

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XXVII

CHICAGO
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
1913

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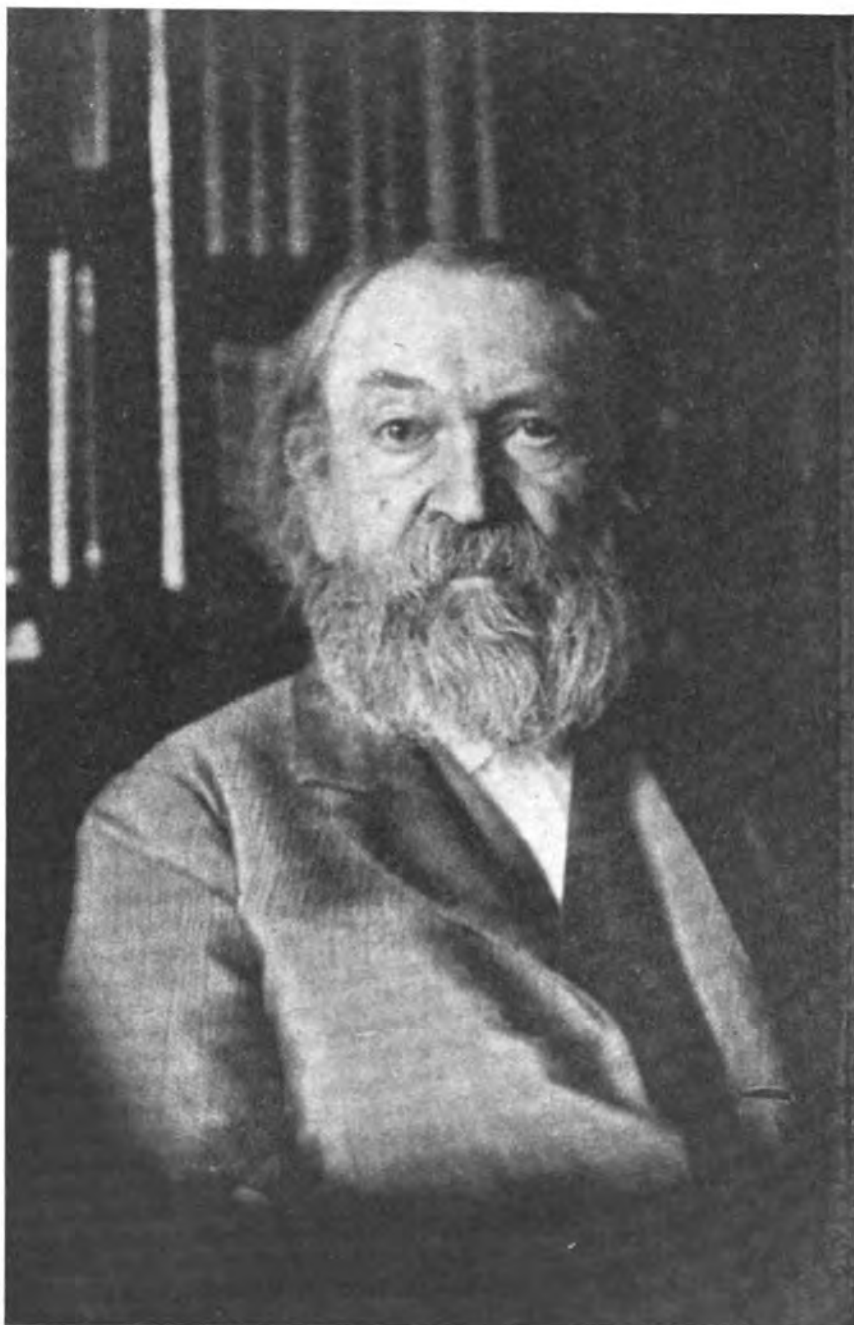
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PROF. ERNST MACH OF VIENNA.

From a recent photograph.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII (No. 1)

JANUARY, 1913

NO. 680

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MEMORY. REPRODUCTION AND ASSOCIATION.

BY ERNST MACH.¹

ON a walk through the streets of Innsbruck, I meet a man whose face, form, walk, and way of speaking stimulates in me the vivid thought of such a face, walk, and so on in different surroundings—on the banks of the Lake of Garda. I recognize the man A, who appears to me as a sense-experience in the present surroundings, to be the same man who makes a part of my recollection with the surroundings R. The recognition, the identification, would have no meaning if A were not given *twice*. Presently conversations with A in R occur to me, I recollect expeditions which I took in his company, and so on. Similar facts which we observe on the most varied occasions can be grouped together in a rule: a sense-experience with the parts A B C D brings to remembrance an earlier sense-experience with the parts A K L M, that is to say, the latter idea enters, it is reproduced. Now, since the reproduction of K L M by B C D does *not* follow generally, we naturally conclude that K L M is introduced by the common part A and proceeds from it. On the reproduction of A depends that of K L M and the parts K L M were given by the senses *simultaneously* (in temporal contact) with A either directly or with other already reproduced terms. All the processes connected herewith can be reduced to this *single law of association*.

Association is of great biological importance. Every psychological adaptation to surroundings, every common and also every

¹ Translated from *Erkenntnis und Irrtum* by Philip E. B. Jourdain.

scientific experience rest on it. If the surroundings of living beings did not consist of parts which remain at least approximately constant or could be analyzed into periodically recurring events, experience would be impossible and association valueless. Only if the environment remains unchanged can the bird connect the *visible* part of its surroundings with the notion of the locality of its nest. Only if the approaching enemy or the flying prey is always announced by the same noise, can the associated idea cause the reaction of a corresponding readiness for either flight or attack. An approximate stability makes experience possible, and inversely the actual possibility of experience allows us to conclude as to the stability of the surroundings. The *result* justifies our supposition of constancy² as based on *scientific method*.

A newly born child is thrown on its own reflex movements, like an animal of lower organization. It has the inborn impulse to suck, to cry if it needs help, and so on. As it grows up it, like the higher animals, acquires the first primitive experiences by association. It learns to avoid the contact of fire and knocking against hard bodies, as these are painful; it learns to connect the notion of the taste of an apple with its appearance, and so on. But soon it leaves all animals far behind it in the abundance and the refinement of its experiences. It is very instructive to observe the formation of associations in young animals, as C. Lloyd Morgan³ has systematically done with young chickens and ducks hatched in an incubator. The chickens are provided with suitable reflex movements only a few hours after hatching. They run about, peck at whatever attracts their attention and never miss it. Even little partridges may be seen running about while still partly covered with shell. At first the young chickens pecked at everything, at the letters of a printed page, at their own toes, at their own excrements; but in the last case the chicken immediately threw away the ill-tasting thing, shook its head and cleaned its beak by scraping it on the ground. The young bird behaved in a similar way when it took hold of a bee or a caterpillar that had a bad taste, but the pecking at unsuitable and useless objects soon stopped. The chickens left a saucer of water unnoticed, but they drank immediately when in running about their

² Experience has taught us to know stabilities, our psychical organization easily adapts itself to them, and gives us advantages. We introduce the supposition of further stabilities consciously and at will, in the expectation of further advantages, supposing this expectation to hold good. The supposition of an *a priori* conception for the founding of this methodical procedure is neither necessary to us nor would it be of any use to us. It would be preposterous in view of the evidently empirical formation of this conception.

³ *Comparative Psychology*, London, 1894, pp. 85 ff.

feet happened to get into the water.⁴ Young ducks, on the contrary, plunged at once into the saucer of water, washed themselves in it, dipped under the water, and so on. When on the next day this saucer was offered to them *empty*, they again plunged into it and carried out the same movements as in the water, but they soon learned to distinguish between the empty saucer and the full one. I myself once put a drinking-glass over a chicken which had been hatched out several hours and put a fly into the glass with it. Immediately a very amusing but fruitless chase began, for the chicken was not clever enough to catch the fly.

The habits of chickens and ducks are inborn in the young, who practise them at once without being taught. They are prepared for by the mechanism of movement, just as are the sounds the fowls make. We can distinguish in chickens the sound of contentment when they creep into a warm hand; the cry of danger at the sight of, say, a big black beetle; the cry of loneliness, and so on. But however much is mechanically prepared and innate in these creatures, and however much the accomplishment of certain associations may be anatomically favored and made easy, *the associations themselves are not innate but must be acquired by individual experience.*

This will be correct if we apply the word "association" only to (conscious) notions. If we take it in the wider sense of a reaction of simultaneous organic processes upon one another, then it is very difficult to draw the line between what is innate (inherited) and what is individually acquired. And this must be the case if the acquirements of the species are to be increased or modified by the individual. My tame sparrow knows no fear, perches on the shoulders of the members of my family, tugs at hair and beard, defends itself boldly and with angry chattering against the hand which tries to drive it from the shoulder of a privileged person; and yet its wings quiver nervously at every noise and at every movement near it. When it takes little bits from the dining-table, it flies off with each one, even though only a foot away, just like its companions in the street, although it is not disturbed by any acquaintances.

Young chickens which have been brought up in an incubator do not notice the clucking of the hen, neither do they fear a cat or a hawk. If young kittens before their eyes are opened should actually spit when taken up by a hand that has stroked a dog, then

⁴ But birds deprived of the cerebrum behave in the same way. The phenomenon thus rests on reflex acquired from ancestors. [Cf. the end of this chapter. Cf. also Mach, *Contributions to the Analysis of the Sensations*, Chicago, 1897, p. 377.—Tr.]

we must suppose this to be a *reflex* of the sense of smell.⁶ Young animals to be sure are easily frightened by unusual appearances. Thus, young chickens which were fed on small worms would occasionally swallow also twisted bits of wool, but stood in doubt before a large piece. A tame young sparrow for a long time distrusted its food-dish, when, by way of experiment, a big meal-worm had been put in it.⁹ The fear of what is unusual or striking in the case of many animals appears to be one of the most important means of protection.

In the more highly developed animals we can perceive the formation of associations still more strikingly, and at the same time substantiate their durability. In the village in which I passed part of my youth, many dogs, teased by the children of the village, had fallen into the habit of running away on three legs and whining as soon as any one took up a stone from the ground. One was naturally inclined, from a human point of view, to take this for a cunning trick to excite sympathy, but evidently it was only a lively associated remembrance of the pain which had sometimes followed the picking up of a stone. I once saw a young hound which belonged to my father impetuously root out an ant heap, but immediately clean his sensitive nose with his paw in a puzzled manner. From then onwards he carefully respected ants' nests. When once this hound persistently disturbed me in my work by his undesired and exaggerated attachment, I closed a book with a loud bang in front of his nose. He drew back frightened. Thereafter the seizing of a book was enough to keep him from disturbing one. Judging from the play of his muscles in sleep, this dog must also have had a vivid imagination in dreams. Once when he lay sleeping quietly, I brought a little piece of meat near his nose. After some time a lively play of muscles began, especially of the nostrils. After about half a minute the dog woke up, snapped up the bit of meat, and then quietly went to sleep again. I was also able to convince myself of the durability of this same dog's associations. When I came back unexpectedly in the dark and on foot to my father's house after nine years absence, the dog received me with furious barking; but a single call was enough to turn this at once into the most friendly behavior. Hence I consider the Homeric story of Odysseus's dog to be no poetical exaggeration.⁷

⁶ Schneider, *Der tierische Wille*, Leipsic, 1880.

⁹ Observed by my daughter.

⁷ Next to the writings of Morgan, K. Möbius, *Die Bewegungen der Tiere und ihr psychischer Horizont* (Schriften des naturwissensch. Vereins für Schleswig-Holstein, 1873) on the psychology of lower and higher animals is very instructive. Further cf. A. Oelzelt-Newin, *Kleinere philos. Schriften*; Zur

The importance for psychical development of the comparison of a sense-experience A B C D with a sense-experience A K L M reproduced in thought cannot be estimated highly enough. The separate letters may signify whole complexes of elements. A may be, for example, a body which we have once come across in the surroundings B C D . . . but now meet in the surroundings K L M . . .—say a body which moves across its back-ground—and by this means is recognized as a special image of relative *independence*. If now we give the signification of single elements (sensation) to single letters, we learn to know these elements as *independent component parts* of our experience; for example, not only an orange is suggested to us by the red-yellow A, but also a piece of cloth, a flower, or a mineral; thus it enters into *different* complexes. However, not only *analysis* but also *combination* depends on association. For example let A denote the visual image of an orange or of a rose, while K in the reproduced complex denotes respectively the taste of the orange or the smell of the rose. Immediately we associate the already tested properties with the newly apparent visual image. The notions we receive from the things that surround us do not therefore correspond exactly to the actual sensations, but are as a rule much richer. There are whole bundles of associated ideas which, arising from previous experience and becoming complicated with the actual sensations, determine our behavior to a far greater extent than could the sensations alone. We not only see a red-yellow ball, but think we perceive a soft, fragrant and refreshingly acid bodily thing. We do not see a brown vertical shining surface, but, say, the wardrobe. But for this reason we can sometimes be misled by a yellow ball of wood, a painting, or a reflection in a mirror. As we grow older, the variety and richness of our sense-experience increases as well as the number and variety of the associative connections between the experiences. As we have seen, we thus come both to a progressive resolution of these experiences into parts and also to a continual formation of new syntheses from them. After the intellectual life becomes matured, *thought-complexes* can behave with respect to one another in the same productive and associative manner as sense-experiences. In the thought-complexes new analyses and syntheses will also occur, as every romance and every scientific work teaches and as every thinker can observe in himself.

Psychologie der Seesterne, Vienna, 1903. Of earlier writings I may recommend: H. S. Reimarus, *Trieb der Tiere*, 1790; J. H. F. Autenrieth, *Ansichten über Natur- und Seelenleben*, 1836.

Although, now, only one principle of reproduction and association can be found, namely that of *simultaneity*, yet the thought-process assumes very different characters in different cases. This will be made clear by the following considerations. Most ideas have associated with many others in the course of their existence, and these associations, branching off in various directions, are to some extent in opposition and weaken one another. If, now, some of those which converge to *the same* point do not maintain the preponderance or are not specially favored by chance, then these associations will not be effective. For instance, can any one say when and where he has used or seen used or learned to know a definite letter, a word, a concept, or a way of counting? The more frequently he uses these devices and the more familiar he is with them, the less will he be able to do so. The name "Smith," even in this definite orthography, is so variously connected with different trades and occupations that by itself it gives rise to no association at all. According to my momentary direction of thought or occupation it may remind me of a philosopher, zoologist, historian, archeologist, mechanic, and so on. We can also observe this in rarer names. I often went past an advertisement of Maggi's meat-extract and only *once*, and then when I was thinking of physics, did it remind me of a man of the same name who wrote a book on mechanics which is interesting to me.⁸ Thus, too, the blue color of a piece of cloth will suggest nothing of itself to a grown-up person, whereas it may remind a child of the cornflower which he picked yesterday. In connection with the name "Paris," there may occur to me the collections of the Louvre, or the city's renowned physicists and mathematicians, or its fine restaurants, according as I am inclined to the pleasures of art, scientific occupation, or culinary delights. Circumstances which stand in no material relation to the direction of thought entered upon may also be decisive. In this way Grillparzer is reported to have remembered a poetical sketch which he had quite forgotten owing to a long illness, when he again played the symphony which he had played when engaged upon that sketch. Jerusalem shows from a case⁹ reported by him that associations can be induced through unconscious intermediate terms. The principle of *simultaneity* is expressed in these cases very clearly and distinctly.¹⁰

⁸ [G. A. Maggi, *Teoria delle movimento dei corpi*, Milan, 1895.—Tr.]

⁹ Wundt's *Philosophische Studien*, Vol. X, p. 323.

¹⁰ That not all psychical events can be explained by temporarily acquired (conscious) associations, will be discussed later. Here we are concerned with *what* is made comprehensible by association.

Let us now consider some types of the thought-process.¹¹ If I, without any plan or purpose, and shut off as far as possible from outer disturbances—say in a sleepless night—quite give myself up to my thoughts, then it happens that they ramble over all sorts of subjects. Comic and tragic situations that I have remembered or divised mingle with scientific incidents and plans of work, and it would be very difficult to point out the petty chances which in each moment have given direction to this “free imagination.” Not very differently do ideas arise when two or more persons are talking without constraint to one another, except that here the thoughts of several persons influence each other. The surprising leaps and turns of conversation often give rise to the wondering question: Well, how did *that* idea come up? The fixing of thoughts by spoken words and the number of observers makes the answer easier in this case, and only seldom does it fail. In dreams ideas pursue the most wonderful paths, but in this case the thread of association is very difficult to follow, partly on account of the incomplete remembrance which the dream leaves behind it, partly also on account of more frequent disturbance because of the great sensitiveness of the sleeper. Situations that have been experienced, forms that have been seen, and melodies that have been heard in a dream are often very valuable for *artistic* creation;¹² but the scientific *investigator* can make use of dream-thoughts only in the rarest cases.

Lucian's priceless Münchhausen-like tales do not quite correspond to the type of *free* imagination. This most talented writer of the ancient world here maintains on *principle* only the most adventurous and unlikely of his incidents. He speaks of huge spiders which connect the space between the moon and the morning-star with a web that can be used as a pathway and jokingly assigns liquid air as a drink to dwellers in the moon, 1700 years before it was really known. It is a plan of travel on which, as a guiding thread, he strings his imaginations. This journey brings him to the island of dreams, whose indefinite and inconsistent nature he characterizes wonderfully by saying that the nearer the traveler approaches to it the farther it recedes. In spite of this richly luxuriant imagination, the threads of association can be found wherever they are not purposely hidden. The journey begins at the Pillars of

¹¹ James, *The Principles of Psychology*, Vol. I, pp. 550-604.

¹² Well-known cases of this kind are the following: Voltaire dreamed a complete and varied canto of the *Henriade*. Still more remarkable is it that in a dream of Tartini's the devil played the theme of a sonata which the artist had not composed in waking moments;—if poetry and truth have not made a compromise in this story.

