavery imposed upon her entirely without her own volition. And although the questionable manner in which that burden was removed involved loss and entailed suffering, I believe I am justified in the assertion that not one former slave-holder in a thousand would be willing to go back to the old order of things and place his neck again under the yoke. Not that these men regarded slavery then, or regard it now, as a wrong against the negro, but they felt it to be a tremendous, almost crushing weight resting upon their own shoulders. They knew and acknowledged that in the sight of the Almighty they were their brother's keeper, and were accountable to Him for that brother's physical and moral well-being. The slave-holder was born into the world with an hereditary load descending upon him. He was handicapped in the race of life by the duty of supporting and providing for the necessities of so many helpless beings from whose claims upon him he could not escape and of whom he could not free himself. It is true the law permitted a master to sell his slave, but

practically this solution of the difficulty was seldom resorted to. As a rule, the master considered himself as bound to his slaves for life. Whatever their faults or shortcomings might be, it never occurred to him to sunder the tie between them; he simply tried to make the best of the situation. And his negroes knew that for life they were sure of being fed, and clothed, and sheltered, and doctored, entirely irrespective of their own deservings. For so long as the system lasted the combined forces of conscience and public opinion compelled the slave-owner to consider and secure the welfare of his people, even at the expense of his own comfort and convenience. To do him justice, however, this outside pressure was seldom required to insure the performance of his obligations towards his dependents. It would, no doubt, be a difficult task to convince Northern readers of the strength of the tie which generally bound together a master and his slaves. Yet that such a tie existed is an indisputable fact.

On the other hand, I do not attempt to deny that negroes were sometimes harshly treated. Nay, that occasionally they were subjected to actual physical cruelties. But such instances of inhumanity were extremely rare, and the full weight of an outraged public sentiment was invariably brought to bear with crushing effect upon the delinquent.

As with institutions of all times, and of all lands, the system of slavery was liable to abuses. But, contrary to the received opinions of the outside world at large, these abuses were reduced to a minimum by carefully planned checks and safeguards, both social and legal. Had that outside world but acquainted itself with the conditions which actually existed within Southern borders, what a vast amount of sectional bitterness would have been saved. And how many years of national prosperity would have been added to the annals of the American Commonwealth!

## AMERICAN POLITY.

BY LEE WALDORF, PH. B. (SYR.)

UNLIMITED negro suffrage has failed. By a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, the Fifteenth Amendment has been rendered inoperative. It is unnecessary to go into the details of history to show how the Constitutional Amendments pertaining to the negro were brought about; it is unnecessary to call to mind that the Emancipation Proclamation was a war measure, and that the amendments resulting therefrom were "war amendments" --enactments which were passed as party measures, under exasperating circumstances and in the spirit of revenge. It is sufficient to know that the historian of the future must characterize this attempt to bestow unqualified suffrage upon the ignorant negro as one of the most stupendous mistakes in American government.

We have at last become conscious of the error of attempting to place the ballot in the hands of those who convert the meaning of was drawn to one side. It was the legislation of our fathers. We are to deal with the question anew; and if we allow this pendulum to swing to the other side and to the other extreme, we will perhaps commit an act which savors more of fateful nature than that which our fathers committed. We would be compelled to meet the charge of tyranny. This is odious. It is oppressive, retrogressive, and dangerous.

Now that we have learned something of the pernicious influence arising from the privilege of a free ballot, we should profit by this knowledge. This does not mean that we are to undo all that has been done. We are to undo simply that which we have found to be detrimental to American polity. It has been learned that the right of suffrage has been given to individuals who have been unable to use it to advantage. American polity demands that these individuals be deprived of the privileges which they abuse; but bear in mind that it is the incompetent individual, not a faction, not a caste, not a race,

that is to be disfranchised. Our injunction is this: each and every individual should be disfranchised until he offers some evidence of fitness, until he evinces a real desire to acquaint himself with the duties of a sovereign, until he gives some external proof of ability to use sovereign power in behalf of self-government.

The moment an individual gives proper evidence of ability, integrity and intellect sufficient to assure wholesome action in the work of government, he should be endowed with the sacred privilege of franchise. The basal principle of our government is co-operation. It is, therefore, our conception of individual sovereignty and its functions which so clearly differentiates the occidental from the oriental and many European methods of government. Intelligent co-operation is the woof of our political fabric. The idea of supervision, of sumptuary laws, and of paternal restriction is un-American. Our government is not of the paternal type; and it is the care of the present and succeeding generations to see that it does not become paternal. The life-blood of the American polity should flow not merely through the veins and arteries of one of the important members that forms only a component part of its unity, but through the whole organism in its entirety. Our government is a government of all the people. All who can give wholesome co-operation, all who can labor intelligently in the art of government, are needed to bring this American principle of government to its highest perfection. No individual who can render such assistance can be spared. The ground-work of our government is self-government—a form of government which, we are pleased to think, graces modern history.

The South may make laws disfranchising the black men. It should do so. These laws, nevertheless, should be framed with the idea of disfranchising not merely the black men, but with the idea of disqualifying any man who can not or does not properly wield sovereign power. If there are white men who are mentally or morally incapable of acting as sovereigns in their own microcosmic spheres of life, they, in accompaniment with the black men, should be denied the right of suffrage. This conception is Pan-American. It applies both to the Africanized states of the South and to the foreignized cities of the North. Justice requires, and our polity demands, that both black and white men who can not grasp the meaning of sovereignty, and act in accordance with the spirit of sovereignty, should be deprived of the right of abusing this sacred power.

We hasten to assert, however, that to be truly expressive of the spirit of liberty, the American republic must grant the sacred right of suffrage to every American citizen who is competent to cast an

intelligent ballot; and to accord the competency to hold office to any American elector who is qualified to perform the requisite duties thereof. These are concepts of American liberty. On the other hand, in order to preserve its own integrity, to guard against the abuses which inhere in a democracy, and at the same time to strengthen the principles which have been so instrumental in making our political system the cynosure of attraction to all nations, the ballot must be denied to those who abuse their sacred rights. These are conceptions of American statesmanship and American prudence.

These two thoughts, theory and practice, should ever be linked together. They will not admit of separation. The one is a guarantee against caste authority and the despotic tyranny which arises from arbitrary use of power. The other is a safe-guard against mob action and the lawless tyranny which issue from irresponsible rule.

The notion of individual sovereignty, at one time, may move in this direction and at another time in that direction; but the oscillation should only be a movement that registers a lively appreciation of the question at issue. Now forward, and now backward, now enfranchising and now disfranchising—thus the movement of suffrage in a wholesome state should ever respond to the conditions which seem to affect the body politic.

We may justly infer, therefore, that it will be only after the most careful and thorough consideration that the proper boundaries of a zone on the subject of suffrage can be determined—and this only for the time being. Though it was a great error to give a free ballot to the negro slave, it will perhaps be a greater error to take unconditionally the ballot from the negro citizen. Enfranchisement should have been given with restriction. Disfranchisement should be enacted with careful limitation. Moderation is the maxim we should follow in this subtle, delicate and far-reaching question of negro suffrage.

Though the great mass of negroes have perhaps failed to grasp the full meaning of liberty and sovereignty, yet there are many whom we should acknowledge as co-workers in the art of government. To withhold the ballot or to preclude the competent negro from the right to hold office is subverting the principles of republican government. There are no known qualities in pigment which should lead a reflective statesman either to give or to withhold the right of suffrage. Pigment in any of its forms will not cause its possessor to be either eligible or ineligible to the right of an elector, much less to qualify or disqualify a man for the function of any office.

To disfranchise on the ground of physical attributes is impolitic. Franchise enactments should deal with the psychical attainments. The ideal of American polity should be to recognize the intrinsic value, the wholesome merit of the individual—not the texture of the epidermis. The right to suffrage or the competency to hold office should no more be based upon the color of the skin than the tyranny of absolute rule upon the divine right of kings. Inherent worth has a much more subtle conception than the external circumstances attending nativity. Intellect and moral excellencies are the qualities which count in the drama of life, and in the art of government.

The government of the American commonwealth should ever stand for self-government. This is the only government that is truly expressive of liberty. The principles of the American system of political science should stand for all eternity in opposition to the walls, the barriers, the oppression and restriction of the Old World. Let the principles of our political system carry us ever on to a fuller richer and deeper content of the words of Lincoln: "A government of the people, by the people and for the people." With this beacon as a guiding principle in our political life, the door of opportunity will ever stand ajar; as if beckoning, even to the street urchin of inherent worth, or another Booker T. Washington to come and carve on the tablet of fame.

In bold relief to the caste system of the Orient, to the empires which have flourished and decayed, and to the arrested civilisations which stand today as ominous omens to circumscribed statesmanship, "the door of hope," the "door of opportunity," should be made symbolic of American polity,—a polity in which every man may be a miniature king; a polity in which sovereignty may reside in every individual; a polity in which men, however, are not made sovereigns by the incidents of birth, but allowed to become sovereigns from sterling worth. To every American citizen, therefore, who has the character, the intellect, and the will to qualify for competency in self-government, let the right of sovereignty be accorded irrespective of "race, color, or previous conditions of servitude."

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

### X. THE MAPLE.

AS we have already stated, the Japanese word *hana* is much more comprehensive in meaning than the English word "flower," and includes also grasses and leaves. It is for that reason, therefore, that the maple, with its beautiful leaves, may be treated under our general heading.

It is, however, an open question whether the maple should be treated this month or next. In Japanese calendars generally, the chrysanthemum is put down for the ninth month (o. c.), or October, and the maple for the tenth month (o. c.), or November. But, as the Emperor's birthday comes on November 3, and the chrysanthemum is an imperial badge, we have reserved that flower for next month. Moreover, it is during the month of October, according to the *Hand Book of Japan*, that the famous maples of Nikko and Tatta should be visited.

The maple is also given the name of "poison-dispelling plant," because "there is an idea that the maple absorbs all poison and infection from the air." Mr. Conder also informs us that "this is one of the most important flowerless trees, the branches of which are used as 'flowers' in Japanese compositions." It is appropriate to use it in combination with the chrysanthemum (white or yellow); and a painting of a stag requires maples in association with it.

But if we may believe Miss Scidmore, the maple has also its more practical use; for "the coquette sends her lover a leaf or branch of maple to signify that, like it, his love has changed."\* And when a blush of modesty spreads over a maiden's cheek, the Japanese say that "she is scattering red leaves on her face." And a small delicate hand is called "a hand like a maple leaf."

\* *Jinrikisha Days in Japan.*

Not only the Japanese landscape, but also Japanese literature, is resplendent with *momiji*. The famous collection of One Hundred Poems contains six which celebrate the beauties of the autumn leaves, especially the maples. One of these, by the well-known Narihira, was as follows:

"O Tatsuta! when the autumnal flow  
I watch of thy deep, ruddy wave,  
E'en when the stern gods long ago  
Did rule, was ne'er beheld so brave,  
So fair a stream as thine, I vow."\*



MAPLE LEAVES IN THE VILLA OF MR. SHIBUSAWA AT OJI.

"Beautiful is the Tatsuta  
With Autumn's brightest weaving;  
If I cross the stream,  
Alas! the brocade will be rudely rent."

The comparison of the leaves to brocade (*nikishi*) seems to be quite common. Another of the Hundred Poems reads as follows:

"By the wind-storm's blast  
From Mimuro's mountain-slopes,

\* Translation by Mr. F. V. Dickins.

Maple leaves are torn,  
And, as (rich) brocades are wrought  
On blue Tatta's quiet stream.

"My wandering feet  
So rudely tear  
The carpet red  
Of rich brocade  
O'er Mimuro spread.

"In a mountain stream,  
Built by the busy wind,  
Is a wattled barrier drawn,  
Yet it is but maple leaves,  
Powerless to flow away.

"In the mountain depths,  
Treading through the crimson leaves,  
Cries the wandering stag.  
When I hear the lonely cry,  
Sad—how sad—the autumn is!"\*

\* Translation by Prof. Clay MacCauley.

## ÉLIE METCHNIKOFF AND THE CAUSE OF SENILE DECADENCE.

BY THE EDITOR.

ÉLIE Metchnikoff, one of the most prominent disciples of Pasteur, has taken his place as Director of the Pasteur Institute. Born in Kharkoff, Little Russia, and having studied in several German universities under the most prominent bacteriologists and zoologists, he became Professor of Zoology and comparative Anatomy at Odessa. The unpleasant political conditions of Russia induced him to leave his native country and settle in Paris, where he became Director of the Municipal Bacteriological Laboratory, and finally was called to replace the great master, the founder of a new conception in bacteriological science, Pasteur.

Metchnikoff devoted special attention to the life of microbes that inhabit living bodies, and he discovered the significance of the white blood corpuscles which are really independent little creatures that serve as scavengers in our bodily system. Their presence is indispensable for the preservation of health, yet they may become injurious if they have no longer the food necessary for their preservation. In that case they will attack the higher tissues and will thus cause all kinds of diseases. These investigations led up to a study of the causes of senility, for Metchnikoff regards the several symptoms of old age as a consequence of hypertrophy of the white corpuscles which, having vanquished and devoured their natural enemies, the microbes, are now obliged for lack of food to attack the nobler organs of the human frame. In this capacity they are called phagocytes, and by debilitating the vitality of the heart, the brains, the lungs, the kidneys, they introduce a slow but inevitable decay of the whole system.

Man thinks himself to be a unit and naturally regards the organs of his body as parts of his being, but if we contemplate the process of life through the spectacles of the bacteriologist, the

unity of man's existence, especially the sentiments, the thoughts, the volitions, are lost sight of, and we have before us a tumultuous world of innumerable little beings the interests of which are strongly opposed to each other, and who wage among themselves a continuous internecine war. We will let Mr. Metchnikoff explain his theory in his own words. He says in his book:\*

"A conflict takes place in old age between the higher elements and the simpler or primitive elements of the organism, and the conflict ends in the victory of the latter. This victory is signaled by a weakening of the intellect, by digestive troubles, and by lack of sufficient oxygen in the blood. The word conflict is not used metaphorically in this case. It is a veritable battle that rages in the innermost recesses of our beings. Distributed through every part of our bodies are certain cells which fulfil special functions of their own. They are capable of independent movement, and also of devouring all sorts of solid matter, a capacity which has gained them their name phagocytes or voracious cells. The function these phagocytes fulfil is a very important one, for it is they that congregate in vast numbers around microbes or other harmful intruders, in order to devour them. Effusions of blood and other elements, on penetrating to parts of the body where their presence is disadvantageous, are absorbed by these phagocytes. In cases of apoplexy, where blood is shed into a part of the brain, setting up paralysis, the phagocytes cluster round the clot and devour the blood corpuscles it has encased. This absorption is a lengthy process, but by degrees, as the pressure of the effusion of blood is removed from the brain, and paralysis disappears, the health of the organism may become completely restored, recovery in such a case being due to the work of the phagocytes.

"The phagocytes may be divided into small active phagocytes, generally known as the microphags, and larger phagocytes called macrophags, which are sometimes active and sometimes still. The former, which are produced in the marrow of the bones, circulate freely in the blood, and occur as some of the white blood corpuscles, or leucocytes. They are distinguishable by their oval shape which facilitates their easy passage through the smaller blood-vessels, and allows of their accumulating in great numbers in the exudations that form around microbes. These exudations may be formed ex-

\* *The Nature of Man*. Studies in Optimistic Philosophy. The English translation edited by P. Chalmers Mitchell, M. A., D. Sc. Oxon., Secretary of the Zoological Society of London. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York and London. The Knickerbocker Press. 1903.

tremely rapid, and so may arrest infection in the case of many diseases. The microphags may be said to rid us of the microbes, and the macrophags to heal mechanical injuries, such as hæmorrhages, wounds, and so forth. Macrophags possess a single unlobulated nucleus, and occur as white corpuscles in the blood, lymph, and exudations, or as the fixed cells in connective tissues, the spleen, and the lymphatic glands, etc.

"The phagocytes are endowed with a sensitiveness of their own, and by means of a sense of smell or taste are able to recognize the nature of their surroundings. According to the impression made upon this sense, they approach the object which arouses it, exhibit indifference to it, or withdraw from its vicinity. When, however, an infectious microbe finds its way into the body, the microphags are attracted by its excretions and swarm into the exudations surrounding it.

"The macrophags play a very important part in bringing about senile decay. The atrophy of the kidneys in old persons is attributable to their agency. They accumulate in large quantities in these organs clustering round about the renal tubes which they ultimately cause to disappear. Having appropriated the place of the renal tubes, the macrophags proceed to form connective tissue, which thus takes the place of the normal renal tissue. A similar process occurs in the other organs that degenerate in old age. In the brains of old persons and animals, for instance, it is known that a number of nervous cells are surrounded and devoured by macrophags. Judging from the investigations mentioned above, I think I am justified in asserting that senile decay is mainly due to the destruction of the higher elements of the organism by macrophags. This conclusion has been confirmed by means of direct observation, which was the more necessary as it is contrary to the opinions of some biologists.

"Hair, before it has lost its color, is full of pigment scattered throughout the two layers of which each hair is composed. At a given moment, the cells of the central cylinder of a hair become active and proceed to devour all the pigment within their reach. Once they are filled with colored particles, these cells, which are a variety of macrophag (generally called pigmentophags or more properly speaking chromophags), become migratory, and, quitting the hair, either find their way under the skin or leave the body. The coloring matter of the hair is removed in this way by chromophags, leaving the hair colorless.

"The process by which hair becomes white is of importance,

because it shows that the activity of the macrophags is a dominant factor in bringing about senile decay. The brittleness of old people's bones is probably due to a similar cause, i. e., to the absorption and destruction of the framework brought about by macrophags invading the layers of bone. There is still much that remains unknown in this subject, which is well worthy of special research.

"The activity acquired by macrophags during old age is closely connected with the phenomena that are characteristic of certain chronic complaints. Sclerosis in old persons belongs to the same category as organic sclerosis, which may be set up by various morbid influences. The analogy between senile decay of the kidneys and chronic nephritis, commonly called interstitial nephritis, is incontestable. The destruction of nervous cells through the agency of macrophags, which we have already mentioned as occurring in old age, is equally a symptom of several diseases of the nervous centres, such as general paralysis of the insane. Arterial sclerosis in old persons is actually an inflammatory disease, similar to the inflammation of the arteries set up by other maladies.

"The similarity between senility and disease has long been recognized, and partly accounts for the repugnance we all experience at the approach of old age. In childhood and early youth people regard themselves as older than they really are, and long to be 'grown up,' but having once arrived at man's estate they do not wish to grow old. An instinctive feeling tells us that there is something abnormal in old age. It cannot be regarded as a part of healthy physiological function.

"No doubt, because old age is the inevitable lot of mankind, it may be termed normal, in the same fashion as we call the pains of childbirth normal, since few women escape them. In both cases, however, we have to deal with pathological rather than physiological conditions. Just as every effort is made to relieve the suffering woman in labor, so it is natural to try to suppress the evils accompanying old age, but whereas in childbirth an anæsthetic affords relief, old age is a chronic malady, a remedy for which is much harder to find. We have seen that in old age a struggle takes place between the higher elements and the phagocytes, the end being usually a weakening in vitality of the former, while the activity of the latter is enormously increased.

"It would appear, arguing from this, that one means of fighting against old age, pathologically speaking, would be to strengthen the higher elements of the organism, and to weaken the aggressive capacities of the phagocytes. Let me at once warn the reader that

this is not presented as a definite, but as a possible solution of the problem, and is offered for consideration like many other hypotheses on scientific questions. The properties of cellular elements are easily changed when subjected to various influences, and it is therefore not irrational to seek some means of strengthening the blood corpuscles, nerve cells, liver cells, muscular fibres of the heart, and so forth. The task has become easier since the discovery of serums that have specific actions on the tissues."

Metchnikoff's plan to counteract the evils of old age is naturally two-fold. We must prevent the entrance of injurious microbes and we must strengthen the higher tissues which are apt to lose their power of resistance. Professor Metchnikoff, in explaining the differences of the human organism, points out the weakness of the intestines by the large size of the cæcum. He says:

"It is to be noticed that many birds in which the duration of life is long do not possess a cæcum, the portion of the alimentary canal that contains most bacteria. Examination of the intestinal contents of parrots shows that there exist in these birds very few microbes. A comparative study shows plainly that the existence of an abundant intestinal flora, useless for digestion, helps to shorten life by producing bacterial poisons which weaken the higher elements and strengthen the phagocytes.

"The human race has inherited from its ancestors an enormous large intestine and conditions favorable to the life of bacteria. It has to endure the disadvantages of this heritage. On the other hand, the brain of man is very highly developed, and with the increase of intellectual power has come a consciousness of old age and death. Our strong will to live is opposed to the infirmities of age and the shortness of life. Here lies the greatest disharmony of the constitution of man.

"If we desired to make the phenomena of old age physiological rather than pathological, it would be necessary to reduce the evils arising from the presence of a large intestine. It is impossible, I may at once say, to wait for the operation of forces independent of the human will and that might lead to the suppression of an organ which has become useless. Man, guided by exact science, must strive to accelerate or anticipate such a result. In spite of the progress of surgery, I do not expect to find in our time that the large intestine will be removed by operation. Perhaps in the distant future such a proceeding will become normal. For the present it is more reasonable to attack the harmful microbes of the large intestine. In the varied flora of that region there exist microbes

termed anærobic, because they are able to live in the absence of free oxygen, obtaining what they require by the decomposition of organic matter. Such decomposition is attended by fermentations and putrefactions, and the production of poisons, such as the alkaloids (ptomains), fatty acids, and even true toxins.

"Rovighi, an Italian physician, drank daily a litre and a half of *kephir*, a preparation made by subjecting milk to lactic acid and alcoholic fermentations. He found that in a few days the products of intestinal putrefaction in his urine either disappeared or were greatly reduced.

"It is plain, then, that the slow intoxications that weaken the resistance of the higher elements of the body and that strengthen the phagocytes may be arrested by the use of *kephir*, or still better by soured milk. The latter differs from *kephir* in that it contains no alcohol, and alcohol in course of time diminishes the vitality of some important cells in the body. The presence of a number of lactic acid bacteria is inimical to the growth of the bacteria of putrefaction, and so is of great service to the organism.

"But it is not enough merely to introduce useful microbes into the body. We must also prevent the entrance of 'wild' microbes, many of which are harmful. Soil, especially when it has been manured, contains large numbers of microbes, some of which are harmful. Bienstock found that the soil of the strawberry beds in his garden contained the bacilli of tetanus. For three weeks he swallowed some of this soil, but found that the bacteria were destroyed in his intestines, which he attributed to the action of the normal bacterial inhabitants of the alimentary canal. It is probable that if this arresting action were weakened the body would be infected by tetanus from the spores of the tetanus microbe swallowed with earth or strawberries or green vegetables. Moreover, besides the organisms of tetanus, there are many other dangerous anærobic bacteria in manured garden soil.

"Obviously we should eat no raw food, but confine our diet rigidly to food that has been thoroughly cooked or sterilized. The exclusion of 'wild' microbes and the introduction of beneficial microbes, such as those of lactic acid fermentation, must be of great service to health. I know of individuals who have derived great benefit from such a regimen.

"Science, even in its present imperfect condition, has many weapons by which to prevent or at least diminish the slow and chronic poisoning of the organism that leads eventually to the degeneration of the higher elements. When these elements are being

destroyed by syphilis or alcoholism the struggle must be directed against these evils. It is long since we have known how to do this; that success has not been greater is due to the carelessness of the people who are concerned.

"To strengthen the resistance of the higher elements and to transform the 'wild' population of the intestine into a cultured population, these are the means by which the pathological symptoms may be removed from old age, and by which, in all probability, the life of man may be considerably increased."

Elie Metchnikoff is a great enthusiast as to the significance of science. He dwells on the conflict between traditional religion and modern science, and he proposes to replace the former by the latter. He says, referring to his book:

"If it be true that man cannot live without faith, this volume, when the age of faith seemed gone by, has provided a new faith, that in the all-powerfulness of science."

It is perhaps natural that Metchnikoff, being so absorbed in the problems of his specialty, overlooks the significance of man's psychical and intellectual being. He says: "Too much in man is purely physical system, a commonwealth of microbes." If he had devoted the same painstaking labor to an investigation of the functions of man's soul, he would probably have modified some of his expressions, though the results of his specific labors might have remained the same. Man's soul is not the sum-total of microbic life, but a new factor that is super-imposed upon it through their co-operation. It is a new department that appears in the world of physiological life, and the phenomena of its ultimate constituents only furnish the pedestal upon which it is erected. While some of the labors of Metchnikoff may have to be supplanted,\* while in some of his conclusions he may be too optimistic, especially in his suggestion that at some distant future mankind should be able to prolong life indefinitely, we gladly recognize in him a genuine scientist and a worthy successor of Pasteur.

Metchnikoff concludes his book with the following sentences:

"If there can be formed an ideal able to unite men in a kind of religion of the future, this ideal must be founded on scientific principles. And if it be true, as has been asserted so often, that man can live by faith alone, the faith must be in the power of science."

\* Metchnikoff follows De Vries in assuming a sudden transition from monkey to man. Here we agree, but we deem several theories of Metchnikoff (e. g., his explanation of the origin of the hymen) as vagaries.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### THREE BUDDHIST STANZAS.

DONE INTO ENGLISH VERSE AND SET TO MUSIC BY PAUL CARUS.

#### *The Significance of Self.*

अत्तनाएव कतं पापं अत्तना षड्विस्सुत्ति ।  
अत्तना अकतं पापं अत्तनाएव विस्सुत्ति ।  
सुद्धि असुद्धि पञ्चत्तं नास्सो अत्तं विसोधये ॥८॥

*Dhammapada, 165.*

"By ourselves is evil done,  
By ourselves we pain endure,  
By ourselves we cease from wrong.  
By ourselves become we pure.  
No one saves us but ourselves,  
No one can and no one may:  
We ourselves must walk the path.  
Buddhas merely teach the way."

By our-selves is e - vil done, By our-selves we pain en - dure,

By our-selves we cease from wrong, By our-selves be - come we pure.

No one saves us but our-selves, No one can, and no one may;

We our-selves must walk the path, Bud-dhas mere-ly teach the way.

*Buddhist Ethics.*

सम्बन्धपापस्य अकरणं कुशलस्य उपसम्पदा ।  
सच्चित्तपरिचोदपनं एतं बुद्धानशासनं ॥५॥

*Dhammapada, 183*

"Commit no wrong, but good deeds do,  
And let thy heart be pure.  
All Buddhas teach this doctrine true  
Which will for aye endure."

Com - mit no wrong, but good deeds do, And let thy heart be pure;

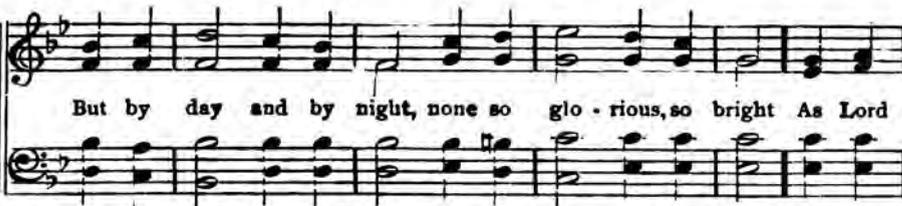
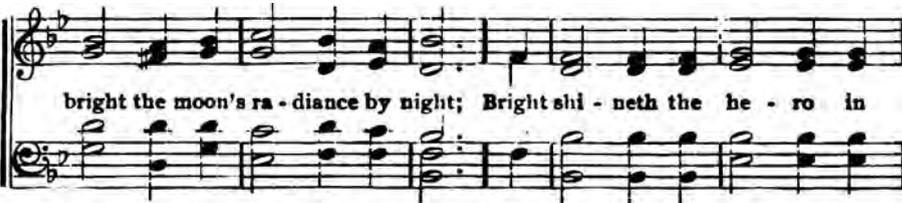
All Bud-dha's teach this doc - trine true, Which will for aye en - dure.

*Buddhist Doxology.*

दिवा तपति आदिशो रत्निं आभाति चन्दिमा ।  
 वज्रदो वपिथो तपति स्याथौ तपति ब्राह्मणो ।  
 अथ वज्जमहोरत्निं बुद्धो तपति तेजसा ॥ ५ ॥

*Dhammapada, 387.*

"Bright shineth the sun in his splendor by day  
 And bright the moon's radiance by night,  
 Bright shineth the hero in battle array,  
 And the sage in his thought shineth bright.  
 But by day and by night, none so glorious, so bright,  
 As Lord Buddha, the source of all spiritual light."



Bud - dha, the source of all spir - it - ual light. But by

day and by night, none so glo - rious, so bright As Lord

Bud - dha, the source of all spir - it - ual light.

#### A CENTURY OF EXPANSION, DESCRIBED BY AN AMERICAN JOURNALIST.

Willis Fletcher Johnson, A. M., L. H. D., one of the members of the staff of the *New York Tribune*, has published a book under the title *A Century of Expansion*,<sup>1</sup> in which he familiarises his readers with American history from the view-point of its continual growth. He recapitulates in terse outlines the significance of the discovery and colonisation of America. He shows how the doors were opened to the world, and how the Spanish influence was gradually overcome by the English colonists, how the nation first grew, and how it expanded through and with its constitution. The principle of self-defence forced this youngest nation of the world to aggression, and the expansion of its life led to an expansion of its territories, not only over the continent but also to the Spanish Islands and mid-sea possessions. The spirit of the book is best characterised in the author's own terms, who says in the preface:

"The purport of the term 'expansion' is sometimes carelessly misunderstood. It is, apparently, supposed to apply to nothing but acquisition of territory, and to that of recent date; to wit, our annexation of Porto Rico and

<sup>1</sup>New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited. 1903.

the Philippines. Such a conception is inadequate and misleading. Expansion is no new thing, and it is not measured by any geographical scale. Its history begins with the history of the nation, and both its causes and its effects are intimately intertwined with almost every fibre of our national being. The expansion of the human body is a process of physical growth which is maintained incessantly so long as vitality is in the ascendant. When growth ceases the man begins to die.

"The same principle is applicable to the state. Territorial expansion increases power, enlarges the sphere of activity, adds to responsibilities and duties, creates new problems for solution, leads to new relationships, and thus induces constitutional—that is, intellectual and moral—development of the nation. This is generally true of growing states. It is especially true of a new country under a constitutional government, in which the process of expansion began, practically, with the foundation of the state and has been maintained at intervals ever since. The history of American expansion is therefore something far more than a record of geographical extension, or even of wars and treaties. It involves the history, in large measure, of constitutional development and interpretation, of domestic institutions, of foreign relations, and of our whole national life.

"It aims to present the salient features of the great story, succinctly yet with sufficient comprehensiveness, at least, to suggest where it does not instruct. It aims, moreover, to deal justly with the varying phases of the checkered story. For it is not all pride and sunshine. The nation has not always acted wisely and well. There are things to condemn as well as to commend. Acts are not always necessarily right, just because our country performs them. The best that we can claim, and we can truly claim it, is that, on the whole, our expansion has been a sound and beneficent growth, contributing to elevation of mind and spirit as well as to enlargement of area on the map of the world."

In the retrospect and prospect, Mr. Johnson gives a sensible explanation of the Monroe Doctrine, the spirit of which he describes as follows:

"Europe must not meddle with the domestic interests of the Americas, and in return the United States will not meddle with the domestic affairs of Europe. That is all. There is nothing in it that forbids European powers to make treaties with or wage war against American states, and as a matter of fact such treaties have been made and such wars have been waged without our protest. There is nothing to prevent European powers from collecting debts due them from American states, or from holding the latter responsible for the discharge of international obligations, which also they have repeatedly done. Such affairs are not domestic to America, but are international in scope. Neither does the doctrine bar America from a certain participation in European affairs. 'In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part.' No. But we had taken part in European wars in matters relating to ourselves. We had sent fleets and an army to the Mediterranean, and to those North African states which were much more nearly a part of the European system than is eastern Asia.

"The Monroe Doctrine, therefore, does not in either letter or spirit bar us out of Asia, unless we are to consider Asia a part of Europe, which would be absurd. Asia is left a neutral ground between Europe and America, in

which the latter has equal rights with the former, in both peace and war. America, just as much as Europe, is entitled to an open door in Asia for peaceful commerce, and, in emergency, she has an equal right to exert physical force upon Asia for the attainment of her ends. This America has already done, more than once. The 'opening' of Japan was acquiesced in by European powers, which profited from it. The 'opening' of Korea was not reckoned a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Neither has our acquisition of the Philippines traversed that Doctrine in any sense. It is from it a matter entirely apart."

His view of expansion may be considered as commonly accepted by the nation; at any rate the policy of the United States is forced to take the consequences of the situation. We cannot help growing, and so the old notion of restricting territorial acquisitions must be considered as antiquated. Mr. Johnson says:

"The notion that America should refrain from taking part in so-called world politics is as mistaken as it is futile."

Under these principles the Spanish war and the acquisition of the Spanish islands, the protectorate of Cuba is fully justified. As to the other islands of the West Indies Mr. Johnson says:

"The second island of the West Indies in point of size, Hayti, is now divided between two independent republics. They are pursuing a troubled course, which may decline into hopeless anarchy, or may happily lead upward into tranquil prosperity. If the latter, we shall be pleased to see them remain forever independent. If the former, it may become necessary for the United States to intervene and even to establish its authority over them. In any case, there must be an inexorable American prohibition of anything like European conquest or control of them. They must remain independent, and justify their independence, or else become territories of the United States."

The book is decidedly timely and is written in the proper spirit which neither echoes the sentiments of Jingoism nor the narrowness of the anti-expansionist who has no idea of the conditions of national growth and the duties of national life.

#### THE HEBREW SECULAR LAW IN THE LIGHT OF COMPARATIVE JURISPRUDENCE.

In the *Jewish Conservator* for June 17, A. H. Godbey discusses "The Making of Hebrew Secular Law," arguing that a new source should be recognized in the literary criticism of the Hebrew records. He suggests that the method heretofore pursued, of treating the laws for daily secular life as emanating from the same element in society that produced the primitive religious law, and as possessing equal authority, is open to criticism.

"We know enough of simple clan and tribal life in all parts of the world to be able to trace with accuracy some phases of human development. In this primitive stage, the line between secular and sacred things is fairly distinct. The functions of the chiefs, the elders, or the popular assembly, are quite definite. Intertribal wars, internal disputes, petty crimes and misdemeanors, divisions of property, are matters that concern the popular courts. The sacred class is concerned with its taboos, its magic, and its rituals. It

may be called upon to detect a criminal, to say whether omens are favorable for some proposed movement; it does not judge the thief, nor lead the expedition."

The writer points out that there is always friction between the secular and sacred leaders: that there are frequent cases of encroachment of either upon the domain of the other; nevertheless there is no permanent fusion of function, owing in part to the vast difference in personal qualities required in each field of activity; nor does there seem to be confusion in the popular mind. The one class claims supernatural powers or authority: the judges of secular matters appeal to tradition. "It is the way of the fathers"—"it is contrary to the great charter,"—are but expressions of the fact of this appeal to tradition:

"Sir H. S. Maine has told us how in India some new thing may be introduced into a retired peasant commune, where the simple principles of early Aryan law remain unchanged by the passage of millennia, and not buried by the superpositions of Brahmanism. The village elders must decide how the new thing shall be managed, what part each family must take or receive in responsibility or product; and after long discussion, their crude ideas of equity will reach a *modus vivendi*. But the reason always is, 'That is the way our fathers did it.' And such will be the verdict upon scores of things their fathers never heard of. \* \* \* But the learned Brahmin, citing the same principle, will enounce it upon the authority of Menu: it is the sacred law. Clearly the idea of the sacredness of the law is far younger than primitive Aryan institutions."

The writer then suggests that the development of case-law, and of a body of men who expound the law, do not necessarily produce confusion of ceremonial law with secular. The critical factors here he thinks to be the right of appeal, and the stability of political organizations. "If the government be unstable, the monarch vacillating, the dynasty frequently changed, and social organization poor, the interpreters of the law may be eventually almost dictators: and if the sacred authorities continue to have some prestige after secular authorities are swept away, the very necessities of the situation may compel this class to render decisions upon cases and in accordance with principles heretofore unfamiliar to them. Sheer necessity, again, would bring about their compilation of hand-books for their use, in which the old secular law and their own sacred code would be strangely intermingled. Such a work, by reason of a lack of minute technical familiarity with the secular law of the past, might be expected to contain whatever the compilers could find upon the subject, without much regard to the age of the matter in question: and hence incongruous or even contradictory enactments might creep into the hand-book; while the modern student would be impressed with the idea that ritual was much more modern, and more highly developed, than the secular law. How critical a factor in literary compilation the loss of political independence would be, if accompanied by the perpetuation of old social and sacred institutions, will readily appear."

Mr. Godbey concludes then, that a law for secular life is considered sacred only because the administration of the law has finally passed into the hands of the sacred class, who claim for their decision the same prestige that is claimed for their authority in ceremonial matters. Also, that this confusion of functions is responsible for the stressing of ritual at the ex-

pense of justice, and *vice versa*. The secular lawyer and the ritualist naturally magnify their respective fields of activity.

As historical illustrations of this development of law, Mr. Godbey suggests Brahminism, the Brehon law of the Celt, and the development of the Catholic Church. "When the empire of Rome went down before the barbarians, the great bishops of Rome stepped into the breach. They overawed the barbarian horde bent upon plunder and sent it away. They helped to make provision for the famished and panic-stricken multitude. Without thought of self-aggrandizement at first, they labored for many needy secular interests; and all this time Rome was in the world's thought the center of law. In consequence, by the time order was restored, and society could be called stable once more, the great bishops of Rome surpassed in prestige and power the secular princes. The rest of the tale is familiar: we know how the sacred courts actually supplanted or absorbed the secular courts in some places, or claimed superior authority in others. But Rome represents the arrested development of the tendency we are considering. The empire fell too early. The Church was too young. The incoming hordes had not been assimilated in language, law, and institutions ere the task of dealing with them was thrown upon the Church. The work was too multifarious. The Papacy, however, all but succeeded. The final stage could not be reached: there was no literary fusion of civil and sacred law. The Church produced her Brahminism, but could not attain Menu."

This finds a certain parallel in Hebrew history. The returned exiles find themselves without able secular leadership. The king and the judge have disappeared. It is the hour for the priest and the rabbin to wax strong at the expense of the older secular authorities: the Sanhedrin is the analogue of the Papal Curia. Yet the evolution was not premeditated. Ezekiel in Babylon compiled a code; but he did not make one for secular life, though Babylon afforded precisely the material needed. Clearly he did not think of secular law falling within priestly functions. The pre-exilic priest is continually assailed by the prophet, because he does not instruct the people in secular righteousness. The secular law has no sanctity in the popular mind. When religious rites are observed most minutely, the prophet still cries aloud and spares not. The secular law is not of divine command: it consists of decisions and customs, and has grown up apart from the religious code. It is not surprising then that post-exilic compilations by priestly editors, devised for Palestinian necessities, contain rather primitive legislation. Ere this could be highly developed, the Jew was again under some one else's civil law. The literary *potpourri* remained.

Much more than must be conceded to the period of the Judges, in Mr. Godbey's opinion, than has been usually hitherto. The fundamental principles of law in an agricultural community are developed very early. Questions arise daily, and a *modus vivendi* is imperative; and such will be attained more speedily if the change from nomadic to agricultural life take place through settlement among an older agricultural people. The influence of older institutions is inevitable. The prophetic complaint at this point is familiar. Hence the name "Judges" must have been given to the great leaders of this period of settlement, because of an ineffaceable impression upon the minds of the people that this was their great civil-law making epoch. Could all decisions of these early leaders have disappeared, or been

easily displaced? For they would rank in their own day as our decisions of the Supreme Court rank.

Mr. Godbey then points out that the "Book of the Covenant" of critical scholars contains a "Book of Decisions" (Ex. xxi-xxiii) that this code pertains to an agricultural people, knows nothing of commerce, knows no king, has no highly developed ritual or priesthood; it has not the refinements of sacred architecture: it has only three simple agricultural feasts. The criminal code is primitive; there are none of the peculiar interests of city life; woman seems viewed as a chattel to some extent. The writer concludes:

"We have next to inquire if there is any body of men known to us who were more concerned about 'the decisions and the consuetudinary law' than about the sacred ritual. To ask the question suggests the answer. Should we endeavor to be more specific and indicate a definite person, we should say that a member of such party who had himself been a judge would be decidedly best fitted for the task of compilation; and he could give the civil law of the people, the manner of the kingdom, as definite a trend as the priest gave to the ceremonial law. Whether he would have done so would depend upon circumstances. Had he been cognizant of an attempt of a priestly clique to take the leadership, and of much consequent corruption against which no small effort of his own was directed, it seems improbable that he should have neglected to make any provision for such emergency. If we are told also that his sons were noted as not walking in his ways, there would be reason to think that his principles or decisions were becoming fairly well known to the people. And in view of the complaint of the people, their desire to have a definite crystallization of the results of past growth, it seems probable that the retiring judge would have made provision for his successor, that the latter might be able to walk in his ways. A handbook of his own precedents would have been of first importance. And when we add the popular tradition that he did write such a book (and there seems no good reason to discredit the tradition), we may surmise that the main elements of this 'Book of Decisions,' if not the entire collection, were compiled by Samuel the prophet. Finally, he is the great father and ideal of the prophetic party, who are ever insisting upon 'the decisions and the consuetudinary law': and he must have been associated in the minds of his successors with their great body of law."

#### DHARMAPALA'S MISSION IN INDIA, AND HIS LECTURE IN ALBERT HALL, CALCUTTA.

The Anagarika Dharmapala is doing his best for the elevation of India. Though he is a Singhalese from Ceylon and not a Hindu from the valley of the Ganges, he takes a great interest in the country which gave birth to Buddha, his master and teacher. Having seen the enormous benefits of a thorough and scientific education, the Anagarika has decided to found a school in Isipatane, Benares, in which he proposes to teach poor children such arts and crafts as will enable them to become self-reliant men and women. We have before us reports of Indian newspapers discussing his plans and recapitulating an address of his, delivered on this subject in Albert Hall, Calcutta. For an explanation of his arguments and plans we give a résumé of Mr.

Dharmapala's lecture, following mainly the account of the *Indian Mirror* of May 4, 1904:

"The Anagarika Dharmapala in his lecture on Friday last, at Albert Hall, Calcutta, at the Wesaka festival, said that he had been devoting himself as a travelling student, working for the good of India, and that for ten years he had journeyed in the North, East, South, and West of India, and that having seen the wretchedness, the distressing poverty, the crass ignorance of the people, and the way the poor children were neglected, he made up his mind to work for their elevation.

"With this resolution he left India for Japan, to study the educational system of the Japanese. He gave a delightfully charming picture of the cheerful people of the land of the rising sun, where men, women, and children live such sober, artistic, refined, polite lives; of their daily work and progressive ways; of the schools, where children from five years of age are taught to be patriotic, useful, cleanly, diligent, and fearless.

"In 1889, when Mr. Dharmapala first visited Japan, even lamps had to be imported from foreign countries, but in 1901, unaided, they were building battleships of 6000 tons in their own dockyards. This wonderful development made a great impression on his mind. He visited the trade schools, the commercial schools, the technical schools, the orphanages, where, at the expense of the Municipalities or State, and also by private contributions, orphans are taught the different arts and crafts. Youths were never found loafing in the streets, for all were active, and if they had no other work to do, their time would be spent in cleaning the doors, windows, glass-panes, or watering the streets in front of their houses.

"Children are taken care of in Japan as a florist would of a flower, and floriculture is taught to every girl. Paper-making, soap-making, enamelling, mat-making, gardening, japanning, umbrella and fan-making, and various other things are taught in the different manual training schools.

"The religion of the country, Mr. Dharmapala said, is Buddhism, and the activity of the people is due to Buddhism which came from India and taught the people arts and crafts, and gave them a religion. The pre-Buddhistic art was rude and clumsy. The development of the people is due to their religion which teaches the development of the individual. Buddha in the one word *appamada*, "non-delay," expressed the essence of his religion. It is a religion that teaches a higher development according to the energetic effort one makes daily. There should be the overwhelming desire to do the good, to be great, to progress, to advance, and not remain without making strenuous exertion. Desire to progress is absolutely essential, and according to the desires and the exertions one makes, his development takes place.

"When Mr. Dharmapala had finished his description of Japan, he gave a pleasant picture of American school life with its beautifully constructed palatial buildings, where the children from their fifth year are given a free education, the State providing them with books, pens, paper, ink, etc., free. The children of the immigrants that come to the United States from England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Russia, Italy, Austria, and even India, are received and educated free. 900 million rupees are spent yearly for the education of 15 million children. In the manual training schools clay-modelling, weaving of carpets, cooking, physical culture, gardening, drawing, carpentry, forging, and other arts and crafts are taught

The child is never neglected, and its latent potentialities are developed by scientific and enlightened teachers.

"The speaker then gave an enthusiastic picture of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School, founded by the emancipated negro slave, Booker T. Washington. Mr. Dharmapala found therein palatial buildings, workshops, a farm of 600 acres, baths, dairy, gymnasiums, etc. All this phenomenal work had been completed within twenty years by the efforts of one young slave, who started the school in a village with twenty negro children in a delapidated shanty. To-day there are 1,500 students taught daily in every art and craft that is requisite for a civilised community.

"'When I saw this institution,' the Anagarika said, 'I thought of the man who had founded it. A negro slave in twenty years had built up this wonderful institution. Why should not I, with the noble traditions of thirty centuries behind me, begin the work of training children in a very modest way, taking about 10 children and teaching them agriculture, elementary science, hygiene, etc.?'"

"Mr. Dharmapala had written to a lady friend in Honolulu, Mrs. T. R. Foster, and the benevolent lady sent him at once Rs. 10,000 to start the first school. That the money should come from the remote little Island in the far-off Pacific for India's neglected children was to him auspicious. How much more should the people of India feel, and contribute for the movement? He had further gained the assistance of a young Englishman who accompanied him to India, and now the Anagarika declared that he hoped to start the school somewhere in a village either in Bengal or Benares.

"In concluding his speech, M. Dharmapala made a thrilling appeal which went deep into the hearts of the audience, stirring them into action, and asking them not to sit with folded hands, and cry for extraneous help. He said that the Great Master, Buddha, 2,400 years ago exhorted the people of India to activity, to study; and that he brought the message of the Gospel of cheerfulness and activity to the people. He said: 'Sacrifice your selfish desires for the large good of your country, devote yourselves to the elevation of the neglected children. Wake up from your slumbers, don't be like the crying goat of the Jataka tale that flattered the tiger and was eaten by him, but be like the clever goat that showed presence of mind and escaped from the tiger's jaws.'"

We are inclined to believe that the Anagarika underrates the difficulties of the enterprise, but we do not deny its feasibility, provided he shows sufficient energy and wisdom to accomplish his aim. We will watch his further progress and shall be very glad to see him succeed.

\* \* \*

India exercises a strange fascination and the hearts of many Western people beat in sympathy with her needs. Miss Christine Albers, an American lady of German extraction, who has been working in Ceylon and Calcutta for several years, performs on a small scale this very same work which the Anagarika proposes to do. She writes:

"I have opened a little girls' school in the heart of the Bengalee quarters, where I am trying to carry out my ideals. I am endeavoring to give to these little girls a good education in their own Bengalee, and after they are well able to read and write that, Sanskrit and English are added, besides the ordinary school branches, including needle work and religious instruction

in their own faith. I find these little girls very able, and most of them take to education very well indeed. They have it in them to make most superior women; and in the regeneration of this great race, the education of the women is one of the most important points. I trust I will continue to be able to work for some years more, so as to establish this work well."

Miss Albers defrays her own expenses by working elsewhere three days in the week, and for the expenses of her missionary work she receives but a scanty support from personal friends.

#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

CHRISTIAN FAITH IN AN AGE OF SCIENCE. By *William North Rice, Ph. D., LL. D.*, Professor of Geology in Wesleyan University. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1903. Pp. xi, 425.

Prof. William North Rice, a scientist and a Christian, attempts in this book a reconciliation of his scientific convictions with Christianity, and while in our opinion he does not succeed, we become acquainted in the book with one who is both religious and thoughtful. He has gone deep and has succeeded in settling the problem to his own satisfaction. He is well aware of the change that has taken place by the expansion of science. He knows that the world has moved, that our knowledge has grown. The earth is no longer a flat territory covered with the heavens, and governed by a god who has his residence above the firmament. The universe has grown in space to be infinite, in time to be eternal, and the unity of the laws of the universe has to be recognised as an indispensable truth. To be just to the author we let him speak for himself. In the face of the intellectual growth of mankind he says:

"The question, then, before us is whether Christianity can survive the prodigious change which has taken place in the intellectual environment. It is obvious that so great a change in the knowledge and thought of the world must involve changes in the many beliefs more or less closely connected with Christianity. An alleged miraculous event is necessarily regarded in a very different light at the beginning of the twentieth century from that in which it was regarded in the first century. The miraculous character of a narrative was then no reason why any one should fail to believe it. In this age of scientific thought, every alleged miracle labors under a heavy burden of a *priori* improbability. There may be sufficient reason for accepting certain miracles as historic, but they can no longer be accepted in the unquestionable way which once was possible. The status of miracle in relation to scientific thought is of special importance, since one alleged miracle—the resurrection of Jesus—is not an incidental fact connected with Christianity, nor merely an evidence of Christianity, but an integral part of Christianity. The denial of the resurrection of Jesus would involve a radical reconstruction of Christian doctrine.

"In the Gospel according to Luke, and in the Acts of the Apostles, we are told that Jesus led his disciples to the Mount of Olives, and that after talking with them, 'he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight.' Those men accordingly saw, or thought they saw, the body of Jesus ascending vertically from the earth until it was hidden from them by a cloud. It is not necessary for us here to discuss how far their impression corre-

sponded to objective fact, and how far it was merely subjective. Whatever they saw, or thought they saw, the phenomenon had one meaning to men who supposed that directly above the flat and stationary earth, and beyond the cloudy expanse of the firmament, was the throne of God; and it must have a very different meaning to men who believe that the earth is whirling through space at a rate of eighteen and one half miles per second, and that the direction of the zenith changes hourly through an angle equal to  $15^\circ$  multiplied by the cosine of the latitude. This story of the ascension is a very striking illustration of the truth that the progress of science renders inevitable some change in the beliefs that have been considered an integral part of Christianity. The question is whether the necessary changes can be made and the essentials of Christian faith preserved. Can Christianity be so modified as to bring it into harmony with the new environment? or must it share the fate of all ill-adjusted organisms, and become extinct?

"The discussion before us will be divided into three parts.

"In the first part we shall pass briefly in review the history of those scientific discoveries which have resulted in developing the three characteristic ideas of the extension of the universe in space, the extension of the universe in time, and the unity of the universe. The history will be sketched in an order partly chronological and partly logical. In connection with each series of scientific discoveries we shall consider what changes those discoveries have necessitated in Christian doctrine.

"In the second part, we shall consider the status of certain doctrines of Christianity, in relation, not to a single scientific discovery, but to the general intellectual atmosphere which the progress of science has developed.

"In the third part, we shall consider the general status of Christian evidence in relation to the intellectual atmosphere of a scientific age."

It almost seems that a man who takes his rigorous stand on science would be driven to a solution that would necessitate a reconstruction of Christianity, but strange to say, he finds a reconciliation which leaves the main truths and miracles untouched, and he rightly recognises the doctrine of Christ's resurrection as the essential dogma with which the old conception of Christianity must stand or fall. He says:

"The resurrection of Jesus may well claim special consideration, not only because it is the most important, but also because it is the best attested, of all miracles. Indeed, so greatly does the evidence of the resurrection exceed that of every other alleged miracle, that our chief reason for believing in any other miracle as historic, is that the strong evidence for the resurrection suffices to establish a probability that miracle is a part of the divine plan of revelation."

We will not here quarrel with Professor Rice concerning the statement that the resurrection is the best attested of all miracles. It is certainly well attested that the Apostle Paul believed in the resurrection, but the evidence upon which the personal connection is based by the vision upon the road to Damascus, is sufficient evidence to prove the looseness of his arguments. We will here limit ourselves to a mere statement of Professor Rice's views:

"I realise the improbability of an exception to a generalisation sustained by so immense a mass of accordant experience. But, when I think of the alternatives to belief in the resurrection, they all seem so much more improbable that I find it easier to accept the one mystery which explains all

mysteries. To believe that the faith in the resurrection was a delusion so contradicting all psychological laws, or a myth which was fully developed in a single day, or a falsehood perpetrated by the disciples to bring upon themselves imprisonment and death—to believe that the system of religious faith which has created a new and nobler civilisation had its origin in fraud or self-deception—taxes credulity more than to believe that Jesus rose from the dead.

"If we accept as probably historic the resurrection of Jesus, the obvious corollary is suggested, that miracle is part of the divine plan of revelation,—that the Ruler of the universe, in revealing himself to mankind, has seen fit to authenticate that revelation by extraordinary events in the physical world. From this point of view it appears probable that the miracle of the resurrection of Jesus has not been an isolated instance, but that other miracles more or less numerous have attended the critical epochs in the history of revelation."

Professor Rice's method of subsuming the miracle of the resurrection under the general natural law is ingenious and interesting. On page 331 and following, he introduces an instance from mathematics, the formula of a curve:

$$ay = \pm \sqrt{x(x-b)(x-c)}.$$

The curve represented by this equation shows an oval branch whose form is very similar to that of an ellipse and an infinite parabolic branch. But if we make  $b=0$ , the equation  $ay$  is reduced to  $\pm x\sqrt{x-c}$ , and we shall find that the oval branch is reduced to a single point. This would explain how a supposed natural law may show a series of instances represented in a connected curve, while an apparently isolated phenomenon belonging to it has a single point that lies outside and has apparently no connection with the rest. The explanation is ingenious but not convincing. As to the God problem he declares that "God is everywhere or nowhere in the universe. He does everything or nothing" (p. 337). He feels the change in our conception of God without, however, clearly pointing out the differences, yet it is practically conceded by his view of prayer. Recognising the change of attitude in this phase of religious life, he says:

"In the future as in the past, advancing knowledge and deepening experience must change the form of prayer; but, in every stage of intellectual and moral development, that form of prayer is most fitting which is most natural and spontaneous. The value of prayer lies not in the consistency of its language with a high type of theistic philosophy, but in the genuineness of its expression of filial truths in a father's love.

"The child that cries for soaring bird,  
For moon or radiant star,  
Is not rebuked with angry word,  
Though vain its longings are.  
If God is God, and God is love,  
And we his children are,  
He will not frown from heaven above,  
Though e'en we ask a star."

"As knowledge grows from more to more, and more of reverence in us dwells, our prayers will more and more conform to the precept of the Master, 'After this manner, therefore, pray ye: "Our father which art in

heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." 'After this manner'—not necessarily in these words (though the words may be fit to be the perpetual liturgy of the Church Universal), but rather in this spirit of trust and submission in the presence of infinite wisdom and perfect love. 'Thy will be done,' sounds now as a faint, sweet accompaniment, almost drowned in the vociferousness of desire."

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS, Written from the Year 1840 to 1903. Seventh Series. By Robert Needham Cust, LL. D. London: Luzac & Co., 1904. Pp. 418, 237.

Robert Needham Cust, a venerable figure in the literary world of England, published his *Linguistic and Oriental Essays* in the year 1889 and began his preface with the words, "*Vocat labor ultimus*" ("The last labor calls"), and now he enjoys the good fortune to publish the seventh series of this book, which serves as a monument of his long and useful career.

Dr. Cust is a scholar of real accomplishments, belonging to a type that is fast dying out. He is versed not only in modern tongues but also in the classical languages to such an extent that for his own enjoyment he wrote some of his articles in several languages, including classical Greek. Whether he found many readers in the latter remains to be doubted, but an inspection of some passages picked out at random proves that his Greek style is both faultless and elegant, and it is doubtful whether at the present time any scholar may be found, even including the philologists of Germany, who would be able to write them with the same facility in his own vernacular and classical Greek.

Dr. Cust has been present at three coronations; he has travelled extensively he has played a prominent part in the evangelisation of the world; he is Honorable Secretary of the Board of Missions of the Province of Canterbury; he served as a member of His Majesty's Indian Civil Service; and he was Honorable Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The present volume contains a series of articles which characterise him as a pure-hearted pious Christian of great breadth, who has thought considerably about religions and moral problems, and has attended to the duties of life to the best of his knowledge and powers. The appendix contains his Greek translation of an essay on the religions and languages of India and "Voices of the Past," which are poetic effusions during sixty-four years of his life. The latter contains poems not only in English but also in Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Udurrua, and Persian. Most of his poems in these foreign tongues are translations of classical English literature, intended to make them accessible to other nations. His Latin verses breathe the spirit of the Gregorian hymns. His Greek lines, for instance a versified translation of Isaiah xlv, are an echo of the Græco-religious spirit, transfigured by his Christian faith. From his last lines which breathe the childlike piety of the Christian faith, we quote the following two stanzas:

"Let me see Jesus! All my earthly days  
By Faith I've seen Him in my Prayers and Praise:  
Let my ears hear Him, while I draw my breath:  
Let my eyes see Him, ere they close in Death.

"Let me see Jesus! Let this my latest word  
In Life and Death, or after Death, be heard!

Tell me, Lord Jesus, is Thy Gospel true?  
Oh, true indeed, if I can once see You!"

**THE BIBLE UNTRUSTWORTHY.** A Critical Comparison of Contradictory Passages in the Scriptures, with a View of Testing Their Historical Accuracy. By *Walter Jekyll, M.A.* (Issued for the Rationalist Press Association, Limited.) Watts & Co., London, E. C. 1904. Price, 3/6.

This volume of 284 pages proposes the question, "Is the Bible the inspired word of God?" and naturally answers it in the negative. The author goes over many errors, and objectionable passages, including the blood-thirstiness of Yahveh, the legend of the fall, the fish-stories of the New Testament, the prophecies, the sins of David, the inhumanities of the patriarchs, and other religious errors, miracles, authorship of the Fourth Gospel, etc., etc., and finds the book that contains them wanting. He is not an irreligious man. On the contrary, he believes that we need a religion, and on account of the untenableness of dogmas rejects the Christian creed and prefers a rationalised faith which recognises the truths of Eastern religions, especially Buddhism with its noble ethics and universal lovingkindness. The author condemns especially the efforts of the Bible League to establish faith in the Bible and to suppress the higher criticism as far as possible. For this purpose he criticises the leaders of this movement for their lack of truthfulness and concludes his book with the following conciliatory comment: "In parting from them let me ask their forgiveness if I have said anything which they may think too hard. I have written purely in the interest of truth. The war is with principles, not with them."

---

A misprint, due to the wrong reading of the handwriting of our informant, occurs on page 451 of the August *Open Court*, where the famous thaumaturgical icon of Athos is called "The Icon of Tverski." The "T" should be an "I," and it ought to read "The Icon of Iverski." The same mistake occurs in the text on page 453, the last word of line 3.

---

We are informed that the Russian Censor did not allow several articles of recent numbers of *The Open Court* to reach our Russian subscribers. Among them, strange to say, is Mr. Henry Ridgely Evans's essay on "Eliphas Levi, Magician and Mystic, Fragments from the Philosophy of Levi: Immortality, The Great Arcanum of Death or Spiritual Transition, The Cabala," which appeared in the March *Open Court*, an article which contains no political allusion whatever, and it may be that the Russian Censor cut it out for fear of the spread of mysticism and religious heresies in Russia. Further we learn that in the August number Tolstoy's note on icons and also an editorial article, "The Lesson of the Russo-Japanese War," has been blackened over with printer's, or more correctly censor's ink, together with the titles of these articles in the Table of Contents on the cover. One of the copies goes to Tolstoy, and the Russian sage may wonder what black thoughts those blackened pages may have contained. We deemed them harmless enough, but we will not quarrel with the Russian Censor who watches over the spiritual welfare of the Czar's subjects.

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## IS THE BIBLE IN DANGER?

AN APPRECIATION AND CRITICISM.

BY REV. GABRIEL OUSSANI.

### INTRODUCTION.

FOUR Sundays ago, there appeared in the *New York Herald* a Biblical Symposium contributed by some leading churchmen and dignitaries of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish Churches. The subject was: whether the Bible was in danger? or, rather, a criticism of the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament from a Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish point of view. The eminent churchmen who were invited to express their personal or rather denominational view on the subject are the Most Rev. John M. Farley, Archbishop of New York; Rev. Dr. H. A. Braunn, and Rev. A. P. Doyle (Paulist), of the Catholic Church; the Right Rev. Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York, the Right Rev. William C. Doan, Bishop of Albany, and the Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, of the Episcopal Church; the Revs. Drs. Lyman Abbott, Newell Dwight Hillis, Congregationalists; Rev. Drs. Charles H. Parkhurst, Robert Russell Booth, and Daniel S. Gregory, Presbyterians; Rev. James Burrell, Reformed; Rev. Dr. Minot J. Savage, Unitarian; Rev. Dr. Hayes Ward, Presbyterian and editor of the *New York Independent*; Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman, Jewish, and Dr. Felix Adler, Ethical Culture.

The theological and critical views of such eminent divines, preachers and thinkers are, of course, of great importance for a comparative study of the attitude of the different Christian Churches towards the vital problem of the relation of the Higher Criticism and the Bible, and they deserve our full appreciation; but from a critical

point of view many of them are subject to some criticism, which is well to point out before the intelligent public.

Without claiming any gift of prophecy, I am convinced that the *Herald's* Biblical Symposium will please neither the Higher Critics nor their extreme opponents; furthermore it will greatly disappoint the general public, which, although it consists neither of higher critics nor of uncompromising apologists, nevertheless is equally entitled to know the best and latest conclusions of sound Biblical criticism. I venture to say, that the time has come when our well informed public press should give more attention to the fair and impartial presentation of the latest conclusions of Biblical researches and discoveries in order that the average intelligent public may be in a position to judge of the relative merits of the two contending schools of theology and criticism.

#### PART I.

It is three and twenty years since the late William Robertson Smith, Oriental scholar and Biblical critic, then a young but exceptionally gifted lecturer and professor at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, startled the whole English public by two courses of lectures on Biblical criticism, delivered in Edinburg and Glasgow before audiences of not less than eighteen hundred, and given to the public, afterwards, in two volumes under the title of "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church," and "The Prophets of Israel," respectively. This distinguished scholar had already previously scandalized the English people with several masterly articles on Biblical subjects in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, on account of which he was condemned and suspended by the commission of the Free Church of Scotland. The aim of his lectures, the author tells us, was to give the Scottish public "an opportunity of understanding the position of the Newer Criticism in order that they might not condemn it unheard." The lectures proved a success, and, ever since, Higher Criticism gained its ground in all the leading English and American Universities.

At that time a distinguished professor of theology in the general Assembly's College of Belfast, Dr. Robert Watts, in a book in which he undertook to refute the views of the Aberdeen professor, openly declared that "Higher Criticism, whether it comes from the pen of a Wellhausen, or a Kuenen, or a Smith, is still the same faith-subverting theory, which no ingenuity of man can reconcile with the history or character of the Old Testament revelation, and

that no one can accept it and continue long to regard the Sacred Scriptures as the Word of God."<sup>1</sup>

It is useless to add that Dr. Watt's verdict on the Higher Criticism twenty-three years ago, is substantially repeated by many in our own days, and will very likely continue to be the motto of the anti-Higher Criticism for many years to come.

Before entering into any discussion it is well to emphasize the gravity of the situation, which has reached a very acute stage in the last few years in all the branches of the Christian Church. To any one, in fact, who cares at all for the Church of Christ, the present theological situation must be one of unique interest; to many, indeed, it is one of grave apprehension. It is undeniable that there is a great critical movement within the Church, almost within her every branch. What is to be the Church's attitude towards such movement? Shall she welcome it? or fear it? or condemn it? Ignore it she clearly cannot, for the problems are thrust upon her by her own sons, on the right hand and on the left.<sup>2</sup>

The situation is critical, indeed, and the questions cannot be suppressed; for they suggest themselves to all minds which participate, even in a small measure, in the intellectual movement of the age, and it is the Church's task to attempt an answer to these burning questions, for otherwise, she shall no longer powerfully command the conscience of her members.

These problems are urgent and difficult, and the answers to them seem to divide the Church and its most distinguished members. Between the representatives of the two opposing schools there has been, and there is still a conspicuous lack of fairness and sincerity; and seldom has either party been at the pains to understand the other. Both sides have suffered from misunderstanding and misrepresentation, with the unfortunate result that the average public, as a whole, has remained in a state of chaotic doubt and titubation.

The Catholic Church itself has not, and could not possibly escape the beneficial effects of this reactionary movement, which is sufficiently attested by the names of such Catholic scholars as Loisy, Bickell, Clark, Robert. Hummelauer, Ginocchi, Van den Biesen, Semeria, Von Hügel, Von Hoonacker, Zapletal, and Lagrange, the founder of the Catholic Biblical School at Jerusalem, the author of many valuable books and contributions, who has lately project-

<sup>1</sup> *The Newer Criticism and the Analogy of the Faith*. Edinburgh. 1882. Page x.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. McFadyen's *Old Testament Criticism and the Christian Church*. New York. 1903. Pages 1 ff.

ed a series of critical commentaries of the Bible, of which his own commentary on the Book of Judges was the first installment.

The Catholic Church feels the issue to be serious and the consequences rather discouraging, and a commission, therefore, representative of the Catholic scholarship of many lands, has been appointed by the late Pope Leo XIII "to ascertain the limits of freedom which is allowed to the Catholic exegete in the Biblical questions of today, to point out definitely conclusions that must be maintained in the interest of orthodoxy, others that must be rejected as incompatible with or dangerous to the Catholic faith; as well as the disputable ground between the two where each one is free to hold his own view," for even those Catholic theologians who believe that religion has nothing to fear from the attacks of the Higher Criticism, are yet compelled by the facts to admit that criticism seems to make the Old Testament alike inaccessible and unintelligible to themselves as well as to the people.

Higher Criticism has been unfairly represented to the public, by our conservative Catholic and Protestant theologians, as a recent invention, and that it was arrogant to pretend that it has reached any final or even approximate result. Criticism, said some, was purely of German origin, and that it was foolish to import from Germany what has no root in our own theology and catechism. Criticism, said others, is purely rationalistic in principles, aim and method, and it goes grinding for ever at the same mill, and constructive theology. Criticism, shouted others, is narrow in its method, and that it goes grinding for ever at the same mill, and needs an almost complete reconstruction. In particular, according to many, Higher Criticism dreads archeology; and that it was time for sober theologians to strike out a new method which will have the additional advantage of being scientifically sure and theologically safe. To many, in fact, Higher Criticism, atheism, rationalism and positivism are one and the same thing; and to be higher critic and true Christian is to serve God and Mammon at the same time.<sup>3</sup>

Fortunately, however, all these stupid accusations have the disadvantage of being devoid of the most elementary principles of common sense, which is nowadays, unfortunately, so uncommon and so rare; and I think it is time that our sober Higher Critics should take the offensive and directly attack their foes on their own ground, in order that what is substantially true and vital to Christianity be vin-

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Cheyne's *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*. London. 1893. Pages v-vi.

icated, and what is secondary, irrelevant and immaterial be set out in its true light and bearing.

Consequently we squarely deny the unfounded accusation that Higher Criticism has a reckless disregard and contempt for tradition: for it must be remembered that many of those old traditions were never seriously investigated till about a century and a half ago. An unchallenged tradition has no more value at the end of twenty centuries than at the beginning, and its value then is precisely the thing to be investigated.

All traditions should be carefully analyzed and scientifically discussed, and, unless they are capable of standing the merciless, yet logical, hammer of sound criticism, they should be rejected. The records of our religion are historical documents, and they claim the same treatment which has been so fruitfully applied to the other sources of ancient history and traditions. They claim it all the more because the supreme religious significance of this history and traditions gives it an interest to which no other part of ancient history can pretend. Ecclesiastical leaders should never flatter themselves that questions of truth and criticism can be set at rest by an exertion of authority, and by unwarranted, though venerable, traditions; for those who love truth for its own sake cannot well acquiesce in this comparatively easy method.<sup>4</sup> Ecclesiastical authority, on the other hand, should never be overlooked or minimized in its other applications. All Christian Churches should be grateful to all those scholars who will continue to examine the history of revelation in its origin, aim, successive evolution and local tendencies, and not to rest satisfied with conclusions and traditions that do not commend themselves to the scientific and impartial investigations of the critic and historian.

In the second place, the malicious insinuation that Higher Criticism has put the credibility of the Bible at stake should be emphatically rejected. The credibility of the Bible has been neither smashed nor annihilated by the modern scholar of criticism. If the Pentateuch is believed no more to have been the work of Moses, it is for the same reason that we do not and cannot believe that *Romeo and Juliet* had been written by Chaucer, or Milton's *Paradise Lost* by Shakespeare. If mythical and legendary elements are largely interwoven with the narratives of the earlier chapters of Genesis, it is simply because it was a natural consequence that oral traditions which have come down to us after hundreds of generations, and

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Robertson Smith's *The Prophets of Israel*. London. 2d ed. 1902. Pages I-li.

passed through so many national, local and popular stages of literary and religious evolutions, should bear the imprint of this successive and gradual transformation; and if the books which have been long supposed to be, if not contemporary with the events they record, at any rate very early, are brought down to so late a date, this does not weaken their historical value, but it simply gives us the right key for the proper understanding of the events recorded, and to view them from their own writers' view and standing.