Hercules and goes westward. After eighty days the traveler reaches an island containing a memorial column and an inscription to Hercules and Dionysus, as well as the huge footprints of both gods. Of course there is a river on the island which contains *wine*, and fish the eating of which makes people intoxicated. The sources of this river spring from the roots of a luxuriously growing vine on whose branches are women who, like Daphne, have been partly changed into vines. Here the thread of association has swollen to a strong rope. At other places the author has even cut away shoots and flowers of his imagination which did not suit his esthetic and satirical purpose. By this rejection of what is useless, the intellectual life expressed in a literary or other equally free work of art differs from aimlessly giving oneself up to his own thoughts.

If I come to a place and into surroundings in which I spent a part of my youth, and if I simply give myself up to the impressions that these surroundings make on me, then *another* type of thought-process results. What is there offered to my senses is in so many ways associated with the experiences of my youth and is connected so weakly or not at all with later incidents, that little by little *all* the events of that period of my life emerge from forgetfulness with complete fidelity and in firm connection with one another in consecutive arrangement of time and space. In such a case, as Jerusalem¹³ pertinently remarks, one always discovers himself to be a participant. Hence we can string the elements of remembrance in a temporal order on the thread of the person. A similar thing happens, though less completely, when the picture of my home arises in my mind, provided that the picture is not disturbed and is given time to complete itself. The tales every one has heard old people tell of their youth, or their account of summer holidays and their experiences in them, in which the slightest incident is not left out, are examples of this type.

The foregoing case was essentially concerned with the *revival* of already existing connections of ideas, that is, with simple recollections; whereas the solving of a conundrum or other riddle, of a geometrical or technical problem of construction, or of a scientific question, or the carrying out of an artistic subject, and so on, requires a thought-action with a definite end and object.¹⁴ In this case something *new*, at the time only partly known, is *sought*. This thought-action, which never loses sight of the more or less circumscribed purpose, we call *reflection*. If a person who gives

¹³ Jerusalem, *Lehrbuch der Psychologie*, 3d ed., Vienna, 1902, p. 91.

¹⁴ [Cf. *Popular Scientific Lectures*, Chicago, 3d. ed., 1898, p. 277.—T.]

me a riddle or puts a problem to me is standing before me, or if I am sitting at my desk on which I already see the traces of my materials for work, in this way a complex of sensations is provided which always brings back my thoughts to the end in view and prevents their aimless wandering. This limitation of thought from the outside is not to be underestimated even for its own sake. If with a scientific problem in my mind, I finally go to sleep tired out, then immediately the external reminder and indicator to the goal is lacking and my thoughts become diffused and leave the proper path. This is one reason why the solution of scientific problems is seldom helped in dreams. But if the involuntary interest in the solution of a problem is strong enough, then the reminders from outside are quite superfluous. Everything that one thinks and notices then leads back of itself to the problem, at times even in a dream.

The idea sought in reflection has to fulfil certain conditions. It has to solve a riddle or a problem or to make a construction possible. The conditions are known but not the idea. In order to explain the kind of thought-movement which leads to finding what is looked for, we will choose a simple geometrical construction. The form of procedure is the same in all the cases coming under consideration here, and *one* example is enough to make all cases comprehensible. Two mutually perpendicular straight lines a and b (Fig. 1) are cut by any oblique third line c . In the triangle thus arising, a square is to be inserted whose angular points are placed on a , b , the point of intersection of a and b , and on c . We now *try* to represent to ourselves and construct squares which fulfil all these conditions. Three angles are enough to satisfy the conditions if we let one angle of any square coincide with the point of intersection of a and b and two sides of the square with a and b . But the fourth angle does not fall directly on c , but inside or outside the triangle. If, on the other hand, we take one angular point anywhere on c , the rectangle thus formed is not generally a square. But we see that from a rectangle with greater vertical sides we can pass over to a rectangle with greater horizontal sides by the choice of the angular point on c , so there must be an intermediate one with equal sides. Thus we can select the square with any approximation we wish, from among the series of inscribed *rectangles*. But there

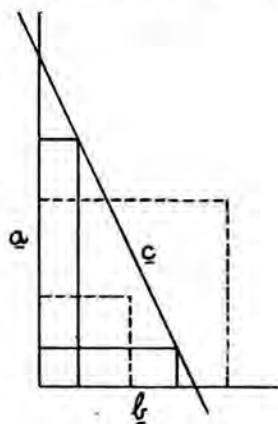


Fig. 1.

is still another way. If we start from a square whose fourth angular point falls inside the triangle and increase it till this angle falls outside, it must in this way pass through *c*. Thus a square of the correct magnitude can be selected with any desired approximation among the series of squares. Such tentative soundings of the realm of ideas where we must seek for the solution of the problem, naturally precede the complete solution. Ordinary thought may content itself with an approximate solution which is sufficient for practical needs. Science demands the most general, the shortest and the most lucid solution. We obtain this by recollecting (starting from the consideration either of the rectangles or of the squares) that all inscribed squares have as common diagonals the angle bisector proceeding from the point of intersection of *a* and *b*. Thus, if we draw this angle bisector from this *known* point, we can complete the desired square simply by finding the point of intersection of this bisector with *c*. Though this example is very simple—it is intentionally chosen as such and very fully discussed—it makes us clearly conscious of the essential part of the solution of every problem, namely, *experimentation with thoughts and with recollections*, as well as its identity with the familiar solution of riddles. The riddle is solved by means of a notion which shows properties corresponding to the conditions A B C Association affords us a series of notions of the property A, of the property B, and so on. The term or terms which belong to *all* these series—in which all these series meet—solves the problem. We will return at still greater length to this important subject. Here it is only our intention to explain that type of thought-process called *reflection*.¹⁹

What has preceded puts beyond doubt the importance of reproducible and associable traces of recollection of sense-experiences for our whole psychical life, and shows at the same time that psychological and physiological researches cannot be separated from one another, since even in the *elements* of the experiences relations of both kinds are most closely connected.

Reproducibility and associability also form the basis of "consciousness." The unintermittent subsistence of an invariable per-

¹⁹ We may be tempted to consider that "active" reflection is essentially different from the "passive" leaving of our thoughts to take their own course. But, just as we are not masters over the sensations and recollections which are liberated by some act of our bodies, so we have no power over a thought of direct or indirect biological interest which is always reappearing and to which new series of associations are always being joined. Cf. my *Populär-wissensch. Vorlesungen*, 3d ed., pp. 287-308 [*Popular Scientific Lectures*, 3d ed., Chicago, 1898, pp. 259-281].

ception will hardly be said by anybody to be consciousness. Hobbes¹⁷ says, "Always to perceive the same object and not to perceive at all come to the same thing." Nor is it evident what is to be attained by the assumption of a special "energy of consciousness" different from all other physical energies. That would be an assumption which would have no function at all—would be unnecessary—in the province of physics, and in the province of psychology would make nothing clearer. Consciousness is no *special* (psychical) *quality* or class of qualities, which differs from physical qualities; nor is it a special quality which must be added to the physical ones in order to make conscious what is unconscious. Introspection as well as observation of other living beings to which we must ascribe consciousness analogous to our own, shows us that consciousness has its roots in *reproduction* and *association*, and that the height of consciousness runs parallel to the richness, fluency, rapidity, vitality, and arrangement of these functions. Consciousness does not consist in a special quality, but in a *special connection* of given qualities. We must not wish to explain sensation. It is something so simple and fundamental that its reduction to something still more simple cannot be successful, at least not at present. A single sensation is neither conscious nor unconscious. It becomes conscious by classifying it with the experience of the present time.¹⁸

Every disturbance of reproduction and association is a disturbance of consciousness, and can manifest all degrees from complete clearness to entire loss of consciousness in dreamless sleep or in a fainting fit. Temporary or lasting disturbance of the connection of the cerebral functions is also a temporary or lasting disturbance of consciousness. Comparative anatomical, physiological and psychopathological facts necessitate the supposition that the integrity of consciousness is conditioned by that of the cerebral lobes. Different parts of the cerebral cortex show traces of different sense-excitations, definite parts show those of the optical sensations, others of the acoustical, others of the tactile, and so on. These different cortical areas are connected with one another in numerous ways by means of the *fibers of association*. Psychical disturbances follow every cessation of the function of an area of the cortex and every inter-

¹⁷ *Sentire semper idem et non sentire ad idem recidunt*; Physica, IV, 25.

¹⁸ Whoever thinks that he can build up the world from consciousness has not made it clear to himself what sort of a complication the fact of consciousness includes. A very condensed and valuable discussion of the nature and conditions of consciousness is to be found in Wernicke's *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1893 (on consciousness, see pp. 130-145). Cf. also the lectures of Meynert cited in the following note.

rupted connection.¹⁹ Without going into many details, we will illustrate this by typical examples.

The notion of an orange is an extremely complicated thing. Form, color, taste, smell, touch, and so on are interwoven in a peculiar way. If I hear the *name* "orange" this train of acoustic sensations drags forward the whole bundle of the above notions as if by a thread. In addition to this there follows, as a consequence of the name which has been heard, the remembrance of the sensations experienced at the sound of the name, and also the remembrance of the sensations of the motions of writing the word and the visual form of the written or printed word. Accordingly, if there are in the brain special optical, acoustical, and tactile areas, and if one of these is eliminated by the suppression of its function or the removal of its association with the remaining areas, peculiar phenomena appear. Such have actually been observed. If the optical or the acoustical area continues to function while its associative connections with other important fields cease to function, then "mental blindness" (*Seelenblindheit*) or "mental deafness," which Munk has observed in dogs by operations on the cerebrum, respectively arise.²⁰ Such dogs *see* but do not *understand* what they see; they do not recognize their food-dish, the whip, or a threatening gesture. In the case of mental deafness the dog *hears* but pays no attention to the well-known call—it does not *understand* it. The observations of physiologists are here supplemented and confirmed by those of psychopathologists. The study of disturbances of speech²¹ is especially productive here. The meaning of a word lies indeed in the crowd of associations which the word calls up and the correct use of it rests inversely on the existence of these associations. Disturbances of the latter must express themselves here in a striking way. Most people are *right*-handed, and thus use the *left* hemisphere of the cerebrum for finer work and also for speech. Broca recognized the importance of the hinder part of the third left brain-convolution for articulate speech. Speech is always lost when this part of the brain becomes ill (apoplexy). Loss of speech (aphasia)

¹⁹ Meynert, *Populäre Vorträge*, Vienna, 1892, pp. 2-40.

²⁰ It can hardly be doubted that there is a difference in the work performed by different parts of the brain. But if, as Goltz has shown, a part of the cerebral cortex can by degrees replace the others, an *abrupt* delimitation of functions is not to be thought of, but only a "gradual localization" in the sense of R. Semon (*Die Mneme*, Leipsic, 1904, p. 160). Cf. also *Analyse der Empfindungen*, 1886, p. 82, 4th and 5th ed., p. 165. [*Contributions to the Analysis of the Sensations*, Chicago, 1897, pp. 112, 115, 116. The full title of R. Semon's book is: *Die Mneme als erhaltendes Prinzip im Wechsel des organischen Geschehens*, and a third edition was published in 1911.—Tr.]

²¹ Kussmaul, *Störungen der Sprache*, Leipsic, 1885.

can also be conditioned by very many different defects. For example, the patient remembers words as sound-images and can also make them known by means of writing, yet cannot speak the words in spite of the mobility of the tongue, lips and so on; the *motor* word-image is lacking and does not liberate the suitable movement. The optical or motor *writing-image* may also be lacking (agraphia). The ideas may be present while the auditory word-image is lacking. It may also happen the other way round that the spoken or written word is not understood—gives rise to no associations—and then we have *word-deafness* or *word-blindness*. Such a case of word-deafness and word-blindness with an intelligence otherwise unimpaired Lordat himself experienced and after his cure was able to give an account of it. He movingly describes the moment when, after many sad weeks, he noticed on the back of a book in his library the words *Hippocratis opera*, and could again read and understand them.²² Even after this summary and by no means complete and detailed account of the cases here presented, we can estimate how many paths of connection between the sensory and motor areas come into consideration.²³ Lesser disturbances of speech, as expressed by mistakes in writing and speaking, appear as consequences of temporary weariness and preoccupation among quite healthy people. Thus someone cited the two chemists Liebig and Mitscherlich as "Mitschich and Liederlich." Another called a *Magister der Pharmacie* a *Philister der Magie*.²⁴

An interesting case of mental blindness is reported by Wilbrand.²⁵ A very cultured and well-read merchant enjoyed an extraordinary visual memory. The features of the people whom he remembered, the forms and colors of objects of which he thought, and theatrical scenes and landscapes he had seen, appeared before him in complete clearness with every detail. He could read from memory parts of letters and several pages from his favorite authors, for he saw the text before him with all its details. His memory for auditory impressions was small and his sense of music was lacking.

²² Kussmaul, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

²³ Kussmaul, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

²⁴ On curious disturbances among musicians, analogous to aphasia and agraphia, cf. R. Wallaschek (*Psychologie und Pathologie der Vorstellung*, Leipsic, 1905).

[In the text, we have had to leave the German words to tell their own tale, as the point would obviously be lost in an English translation. English equivalents are the probably mythical utterances, called "Spoonerisms," of a certain Oxford professor. Thus, instead of: "We are all standing on the same dead level," the professor is reported to have said: "We are all standing on the same lead devil."—Tr.]

²⁵ Wilbrand, *Seelenblindheit*, Wiesbaden, 1887, pp. 43-51.

Heavy cares, which proved to be unfounded, were followed by a time of confusion, and this again by a complete change in his psychological life. His visual memory was completely lost. A town to which he often returned appeared new to him every time. The features of his wife and children were strange to him, and he even looked upon himself as a strange person when he saw his reflection in a looking-glass. If he now wished to reckon—an operation which he formerly performed by visual images—he had to pronounce the numbers, and he was likewise obliged to have recourse to auditory images and images of motions of speech and writing in order to note phrases or to remember what was written. No less remarkable is another case of loss of visual memory.²⁶ A lady had a sudden and violent fall. Afterwards she was supposed to be blind since she did not recognize any one around her. But the fall, besides restricting her field of vision which gradually improved, left only the loss of visual memory of which the patient was fully conscious. She made the characteristic comment: "To judge from my condition, we see more with our brains than with our eyes; the eyes are merely the means for seeing; for I see everything clearly, but I do not recognize it and often do not know what I see."²⁷

In the light of the above cases, we must say that there is not *one* memory but that memory is made up of several *partial memories* which are separated from one another and can be separately lost. To these partial memories correspond different parts of the brain, some of which can even now be localized with a fair degree of accuracy. Other cases of the loss of memory seem more difficult to reduce to a principle. We will only consider some of them which Ribot²⁸ has collected.

A young woman, who passionately loved her husband, fell in childbed into a prolonged unconsciousness and as a consequence of this her memory of the time of her marriage entirely vanished while her memory of her earlier life up to her marriage remained quite unimpaired. Only the witness of her parents led to the acknowledgment of her husband and child. The loss of memory in her case remained irreparable. Again, a woman fell into a torpor which lasted for two months. After she woke up she knew nobody round her and had forgotten everything she had learned. Easily and in a short time she learned everything again, but without any

²⁶ Wilbrand, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

²⁷ Wilbrand, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

²⁸ *Les maladies de la mémoire*, Paris, 1888. English edition, Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Co., 1898.

remembrance that she had known it before. Yet again, a woman fell by chance into some water and was nearly drowned; when she opened her eyes she did not recognize her surroundings and had lost her speech, hearing, smell, and taste. She had to be fed. She daily began to learn anew and her condition gradually improved. She remembered a love-affair and her fall into the water and was cured by jealousy.

Periodic losses of memory are the most remarkable. After a long sleep, a woman had forgotten everything she had learned. She had to learn again how to read, reckon, and become acquainted with her surroundings. After some months she had another deep sleep. When she awoke, she found herself in possession of memories of her youth just as before her first sleep, but had forgotten what had occurred between the two periods of sleep. From then onwards for four years the two states of consciousness and memory were repeated periodically. In the first state she had beautiful handwriting; in the second, a poor one. People whom she was supposed to know permanently had to be introduced to her in both states. This case is illustrated by one often quoted of a servant who lost a parcel when he was drunk and could only find it again when he was in a second drunken fit. In a waking state one remembers even one's vivid dreams with difficulty, and inversely in dreams the conditions of a waking state mostly quite vanish from us. On the other hand the same situations often enough repeat themselves in a dream.²⁸ Finally every one can notice for himself, even when he is awake, the changes of moods with which the experiences of different periods of his life come into consciousness in quite different degrees of vividness. All these cases form a continuous passage from the sharp separation of different states of consciousness to almost complete effacement of the boundary. These cases can be considered as examples of the formation of different *centers of association* round which the masses of ideas group themselves when favored by time and mood, while these masses show no degree of connection, or only a small one, with one another.²⁹

If, with Hering,³¹ we attribute to the organism the property of

²⁸ [A friend of mine dreamed that he was buying things in a shop. In the dream he suddenly became conscious of the fact that he had forgotten what to buy next and could only remember if he woke up. So he woke up, remembered, and then went to sleep and continued the same dream.—Tr.]

²⁹ With reference to such periodical disturbances of memory, observations like those of Swoboda (*Die Perioden des menschlichen Organismus*, 1904) do not appear so adventurous as they do at first sight.

³¹ [*On Memory and the Specific Energies of the Nervous System*, Chicago, 1895.]

adapting itself better successively as events are repeated, then we recognize what we commonly call memory to be a partial phenomenon of a *general* organic phenomenon. It is the adaptation to periodic events in so far as it directly comes into consciousness. Heredity, instinct, etc., may then be characterized as memory stretching out beyond the individual. In R. Semon's book *Mneme*, above cited, appears the first endeavor to investigate and to clarify scientifically the relation between heredity and memory.³²

³² Detto ("Ueber den Begriff des Gedächtnisses in seiner Bedeutung für die Biologie," *Naturwiss. Wochenschr.*, 1905, No. 42). The author will hardly admit that Hering or Semon fall into the faults denounced by him. The advantages of the investigation of what is organic from *two* sides he appears to me to underestimate. *Psychological* observation can reveal to us the existence of *physical* events the knowledge of which we could not attain so soon by a physical way.

EVOLUTION OF ARTISTIC OBSERVATION.

BY THE EDITOR.

MR. JAMES ARTHUR, of New York, calls attention to the carelessness with which the artists of ancient Egypt treated the hands in their bas-reliefs. He writes in a personal note:

"During my last trip to Egypt I noticed that the right and left hands on sculptures were rarely placed properly. All combinations can be seen,—(1) two left hands, (2) two right hands, (3) right and left reversed, and (4) both hands correctly placed. Fellow travelers had not noticed this till I pointed it out. We are all acquainted with 'conventions' in art, but surely it is remarkable that such a glaring error should be perpetrated for thousands of years. Have any of the writers on Egypt dwelt on this?"

Mr. Arthur encloses a card of a monument in Edfu in which the hands are glaringly misplaced, and in reply to his question I must confess that I have nowhere as yet found this strange mistake pointed out by Egyptologists. But the ancient Egyptians are not isolated in this peculiarity. The same fault is found in the monuments of other nations. Several years ago my attention was called by a French artist, M. de Gissac, then residing at Cairo, Illinois, to an ancient Babylonian monument representing Bel Marduk's fight with a monster of Tiamat's host, where both hands are wrong. A study of the evolution of art is still in its infancy. Artistic observation seems to us simple enough, and in our art schools every scholar is required to reproduce nature as he sees it. This was done not only in Egypt, Babylon and Greece, but also in China and in Japan, and yet the Chinese in their classical period reproduced nature in a different style, without true perspective and with other characteristic deviations. The truth is that people see nature differently.

It is noteworthy that in ancient paintings attention to detail

is missing, and the artists of former centuries blundered greatly in their representation of animals, and especially also of trees and plants. So far as our limited knowledge of the literature of this



EGYPTIAN BAS RELIEF FROM EDFU.

branch goes we can point to only one book which has made an attempt to reveal to us the gradual development of artistic observation. We refer to a German work by Felix Rosen, entitled *Die*

Natur in der Kunst,¹ which is devoted to this special study of nature as represented in art, and it is interesting to note that animals first came to the attention of artists in the order in which they become familiar in our nurseries to-day. First horses and dogs, then lions and tigers impress the imagination of children, and these animals precede all others in art representation. Plants remained unheeded for a long time and trees appeared first in conventionalized form as trunks with round crowns of foliage so as to render it difficult to say what kind of a tree the artist intended. The representation of flowers passed through similar stages. Even grass appears



FIGHT BETWEEN BEL MERODACH AND TIAMAT.

first in single bunches and only much later in the shape of sod. Details of nature keep step with the interest men take in the same things.

Referring to a painting by Taddeo Gaddi (the "Triumph of Death" in the Campo Santo of Pisa) which in the observation of nature shows a great advance over Giotto, Felix Rosen calls attention to the animals here represented, the stags, a rabbit, an owl, a pheasant and especially the horses and dogs. Mentioning the spaniel, the bulldog and the greyhound, he says: "Thus the three breeds of dogs are very well indicated not only by the difference in form but

¹Leipsic, Teubner, 1903.

even in temperament. Again we find the same surprising knowledge of the forms of animals, in the demons that are dragging souls of men after them through the air, bats' heads and wings, goats' hoofs or the claws of birds of prey, and coiled serpents' tails.

"Plant life and the surface of the earth upon which it grows are not portrayed with the same skill. The trees, set in the most impossible places on the rocky ground, are represented with uniformly straight trunks and round tops, and only with the best intentions can they be recognized as possibly maple, orange or lemon



DETAIL FROM THE "TRIUMPH OF DEATH."

This detail shows the dogs and pheasant but is too limited to show all the other animals mentioned by Rosen in his description. See his book, page 52.

trees. The herbs in the foreground are quite isolated, each standing by itself wherever room could be made for it in the picture. They are purely forms of the imagination founded very vaguely upon the motives of the clover, violet and fern; we even see them sometimes entirely without the foreshortening of a proper perspective.

"At first glance it may seem strange that an artist who shows himself to be a connoisseur in the animal world should betray such ignorance in regard to plants. And yet nothing is easier to understand than this fact. Man's interest is naturally first directed

towards the animal world which is far closer to his comprehension and sensibilities than the vegetable realm. Just as the child becomes acquainted with lions, tigers and elephants much earlier than with oaks and poplars, apple trees or strawberry shrubs, even though he comes in contact with the latter much oftener than with wild animals, so a nation in the lower grades of civilization will distinguish the more remarkable animals better and earlier than plants. Townsfolk in particular—and painters in these periods came almost exclusively from the towns—become first acquainted with the domestic animals, the horse, dog, ox and ass, and then with the wild animals of the chase and the birds in the branches, and finally with the grewsome and disgusting animals, such as bats and serpents. But with these classes their zoology is almost exhausted. The plants which they first observe are the fruit and ornamental trees of the gardens, and less noticeable are the modest herbs or wild plants of the forest. Such is the natural course of knowledge; and since we observe this sequence also distinctly indicated in the history of paintings we feel justified in our opinion that the representation of nature in art is unfolding before our eyes and that its defects should be ascribed in the first place to insufficient knowledge and only secondarily to the so-called feeling for style.

“Comparative philology gives us further proof for the phenomenon which we have repeatedly emphasized, that trees received consideration and appreciation earlier than herbs. Thus among the Aryan languages we find common words for many animals and for the most important trees, beech, willow, pine and fir, a reminiscence for the different peoples of their common home in central Asia. On the other hand we have no positive case of the names of herbs which show a common primitive origin. This important phenomenon may be partly explained by the grade of civilization which the Aryans had reached at the time of their separation into migratory groups. The cultivation of grain was still in its infancy and horticulture was not yet known. But this does not explain everything. The German and English names for lily, rose and violet are words taken from the Latin and were not original to their common ancestry; the Romans brought us these garden plants and their names at the same time. But there are wild lilies in Germany, though not abundant, and wild roses and violets grow in profusion. They were recognized as kin to the Italian cultivated plants because they had been given the same names. Would it not have been more natural to have given the imported plants the names of their native kindred? In this way, as we have seen, the Greeks regarded lemons as Median



THE HERMITS OF THE THEBAN DESERT.
By Pietro Lorenzetti.

apples, and it did not occur to them to reverse the process and give the apple-tree the Median name of *Citrus Medica*.

"The naturalized words, rose, lily, violet, not to mention many others, prove to us either that Germanic names were lacking for these species or were of little importance or limited in their diffusion. How little acquainted people were in those early days, when all civilization was confined to the cities, with the plants that grew far from cities and perhaps only in mountain ranges, we learn from the classical example of the horsechestnut tree of which ancient Greek botanists knew nothing although it grew wild in the close vicinity of their native land, in Macedonia, Epirus, and even in northern Greece—though to be sure only in the mountains. Such a conspicuously beautiful tree could not of course be overlooked, hence the ancient botanists must have been entirely unacquainted with the mountain forests of northern Greece. The horsechestnut tree reached northern Europe through the mediation of the Turks."

Speaking of another picture in the Campo Santo of Pisa, belonging to the same series and representing the life of a hermit, Rosen goes on to say:

"Here the scenery, sown most arbitrarily with rocks, is interesting because the drawing of the trees is improved. Besides the palm, which is supposed to characterize the scene as an Egyptian landscape, because it is intended to represent a Theban desert, we can recognize also the characteristic trees of Italy, the native or cluster pine (*Pinus Pinaster*), the olive-tree (*Olea Europaea*), the evergreen holm-oak (*Quercus Ilex*) and maple, finally also the best fruit-trees, oranges and lemons. But even here the herbs are given only imaginary forms.

"Thus in the fourteenth century the sense of nature makes progress, even though but slowly. The world is no longer portrayed in such striking contradiction to truth as in the days of Giotto, though it is still far from natural. Vegetation gradually becomes richer; foliage is better drawn as by Giovanni da Milano, the herbs on the ground grow more thickly together, and in the hands of Spinello Aretino show greater variety. In his work we can begin to recognize definite herb motives, such as fernlike fronds, clover leaves and violet leaves. The first actually distinguishable plant is the dandelion with its characteristically serrate foliage.

"Grass was not combined with the herbs until much later and was only indicated by a few green strokes always placed in little detached bunches. These early periods still betrayed no knowledge of turf. All herbs stood singly by themselves and did not form a

higher unity with the grass. Early art did not start with complex concepts such as turf, meadow or forest, but attained these ideas by adding together herbs, bunches of grass and single trees. However at this point the synthetic process is not yet complete. The dispersion of plants over the scene still remains entirely arbitrary. It



DETAIL FROM THE "MIRACLE OF ST. FRANCIS."
By Spinello Aretino.

is everywhere noticeable that only the need of enlivening the empty spaces determines the painter in the choice of the spots in which he places trees, herbs or grass. None of these artists recognize that the closest natural connection exists between the ground and the vegetation which it produces."

SOME INTERESTING PHASES OF THE CONTACT OF RACES INDIVIDUALLY AND *EN MASSE*.

BY ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

SINCE the beginnings of great human civilizations as contrasted with the simpler and more primitive life which the great majority of mankind outside of them continued to live *more suo*, one of the most interesting of all the phenomena of the race's history has been (as it still is) the contact, sometimes the shock and conflict, of these two expressions of the ideas and the ideals of man.

This contact has both a humorous and a pathetic aspect. It is humorous when we view the man of the "higher civilization," in spite of his learning, his scientific knowledge, and all those other "superior" things for which his "culture" stands, at his wit's end among a naive and simple people of another race; or, if we follow some savage or "young barbarian" in his first crude attempts to understand and to interpret the "civilization" in the midst of which he suddenly finds himself, often by no act or intention of his own.

It is humorous, too, when we can watch the efforts of two individuals of different races and of different stages or forms of human progress, one of whom (usually the representative of the "higher civilization") is endeavoring as speedily as may be to inform himself regarding the language, habits and customs, arts and industries, mythology, philosophy and religion of a more or less primitive people, and the other is either honestly engaged in the transmission of such material as he really possesses, or thinks he does, or, since delight in such action is generally human, is occupying his time with deceiving and gulling his inquisitor to his heart's content.

It is pathetic, when we have to consider the more or less wanton destruction of primitive races by the white race in particular, and the

failure of so many well-meant but often misdirected schemes for the social, religious or political welfare of "the lower races."

It is pathetic, too, to know some good and wise old "savage" who sees the coming doom of his race, recognizes its injustice, feels his utter inability to avert it, and goes to his grave with the firm conviction that the race which has so ruthlessly exterminated his own will one day itself meet destruction as swift and as ineluctable.

It is pathetic, again, when institutions in immemorial use among primitive peoples are abolished at a stroke by their white conquerors and no real substitute for them offered, the "higher" race contenting itself with an attempt to transplant ideas and institutions, which among themselves have never been thoroughly successful, nor have been shown to be of world-wide application.

SOME PITFALLS OF LANGUAGE.

The truth contained in the famous couplet of Pope

"A little knowledge is a dangerous thing,
Drink deep, or touch not the Pierian spring"

is borne in upon the investigator from all sides. Ignorance, on the part of inquirer or subject or of both, is naturally the source of many errors in recording the speech of primitive people, as it is also in other fields of research where savages (or children) are concerned. Vocabularies have not infrequently been recorded when the civilized investigator has had absolutely no personal knowledge of the language of the savage or barbarous people among whom he was for the time being, while, on the other hand, the primitive individual whom he was questioning had as little acquaintance with the stranger's mother-tongue, both using often, as their sole means of intercommunication, sign-language only half understood, or some jargon imperfectly controlled by both parties. Where "a little knowledge" is present there are many chances for error.

Some years ago, when beginning his studies of Algonkian philology among the Mississauga Indians of Skugog, Ontario, the writer had occasion to ask an Indian, supposed to know some English, what was the Mississauga word for "honey-comb." The answer was *amo pinokwan*; and, upon a second inquiry, *amo sisibakwat pinokwan*. Now, *pinokwan* signifies "comb," but one used for the hair, and not the sort to be found in hives; *amo* means "bee"; and *sisibakwat* is "sugar." Both expressions are, therefore, linguistic as well as biological nonsense. The Indian, with imperfect *Sprach-*

gefühl for both his mother-tongue and the foreign language, or perhaps with intent to deceive the white man, just "translated" the word *honey-comb* literally, and let it go at that.

Absolute, intentional deceit has often occurred. The "savage" sometimes coins words or phrases to please or to delude his questioner. The same thing happens in child-language, where the young human takes delight in deceiving his adult observer, or in catering in fanciful mode to his unfortunate suggestions. Child-study could, doubtless, furnish parallels for the experience of the scientist among a certain Polynesian tribe, who, instead of receiving as he thought the higher numerals in their language, really obtained many obscene and indecent expressions, all of which, of course, went duly on record.

Sometimes, too, the investigator chances to get among the young people first, and, taking down his vocabulary from them only, ultimately discovers that he has really recorded the most colloquial terms, and not the real language of the people at all. For, in the uncivilized, as well as in the civilized world, youth has its own slang and kindred forms of speech. If, for instance, a white man obtained from the Lower Kootenay Indian youth the word for "horse," it would be *k'atla*, and not the imposing *k'itlk'atlahaatltsin* of their elders. But the Kootenay youth's abbreviation of the long word is after all no different from the cuts in our own English that have given us such monosyllables as "cab" and "mob," which once were but slang terms. Nevertheless, to record them as in polite usage when they were mere slang would be a misstatement of fact which the inexperienced investigator among savage and barbarous peoples is often liable to make.

In obtaining words relating to the human or animal body, its parts, functions, etc., the more or less ignorant investigator, innocent of the speech of the people he is studying, has recourse to the method of physical interrogation, i. e., he points to, or touches, that thing of which he desires to record the name. In this way, many amusing and embarrassing mistakes have occurred. Even good investigators cannot always escape such errors. Thus, in a vocabulary of the Kootenay language recorded by Dr. G. M. Dawson, the word for "armpit" is given as *a-kit-hloo-e*. Now, *ah-kit-hloo-e* (properly, *aqkiltwi*) really signifies "heart." In this case, the person questioning the Indian touched him, or himself, somewhere under the left shoulder near the heart, and received the Kootenay name for that organ. Had the physical indication been more exact, the correct term might have been obtained.

In the same vocabulary, the word given for "bone" is *a-ko-kla*, evidently the Kootenay *aqkoktla*, "skin." Here the investigator touched an Indian, or himself, on some part of the body, or on one of its members, where a bone was prominent (e. g., the wrist), and the Indian, understanding him to have touched or pinched the skin and not the bone, gave him the term in his language for the former and not for the latter.

The writer himself had two very interesting experiences along very similar lines, while among the Kootenay Indians. One day, in an endeavor to obtain the Kootenay word for "pinch," he pinched an Indian on the flesh of his body, whereupon the Indian said at once *kakoktla*, i. e., "my skin." This was all right from his point of view, but had nothing at all to do with "pinch," an idea quite ignored in this answer. The Indian was attending to his own feelings and his own personality, and to him the "pinch" administered to his skin was but one way of asking its name.

On another occasion, when in search of the Kootenay word for "tickle," I picked up a feather and with it tickled an Indian upon the bare chest. Asking then for the Kootenay term, I received the answer, *kisukitlqoine*, a word which signifies literally, "the body is (or feels) good," and, freely, "the bodily sensation is pleasant." Here the Indian named the sensation as he felt it, and not the action as performed by some one else. The fact recorded in the word employed by him was thus rather psychological (i. e., to be tickled on the body with a feather is pleasurable) than linguistic. Had the investigator, in this case, not possessed some knowledge of the morphology and grammar of the Kootenay language, the word *kisukitlqoine* might have gone on record as the Indian term for "tickle," with no hint whatever of its psychological significance and implication. Out of it, however, a good Kootenay word for "tickle" could easily arise.

Not all human languages are characterized by the same degree of generalization or the same system of classification of actions, movements, etc.; nor do all name by one and the same term an identical act performed by a man, a beast, a bird, a fish and an insect; nor, again, is the same organ (a *tail*, for example) named by one and the same word in all languages when belonging to a beast, a bird, or a fish. Not only are distinctions in these respects often made between man and the rest of the animal creation, but also sometimes between mammals and birds, and between these and fishes.

An investigator among certain American Indian peoples for the

first time, might observe a fish swimming along in the river at his feet, ask some native about it, and duly receive a word expressing the act performed, which he would set down in his vocabulary as the Indian term for "swim." Not until he had been in swimming himself, or had seen an Indian do so, and heard the others describing the act of the man, or until he had at leisure looked over the texts he had succeeded in recording and had become more or less acquainted with the genius of that particular language, would he know that his word for "swim" referred solely to the act of swimming as performed by a fish, and was in no way inclusive, as in our English "swim," of that act as performed by a man, a bear, a duck, a fish, an insect, etc., to say nothing of its use as a synonym of "float."

In some languages the foot of a man and that of any one of the other mammals may be expressed by the same word and the hand by another, whereas the foot of a bird requires an entirely different term. In the Kootenay language, e. g., there are three different words for "tail" according as the reference is to a beast, a bird, or a fish. Nor can one, in that form of human speech, use, as we do in English, one word indiscriminately for hair of a man's head, and hair of one of the lower animals. Equally incorrect would it be, in some languages, to follow the English practice of applying the one word "cold," to water, the atmosphere, metal of any sort, and bodily sensation; and the same thing is true with regard to "warm." Curiously enough, however, we find sometimes that the words for "cold" and "warm" are not always equally restricted or diversified, for it may happen in certain languages that one of these terms more approaches our own English usage, while the other exemplifies thoroughly the point under discussion here.