What difference, in fact, does it make whether we believe the Book of Job, or Ecclesiastes, or Isaiah, or the Psalms, were written by Job himself, or Solomon, or Isiah, or David, respectively, or rather by some anonymous Jewish writers of comparatively later age, as long as we believe in their revealed or inspired character? Would the names of Job or Solomon or Isaiah or David make them *necessarily* more historical or more valuable even from a theological point of view? And would the second part of Isaiah lose its historical and moral character unless we believe it was written by the first Isaiah? and whether the Psalms were written by David himself, or by half dozen different pious Jews of the Exilic and post-Exilic periods, would that in any way affect or minimize their religious and prophetic value? Not a bit; for not only Moses, or David, or Isaiah, or Jeremiah, but also many other pious priests, prophets and kings of Israel could have been equally favored with the divine gift of revelation, inspiration and prophecy.

Furthermore, we explicitly protest against the other not less unjust accusation that the attitude of the Higher Criticism towards the explicit language and testimony of the New Testament, and of the words of our Lord Himself and His apostles is rather irreverent and incompatible with our Christian doctrine as to the divine person of Christ, His divine nature and authority. It can never be too much emphasized that, whatever view our Lord Himself entertained as to the scriptures of the Old Testament, the record of His words has certainly come down to us through the medium of persons who shared the current views on the subject; and that His sayings on the subject participated of that fragmentariness which is a general characteristic of the Gospels.<sup>5</sup> Nowhere in the New Testament our Lord claims for the Old Testament that it is an infallible authority in regard to history, archeology or sciences; and consequently, any appeal to Christ's authority on such points is not only unjustifiable and preposterous, but also dangerous in so far

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Sanday: "Inspiration," *Bampton Lectures*. London. 5th ed. Pages 407-8.

as it mistakes the true purpose of His teachings. That our Lord, as Dr. Driver says, in appealing to the Old Testament intended to pronounce a verdict on the authorship and age of its different parts, and to foreclose all future inquiry into the subject, is an assumption for which no sufficient ground can be alleged.<sup>6</sup> The aim of His teaching was a religious one, and as the basis of His teaching He accepted the opinions respecting the Old Testament current around Him. He assumed, in His allusions to it, the premises which His opponents and hearers themselves admitted! and consequently the purposes for which the Lord appealed to the Old Testament, its prophetic significance and the spiritual lessons deducible from it, are not and cannot be affected by critical inquiries.<sup>7</sup>

But this is not all. It has been common, indeed, to represent the modern critical school of Criticism as antagonistic to the idea of revelation and of the supernatural in general; but this is far from being a fair representation of the truth; for it touches only that class of critics who approach their studies with a bias against the supernatural; and this statement is so far from being applicable to all critics that many of them have indignantly spurned it; for they firmly believe that, unless the supernatural is admitted, the phenomena of Israel's history become utterly inexplicable. A good confirmation of this my statement can be had by reading the innumerable protests raised by the most respected Higher Critics of Germany against the two well-known but ill-fated lectures on *Babel and Bible* delivered before the German Emperor two years ago by the distinguished Assyriologist Frederick Delitzsch, of the University of Berlin. Natural development and religious evolution may account for a great many facts, but they utterly fail in reducing Old and New Testament history and religion to a gradual and unconscious development, and in substituting all along the line, evolution for revelation. And as an eminent Higher Critic says, "Criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament; it presupposes it, it seeks only to determine the conditions under which it operates, and the literary forms through which it manifests itself; and it thus helps us to frame truer conceptions of the methods which it has pleased God to employ in revealing Himself to His ancient people of Israel, and in preparing the way for the fuller manifestation of Himself in Jesus Christ."

<sup>6</sup> *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. 9th ed. London. 1899. Page xii

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* Page xiii.

Furthermore, should not pass unnoticed the signally false, absurd and ridiculous charge that Higher Criticism has found in Oriental archaeology its most fatal and deadly enemy and that the archaeological discoveries made in Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria and Palestine in the last fifty years, while on one hand have almost upset every conclusion of the modern school of Biblical criticism, on the other hand have admirably confirmed the strictly historical character of the Old Testament narratives.

It is comparatively easy to misunderstand things, and still easier to misrepresent them; but it is not so easy to prove them. If the enemies of the Higher Criticism think to have found in Oriental archaeology their *refugium peccatorum* and their Gibraltar of defence, it will not take them very long to find out that sooner or later they will have to surrender to the evidence of facts. The results proved by archeology have, in their bearing upon Biblical criticism, been not only greatly exaggerated, but also completely misunderstood by scholars like Hommel in Germany, Vigouroux in France, Brunengo and De Cara, s. j., in Italy, by Sayce in England, and by the Princeton School in America, and the attempt to refute conclusions of criticism by means of archeology has signally failed. It will not be out of place to quote here the pertinent remarks of two of the most distinguished Biblical critics of England, Dr. Driver of Oxford, and Dr. G. Adam Smith of Glasgow. The former frankly asserts that "the archeological discoveries of recent years have indeed been of singular interest and value: they have thrown a flood of light, sometimes as surprising as it was unexpected, upon many a previously dark and unknown region of antiquity. But, in spite of the ingenious hypotheses which have been framed to prove the contrary, they have revealed nothing which is in conflict with the generally accepted conclusions of critics. I readily allow that there are some critics who combine with their literary criticism of the Old Testament an historical criticism which appears to me to be unreasonable and extreme; and I am not prepared to say that isolated instances do not exist, in which opinions expressed by one or another of these critics may have to be reconsidered in the light of recent discoveries; but the idea that the monuments furnish a refutation of the general critical position, is a pure illusion."<sup>8</sup>

While the latter, in his "Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament,"<sup>9</sup> speaking of the light archeology has

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* Page xviii.

<sup>9</sup> New York. 1902. Pages 99-102 and *passim*.

thrown on the narrative of Genesis, says: "Nor can archeology furnish us with contemporary evidence of the Patriarchs and their careers. Archeology has indeed restored much of the life to which they belong. It has shown us that in the time of Abraham, whom the documents assert to have come out of Mesopotamia in Palestine, there was constant traffic between these countries.

The city, to which the early home of his family is assigned, has been identified and explored. Ur of the Chaldees lies on the borders of Arabia and Babylonia. The settlement there of a nomadic Arabian tribe, such as the earliest records of Israel prove them to have been in genius and temperament; their contact for a time with civilisation; their half-weaning from the desert and subsequent migration northwards along the Euphrates to Haran and then south into Canaan, are all illustrated not only by archeology but by the drift of Arabian tribes upon Mesopotamia and Syria within historical times. These last also make possible the wanderings of such a half-settled family as Abraham's upon the desert borders of Southern Palestine and Egypt. The four Mesopotamian kings, of whose invasion of Canaan and pursuit by Abraham we are told in Genesis xiv, "were really contemporaries; and at least three of them ruled over the countries which they are said in Genesis xiv to have ruled; and their invasion of Palestine was "in the abstract, within the military possibilities of the age." The existence of the names Jacob and Joseph has been discovered in Palestine at an earlier age than the Exodus; the name "Israel," as of a people, in touch with Egypt, has been deciphered upon a stele of the Pharaoh under whom the Exodus probably took place. And not only does the story of Joseph reflect the social customs, the economic processes, and the official etiquette of the kingdom of the Pharaohs; but the settlement of a semi-nomad tribe in Goshen, at first in favor with the court of Egypt and then, on the succession of another dynasty, oppressed and enslaved, has also been proved to be perfectly possible in the history of Egypt between the eighteenth and fourteenth centuries.

"But, just as we have seen, that in all this archeological evidence there is nothing to prove the early date of the documents which contain the stories of the Patriarchs, but on the contrary, even a little which strengthens the critical theory of their late date, so now we must admit that while archeology has richly illustrated the possibility of the main outlines of the Book of Genesis from Abraham to Joseph, it has not one whit of proof to offer for the personal existence or characters of the Patriarchs themselves.

Where formerly the figure of the "Father of the Faithful" and his caravans moved solemnly in high outline through an almost empty world, we see (by the aid of the monuments) embassies, armies and long lines of traders crossing, by paths still used, the narrow bridge which Palestine forms between the two great centres of early civilisation; the constant drift of desert tribes upon the fertile land, and within the latter the frequent villages of their busy fields, the mountain-keeps with the Egyptian garrisons, and the cities on their mounds walled with broad bulwarks of brick and stone. But amidst all that crowded life we peer in vain for any trace of the fathers of the Hebrews; we listen in vain for any mention of their names. This is the whole change archeology has wrought; it has given us a background and an atmosphere for the stories of Genesis; it is unable to recall or to certify their heroes." Consequently, Oriental archeology is so far from being in antagonism with the main results of Biblical criticism that Professor Sayce himself does not hesitate to confess that "it must not be supposed that Oriental archeology and Higher Criticism are irreconcilable foes. On the contrary we shall see that in many respects the learning and acumen of the long line of critics who have labored and fought over the words of the Scripture have not been altogether in vain. Much has been established by them, which the progress of Oriental research tends more and more to confirm. There are narratives and statements in the Old Testament as to which the recepticism of the critic has been shown to be justified. The judgment he has passed on the so-called historical chapters of the Book of Daniel has been abundantly verified by the recent discoveries of Assyriology. The same evidence and the same arguments which have demonstrated that the scepticism of the Higher Criticism was hasty and unfounded in certain instances have equally demonstrated that it was well founded in others."<sup>10</sup>

Finally, another objection against the Higher Criticism is that it is arbitrary in its method, too subjective in its inquiries, deficient in harmony, short of materials upon which to build, and above all fluctuating and not unanimous in its conclusions. This accusation has been too often insisted upon and refuted, but it seems that it is never too often repeated.

It should be borne in mind that critical and scientific investigations in any department of knowledge is never an easy thing, and to understand rightly the method and process by which Higher

<sup>10</sup> *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments.* London. 5th ed. Pages 27-28.

Criticism attains its results requires time, patience, sympathy and, above all, a thorough scientific training which is, unfortunately, so conspicuous by its absence in our Anti-Higher Critics; and only those who have learned how to use its tools and have employed them with the best masters are in a position to competently judge of its methods and conclusions.

Human science and knowledge are necessarily limited and consequently subject to illusions and errors, and I do not know of any science the conclusions of which are unanimously accepted by all its representatives. The many fluctuating theories, systems and conclusions of theology, philosophy, biology, physiology, anthropology, geology, and other natural sciences, are well known; still no one would object to call them sciences on account of the lack of a unanimous consent in many of their conclusions.

The Higher Criticism is, *consideratis considerandis*, infinitely more unanimous in its conclusions than philosophy or theology proper. Look at the hundreds of Christian sects and churches from the beginning of Christianity till our own days; and, apparently, each one of these sects and denominations claims to build its theological system on the same Bible and on the same Gospel. Disagreements there are, there have been, and there will always be among the Higher Critics, just as in any other science, but, in spite of all these rather minor differences, an astonishing unanimity has been independently reached as to the principal problems of Old Testament Criticism.

My learned teacher, Dr. Paul Haupt, of the Johns Hopkins University, is in the habit of asking, occasionally, his advanced students, whether there is any difference between Catholic and Protestant mathematics, or between Christian and Jewish physics, or between Episcopal and Presbyterian chemistry; and then he would add: "Why then is there so much divergence between Catholic and Protestant theology and exegesis?"<sup>11</sup> Evidently only one interpretation of the Bible can be correct; and the very existence of so many different Christian denominations shows that the Bible is not studied scientifically and is not rightly understood, although its study may be made just as exact and just as scientific as any other branch of science. Consequently this lack of unanimity in interpreting the Bible is infinitely more apparent and real in the ranks of devout and conservative theologians than among the higher critics.

<sup>11</sup> *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*. Vol. XXII, No. 163. Page 51. Baltimore. 1903.

Gladstone, himself, who was a greater statesman than Biblical critic, used to complain of the fact that there is not the same unanimity, continuity and ascertained progress in Old Testament studies that there is in the natural sciences. If the principles were sound, it is argued, the divergences between those who maintain them should not be so serious; therefore the whole Higher Criticism is rejected and condemned. We all are aware of this fact, and for the sake of truth and honesty we are compelled to say that this accusation is substantially false, and is only true *secundum quid*; for the complaint clearly shows the one-sidedness and the complete misunderstanding of the facts and of the conditions of the things.

The distinguished professor of Old Testament literature in Knox College, Toronto, Dr. John Edgar McFadyen, in his valuable book on *Old Testament Criticism and the Christian Church*, admirably sums up and discusses this important question, and I prefer to quote his own words:

"Every one who has tried carefully to concatenate the facts presented by the Old Testament is compelled to admit that there is a good deal about which it would not be safe to dogmatize; and many of the Higher Critics themselves have expressed themselves with the most becoming reserve, especially with regard to the more obscure and difficult details. No doubt many of the critics have been unduly dogmatic, just as many of their opponents have been; but it would be unfair to overlook the majority for the minority. There are some, if not many, on both sides of the controversy, who, under the constraint of facts, would be willing to admit that some of the main points at issue are of such a nature as not to admit, at least for the present time, any final settlement. To the scholars who have been over all the ground of Higher Criticism, nothing is so certain as that there is much that is uncertain.

"These very divergences of opinion among the Critics enable them to act as a constant check upon each other. Every important book receives the most minute and searching attention and criticism, either in subsequent books or in the great scientific and theological magazines, especially in Germany.

"No critic has it all his own way. His interpretations are subjected to the severest tests, his errors and mistakes are publicly exposed and scientifically refuted, while his correct conclusions and discoveries are heartily welcomed and approved. No great movement is ever wholly in vain. As critic keeps watch on critic, it is reasonable to expect an ever approximation to the truth. This expectation is all the more reasonable that we already notice signs of

what we might call a conservative reaction, and the higher criticism of the near future is likely to be more conservative in its tendency than it has been, or at least to do fully justice to the positive data than it has been done.

"The errors and extravagances of criticism will be corrected in time by a criticism that is more alert and penetrating. Theories whose inadequacy can be proved will be modified or rejected, and the fittest ones only will survive, and theology will become far more international and interconfessional. Men will begin to compare notes the whole world over, and extravagances and aberrations will be struck off on this side and on that. Before this great tribunal of sound criticism, eccentricities cannot stand.

"But to suppose that the whole critical movement is invalidated because the results of its various supporters are not unanimous, is completely to mistake the comparative unanimity that prevails in many of the larger issues, and in attitude to the critical or historical methods as a whole. Two blacks do not make a white. It is still the fashion today, as it was twenty years ago, to deride the Higher Criticism as the mere product of individual caprice, or to exaggerate the discrepancies of its results, and to imagine that they can be got rid of like positive and negative quantities in an equation by setting one against the other. But it is a mistake to suppose that this process, however far it may be carried, necessarily helps the traditional view of things. Criticism is making its sure way from destruction to construction, from negative to positive results. There is much that is still uncertain; there is much that may never be certain; but there is a great deal more that is certain."

It should be remembered that pentateuchal criticism in its main and essential points is nowadays unanimously accepted by the critics of all schools; its composite character, its three codes of legislation, the date of Deuteronomy, their relative age and historical value, the progressive stages of revelation, the evolution and progress of the same, the religious and literary importance of the Babylonian exile, the sharp contrast between prophet and priest, the date of the closing of the canon, and many other conclusions are scientifically demonstrated and unanimously accepted. The composite character and authorship of Isaiah, the non-Davidic authorship of the Psalms as a whole, the very late date of many of the historical and prophetic books, the many historical, liturgical and theological, glosses, interpolations, transpositions, and additions, the secular and purely philosophical value of the Book of Job, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and the so-called wisdom literature, are well established facts; and

if we consider the scantiness of the available materials upon which the critics had to work, we will be surprised to see the astonishing unanimity which prevails as to the main conclusions; and as Dr. Steuernagel says, "In by far the largest number of cases the judgment of specialists *in the main points* is unanimous; and for this, one may rightly demand the same recognition from the non-expert as he would willingly accord to the judgment of the historians of art."<sup>12</sup>

## PART II.

Let us examine, now, the contents of the *Herald's* Symposium contributed by the eminent clergymen of both Christian and Jewish Churches. As I have remarked above, the theme is of exceptional gravity, and of unusual interest to both clergy and laity.

In the introduction to the Symposium, which is supposed to give us the outlines of the discussion and to determine the *Status Quaestionis*, the situation is well described and the points of debate are admirably stated; but, to my own, as well as to many others' surprise, the answers of many of the distinguished members invited to express their personal views on the matter are, as a whole, far from being convincing or satisfactory. In some cases the main features of the problem are either overlooked or intentionally avoided, while in others the answers are extremely one-sided and uncompromising; not to say that in some cases they are altogether out of place.

Dr. Parkhurst, although an acknowledged authority on city politics, I hardly think his personal opinions on Biblical and theological matters are of paramount importance or of undisputed authority; for the eminent clergyman has given too much of his time, and, otherwise laudable, energy to the reform of police administration than to the study of the complicated problems of Higher Criticism.

Dr. Gregory's answer is precisely what was expected from the secretary of the Bible League of America, (organised for the sole purpose of combatting Higher Criticism), i. e., a bitter denunciation of the modern school of Biblical Criticism without the slightest consideration for the valuable services rendered by it to the better understanding of the Bible.

He denounces our age "as peculiar for its monumental lack of reverence for density of ignorance (I suppose himself included) of

<sup>12</sup> *Allgemeine Einleitung*. At the end of his commentary on Deut. and Joshua. Page 260.

the Bible that exists in high and low places, and for a critical method made out of German material (sic!) that has taken the Bible apart into bits and scraps and scattered it to the ends of the earth." Then he goes on saying that "A campaign (probably alluding to the Bible League of which he is general secretary) of organization against this so-called Higher Criticism is imperative—a campaign at all centres for the purpose of carrying forward the work of maintaining the sacred integrity of the Scriptures."

It is useful to remind Dr. Gregory and his associates in this wonderful propaganda of scriptural integrity, that, instead of recurring to the methods of misrepresentation, abuse and ridicule, let them earnestly study the methods and conclusions of sober Higher Criticism, and oppose them, if they can, with scientific arguments, which they seem to have remarkably failed to accomplish. Ridicule may have its place; but that place is hardly within the limits of science. Ridicule may provoke, but it will seldom convince.

It is amazing to read how an anti-Higher Critic once defined the Higher Critics. "I mean by professional Higher Critic one who spends his time and strength, his energy and brain in trying to find some errors or discrepancy in the Bible, and if he thinks he does, rejoiceth as one who findeth great spoil; one who hopes, while he works, that he may succeed, thinking thereby to obtain a name and notoriety for himself."

Smart writing on Higher Criticism is comparatively easy, but, if the conclusions of Higher Criticism are to be effectually refuted, it must be by some one who, instead of insulting, should go into the case with at least that same diligence, patience and competency employed by his antagonists. The time is unquestionably gone when Christian apologists could afford to treat with ridicule the prolonged and painstaking labors of scholars of exceptional ability and scientific standing. To despise or ridicule the marvellous work of a whole century conducted by scholars mostly of real honesty of purpose, great talent, extensive erudition, rare acquaintance with Hebrew and Oriental languages, is a shameful outrage to which very few real men and scholars will feel tempted to subscribe.

To ridicule the patient and indefatigable toil with which German critics repeat their experiments and accumulate their facts and observations shows from the part of their critics a very poor and degenerate taste. An argument, though it came from Germany, might be just as good as if it had come from Zululand or from the Philippine Islands. Its being German has simply nothing to do with its intrinsic value.

Dr. Brann's contribution is critically untenable, and rather out of date; and, although his system is prevalent in many Catholic colleges and seminaries, it is safe to say that it is, if not inadequate, certainly antiquated. *A priori* arguments, from a critical point of view, will never settle questions and problems eminently critical, for they are seldom convincing. It is unknown to me that "Higher Critics start out with the assumption that the Bible is the product of human genius *alone*, (sic!) and then proceed to prove it a divine inspiration, which, alas! they never do." I have already stated above that the Higher Critics do not believe the Bible to be the product of human genius alone, but they believe that the records of our religion, although inspired, are necessarily historical documents, and they consequently claim the same treatment which has been so fruitfully applied to the other sources of ancient history. They claim it all the more because the supreme religious significance of this history gives it an interest to which no other part of ancient history can pretend.

To start out, as Dr. Brann suggests, with the assumption that the Bible is inspired, and then proceed to apply to it the approved methods of the lower criticism, is exactly the opposite of what Dr. Brann thinks it would. And, in fact, the partial or total, verbal or formal inspiration of the Bible, its nature and limits are attested to us, according to Dr. Brann's system, by the infallible magisterium of the Church. But we must not overlook the fact that this divine origin and infallible magisterium of the Church are historical facts, and, as such, are subject to the same treatment as any other historical fact and document; and even its dogmatic interpretation must be in accordance with its historical origin, circumstantial environment, local development, and religious significance; hence, we have to appeal, willingly or not, to the methods of Higher Criticism in order to determine the historical or non-historical character of what Dr. Brann supposes to be the fundamental rule of our religion. The same method, of course, should be applied to all ancient Jewish and Christian traditions, canons, practices and dogmas.

Bishop Potter, Dr. Booth, Dr. Ward and Dr. Adler's contributions are rather generic and in some cases not *ad rem*.

Still it is of great importance what Bishop Potter points out as to the Human and Divine Element in the Bible. "Progress," he says, "lately made in understanding what the Bible is and what it is not, has brought to light two things, namely: that the Bible has in it a human as well as a divine element; that it is the story not only of

a divine disclosure, in many ways, and under widely different conditions—divine as revealing alike the mind of God and the wonderful order of His providence—but also a human document, in that it is the story, and sometimes the illustrations, of the imperfect and therefore, inaccurate vision of man. These two things are now coming to be widely and, on the whole, helpfully recognized."

Bishop Doane of Albany and Dr. Burrell are rather adverse to Higher Criticism on account of its destructive character. Sure enough, Higher Criticism had to be destructive, for it could not be otherwise. We must bear in mind that the real critic is essentially an interpreter, but an interpreter who strives to enter into sympathy with the thought of his author and to understand his thoughts as part of the life of the author and of his time. In this logical, yet painful, process the occasional destruction of some traditional opinion is mere accident; consequently the true critic's aim is not so much to destroy as to build up; but how can he build up a system on an interpretation unless he destroys the one which he is compelled to oust? Criticism is thus on the one side *destructive*, for its office is to detect the false, eliminate it and destroy it, and though this is a rather painful process, nevertheless it is indispensable for the proper understanding of the truth; for the destruction of error opens up a vision of the truth.

But criticism is also *constructive*, for it tests and finds the truth, and re-arranges the facts in their proper order and harmony. The assertion, therefore, of Bishop Doane, that "men are rushing into speech and print with an apparent love of something bizarre and sensational, rather than devoutly seeking after the truth, all in the way of destruction rather than to build up something to take the place of that which they are subverting," is unwarranted.

Father Doyle the Paulist, Rev. Hillis and Dr. Silverman are rather prudent in their verdict on Higher Criticism. They wisely distinguish between destructive and constructive Higher Criticism, and frankly admit that it has destroyed nothing vital to Christianity, and that consequently Christian faith has remained substantially undisturbed. Dr. Hillis says: "It has destroyed nothing that is true, but it gave us a new Bible, it strengthened its powers of inspiration and made it stand forth more clearly as the Book of Life, the Guide to Right Living, the Book of Providence, running through the ages and the Book of Immortality." Dr. Silverman on the other side acknowledges that the Jewish Church standing has not been affected by Bible criticism; and remarkable is the following rather bold and sweeping statement of his: "The Jewish students of the Bible have

always been the severest critics, and that they are not compelled to substantiate alleged miracles, nor is it vital to the devotion of the Jew to his religion that he believes in the letter of the Scriptures, or in the interpretation of certain events, like the crossing of the Red Sea, the revelation at Sinai, and the standing still of the sun and moon on Ajalon, causing them to appear as miracles. He still remains a Jew, whether he believes in the letter of the Scripture or whether he takes a broader and more liberal view thereof. Judaism is not based on any miracle and therefore Higher Criticism, even though it destroy some of the former beliefs, does not invalidate the essential teachings of the faith." I would hardly subscribe to Dr. Silverman's views, even from a Jewish point of view; he evidently is wrong when he says that "Judaism is not based upon any miracle," for he confuses between Judaism as religion and Judaism as a historical fact. Judaism as a religion is essentially supernatural; while Judaism as a historical fact or racial phenomenon is not *essentially* based on miracles, although it will always remain in a singularly unique phenomenon.

In vain we looked for the valuable opinion of Dr. Peters on the subject; for, although his name is mentioned and his portrait is prominently visible, his answer seems to have been omitted or overlooked; and his view would have certainly been of certain weight; for, properly speaking, he is the only real Biblical scholar of prominence in the whole list, and who has made valuable contributions to the cause of sound Biblical and Oriental scholarship and archeology.

Dr. Lyman Abbott and Dr. Savage's contributions are models of accurate and sound judgment; for, although they openly declare themselves in favor of the main results of Higher Criticism, yet their religious convictions remain rockfast. Dr. Abbott rightly observes that "Biblical criticism is taking away the reliance of those who rely upon the letter, substituting a clever, better and more intelligent understanding of the spirit, a new broader and deeper spiritual meaning being given to the entire collection of Biblical books; intellectual difficulties disappear, more difficulties likewise, books fallen into disuse are given a new meaning; books that had become a burden to faith when read as history become a delight, and the whole Bible, from being a collection of texts imposed on men from without as a substitute for life, like the maxims of Confucius, becomes a collection of resplendent literature, inspiring life from within and conducting the reader to the God of Abraham, of Isaac,

and of Jacob, of David, of Isaiah, of Paul, to find in Him the same grace and power and redeeming love that they found."

It gives me always pleasure to read and to quote Dr. Savage's words. "Higher Critics," says he, "are simply the representative scholars of the world. They are the great scientific thinkers, leaders, teachers and archeologists who have uncovered the records or old times and long buried civilisations, the critics who have studied the history of ancient religious life and who have particularly studied the Bible. Now, the men who are supposed to be assailing the Bible, assailing God's truth, undermining revelation, are precisely those who are patiently seeking after light and trying to find out just what is the truth. They have little respect indeed for what people fancy, imagine, dream, particularly when they assume that these fancies, imaginations and dreams are infallible and attempt to impose upon the intellectual life of men. These critics are simple, earnest, devout truth-seekers. They are trying to find the way, and patiently, day by day, year after year, they sift over the dust heaps of the past, grateful if they find one gem of any value—anything that will help build up and lead the world, making it better and happier."

These noble utterances are particularly true of that class of sound and reverent critics of whom we are going to speak.

Archbishop Farley's answer is short but dignifying, and it strikes, I think, the real keynote of the whole discussion. His Grace wisely distinguishes between sound and wrong criticism, which is a vital distinction for a better understanding of the actual conflict between the so-called Higher Criticism, and conservative theology. "Sound Criticism," says he, "of the Bible, confining itself to scientific facts and sober inferences, is not prejudicial to higher religious thought and duty." Still of more significance are the following remarks: "I am not aware that Higher Criticism has to any appreciable extent produced in the ranks of the Catholic laity, those undermining effects which cause alarm in some other religious bodies. Rather it has served to comfort and reassure many earnest believers to whose thoughtful minds certain received notions concerning the Bible had become of different acceptance." Admirable words worthy of all consideration, for they admirably define the two-sided aspect of the controversy and set up religious convictions, with devout yet independent judgment.

It is undoubtedly true that the present acute and lamentable condition of affairs in the controversies between our modern theologians and critics is due to a complete misunderstanding of the simple

fact that reverent, sober and cautious criticism has nothing to do with that irreverent, extravagant, hypercritical and ultra-radical school of criticism which has lately become a fashion in many German Universities. What a tremendous difference is not to be noticed between the reverent and judicious criticism of scholars like Delitzsch, Dillmann, König, Kautzsch, Cornill, Driver, Davidson, Ryle, Briggs, Moore, G. A. Smith, Ramsey, H. P. Smith, and that of critics like Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, Winckler, Vernes and Cheyne. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that criticism does not stand for a school or for a definite set of results; it stands for a method which patiently collects and impartially examines all the available facts and allow them to make their own impression upon the mind of the investigator. We are all well aware of the fact that there is very little Christianity in scholars like Wellhausen and Stade, and still less Judaism in scholars like Kuenen; but neither Wellhausen nor Stade nor Kuenen are the Higher Criticism. We freely admit that Higher Criticism in the opinion of certain very distinguished scholars has proved rather fatal, extravagant and utterly destructive in many of their researches and conclusions, but these conclusions are far from being universally accepted. The extremes always touch; and once for all we must say that neither ultra-conservative nor ultra-radical critics are in the right track, if not in all, certainly in many of their gratuitous and unfounded interpretations and criticism. *Virtus stat in medio*, and we must not shrink from the responsibilities of the arduous task of becoming searching yet cautious, critical yet sober, impartial yet charitable, exacting yet reverent interpreters of the Holy Scriptures. Therefore whatever the deficiency of the individual critics may be, Higher Criticism is certainly compatible with a reverent appreciation of the Bible as a revelation of God; and it is impossible to resist the impression that this reverent criticism is destined to conquer and subdue all its future enemies; for if we do not identify the cause of Criticism too closely with any particular school or theory, there is no doubt of its being the winning school; for the race belongs to the swift and the battle to the strong.

## STONE WORSHIP.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE MATSEBAH, JACHIN AND BOAZ.

**T**HE Phœnician sanctuaries have fallen to ruins, but pictures of them have been preserved on coins, and here we see that the traditional representation of the Deity was a stone or a conic column, sometimes a sacred tree; and on either side stood a pillar, which gradually assumed the shape of a column.



SEAL-CYLINDER OF ADDA, THE SCRIBE.<sup>2</sup>

The name of the owner appears in the left-hand corner. The two world mountains are plainly delineated. Shamash, the sun-god, with an eagle on his hand, is just ascending the mountain in the east. Ishtar, the goddess of the Moon, is seen with outstretched wings above the other mountain. The heavenly ocean (our Milky Way) is marked by fishes. The god Marduk, with a bow in his hand and a dog or a lion at his heels, is standing on the left side. The person on the extreme right is presumably the owner of the seal, standing in an attitude of adoration.

Two pillars standing before the entrance of Phœnician temples are frequently mentioned by Greek authors, and Phœnician sea-

<sup>1</sup> This is the continuation of the article that appeared under the same heading in the January number of *The Open Court*, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, No. 89, 115.

farers explain the rocks on either side of the Strait of Gibraltar as the "pillars of Melkhart" or as the Greeks translated it "pillars of Hercules," a name which they retained, until the conquest of Spain by the Moors who called the northern rock after their leader *Gebel al Tarik*, "the rock of Tarik," abbreviated into "Gibraltar."



SEAL-CYLINDER WITHOUT A NAME.<sup>2</sup>

Two doorkeepers open the gate of the east, through which Shammash enters between the two world mountains, before him the symbol of Marduk, behind him that of Ishtar. The owner of the seal stands in a worshipful attitude.



COINS OF PERGA IN PAMPHYLIA.<sup>3</sup>

The conic stone is called in Hebrew *matsebah*,<sup>1</sup> and the two pillars are the two columns Jachin and Boaz.

<sup>1</sup> In Hebrew *מַצֵּבָה*. The second letter *צ* is a sharp *ts* and is duplicated. The transcription ought to be "matsebah," but we trust that a simplification is justified. It is frequently transcribed *Massaba*.

The *מַצֵּבָה* must not be confused with the *אֲשֵׁרָה*. The former is of stone, the latter of wood. The former is an idol representing the Deity or at any rate being conceived as the object in which the Deity was supposed to be present, hence worshippers turn toward it in prayer; the latter is a symbol of the creative power and belongs to the temple furniture, the paraphernalia and implements of worship, in a similar way as the altar, or the water font, the ocean of the Solomonic temple, etc.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, No. 89, 110.

<sup>3</sup> The coins of Perga show different forms of the *matsebah*, with and without the two pillars, with and without sun and moon. The first one exhibits the pigeon under the gable, the last one shows two columns as supporting the heaven. It is not impossible that the columns are here intended to take the place of the pillars.



THREE ARTEMIS MEDALS.<sup>1</sup>



COIN OF GAULOS.<sup>2</sup>

MATSEBAH ON COIN OF TARSUS.<sup>3</sup>



A CILICIAN COIN.<sup>4</sup>

COIN OF ANTIOCHUS EUEGETES.<sup>5</sup>

ISHTAR ON A COIN OF TARSUS.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These medals show the matsebah in different stages of development. The sun and moon are always present. The first one exhibits a cross on top and two eggs. The first and second an ear of wheat, the symbol of life, and a poppy plant, the symbol of death. The third one is changed into an image.

<sup>2</sup> Gaulos is a Phœnician colony on an island near Malta. The obverse shows the head of the governor with a caduceus, here the symbol of good government; the reverse a matsebah with the inscription אלאל (alal).

<sup>3</sup> The native city of St. Paul enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizenship which is indicated by the mural crown on the obverse. The reverse shows a matsebah with the inscription ΤΑΡΧΕΩΝ and Κ, ΗΡ, marks of the mint.

The city was Semitic, and Athenodorus a native of Tarsus and a teacher of Emperor Augustus informs us that its original name was Parthenia (City of the Virgin), which must be the Greek translation of a Phœnician name indicating that Astarte was worshipped here (like Athens in Athens) as the virgin goddess, a pagan Mary. Eusebius (*Chron.*, p. 35) states that "the city and the temple in it with its brazen columns" was built by Sennacherib.

<sup>4</sup> Probably of Deldis as indicated by the letter Δ. The grapes symbolise fertility and may have been a staple product of the district in which the coin was struck.

<sup>5</sup> These coins represent Ishtar standing on a lioness in a portable shrine. In one instance (see the coin of Antiochus Euergetes) the two pillars are plainly visible, in the other (marked ΤΑΡΧΕΩΝ) they are omitted. A pigeon hovers on the top. The figure of the goddess should be compared to her picture as it appears in the rock carvings of Baghas Kot, Asia Minor.

The similarity of the portable shrine on both coins is so striking that we must either claim both to depict the same idol or a typical representation of the goddess.

In the progress of civilisation the matsebah assumed more and more the shape of a human figure, an evolution which we can plainly trace in those ancient coins, which exhibit a picture of the national palladium of diverse cities.