Among ourselves, children sometimes wonder why a cup of "tea" wet and a spoonful of "tea" dry should be named by just the same word; and "coffee" appears to them under three different forms, whole, ground, and liquid. We lighten the matter somewhat, but do not settle it completely, by speaking of "tea leaves" and "coffee beans," using the same analogies as are employed by primitive peoples. An investigator, meeting a Kootenay Indian at a grocery-store and asking from him the words for "tea" and "coffee" would receive as answers, respectively, *aqkottlakpe'k* and *tsam'na*, the first signifying literally "leaf," and the latter "bean." But enjoying the hospitality of some Indian lodge, and inquiring the names of the liquid "tea" and "coffee" there dispensed, he would get the words *aqkottlakpe'kmatlak* and *k'komk'akittell*, since

there exist, apparently, no Kootenay terms of a nature indefinite and general to the same extent as our English "tea" and "coffee." The investigator needs always be on the watch for the different ways in which things denoted in his own language by a single comprehensive and loosely-used term, may present themselves to the native mind, and hence require separate and definite naming. In the matter of "leaf" and "bean" the Kootenay Indian is of one and the same thought with ourselves, but differs from us when it comes to the loose generalizing so common in the languages of civilized man. It would be natural with us to assume that to an object of foreign origin or manufacture, identical, or practically so, with one of native origin or home manufacture, uncivilized individuals would attach the same name. But this assumption is not always safe when dealing with savage and barbarous tribes, who often take advantage of peculiarities and characteristics too small or too insignificant to be thought of any importance by "civilized" people, to distinguish neatly and clearly what appear to the latter as incidental and are assigned but one name.

To the white trader of the eighteenth century the tobacco pipe of the Indian and his own (imported from Europe) were equally "pipes," and minor qualities of form and the like did not bother him at all. But the Nipissing Indians of the Algonkian stock were quick to notice the clay pipe of European manufacture had a little projection at the bottom of the bowl on the outside, and named them *tisiwipwagan*, or "pipe with a navel," thus marking them off their own tobacco pipe, *opwagan*. So the word for "pipe" an investigator might receive from these Indians would be different, according as he inquired after the native or the exotic article, or obtained the term he recorded from one who was familiar with both, or from one who had seen the pipe of foreign manufacture.

The savage and the barbarian, who are by no means devoid of a sense of humor, often make merry over the blunders of the white man amid the intricacies of aboriginal speech, as did a Kootenay, who brought the writer a little "tamarack-tree" instead of the "brook-trout" for which he had asked, or rather thought he had. In the Kootenay language a "tamarack" is called *k'ustet* and a "brook-trout" *k'ustet*, just a twist in the guttural to mark the difference.

Perhaps the most remarkable experience of an individual of the white race in connection with the language of a primitive people is that of Dr. E. Uricoechea, the South American philologist. When he went among the Indians of the Rio Meta in Colombia he had

in hand written texts in their language, but found it impossible to make himself understood by means of these as he pronounced them. So he sought out an interpreter, and with him learned the language, or at least a part of it, repeating and repeating words and phrases until he was assured that he had the right pronunciation. Then he went again to the Indians, but fared not much better than at first. Returning to his teacher, he found that even he could not understand them when his pupil used the words and phrases he had taught him. The *Sprachgefühl* of the white man was not delicate or sensitive enough to discriminate and to retain the numerous fine distinctions in sound which came easily to the trained apperception of the Indian.

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS.

Whenever two races and two forms of culture meet or clash there are sure to be some interesting sociological results, especially with regard to manner and customs. Take *scalping* for example. It is surely no compliment to our race that Dr. G. Friederici devotes some forty pages of his recent monograph on scalping and related war-customs in primitive America to the consideration of "the increase in the custom of scalping through the influence of the European colonists." But this title is justified by the facts of history. Over certain large areas in North America the practice of scalping is shown to be of comparatively recent vogue and origin, and in several localities its extension is the result of white contact. The introduction of guns (weapons so much more effective than bows and arrows, etc.) among Indian tribes who were already in the habit of scalping their enemies increased greatly the number of the killed and the severely wounded in battles and massacres, and therefore the chances of obtaining scalps.

The possession of the new weapons likewise added to the frequency of intertribal disputes and to the fatalities in the combats arising from them.

Another factor leading to an increase in the practice of scalping of an intensive sort was the sale and presentation to the Indians of the "scalping-knife," a keen-bladed instrument far superior for the required purpose to anything they had previously had in their possession, and this facilitated immensely the scalping process. Not only did the whites encourage Indian tribes to scalp each other, but the various nations of white men in North America from time to time paid the aborigines to scalp their white adversaries.

Both English and French seem to have offered premiums for the scalps of red men and white. Those of men, women and children were all paid for at various times in the history of French and English colonization, and the hope of such material reward was doubtless one of the efficient promoters of not a few horrible massacres where neither sex nor age was spared. No wonder that, in possession of the gun and the iron knife and encouraged by the scalp-premium, savages with whom scalping had previously not amounted to very much now abandoned themselves to it with a zeal and a dexterity that soon equaled those of tribes to whom the custom was no new thing, and with whom the new weapons merely meant added facilities in the practice of an old-time device. And some of the whites even took to scalping, becoming not less expert at it than the Indians themselves. This was true of many backwoodsmen and "pioneers," who are said even to have taught non-scalping Indians sometimes to scalp. The cumulative effect of all these new factors upon the extension of the custom of scalping among the Indians of North America was great indeed.

The custom of smoking tobacco and the cultivation of that narcotic on a large scale were unknown to many American Indian tribes until the enterprise of Virginian tobacco-planters and European pipe-manufacturers made extension of trade a necessity, or until the Indians with whom tobacco-smoking had been more or less a somewhat limited ceremonial, followed white example and made it one of the common every-day pleasures and occupations of life.

The use of intoxicating liquors is another case in point. It is well known that much of the drunkenness now prevalent among the "lower" races is due to contact with so-called higher civilization. But even in cases where the aborigines possessed intoxicating drinks before the advent of the whites the coming of the latter has not infrequently increased the amount of drunkenness among them.

The wild Tobas of the Paraguay border afford a curious example of this result. In pre-Columbian times the Indians of this part of South America had learned to extract from the *algorabo* fruit an intoxicating liquor of considerable potency, and annually at the period of harvesting this fruit, they were accustomed to get drunk, at a festival held for that special purpose. The introduction of civilization, with its new intoxicants, has enabled the Tobas to get royally drunk at least once a week, Sunday serving them principally as the occasion of such debauches. Fric, who visited these Indians in 1903-1904, testifies to the noisy and quarrelsome character

of these weekly spree that have now taken the place of the old annual "drunks."

With not a few savage and barbarous peoples the use of such strong drinks as they possessed was confined to the male half of the community, indulgence in these things being tabu for women. The advent of civilization, and the breaking down of old native customs as a result, has not infrequently caused the extension of drinking customs to members of the other sex with very disastrous consequences. Our race has been from time to time responsible for the appearance of several kinds of "new woman" among primitive peoples, and very rarely have these been an improvement upon the old.

The complete history of the attempt to impose Sunday as a day of rest upon certain savage and barbarous peoples would be a document of great interest and value. In lands where nature has provided abundantly for man, and where there is little need, if any, for toil on his part, as is the case in certain tropical and semi-tropical environments in both hemispheres, the setting aside of Sunday as "a day of rest" seems almost like putting a premium upon human laziness in circumstances under which it is difficult enough, in every way, during the remainder of the week, to stimulate or to induce any sort of activity of body or of mind. In some regions also the result has been to emphasize still further the already unfair division of labor between the sexes by allowing the male half of the population to escape with even less healthful exertion than before. In the language of the Cherokee Indians, one of the names for Sunday is said to signify, "when everybody does nothing all day long."

This thoroughgoing appreciation of the day of rest has a curious origin. Among these Indians Saturday afternoon was the time for their great ball-play, and the strenuous game was prepared for by a dance on the night previous. Thus did Sunday come to be a real day of rest. Another side of the question was revealed among one of the many tribes of Polynesia. This people had always been a very hospitable sort, and their latch-string was always out, strangers being welcome at all times. This naturally caused a great deal of work on every day of the week, and Sunday, like the others, was often full of feasting and entertainment. This did not suit the missionaries of Sabbatarian tendencies, who desired to have Sunday a day of complete rest from secular activities. The net result of a strict observance of Sunday here was, therefore, to reduce native hospitality by more than one-seventh, and, eventually, perhaps, to sap its strength altogether.

The representatives of the "higher civilization" sometimes achieve reforms among uncivilized tribes or peoples, for reasons they little dream of. A change in manners and customs is once in a while effected on a very strange basis and one in which the foreign missionary or teacher has had no intentional part. That all call for soap indicates an instinct for cleanliness, or the dawn of such at least, is the first thought that comes into the mind of the enlightened member of the white race on hearing of the demand for this article on the part of some far-off savage people. But the situation sometimes arises not through hygienic but through merely cosmetic or ornamental reasons. That the primitive individual "will not be happy till he gets it" is plain enough, but what inspires him is not a desire to be clean, but his knowledge of a new way to make himself more attractive. Thus Van der Sande reports that he once washed half the face of a young Papuan of the Manikion tribe in New Guinea with soap, with the result that the operation seemed to "bring on a lighter hue." The young man was quite pleased with this and walked about somewhat proudly conscious of a newly-acquired charm or ornament. The subsequent demand on the part of the natives for soap was, therefore, not attributable to the desire to be clean, but to the feeling for personal beauty or adornment.

In another region of New Guinea a sudden demand for washing-blue was entirely unconnected with any improvement in the laundry facilities of the people in question, but arose solely from the fact that they had discovered the excellent quality it possessed for tinting the human skin. Here, again, the motive was cosmetic, not hygienic. And many other products of our "higher" culture have in like manner among savage and barbarous peoples been put to uses strange to us but to them entirely reasonable.

SOME PEDAGOGICAL DIFFICULTIES.

The attempts of the higher races to confer upon the lower the blessings of their own civilization reveal many humorous and many pathetic situations in which often the prejudice of the civilized teacher in favor of his inherited culture is greater than his wit and wisdom in overcoming the objections of his uncivilized pupils. It is too commonly the case that the representatives of our superior culture decree that there is but one way of conferring the new status upon the savage or the barbarian, and that way must be gone through, though the primitive heavens fall.

A good deal depends on how the young "savage" is introduced

to the ideals of our race. Take, for example, the following instance of contact between the white and the red races, which comes from a certain Indian school in the Canadian Northwest. It was the custom to cut the hair of all boys as soon as they entered the institution. One boy objected, even more strenuously than his fellows to this treatment. One day, running his hands over his close-cropped head, he said to his teacher: "Me no like this. Just like Debbil." In astonishment the teacher exclaimed, "Why, what do you mean?" For answer the Indian boy turned over the pages of the illustrated Bible that lay before him and observed: "See, all good men long hair, only Debbil short!" And so it was. The patriarchs, kings, prophets and other estimable characters in sacred history all had long hair, while Satan, the personification of evil, was distinguished either by having his hair close-cropped or else had none at all. Resemblance to the Devil is hardly the best idea to cause to spring up in the mind of one who has newly come into the pale of our modern Christian culture.

First contacts, such as that just noted, often decide for good or ill the whole course of education in the case of the individual. The really human points of contact and the psychological moment are the things of supreme importance. Missionaries, in their efforts to convert and to instruct the heathen by means of sermons based upon particular Bible texts, are often guilty of the most grievous tactical errors, if of nothing worse.

There is on record (on the authority of the Rev. E. R. Young, a Methodist missionary among the Indians of the Canadian Northwest), the instance of a missionary in that region, who took as his text: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest." His congregation were treated to a discourse on life and labor, and particular stress was laid upon the fact that all *men* had to toil and bear heavy burdens. This was among a tribe with whom the women were the burden-bearers *par excellence*, and the men prided themselves as being above work. The result was a primitive indignation meeting on the part of the men after the service had ended, and the preacher was thus advised: "Let him go to the *squaws* with that sort of talk. *They carry the burdens and do the hard work*. Such stuff as that is for women, not for men."

This missionary had no more success than had another in the Japanese field, who is reported to have discoursed eloquently from the text: "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife" (Mark x. 5)—and that in a country where

filial obedience (nay, even filial servitude) constituted the primal virtue. This is one of the texts in our Bible, seized upon by the opponents of the foreign religion, in their efforts to prove it immoral and antagonistic to the fundamental principles of Japanese society.

Of course most of these mistakes of missionaries are due to ignorance or mere indiscretion, but it is sometimes difficult to accept such excuses when we remember what has occurred not infrequently where the congregation consisted wholly of white people, or nearly so, as has been the case, for instance, in the Canadian and American Northwest. The writer himself heard an Episcopalian minister, who at certain stated times visited the settlements in parts of northern Idaho and southeastern British Columbia, preach a sermon from the text: "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat" (Gen. iii. 12), a sermon which was really an arraignment of woman as responsible for so many of the sins and the shortcomings of mankind. The audience, gathered in the large room of the only inn for 100 miles each way, consisted of some 20 whites, 3 Chinamen and 4 or 5 Indians. Of the white men all but two were bachelors, and in all that region the white women could have been counted on the fingers of one hand. Women, indeed, were at such a premium that good-looking squaws found but little difficulty in obtaining white husbands. And yet a minister of the Gospel could preach such a sermon in such a place!

Humorous, rather than pathetic, was the situation of another missionary, who in his innocence began, as he thought, his discourse with the words, "Noble red men, children of the forest!" But what he really said was: "Great painted people, rabbits!" for at the time of his advent "children of the forest" happened to be a colloquial term for rabbits. Instead of using whatever might have been the Indian expression corresponding to our "red men" as applied to the American aborigines, he had employed native words which could signify only "painted (red) people," and the words used for "noble" meant simply "great" or "large." What strange notions of our civilization and its ideals primitive peoples must sometimes get from listening to the accounts of it given by such representatives!

The teacher has about as many troubles of this sort as has the preacher. Witness an example from negro Africa. The progress of education in mission schools in various parts of the world has led to the inclusion of physiology in the curriculum of some of

them, as, for instance, the Training Institute for Boys maintained by the Baptists at Yakusu among the Lokele, a Bantu tribe, in the region of Stanley Falls on the Upper Congo. The attempt to give these young negroes some elementary physiological ideas met with no success on account of the peculiar views of the natives concerning the human stomach, the discussion and representation of which figures so largely in our scientific treatises and text-books. The Lokele are of opinion that good men do not have stomachs at all, the process of digestion being all performed in the intestines. Absence of a stomach is the reason why people are able to come off unscathed when made to submit to the ordeals by poison, etc., in vogue among these African tribes. Only evil men, possessed by some bad spirit, have ever a stomach, which is regarded as the abiding-place of the spirit of evil himself, something thoroughly unlucky and ill-omened for any human being to harbor within his body. No argument availed to remove or weaken this curious idea. If the teachers pointed out that certain men, who had died or been killed within the knowledge of all, had stomachs, the answer was that it was their very possession of the organ in question that had been their undoing. Nor did experiments with such animals as goats, monkeys, etc., settle the matter. Here the reply was made that facts derived from the observation of animals could in no way prove anything with respect to human beings.

One sees at a glance the impossibility of convincing the Lokele of the evil results of the consumption of alcohol by our familiar American method of the pictorial display of the effects of its consumption upon the human stomach. Good, strong men, having no stomachs, must, in the opinion of these negroes, be entirely immune from such consequences.

Another interesting item comes from far-off New Zealand. In spite of the fierce battles of other days between the Polynesian aborigines and the English colonists, they are still a long way from becoming extinct. In 1908 there were over 9000 Maori children in attendance at various educational institutions, including some 4000 in the native village schools. In many of these schools the attempt has been made by white teachers to popularize the study of agriculture among the Maoris by the introduction of school-gardens for the children, an experiment very successful in America and elsewhere. But all efforts to induce the Maori children to take up the school-garden utterly failed. The reason for this is rather curious. To the Maoris all sorts of manure are tabu, and they will not even use products of the fields fertilized by such means. Hence

no little Maori could ever "garden" like his white companion or friend. Not even the observed fact that the manured garden-plots of the whites produced four times as many pounds of potatoes as the unmanured availed anything to weaken the tabu, although some of the more conservative Maori adults wondered to see the manured plots produce anything at all. Thus an ancient tabu of manure affected the curriculum of the modern school-system of New Zealand.

AN ACCIDENT THAT LED TO A NOTABLE DISCOVERY.

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

IN Ernst Mach's well-known lecture "On the Part Played by Accident in Invention and Discovery,"¹ there is no mention of the remarkable accident that led to Oersted's² momentous discovery of the action of an electric current on a magnetic needle. An interesting account of this accident was given by Christopher Hansteen³ in a letter of December 30, 1857, to Faraday.⁴ From this letter we will make the following extract:

"Professor Oersted was a man of genius, but he was a very unhappy experimenter; he could not manipulate instruments. He must always have an assistant, or one of his auditors who had easy hands, to arrange the experiment; I have often in this way assisted him as his auditor. Already in the former century there was a general idea that there was a great conformity, and perhaps identity, between the electrical and magnetical force; it was only the question how to demonstrate it by experiments. Oersted tried to place the wire of his galvanic battery perpendicular (at right angles) over the magnetic needle, but remarked no sensible motion. Once, after the end of his lecture, as he had used a strong galvanic battery in other experiments, he said, 'Let us now, while the battery is in activity, try to place the wire parallel with the needle.' When this was done, he was quite struck with perplexity by seeing the needle making a great oscillation (almost at right angles with the magnetic meridian). Then he said, 'Let us now invert the direction

¹ *Popular Scientific Lectures*, 3d ed., Chicago, 1898, pp. 259-281.

² Hans Christian Oersted (1777-1851).

³ Hansteen lived from 1784 to 1873. His famous researches on terrestrial magnetism began in 1812.