The Phœnician Astarte is the Greek Artemis, called Dian by the Romans, and even the latest statues of Artemis (whenever destined for temple service and not of purely artistic design) still show their origin from the Semitic matsebah or conic stone idol. Further, we find frequently on either side a pillar, the mountain of

COIN OF EMESA.<sup>1</sup>COIN OF IASOS CARIA.<sup>2</sup>COIN OF IULIA GORDUS,  
LYDIA.<sup>3</sup>COIN OF PAPHOS, CYPROS.<sup>4</sup>SANCTUARY OF BYBLOS.<sup>5</sup>SACRED TREE BETWEEN  
TWO PILLARS.

the north and the mountain of the south, Jachin and Boaz, the two columns on which the firmament is resting.

At the entrance of the Solomonic temple built by Hiram, the

<sup>1</sup> Here the pillars have disappeared, and sun and moon are changed into two figures which may represent two torches.

<sup>2</sup> The matsebah assumes here the shape of a kalathos. It is not impossible that the handles were used in carrying the idol. The coin was struck under Commodus.

<sup>3</sup> The matsebah on this Lydian coin is dressed in drapery. Moon and sun appear on either side in the sky, and from the ground spring an ear of wheat and another plant.

<sup>4</sup> The matsebah stands in a special shrine; the pillars assume the shape of tall, probably brazen, columns having the appearance of candlesticks with flat capitals. On the roof sit the pigeons of Astarte.

<sup>5</sup> The inscription reads ΙΕΡΑC ΒΥΒΑΟΥ, i. e., the fane of Byblos.

Phœnician, there are two columns called Jachin and Boaz, which must have possessed a considerable significance in Semitic mythology, for we find two pillars set up also before Phœnician temples and under sacred trees. The most ancient ones are big mitre-shaped stones. Jachin was the name of the right-hand or southern column and Boaz of the left-hand or northern one. The duality of these



THE MATSEBAH CHANGED INTO A STATUE.<sup>1</sup>

ARCHÆIC ARTEMIS.

Discovered in Delos.  
(Collignon, *Myth. de la Grèce.*)

ARTEMIS EPHESIA.

Alabaster statue, now in the museum at  
Naples. (Roscher, *Lex.*, I., p. 588.)

columns, later on made of metal, is obviously based on a different notion than the trinity conception of the pillars representing the

<sup>1</sup> This final step in the development of the matsebah was made under the influence of Greek taste.

Deity itself.<sup>1</sup> They seem to symbolise the two world-mountains between which the sun passes in his daily course.

Jachin (יָכִין) means "firmness," and Boaz (בּוֹאֵז) is commonly translated by "strength," but scholars are pretty well agreed upon the latter word being a corruption, the original form of which may have been (בַּעַל זְבוּל) Baal-Zebul, meaning "Baal on high," a name which was changed when the connection with pagans began to be repudiated.<sup>2</sup>



A MATSEBAH OF LATE CONSTRUCTION.



ISHTAR.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE MATSEBAH AS BETHEL.

The Bible has so far remained the most valuable source of information for the history of religion, and we know from its pages that the successive forms of worship must have closely resembled those of the surrounding nations, and only a better familiarity with the latter enables us to understand the former. The Israelites were deeply religious, they were fervid and zealous, so were the Babylonians and Egyptians, and presumably also the Phœnicians.

<sup>1</sup> See the illustrations on p. 47 of the January number of *The Open Court*.

<sup>2</sup> This interpretation is made probable by the expression "*Beth Zebul* = house on high," which occurs in one of the Solomonian Psalms as referring to the sun who is said to have his establishment "in his glorious mansion in the sky." See *Enc. Bibl.*, II., p. 2304.

<sup>3</sup> Rock carving of Baghas Kol, Asia Minor. The attitude of the goddess standing on a lioness is the same as it appears on coins of Tarsus and of Antiochus Euergetes.

When Jacob the patriarch, sorely afraid of his brother Esau, had fled from home, as we read in Gen. xxviii. 11-22 :

"And he lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set ; and he took of the stones of that place, and put them for his pillows, and lay down in that place to sleep.

"And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven ; and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it.

"And, behold, the Lord stood above it, and said, I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac : the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed ; and thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south : and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.

"And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land ; for I will not leave thee, until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of.

"And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place ; and I knew it not.

"And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place ! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.

"And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it.

"And he called the name of that place Beth-el : but the name of that city was called Luz at the first.

"And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on.

"So that I come again to my father's house in peace ; then shall the Lord be my God : and this stone, which I have set for a pillar, shall be God's house : and of all that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee."

Jacob dreamt of a temple, built after the Babylonian fashion in platforms, rising the one upon the other like big steps, for the Hebrew word סִבְעָה,<sup>1</sup> translated by "ladder" in the authorised version, means ziggurat, a staircase building, and it is not improbable that the staircase-like rock formation of the place suggested to Jacob in his dream the idea of a heavenly ascent, a temple of storied platforms, on the topmost one stood his God Yahveh who promised him protection and safe return and the inheritance of the whole surrounding country.

Jacob set up a stone, a matsebah, and Yahveh recognises it as the place where he lives. On his return, Yahveh (or according to the redactor of Gen. xxxi. 11, "the angel of God") says in a dream :

"I am the God of Bethel where thou anointest the pillar." Gen. xxxi. 13.

The dream was to him a reality and he set up a votive stone and called it Bethel, בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים, "house of God," which name (according to the Biblical tradition) was later on transferred upon the city that grew up there.

<sup>1</sup> Derived from סָבַע, to raise, to heap up.

The word Bethel must have been a common designation of matsebahs as much so as any church to-day may be called the house of God. The name Bethel, as we know from Greek authors, occurs also in Phœnicia, and the word (*βαίτυλος*, or *βαιτύλιον*) is defined by them as a stone ensouled by a numen (*λίθος ἑμψυχος*).

As to the Phœnicians the stone was a visible sign of the presence of the Godhead, so we read of the Israelites that they call "the stone of Israel" their shepherd (Gen. xlix. 24), which may very well have been the matsebah which Jacob had set up at Bethel.

The name *מַצֵּבָה*, *matsebah* (plural *מַצֵּבוֹת*, *matseboth*), which is derived from *צָבַ* (connected with *נָצַח*), a verb that means to set up (the *m* (*מ*) being a prefix), may simply be translated "memorial," meaning "anything set up," to commemorate a place, an event or a sacred spot, the Phœnician equivalent being *נִסְיָב*, *netsib*, and usage determined that it should always be of stone.

Matsebahs were erected over tombs. Jacob set up a matsebah for Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, and also for Rachel.

Sometimes a heap of stones (*גַּל* or *גַּלִּים*, *gal* or *gallim*) took the place of matsebahs, and there are several towns of Palestine called Gallim, i. e., place of stone-heaps.

It is noteworthy that Lot's wife is changed according to the legend into a memorial pillar, a *netsib*, *נִסְיָב* (the Phœnician word for *matsebah*) and we must thus assume that the inhabitants of the country thought of the stone column on the shore of the Dead Sea as being ensouled.

#### GILEAD AND GILEAL.

Pillars and stone heaps were further put up as landmarks where God was called upon as a witness between two contracting parties.

When Jacob took leave in peace from Laban, the two men made a covenant and they set up a matsebah and a heap of stones in commemoration of the event, the Old Testament report of which with all its details allows us to catch a glimpse at the real significance of these monuments. We read in Gen. xxxi. 44-55:

"Now therefore come thou, let us make a covenant, I and thou; and let it be a witness between me and thee.

"And Jacob took a stone, and set it up for a pillar.

"And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones; and they took stones, and made an heap: and they did eat there upon the heap.

"(And Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha:<sup>1</sup> but Jacob called it Galeed [i. e. heap of witness].)

<sup>1</sup>"*Jegar-sahadutha*" is the Aramæic translation of *Galeed*. The verse assumes that Laban spoke Aramæic and Jacob, Hebrew, and must therefore (according to Wellhausen) be regarded as a gloss of comparatively late origin.

"And Laban said, This heap is a witness between me and thee this day. Therefore was the name of it called Gal'ed; (and Mizpah, i. e., watch<sup>1</sup>); for he said, *The Lord watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another.*

*"If thou shalt afflict my daughters, or if thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters, no man is with us; see, God is witness betwixt me and thee.*

"And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, (and behold this pillar) which I have cast betwixt me and thee; this heap be witness, (and this pillar be witness) that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap (and this pillar) unto me, for harm.

"The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God of their father, judge betwixt us. *And Jacob swore by the fear of his father Isaac.*

*"Then (Jacob) offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in the mount.*

*"And early in the morning Laban rose up, and kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed them: and Laban departed, and returned unto his place."<sup>2</sup>*

We have before us a combination of two most important ancient reports of a national Hebrew tradition in which a treaty is concluded between two kindred nations, the Israelites represented by Jacob and the Aramæans represented by Laban. The stone-heap (or the pillar) marks a boundary and the patriarchs swear: "I will not pass over this heap to thee and thou shalt not pass over this heap to me for harm." The heap (or the pillar) is tacitly assumed to be ensouled as a "bethel" and called upon as a witness to the covenant.

How old these traditions must be appears from the fact that there is woven into the story the ancient ritual of ancestor worship, for Jacob swears by the "fear (i. e., the awe-inspiring presence) of his father Isaac." We notice further that the two parties conclude the treaty by a sacrificial communion meal of which they partake upon the stone heap.

\* \* \*

Where Joshua had crossed the Jordan he put up twelve stones

<sup>1</sup> We follow the customary transcription of the authorised version, but we ought to transcribe the word מִצְפָּה "mitspah."

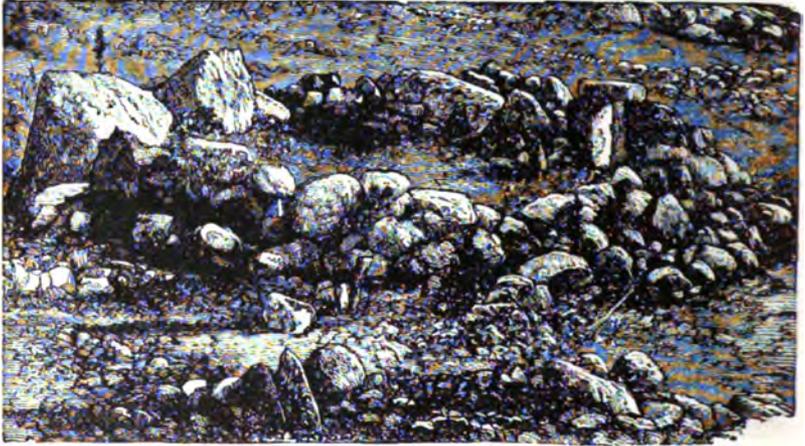
<sup>2</sup> The distinction of sources is not important in this quotation, but for those readers who are interested in it we reproduce (following the authority of Gunkel) passages of the Elohim traditions in italics and the Yahveh tradition in Roman type. Later additions are in parentheses and explanations not belonging to the text in brackets.

Gunkel says concerning the sources of the Gilead-Mispah covenant:

"The separation is difficult because the redactor has combined his recensions with his own additions. The following circumstances indicate a two-fold cue: There are two sworn covenants; one of a private nature, that Jacob will not maltreat Laban's daughters; the other political, that Jacob and Laban should regard the place as a boundary; two sacred symbols are mentioned: the massebah, and the stone-heap; two places are named Mispah and Gilead; twice a sacrificial meal is mentioned in verses 34 and 46. There are two invocations of God (verses 49-50 and 51-52); there are two names of God, the terror of Isaac and the God of Abraham and Nahor."

as a memorial and called the place הַגִּלְגָּל, Hag-Gilgal, i. e., the (stone-) circle, the stonehenge of ancient Israel.

The name Gilgal occurs frequently in the Old Testament, and it is always, with one exception only, used with the definite article (*ha*), a sign that the meaning of the word was still understood. Obviously there were many cromlechs in Palestine, but west of the



CROMLECH NEAR HESHBON.<sup>1</sup>

Jordan they must have been destroyed in the reform movement under Josiah, while east of the Jordan there are many still standing to-day, among which the one near Heshbon is perhaps best preserved.

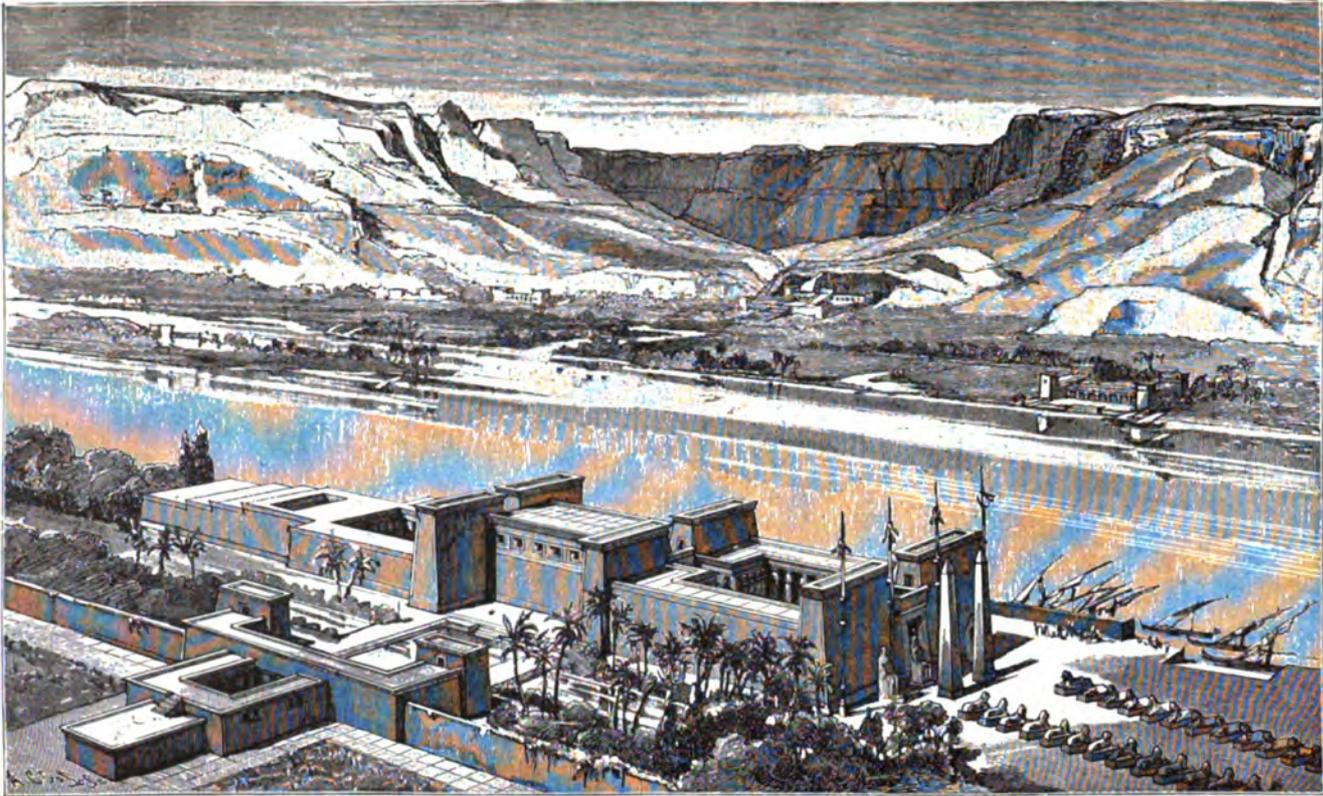
#### OBELISKS.

The Egyptian obelisks are also called matsebabs by Jeremiah (xliii. 13), but it is not impossible that they are developed from the two pillars that correspond to the columns Jachin and Boaz, and originally, possessed the same significance.

The term חַמְּמָנִים, *hammana*, plural חַמְּמָנִים, *hammanim*, seems to be a special kind of matsebah, perhaps dedicated to the Egyptian sun-god Ammon, which would justify to some extent the theory of mediæval rabbis, who derive the word from the late Hebrew poetical term *hammah*, i. e., sun. At any rate the Egyptian obelisks of ancient date are always found in pairs and were erected on either side of temple entrances.

The inscriptions on later obelisks do not reveal their original

<sup>1</sup> Heshbon is situated east of the Jordan in Moab.



**THE TEMPLE OF LUXOR RESTORED.** (After Gnauth, reproduced from Erman.)

significance, for they simply commemorate the deeds of kings and seem to be used mainly for ornamental purposes.

#### THE DESTRUCTION OF MATSEBAHS IN JUDÆA.

The matsebahs naturally became offensive to the reform party of post-exilic times, and thus we find in all Judaic writings the term suppressed or replaced by the less objectionable word אֶבֶן, (*eben*) i. e., stone, while the Ephraimitic traditions preserve the word and speak freely of the custom of setting up matsebahs. But we will let a specialist speak on the subject and quote the condensed statement of the Rev. Dr. George F. Moore, Professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary, from the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, pp. 2982-2983:

"In the patriarchal story *massebahs* are erected by Jacob at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 18-22, cp. xxxi. 13) and near Shechem (xxxiii. 20, MT 'altar'), on the Aramæan frontier in Gilead (at Ramoth? xxxi. 45 ff.), at the tomb of Rachel (xxxv. 20), and perhaps at that of Deborah (xxxv. 14). The *massebah* in the sanctuary of Yahwè at Shechem was set up by Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 26 f., cp. Judg. ix. 6), the stone at Ebenezer by Samuel (1 S. vii. 12). Moses, before the covenant sacrifice at Horeb, erects twelve *massebahs* at the foot of the mountain, beside or around the altar (Ex. xxiv. 4);<sup>1</sup> the cromlech at Gilgal was attributed to Joshua (Josh. iv. 20); Elijah set up twelve stones on Carmel in the name of Yahwè (1 K. xviii. 31 f.).<sup>2</sup> It has been noted that all these instances are in Ephraimite sources; they make it clear that down to the eighth century the *massebahs* stood unchallenged at the sanctuaries of Yahwè. Hosea speaks of the *massebah*<sup>3</sup> as an indispensable part of the furnishing of a place of worship (iii. 4); when their land prospered the Israelites made fine *massebahs*, which shall be destroyed with the altars (x. 1). There is no reason to think that it was otherwise in Judah.<sup>4</sup>

"Of the prophets, Amos and Isaiah do not speak of the *massebahs*, though the latter inveighs against idols; Hosea's words have been cited above; Mic. v. 11-13 predicts the destruction, in the coming judgment, of idols (*pesilim*), *massebahs* and *asherahs*, together with magic and sorcery; but it is doubtful whether the passage is by the eighth century prophet.<sup>5</sup> Jeremiah speaks only of Egyptian obelisks (xliiii. 13); Ezekiel of the mighty pillars of Tyre (xxvi. 11); the same prophet begins the denunciation of the *hammanim*. Is. xix. 19 (late) foretells the erection of a *massebah* to Yahwè in the border of Egypt. Is. lviii. 6, as generally interpreted, gives evidence of the persistence of the old rites of stone worship in the Persian period.

<sup>1</sup> If the verse is a unit; see Exodus ii., § 4, iv.

<sup>2</sup> In verse 32 he builds an altar of the twelve stones; but the altar has already been repaired (verse 30); the parallel to Ex. xxiv. 4 is obvious.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek version, and Peshita (the Syriac Vulgate of the second or third century) read "altar."

<sup>4</sup> That there was a *massebah* in the temple in Jerusalem in the days of Josiah has been inferred from 2 K. xii. Greek version, cp. 9 [10]. So Stade, *Zeitsch. für alttest. Wiss.*, V., 289 f. (1885), Kittel, and others.

<sup>5</sup> See Micah, § 3 f.

"The laws in Ex. xxxiv. 13, xxiii. 24, probably not earlier than the seventh century, command the destruction of the Canaanite *massabahs* with the dismantling of their sanctuaries (see also Dt. xii. 3, vii. 5). The seventh century legislation further prohibits the erection of *'asherahs* and *massabahs* to Yahwè (Dt. xvi. 22, Lev. xxvi. 1). The deuteronomistic historians set at the head of their catalogue of the sins which brought ruin on the northern kingdom the *'asherahs* and *massabahs* which the Israelites had reared on every high hill (2 K. xvii. 10); Judah was in the same condemnation (1 K. xiv. 23); it is a mark of wicked kings that they erected *massabahs* (2 K. iii. 2, cp. 1 K. xvi. 32); good kings removed or destroyed them (2 K. iii. 2, x. 26, xviii. 4, xxiii. 14)."

#### KUDURRUS.

Among the monuments of ancient Babylonia there are pillars called Kudurrus which served as boundary-stones and are covered with strange symbols of gods and zodiacal constellations. The inscriptions, which are rarely missing, contain the names of the contracting parties and refer to the divinities represented on the stone as witnesses to the agreement, calling upon them to punish the trespasser severely.

The circle of celestial symbols is in its details not always the same nor are the several emblems arranged in the same way, but most of them occur again and again and some are never missing on any kudurru. In the center we find always the trinity of sun, moon, and a star, representing Shamash, the sun-god, Sin, the moon-god, and Ishtar, the goddess of the planet Venus.

The serpent of the god Siru separates the symbols from the inscription and is always very prominent. We find further a strange looking animal, a goat ending in a fish-tail, which bears the inscription of the god Ea. Part of the body is hidden behind a throne, above which we see a ram-headed mace. Ea is the most prominent god in the ancient trinity, who is said to have arisen out of the ocean under the name of Oanes and taught the savage people civilisation, science, and morality. The centre of his worship was Eridu.

Marduk's symbol is a lance probably indicating the martial character of the victorious god. The dragon whom he conquered lies at the foot of his throne.

Another horned animal covered with scales awaits further interpretation.

The other symbols are a lamp, which is the emblem of the god Nusku, the scorpion, a two-headed symbol, two thrones, each of them bearing a tiara, a falcon (or an eagle) perched on a forked pole, a dog (or a lion), maces with a triple knob, and several other heads, some of them of indefinite description, etc., etc.



BABYLONIAN BOUNDARY-STONE WITH RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS.

God Marduk with bow in hand, and on the top of the stone the symbols of the celestial deities are called upon as witnesses of the sanctity of the boundary.

On some kudurrus Marduk is pictured in full, on others the goddess Gula, sometimes they bear the figures of a king.

The kudurru of King Nazi Maradach records a donation for the benefit of the Marduk temple of Babylon. The stone is .50 meters high and .20 meters broad. Having been transferred to



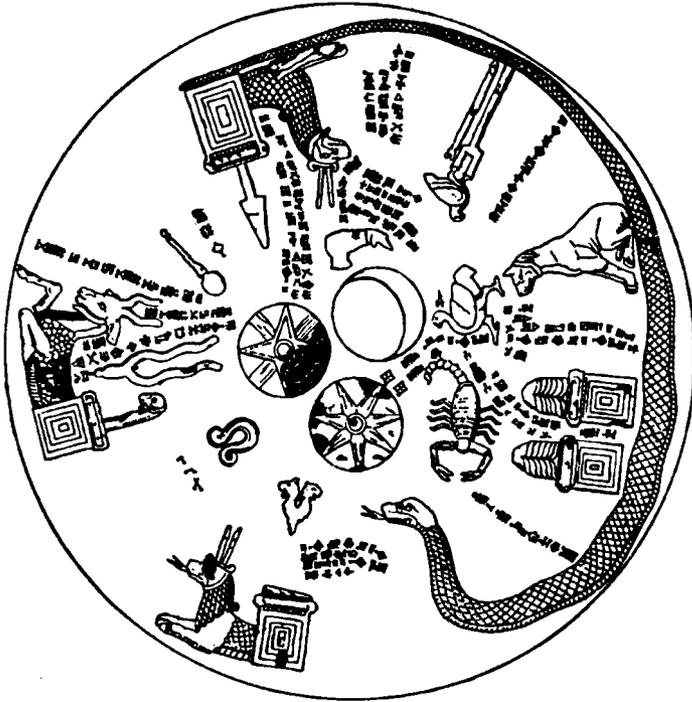
KUDURRU OF NAZI MARADACH, KING OF BABYLON, SON OF KURIGALZU II.<sup>1</sup>

Susa to serve as an adornment in the palace of the Achæmenidæan kings, it was there discovered in 1889 by M. Morgan during his excavations at Susa. On the front of the stone the goddess Gula appears seated in her usual attitude. On top are the emblems of

<sup>1</sup> About 1330 B. C.



KUDURRU OF SAMSI RAMAN III. (British Museum.)



SYMBOLS ON THE CAP OF A KUDURRU.

Showing in the centre, sun, moon, and planet Venus, the Babylonian trinity of Shamash, Sin, and Ishtar. These three symbols are surrounded to the right of the moon by the lamp of the god Nusku, a goose-like bird, the scorpion, a double-headed symbol of unknown significance, a loop-like emblem and a stake bearing a tablet. The outer margin shows on the top the emblem of the ancient god Ea, a goat ending in a fish, a throne and a ram-headed mace; then turning to the right, we have the emblem of Marduk, a lance on a throne and the dragon Tiamat; further down an eagle (or a falcon) perched on a forked pole,<sup>1</sup> a dog (or a lion), two thrones with tiaras resting on them, and another throne, beside it lying an unknown scaled monster.

<sup>1</sup> The forked tree is the symbol of the goddess Nidaba, a form of Ishtar as the harvest goddess. The same deity is sometimes represented by an ear of wheat, in Hebrew *שִׁבְבֵלֶת* *shibboleth* (from *שָׁבַל* "to go forth, to sprout, to grow"); and judging from pictures on the monuments, worshippers carried ears of wheat in their hands on the festival of the goddess. It is the same word which was used by Jephtha of Gilead to recognise the members of the tribe of Ephraim who pronounced it *sibboleth*, because they were unaccustomed to the sibillant *sh* (Judges xii. 6). From *shibboleth* the Latin word *Sybillæ*, the name of the prophetess, the author of the Sybilline oracles, is derived. Nidaba's star is *Spica* (i. e., "ear of wheat,") the brightest star in the constellation *Virgo*, i. e., the virgin goddess Ishtar.

the Babylonian trinity, sun, moon, and star; and in front of the goddess are pictured the scorpion and the lamp of Nusku. Another face of the stone is divided into five zones. The top zone shows the symbols of the two thrones with tiaras. The second zone, in part mutilated, shows another throne, its characteristic emblem being obliterated. The third zone contains the four symbols, the lance of Marduk, mace with the three heads,<sup>1</sup> the mace with a non-descript bird's head, and the mace with a lion's head. The fourth zone shows the eagle (or falcon) perched on a forked tree, and "the mighty bull of Raman, son of Anu," (as it is called in the inscription,) carrying a thunderbolt on his shoulders. The fifth zone and the other faces of the kudurru are covered with writing, setting forth the details of the donation.

It is perhaps natural that our information concerning these symbols is very scanty. We have here a combination of legal formulas and religious incantations in which some of the most ancient religious symbols survive, and we may fairly assume that the meaning of some of them had become obsolete even in ancient Babylon. But while some of the details are little understood, we know perfectly well the general meaning of these symbols. They represent the celestial powers, the zebaoth or heavenly hosts, that are supposed to ensoul the stone, who are called upon as witnesses to the covenant laid down in the inscription of the kudurru, and their curses are invoked upon the person who would dare to violate the contract.

#### STONEHENGE.

Stone-worship so called is one of the most ancient forms of religion which must have prevailed in prehistoric ages, for we find sacred stones, cairns, menhirs, and cromlechs not only in Palestine but also in Scotland and Ireland, in America and on the South sea islands.

The best known instance of a prehistoric stone-circle is the ancient stonehenge of England, which in a prehistoric age was undoubtedly used as a place of sun worship. A stone at a distance outside of this massive circle of trilithons, called the "heel-stone," is so oriented that on the longest day of the year the shadow of the rising sun would strike the altar within the circle.

<sup>1</sup> It may be more correct to speak of two heads with a knob between them. At any rate on other kudurrus (as instanced in another one of our illustrations) the same symbol is double-headed, the knob being omitted.



ONE OF THE TRILITHONS OF STONEHENGE.

If we consider that the men who built this gigantic monument were not possessed of machinery, we stand in awe of the skill and energy that were needed for its erection. It seems almost impossible to place these massive rocks on the top of the big stone pillars at the height of more than twenty feet above the ground. By whatever means or devices the work was accomplished, it is no exaggeration to say that stonehenge is not less a monument of the religious spirit of primitive man than are the rock temples and monoliths of India, cut with great patience into the hard basalt, and the magnificent Christian cathedrals of the Middle Ages.

We have no written record of any kind as to the method how these massive stones could have been raised, but a suggestion which seems quite plausible comes to me from Mr. J. C. Weston, of Clinton, Iowa. He writes :

"Imagine a trench dug, somewhat longer than one-half the length of stone to be raised, and the same in depth, and the stone brought on rollers, as no doubt they were, to an end of the trench, and over the same, sufficiently far that when enough rollers are removed, it will tip into the trench, and easily be made to assume an upright position, with earth enough around the base to hold it. Then, if too deep in the ground, the earth taken away in quantity to give the desired level.

"In case there are to be overhead stones, the uprights must go deeper, so



STONEHENGE RESTORED.

the upper ones can be placed over them before the earth is removed. Of course, the earth goes to form the tumuli, or barrows, usually found near such erections, (which must have been brought from somewhere, somehow,) perhaps in hand barrows, or even baskets.

"In the absence of ropes, pulleys, and other machinery, I think this a reasonable solution of the problem."



STONEHENGE FROM A DISTANCE.

Memorial stones are found all over the face of the earth, in India and other parts of the interior of Asia, in France, in Germany, in all the Northern countries, the British Isles, and also in Oceania, especially in the Easter Islands, where we find some interesting traces of an extinct civilisation.

The remarkable report which Messrs. Gabet and Huc, the Roman Catholic missionaries, have published of their travels in

Tartary, Thibet and China,<sup>1</sup> contains the report of a pyramid of peace which was erected by the pious Lamas, not so much in commemoration of a historic event or a peace conference with some hostile neighbors, but as a monument of a prayer for peace, which the Thibetans in their religious naïveté deemed a sufficient protection against the dangers of an invasion. Mr. Huc says :

"Towards the end of August, while we were quietly occupied in the manufacture of our ropes, sinister rumors began to circulate; by degrees they assumed all the character of certain intelligence and no doubt was entertained that we were threatened with a new and terrible invasion of brigands. Every day we were alarmed with some fresh fact of a formidable nature. The shepherds of such a



PYRAMID OF PEACE IN THIBET.

Reproduced from Huc and Gabet's book, *Travels In Tartary, Thibet and China*.  
Vol. II, page 92.

place had been surprised, their tents burned, and their flocks driven off. Elsewhere there had been a tremendous battle, in which a number of persons had been killed. These rumors become so substantially alarming that the administrators of the Lamasery felt bound to adopt some measures on the subject. They despatched to Tchogortan a Grand Lama and twenty students of the Faculty of Prayers, charged with the task of preserving the locality from any unpleasant occurrence. On their

<sup>1</sup> *Travels In Tartary, Thibet and China, During the Years 1844-5-6*, by M. Huc, translated from the French by W. Hazlitt, Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1898. At the present time when Thibet begins to be opened to the world of commerce this book, which is the first genuine report about Thibet, has again attracted the attention of the reading public; and rightly so, for it is full of valuable information and interesting details.

arrival, these Lamas convoked the chiefs of the Si-Fan families, and announced that now they were come, the people had nothing to fear. Next morning they all ascended the highest mountain in the neighborhood, set up some traveling tents there, and proceeded to recite prayers to the accompaniment of music. They remained in this encampment two whole days, which they occupied in praying, in exorcising, and in constructing a small pyramid of earth, whitened with lime, and above which floated, at the end of a mast, a flag on which were printed various Thibetian prayers. These ceremonies completed, the Lamas, great and small,



STONE OF GOTTORP, SLESWICK.

With Runic inscription.

folded their tents, descended from the mountain, and quietly returned to Kounboun, fully persuaded that they had opposed to the brigands an impassable barrier."

It is a matter of course that the Roman Catholic missionaries looked upon this custom of expressing prayer in the form of a pyramid ornamented with invocations and sanctified by the sprink-

ling of holy water and other religious ceremonies as a pagan superstition, and they describe their own attitude as follows:

"We, in our turn, raised up in our hearts a Pyramid of Peace, in the form of a firm reliance on the divine protection; and, thus fortified, we abode calmly and fearlessly in our adopted home."



MENHIR, NEAR CROISIC, ON THE LOWER LOIRE, FRANCE.



DOLMEN OF SWEDEN.

If Messrs. Gabet and Huc would have taken the trouble to inquire about the significance of the pyramid they would have dis-

covered that the meaning of the pyramid with its inscriptions and the ceremonies of its consecration is exactly the same as the meaning of their words of prayer, and if we consider the spirit of these actions in either case we cannot deny that we are confronted with the same phenomenon giving the same comfort and being of the



MEMORIAL STONES, NEAR PESHAVAR, INDIA.



MEMORIAL STONES IN THE KHASI MOUNTAINS, INDIA.

same value. The prayers of our Roman Catholic missionaries gave them support and reliance in this imminent danger, but the conviction that God will attend to our protection is as much a superstition as the raising of a pyramid which is supposed to be endowed with magic powers. If a prayer helps a man to rouse his energies,

to be vigilant, careful and self-reliant; if at the same time it makes him energetic enough to face the perils of life with calmness and composure, it will be helpful whether it be uttered in words or be expressed by other religious rites. Though the position of the Roman Catholic may fairly well be pronounced superior to that of the Lamas, the spirit of devotion is practically the same in either of them.

The meaning of religious monuments such as matsebahs, cromlechs, menhirs, etc., has become strange to us, but we find a key to their significance in the Old Testament, that venerable collection of Hebrew scriptures; yet even here there are only hints left in some of its most ancient passages which afford us a key to the original religious significance of sacred stones.

It is not easy to determine the logic of primitive man with any measure of exactness, but when we compare the traditions of the Old Testament with the explanations of the Indians of to-day, we can understand the reverence in the psychological constitution of the children of nature, when on a special occasion or in a special locality they feel the presence of the Great Spirit, of Manitoo, of Hammon, of Ishtar, of Baal, of Yahveh, and set up a visible memorial in which the Deity is now believed to reside. Accordingly, on a closer investigation we learn that the stone itself is not worshiped, but that the stone only marks the spot of God's presence, of his parusia, and that it thus becomes, as Jacob called the matsebah which he set up, a house of God, Beth-El.

## MYTHOPŒIC ERUDITION.

BY GEO. W. SHAW.

THERE is a tendency in some minds to resolve history into myth. Those who indulge it are not half educated visionaries, but generally serious thinkers and sometimes profoundly learned. In the crucibles of their analysis strange compounds appear. Homer ceases to exist, and is replaced by a cycle of rhapsodists. The Trojan war becomes a solar myth. William Tell did not fight at Morgarten. Stout old Judge Samson was not a Jewish Shopet, but the sun—his hair the sunbeams.

"All is illusion: naught is truth."

A small etymological peg will suspend one theory.\* Some myth of a former age or remote race may furnish an analogy confirmatory of another. Having by their methods resolved the facts of history into myths, these savants are at once confronted with the question how such myths originated. Having no direct evidence of facts which probably never occurred, but are confidently assumed, they are left to conjecture their causes. Imaginations vary, and each inquirer is free to elaborate his own hypothesis.

"Raw Americans and fanatical women" may participate in such controversies, but do not begin them. They originate in the minds of scholars and professors.

The most amusing display of futile erudition witnessed by the nineteenth century was the attempt to class the Trojan war among solar myths. It had for its champion no less a scholar than Max Müller. Nor was the idea relinquished even after Schliemann had brought out the valuables of Priam's Treasury, and shown the five scathed walls of his citadel.

\* שֶׁשֶׁן connects with שֶׁשֶׁן. Was not Samson strong like Hercules? Was not Hercules identical with the Phœnician Baal? Ergo, Samson was a solar man, i e., the sun. Saltatory logic indeed! but who can prevent men from arguing this if they choose?

Wolff's theory of the authorship of Homer was supported by an amount of learning rarely surpassed. There is a reason for these follies of the wise. Those who commit them apply impracticable rules of evidence at first and end in a maze of conjectures. For example let the rule be (as it sometimes is) adopted, that no fact is to be accepted unless attested by an observer. Facts of recent occurrence can often be thus shown, and such proof is of the highest order. After the lapse of a generation such evidence is unattainable, but the written statements of an observer may remain. A few generations more, and these have disappeared, but quotations from them may remain. A time comes at last when a fact can neither be shown by a contemporary author, nor from one who has ever seen a quotation from a contemporary. Let the fact be then considered as unattested and unworthy of serving as a basis of any conclusion. It still appears, however, that men have believed in that fact. Why did they believe? The natural conclusion that they believed in the fact because it was a fact being rejected, and a more satisfactory explanation demanded, any conjectural explanation may be preserved. The methods adopted are parallel with those of the Greek authors who sought to account for the stories of gods and heroes. There was the historical theory of Euemerus: the gods were men and women. The allegorical method was favored by Plato and the Neo-Platonists: the gods were human qualities personified.

There was also the elemental theory of Heraclides: the gods were elements or heavenly bodies.

Our modern mythopœic academicians incline at present to the latter theory. The solar myth is a favorite recourse. Great men have to encounter enmities and opposition. Comparison of such a man with the sun struggling with thick clouds, now bursting forth in brightness and anon setting in gloom presents an allegory too obvious to be ignored. The metaphor hardens into a theory; the theory into asserted fact. A similar process resulting in the production of another supposed myth gives the professor of the "science" of Comparative Mythology an opportunity of discoursing on the general prevalence of such myths. Some day Washington at Valley Forge may furnish fine material for a sun myth. It is an old remark that unreasonable skepticism leads to absurd credulity.

I do not object to wholesome reserve and strict scrutiny of historical evidence. I only emphasize the necessity of investigation unfettered by artificial canons, and ready to avail itself of any source of truth without disdain of hearsay or tradition. Who has not seen courts of law so restrained by rules of evidence as to be unable to

ascertain material facts practically known by all present? A long credited and not impossible occurrence is not to be regarded as mythical or doubtful because we do not know the evidence on which it has been believed. There may have been abundant evidence now inaccessible.

There are myths partly probable and partly improbable; others which consist wholly of the supernatural and improbable.

The former may have a substratum of fact; but the difficulty of separating the real from the imaginary should compel us to relinquish conjecture and insist on evidence. The latter may embody important truths deeply disguised. We are not to despair even of these, but to look for light in every direction. The myth of Belus as it appears in Diodorus, is an illustration.

Belus was a son of Zeus and Lybia. He led a colony from Egypt. He was the first king of Babylon, and entertained Zeus there. His name was that by which the Babylonians called Zeus. He was buried in Babylon, and the Persians destroyed his tomb which the Chaldeans exhorted Alexander to rebuild.

Can any myth be more inconsistent and absurd? And yet it contains much latent truth.

Hammurabi, the first powerful king of Babylon, built a great temple to Bel. The temples of the old Chaldean gods were regarded as their tombs.\* The temple had been wholly or partially destroyed by the Persians, and the Babylonians were anxious for its restoration.

Perhaps much more lies concealed in this myth, and may some day come to light.

Myths are shattered fragments of history illumined by the moonlight of fancy; but we praise not those ancient or modern, erudite or illiterate, who reduce history to ruins, though gleams of sunshine may disclose the former outline.

\* Hilprecht, *Babylonia*, p. 459 et seq.

## HOW HISTORY IS TRANSFIGURED BY MYTH.

BY THE EDITOR.

MR GEORGE W. SHAW'S article "Mythopoeic Erudition" characterises the tendency of modern criticism to resolve legendary traditions and poems into myth as a mental disease of scholarly minds, as "follies of the wise," and I take pleasure in publishing it because it is thoroughly opposed to my own views, for I, too, belong to the class of people censured by Mr. Shaw for believing that Homer did not exist and is to be replaced by a cycle of rhapsodists; "the Trojan war is a solar myth; William Tell did not fight at Morgarten; stout old Judge Samson was not a Jewish Shopet, but the sun,—his hair, the sunbeams." My motive in publishing Mr. Shaw's communication is not merely for the sake of the principle *audiatur et altera pars*, but mainly because it contains a germ of truth which is not always, but frequently, overlooked by scholars of critical tendencies.

When Mr. Shaw characterises the trend of modern analysis of history by the device, "All is illusion: naught is truth," he is mistaken, at least so far as the leading scholars in the domain of higher criticism are concerned. Traditions, be they ever so mythological, if they are genuine are much more conservative than they may appear at first sight. Though the Trojan war may be a tangle of legends reflecting the solar myth, the Homeric narrative is after all based on actual occurrences. Though William Tell never existed in Switzerland, there must have existed many William Tells, not only in Switzerland but all over the world. Though the Biblical account of Samson's deeds, like the twelve labors of Hercules, is the echo of a Babylonian solar epic which glorifies the deeds of Shamash in his migrations through the twelve signs of the zodiac, there may have been a Hebrew hero whose deeds reminded the Israelites of Shamash and so his adventures were told with such modifications which naturally made the solar legends cluster about his personality.

A critical investigation into history teaches us that the actual facts are more saturated with mythology than we are aware of.

Some time ago we republished in *The Open Court*\* an ingenious satire of M. Pérè, who proposed the proof that Napoleon the Great did not exist but was simply a solar myth, and M. Pérè's style is a clever imitation of the arguments employed by the higher critics under whose able investigation many historical figures are seen to be centers for mythical accretions.

Although the ancient traditions, of Rome, of Greece, and also of Israel, are filled with legend, it is remarkable how much of actual fact is recorded in them.

Biblical traditions have in one sense been fully verified by the Babylonian excavations. They show that occurrences such as are recorded in them actually took place, but the statements in the several books of the Old Testament are not simply narratives of the facts but stories of events as they appeared to the children of Israel at the time when they were written. They are onesided and are not historical in the strictest sense of the word; they are historical only in so far as they are echoes of actual events, the narrative being modified by beliefs of their authors.

The same is true of Troy and Homer. The word Homer means "arranger" or "compiler" and anyone who is familiar with the Homeric epics, knows that the several songs are not written by the same hand. They are two great compilations and we must assume that the ancient rhapsodists selected with preference themes more or less closely related to the Siege of Troy and the adventures of Odysseus. They may have composed other songs which are now lost but when in the sixth century they were redacted into two great epics the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the most obvious discrepancies were removed while all those materials that did not fall in with the general plan were doomed to oblivion. Now it is strange that the excavations of Schliemann seem to verify the Homeric stories, for Schliemann discovered ancient ornaments and weapons such as are described in Homer, and believers in the letter of Homer rejoiced at the fact and declared triumphantly that, after all, Homer must be believed in; but, unfortunately for these enthusiasts, Schliemann's excavations prove too much, for he excavated not only one city of Troy, but several cities which are built one upon the top of the other, proving that the siege of Troy and the conquest and burning of the city, had not taken place once but several times; and so we see that history must have repeated itself, and the mythology that overlays

\* "M. Pérè's Proof of the Non-Existence of Napoleon," July, 1903.

the tradition of one tale may have suited all others of the same kind. If a myth embodies a general truth, the myth will find verification in history whenever events of the same kind happen, not once but repeatedly, for the myth stands for the type and the type is realised in every concrete instance.

A little psychological insight into the constitution of the human mind will best explain the situation. Every occurrence which we experience is at once co-related to and associated with former experiences and both are so fused that an unsophisticated person can not easily separate the facts from the opinions which we hold as to their nature. Thus myth creeps into history and miracles are common events to those who believe in the miraculous.

When Napoleon rose into power his heroic dash and his quick success dazzled the minds of his countrymen and he was naturally compared now to Alexander the Great, now to Caesar, or even to the Gods. The fate of former conquerors became, as it were, a prophecy for his career. He himself was induced to imitate his predecessors, and his admirers did not hesitate to see him in the light of mythical heroes. Thus it was but an inevitable result that many incidents were attributed to him simply because they belong to the same type of heroes, mythical as well as historical, with whom he had been classified.

Troy was situated in the north-western corner of Asia Minor in a place favorable in the old times for the development of a large city. It offered excellent opportunities for the exchange of goods that came from both the East and the West,—from the interior of Asia and from Europe. The coast was hospitable for such ships as were built in those days, but the advantages were counterbalanced by the disadvantages which exposed the city to hostile attacks and so the place became unsafe on account of its wealth, proving an attraction to pirates. Homer tells us the history of the capture of Troy not as it really happened, but as it lived in the memory of the Greek nation between the ninth and fifth centuries B. C. It seems a hopeless task to extract from the *Iliad* the historical facts that underlie the story which in spite of its historical background is a tangle of myth and legend. There can be no doubt about it that Helen is a humanised form of *Selene*, the moon; but for all that, some mortal woman named Helen may have been the cause of a war between Greece and Troy! Odysseus is the sun in his migrations, who encounters innumerable adventures and descends into the underworld, whence he returns unscathed to the domain of the living; yet there may have lived an adventurous chief of Ithaca, named Odysseus,

who roamed all over the world and came home after an absence of twenty years, an unknown beggar.

As to Tell, we have to state that no family of that name can be traced in Switzerland at or before the time of the Swiss struggle for independence, and the story of Tell's famous shot at the apple on the head of his child is mentioned for the first time in a chronicle written in 1470, i. e., about two centuries after the alleged occurrence.\* But while there is no foundation in Swiss history for the tale of Tell, we are familiar with similar stories among the Norse, the Danes, and the Saxons.† We can scarcely doubt that the legend is a last reminiscence of human sacrifices which, with the progress of civilisation, were gradually abolished, and one form in which the abolition of human sacrifices was effected consisted in a ritual according to which the victim was consecrated to death but was given a chance of escape.

While we positively know that Tell is not an ancient Swiss name we may boldly say that the stories of Tell did not, but *might* as well have happened as not, for history repeats itself and wherever there is oppression, there we meet with characters such as Tell, who oppose a tyrant's violence.

Mankind will always interpret the facts of life in the light of their convictions and beliefs. Wherever a great personality rises into prominence stories will be told of him which may have happened to characters of the same type of bygone ages. This is the reason why the same anecdotes are told of Caesar, of Charlemagne, of Frederick the Great, and of Grant, and they will be told of great generals of the ages to come.

In our religious literature we find the same mixture of fact and fancy. There is more historical truth in the history of Buddha, and of Jesus, and of Mohammed than may appear at first sight, judging from the miraculous adornments of all religious tradition. As ivy quickly covers an old tree, the mythological accretions almost conceal the real facts of the lives of religious leaders. We can be sure

\* In the so-called *Weisse Buch* of the Archives of Obwalden, 1470; and in the *Chronik* of Melchoir Russ, 1482. There is further a Tell-ballad, and finally in Tschudi's *Chronicon Helveticum*, from which latter the story was utilised by Schiller in his famous drama.

† Saxo Grammaticus tells the Tell story of "Toko," the Edda of "Egil" and an old English ballad of "William of Cloudeslay." It would lead me too far to exhaust the subject, but a traveller's report even of distant Arabia gives us information of a custom in which a person is offered as a sacrifice, until a skilled marksman liberates the victim after the fashion of Tell's shot.

that Jesus, Gotamo Siddhartha, and Mohammed were real persons. but the people who look upon them in faith co-relate the acts related of them with their highest religious ideals of the Buddha, the Christ and of the Prophet. The Christian Gospels are not simply narratives of the life of Jesus but they are the story of Jesus as the Christ, embodying ancient traditions not only of the Jewish notion of a Messiah but many other kindred hopes. They echo the expectations of the people who were prepared for the coming of a Saviour. The Christ ideal existed before Jesus. The Jewish Messiah conception had been modified and deepened by the Persian doctrine of Mithra, the virgin-born viceroy of God's kingdom on earth, the Babylonian Marduk, the Conqueror of Death and mediator between God the Father, and men, and also the world-resigning Buddha of India. When Jesus was accepted by His disciples as the Messiah, the Christ, all the notions and honors of previous kindred figures in the domain of both history and mythology were transferred and attributed to Him.

The picture of Jesus in the New Testament is not strictly historical, but it contains historical facts. It is the story of Jesus, the Nazarene, as interpreted by those who believed that he was the Christ.

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

### XI. THE CHRYSANTHEMUM.

AS we stated previously, the chrysanthemum, in Japanese calendars, generally belongs to the ninth month (o. c.), or October. This is probably due to the fact that the fifth great festival, the *Kiku no Sekku* (Festival of the Chrysanthemum) fell on the ninth day of the ninth month (o. c.), or toward the end of October. But we took the liberty to change that order, simply because the Emperor's birthday comes on November 3, and the sixteen-petalled chrysanthemum has been for a long time the imperial emblem. Moreover, the annual Chrysanthemum Garden Party, given at one of the imperial palaces, falls in November. The difficulty in harmonizing the two calendars (old and new) arises from the fact that the ninth month of the old calendar covers portions of both October and November.

The chrysanthemum blossoms are of various shapes, sizes, and colors; but, according to Mr. Conder, "the yellow kind ranks first." It is, in fact, said that there are almost 300 different shades of color in about 800 varieties of chrysanthemum raised in Japan. One can find, moreover, "gigantic flowers, microscopic flowers, plants of single [huge] blossom, and single plants of 200 [600 to 700] blossoms."\* In November, 1902, in the Imperial Gardens, Tokyo, there was one plant with 1272 blossoms, each 2½ inches in diameter! And one of the great curiosities of the chrysanthemum season is, of course, the view of living pictures" at such a place, for instance, as Dango-zaka in Tokyo. This is the Japanese esthetic variation of the Occidental prosaic wax-works.

The chrysanthemum and the fox are commonly associated ideas in art and literature on account of an old tale to the following effect, as related by Dr. Griffis: "A fox, assuming the form of a lovely woman, bewitched a certain prince. One day, happening to fall

\* Miss Scidmore's *Jinrikisha Days in Japan*.

asleep on a bed of chrysanthemums, she resumed her normal shape. The prince, seeing the animal, shot at him, hitting the fox in the forehead. He afterward saw that his concubine had a wound in



CHRYSANTHEMUM.

the corresponding part of the head, and thus discovered her true nature."

The chrysanthemum is also associated with the crane.

On the occasion of the Chrysanthemum Festival, it was customary to wear a special dress, called *Kiku-gasane*, purple outside and white inside; to drink *kiku sake*, or *sake* with chrysanthemum dipped in it, as a specific against malaria; and to compose poems, for which, in court circles, the Emperor chose the subject. This festival has been practically merged into the Emperor's birthday.\*

In the "One Hundred Poems" there is only one reference to the chrysanthemum, as follows:

THE FROST'S MAGIC.

If it were my wish  
 White Chrysanthemum to cull;  
 Puzzled by the frost  
 Of the early autumn time,  
 I perchance might pluck the flower.†



CHRYSANTHEMUM VENDER.

Another old poem, of which we have not found the Japanese original has been translated as follows:‡

"Looking upward to the palace garden, long I gaze and wonder what they are, whether white and snowy petalled chysanthemum, or the twinkling lustre of the stars."

\* "Let the Emperor live forever. May he see the chrysanthemum cup go round autumn after autumn for a thousand years!"

† Translation by Prof. Clay MacCauley.

‡ *The Far East*, Vol. II, No. 11.

The chrysanthemum has a great many very fanciful names like "star-like flower," "flower of a thousand generations," "younger brother of the flowers," "old man's flower," "virgin flower," etc. The chrysanthemum is also one of the "Four Gentlemen," so called on account of their vigorous qualities,—the plum, the orchid, the bamboo, and the chrysanthemum.

But in Japan there is one place where it is said to be unlucky to raise chrysanthemums, that is, in Himeji. The reason therefor will be evident from the following story, related by Lafcadio Hearn in his *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*:

"Himeji contains the ruins of a great castle of thirty turrets: and a daimyo used to dwell therein whose revenue was one hundred and fifty-six thousand koku of rice. Now, in the house of one of that daimyo's chief retainers was a maid servant of good family, whose name was O-Kiku; and the name 'Kiku' signifies a chrysanthemum flower. Many precious things were entrusted to her charge, and among other things ten costly dishes of gold. One of these was suddenly missed and could not be found; and the girl, being responsible therefor, and knowing not how otherwise to prove her innocence, drowned herself in a well. But ever thereafter her ghost, returning nightly, could be heard counting the dishes slowly, with sobs: '*Ichi-mai, Ni-mai, San-mai, Yo-mai, Go-mai, Roku-mai, Shichi-mai, Hachi-mai, Ku-mai, . . .*'

"Then there would be heard a despairing cry and a loud burst of weeping; and again the girl's voice counting the dishes plaintively: 'One—two—three—four—five—six—seven—eight—nine—'

"Her spirit passed into the body of a strange little insect, whose head faintly resembles that of a ghost with long disheveled hair; and it is called O-Kiku-mushi, or 'the fly of O-Kiku'; and it is found, they say, nowhere save in Himeji. A famous play was written about O-Kiku, which is still acted in all the popular theatres, entitled *Banshu-O-Kiku-no-Sara-Ya-shiki*, or 'the Manor of the Dish of O-Kiku of Banshu.'

Some declare that *Banshu* is only a corruption of the name of an ancient quarter (*Banchō*) of *Tōkyō* (*Yedo*), where the story should have been laid. But the people of Himeji say, that part of their city now called *Go-Ken-Yashiki* is identical with the site of the ancient manor. What is certainly true is that to cultivate chrysanthemum flowers in the part of Himeji called *Go-Ken-Yashiki* is deemed unlucky, because the name of O-Kiku signifies "chrysanthemum." Therefore, nobody, I am told, ever cultivates chrysanthemums there.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### STONEHENGE.

Stonehenge, above thy solemn plain.  
The canopy of gray still drifts.  
Now trailing down its fringe of rain,  
Or dropping gleams athwart its rifts,  
Whereto the soul of man uplifts  
Its answering flash through gray despair,—  
So through the ashen ages sifts,  
In gleam and gloom  
The seed and bloom  
And fruitage of unending prayer.

Unending prayer and sacrifice  
To what gray gods there be on high,  
Who silent take the costly price,  
Yonder within their dumb, dull sky;  
Moveless they watched thy victims die  
Here on this strange-stained altar stone,  
Sphinx-silent to the eternal "Why"  
Of hopeless pain  
That beat in vain  
At this cold footstool of their throne.

Stonehenge, the empire's passed from thee,  
Thou ruin of an outworn fear!  
Thy oak-crowned priests are mockery,  
And dry as thy last victim's tear.  
Lo, for this many a thousand year  
The moss eats wrinkles in thy stone;  
And sheep-bells tinkle there and here,—  
Light music-falls,  
Like laughter-calls,  
Life's echo of Death's risen groan.

But still the gods, the gods above,  
The gods that neither move nor sleep,—  
For Tyranny is strong as Love—

Take toll of all that laugh or weep;  
 And far across the centuries' sweep  
 The knife yet gleams in lifted hands;  
     Though the gray plain  
     Have drunk thy stain,  
 The Sphynx still gazes o'er the sands.

Still the eternal question waits  
 Before the door of Human Birth,  
 Relentless as its narrow gates,  
     Whereon is graven "Go ye forth!"  
 And still the gleaming hope of earth,  
 Flames from the altar's awful rust:  
     "The gods will yield;"  
     The doom is sealed,  
 And a new victim dashed to dust.

Lo, all the altars of the world,  
 Whereat men kneeling wreath about  
 In circles of bent bodies, curled  
 For pain, wrest not the secret out.  
 Yet—yet—these Druid stones are stout—  
 But see! the mosses hurl the stone!  
     Shall Faith not wear  
     The gods? Lo, there—  
 STRIKE! THE LAST OUTGUARD LIGHTS! THE SUN!

---

#### HONESTY WITH THE BIBLE,

Two books lie before me which are remarkable for being frank statements concerning the Scriptures, and both come from quarters in which similar utterances were heretofore deemed impossible. One is called *Honesty with the Bible*, (published by the Acme Publishing Co., Morgantown, W. V.) written by the Rev. Prescott White, pastor of the Presbyterian church of Weston, West Virginia, from 1894 to 1904; the other, *What is the Bible?* (published by The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago), by J. A. Ruth, a man of Christian education, member of one of the orthodox Protestant churches, who passed through life more than three-fourths of the allotted span when for the first time he faced the question "Is the Bible the word of God?" and after a careful examination he came to the conclusion that the Bible is a human production. Both books, so similar in attitude and alike in spirit, are straws in the wind, for they are not attacks on religion and not inspired by any enmity toward the book sacred to all good Christians, but simply follow the course of honesty in confessing the conclusion to which they have been driven against their own wills.

Mr. Ruth begins his book with quoting a prayer from one of the late Joseph Parker's Sermons, ending with the words, "Spirit of Truth, make me sincere!" and similarly Mr White insists that his criticism of the Bible is not literary nor historical, but purely moral and spiritual (p.5).

The Rev. Mr. White enters into a comparison of the old standards of morality with modern views and comes to the conclusion that the old Hebrew morality can no longer be regarded as a canon for life but has to make room to higher and nobler conceptions.

Mr. Ruth knows very well that many things which impressed him deeply have been stated by liberal theologians before him, but they have not been made part of the practical teachings of the Church, and as a Christian of an orthodox church he had to grope his way alone. He says in his Preface:

"In some quarters the arguments and evidence I employ may be regarded as antiquated and superfluous. In others it will encounter the unreasoning prejudice which clings tenaciously to preconceived notions regardless of the lack of ground for holding them and in the face of the most positive evidence to the contrary. At the same time I feel sure, also, of a large number who will receive my work in the spirit in which it is done, to whom, I trust, it will prove a key to the solution of some heretofore intricate and troublesome problems. If it shall accomplish this, and if I have removed the rubbish and accretions that encumber the foundation, I shall be content."

The evidence which Mr. Ruth offers is, as he says himself, "but a small part of that available and near at hand"; he simply makes "an effort to separate truth from error" and challenges the contradiction of his co-religionists to disprove the position which he has taken. He is reverent in tone but earnest in his contentions, and the reader feels that there is no gainsaying. Having gone over a heap of evidence, on the Creation and the Fall, the Exodus, Mount Sinai and the Ten Commandments, the Evolution of Hebrew Monotheism, Prophecies, Miracles, Contradictions, etc., Mr. Ruth asks the question: "But what about churches and preaching?" His answer, which extends over a whole chapter entitled "What then?" may be briefly characterised by the following quotation:

"That's easy: Stop teaching error and teach only truth. There is not an orthodox preacher of average intelligence and education but that can adopt all the views set forth in this book and continue preaching right along and find plenty of texts in the Bible to preach from. What is more, not more than one in a thousand of his hearers would know of his change of view if he did not announce it. By this I do not wish to be understood as advising any one to disguise his views. That would be most reprehensible. I simply wish to show how little importance even Christians themselves attach to the erroneous features of Christian theology and how little their omission would be noticed."

He concludes his book with a statement of his creed:

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker and preserver of heaven and earth and all that in them is.

"I believe that in His sight and dealing all men are equal, and that He has not nor ever had any peculiar or chosen people, pets or favorites.

"I believe that all men are brothers, and that it is not only the duty, but should be, and under normal conditions will be, man's highest pleasure to do to others as he would have others do to him.

"I believe that the moral law is founded upon the eternal principle of truth, love, justice, and righteousness, and that it is written in the human soul and upon the face of human experience and observation. I believe that the ethical standard is ever in the man, never in the book.

"I believe that whatsoever promotes the individual and general welfare

is right, and that all that has the opposite tendency is wrong; and that this is the true and safe guide for human conduct.

"I believe that 'the truth on all subjects as fast as it becomes known is the sole and sufficient authority for all human belief; that justice is the certain and practicable law of all human conduct; that love is the highest and most effective temper of the human spirit,' and that 'the permanent elements in Christianity are the great religious and moral virtues which Jesus lived and taught.'

"I believe that man is the builder of his own character, the maker of his own destiny; and that these are formed by what he is and does and not by anything done for him.

"I believe in the immortality of the soul—the life everlasting—and that man will reap that which he has sown."

Rev. White attaches great importance to science and scientific inquiry. He says:

"Thus it is hoped this subject, as presented, will help some to see that the phrase 'religion and science' cannot rightly be used. Religion is science. That is, it comes within the domain of scientific study and is a part of the great field of truth subject to scientific methods. After all, all knowledge is knowledge of God and all knowledge is essentially religious. Therefore religion must be science, and there cannot be such a distinction as is implied in the phrase science and religion."

He concludes his book with the sentences:

"The writers of the Bible saw only in part and imperfectly, though they certainly did see in part and in many respects truly. Let us learn to honestly discern the religious truth they saw and taught, and add to its sum the sum of all others, of all times and climes; and ourselves also add to it the little that we can, that it may ever 'grow from more to more.' God is here to teach and inspire us now as much as ever, and even more than at any time in the history of the Hebrew people. He can and will and does still inspire and teach."

"What we want is, to get away from the idea that the Bible is the foundation and source of true religion; and to learn that its true foundations are in the nature of man, and that it is ever a living and growing product of the human soul."

Both books are of significance to all those who take an interest in the psychology of religion. We have to deal here with truthful men who have honestly accepted the divinity of the Bible and who after a careful study have been obliged to abandon their belief, albeit against their own will. Yet their books are not Freethought publications. They are products of a deep religious spirit, and one can feel in every line the seriousness of their authors.

These books are, as we said "straws in the wind" because we know positively that they are typical of many minds of pious Christians who are confronted with the same problem and who have come more or less to the same conclusion. The facts which these books treat are important in themselves but the attitude of both these writers is, in the reviewer's opinion, of even greater importance.

The religious spirit of Mr. Ruth is well characterised in the short article which is contained in the present number of *The Open Court* where it appears under the title "Pure Religion and Pure Gold."

## PURE RELIGION AND PURE GOLD.

BY J. A. RUTH.

There is a striking similarity between pure religion and pure gold. Both are elemental—the immediate product of God's own laboratory. No alchemist or chemist can produce either from baser material. Nothing can be added to or taken from them, and nothing with which they may be combined changes their quality or their intrinsic value. They are incorruptible. Time effects no changes in them. They never grow old or out of date. They do not satiate. They are in the highest degree ductile and adaptable. Both are found with more or less admixture of dross, and must pass through an extracting and refining process; and both have been alloyed and are found in all grades from pure to seven-eighths alloy.

As gold is more serviceable when alloyed, so it may be that alloyed religion is of more service to man than pure religion. At least, religious organizations have found it expedient to add many forms and ceremonies to make pure religion more adaptable and inviting to the moods and peculiarities of humanity, and to give body and tangible substance to abstract principles—a sort of scaffolding by which man may attain to them, or wall by which he may be enclosed, or material foundation upon which he may rest,

There appears no serious objection to alloying religion to the extent and for the purpose indicated; indeed, until humanity has reached a much higher state of intellectual and spiritual development than at present it is desirable and profitable to do so, but, unfortunately, the alloying process has been carried much farther by the imposition of divers creeds and dogmas, rites and ceremonies, which all but submerge pure religion, and seriously impede its operation.

It has also come to pass that religion thus alloyed is regarded by many of its devotees as the pure article, and is defended as such when its purity is brought into question. On the other hand, alloyed religion is by many regarded as entirely spurious, because the prominence of the alloy hides the pure religion it contains. Thus there has been many an attack upon and defense of alloyed religion when the attacking party regarded it as spurious, and the defending party as pure religion; neither being able, or at least willing, to recognize the actual quality of the matter under attack and defense.

Pure religion is never attacked, and requires absolutely no defense. Even a motley fool will not attack pure religion as defined by the apostle: "To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world,"—nor as indicated by the prophet: "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"—or by the Psalmist: "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity nor sworn deceitfully."

When humanity learns to alloy religion to the extent only that is necessary and profitable, and to distinguish between pure religion and alloy—between the essential and the merely expedient and helpful—there will be little or no occasion for contention and controversy; and the time hitherto employed in attack upon and defense of religion can be exerted in a direction vastly more sane and profitable.

## NOTES.

We have received from Madame Emily Loyson, wife of the famous French pulpiteer Hyacinthe Loyson, a most interesting report of their journey to the Orient, and we hope to publish it in the form of a stately volume with many illustrations. Monsieur and Madame Loyson have returned of late from a pilgrimage to Palestine. They visited on their way and in Jeru-



PÈRE HYACINTHE AND MADAME LOYSON AT THE SPINX AND THE GREAT PYRAMID.

salem many prominent people, Muhammedans, Jews, and Christians of all confessions. They stayed in the shade of the venerable pyramids and entered the sacred precincts of the Temple of Omar, which occupies the place where David worshipped Yahveh, and where stood the Temple of Solomon and the Temple of Herod, the most sacred spot of the people of Israel.

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# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS

Associates: { E. C. HEGELER.  
MARY CARUS.

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VOL. XVIII. (NO. 12) DECEMBER, 1904.

NO. 583

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妻の人軍 筆耶四國谷満

**WIDOWED.**

(After an oil painting by Kunishiro Mitsutani.)

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## AT THE BATTLE OF NAN-SHAN HILL.

BY THE RIGHT REV. SHAKU SOYEN.\*

ALL that I can say is, "It beggars description!" Verily, it is the acme of brutality and recklessness conceived in this world of individualisation (*nāmarūpa*). Even the fight between the Asura and Sakrendra, the demons and the angels, witnessed by our Buddha, seems here to sink into insignificance.

As far as my unaided eye can see, nature around me is calm. The Tai-lien Bay to the left and the Kin-chou Bay to the right, both as tranquil as mirrors, and above us and over the Nan-Shan Hill, where directly in our front the Russian fortifications stand, the sky expands in majestic serenity. Nothing suggests the awful carnage which there is enacted. Guns roar, bombs burst, but we do not see whence they come, and their knell only offsets the solemnity of these peaceful surroundings. But when I look through a powerful field-glass, I behold the hillsides strewn with dead and wounded, and soldiers rush onward over these wretches, while the enemies on the hill are madly scrambling, stumbling, and falling. I shudder at the sight.

\* \* \*

Still more appalling is a visit to the battle-field after the fight. Yesterday, when I viewed Nan-Shan Hill from a distance, imagination lent enchantment to the spectacle, and at times the cannonade even impressed me with grandeur. But I am now confronting actualities,—actualities whose terror and horror can never be forgotten. From the top of yonder hill, where, under the calm summer sky, nature smiled in beauty, I could form no true conception of the tragedy, which, as I see now, took place here in unparalleled

\* Translated by Teitaro Suzuki.





THE RIGHT REV. SHAKU SOYEN.\*

\* The Right Rev. Shaku Soyen, the Lord Abbot of Engakuji, Kamakura, is one of the most prominent Buddhist prelates of Japan. He visited Chicago during the World's Fair and was a conspicuous member among the foreign delegates to the Parliament of Religions. During the last summer he ac-

the subjugation of evil. To destroy the ninety-eight major and eighty-four thousand minor evils, that are constantly tormenting human souls on this earth, was the guiding thought of the Buddha. Therefore, every follower of the Buddha builds the great boat of love, launches it on the great ocean of birth and death, steers it with the great rudder of faith, and sails forth with a steadfast mind through the whirling tempest of egotistic desires and passions. No Buddhist will ever relax his energy, until every one of his fellow-creatures be safely carried over to the other shore of perfect bliss.

War is an evil and a great one, indeed. But war against evils must be unflinchingly prosecuted till we attain the final aim. In the present hostilities in which Japan has entered with great reluctance, she pursues no egotistic purpose, but seeks the subjugation of evils hostile to civilisation, peace, and enlightenment. She deliberated long before she took up arms, as she was well aware of the magnitude and gravity of the undertaking. But the firm conviction of the justice of her cause has endowed her with an indomitable courage, and she is determined to carry the struggle to the bitter end.

Here is the price we must pay for our ideals—a price paid in streams of blood and by the sacrifice of many thousands of living bodies. However determined may be our resolution to crush evils, our hearts tremble at the sight of this appalling scene.

Alas! How much dearer is the price still going to be? What enormous losses are we going to suffer through the evil thoughts of our enemy, not to speak of the many injuries which our poor enemy himself will have to endure? All these miserable soldiers, individually harmless and innocent of the present war, are doomed to a death not only unnatural, but even inhuman!

Indeed, were it not for the doctrine of love taught by the Buddha, which should elevate every individual creature to the realm of a pure spirituality, we would, in the face of the terrible calamities that now befall us, be left to utter destruction and without any consolation whatever. Were it not for the belief that the bloom of truly spiritual light will, out of these mutilated, disfigured, and decomposing corpses, return with renewed splendor, we would not be

accompanied the army stationed before Port Arthur, Manchuria, where he was attached to the staff of H. R. H. Prince Fushimi. Having returned to Japan, he has published the impressions received on the battle-field in an article entitled "At the Battle of Nan-Shan Hill," and it will be interesting to our readers to become acquainted with the attitude of a representative Buddhist priest as to his opinion concerning war, especially the present war with Russia. The Right Rev. Shaku Soyen belongs to the Zen sect which is one of the strictest and most orthodox churches of Japan.

able to stand these heart-rending tribulations even for a moment. Were it not for the consolation that these sacrifices are not brought for an egotistic purpose, but are an inevitable step toward the final realisation of enlightenment, how could I, poor mortal, bear these experiences of a hell let loose on earth?