⁴ H. Bence Jones, *The Life and Letters of Faraday*, London, 1870, Vol. II, pp. 395-397.

of the current,' and the needle deviated in the opposite direction. Thus the great discovery was made; and it has been said, not without reason, that 'he tumbled over it by accident.' He had not before had any more idea than any other person that the force should be *transversal*. But as Lagrange said of Newton on a similar occasion, 'such accidents only meet persons who deserve them.'"

In connection with what may be considered as a happy accident for Newton—the discovery of a whole solar system as a field of application for his newly discovered fluxional calculus—it is worth while to quote Delambre's⁵ report of what Lagrange said: "...M. Lagrange, often quoted him [Newton] as the greatest genius who ever existed, adding at the same time: 'and the most fortunate; one does not find more than once a system of the world to establish.'"

*"...M. Lagrange...le citait souvent comme le plus grand génie qui eût jamais existé, ajoutait-il aussitôt: 'et le plus heureux; on ne trouve qu'une fois un système du monde à établir.'" "Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Le Comte J." L. Lagrange, *Œuvres de Lagrange*, Vol. I, p. xx.

A GREAT ARYAN MOVEMENT.

BY BHAI PARMANAND.

IN this age the Aryan race has played a very prominent part in the history of humanity. The Aryan races of the west are now leaders in science and material power. Before these West-Aryans began their march of progress, their elder brethren, the East-Aryans, had displayed their powers of development in several branches of human activity. They excelled chiefly in religion, i. e., the sentiment that guides man in the conduct of life.

It has now become a well-established fact that the East-Aryans have exercised an immense influence on the religious growth of mankind. Hinduism and Buddhism are distinctly of Aryan origin. The Zoroastrian religion which is a link connecting Aryan with Semitic thought, is also Aryan and bears the greatest resemblance to Hinduism in its beliefs and customs. The style of the Zend-Avesta is similar to that of the Veda and even the word *Zend* is supposed to have been derived from *Chhand*, the Sanskrit word for the Verses of the Veda. Dogmatic Judaism was largely based upon the Zoroastrian religion and Christianity in addition to that, borrowed much from Buddhism.

Hinduism, in its ancient form Vedism, is the oldest of these systems. Moreover, it has come into closest touch with the other systems and has survived them all. Buddhism was its own child, and when Buddhism in its vigor turned to extirpate it, a conflict ensued in India which lasted for nearly a thousand years. The struggle is marked by the complete absence of those incidents that startle and frighten the human mind in the history of Semitic religions.

No sooner was the struggle over, than Hinduism, very much exhausted, was called upon to defend itself against the attacks of Mohammedanism. This proselyting form of Judaism rose like a storm from Arabia and spread both east and west. Soon it swept over

the whole of Northern Africa and Spain; and was advancing rapidly when it met the assembled forces of Christianity on the field of Paris. Fortunately for Christianity a division had broken out in the Mohammedan camp and the Christian army was victorious. It was a critical time for Christianity. Had Charles Martel been defeated, says Gibbons, "the Mohammedan *mullas* (priests) would have been lecturing on the commentaries of Quran to circumcised audiences in the colleges of Oxford to-day." After destroying Zoroastrianism in Persia, this storm dashed itself for 800 years against Hinduism, the patient heroism of whose martyrs in the course of centuries blunted the edge of the Moslem sword. This war was hardly ended when there appeared another formidable foe on the scene. Christianity came to India supported by material influence and the power of wealth, and it has been in operation there for the last three hundred years.

It was in the fitness of things that a great saviour should arise in a country rich in such traditions. Prophets and saviours always arise among downtrodden and crushed peoples, because the condition of the people requires a message of mercy and love. These saviours are incarnations of love and mercy and are therefore believed to be divine. The year 1824 will remain important in the nineteenth century history of India, as in that year such a prophet was born in a humble Brahman family in a Hindu state of Western India.

Nothing supernatural or unnatural is said to have happened at the birth of Swami Dayanand, as that was not necessary for the mission of his life. While still a boy of thirteen his conscience was roused by an ordinary incident. It is a Hindu custom to keep vigil on a certain night during the year and dedicate it to the worship of the god Siva. Dayanand's parents went to sleep after remaining awake for some time, when he observed that some rats came out of a corner and ran over the image of the god. Strong doubts with regard to the current beliefs of his people arose in his mind. Even at that young age, he had studied the scriptures carefully, but henceforth he began to read them from a new standpoint. He constantly thought of religion and differences in religion. He saw himself confronted with the great problem, why there were so many religions and why there were so many sects in each religion.

Eight more years thus passed away. He was twenty-one when two deaths occurred in his own family, those of his uncle and his sister. The youth stood face to face with death. The sight of death gives rise to serious thoughts in every one of us, but they seldom

leave a lasting impression. In Swami Dayanand's case this experience was the turning point of his life. It gave the second great impulse to his youthful mind and was the cause of his renunciation. He stole away from his home, though his parents succeeded in catching him and at once made preparations for his marriage in order to bind him to the world. Again he fled, but not to be brought back this time. Then followed the period of asceticism. Years were spent in jungles and mountains in solitary meditation or in the company of great ascetics. That was the path of individual perfection. Had he been contented like the rest of his type with self-realization alone, he would not have cared to come again into the world of struggle and strife. But Swami Dayanand had determined upon another course. He could not be satisfied with his individual salvation, when the rest of mankind was sunk in ignorance and darkness. He must find some remedy for the evil. Finally he met a blind old sage, Vir-ganand, who impressed upon his mind the importance of the Veda. That was the key to the solution of his doubts and difficulties. That was the light he received from his teacher and he made up his mind to spread it.

Truth is one. How can we know truth from falsehood? Our last appeal is to reason. But reason alone can not be a safe guide. It is so much clouded by the mists of prejudice that it leads people differently brought up to different conclusions. We can not therefore rely wholly upon reason. Dayanand's solution is quite new. He deals with the question historically and applies to it the comparative method. Treating the subject of religion by this method, we come to know how various forms and formularies have been added to religion and how they have changed, distorted and disfigured it; until now religion has become a fetter for men who are as helpless in their ignorance as the bull that has wound its tether-rope round the tree and stands tied and chained to it. Dayanand's return to the Veda is like the turning of the bull's face backwards which is sure to restore him to his complete original freedom. Swami Dayanand asserts this principle in the words of the philosopher Schopenhauer, that "the wisdom of the Aryan seers can not be pushed aside by the events of Galilee; on the other hand the primitive wisdom of mankind will flow back on Europe and create a change in our knowing and thinking."

His position in Hinduism is that of a reformer like the great Buddha. He saw that many evil customs and creeds had crept into modern Hinduism from which it required to be purified and restored to its pure Vedic form. With regard to other great religions, he

thought that if properly interpreted the teachings of all of them could be traced to the Veda. He began to preach his idea. He met with severe opposition, not only from the Christian and Mohammedan priests, but from the Hindu pandits as well. His only support was his character and learning. He had many public discussions with the representatives of all religions. He was undoubtedly the most learned man of his age. In a big gathering at Benares, the center of Hindu learning, where he stood in the midst of a large number of his adversaries, the chairman of the meeting compared his position to that of a lion in the forest.

One or two incidents of his life will show the magnanimity and boldness of Swami Dayanand's character. Once when he was preaching a man brought him a betel-leaf to chew. He soon spit it out, and it was found to contain poison. The man was arrested but Swami Dayanand begged for his release on the ground—as he expressed it—that his mission was to free human beings and not to send them to prison.

On another occasion, he was staying in a garden in the capital of a large Rajput state. When the ruler came to pay him his respects, he was accompanied by his mistress. Swami Dayanand's first words were to preach to him on the duties of kings, pointing out that the ruler should not have exhibited himself in the way he had done. The ruler was all-powerful and the rebuke might even have cost Swami Dayanand his life. The mistress became one of his enemies and is said to have been instrumental in attempts to poison him.

The active work of Swami Dayanand extended over a decade, the greater part of which was spent in Rajputawa, in the oldest and most important Hindu states. He seemed to believe that as long as certain Hindu states (particularly Rajputs) did not experience some awakening, real life could not be restored to Hinduism and that it alone could be the right instrument for a general revival of Vedism.

He spent a very short time in Northern India during which period he founded a great movement called the "Arya Samaj." The extraordinary feature that distinguishes him from all other teachers, is that he altogether excluded his personality from his teachings. He begins his works by stating that the reader is at perfect liberty to reject what he sees that is wrong, and to accept only what appears to him to be right. This peculiar feature of Swami Dayanand was clearly shown when he was laying the foundations of the Arya Samaj in 1876. In spite of urgent and repeated requests of the

members, he definitely declined to be named patron, guru (teacher) or even president of the society. He joined as a simple member like the others and continued in that relation till the end of his life.

In the course of one generation the Arya Samaj has displayed remarkable activity. It has spread over all parts of India and counts hundreds of thousands among its members. It would not be wrong to say that the Arya Samaj is the only living organization in the whole of India. Swami Dayanand did not live long to work for the movement. He died at Ajmere in November, 1883, of chronic poisoning.

His death was sublime; he remained perfectly calm and undisturbed till his last breath. As a memorial to Swami Dayanand the Arya Samaj erected a college in Lahore, called the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, which at present is the largest educational institution in Northern India. Its funded capital has grown to more than a million of rupees, mostly subscribed by the poor and middle classes. Its principal, L. Hans Raj retired only last January after doing a self-denying and devoted service during the best twenty-five years of his life. He lived a life of poverty and although he had a fairly large family worked all these years without remuneration. A number of his pupils have followed his example. Giving up their material prospects, they have joined the college and are working as professors there on a bare maintenance.

The Arya Samaj supports another unique institution, known as the Guru Kula Academy, at Haridwar. It follows strictly the ancient Aryan system of education. It is superintended and managed by another equally devoted and self-sacrificing great leader of men, L. Munshi Ram, and is also manned by a similar band of professors. It is one of the most remarkable institutions in the world and has elicited the admiration of all who have visited it. Many other high schools (for boys and girls) and branches of Guru Kula are carried on by the Arya Samaj.

The philanthropic work of the Arya Samaj is no less noteworthy. During the frequent famines and other similar calamities in the country, the greatest amount of relief from any public body has come from the Arya Samaj. The leader in this line of Samaj work is L. Lajpat Rai, who is better known on account of his recent deportation by the government of India. The only great college for the education of girls in Northern India, is managed by another great worker, L. Deva Raj. All of these men take their inspiration from Swami Dayanand and the Arya Samaj which is the source of light and life to the people.

What Swami Dayanand aimed at in founding this movement, can be best understood by turning our attention to the following few extracts from the preface of his work which has been translated into English under the title *Light of Truth*.

He says: "It is a well-known fact that 5000 years ago there existed no other religion in the whole world but the Vedic."

This is the basic principle from which he takes his start. The statement is rather startling to one who is not familiar with the working of historical forces in the early ages. On the discovery of Sanskrit the western people thought that the language was a mere forgery. Soon, however, the time came when Sanskrit came to be regarded as the mother of the Aryan stock of languages. At any rate the discovery brought a great many facts to light with regard to the early divisions of humanity and created the science of comparative philology.

Similarly, the allied science of comparative theology has thrown new light on the subject of religion. It is demonstrating to-day that what we call different religions are mere perversions or exaggerations of one and the same religion; and also that all religions are derived from one another. We are told by those who have made a study of the different religions, that the various religious doctrines and theories of cosmogony, of evil, of redemption and of resurrection, etc., are nothing more than distortions of simple primitive ideas. Let the horizon before humanity extend and we shall see things that we could never imagine. On this subject, the testimony of Prof. Max Müller, perhaps the greatest authority on these matters, is of great interest. "I have often pointed out," he says in his *Lectures on Vedanta*, "that the real importance, nay the unique character of the Veda will always be, not so much its purely chronological antiquity, great though it may be, as the opportunity which it affords us of watching the active process of fermentation of early thought. We see in the Vedic hymns the first revelation of Deity, the first expressions of surprise and suspicion, the first discovery that behind this visible and perishable world there must be something invisible, eternal or divine. No one who has read the hymns of the Rigveda, can doubt any longer *as to what was the origin of the earliest Aryan religion and mythology*. Nearly all the leading deities of the Veda bear the unmistakable traces of their physical character. Their very names tell us that they were in the beginning names of the great phenomena of nature, of fire, rain and storm; of sun and moon, of heaven and earth. Afterwards we see how these so-called deities and heroes became the centers of mythological tra-

ditions, wherever the Aryan speakers settled, whether in Asia or in Europe."

"This is the result," he goes on, "gained once for all and this light has shed its rays far beyond the Vedic mythology and religion and lightened up the darkest corner in the history of the mythological and religious thoughts of the other Aryan nations, nay, of the nations unconnected by their language with the speakers of the Aryan speech."

It is argued on the other side, that it may be true that the Veda contains the primitive ideas of the Aryans, but religion has been undergoing a process of evolution, and in the course of centuries of development, pure Christian theism has evolved out of vulgar polytheism. Yes, evolution there has been, but only to find at last that in the search for absolute metaphysical truth religion simply blundered and ended in confusion worse confounded. As regards pure theism, it is a question whether the Semitic conception of God as the creator and governor of the universe, who, paying little heed to the rest of infinite creation, interferes so often in the affairs of the Semitic people and treats them as his personal concern, can any longer stand the scrutiny of modern science.

Do we then mean to go back to paganism? The word is no sooner spoken, than all the evil associations in our mind are aroused in connection with it. Such is the force of habit. A moment's serious consideration however will show that Christianity as a system of religion was in no way an advance upon paganism. The facts of history are very stubborn and they utterly disprove all such Christian assertions. In the first place, under the pagan world there was perfect tolerance and freedom of opinion. Christianity brought in its train intolerance, wars, persecutions, and the Inquisition. Again, science and philosophy flourished in pagan times; whereas while the Christian church was supreme in Europe, science and philosophy were suppressed. But it is said that Christianity civilized the semi-barbarous nations of Europe. The fact is that pagan Rome was politically the mistress of Europe and was casting abroad the seeds of her civilization. When Rome became Christian, she again took up her old work of civilizing Europe, but this time through Christianity and holding the nations in complete intellectual subjection.

It was the old pagan spirit and love of nature that broke the spell of Christianity. Modern civilization dates from the period of the Renaissance which was a movement of pagan revival; and it spread because the intellect of Europe could no longer be kept to

the yoke of the church. The revival of pagan learning led to a general intellectual awakening in Europe, which resulted in the great movements of the Reformation and the Revolution. It is the same spirit of inquiry that has undermined Christian theories and is gradually taking the world back to paganism. This will correct the great historical error which is committed in the acceptance of the genealogy of the clan of the Jews by the great Aryan nations of Europe for their lineage. Paganism was simply another and a modified form of the Aryan social system and is no doubt a natural condition of human society. Among primitive races mythology was their peculiar mode of giving expression to their ideas. It was to them what poetry is to us.

Again Swami Dayanand says: "The turning away from the pursuit of the study of the Veda led to the spread of ignorance and intellectual darkness all over the world. The understanding of men having become clouded, they founded religions just as they thought fit."

Veda comes from the root *vid* which is the same as wit, meaning to know. Veda thus means knowledge. Knowledge can be expressed by means of words alone. Words are the body of knowledge without which it is impossible to conceive of its existence. According to Swami Dayanand the knowledge and the word are both without beginning and end.

The Aryans spread far and wide. As there were no written books of the Veda, the time came when they forgot all about this possession of their race. The Hindu Aryans alone preserved the Veda in the shape of four books. Until late in human history nations learned a great deal from one another, and whatever was learned, was properly assimilated. Wherever the Aryans went they spread their civilization and Aryanized other races.

Religion then existed in its pure form free from alloy. It had an entirely different significance. It could not be thought of as having any originator or founder, just as we can not think of an originator of truth, love or charity. Zoroaster, like Confucius, was a great moral teacher and benefactor of his race. Moses was a deliverer of his tribe. No doubt the Jewish prophets entertained a belief that their tribe were the chosen people of God; they never thought of extending their beliefs or customs to other peoples. They seem to be rather jealous lest others share their special boons with them. The annals of their tribe were their scriptures. Yahveh was their tribal God and Judaism was a tribal religion similar to many others existing at that period in Greece and other countries.

Critical study shows that even Jesus Christ was originally actuated by other motives than religious, to set himself up as a saviour. As a Jew he saw the misery of his tribe under Roman slavery and wanted to liberate them from this foreign yoke. The charge brought against him at his trial was of a seditious nature.

What distinguishes the present religion from its old prototype is its peculiar feature of proselytism implying the need of converting other people. With this characteristic, religion appears in an altogether new garb. Henceforward some person's name is added before it; and it is not religion but this or that person's religion. It assumed a new form every time a new founder arose.

The growth of this step which changed the nature of religion, took place in India. In the Vedic age, great stress was laid on the performance of duties prescribed for various stages of life and for various kinds of professions. In that age laws and social and political institutions developed in India. During the next age, that is, the age of the Upanishads, worldly functions fall into contempt and the discussion of metaphysical theories is considered of prime importance for man's life. All intellectual effort is turned in this direction. Absolute truth was the only means of salvation, and that must be found. We can not expect the early people to have realized what is hard even for most of us at the present time, namely that there is no such thing as absolute truth, and that on the contrary truth progresses along with the growth of human intellect and knowledge. In the philosophic age we find that certain definite metaphysical theories have developed and they are not only taught as systems of philosophy but are preached to the people by wandering teachers as the right way to salvation.

There was so much talk about them and so much valuable time was wasted in the discussion of these theories, that Buddha's mind revolted from them and in opposition to them all he set up his theory of purely ethical religion. His preaching met with wonderful success. His mission spread beyond India to distant parts of the earth. Hundreds and thousands of Buddhist missionaries went abroad to teach virtue and piety in the name of Buddha.