The body is but a vessel for something greater than itself. Individuality is but a husk containing something more permanent. Let us, then, though not without losing tenderness of heart, bravely confront our ordeal.

\*                     \*                     \*

I came here with a double purpose. I wished to have my faith tested by going through the greatest horrors of life, but I also wished to inspire, if I could, our valiant soldiers with the ennobling thoughts of the Buddha, so as to enable them to die on the battlefield with the confidence that the task in which they are engaged is great and noble. I wished to convince them of the truths that this war is not a mere slaughter of their fellow-beings, but that they are combatting an evil, and that, at the same time, corporeal annihilation rarely means a rebirth of soul, not in heaven, indeed, but here among ourselves. I believe I did my best to impress these ideas upon the soldiers' hearts; and my own sentiments I express in the following stanza, one of the many poems composed on the field of battle:

Here, marching on Nan-Shan,  
Storming its topmost crest,  
Have thousands of brave men  
With dragon valor pressed.  
Before the foe my heart  
Is calmed, composure-blessed.  
While belching cannons sing  
A lullaby of rest.

## THE STRUGGLE IN THE FAR EAST.

BY THE EDITOR.

JAPAN is now passing through a most critical period of its history, for the present war will decide whether Russia alone shall sway the destinies of Northern Asia, or whether she will have to retreat before the rising sun of Japan. Russia fights for the expansion of its empire, Japan for its independence, yea, for its very existence.

So far the Japanese have been victorious, and their triumphs are the more remarkable because Russia is the greater country with mightier resources. Moreover, the Russian troops are fighting with an unprecedented tenacity, and their generals, above all Kuropatkin and Stoessel, have shown uncommon boldness and foresight, so as to deserve our unlimited admiration. These brave Russian leaders have, again and again, after repeated defeats, and under the most trying circumstances, inspiring their troops with new courage.—a sure indication of their genuine generalship and the moral superiority of their characters.

The Japanese have begun the war with great reluctance and because they had no alternative left other than to fight or to submit; but they are determined to die rather than to yield. They know their fate if they lose, and they also know the prize if they win. They fight for their national existence, for their independence, for their honor, for their place in history; and one thing is sure; they have surprised the world by the valor of their men, the circumspection of their generals, the humaneness of their general behavior.

In spite of the Hague Tribunal, the present war was positively inevitable, for there is a conflict between the Russian and Japanese nationalities which could be decided by war only. Since Peter the Great's day the Russians have been anxious to reach the open sea somewhere, for they need it for the expanse of their commerce. They have harbors in the Black Sea and in the Baltic, but their navies are practically locked up in these inland seas, and Vladivo-

stok is ice-bound almost half the year. Further, the traditional policy of Russia is naturally a policy of expansion. Peter the Great's Testament indicates plainly Russia's aim to conquer Europe and Asia and take a commanding position among the nations of the earth. Patriotic Russians believe in it and Russian diplomats never lose sight of it. Indeed, part of the program (the conquest of Poland and of several countries in Inner Asia, as well as the extension of Russian influence on the Balkan peninsula,) has ac-



I. MARSHALL OYAMA WITH HIS STAFF PASSING THROUGH HAI CHENG.

tually been carried out, and there are many who believe that finally Russia will grow to the full size of her ideal, slowly but irresistibly and with comparative ease.

After the Chino-Japanese war, Russia protested against Japan's taking possession of Port Arthur; yet soon afterward she herself marched her troops into that Manchurian stronghold. Millions of rubles have been invested in fortifications and harbor im-

provements, and we can have no doubt that Russia, in spite of her assurances to the contrary, intended to keep Manchuria for good.



2. JAPANESE NINTH CAVALRY REGIMENT FORDING THE RIVER NEAR SHOU SHAN PAO.



3. JAPANESE INFANTRY READY TO CHARGE.

They are hidden behind Chinese corn and have thrown their overcoats aside. Russian influence in Corea indicated that the Hermit Kingdom would be the next object of her expansion, and if Corea had be-



4. JAPANESE FIELD HOSPITAL NEAR SHOU SHAN PAO.



5. JAPANESE CANNON AFTER THE BATTLE.

come Russian the Russian sphere of influence would irresistibly have extended over Japan. Count Hans Von Königsmarck, a late military attaché of Germany to Japan, appreciates the significance of Korea in his interesting little book entitled *Japan and the Japanese*,\* where he says on page 6: "The conquest of Korea means for Japan 'To be or not to be.'"

In a passage written before the beginning of the war, Count Königsmarck says (l. c. p. 250) on his arrival in Fusan, the Korean harbor: "Should Russia become master of this place, she would not only set limits to Japanese trade and commerce (in Korea) but could



6. TAKING POSSESSION OF THE LIAO YANG RAILWAY STATION.

also build up on this strategic point an abutment for a bridge to the Island Empire, thereby at least invalidating the independence of Japan.

"The English press represents this step of the Slav Goliath as immediately imminent, but in my opinion it will be reserved for a later future. At present, Russia is too much engaged with fortifying her interests in China, and so the friendship of Japan, which is after all a considerable factor in the Far East, will still be too valuable and should not be disturbed through a premature desire

\* *Japan und die Japanesen*. Berlin: Allgem. Verein für d. Lit. 1904.



7. THE DEPOT OF LIAO YANG AS LEFT BY THE RUSSIANS.



8. BURNING PROVISIONS AT LIAO YANG DEPOT.

for a conquest of the peninsula of Corea. Russia should first gain a firm foothold in Manchuria, which done, she will be able to take possession of Corea without minding Japan."

The same writer, in speaking of Russia's plan of a "preliminary friendship with Japan in Japan," says (p. 185): "It is the delicate task of Russian diplomacy to veil as much as possible these seemingly inconsistent moves of Slavic world-policy and to sweeten the bitter anti-Japanese pills on the continent by sugar-cakes at Tokyo."

The island of Saghalin, once Japanese territory, was incorporated by the Russians in the midst of peace, and the Japanese gov-

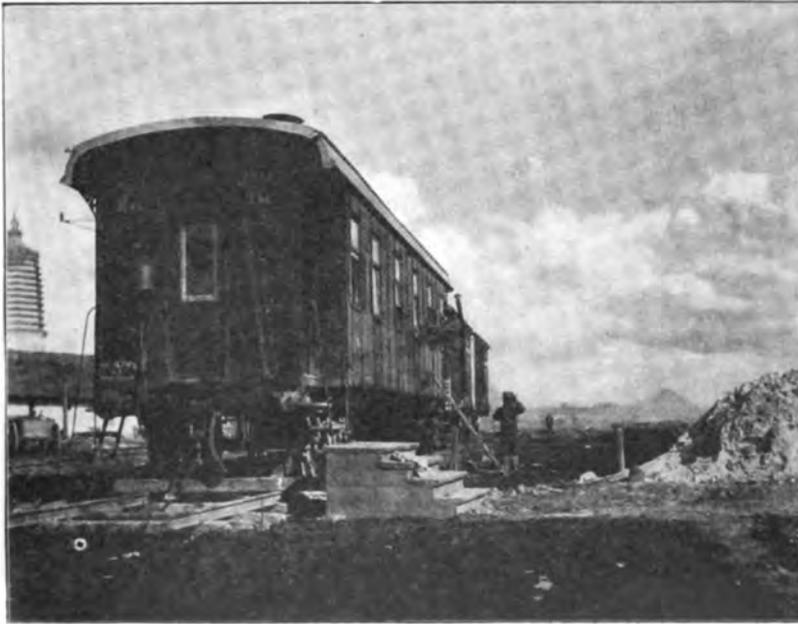


9. DESTRUCTION OF AMMUNITION CARS AT THE LIAO YANG DEPOT. .

ernment had no other defence than to send a protest to the several powers. Should Japan have waited, until Russia was ready for taking possession of Nippon, in the same quiet way as she annexed Saghalin, or as she seized Port Arthur? In the face of the unmistakable policy of her formidable neighbor, she decided to force the issue before it might be too late.

The Japanese have so far been successful, and we cannot imagine that a nation that shows the same heroism as did the Greek at Thermopylæ and Salamis and the Prussians under Frederick the Great, can be blotted out from the map of the world. Moreover,

the noble spirit of a pure and stern patriotism pervades not only the army, not only the men that fight, but also those non-combatants who are left at home, also the wives and daughters and children. Our frontispiece represents the widow of a Japanese officer who has fallen in the war. The artist, Kunishiro Mitsutani, belongs to modern Japan. He is a pupil of the famous Koyama, and has studied in America and in Europe. He has abandoned the old Japanese style, and, following in the wake of his great master, may be considered a typical representative of modern Japanese art. And how well does he picture the spirit that animates his country. The



10. FIRST CLASS RAILWAY CARRIAGE LEFT BEHIND BY THE RUSSIANS.

grief of the young widow is transfigured by the resigned composure plainly visible in the expression of her calm face. She carries on a tray, made of *hinoki* wood, unvarnished and without ornament, in order to express the simplicity so highly esteemed in Shintoism, her husband's cap and sword, apparently the same ones which he wore in battle, to deposit them as a reminiscence of her deceased lord, the father of her children, in the family shrine of her home. What love, what devotion, and yet at the same time, what determination is seen in her dignified features! It is typical of Japan,

whose attitude in her present ordeal elicits the sympathy of the world.

We here present our readers with some original photographs taken on the field of battle in and around Liao Yang.

Liao Yang is an ancient city and was once the capital of Corea, when the Hermit Kingdom was still the center of Asiatic culture, religious as well as secular. Both China and Japan owe many inventions and progressive movements to the ancient Coreans, but when the country began to decline, it became the object of frequent invasions from the Chinese, the Japanese and the Manchurians. Emperor T'ai Tsung, who governed China 627-650 A. D., the foun-



11. RUSSIAN CANNON CAPTURED BY THE JAPANESE.

der of the Tang dynasty, invaded Corea and entered Liao Yang, extending his victorious march to the heights of Shou Shan Pao, i. e., "the fortress on the mountain," an almost impregnable site, which is the natural defence of the country toward the south.

When Corea's military power was weakened, Liao Yang ceased to be the residence of the kings of Corea, and Seoul was selected as the new capital. In the meantime the Manchu invaded the western frontiers of the country, and Liao Yang ceased to be a Corean city.

The commanding heights of Shou Shan Pao offered a good opportunity for a successful defence against the Japanese armies,

and Kuropatkin did not neglect this chance, but proposed to make here a decisive stand, hoping that the natural strength of the place would make it impossible for the Japanese to oust him from Liao Yang; but, owing to the superior artillery and an unparalleled valor of the Japanese troops, the Russians were outflanked and this impregnable position was taken. Thus, Liao Yang had to be aban-



12. HOKU SHAN TOWER.

A Buddhist temple over five hundred feet high.\*

doned, and Kuropatkin was forced to retreat toward Mukden, destroying behind him his stores of ammunition and provisions.

\*If our informant is not mistaken as to the height of the Hoku Shan tower at Liao Yang, this remarkable structure will have to be considered the highest religious building in the world. The tower of the cathedral of Ulm is 161 metres high; that of Cologne, 156; of Rouen, 149; St. Nicolai of Hamburg, 144.2; the cathedral of Strassburg, 143; St. Peters of Rome, 138.7; and St. Paul of London, only 111.03.

We have selected from the photographs at our disposal mainly those which will help us to form a vivid picture of the topography of the battle.

We see in the first picture Marshal Oyama with his staff passing through the main street of Hai Cheng. Before the Japanese begin their battles, they dispose of their troops as a skillful player would move the figures on a chess board, before he begins his attack. We see (in picture 2) the Japanese Ninth Regiment of Cavalry fording a little river to reach the place where its attack will be most effective. Infantry troops are moving through the fields



13. ARTILLERY AFTER THE BATTLE.

covered with *kao liang* (literally "high corn," which is as high as, or even higher than, the maize fields of Illinois. In picture 3, the Japanese soldiers are hidden behind the Chinese corn. They have thrown aside their overcoats to be unhampered in the charge. In the meantime, preparations are made in the rear of the army. A field hospital is quickly erected in the shape of a huge tent destined to give shelter to the wounded, who will soon need the accommodations of physicians and nurses.

The battle was bloody, but the victory was gained, and the cannon (in picture 5) exhibits how the material has been used to



14. JAPANESE INFANTRY AFTER THE BATTLE.



15. A JAPANESE POST BEFORE THE WALL OF LIAO YANG.

the utmost. How much more worn out must have been the men and horses!

Liao Yang being evacuated fell into the hands of the Japanese, who at once took possession of the railway station (picture 6). They find heaps of wheat and other provisions in burning piles while the ammunition which had been stored in railway cars and could not be moved, was exploded at the depot, which presents the sight of an unspeakable chaos. Nothing is left but wrecks and ruin.

At a distance we see a large tower. It is the Hoku Shan, a Buddhist temple, which is the most characteristic feature of the ancient Korean capital, and is over five hundred feet high, higher than many a building that has been reputed the highest in the world.

In the remaining pictures we see the soldiers resting after the battle on the top of Shou Shan Pao, and an outpost of the Japanese garrison quartered in the city of Liao Yang guarding the access to the wall and its entrances.

Our information from the headquarters of the Russian army is very meagre in comparison to communications received from the Japanese front. In fact it is limited to a humorous postal card



which Mr. R. H. Little of Chicago lately sent to the Chicago Press Club.

In the meantime, while the war is still on, the cause of civilization is progressing, and one of the best fruits of the vicissitudes of the present campaign, which is actually beginning to ripen, would be a constitution for Russia.

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

### XII. THE CAMELLIA.

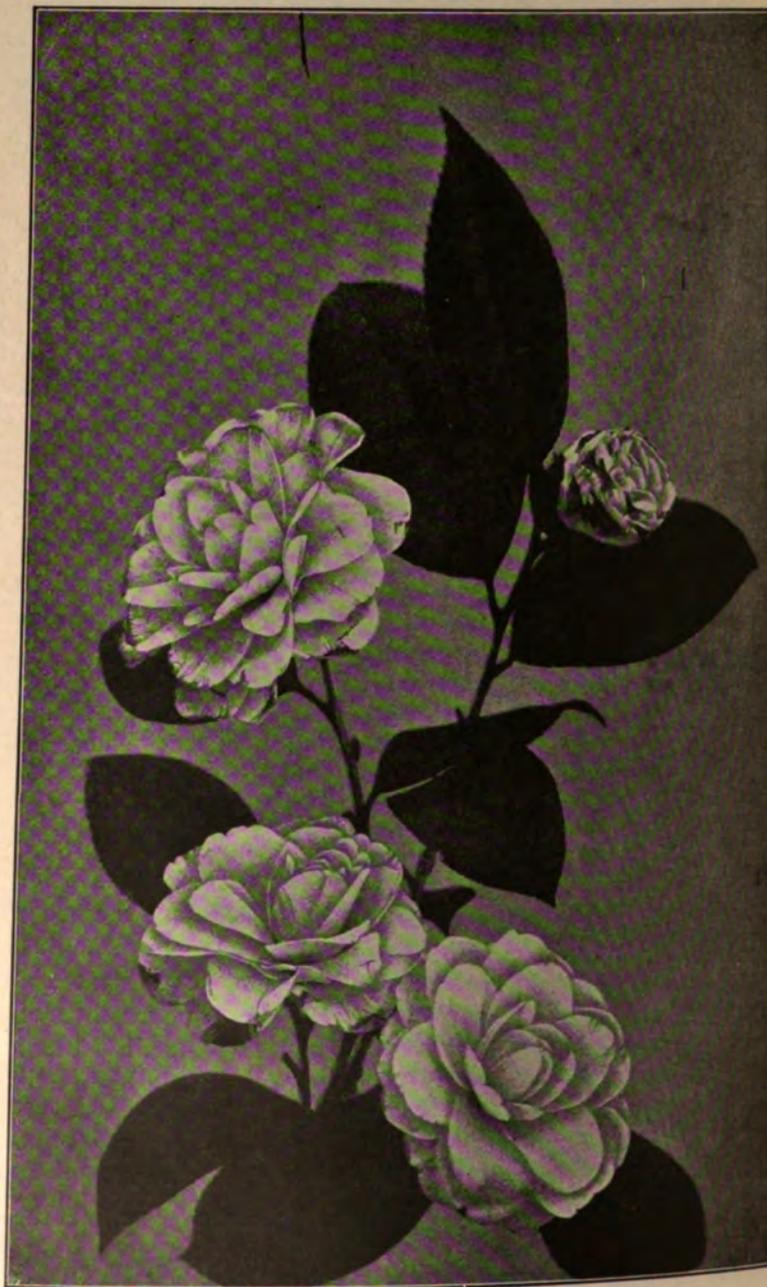
WE have selected for this month a flower of which there are two principal varieties, called in Japanese *sazankwa* and *tsubaki*. The Chinese ideograms used for the latter are the same as the first two ideograms of the former, and mean "mountain-tea," so that *sazankwa* means etymologically "wild tea flower." The tea-plant is scientifically classed as *camellia theifera*. The *tsubaki* does not generally bloom till January, but the *sazankwa* blossoms come in December.

Mr. Conder states the following about this flower: "There is a prejudice against the camellia on account of the fragility of the flower, which falls to pieces at the slightest touch; it is nevertheless much esteemed as being an evergreen." The famous Ogasawara mentions the following reasons for the high estimation in which the camellia should be held. It is recorded that, in the time of the gods, Sasanō no Mikoto and his spouse Inada Hime built a palace and as a token of unchanging fidelity for eight thousand years planted a camellia tree. This tree is said still to exist in the province of Idzumo and is called *Yachi yo no tsubaki*, or "the camellia tree of eight thousand years." Another reason assigned for the high estimation in which the tree is held is that the pestle in which the rice for the wedding-cake is ground is made of its wood. From the seeds a fine hair oil is made.

In the art of floral decoration, it is proper to combine the camellia with the narcissus; and the red kind ranks first.

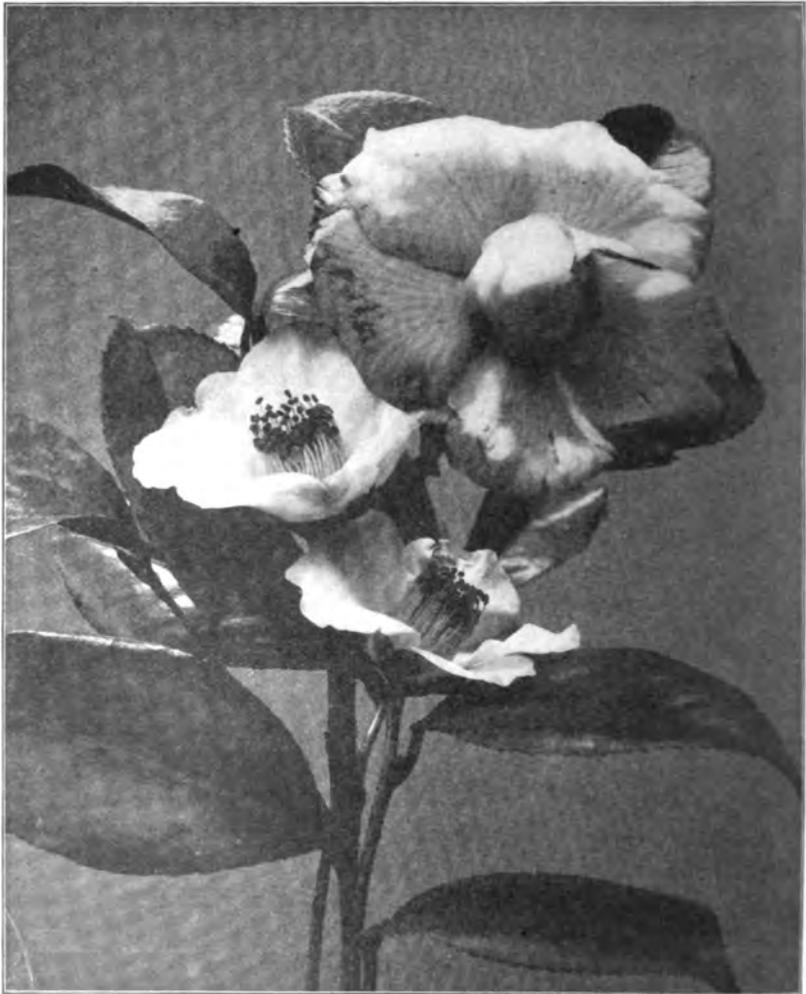
The camellia, on account of its fragility, should not be used at weddings, but is appropriate for funerals.

The camellia is not a favorite subject in art or literature; therefore, we present this time no poem.



CAMELLIA BLOSSOMS.

are about a dozen *hana* which are reckoned among first-class; and even among these feudal lords there are gradations. Each has also its special meaning and use. The twelve *majores dii* of the Japanese



CAMELLIA JAPONICA.

floral kingdom are the cherry, chrysanthemum, cypress, bamboo, lotus, maple, rhodea, narcissus, peony, pine, plum, and wistaria.\*

\* Those who are especially interested in the subject of floral Japan should consult Piggott's *Garden of Japan* and Conder's *Theory of Flower Arrangement* and *Art of Landscape Gardening in Japan*, to which we have made frequent references.

The art of flower arrangement in Japan is a great accomplishment, and the theory of it is quite complex. The basal idea is simple, for the Japanese do not believe in such a massing of various colors and of different flowers, branches, grasses, etc., as is needed



CAMELLIA JAPONICA (EIGHT-FOLD)

to delight our artistic senses. One who has succeeded in developing within him the Japanese esthetic ideas cannot help feeling that what is called here a "bouquet" is generally "a vulgar murdering of flowers, an outrage upon the color-sense, a brutality, an abomina-

tion." The most artistic American could scarcely appreciate, as much as even the lowest Japanese, the beauty of a solitary spray of blossoms or even of a solitary branch or twig without a single blossom.

The whole theory of Japanese flower arrangement depends

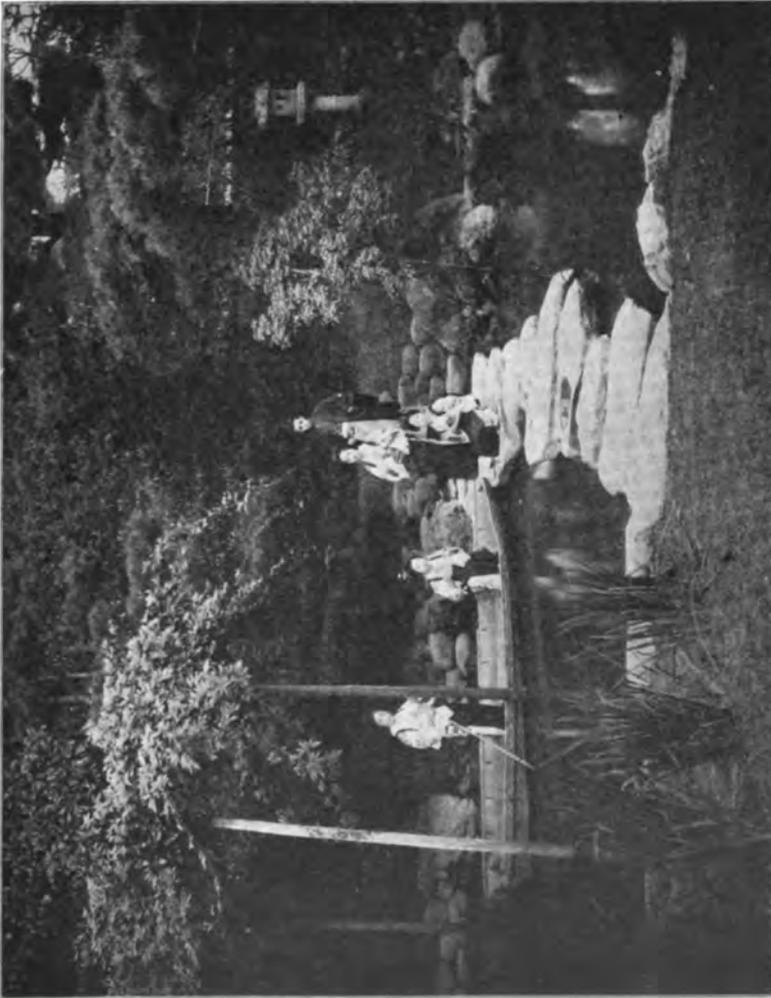


NANTEN (NANDINA DOMESTICA).

This plant is frequently used in winter for flower arrangement, when there are scarcely any *hanas* available.

upon the "language of line" rather than upon mass or color. Upon this simple base a rigid and complex system has been established, which has been carefully and thoroughly studied and analysed by a foreign architect, an Englishman, in the employ of the Japanese

Government. It will serve to give some idea of the magnitude and complexity of the subject to state that Mr. Conder's explanation thereof covers a hundred pages of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*.\* He has discussed and illustrated by numerous



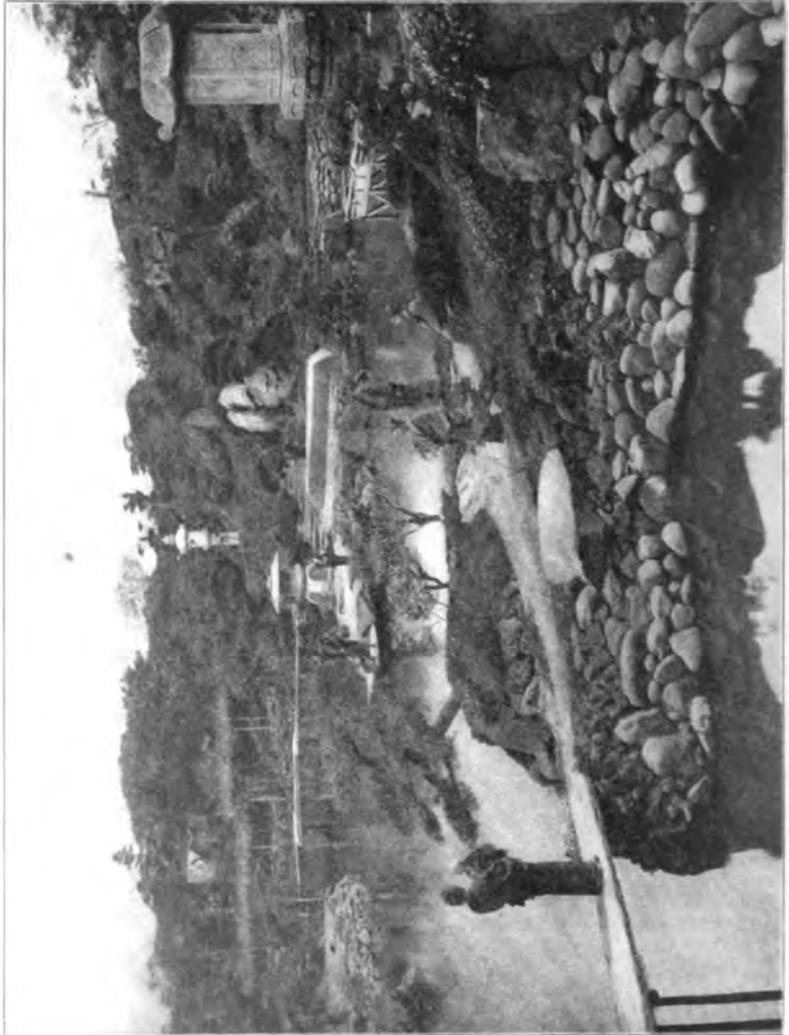
THE GARDEN OF AN ARISTOCRATIC JAPANESE FAMILY.

drawings the proper and improper combinations, the language of flowers, and other interesting matters.

This art of arranging flowers was considered by the Japanese

\* He has also expanded this into an elegant book called *The Floral Art of Japan*.

as an "elegant accomplishment," and was an important item in the education of women of rank. But it appertained also to men of rank and of culture who might have retired from active life to the leisure of literary and esthetic pursuits. It has been stated that



A PRIVATE GARDEN.

those who engaged in this "fine art" would possess the following ten virtues:

"The privilege of associating with superiors; ease and dignity before men of rank; a serene disposition and forgetfulness of cares;

amusement in solitude; familiarity with the nature of plants and trees; the respect of mankind; constant gentleness of character; healthiness of mind and body; a religious spirit; self-abnegation and restraint."

In this monthly calendar of Floral Japan, we have not attempted to include all the flowers as in a botanical catalogue; we have merely made a selection of certain typical *hana*, to represent the floral year. But we must surely make at least mention of the fête-days (*en-nichi*), which are really flower-fairs, held once, twice, or thrice a month, according to circumstances, chiefly in the evening. The roadways are lined with flower-sellers and dealers in various other articles, which are displayed either on mats, or on carts, or in booths hastily constructed. On these occasions it is possible, after parleying with the seller,\* to buy flowers for a very reasonable sum.

And now we may be able to appreciate how much the floral kingdom of Japan means to the Japanese. Hui-sh has well expressed it as follows: "Flowers are associated with every act of a Japanese's life: they herald his birth, they are his daily companions, they accompany him to the grave: and after that they serve as a link between him and those he has left.—for his relatives and friends do not rest satisfied with piling up his coffin with floral tributes, they show their remembrance by offerings for long years afterwards." †

\*The first price is exorbitant and proverbial: "Charge like a florist at a festival."

† In the very interesting chapter on "Flora and Flower Festivals" in his book entitled *Japan and its Art*."

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GERMAN LITERATURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY JOHN FIRMAN COAR, PH. D.

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IT is not very many years ago that Arno Holz, a German iconoclast, in matters artistic, came forward with the bold assertion that art equals nature *minus* x. The formula was hailed for a time as the final definition of the artistic instinct of modern German. That it was nothing of the kind was proved by the short-lived sway of naturalism. The artistic instinct of the German people rose in revolt and, following the usual course of all revolts, it put forward an antithetical definition: Art equals nature *plus* x. But art and the creations of art cannot be laced in the straight-jackets of definitions. Neither can literary criticism submit to the foolish demand that it define in advance the nature of that artistic impulse which dominates a particular work of literature or a whole period of literary activity. It is altogether probable that some doctrinaires will shake their heads in solemn protest when a writer attempts to set forth the philosophical significance of certain literary creations for modern life, and persistently refuses to define the x of modern life into relation with which this literature is brought. The democratic impulses of American life, for example, are not definable, and if they were it would be a superfluous task to seek enlightenment through the study of literature. Precisely because these impulses are difficult of formulation as concepts, and precisely because they are imperfectly transmuted into national character, social usages and conventions, religious creeds and organizations, civic statutes and institutions, economic values, or public taste and public opinion of any kind—precisely for this reason we turn to art, and in particular to literature, for some better understanding of the essential dynamic of contemporary life.

For more than a century civilization has been consciously democratic and the belief that all progress is essentially democratic has been the greatest civilizing agency of the last hundred years. But when we are asked to define "democracy," we are asked to define the undefinable, the very *x* of modern life. Democratic institutions and ideals we may define, for they are definite manifestations of the *Kratos* of the demos. But these manifestations only confine our consciousness to fixed forms and inflexible concepts. The dynamic of social life is not limited to these. If this were the case, the problems that seem so stupendous today would find quick solution. The "will" of the people, which is democracy, is not the sum of the individual wills of all its members, or the average conduct of these members, or the ideals of enthusiasts, or the passions of the mob. The moral, religious, and esthetic temper of an age is something that secretly controls individual opinion, individual feeling, and individual taste, as it controls the passions of the mob, but it eludes definition. And because this temper eludes definition, and always has eluded definition when definition is most desired, every age has longed for the artistic vision of its secret individuality in order that this individuality might express itself more completely in ideals and conduct.

Is it, then, altogether unworthy of a critic to turn to the literature of past or present with the avowed purpose of seeking enlightenment concerning the vital impulses of modern civilization? Or is it not the noblest function of literary criticism to emphasize, and call attention to, the significance of artistic conceptions as interpretative of the undefined impulse the social dynamic, of our day? Very recently the laboring men of a certain section of our country were told by our greatest academician that the true reward of labor is the joy of creating. When we reflect that one hundred years ago, Goethe set himself the task to depict the joy of activity as the only worthy reward of life, we surely have sufficient warrant for contending that the sympathetic study of literature may profit a man who is seriously concerned with the pressing problems of national and social progress. With some such purpose as this, the present paper ventures to review the fundamental aspirations of German poets in that period of German life when the cry for a definition of democracy was first raised in the German lands.

When Klopstock published the first canto of his "Messias" in 1748, he unwittingly became the German champion of a new art of poetry. Incontinently he brushed aside the worthless trash which had passed for poetry because it was coated with a poetic veneer.

This was only the wholesome effect of his great epic of the Redemption. It was not the new issue which this poem created. We of the twentieth century may regard the saying as trite that knowledge implies ignorance, and ignorance knowledge. We accept the fact that the individual is forever confronted by two worlds: the world of known experience and the world of unknown experience. No two individuals live in exactly the same world of the known, for the known world of every individual is in some measure an unknown world to every other individual. Communication and comparison combine these individually known worlds into a collectively known world. Modern education has seen its mission in acquainting the individual with the world of the collectively known, and modern science—to use a comprehensive term—has striven to enlarge the common store of the known. These observations would, however, have seemed anything but trite in the first decades of the eighteenth century.

In the history of European civilization the last five decades of the eighteenth century have become known as the Age of Enlightenment, not because knowledge was disseminated far and wide, but because these axioms were then discovered. At the time when Klopstock conceived his epic, the dawn was just breaking. The previous ages were dark for the reason that between the pitifully small worlds of the individually known and the vast world of the individually unknown, no sufficiently realizable world of the collectively known existed. The consciousness of the known was therefore overshadowed by the mysteries of the unknown. No proper relation could exist between the scientific consciousness and religious mystification. In the history of civilization, the dominance of religious mystification in individuals has always produced, through communication and comparison, a common religious world as a refuge from the over-powering awe of the unknown. The dogma of the Church was a refuge of this kind. It transformed the unknown of the understanding into a revealed known, and created a common world of positive religious experience out of innumerable individual worlds of negative experience. Human knowledge was bound to encroach on this world of revelation, individually at first, then collectively. In the eighteenth century the accretion of known facts began to make itself felt, and gave aid and comfort to the scientific consciousness. The world of science expanded and overlapped the fixed world of dogma. The relative truth of science challenged the absolute truth of revelation. Collective knowledge, unsystematized though it was, began to emphasize the consciousness of the

known, and by that act to offset the undue mystification of the unknown. It was the first assertion of rationalism. Out of this assertion sprang the effort to combine the world of common religious experience (revelation) with a world of common intellectual experience, and this effort was the distinctively new feature of the art of Klopstock. Since his day German poets have wrestled with the problem which he suggested. Two worlds in one—how shall art solve this problem? And can art supply the missing world in which Man shall abide, conscious alike of the known and the unknown, conscious, indeed, of no distinction between known and unknown?

Klopstock very naturally approached the problem without any theories concerning the known and the unknown. As a child of his day he was actuated by the impulse to make the world of revelation as real as the world of understanding. He felt vaguely the challenge which one world has for the other, and he ventured to transmute the world of revelation into a poetic world of experience that he might silence this challenge:

"Aber, o That, die allein der Allbarmherzige kennet,  
Darf aus dunkler Ferne sich auch dir nahen die Dichtkunst?  
Weihe sie, Geist Schöpfer, vor dem ich hier stille anbete,  
Führe sie mir, als deine Nachahmerin, voller Entzückung,  
Voll unsterblicher Kraft, in verklärter Schönheit, entgegen!  
Rüste mit deinem Feuer sie, du, der die Tiefen der Gottheit  
Schaut, und den Menschen, aus Staube gemacht, zum Tempel sich heiligt!  
Rein sei das Herz! So darf ich, obwohl mit der bebenden Stimme  
Eines Sterblichen, doch den Gottversöhner besingen,  
Und die furchtbare Bahn mit verzieh'nem Straucheln durchlaufen."

Klopstock's faith in the revealed unknown was not shaken. Though his poetry opened the door between revelation and the understanding, the poet stood on the further side of the threshold and let what he regarded as the light of revelation stream forth and illuminate the darkness of the small world of rational experience. But the door was opened! Others might not be content to gaze from the unknown into the known. The world of sense was illuminated by its own light also, and the more this light spread, the

"But from the dim far-away shall poetry dare to approach thee,  
Deed, which to no one is known but to God the All-merciful Father?  
Consecrate, Spirit Creative, the Muse, as in silence I worship,  
Lead her enraptured to me, Thy handmaid and Thy imitator,  
Filled with Thy power divine and in beauteous transfiguration!  
Thou who dost see to the depths of the Godhead, inspire her, Spirit,  
Thou who hast sanctified man, who is born of the dust, as Thy temple!  
Pure be the heart! And if pure, I may sing, I, a mortal, with trembling  
Voice of the Saviour-Redeemer, who reconciled man and his Maker,  
Finish the awful course, though I stumble in pardonable weakness."

(From the introductory lines of "The Messiah." Translation by J. F. C.)

more it lured poets to cross the threshold and put their art in its service.

The transition from the point of view of Klopstock to the final point of view of Lessing was so rapid that it left no worthy record in the literature of Germany. In the history of esthetics Moses Mendelssohn represented this transition, but he found no poet to do justice to his view that artistic insight should be both divinatory and cognitive. The rapid change of poetic base is accounted for by the fact that the process of education had been going on in secret for many decades. The habit of acquiescence in the paramount authority of revelation prevented poets from viewing the known in its own light, though it could not prevent the development of a realistic bent of mind and feeling. When the latter began to assert itself, established dogmas fell back on the infallibility of revelation. The relation of science to religion became more pointed, and differentiation of intellectual and religious experience was unavoidable. The emphasis suddenly shifted from the unknown to the known.

It is no detraction from the great service which Lessing did German literature, to admit that he confined art to the world of sense. A work of art was for him primarily an object of sense, beautiful because the quantity and quality of its stimulus are in exact accord with the sensation which the maker intends to produce, and this sensation approved by the understanding. To this extent Lessing was the founder of realistic art in German. The author of "Philotas," "Miss Sara Sampson," "Minna von Barnhelm," "Emilia Galotti," was frankly concerned only with empirical problems, and in "Nathan, der Weise" he even confined the range of morality to human conduct. Explicitly and implicitly he excluded all ideal categories:

"Es eifre jeder seiner unbestochnen,  
 Von Vorurteilen freien Liebe nach!  
 Es strebe von euch jeder um die Wette.  
 Die Kraft des Steins in seinem Ring an Tag  
 Zu legen! Komme dieser Kraft mit Sanftmut.  
 Mit herzlicher Ergebenheit in Gott,  
 Zu Hülfe! Und wenn sich dann der Steine Kräfte  
 Bei euern Kindes-Kindeskindern äussern:  
 So lad' ich über tausend tausend Jahre  
 Sie wiederum vor diesen Stuhl. Da wird  
 Ein weiser Mann auf diesem Stuhle sitzen,  
 Und sprechen."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Therefore, let each one imitate this love;  
 So, free from prejudice, let each one aim

If further confirmation of the attitude of Lessing were necessary, we might find it in the drama "Doctor Faust." The drama, if ever completed, is lost, but we know that its theme was delimitation and justification of rationalism. Faust is conceived of as a youth whom the passion for knowledge has kept free from the taint of all sensual passions. Satan holds council amid the ruins of a Gothic cathedral and decides to possess himself of the soul of Faust. If Faust can be tempted to seek a rational explanation of the primal causes of life, then his ruling passion will bring about his undoing. The lusts of life will entice him when its mysteries evade his understanding. But Satan is duped in his scheme. Faust is sunk in a deep sleep by his guardian angel and a phantom Faust is substituted in his place. Over this phantom Satan triumphs. In the midst of his triumph he hears the voice of the angel who now awakens Faust. The real Faust has dreamed what the phantom Faust has experienced. And these are the words of the angel to Satan: "Exult not! You have not triumphed over humanity and science: the noblest of passions was not implanted in Man by the Deity that it should lead to eternal doom: what you saw and what you think you now possess, was merely a phantom." The dream saves Faust. He gives up the attempt to explain the transcendental reality in terms of rational experience, and confines his search to temporal truths. And to these truths Lessing confined the artistic imagination.

Intentional ignoring of religious aspirations was the real cause of the revolution in German literature. It must not be assumed that Lessing denied the deep significance of these aspirations. On the contrary, he was convinced that their very existence proves the existence of a sublime reality. But he preached the gospel of empiricism and bade an age of almost senseless formalism turn back to the fountain-head of experience. Lessing held that the world of the understanding is our proper sphere. It is contained in the infinite as an inner concentric circle is contained in a greater circle. Every endeavor of art to pass from the inner to the outer circle can only distort the true relations of both circles. This was the exoteric doctrine of

To emulate his brethren in the strife  
 To prove the virtues of his several ring,  
 By offices of kindness and of love,  
 And trust to God. And if in years to come,  
 The virtues of the ring shall re-appear  
 Among your children's children, then once more  
 Come to the judgment-seat. A greater far  
 Than I shall sit upon it, and decide."

(From Lessing's "Nathan the Wise." Translation by R. Dillon Boylan.)

those relationists who were best represented by Lessing. It had been better for German literature had Lessing found more willing followers. For Lessing demanded that art emanate from a consciousness of the collectively known.

But even Lessing was not content with this exoteric doctrine. His esoteric views prove how difficult it is to confine art to the world of sense. According to these esoteric views everything is knowable, even the world that transcends sense. There is no set of knowable facts beyond which lies another set of unknowable facts. From the known we are forever proceeding to the unknown; the circle of our vision is forever enlarging. Finite and infinite flow together and the universal is a perpetual unit. In the world of the understanding the world of eternal reason is continually revealed. What the power is that lets us see this revelation, Lessing did not state. It was left to Kant to define this power as a power greater than the understanding, the power to conceive ideas: the reason. This much, however, is evident, that these views of Lessing resulted from a complete reversal of the attitude of Klopstock.

Unhappily for German literature the constructive elements of Lessing's rationalism were overlooked. Nor could it well be otherwise. Two centuries earlier, the Reformation started in to cultivate a new field, a world of common rational experience. The task was too great. It withdrew its hand from the plow, forsook the field of its toil, and returned to the field of revealed experience. But in secret, men sought out the forsaken field, and in secret tilled each his own small domain. Ever larger grew the number of these toilers until their numbers and their work attracted public attention in the eighteenth century. Then the general Hegira began which we call Rationalism. Men who were content to inquire, and to record their inquiries in philosophical systems, found ample reward. Men who were cursed—for curse it was in those days—with the creative instinct of poetry, found a wilderness. They went forth to sing of the harvest and there was no harvest. They hoped to find a land of harmonious effort and adjusted energies, and they found a land of strange contradictions and unrelated forces. It should be remembered that Germany had no great center of civic and social life where the disgust at senseless forms could collect and vent itself in collective repudiation of secular and ecclesiastical authority. In Germany the individual stood—relatively speaking—alone. His heart-ache was not assuaged through close community and found no outlet through concerted activity. The poetry of those days rang with the cry of Faust:

"Und was der ganzen Menschheit zugeteilt ist,  
 Will ich in meinem innern Selbst geniessen,  
 Mit meinem Geist das Höchste und Tiefste greifen,  
 Ihr Wohl und Weh' auf meinen Busen häufen,  
 Und so mein Selbst zu ihrem Selbst erweitern,  
 Und wie sie selbst, am End' auch ich zerscheitern."

No common world of revelation, no common world of the understanding gave answer to this cry. Where then was a poet to seek the fair image of the Beautiful? Forced to rely on his private experience he became, in his estimation, a Titan. The day had come when "genius" was heralded as the modern Oedipus who could, and would, solve the riddle of the Sphinx. But the bewildering aspects of life grew more bewildering through the total absence of a common point of view and vainly the writers of the so-called Storm and Stress strove to fashion their experiences into a symmetrical world. Their art was baffled. Their passionate appeals to the imagination were unanswered. And in furious rebellion the longing of the soul stormed the skies. The phantom Faust of Lessing's drama became a Faust of flesh and blood in the works of the youthful Goethe, of Klinger, and of Müller. The dream changed to reality. Than this fact no other is more characteristic unless it be the preference which poets showed for the theme of brother-hate and fratricide. In this theme they concentrated their impressions of life. Through their futile quest for a solution they proved the folly of their art. Unable to decipher truths of causality, they spelled out the dreary fallacies of chance, and called them fate. Rationalistic art was gradually discredited and a step beyond rationalism became imperative. This step was taken by Schiller, Goethe, and the Romanticists.

The student who compares Schiller's "History of the Thirty Years' War" with the same author's "Wallenstein," must feel that with the drama, he is entering a new world of artistic effort. The impetuous desire of the poet of "Die Räuber" to discover ideas in the world of phenomena, lies behind him. Hardly any of that old purpose is discernible which would explain a finite chaos by fixing the *terminus ad quem* of its infinite energies. Depressed below the plane of the loftier vision of reason, the circle of finite experience

"And all of life for all mankind created  
 Shall be within my inmost being tested:  
 The highest, lowest forms my soul shall borrow,  
 Shall heap upon itself their bliss and sorrow,  
 And thus my own sole self to all their selves expanded,  
 I too, at last, shall with them all be stranded."

(Goethe's "Faust," Part I., scene 4. Translation by Bayard Taylor.)

has dropped out of sight. The infinite alone remains, a limitless expanse of beauty which surrounds reason, and is itself Reason. This is the true sphere of art. Only in this sphere can Man realize the eternities. Here all limitations are gone:

“Froh des ungewohnten Schwebens  
Fließt er aufwärts, und des Erdenlebens  
Schweres Traumbild sinkt und sinkt und sinkt.  
Des Olympus Harmonien empfangen  
Den Verklärten in Kronions Saal,  
Und die Göttin mit den Rosenwangen  
Reicht ihm lächelnd den Pokal.”<sup>14</sup>

The years in which Schiller struggled with the “shapeless and endless” fate of Wallenstein, saw the formulation of his new artistic *credo*. Never has a more magnificent statement of philosophical and artistic idealism been formulated than in Schiller’s poem, “Das Ideal und das Leben,” the last stanza of which has just been quoted in part. There can be no doubt that Schiller proclaims here the supreme purpose of art to be, “making the ideal real.” His aim was analogous to that of Klopstock, only that an individual world of ideas was substituted for a common world of religion. In this world of ideas the artist must secure his revelation of eternal truths.

“Wenn im Leben noch des Kampfes Wage  
Schwankt, erscheint hier der Sieg.”<sup>15</sup>

Nor can the artist create body. For these truths have no body. Body belongs to the world of sense. Eternal truths possess only form, and form is all the artist can create. The forms he shapes in marble, on canvass, or in speech and sounds, have no corporeal existence. They are flexible contours and the corporeal life they suggest is a figment of the soul. Ideas attain artistic reality through the semblance of corporeal form. Schiller called it *der schöne Schein*, “the illusion beautiful.”

“Nur der Körper eignet jenen Mächten,  
Die das dunkle Schicksal flechten:

“Behold him spring  
Blithe in the pride of the unwonted wing,  
And the dull matter that confined before  
Sinks downward, downward, downward as a dream!  
Olympian hymns receive the escaping soul,  
And smiling Hebe, from the ambrosial stream,  
Fills for a god the bowl.”

(From Schiller’s “The Ideal and Life.” Translation by Bulwer-Lytton.)

“If doubtful ever in the actual life,  
Each contest—*here* a victory crowns the end.

(*Ibid.* Translation by Bulwer-Lytton.)

Aber frei von jeder Zeitgewalt,  
 Die Gespielin seeliger Naturen,  
 Wandelt oben in des Lichtes Fluren,  
 Göttlich unter Göttern die Gestalt.  
 Wollt ihr hoch auf ihren Flügeln schweben,  
 Werft die Angst des Irdischen von euch!  
 Fliehet aus dem engen, dumpfen Leben  
 In des Ideales Reich!"

Therefore the forms in which the imagination of the artist clothes truth seem temporal, and through their temporal seeming appear real. What we perceive is, however, an image of infinite reality.

"Nicht der Masse qualvoll abgerungen,  
 Schlank und leicht, wie aus dem Nichts gesprungen,  
 Steht das Bild vor dem entzückten Blick.  
 Alle Zweifel, alle Kämpfe schweigen  
 In des Sieges hoher Sicherheit:  
 Ausgestossen hat es jeden Zeugen  
 Menschlicher Bedürftigkeit."

Schiller saw the errors in which this exalted conception of the sublime might evolve the artist. Indeed, he appreciated the aberrations to which it had led and still might lead him. Before "Wallenstein" was completed, we read of his purpose to confine himself to "idealizing the realistic," a process which he considers by no means equivalent to "making the ideal real." Such a purpose, if seriously entertained, would not comport with the artistic creed laid down in the poem "Das Ideal und das Leben." The fact that Schiller contemplated it proves how little Schiller realized the extent of his surrender to the allurements of his creed. No special acumen is necessary to detect the process of "idealizing the realistic" in the first part of "Wallenstein," "Das Lager," or in the official life and

"Only Matter yieldeth to those powers  
 Weaving this dark fate of ours;  
 While above the reach of time and storm,  
 Playmate of the Blessed Ones, up yonder  
 She amid the fields of light, doth wander,  
 Godlike 'mid the Gods, undying *Form*.  
 Would you soar aloft on her strong pinion?  
 Fling away all earthly care and strife!  
 Fly to the Ideal's pure dominion  
 From this dull and narrow life."

(Translation by J. S. Dwight. Revised.)

"The statue springs—not as with labor wrung  
 From the hard block, but as from nothing sprung—  
 Airy and light—the offspring of the soul!  
 The pangs, the cares, the weary toil it cost  
 Leave not a trace when once the work is done—  
 The artist's human frailty merged and lost  
 In art's great victory won.

(*Ibid.* Translation by Bulwer-Lytton.)

intrigue of the following parts—"Die Piccolomini" and "Wallensteins Tod." Nor is more than ordinary critical ability required to recognize in the Wallenstein of the drama an idealized image of that Wallenstein whose picture Schiller drew with such relentless pen in the fourth book of his "History of the Thirty Years' War." At the same time Max and Thekla are not idealizations of the realistic, but realizations of the ideal. They are images which Schiller, the philosopher, brought down to earth from those "blissful realms where pure forms abide." It is not a rash assertion that with these two figures the drama "Wallenstein" is sometimes more than the tragedy of a great historic epoch. It is the struggle of the soul of humanity to slough off its mortal coil, that struggle which Schiller pictured so finely in the imagery of ancient mythology in the next to the last stanza of "Das Ideal und das Leben." Through "Wallenstein" he aimed to set before our eyes the apotheosis of Man:

"Bis der Gott, des Irdischen entkleidet,  
Flammend sich vom Menschen scheidet,  
Und des Aethers leichte Lüfte trinkt."<sup>18</sup>

We may turn to any of the great works that Schiller gave to the world in the last six years of his life, always we shall meet with the secret purpose to depress the problems of the finite world below the horizon and leave men in the bright radiance of the ideal. In the drama, "Die Jungfrau von Orleans," Schiller probably went as far along the path of this artistic idealism as it is given any poet to go. In that drama the superlative conception of "the soul beautiful" was fashioned into the semblance of corporeal form in the figure of Joan of Arc. The personal misgivings of Schiller and the evidence of these in his poetic practice are inconsiderable when weighed against his aspirations. Schiller sought, and in a great measure found, his poetic inspiration in abstract thought. The manifestations of finite, or what we are wont to call real, life had only secondary value for the poet. He regarded them as the medium through which the imagination may produce the semblance of that which the reason alone sanctions as the archetype. In this faith he preached the gospel of the redemption of mankind in his "Letters on a Æsthetic Education," and drew his magnificent picture of a future society.

Schiller has been placed so persistently at the side of his great

"Until the god cast down his garb of clay  
And rent in hallowing flames away  
The mortal part from the divine—to soar  
To the empyreal air!"

*(Ibid.* Translation by Bulwer-Lytton.)

friend, Goethe, that the popular mind has come to regard the activity of both as well nigh identical. Popular instinct has, however, felt the difference in the attitudes of these poets toward the great problem of modern art. Long before scholars proved that the ways of Schiller and Goethe were divergent, the great public suspected that the world of Schiller was not the world of Goethe. A similar suspicion haunted both poets in the early years of their friendship. The dispute between Schiller and Goethe over the archetype of plant-life—Goethe's *Urpflanze*—turned their own early suspicion into knowledge. Schiller called this archetype an "idea." Goethe defined it as an "experience." Schiller asserted that the archetype is a concept of the higher reason and anticipates as such the conclusions of the understanding. Goethe insisted that it is an image seen in organic forms and that it merely supplements the conclusions of the understanding.

Goethe could not thrust chaos aside and postulate an Elysean world where reason and instinct transfigure each other. He could not take the step that Schiller took. Had he attempted this he would have entered regions whither we shall be obliged to follow his contemporaries, the Romanticists. The problem with which he wrestled in youthful impetuosity, was not the problem of good and evil. That was the problem which Schiller faced. Standing on the shoulders of Kant, Schiller could gaze forth into a moral universe. Goethe was not concerned with moral categories. The problem of his youth was the problem of matter and spirit. Nowhere in the poetry of Schiller is that note struck which quivers in the soul of Werther and makes the first monologue of Faust a symphony of human despair. "To drink surging joy of life from the foaming goblet of infinitude and to feel, though it be but for a moment, in my cramped bosom, the bliss of that Being who creates all things in and through Himself,"—those are words which the youthful Goethe, not Schiller, might utter. The same problem is propounded in the words of Faust to Wagner:

"Du bist dir nur des einen Triebes bewusst:  
 O, lerne nie den andern kennen!  
 Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach, in meiner Brust,  
 Die eine will sich von der andern trennen:  
 Die eine hält in derber Liebeslust  
 Sich an die Welt mit klammernden Organen;  
 Die andre hebt gewaltsam sich vom Dust  
 Zu den Gefilden hoher Ahnen."<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup>One impulse art thou conscious of, at best;  
 O, never seek to know the other!

Goethe foresaw the doom to which this conflict leads. He pictured it in the story of Werther and described it in the words of Werther: "Round about me Heaven and Earth and their busily weaving forces: and I—I see only a monster forever devouring and forever ruminating." Goethe refused to let reason detach spirit from matter. Consistently he schooled himself in scientific reasoning. Spinoza, not Kant, was his guide. In the naturalism of Spinoza, Goethe found that which strengthened and united the two impulses of his being. He depressed the world of rational experience, and continued to dwell in this world with his understanding and with his imagination. In this Goethe took his step beyond rationalism. The world of material and temporal energies was always studied and regarded by him as the perpetual realization of a world of immaterial and eternal principles.

"So schaff' ich am sausenden Webstuhl der Zeit  
Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid."<sup>108</sup>

This transcendentalism of Goethe substituted experience for ideas. His method was inductive, Schiller's was deductive. Addressing himself to the empirical thinkers of his day, Schiller wrote:

"Weil du liesest in ihn, was du selber in sie geschrieben:  
Weil du in Gruppen für's Aug' ihre Erscheinungen reihst,  
Deine Schnüre gezogen auf ihrem unendlichen Felde,  
Wähnst du es fasse dein Geist ahnend die grosse Natur."<sup>109</sup>

With equal conviction Goethe addressed the Christian believers when he extolled the religion of science:

"Ihr Gläubigen! rühmt nur nicht euren Glauben  
Als einzigen: wir glauben auch wie ihr:  
Der Forscher lässt sich keineswegs berauben  
Des Erbteils, aller Welt gegönnt—und mir."<sup>110</sup>

Two souls, alas! reside within my breast,  
And each withdraws from, and repels, its brother.  
One with tenacious organs holds in love  
And clinging lust the world in its embraces;  
The other strongly sweeps, this dust above,  
Into the high ancestral spaces."

(Goethe's "Faust." Part I., scene 2. Translation by Bayard Taylor.)

<sup>111</sup>"Thus at Time's humming loom 'tis my hand prepares  
The garment of Life which the Deity wears!"

(Goethe's "Faust." Part I., scene 1. Translation by Bayard Taylor.)

<sup>112</sup>"When thou decipher'st in nature the writing which thou hast inscribed  
there,

When its phenomena thou castest in groups for thine eye,  
When thou hast covered its infinite field with measuring tape-lines,  
Dost thou imagine, thy mind really graspeth the All?"

(Translation by Paul Carus.)

<sup>113</sup>"Ye faithful, do not claim that your confession  
Be truth alone; for we have faith like you.

Goethe has often been condemned for his pertinacious realism. Many good men have thought of him as if the words of Robert Browning fitted his striving:

"Thou art shut  
Out from the heaven of spirit, glut  
Thy sense upon the world!"

It is not a condemnation that modern critics can uphold. The doom of the empirical thinker which Browning proclaims in these lines was anticipated by Goethe. Browning merely reiterates the thought that thrills in the words of Faust:

"Werd' ich zum Augenblicke sagen:  
Verweile doch! Du bist so schön!  
Dann magst Du mich in Fesseln schlagen,  
Dann will ich gern zu Grunde gehn!  
Dann mag die Totenglocke schallen.  
Dann bist Du Deines Dienstes frei,  
Die Uhr mag stehn, die Zeiger fallen,  
Es sei die Zeit für mich vorbei."<sup>13</sup>

The poet of "Faust" was a transcendental realist. The realities which he observed, imaged the type and this type strengthened his longing for an image of the eternal archetype. Bit by bit the understanding was related to the reason, matter to spirit. Goethe staked all his hopes on the revelation of the type through intimate experience, and all his faith on the analogy between the type and the divine. The record of a long life he could close with the lines:

"Alles Vergängliche  
Ist nur ein Gleichnis:  
Das Unzulängliche,  
Hier wird's Ereignis:  
Das Unbeschreibliche,  
Hier ist es gethan;  
Das Ewig-Weibliche  
Zieht uns hinan."<sup>14</sup>

Science can't be deprived of the possession  
Belonging to the world and to me too."

(Translation by Paul Carus.)

"<sup>15</sup>When thus I hail the moment flying:  
'Ah, still delay—thou art so fair!  
Then bind me in thy bonds undying,  
My final ruin then declare!  
Then let the death-bell chime the token,  
Then art thou from thy service free!  
The clock may stop, the hand be broken,  
Then time be finished unto me!"

(Goethe's "Faust." Part I., scene 4. Translation by Bayard Taylor.)

<sup>16</sup>"All things transitory  
But as symbols are sent:

Goethe had "experienced" womanhood as a type and he counted it the noblest experience of his life. He knew how much he owed to this experience. "Apples of gold in baskets of silver" he called it in his seventy-ninth year. No figure of speech could express more adequately his supreme faith in the redemptive power of an ever-enlarging and never completed revelation of the One type of all life than the metaphor "Das Ewig-Weibliche."

It is well known that Goethe was definitely committed to this transcendental realism through his first sojourn in Italy. There plant-life revealed to him the type and there his presuppositions in classic art were illuminated by new and original observations. He came to regard sculptures of ancient art as expressions of the human type, and they supplied, so he fondly believed, an experience analogous to his botanical type. That he was not wholly mistaken is proved by the statuesque beauty of "Iphigenie auf Tauris." Under the influence of French thought Goethe had sought to enlarge his conception of the typical, to pass from the individual to the social type. For a time it seemed to him as if his cherished hopes were to be realized. But the terrors of the French Revolution which followed the halcyon days of liberty, fraternity, equality, dashed his hopes of experiencing human society in its archetypal form. The French Revolution became a holocaust and its lapping flames consumed the image of the social type:

"So ist es also, wenn ein sehrend Hoffen  
Dem höchsten Wunsch sich traulich zugerungen,  
Erfüllungspforten findet Flügel offen:  
Nun aber bricht aus jenen ewigen Gründen  
Ein Flammenübermass, wir stehn betroffen:  
Des Lebens Fackel wollten wir entzünden,  
Ein Feuermeer verschlingt uns, welch ein Feuer!"<sup>100</sup>

Not until the last years of his life was Goethe privileged to experience some of that glory of the social type of which "Hermann

Earth's insufficiency  
Here grows to Event;  
The Indescribable,  
Here it is done:  
The Woman-Soul leadeth us  
Upward and on!"

(*Ibid.* Part II., Act V. Translation by Bayard Taylor.)

<sup>101</sup> 'Tis thus, when unto yearning hope's endeavor,  
Its highest wish on sweet attainment grounded,  
The portals of fulfilment widely sever:  
But if there burst from those eternal spaces  
A flood of flame, we stand confounded ever;  
For Life's pure torch we sought the shining traces,  
And seas of fire—and what a fire!—surprise us."

(Goethe's "Faust." Part II., Act I. Translation by Bayard Taylor.)

und Dorothea" was hardly more than the cold grey dawn. Goethe continued undaunted his analytic-synthetical observations of phenomena of nature. They confirmed his faith in an immaterial world, and brought him to the point at which the endless forms of organic life mirrored the archetype. He discontinued his analytic-synthetical observations of social phenomena. Here Goethe was daunted. Of moral relations he had much to say, of the evolution of morality, nothing. He could make nothing of the French Revolution, nothing of the German uprising against Napoleon, nothing of the incipient civic and industrial unrest. None of these facts was experienced by Goethe as evidence of growth or as change wrought from within. For at least two decades Goethe could not apply his own lines to the world of social activity:

"Was wär' ein Gott, der nur von aussen stiesse,  
Im Kreis das All am Finger laufen liesse!  
Ihm ziehmt's die Welt im Innern zu bewegen,  
Natur in Sich, Sich in Natur zu hegen,  
So dass, was in Ihm lebt und webt und ist,  
Nie Seine Kraft, nie Seinen Geist vermisst."<sup>100</sup>

Every attempt of Goethe's to deal with the great problems of social morality, "Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre" not excepted, impresses the reader with the conviction that Goethe had not found in the moral life of society manifestations of that God who dwells in the physical life of nature. Accordingly his conception of revolution was superficial, his treatment of national problems inadequate, and his remedy for social disquiet both superficial and inadequate. In every instance we encounter the preacher or the teacher, not the artist. The man who could so describe the evolution of plant-life that even Schiller acknowledged the beauty of his poem ("Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen") could not describe the evolution of moral forms. Goethe could not suffuse his didactic writings with the consciousness of his personal debt to society. His novel-study, "Die Wahlverwandtschaften," is the best evidence of this failure.

In one respect the divergence of Goethe and Schiller has a counterpart in the divergence of Browning and Coleridge. Goethe made ceaseless aspiration the glory of manhood, so did Brown-

<sup>100</sup>"What were a God that but from outside thrust,  
The circling All at finger to adjust?  
Nay! from within it He the world is moulding,  
Nature in Him, Himself in Nature, folding,  
So that what in Him lives and moves and is  
At no time can His power or spirit miss."

(From Goethe's Poems: "God and the World." Translation by William Gibson.)

ing. Goethe and Browning were persuaded that moral being is not self-gratified through science, through art, through love. Through these the immortal aspirations of Man are stimulated and through these he ascends to God. That is the transcendental teaching of Goethe's "Faust." It is the keynote of Browning's poetry. Schiller, too, was a transcendentalist, as was Coleridge. A transcendental realist he was not, nor was Coleridge. Both were rational transcendentalists. In the terminology of Goethe and Browning reason was almost equivalent to that scientific imagination through which Man fulfills his destiny and returns to the Divine. When Goethe and Browning spoke of "reason," Schiller and Coleridge thought of "Reason." In the terminology of Schiller and Coleridge, Reason and the Divine were equipollent. The individual cannot possess Reason, though it may shine in him or he may move in its radiance.

The parallelism of transcendental thought in Schiller and Coleridge, in Goethe and Browning, did not, and could not, lead to a similar parallelism of esthetic temper. The temper of Browning was as different from the temper of Goethe, the temper of Schiller from the temper of Coleridge, as the conditions under which the English poets lived were different from the environments of their German predecessors. Catholic the temper of Goethe and Schiller certainly was, democratic it, as certainly was not. The temper of Browning and Coleridge was democratic, and perhaps for that very reason less catholic. Browning and Coleridge paid the penalty exacted by English conditions; Goethe and Schiller the penalty exacted by German conditions. The democracy of England was insular not catholic, the catholicity of Germany was academic and not democratic. The sympathies of Browning and Coleridge were post-revolutionary, the sympathies of Goethe and Schiller were pre-revolutionary. The efforts of the latter two to put the individual in touch with the universal, the temporal in relation to the eternal, were essentially evasions of democratic "experience" and democratic "idealism." Doubtless the catholic temper of each enabled him to see visions of the future that were unseen by those who plunged into the turmoil of readjustment. Doubtless, too, each set standards of individual morality and individual emancipation that exerted, and always will exert, a benign influence. And yet, these standards satisfied neither the generation that was nor the generations that followed, except in moments of threatening despair or of rising exaltation. It is a great thing to stay and support life at its extremes. It is, perhaps, a greater thing to walk with it hand in

hand, participate in its trials, and find the abiding joy of its ordinary demesnes.

Abstract thinkers and "world-removed" scholars may possibly span an aerial bridge from the lofty heights of Goethe to the equally lofty heights of Schiller. The world that lies between will interest them little. What they cannot avoid seeing in their sublimated passage, they will most likely measure only by the altitude of its *termini*. Between Goethe and Schiller lie the vast stretches of every-day experience and every-day ideas, where human beings must move. Needless to say that few have climbed the higher levels of the poetry of Schiller or Goethe for a view over the plane of their daily endeavor, without being forced to retrace their steps and to plod through the democratic flat-lands before reaching the higher places of the other. A whole century has not changed the situation. Goethe and Schiller have never towered like twin mountains before the spiritual eye of the masses. Those to whom Goethe beckoned have turned their backs on Schiller, and those whom Schiller inspired have dreaded to approach Goethe. Germans have admired Goethe and they have admired Schiller. Their admiration has been like unto the admiration we accord heroes, men who—however much they may inspire us—seem somehow of a different mold than we, and independent of the forces to which we know ourselves subject. We feel that we and they have little in common, and that their greatness is not essential to our well-being. And if we emulate them at all, it is either slavishly, with the secret consciousness that we are untrue to ourselves, or selfishly, with the desire to lift our individuality into a position no less commanding than theirs. Heroic personality, which—after all else is said—was the aim of Goethe and Schiller, as it is the characteristic glory of their poetry, condemned each to stand isolated from the other in the eyes of his people.

In a very qualified sense, both Goethe and Schiller were mystics. A recent expounder of mysticism (W. R. Inge in his "Hampton Lectures," 1899) distinguishes two great types of mystics: "those who try to rise through the visible to the invisible, through nature to God, who find in earthly beauty the truest symbol of the heavenly, and in the imagination—the image-making faculty—a raft whereon we may navigate the shoreless ocean of the Infinite, and those who distrust all sensuous representations as tending 'to nourish appetites which we ought to starve,' who look upon this earth as a place of banishment, upon material things as a veil which hides God's face from us and who bid us 'flee away from hence as quickly as may be' to seek 'yonder' in the realm of ideas, the heart's true

home." The poetry of Goethe is unquestionably representative of the first type, that of Schiller as unquestionably of the second. Yet few of us think of Goethe or Schiller as mystics, and most scholars would reject the thought with scorn and derision. Nevertheless, the term mystic, as defined in the words of Mr. Inge, applies to both these poets. Moreover it has the merit, when so applied, of pointing out clearly the oppositeness of the poetry of each, and the opposition of both to the cut and dried rationalism of their day. The definition is, however, of no avail when we seek to understand the forward movement of Romanticism. It supplies us with no criterion by which we may distinguish between the mysticism of these great classicists and the mysticism of the Romanticists.

Whatever else we may think of the German Romanticists, they were assuredly as different from Goethe and Schiller in their attitude toward the problems of spirit and matter, of good and evil, as Wordsworth and Shelley were different from Browning and Coleridge. In the domain of morals they were transcendental realists, in the domain of metaphysics they were rational transcendentalists. By the method of Goethe they weened to answer the question of good and evil, by the method of Schiller to solve the problem of spirit and matter. In no two poets of Romantic mysticism were the two methods fairly balanced, and in no two were they employed with equal ingenuity or with equal integrity of purpose. And yet—though the creative work of these writers proved the folly of their methods—it must be conceded that these same Romanticists were the first to point German art, notably poetry, to new fields. They were the first—and this statement takes due account of their virulent opposition to the empirical thinkers of rationalism—they were the first to draw the legitimate conclusion of the esoteric doctrine of Lessing and to proclaim boldly the principle of modern art, which Herder had suggested. They placed the individual in the center of an indivisible universe, and there, in common with all his fellows he sees truths greater than his individual ideals because he perceives life with the insight of collective reason. It is true that German Romanticists counted no Wordsworth among their number. But the impassioned contemplation of Wordsworth was theirs, not so highly developed, or so perfectly blended of understanding and imagination, of receptivity and creative energy, of brooding thought and spiritual emotion; but theirs it was, rudimentary in its development, rudimentary also in its nature. In the charred soil of an old civilization over which the fires of revolution had swept, the Romanticists planted their "blue flower," and though they left the field bar-

ren to the eye, the "blue flower" was there, the first sign of a new life in the planes. We must not look for the massive spirituality of Wordsworth in the erratic contemplation of the German Romantics. Tentative in its being, their spirituality was attenuated in its expression.