If proselytism can be justified, it was most justifiable in the case of these missionaries. Their motive was simply to elevate others in piety and virtue by the example of their own renunciation and sacrifice. But a new seed was sown and propagandism came into prominence as the chief feature of religion, no matter whether right or wrong.

St. Paul and other preachers of Christianity copied the Buddhist method. They went to proselyte people to Jewish traditions. With Christianity conversion became a point of the utmost importance. As the people who accepted Christianity in Europe were warlike in their habits, they did not proselytize by means of love and persuasion alone, as the missionaries of Buddhism had done, but made use of physical force when needed to gain their end.

Mohammed as well as his adherents depended greatly on force as a means of conversion. He saw that the sword was the quickest agent of propagandism. His chief work was to unite the divided tribes of Arabia, and as soon as he gained the military strength, his armies carried the flag of his religion both east and west.

Hence we find in the present day that conversion to a new faith does not signify any change in the life of the convert, but simply a change of opinion or belief, particularly in some theory concerning the founder of that faith. If this were not so, millions of money would not have been wasted by America on proselytizing missions to countries like India and China. The conversion of a Hindu to Christianity does not at all mean any change in his life for the better, as he already possesses such virtues as charity, humility, or poverty, most valuable in the eyes of the founder of Christianity. While under the pretense of securing heaven, he is simply taught to imitate western modes of life, and in doing so he generally picks up the evil side of it and at the same time is deprived of his original stock of virtues. The very nature of the temptations placed before him for his conversion, is enough to lower him both spiritually and morally. Thus it is that religion shifted from its original purity to an absolutely wrong basis. The guiding spirits of humanity instead of being great moral and religious teachers and transmitters of truth, became originators of new religion. Thus was sown the seed of division among mankind, and religion instead of being a force for uniting us all in the bonds of love and fellow feeling has been abused to create unending dissensions.

Again: "Unbiased learned men knew very well how many undesirable results have accrued and are likely to accrue in this world from the mutual wrangling of schismatics and sectaries. There will be no good will and love among men till this wrangling ceases."

This remark does not need much comment. The pages of history are full of illustrations. Every student of history is familiar with the burning of heretics and later on the persecutions of Protestants by the Catholics and of the Catholics by the Protestants in England and France. It is unnecessary to go into the horrors of

the massacres of St. Bartholomew's Day and other similar incidents.

The fall of Spain can be ascribed a great deal to the spirit of intolerance. It carried fire and sword into the Netherlands, killed thousands of its sons under the Inquisition, and drove the most industrious population out of the land. Philip III of Spain was once personally looking over the people being sent to the stake when his attention was attracted by a young noble who appealed to the royal mercy. "I would not spare you even if you were my son," was the stern reply.

The Thirty Years' War, which destroyed Germany is another instance. One small incident will show enough of the ferocity with which it raged over the people. Magdeburg was one of the most prosperous towns. It had a population of about 90,000 inhabitants. It was captured by the Catholic army after three days' siege and was set on fire. For several days the stream was flowing red with blood. A soldier wrote in an exulting tone to his lady love that suckling babes were speared through by the soldiers. Nothing was left of the town but a heap of ashes. The story of the crusades is another chapter in the history of religions. The Mohammedans, shortly after the death of the Prophet, were divided among themselves and were cutting each others' throats. The cold-blooded murder of the children of the one party by the other is still commemorated in the greatest Mohammedan festival.

Surely all this is not in accordance with the teaching of Christianity or of any religion. Christ taught to "love thine enemy"! Why then all this murder and bloodshed in the name of his church?

There can only be one answer, and that is as true in the case of all religions as in Christianity. The blame can only be laid at the door of those who are supposed to have charge of men's souls, who have made a profession out of religion. The priestly class in every religion has always kept the flame of fanaticism burning in human breasts and has sown the seed of hatred and prejudice against others. It is in their interest to do so. The respect they receive at people's hands and the command they possess over their minds is dependent upon the amount of that prejudice they infuse in them. The preachers of religions are like dealers in commodities, each advertising the beauty and qualities of his articles and in competition trying to bring others in ill-repute. Thus a trade has been started in religion which has given rise to jealousy, hatred, prejudice and their dreadful consequences.

If we could in any way measure or estimate the whole amount of hatred existing in the world, the greatest amount would on anal-

ysis be found to have been caused by differences in creeds. Imagine how much energy is lost in the efforts of Christianity to convert other people; and within Christianity itself what an amount is wasted in the efforts of the followers of one sect to convert the followers of other sects. The same can be said of other religions too.

The most abominable thing to my mind is the sight of a person starting a new religion. It simply aggravates the disease to which humanity has been a victim for so many centuries. It adds another pest to the already numerous epidemics that are working havoc in humanity. Every new religion starts to become universal with the high ideal of the brotherhood of man; and with professions of having come quite fresh from the factory of nature or of God (as if God had nothing else to do but to send his messages to men, excluding women from his favors, and simultaneously of different style to different persons). But we know that every creed in its essential nature is exclusive and though it might appear innocent or attractive for some time, it is ultimately sure to go the same way as its predecessors. Seeing the chances of success very remote, it soon gets tired of its professed ideals and begins to make use of unfair and worldly means to entrap people and whenever it gets opportunity and power, tries to spread by force. If we could somehow remove these differences in religion, we would cut at the root of the greatest source of hatred and evil among mankind.

Again says Swami Dayanand: "Every point on which these thousand religions are unanimous, is the religion of the Veda and is to be accepted. That on which they contradict each other, is artificial, false, contrary to religion and is to be discarded."

It is remarkable that every one of us feels so sanguine of the absolute truth of the religious views he holds. We forget another fact, that in most cases our religion has nothing to do with truth or falsehood, but is simply a result of the accident of our birth. The Christians of to-day profess Christianity and do so much for its extension, not because they have ascertained after careful inquiry that Christianity is the only true religion, but simply because they are born Christians. The next important factor that determines our religion for us is the force of early training and of social environment. The first impressions, however wrong or absurd they may be, stick to the mind and are hard to erase. They become *our* views which we cherish and love. It is on this account that we acquire a prejudice against all other views; and our condition resembles that of the frog who having always lived in a small pond

could not imagine that the ocean was something larger than the pond.

The plea that our remote ancestors made a proper choice of the religion which we hold, is not very sound. History tells us that conversions to other religions have been made by the sword or by undue political or social influences. Circumstances of marriage for instance have frequently brought about the conversion. We notice at the present day that generally low motives attract people to new religions. Schools and hospitals are used as traps for catching new members. If the truth or falsity of a religion were the motive for conversion, we should naturally expect the intellectual and thinking men, and not the poor and ignorant classes, to take the lead in the acceptance of a new faith.

It is a matter of common observation that if a thousand persons speak the truth they will say the same thing, while a thousand persons telling lies will give as many different versions of the story. The existence of a thousand and more forms of religion indicates clearly that each one has become mixed with a certain amount of falsehood. Whether that falsehood comes from the time of the originator or was added by the later propagators is immaterial. It was therefore the most vital problem in religion that presented itself to Swami Dayanand in his boyhood, namely, how to find out truth from falsehood in religion, in other words how to separate the grain from the chaff.

It is a hard thing to do, but if we could free our minds from all our early prejudices, we would easily find an answer to it. We should start in the spirit of a true inquirer with a perfectly clear and unbiased mind. Swami Dayanand has illustrated the answer by the help of the following parable, which explains the situation to every one's satisfaction.

A man with a blank mind set out to find out what was right and what was wrong. He visited the ministers of various religions, each of whom told him that his own religion was superior to all the rest. He was very much perplexed and did not know how to decide among so many claimants till at last he met a wise man who showed him the way, whereupon he called an assembly of the representatives of all the religions, sects and creeds. Questions were put to them one by one whether or not their religion taught to be good, kind and loving, to be honest and truthful and so on. All replied in the affirmative. Wherein lay the differences? was finally asked. Each one now put forward some peculiar theory of God and his mysterious messages, which to say the least, were beyond all human comprehen-

sion. The inquirer too could not understand why God should go out of his way to send so many messages which served no other purpose than to create dissensions among his people, and consequently he came to the decision that all those points on which all the religions (nearly a thousand in number) are agreed, constitute the right religion, while those on which they contradict each other are artificial and false.

Practical law of conduct is the only right religion, as it is on this part alone that all religions agree. "There is no religion," says Prof. Max Müller, "(or if there is any, I do not know of it) which does not say, 'Do good, avoid evil.'"

What about the dogmas then? We have already pointed out that all religions are derived from one another. Just as various divisions of the Christian religion have grown out of Christianity, various divisions of religions have grown out of religion. The doctrines of Mohammedanism are all borrowed from Judaism and Jewish beliefs are commonly Semitic versions of the Parsee theories. Christianity engrafted the Jewish dogmas on the beliefs of Mithraism which having traveled over from Persia had become the prevailing cult in Greece and Rome. Mithra was originally the Vedic God Mitra. Most of these theories, therefore, when traced back to their origin, become more clear and intelligible than they are in their present form. The sacrifice of animals was originally the killing of one's own animal self. Ignorance personified became the power of darkness with the Parsees, which was changed into Satan in the Old Testament. The true view of the dogmas, however, is that they are mere problems of philosophy. They develop, grow or change as the human intellect advances. Human intellect is finite and it can never be said to have reached the absolute truth. The progress of science and the knowledge of spiritual laws are constantly shedding new light on all metaphysical questions. It is therefore utterly wrong and even absurd to bind the human intellect by the intervention of supernatural forces.

But these maxims of morality are enforced by ordinary law, and it may be asked, "What is the need of religion?" The difference between the two is that religion places the ideal virtue before mankind and urges them to act up to that ideal, while the law only goes so far as it can force human nature to act upon those virtues. That is the ideal which the Vedic *dharma* holds up before men. It is not religion. It is *dharma*, which means law, duty, and right conduct.

Again: "It is certain that the mutual dissensions among learned

men have been the cause of mutual hatred, discord and strife among the masses. If all these men were not immersed in selfishness but wished to further the interests of all, it is very likely that all mankind would have one common religion."

What we want is to find out unity under all this diversity.

In order to know what man is, we can not look to the garb in which one particular individual is dressed. We can not even consider the outward appearance and description of the organs of the body, because the appearances and descriptions are sure to vary a great deal. We can simply say that man is a being who is conscious of his existence and has the power to think (Sanskrit *manas* = to think). Similarly in religion we want religion, not so many religions; we want gold and not the numerous articles which are manufactured out of it often with an amount of alloy. They are valuable because they are made of gold. We can achieve this end by the method of generalization; by sacrificing the non-essentials for the sake of the essentials, and by giving up what is artificial for preserving that which is real. We get at the right religion by cutting off the redundant and in many cases injurious branches of the tree. That will lead us to the trunk upon which these branches stand and which they hide from our view.

The ministers of various religions and creeds are the representatives of the founders of their churches. They share the responsibility of creating numerous divisions in religions. They understand full well that these divisions are based upon the personalities of these founders. All the religious quarrels could be ended by eliminating the personalities from religion. Religion has passed the stage of personal government. Democracy in religion is required in order to bring peace and harmony in the world. That is the message which Swami Dayanand brings to us. For the success of that mission he founded the movement called the Arya Samaj. It is not a new religion, neither a new faith nor creed. It is a society that works to bring man around to the original purity of religion and tries to deliver the human intellect from superstitious ideas about it. Swami Dayanand formulated the standard of the original religion into ten great principles which form the basis of Arya Samaj. Seven among these are the commonly accepted maxims of morality. They are, knowledge, truthfulness, honesty, love, duty, liberty, and self-denial. Among the remaining three, the first one says that all true knowledge and things known by that knowledge originate from one supreme power; the second, that that power which is all knowledge, all goodness, all bliss, etc., is the Ideal

towards which we should try to draw ourselves. The third says that the Vedas are the books of true knowledge and should be studied by every Arya.

The first two of course place the ideal of perfection and goodness before man and this is the only chief function of religion. As to the Veda, in a general way it means a book of true knowledge. According to the traditions of the Aryan race, this knowledge is stored up in the form of the four books which are admittedly the oldest books of mankind; and their study by the western scholars has already been attended with many important consequences. Their study, moreover, will surely convince every reader of one thing, that in the domain of spirituality and morality not a single new teaching has been given by any of the so-called great teachers and no new truth has been brought to light by the so-called revelations from God.

THE PRAYING MANTIS IN CHINESE FOLK-LORE.*

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

TS'AI YUNG (133-192 A.D.)¹ a scholar and statesman of the Han dynasty, was once invited to a party, and on reaching the house, heard the sound of a lute played inside. It was a tune to a war-song expressing a desire for murder. Ts'ai, for fear of being killed, at once returned. The host and his guests pursued him, and when questioned, Ts'ai gave the reason for his retreat. The guests said: "When you approached, we seized the lute, as we noticed on a tree in the courtyard a mantis trying to catch a cicada; three times the mantis had reached it, and three times it failed in its attack. We feared that the mantis might miss the cicada (and therefore played the warlike tune)." Ts'ai was thus set at ease.

This story is the outcome of popular notions regarding the mantis which is looked upon as a formidable warrior endowed with great courage. The habits of the mantis are well known: the so-called flower-mantis in tropical regions resembles the flowers of certain plants, and in these flowers it lurks awaiting smaller insects upon which it feeds. What we term the "praying" attitude of the mantis in which its knees are bent and the front-legs supported on a stem, is nothing but this lying in ambush for other insects. Good observers of nature, the ancient Chinese were very familiar with its peculiar traits; they called it "the insect-killer" (*sha ch'ung*) or "the heavenly horse" (*t'ien ma*) from its speed, and greatly admired its bravery.² Its eagerness to catch cicadas is repeatedly emphasized, and above all, immortalized by the famous story of the philosopher Chuang-tse.

* See the author's book, *Jade, A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*.

¹ Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 753.

² Compare the Chinese drawing of the mantis.

"When Chuang-tse was wandering in the park at Tiao-ling, he saw a strange bird which came from the south. Its wings were seven feet across. Its eyes were an inch in circumference. And it flew close past Chuang-tse's head to alight in a chestnut grove. 'What manner of bird is this?' cried Chuang-tse. 'With strong wings it does not fly away. With large eyes it does not see.' So he picked up his skirts and strode towards it with his crossbow, anxious to get a shot. Just then he saw a cicada enjoying itself in the shade, forgetful of all else. And he saw a mantis spring and seize it, forgetting in the act its own body, which the strange bird immediately pounced upon and made its prey. And this it



MANTIS CATCHING THE CICADA.
On jade buckle.

was which had caused the bird to forget its own nature. 'Alas!' cried Chuang-tse with a sigh, 'how creatures injure one another. Loss follows the pursuit of gain.'"

Surely, this pretty allegorical story has impressed the minds of the Chinese people deeper than the insipid account regarding Ts'ai Yung; and the Han artists, it is more credible, drew on Chuang-tse as the source for the motive of the mantis struggling with the cicada. Also Giles comments in his translation: "This episode has been widely popularized in Chinese every-day life. Its details have been expressed pictorially in a roughly-executed woodcut, with the addition of a tiger about to spring upon the man, and a well into which both will eventually tumble. A legend at the side

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THE PRAYING MANTIS.

reads,—All is Destiny!" And in this thought, I believe, we should seek also the explanation of the motive on the Han jade buckle. Certainly, it does not mean such a banality as that frigid "kill!" intimated by the philistine scribbler of the *Ku yü t'u p'u*, but it was a *memento mori* to admonish its wearer: "Be as brave as the mantis, fear not your enemy, but remember your end, as also the undaunted mantis will end!"

In another passage Chuang-tse exclaims: "Don't you know the story of the praying-mantis? In its rage it stretched out its arms to prevent a chariot from passing, unaware that this was beyond its strength, so admirable was its energy!"



JADE GIRDLE-PENDANT, CICADA.
Showing upper and lower surfaces.

This is an allusion to another famous story contained in the *Han shih wai chuan*, a work by Han Ying who flourished between B. C. 178-156. It is there narrated: "When Duke Chuang of Ts'i (B. C. 794-731) once went ahunting, there was a mantis raising its feet and seizing the wheel of his chariot. He questioned his charioteer as to this insect who said in reply: 'This is a mantis; it is an insect who knows how to advance, but will never know how to retreat; without measuring its strength, it easily offers resistance.' The Duke answered: 'Truly, if it were a man, it would be the champion-hero of the empire.' Then he turned his chariot to dodge it, and this act won him all heroes to go over to his side."

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE PREYING MANTIS.

While reading Dr. Laufer's interesting sketch as to the significance of the praying mantis in the folklore of China, the thought that the praying mantis might as well be spelled the "preying" mantis suggested to the editor the following lines:

When the praying mantis prays
In the pleasant summer days
Then beware,
Good Cicada!
For his pray'r
Is not true.
Flee Cicada,
Good Cicada,
He will prey on you!

Stop your singing
And cease swinging
In the balmy air
On your blade of grass.
Good Cicada, oh beware!
Firm's the grip of his paws
And his jaws
Are like brass.

Small he is but strong,
Minds not right nor wrong.
While you sing
He on you will spring.
He will seize you,
He will squeeze you,
Will in battle meet you,
Kill you then and eat you.

In his stomach surely
You will prematurely
Find your grave.
Good Cicada,
No armada
Comes to save.
Numbered are your days
When the praying mantis prays.
Trust him not! Without ado
He will prey on you.

THE CHASM AT DELPHI.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

It may be of interest to Mr. F. C. Evans and the readers of "Pagan Prophecy" in the November *Open Court* to learn that the intoxication of the Pythia by exhalations from a subterranean cavity at Delphi is doubted by the American scholar Oppé (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 24) and by Von Willamovitz (*Hermes*, 38). They assert that Plutarch (*De def. orac.*, 42 and 48) only speaks of the vapors of the air surrounding Delphi as having an effect on the priestess, and of no cleft exhaling them; that Strabo (c. 419) tells the story of the cleft with the introductory words: "They say that, etc."; that no such chasm was possible geologically, Delphi standing on a natural terrace of clay-slate, but only in the limestone region of Castalia where the older

temple stood, destroyed 546 B. C.; that no such cave has been found in the foundations of Delphi. The inference therefore is that the Delphian priests kept up the idea among the people that the oracles were given in the old way.

Compare with this the discovery of an ancient oracle at Corinth by the American school of archeology under Hills. At a certain place in the wall surrounding the oracle an inscription read: "Approach is forbidden on pain of eight drachmae!" Why? One of the metopes of the wall formed the door to a narrow passage leading under the floor of the temple. A funnel-shaped hole in the pavement permitted the priests to let the divine oracles sound up from below.

On the belief of the classic world in a western continent which Mr. Evans mentions, compare also Clemens Romanus (*Epist.* XX, 8): "The ocean, which no man can traverse, and the worlds beyond are governed through the same commands of the Lord."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

A NEW ROME. A Study of Visible Unity Among Non-Papal Christians. By Richard de Bary. London: Longmans Green, 1911. Pp. 100. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

Rev. Richard de Bary believes in a new Rome which would make possible a visible unity among non-papal Christendom. He writes "to promote the ideal of devotional unification, and let any forecast of church unity come to the front which shall prove helpful and conducive to fellowship." He has come to believe that there must be a supplementary mission of the Spirit outside the Roman fold. He came to Canada from England for the celebration of the Eucharist conference, and found Montreal one of the greatest Catholic capitals. He says: "I had been invited to stay over Sunday at the clergy-house attached to the French Canadian Church of the *Sacré Cœur*. The large staff of clergy lived here almost like religious, under the direction of their zealous curé. Their manner recalled the simplicity and courtesy of the clergy of the best French type. Only one or two of their number could speak English.

"In the parish were 15,000 people, all Catholics. The church is a stately Gothic edifice, entirely built of wood, recalling the reputed forest original of Gothic style. The exquisite carving and tracing of its lady chapel is one of the wonders of Canada. The faith had plainly lived on undiminished here since its first planting under the *ancien régime* of France.

"I said mass in the church on Sunday, July 28. At this, or the next mass, a congregation of about 3000 children attended. All were brightly dressed and models of reverent behavior. Masses ran on during the morning, and probably every man, woman, and child, physically able to attend, came in for one or other mass.

"In a single morning I had learned a lasting lesson that there is no inherent discord between the new democracy of America and the ancient Catholic faith. Few such model parishes exist in any Christian communions in the Old World as this first parish I was favored to see in the New World. It was an honor to have been a guest amid such a goodly company, whose faith and piety bore witness to the length and breadth and stability of the Catholic city of the saints."

His thought of a new Rome is expressed as follows:

"I thought that Rome was as the Judah among the Christian communions, that it was the one 'legally right' and 'legitimate' church in a strictly Judaic sense of the words. But the dayspring had not constrained all the early converts to bow to the Jewish law. The Holy Ghost had rested upon Judea in order to spread salvation to the Gentiles. Rome might have within itself the secret of the reconciliation of the churches. God had not required that all the world should bow to Rome. The Holy Ghost would bring his treasures of the grace of healing from its Roman shrine and spread the same without payment of submission to Rome, as he had once given his grace, *gratia gratis data*, to the Gentiles.

"The New Rome of which I dreamed, therefore, with signs like the fervent faith of the French of Montreal to guide me, was not any mere extension of Rome in America. It was rather the gathering of all the Christian communions, by the Holy Ghost, into a vast and free interrelationship and intercommunion, with the free institutions of America as its harbinger, with old Rome and its model of the city idea of a church as its guide."

The book is divided into five chapters: Forebodings, The Crossing Over, An Altar and Sacrifice in a Mountain Parish, Salvation is Unification, and The Church of England. The work is written partly in a chatty style, but is always interesting. The author concludes his book with a scheme for promoting unity and states four propositions by which he would accomplish the work. In the concluding paragraph he says:

"The great missionary order of Evangelical Christians might choose their own methods of showing their respect for visible unity through their forms of worship. Devotional *rapprochement* would, in truth, become an aim to be sought for by all Christians.... After a while a permanent representative committee might sit to encourage and arbitrate in matters relating to devotional and ritual assimilation and do a work parallel to that undertaken by the *Congregatio Rituum* at the Vatican."

The way in which the important subject of this New Rome is treated allows us to recognize an active and strong spirit, but any one who knows the world will say that his ideal is merely a pious wish and there is no chance of its fulfilment under present conditions. κ

WITHIN THE MIND MAZE. By *Edgar Lucien Larkin*. Los Angeles, California: Standard Printing Company, 1911. Pp. 523. Price \$1.25.

Mr. Edgar Lucien Larkin, the director of the Lowe Observatory, Mt. Lowe, California, U. S. A., well known as an astronomer and also as interested in the problems of the soul, has published a new book entitled *Within the Mind Maze*. The publishers characterize the contents of the book as follows:

"A new book containing a new view of mind, man and life. This book approaches the majestic study of primordial mind by entirely new methods and the use of new terms. It shows man's place in the astronomic universe, and in the domains of mentonomy, biology and organic chemistry. New researches in mind, life, electricity, evolution and mutation are presented in accurate and popular language without unnecessary technicalities. All can understand. The relation of man and mind to the new electronic base of nature is given in detail. The theories and facts deduced and discovered by Darwin, Mendel, Haeckel, Weismann, De Vries and others are compared with the latest facts of recent astronomy, biology, mentonomy and microscopy."

It is natural that in developing his ideas the author must frequently enter into the realm of hypothesis, and it would be difficult to say where he relies on genuine science and where the imaginary carries him away into the field of speculation. Our readers may remember that Mr. Larkin published another book of a similar kind several years ago under the title *Radiant Energy*, which attracted a good deal of attention, in which he also discussed the nature and origin of mind. We learn that the author has suffered a severe loss by having the rest of the edition destroyed in the famous dynamite explosion of the McNamaras in the Los Angeles Times building. κ

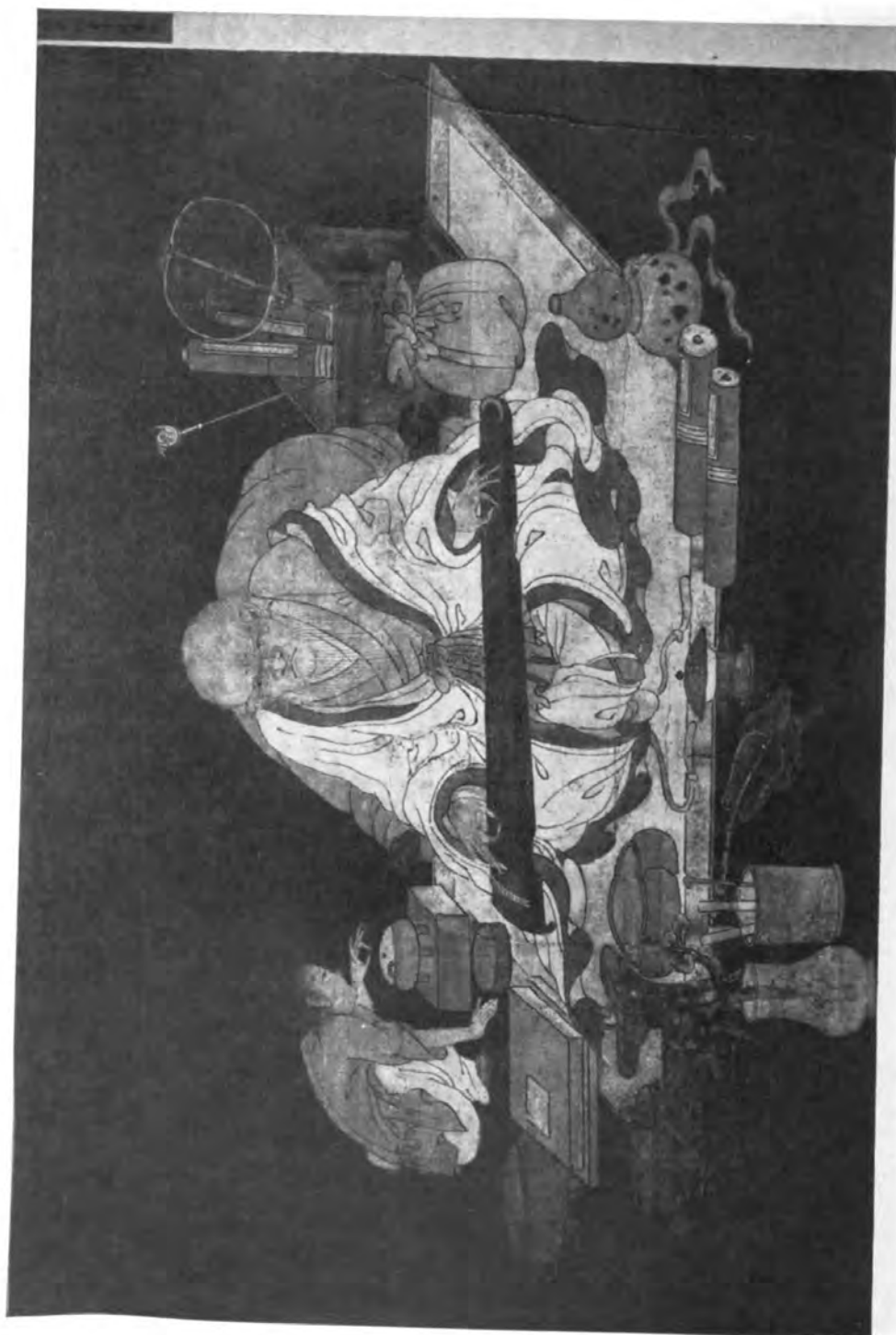
DAS RELIGIÖSE LEBEN IN AMERICA. Von *Wilhelm Müller*. Jena: Diederichs, 1911.

The author, who is a retired principal of a school at Heppenheim, has visited America where he devoted his special interest to the religious life of the United States. The pictures which he draws are unusually fair and clear. In the several chapters he discusses the Puritans, the alienation beginning to take place between church and life, Unitarianism, Transcendentalism, Emerson, the Friends, Methodism, American Catholicism, life in the southern states, Protestantism, and the influence of political refugees of the year 1848, the American Jews, new formations such as Mormonism, Spiritualism, Christian Science, the New Thought Movement, Zionism and Dowie, Societies for Ethical Culture, religious orders such as the Y. M. C. A., revival meetings, Faith Cure, church and labor, religious liberalism, and in the last chapter he sums up his views on the future of religion. Considering the fact that so many visitors to America draw distorted pictures we must grant that the present book shows a sober mind whose descriptions are both reliable and fair. κ

We publish in the present number an article on the Arya Somaj by Bhai Parmanand, late of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College (Panjab University) which is one of the chief educational institutions of the Arya Somaj. We have heard much in this country about the Brahma Somaj, a sect which may be characterized as Brahman Unitarians. Their view was well represented in the Religious Parliament by their founder Mazumdar. The Arya Somaj is less known although for India herself it is of greater importance for it represents more the national spirit of Hinduism and seems to have taken a deeper root in the minds of the people.

The character of the Arya Somaj and its history is here discussed by a man who has been a professor in one of their colleges for twenty years and can speak authoritatively, and it will be interesting to our readers to see how the facts of history are repeated in the mind of a genuine and patriotic Hindu.

It seems to us that the Aryan movement in India will be a benefit to the people. It may represent the spirit of India better than other forms of religion and may be regarded as a reform such as Christianity experienced in the age of Reformation. It simplifies the traditional Hinduism, it removes objectionable and superstitious features and admits a development in the right line of human progress. It is to be hoped that the British government will find it more and more to their advantage to educate India, and gain the confidence of India's native population. The more brotherly the two cooperate in the work of reform the better it will be for both parties.



LAO-TZE BY CHOU FANG. (From the original in the collection of Charles L. Freer of Detroit.)
Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII (No. 2)

FEBRUARY, 1913

NO. 681

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ALBANIA.

BY THE EDITOR.

WAR clouds have been hanging over Europe and the storm center is the Balkan peninsula. The most active factors are the three small states of Servia, Bulgaria and Montenegro. They are assisted by Greece and their aim is the downfall of Constantinople, which would mean the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. The two powers of the European concert most interested are Austria and Russia, the former supported by Germany and Italy, the latter by France and England. The position of Turkey would be hopeless in the face of the victorious march of the allied Balkan states toward Constantinople if the European concert would allow Constantinople to fall into their hands. But there is another feature in the present state of things which renders the crisis more complicated. It is the importance of Albania, the mountainous district between Montenegro and Greece stretching along the western coast of the Balkan peninsula for about 180 miles, but extending inland nowhere more than 100 miles and only 30 miles in its southern portion.

The allied states are determined to divide Albania among themselves and actually began to invade the country. But here Austria interfered, for having taken possession of the Dalmatian coast, Herzegovina and Bosnia, it extends its empire to the northern frontier of Albania, and is bound not to let this country fall into other hands. Thus Austria stands for the independence of Albania and is willing to wage war in her defence. In this way Albania has suddenly burst into a prominence it never before possessed, and all the world is interested to know what kind of a country it is and what kind of people the Albanians may be.

Original from

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT
URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

The main sources of our knowledge of Albania are J. Cam Hobhouse (Lord Broughton), Sir Henry Holland, the Rev. T. S. Hughes, Mrs. Mary A. Walker, Col. Leake, Dr. J. G. von Hahn, Theodor A. Ippen, Karl Steinmetz, Dr. Franz Baron Nopcsa, Dr. Erich Liebert, Dr. Träger, Dr. Schultz, Dr. A. Wirth und Dr. Ernst Jäckh. Dr. Jäckh's book, *Im türkischen Kriegslager durch Albanien* (1911), though antiquated with respect to the author's great expectations that Turkey will prove a rising power (for he is a decided Turkophil), has been to us the most important source of information.



RAPIDS OF THE VARDAR NEAR DEMIRKAPU.

Our illustrations are based on photographs taken by different people and published in this book.

Albania has rightly been called the darkest part of Europe. Its interior is almost as unknown as the darkest part of Central Africa. The best maps are those made by the Austrian general staff, and even these maps only follow certain portions along the most accessible valleys. They leave large portions blank, or only indicate what kind of a country the cartographers thought it might be. The reason is that very few travelers have dared to penetrate into the

interior, for the inhabitants do not possess the usual customs of civilized countries. Most of the people are robbers and brigands, and murder is not considered a crime. The stranger has no right to protection unless he is received at the hearth, according to the usages of primitive savages. He is an outlaw if found on the road, and may be shot down from ambush without rousing the authorities to investigate the case.

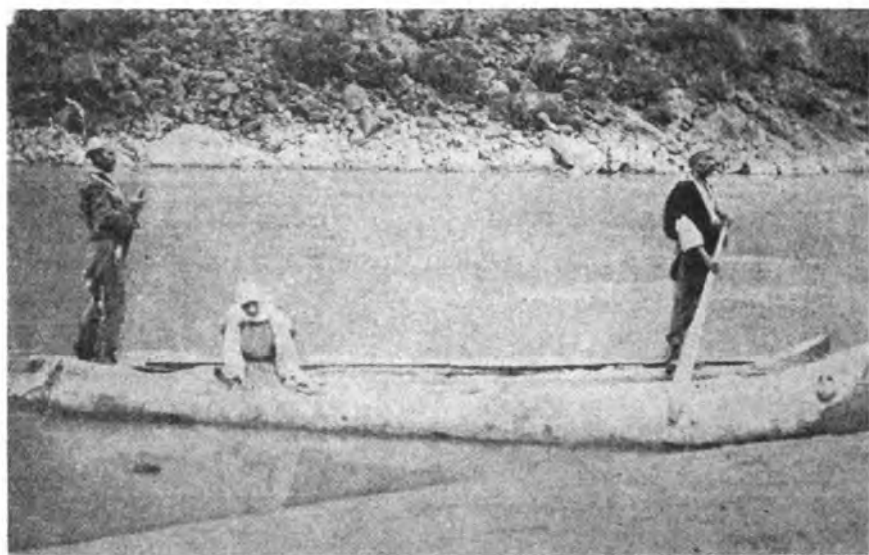
The southern part of the country is the ancient Epirus, and the only time it ever played an important part in history was when Pyrrhus led his troops against Rome and threatened its very existence in a ferocious and formidable attack, which however lacked insistence and after a great display of valor ended in a lamentable failure.

Albania received its name in the fifteenth century when several more northerly tribes combined with Epirus into one country marked by a similarity in race, language and customs. The reason it has never influenced the world, and has never grown into a united state is because its inhabitants have always been too lawless and independent to come to an agreement after the fashion of a civilized nation. Each person feels bound to preserve the traditional customs of their forebears, and their supreme rule is not to recognize any authority above themselves. Every man takes the law in his own hands and deems it his privilege to rob and pillage wherever he can do so with impunity; every one is inseparable from his weapons, and no man would venture on a journey or even on the public high road without his gun. The most ancient habits of primitive Europe are here preserved and the influence of progress since the days of King Pyrrhus is practically nil.

Epirus and its descendant Albania have been repeatedly subdued, but their submission has always been merely nominal. Macedonia has succeeded in having its sovereignty recognized, but the Macedonian government could not be established in the mountainous regions of Albania. When Cæsar landed in Dyrrhachium¹ he induced the people to take up arms against Pompey and the inhabitants of Epirus recognized the Roman emperor, but no Roman governor dared to levy taxes or succeeded in enforcing Roman law in the interior of the country, and this remained true after the division of the empire. The Greek emperors considered Albania a Greek province, but the Albanians remained as ferocious and uncivilized as before.

When the Greek empire broke down from the assaults of the

¹ The modern Durazzo.



ALBANIAN CANOE (A HOLLOWED TREE).



ALBANIAN "TCHERK."

A ferry constructed of inflated goat-skins and wicker.