Ludwig Tieck has been placed by German scholars in the lead of the literary movement designated by the term Romanticism. The position of literary leader—though it was claimed by Friedrich Schlegel and his older brother August Wilhelm Schlegel—may well be accorded him. Poetic leadership belongs not to Tieck nor to either Schlegel. This leadership belongs to Friedrich von Hardenberg, better known by his pen-name, Novalis. In the poetry of Novalis we find for the first time the principle of modern art spontaneously asserting itself. What matter that the followers of Novalis were few and that even these few were led—like the knights of King Arthur by Merlin—into the wilderness of speculative mysticism. Novalis was groping for something which he felt to be true and which, moreover, was true. He once made the assertion that "the ego is a plurality." The statement was certainly vague enough to delight the heart of any mystic. It differed, however, from similar vague assertions of poetic principles which other Romantics of his day put forward, in one essential point: it was a statement of his poetic attitude and not a formulation of a poetic theory. The vagueness of this poetic attitude accounts for the use which Novalis made of the symbols of the Roman Catholic Church. He employed these symbols to express, and perchance make more distinct to himself, his dim consciousness of fellowship with the religious aspirations of other men. In doing so he did not humble himself at the shrine of the Roman Catholic dogma. Romantic theorists, like the Schlegels, ended in that manner. Novalis has, indeed, been accused of Romanism by careless writers, as if Romanism were an all sufficient impeachment of the Romantic principle of art. But even if the accusation were true, one might as well hope to impeach the poetry of Wordsworth because it came in touch with the Oxford High Church movement in England! If English poets resorted to the symbols of ecclesiasticism to further their poetic conception of spiritual fellowship, was a similar expedient less excusable in Germany? Or was it not more excusable in a country where communal life was far more artificial than in England? And was not a Schiller forced into a similar use? In truth, if there were that in the checkered and unstable lives of these German Romantics which now bespeaks or should bespeak favorable consideration of their artistic principle, it

was the flight for refuge to the Mother Church, the only organism in which they could hope to feel the impulse of plural being. For if the principle which underlies the poetry of Novalis and the theories of the other Romanticists, be traced to its last hiding place in the curiously formed, and more often deformed, structure which it wrought, it will appear to be something like this: the individual soul can become fully conscious of itself only as it communes with other souls, and can express itself fully only when it expresses the spiritual experience of all men.

In his unfinished novel, "Heinrich von Ofterdingen," Novalis sends his hero forth in quest of peace of soul. Somewhere there blooms for him the "blue flower." In moments of intimate communion with men, in moments of self-forgetful sympathy, in moments of that second sight which envisages nature with the eyes of others, his eyes catch a glimpse of this wondrous flower in the misty distance. In his selfish desire to find and possess it, he forgets all else, and hastens to pluck the flower. But—the flower has vanished. No one else has seen it, no one has heard of it, this flower that is the bloom of spiritual fellowship perfected. Shall one not say that this was a new thought for German poetry, and was recognized as new by the poets? To a populace that knew not the meaning of civic democracy Novalis sang of a new spiritual democracy. There was at that time no sodality of temporal interests, and no sodality of religious interests. Governments and theologies were equally of the past. Germany was an agglomeration of individuals. How should a poet glorify the non-existent? How quicken the unconceived and, at that time, inconceivable, social ideal? Is it strange that the artistic impulse of Novalis led him—who desired to be of life as much as in life—back to the primitive ideal of a Catholic Church which Marsilio of Padua called the "universitas credentium" to distinguish it from the "universitas civium?" Novalis should receive all credit for the first tentative putting forward of the ideal of a spiritual democracy. It was a distinct gain for German poetry, offset, it is true, by the fact that there was no "universitas civium" to restrain the new poetry of the "universitas credentium." No law of secular gravitation held it to the earth and its only reality became the super-rational world.

For all that, the principle which controlled the poetry of Novalis and the theorizing of the other Romanticists was as justifiable as it was new. To know and feel himself not as an isolated being, but as a member of a democracy, that is the first great requisite of artistic conceiving which the poet must fulfill. If the artist would depict

life in all its fullness as a conceivable reality, he must see it with the eyes of humanity and feel in it the pulse-beat of humanity. The complex soul of humanity must in him be as *one*. That is the meaning of the words, "The ego is a plurality." The Romanticists regretted the passing of the Middle Ages because they believed—mistakenly it is true—that Catholicism reflected the spiritual unity of mediæval society. They clamored for such a unity to inspire modern artist. A new "allgemeine Weltanschauung" they called it. In the heyday of their hopes they prophesied the coming of the time when the diffusion of scientific education would bring about a common interpretation of the relation of Man to the Universe. In this catholic democracy artists would discover the statue of the veiled Goddess of Sais, and tear off the veil. Then beauty, in immaculate form, would again disclose eternal verities. Nor did the Romanticists hesitate to draw the logical conclusion of their principle of the plural soul. They maintained that some day art might no longer be a necessity, and this for the reason that communal life would become truly catholic in temper and organization. The individual soul would then touch the great complex soul of humanity at every point, and no longer crave the mediation of art. Life would supply the experience of plurality, life itself become a work of art, and thereby render meaningless the fictitious visions of the few.

Meanwhile the passion for a vision of beauty filled the hearts of these would-be disciples of the new truth, and the heart of Novalis more than that of another. He stood alone, and very much alone. Unlike Wordsworth he was not swayed by sentiments that only he can have who has communed with social life before he communes with nature. And just here began that fatal schism between theory and practice, between artistic inspiration and artistic experience, which is the central theme of the story of German poetry in the nineteenth century. Lacking the necessary basis in their social experience for the structure of their social art, the Romanticists impatiently ventured to put theory into practice. Contemplation of non-self became contemplation of a vague universal self, not contemplation of a potential social self or even of definite individual "selves." The line of demarcation between conscious and unconscious life vanished. Nature has a soul as well as Man—so ran the Romantic argument—and the calm of its singular plurality will silence the cry of our souls lost amid the unrelated fractions of humanity. "The grandiose simultaneousness" of Nature attracted the Romanticists, and fascinated them. Society offered no compensating attraction. Like Euphorion in Goethe's "Faust," they disdained

all laws of social gravitation and, like Euphorion, they ended with a wail for beauty:

"Lass mich im düstern Reich,  
Mutter, mich nicht allein."

Novalis was the impassioned mystic of this school of theoretical mystics. He attempted the descent to the "Mothers," and undertook the journey into regions that know not space or time, without the key that Mephistopheles presses into the hand of Faust. The faculty of thinking in the concrete (*gegenständliches Denken*) was not acquired, and Novalis could not act on the sage advice of Mephistopheles to Faust:

"Wie Wolkenzüge schlingt sich das Getreibe,  
Den Schlüssel schwinge, halte sie vom Leibe."

The Romantic transmutation of matter into spirit was adventured through elimination of characteristic forms. By a similar process Schiller had reached his moral archetype. He put aside characteristic moral forms. But it should be noted that the Romantics were not here concerned with the problem of Schiller. It was the problem of Goethe, and Goethe experienced his spiritual type by careful and sympathetic observation of the characteristic forms of matter. Strikingly significant of this Romantic adaptation of the method of Schiller to the aims of Goethe, is the fact that Novalis could only feel the spiritual unity of existence, and could feel it only when daylight vanished and darkness obscured the outlines of individual forms. "Away sped the splendor of Earth and with it my sadness," he sang in the third of his "Hymns to the Night." "In a new unfathomable world all my heaviness of heart was absorbed. Thou fervor of Night, thou slumber of Heaven, camest over me. Gently the landscapes soared upward, and o'er the landscape hovered my unfettered, my newly born spirit." He who has tasted this bliss—Novalis continues in the next Hymn—"verily, he will not return to the busy life of the world, to the land that is haunted by light with eternal restlessness." Twilight—Night—Death, is the crescendo movement of the poetry of Novalis. Death does away forever with all characteristic forms; Death is the glorious night of

"Leave me here in the gloomy Veil,  
Mother, not thus alone!"

(Goethe's "Faust," Part II., Act III. Translation by Bayard Taylor.)

"There whirls the press, like cloud on clouds unfolding;  
Then with stretched arm swing high the key thou'rt holding."  
(*Ibid.* Act I. Translation by Bayard Taylor.)

Eternity, the dream of the soul. In Death we taste the ineffable bliss of our spiritual plurality. Singing of this bliss, Novalis closed the "Hymns to the Night":

"Hinunter zu der süßen Braut.  
Zu Jesus, dem Geliebten! •  
Getrost! die Abenddämmerung graut  
Den Liebenden, Betrübten.  
Ein Traum bricht unsre Banden los,  
Und senkt uns in des Vaters Schoss."<sup>10</sup>

To this conception of matter and spirit the Romantic conception of good and evil formed a curious contrast. With a tenacity that seems almost perverse, every member of the School sought the moral type in characteristic forms. Novalis was not much concerned with this phase of the Romantic doctrine. For him the problem of morality was overshadowed by the problem of spirituality. Within the shadows of his spiritual world one may, however, discern the outlines of his moral society, as when he sings in "Astralis," the introductory poem to Part II of "Heinrich von Ofterdingen":

"Der Liebe Reich ist aufgethan.  
Die Fabel fängt zu spinnen an.  
Das Urspiel jeder Natur beginnt,  
Auf kräftige Worte jedes sinnt,  
Und so das Grosse Weltgemüt  
Ueberall sich regt und unendlich blüht.  
Alles muss in einander greifen,  
Eines durch das andere gedeihn und reifen;  
Jedes in allen dar sich stellt,  
Indem es sich mit ihnen vermischt  
Und gierig in ihre Tiefen fällt,  
Sein *eigentümliches* Wesen erfrischt,  
Und tausend neue Gedanken erhält."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>"Adown to my Betrothed I wend.  
To Jesus, my Belovèd.  
Take heart! the evening shades descend  
On lovers, sadly provèd.  
A dream unfetters us to rest,  
And lays us on our Father's breast."  
(Translation by J. F. C.)

<sup>11</sup>"Love's realm beginneth to reveal,  
And busy Fable plies her wheel.  
To its olden play each nature returns,  
And a mighty spell in each one burns;  
And so the soul of the world doth hover,  
And move through all, and bloom forever.  
For each other all must strive,  
One through the other must ripen and thrive;  
Each is shadowed forth in all.

One of Novalis's "Fragments" reads as follows: "The excellence of representative democracy is undeniable. Model Man is not natural. He is a poet's dream. What remains? Composition of artistic manhood. The best men of the nation complement each other. In this society is born a new social spirit. Its decrees are emanations of this spirit—and the ideal ruler is realized."

For Tieck and the Brothers Schlegel the problem of good and evil was of greater importance. But even to these poets it did not occur that ideal categories were necessary. To their way of thinking the moral type was an experience. If we can experience the evolution of morality, so they thought, then we may know the divine type, and no categorical imperatives can take the place of this experience. Hence every individual has unlimited license to live as his impulses direct. For only in the sum total of freely developing and freely developed individualities can the ultimate, or the primal, type be revealed. That this argument presupposed conditions of social life from which German society was far removed, is apparent. Theoretically, anarchy may be considered the most highly developed manifestation of democracy, and it may even be that the social millenium shall consist in the realization of this ideal. Practically, the anarchical theory of Romanticism disintegrated and debased society. No more convincing proof of this could be adduced than the total absence of moral fibre in Friedrich Schlegel's "Lucinde" and in the life of the author of this "Dame Lucifer." Once more the destructive schism between principle and experience is to be noted. The principle of moral evolution was sound, but this principle was not the basis of social morality in Germany. Therefore it bred unsound conditions, and prostituted art. Its soundness is appreciated by us when we remember that it asserted the emancipation of women from the overlordship of men. In America that assertion has not only found its champions, it has become a social axiom. Here it has been fathered by prevailing democratic conditions and sentiments. In Germany it was so entirely novel and so thoroughly at variance with the aristocratic standards of society that its champions were regarded as revolutionists. To this day the acceptance of the principle as a social axiom is problematical. We cannot question the philosophical soundness of this Romantic emancipation. We cannot question even some of its practical results. How much intellectual power and grace it set

While itself with them is blending,  
And eagerly into their depths doth fall,  
Its own peculiar essence mending,  
And myriad thoughts to life doth call."

(Translation by F. S. Stallknecht.)

free in those early days, is well known. Rahel von Ense, Dorothea Schlegel, Caroline Schelling, Sophie Schlegel, Caroline von Günderode, Bettina von Arnim, are names suggestive of the very acme of intellectual refinement. But if the Romantic principle was responsible for this refinement, it was also guilty of moral anamorphosis. Few of these names there are that do not suggest moral inertia every whit as much as mental refinement. The manner in which some of these women were treated by their temporary consorts has not been criticised too harshly by George Brandes: "Far from raising the women who gave themselves to them and followed them, they dragged them down, took from them their highest interests and sympathies, and gave them small and mean ones in exchange. . . . They treated the great women given them by the gods as they did the great ideas which were their own heritage: they took from them the noble, liberal-minded social and political enthusiasm by which they were naturally characterized, and made them, first Romantic and literary, then remorseful, and finally Catholic."

By these fruits the Romanticists have been judged. But the tree is not always to be condemned because it brings forth poor fruit. Uncongenial climate will blight the fairest promise. And the social atmosphere of Germany was ill-adapted to assist the Romantic principle of growth and fruitage. There was a fair promise in the principle of the plural soul. The promise was not kept. No Romantic poet of the older school applied to nature, or to moral, forms any other test than the test of his private personality. Into nature or into human life each one projected his isolated subjectivity, convinced that his methods of treating nature and human life made this subjectivity universal. The mystic was complete. Where the two phases of transcendentalism met in a mind so singularly pure as Novalis's, mysticism attained its most enraptured and enchanting expression. Where this rich purity was supplanted by worldliness, rapture lost its ecstasy and enchantment its thrill. Only a willful critic can break the staff over the poetry of Novalis and the later poetry of Tieck. No critic can, however, assert with truth that this poetry, even at its best, was representative of the artistic principle which the Romanticists proclaimed. The nineteenth century has not protested against the Romantic principle. It has protested against conditions that made the artistic application of the principle seem so often like veritable juggling with the impatient demands of the human soul. And this protest has voiced itself in the poetry of the century.

Franz Ziegler, one of the keenest observers of the intellectual and social life of the Germans in the nineteenth century, asserts boldly that Rationalism, Classicism, and Romanticism agree in their fundamental tendencies. He declares that the tendency common to all three was individualistic, and that every one of these Rationalists, Classicists, and Romanticists strove for a "beautiful and harmonious personality." If Ziegler means no more than this, he is right, but right only because he states a truism. Such striving characterizes every human being worthy of the name. It is as essential to democratic as it is to aristocratic ideals and institutions. It is as dominant in your representative man, as it is in your hero. However, Ziegler implies more, namely, Rationalists, Classicists and Romanticists regarded the individual as an isolated unit. In their philosophy the individual stood not so much in life, as apart from life. Instead of being informed by life, he informs himself of life. This information becomes the stuff which he models into ideas, and these ideas he transfers back to life. He treats life as though it were unconscious action which his ideas galvanize into conscious activity. This type of individuality—which, by the way, Ziegler seems to regard as the only possible type, and which he would have us accept as the ideal also of the Romanticists—was portrayed by Goethe in "Wilhelm Meister." Carlyle, of all English writers, subjected it to the most sympathetic analysis in his "Heroes and Hero Worship." "Force, force, everywhere force," Carlyle writes; "we a mysterious force in the centre of that." Carlyle's hero is the man who centralizes this force in his personality. Evidently this is Ziegler's view of the fundamental philosophy of Rationalism, Classicism, and Romanticism. It must be admitted that German critics generally entertain the same view. They identify philosophic personality, poetic personality, and human personality; and these were surely identical in German Romanticism. They measure the entire significance of Romanticism by one standard, and that standard is heroic individuality as the union of these diverse personalities. That beautiful and harmonious personality can develop in any other way seems not to have occurred to them. Ziegler closes his review of nineteenth century progress in German with the hope that the ideal of Goethe may be accepted by Germans in the century to come. Such a hope is characteristically German. Characteristically human it is not. Personality is conceivably representative. It is not necessarily heroic. Emerson's "Representative Man" puts the individual in the very heart of life where he is informed by life. Such an individual does not regard life as unconscious action.

but as conscious activity, as ideas. The duty and the privilege of the representative man is not the composition of ideas out of the mass, but the detection and clearer definition of ideas that are in the mass. That his private stature is thereby ennobled, is happily true. That he becomes heroic either in his own estimation, in the estimation of others, or by philosophical deduction, is certainly not true. He remains representative, a leader, but a democratic leader. That Emerson did not do justice to Goethe by treating him as a representative man, does not disprove the value or reality of the type. It was one of the restrictions on Emerson's mind that he could not appreciate the heroic type, the type of concentrated individuality. In Germany the principle of representative manhood was for the first time put forward by the Romanticists as the fundamental principle of art. Through the wayward theorizing of the Romanticists runs one thoroughly sane refrain: Poets must be representative. In no other way can modern poetry fulfill its mission. Surely, that is the crux in the problem of democratic art. In spite of this view, the Romanticists were not able to make their poetry democratic. Their search for ideas inherent in life produced results which controverted the sanity of their principle, because they sought these ideas in that portion of life which is "force" to men, in unconscious nature. Conditions made it difficult to discover ideas where ideas are most truly found—in intimate communion with contemporary society. And the transmutation of matter into spirit tempted them to compose ideas where ideas can only be found by the transcendental idealist. That was their fate. Yet they led the movement which gathered headway in the nineteenth century in art as well as in affairs of daily life. And for poetry in Germany and elsewhere, that movement has as its goal: the poet a representative leader, the creator of an artistic reality in which the ideas of his age are fused into a vision of the future. That vision may encompass temporal realities, it may also reveal eternal verities. It may show us the ideals and forms that are taking shape as social character, it may also reveal the import of that unknown something in which we all share and in which we attain to the most satisfying consciousness of self—social or democratic individuality. German Classicism and German Romanticism could not define this unknown, but they proved its potentiality, and since that day the consciousness of this potentiality has been responsible for the mighty issues that have been raised in every field of human experience. Without such issues civilisation would be at a standstill, with them it may seem a hopeless chaos, but is in reality a

process of unwearied striving. Those who see only the superficial tendencies of modern society may well ponder the lines of Goethe:

“Wer immer strebend sich bemüht,  
Den können wir erlösen.”<sup>23</sup>

(Goethe's "Faust." Part II., Act V. Translation by Bayard Taylor.)  
These lines apply as much to society as to the individual, and it was Goethe who suggested this application.

<sup>23</sup>“Whoever aspires unweariedly  
Is not beyond redeeming.”

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### TOLSTOY ON THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

The Hammersmark Publishing Co. of Chicago has published Leo Tolstoy's article, entitled "Bethink Yourselves," which first appeared in the *London Times*. It has been suppressed in Russia, and its author has been denounced as unpatriotic.

Count Tolstoy is certainly serious in his endeavor to understand the spirit of Christianity, and though the Synod of the Greek Catholic Church has excommunicated him, he still considers himself a Christian. He says:

"Two thousand years ago John the Baptist and then Jesus said to men: 'The time is fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is at hand (*μεταβοειρε*), bethink yourselves and believe in the Gospel (Mark i. 15), and if you do not bethink yourselves you will all perish' (Luke xiii. 5).

"But men did not listen to them and the destruction they foretold is already near at hand. And we men of our time cannot but see it. We are already perishing and, therefore, we cannot leave unheeded that—old-in-time, but for us new—means of salvation."

Thus he makes the word of Christ, "bethink yourselves," the subject of his letter and chooses it as its title. He begins his meditations with these words:

"Again war. Again sufferings, necessary to nobody, utterly uncalled for; again fraud, again the universal stupefaction and brutalisation of men

"Men who are separated from each other by thousands of miles, hundreds of thousands of such men (on the one hand—Buddhists, whose law forbids the killing not only of men but of animals; on the other hand—Christians, professing the law of brotherhood and love), like wild beasts on land and on sea are seeking out each other in order to kill, torture and mutilate each other in the most cruel way. What can this be? Is it a dream or a reality? Something is taking place which should not, cannot be; one longs to believe that it is a dream and to awake from it. But no, it is not a dream, it is a dreadful reality!"

Count Tolstoy does not believe in government by force and even appears to sacrifice his patriotism. He knows only his religious duties, and the Russian Empire is to him a vast conglomeration of different territories. He says:

"If there be a God, He will not ask me when I die (which may happen at any moment) whether I retained Chi-Nam-Po with its timber stores, or Port Arthur, or even that conglomeration which is called the Russian Empire,

which He did not confide to my care, but He will ask me what I have done with that life which He put at my disposal—did I use it for the purpose for which it was predestined, and under the conditions for fulfilling which it was intrusted to me? Have I fulfilled His law?"

Yet the state of war exists and the question is no longer whether or not war is defensible, but what is to be done now when the enemies attack us.

"'Love your enemies and ye will have none,' is said in the teaching of the twelve apostles. This answer is not merely words, as those may imagine who are accustomed to think that the recommendation of love to one's enemies is something hyperbolic and signifies not that which is expressed, but something else. This answer is the indication of a very clear and definite activity, and of its consequences.

"To love one's enemies—the Japanese, the Chinese, those yellow peoples toward whom benighted men are now endeavoring to excite our hatred—to love them means not to kill them for the purpose of having the right of poisoning them with opium, as did the English; not to kill them in order to seize their land, as was done by the French, the Russians, and the Germans; not to bury them alive in punishment for injuring roads, not to tie them together by their hair, not to drown them in their river Amur, as did the Russians."

The most graphic parts of the letter are the stories which Tolstoy tells of his personal impressions. He says:

"Yesterday I met a reservist soldier accompanied by his mother and wife. All three were riding in a cart; he had a drop too much; his wife's face was swollen with tears. He turned to me:

"'Good-bye to thee! Lyof Nikolaevitch, off to the Far East.'

"'Well, art thou going to fight?'

"'Well, some one has to fight!'

"'No one need fight!'

"He reflected for a moment. 'But what is one to do, where can one escape?'

"I saw that he had understood me, had understood that the work to which he was being sent was an evil work.

"'Where can one escape?' That is the precise expression of that mental condition, which in the official and journalistic world is translated into the words, 'For the Faith, the Czar, and the Fatherland.' Those who, abandoning their hungry families, go to suffering, to death, say as they feel: 'Where can one escape?' Whereas those who sit in safety in their luxurious palaces say that all Russian men are ready to sacrifice their lives for their adored monarch, and for the glory and greatness of Russia.

"Yesterday, from a peasant I know, I received two letters, one after the other.

"This is the first:

"'Dear Lyof Nikolaevitch—Well, to-day I have received my official announcement of my call to service, to-morrow I must present myself at the headquarters. That is all. And after that—to the Far East to meet the Japanese bullets.

"'About my own and my household's grief, I will not tell you; it is not you who will fail to understand all the horror of my position and the horrors of war, all this you have long ago painfully realised, and you under-

stand it all. How I have longed to visit you, to have a talk with you. I had written to you a long letter, in which I had described the torments of my soul; but I had not had time to copy it when I received my summons. What is my wife to do now with her four children? As an old man, of course, you cannot do anything yourself for my folks, but you might ask some of your friends in their leisure to visit my orphaned family. I beg you earnestly that if my wife proves unable to bear the agony of her helplessness with her burden of children, and makes up her mind to go to you for help and counsel you will receive and console her. Although she does not know you personally, she believes in your word, and that means much.

"I was not able to resist the summons, but I say beforehand that through me not one Japanese family shall be orphaned. My God! how dreadful is all this—how distressing and painful to abandon all by which one lives, and in which one is concerned."

"The second letter is as follows:

"Kindest Lyof Nikolaevitch—Only one day of actual service has passed, and I have already lived through an eternity of most desperate torments. From 8 o'clock in the morning till 9 in the evening we have been crowded and knocked about to and fro in the barracks yard, like a herd of cattle, the comedy of medical examination was three times repeated, and those who had reported themselves ill did not receive even ten minutes' attention before they were marked "satisfactory." When we, these two thousand satisfactory individuals, were driven from the military commander to the Barracks, along the road spread out for almost a verst stood a crowd of relatives, mothers, and wives, with infants in arms; and if you had only heard and seen how they clasped their fathers, husbands, sons, and hanging round their necks wailed hopelessly! Generally I behave in a reserved way and can restrain my feelings, but I could not hold out, and I also wept." (In journalistic language this same is expressed thus: "The upheaval of patriotic feelings is immense.")

"Where is the standard that can measure all this immensity of woe now spreading itself over almost one-third of the world? And we, we are now that food for cannon, which in the near future will be offered as a sacrifice to the god of vengeance and horror.

"I cannot manage to establish my inner balance. Oh! how I execrate myself for this double-mindedness which prevents my serving one Master and God."

"This man does not yet sufficiently believe that what destroys the body is not dreadful, but that which destroys both the body and the soul, therefore he cannot refuse to go, yet while leaving his own family he promises beforehand that through him not one Japanese family shall be orphaned; he believes in the chief law of God, the law of all religions—to act toward others as one wishes others to act toward oneself. Of such men more or less consciously recognising this law, there are in our time, not in the Christian world alone, but in the Buddhistic, Mahomedan, Confucian, and Brahminic world, not only thousands but millions.

"There exist true heroes, not those who are now feted because, having wished to kill others, they were not killed themselves, but true heroes who are now confined in prisons and in the province of Yakoutsck for having categorically refused to enter the ranks of murderers, and who have preferred mar-

tyrdom to this departure from the law of Jesus. There are also such as he who writes to me, who go, but will not kill. But also that majority which goes without thinking, and endeavors not to think of what it is doing, still in the depth of its soul, does not already feel that it is doing an evil deed by obeying authorities who tear men from labor and from their families, and send them to needless slaughter of men, repugnant to their souls and their faith; and they go only because they are so entangled on all sides that—'Where can one escape?'

"Meanwhile those who remain at home not only feel this but know and express it. Yesterday in the high road I met some peasants returning from Toula. One of them was reading a leaflet as he was walking by the side of his cart.

"I asked, 'What is that? a telegram?'

"This is yesterday's, but here is one of to-day.'

"He took another out of his pocket. We stopped. I read it.

"You should have seen what took place yesterday at the station,' he said. 'It was dreadful.'

"Wives, children, more than a thousand of them, weeping. They surrounded the train, but were allowed no further. Strangers wept, looking on. One woman from Toula gasped and fell down dead; five children. They have since been placed in various institutions, but the father was driven away all the same. . . . What do we want with this Manchuria, or whatever it is called? There is sufficient land here. And what a lot of people and of property has been destroyed.'"

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#### THE RIGHT OF NEUTRALS.

In the many complications of the present war between Russia and Japan, we see one glimpse of light that promises progress. The protest of the neutral powers to suffer no encroachment upon their interests establishes a precedent that may be of far-reaching importance in the future. Formerly it was a matter of course that the rights of neutrals were not respected by the belligerents. Whatever seemed to them to promote the interests of the enemy was declared contraband, and the rights of other nations were trodden under foot and only respected if they had no bearing whatever upon the war. Belligerents assumed privileges toward all neutral powers weaker than themselves, which, if the same principles were applied in private life, could never be tolerated; and they behaved with a sovereign contempt for the lives, liberties, and property of neutrals, which, we hope, will be regarded a disgrace in the ages to come. Even now they claim the right of search of neutral vessels, and it is suffered even by Great Britain and the United States.

Suppose that two of my neighbors were at odds and that I, being neutral, had dealings with both of them as also with other parties not concerned in their quarrel. Would these hostile neighbors be allowed to stop me or members of my household on the street, search our pockets to see whether we carried letters or anything that might belong or be of use to the opposite party? Who in private life would not resent such behavior? Yet in international politics we still allow belligerents to search neutral vessels on the open seas, and to confiscate what in the style of war is called contraband, to

take these vessels as good prizes or to sink them, and treat captain and crew like criminals.

Great Britain would most assuredly not have brooked any violence of this kind on the hand of either belligerent had they not wisely seen that at any time the tables might be turned and an occasion might arise when they would claim the same right to be practised on other neutral powers. The British Empire is built upon the control of the seas and so they would rather sacrifice under present circumstances a few ships and connive with a search of their vessels on the high seas. England's leniency is best understood if we consider her policy toward neutrals in the Napoleonic wars as evidenced in the bombardment of Copenhagen.

Though the right of neutrals has not been fully recognised it has made a considerable advance, and the time may come soon when the neutrals will claim that their flag should unconditionally be respected, and that they should remain at liberty to carry on their legitimate business without let or hindrance of either belligerent party, whether or not their trading may be to the interest of either or both, or neither of the belligerents. An exception would have to be made only in case of an actual and effective blockade in the waters and territory of the theater of the war itself. Yea, the time may come when the neutral powers will make claims for damages incurred through the war, for why should I suffer if two of my neighbors quarrel and, if they inflict thereby may damage on me, am I not entitled to ask the guilty parties for an indemnity? In civil law there would be no question that a disturber of the public peace would be held liable and would have to pay the bill for all injuries inflicted.

If the neutral powers once began to assert their rights and if they were strong enough to enforce their just claims, a new factor tending to peace would enter into the history of warfare which would add a very good reason for arbitration.

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#### BOOK NOTICES AND NOTES.

The Funk & Wagnalls Company of New York have published a collection of the best known church hymns under the title *The Standard Hymnal, for General Use*, edited by C. C. Converse, LL. D. It contains "those older popular hymns which present public use evidences to be of special present desirableness. It also comprises newer hymns which, because of their present and rapidly widening popularity, seem to have the promise of equally extensive public favor and use. As a whole it contains hymns suitable for the church, Sunday-school, prayer meeting, Christian Endeavor meeting, etc." The editor, well known in musical circles as the composer of the hymn "What a friend we have in Jesus," has been guided in its preparation by his knowledge of good congregational customs as well as by the equally good taste for the best in old and new music.

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An effort at spelling reform is made by Robert Stein of the United States Geological Survey. In *An International Phonetic Conference*, reprint from the *Pedagogical Seminary*, December, 1903, he proposes the following eight rules: (1) Find out how many sounds there are in each language; (2) Provide an equal number of letters, no more, no less; (3) Express identical

sounds by identical signs, similar sounds by similar signs; (4) Use no diacritical marks; (5) None but the Roman alphabet can at present be made universal; (6) Break with existing usage as little as possible; (7) Small script is the only form needed; (8) So far as compatible with the above principles, let the letters express the relationships of the sounds.

From some unknown friend in Japan we have received the pictures of General Fukushima and Baron Kodama, of which the former was not in our



GENERAL FUKUSHIMA, THE POET-WARRIOR.

possession when we published the article on "Japanese Leaders" in the August number of *The Open Court*. Kodama is second chief of the general staff and the first assistant of Field Marshall Oyama. He is one of the most prominent generals and strategists of the Japanese army. Another picture

of Baron Kodama appears on page 640 of the August *Open Court*, but the present picture is especially interesting because it shows the fine profile of his face which is decidedly un-Japanese, but so far as we know there is no European blood in his veins.



BARON KODAMA.

Major-General Fukushima is a poet of patriotic songs some of which we have published in the August number of *The Open Court*, pp. 471-4, in both the original Japanese and an English translation.

Prof. E. P. Evans, an American of life long residence in Munich, Bavaria, writes with reference to some articles that have appeared of late in *The Open Court*, as follows: "I must confess that Russian icons do not appear to me to have played a significant part in the history of civilisation, except to

hinder it. Even from an artistic point of view they are of no more value than any other gross and pernicious superstition. All idolatry has given a certain direction to art and produced certain artistic creations, but the evolution of art would have taken a higher and nobler form without it. Truth is of some importance even in creations of the imagination. I had recently a series of conversations with a Russian nobleman of high position, who gave a dreadful picture of political corruption in Russia. The officials outdo our 'bosses' in thievery."

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Americans will naturally look upon the separation of Church and State, which is now taking place in France, as highly desirable in the interest of both parties, and the Church will in the long run be the greater beneficiary. The Vatican ought to consider the dignity which the Roman Church possesses in the United States where we have a free Church in free State. The more religion is based on the voluntary good will of the people the stronger it will be, although its devotees may be limited in numbers. Certain it is that a separation of Church and State will do away with the most serious causes of animosity now rightly prevailing against the Church in France as well as other countries with large contingents of Roman Catholic inhabitants.

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The news that the Marquise des Monstiers Merinville, formerly Miss Mary Gwendolin Caldwell, the founder of the Roman Catholic university at Washington, has become a Protestant, comes as a surprise to the Roman Catholics of this country. To a newspaper man of Rome the Marquise answered: "Yes, it is true that I have left the Roman Catholic Church. Since I have been living in Europe my eyes have been opened to what that Church really is and to its anything but sanctity."

Rarely there has been a more enthusiastic devotee for the Roman Catholic faith than Miss Caldwell, and her sister, now the widow of Baron von Sedlitz, German diplomat and a personal friend of Emperor William, has also turned Protestant. The two sisters have sacrificed much of their inherited fortune for the best of the Church, especially the Marquise des Monstiers, who was anxious to supply the scientific basis for the education of Roman Catholics and thus to give standing to the Roman Church in the New World. And indeed, the institution which has thus been established has become and will forever remain a blessing to the members of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, for it has been conducted in a liberal spirit, and its rector as well as many of its professors are men of scientific training and ability.

Judging from a personal recollection which the writer of these lines has, having met the two Misses Caldwell some time ago in New York, and knowing the intensity and the serious spirit of their religious convictions, we must assume that the disillusionment of the Marquise is not a mere whim, but is based on the experience of many years, during which she has been under the patronage and guidance of Roman Catholic prelates.

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The poem "Stonehenge," which appeared in the November number of *The Open Court*, is by Miss Voltairine de Cleyre of Philadelphia. The author's name was omitted by mistake, and this seems to be due to the fact that it did not appear in the manuscript.

# The Gods of the Egyptians

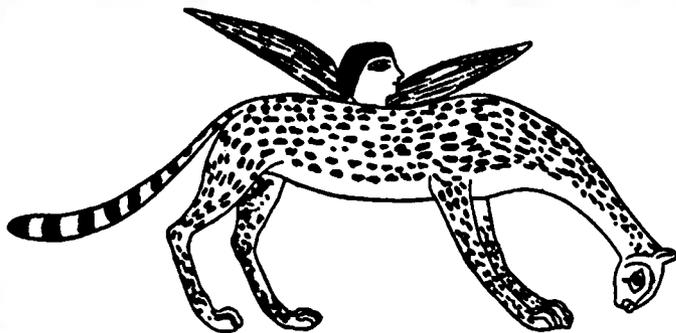
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