Turks under Mohammed II there was a change in the nominal ownership of Albania but no change of conditions. Of the many wars between the Turks and the Albanians the most celebrated was the one in which the Albanians were led by George Castriota, called Scanderbeg by the Turks. This patriot became the national hero, and he repulsed the victorious Mohammedans several times when they dared to enter Albania. He was the son of an Albanian chieftain and a Servian princess, and on account of his father's prominence had been sent to the court of Constantinople where he received



ON THE WARPATH.

a Mohammedan education. When he returned to his home his Albanian patriotism was aroused and the rest of his life was devoted to a fierce warfare against the sultan, lasting from 1443 to 1467 when he succumbed to a severe attack of malaria. The Albanians lost in him a chief who had frequently led them to victory, and after his death the Turks regained a footing in the country. In a peace concluded at Venice in 1478 the sovereignty of Turkey over Albania was recognized although never permanently established. Revolts were frequent and the only thing which caused a pleasant relation was Turkey's demand for adventurous soldiers.

The Turks recruited their armies in Albania with success, for the Albanians were always ready for a brawl and eager for spoils and could easily be induced to fight for any cause against any country where spoils could be expected.

Through the friendly relation between the quasi-conquerors, the Turks, and the partially subjected Albanians, the Mohammedan religion took a firm root in the country, but the Islam of the Albanians is by no means the orthodox religion of Mohammed. Christianity was not suppressed; on the contrary it was retained, and the two confessions, the Greek and the Roman churches, hate each other far more than they hate the Mohammedans. Thus it happens that the religious conditions in Albania are a regular *melée*. The



THE SERVIAN CHURCH, THE MOHAMMEDAN MOSQUE, AND THE CITADEL OF PRIZREN.

men of the family mostly go to the mosques while the women attend church either according to the Greek or Latin ritual. There is no quarrel on account of religion except between the Greeks and the Latins.

In its original and main stock the Albanian race is most probably the purest remnant of the ancestors of the Greeks. Greek traditions refer with great reverence to the sacred oak and the oracle of Dodona, and so the ancient Epirotes must have been cousins to the Macedonians, the Thracians, the Illyrians and the Pelasgi of ancient Greece. The latter were probably their nearest kin. The present language seems to preserve some traces of pre-Hellenic speech, but it has been influenced successively by Greek, Roman, Slavic (Servian and Bulgarian) and Turkish ingredients.

The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* contains the following account of the Albanian language:

"Albanian is particularly interesting as the only surviving representative of the so-called Thraco-Illyrian group of languages which formed the primitive speech of the peninsula. It has afforded an attractive study to philologists, amongst whom may be mentioned Malte-Brun, Leake, Xylander, Hahn, Miklosich and G. Meyer. The analysis of the language presents great difficulties, as, owing to the



A MOHAMMEDAN COUPLE OF SHIOLA SYPER.

absence of literary monuments, no certainty can be arrived at with regard to its earlier forms and later development. The groundwork, so far as it can be ascertained, and grammar are Indo-European, but a large number of words have been borrowed from the Latin or Italian and Greek, and it is not always easy to decide whether the mutilated and curtailed forms now in use represent adopted words or belong to the original vocabulary. There is also a considerable mixture of Turkish and Slavonic words. Notwithstanding certain points of resemblance in structure and phonetics, Albanian is en-

tirely distinct from the neighboring languages; in its relation to early Latin and Greek it may be regarded as a coordinate member of the Aryan stock. It possesses seven vowels; among the consonants are the aspirated *d* and *t* as in Greek, and many other sounds such as *b*, *d*, *sh*, *zh* (French *j*), and hard *g*, which are wanting in Greek but exist in the Slavonic languages. There are three declensions, each with a definite and indefinite form; the genitive, dative and ablative are usually represented by a single termination; the



MALSIA WOMEN WITH SPINDLE AND PITCHER.

vocative is formed by a final *o* as *memmo* from *memme*, 'mother.' The neuter gender is absent. There are two conjugations; the passive formation, now wanting in most European languages, has been retained as in Greek; thus *kerko-iy*, 'I seek,' forms *kerko-n-em*, 'I am sought.' The infinitive is not found; as in Greek, Roumanian and Bulgarian, it is replaced by the subjunctive with a particle. The two auxiliary verbs are *kām*, 'I have,' and *yām*, 'I am.' An interesting and characteristic feature of the language is the definite article, which is attached to the end of the word: e. g., *mik* ('friend,'

amicus), 'mik-u ('the friend'); *kien* ('dog'), *kien-i*; *Shkumb*, *Shkumb-i*. The suffix article likewise appears in Roumanian and Bulgarian, but in no other Latin or Slavonic language; it is in each case a form of the demonstrative pronoun. Another remarkable analogy between the Albanian and neighboring languages is the formation of the future; the Albanian *do* (3d person singular of *dova*, 'I will'), like the Greek *θα*, is prefixed without change to all persons of the verb; a similar usage in Servian and Bulgarian, as well as in Roumanian (especially the Macedonian dialect), is pecu-



A MOHAMMEDAN MOUNTAIN GIRL OF ALBANIA.

liar to these languages in the Latin and Slavonic groups. These and other points of similarity, possibly only accidental, have led to the conjecture that the primitive Illyrian language may have exerted some kind of an influence on the other idioms of the peninsula. In the absence of literary culture the Albanian dialects, as might have been expected, are widely divergent; the limits of the two principal dialects correspond with the racial boundaries of the Ghegs and the Tosks, who understand each other with difficulty; the Albanians in Greece and Italy have also separate dialects. In writing Albanian

the Latin character is employed by the Ghegs, the Greek by the Tosks; neither alphabet suffices to represent the manifold sounds of the language, and various supplementary letters or distinguishing signs are necessary. In the use of these no uniform system has yet been adopted. An alphabet of 52 letters, some presenting ancient Phenician and Cretan forms, was found by Hahn in partial use at Elbassan and Tirana; its antiquity however has not been established.



AN ALBANIAN CATHOLIC WOMAN OF SHKODRA.

The Tosks generally use the Greek language for written communications. The native folklore and poetry of the Albanians can scarcely compare with that of the neighboring nations in originality and beauty. The earliest printed works in Albania are those of the Catholic missionaries. The most noteworthy Albanian writer is Girolamo di Rada (died 1815), a poet, philologist and collector of folklore."

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* describes the race thus:

"The native Albanian is of middle stature; his face is oval, with high cheek-bones; his neck long; his chest full and broad. His air is erect and majestic to a degree which never fails to strike the traveler. He holds in utter contempt that dissimulation which is characteristic of the Greek, and, unlike the Turk, he is gay, lively, and active. Averse, however, to regular industry, his whole delight is in arms and plunder. He goes constantly armed; and there are few Albanians who have not, in the prime of their life, belonged to some of the numerous bands of robbers who infest the mountains of their native country, of Thessaly, and of Macedonia. This occupa-



ALBANIANS IN THEIR TYPICAL NATIONAL COSTUME.

tion carries with it no disgrace: it is common for the Albanian to mention circumstances which occurred 'when he was a robber.'

"This fierce and haughty race display a greater degree of contempt for the female sex than is usual even among the most barbarous nations. The females are literally regarded as inferior animals, and treated accordingly; but in the country districts they are not confined or veiled, as is customary in Mohammedan countries.

"The national costume of the Albanians is handsome in appearance, and bears some resemblance to the Highland dress. It consists of a cotton shirt; a white woolen *fustanella* or kilt, which reaches to the knees; a jacket; a sash round the waist, in which pistols and a

yataghan are commonly carried; colored leggings; sandals; and a red cap, round which some twist a shawl or scarf.

"The chiefs and wealthy Albanians generally wear a jacket and vest of velvet, richly embroidered with gold, and metal greaves over their leggings which are usually made of fine scarlet cloth.

"The poorer classes, though picturesque in appearance, are extremely dirty in their habits, and seldom change their clothes. As



DISTINGUISHED ALBANIANS OF THE HOTTI TRIBE.

a protection from the weather, every Albanian has a *capote*, or rough shaggy mantle with a hood attached, and usually made of horse-hair stuff or coarse woolen cloth.

"The dress of the females is more various, and often fantastical. A singular custom prevails among the girls of stringing together the pieces of money which they have collected for their portion, and wearing them upon their heads. Some of them have their hair hang-

ing down in braids to a great length, loaded with this species of ornament."

One feature in the appearance of the Albanians which is frequently remarked by travelers is the tuft of hair on top of the head. There is a saying that the strong development of the hair on the crown is an indication of a bad or headstrong boy, and if there is any truth in this idea it decidedly shows in the Albanian race.

The Albanians have played an important part in the develop-



AN ALBANIAN OF KOMANA IN MALSIA.

Showing the typical tuft (*percen*) on the crown of the head.

ment of the destiny of Turkey. Being excitable and energetic they rush into action without plan or foresight. They are quickly moved by sentiment and yet when their resentment is aroused they do not forget. They are not opposed to the Turkish rule so long as it remains purely theoretical, but they resist all the methods by which a modern state maintains itself. They would not give up their arms, objected to paying taxes, would brook no police, would tolerate no censors, would not suffer their property to be entered at recorders'

offices and were even opposed to sending their children to school or to submit their quarrels to court. The old system of taking the law in their own hands, of stealing the cattle of others, of slaying the wayfarer, of blood brotherhood and blood revenge, is considered part of the inalienable right of the country; and it has been estimated that 24% of the entire male population on the average—in some parts a little less but in many considerably more, up to 40%—is ex-



ALBANIANS OF KIRI.



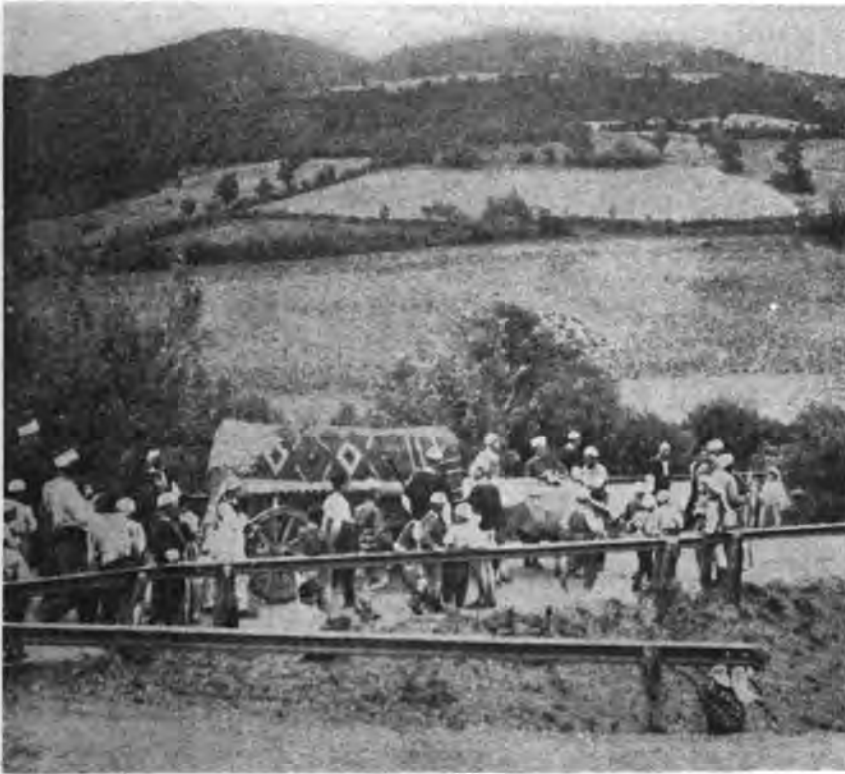
A VIRGIN OF THE HOTTI TRIBE

terminated by assassination, and no authority has so far succeeded in stopping this custom.

Child-betrothals are a frequent source of family feuds. Children are promised in marriage by the parents sometimes while still in the cradle, and if a girl refuses to fulfil the contract after she is grown, she cannot withdraw without provoking intense hostility between her whole family and that of the youth to whom she was betrothed. This can be satisfied only by the shedding of blood, and

the privilege of punishing her male relatives by assassination is considered quite as much a sacred duty as blood revenge.

The girl can escape this fate only by the formal declaration that she will never marry, and then by a special ceremony she turns a kind of worldly nun and is henceforward not considered a woman but a man. She dresses in man's clothes, takes up arms and no longer enjoys the woman's privilege of having her life spared in



A BRIDAL PROCESSION.

The cart contains the dowry, and the bride walks at its side.

family feuds. Now she may indulge in robbery in which case she is called *tsupp-dashia*, "robber-buck." She is called *virjin*, a word probably derived from the Latin *virgo* and may etymologically be the same as the English "virgin." She is regarded by men with respect and awe and receives the title *vrend*, which is probably a contraction of the Latin *veneranda*. But all respect for her person would cease if she were to break her vow and assert her womanhood, and if she becomes a mother her life is forfeit.

Such customs as this are more powerful than religion. All take part in them, and the ties of blood-brotherhood frequently unite Catholic or Greek divines with Mohammedans—rarely Catholics with Greek Christians.

A memorable event in the recent history of Albania occurred during the Greek insurrection against Turkey. At the beginning of the war the excitable Albanians sympathized with Greece and showed



CATHOLIC ALBANIANS ATTENDING MASS FULLY ARMED.

unmistakable willingness to make common cause with her against Turkey, and their assistance would have ensured the success of the rebellion. But the Greeks were too haughty, looking with contempt on the wild descendants of the Epirotes. They remembered the petty guerilla warfare between their own people and the rough mountaineers and refused the Albanian overtures. On October 5, 1821, the Greeks captured the city of Tripolizza and indiscriminately massacred the whole Turkish garrison, among them 3000 Albanians.

This cruel act was never forgotten and established a bitter hostility between Albania and Greece.

In recent times the powers of Europe—who in truly folklore fashion have always figured in the Albanian imagination as “the seven kings of Europe”—in the Berlin treaty of 1878 assigned portions of Albania to the new Balkan states, especially Montenegro and Servia—and this aroused Albanian patriotism. A popular movement spread rapidly over the whole country, and a meeting was called where under great enthusiasm a solemn declaration was formulated in which they swore to defend their own country against the inroads



ALBANIAN PEASANT WOMAN IN SCUTARI.

of foreign aggressors. The powers were obliged to enforce their decree by a naval demonstration before Dulcigno, and the Albanians were compelled to yield. At that time the Albanian patriots sought support in Constantinople where Sultan Abdul Hamid for a time favored his Albanian bodyguard and helped the Albanians to print books in their own language. Soon afterwards however the enemies of Albania gained the sultan's ear and the patriots were exiled.

Through these persecutions the national spirit grew stronger. Albanian periodicals were started, among them *Spressa* (“Hope”), issued at Bucharest, and Sami Bey Frasheri published a book bearing the title, “What was Albania, What is Albania and What is

Albania to be?" He and his two brothers—all three Mohammedans—cooperated with the Greek and Roman Albanians and found vigorous assistance among Italian friends who were especially helpful inasmuch as the schools they established were non-sectarian and of a liberal tendency. Albania played an important part in the reform of the Ottoman empire. The Young Turks, who were well acquainted with the Albanian character, began their propaganda in Albania. Through their instigation a national meeting was called at Ferisovitch in July 1908, and here their demands were formulated



FRANCISCANS, JESUITS AND LAY PRIESTS ON THE SHORES OF LAKE SCUTARI.

in a declaration known as "the Bessa of Ferisovitch." *Bessa* is an Albanian word denoting a sacred contract, an oath to keep the peace, a solemn vow to stand by a promise, and such agreements are concluded between hostile families after a feud, or designate any defensive or offensive alliance.

The Young Turk movement was successful, but would scarcely have been so without the assistance of the Albanians, who were thus induced to take the initiative, for they furnished the most vigorous part of the Turkish army. When the Young Turk government was firmly established the leaders of the movement intended to reform

the whole empire on a modern basis as a civilized state. They met resistance in several portions of the empire, and especially in Arabia and Albania where the people were aroused to indignation. Turkish officers were sent there who demanded the disarmament of the people. Guns and other weapons were to be surrendered, taxes were to be levied and magistrates appointed. Instead of a free recruiting where volunteers might join the bodyguard of the sultan in Constantinople, a system of compulsory service was introduced, and the Albanians resented these innovations. This caused another commotion among the people, and again they met in Ferisovitch in the spring of 1910, where they swore to preserve their independence.



THE TUNNEL AT KATCHANIK.

The new Turkish government did not tolerate resistance. They sent an overwhelming detachment of troops equipped with all appliances of modern warfare, including Hotchkiss machine guns, and they succeeded in putting down the rebellion with great cruelty. Though the Albanians gained temporary advantage in their mountain fastnesses they could not make their resistance permanent, and their heavy losses forced them to submission, the result being the establishment of courts martial through which great numbers of Albanian chieftains were delivered to the gallows.

Having cut off a detachment of Turkish troops at Katchanik,

where the train that carried them into the mountains had passed through a tunnel, the Albanians gloried in their victory; but unfortunately a foreign railroad employee was in possession of a camera and the brave Albanians enjoyed having their pictures taken. However when the Turkish machine guns later got the best of the mountaineers and the hated Turkish rule was reestablished, these photographs served as evidence against the Albanian patriots so that many of them had to pay with their lives for their harmless vanity.

A complete and final victory of the Turkish government seemed assured and the task of civilizing Albania by rather barbarous methods seemed to be in the hands of the Young Turks. But something unexpected happened. Against the wishes of the great powers, Servia, Bulgaria and Montenegro began to wage against Turkey a war which has unexpectedly proved successful, and these new states have also decided to appropriate further portions of Albanian territory. Their invasion into Albania roused the indignation of Austria which, backed by Germany and Italy, looked upon it as a *casus belli*.

Encouraged by the support of Austria the Albanians proclaimed their independence at Durazzo on November 23, and are willing to defend it by a national uprising. Their political spokesman on this occasion was Ismail Kemal Bey. He is sixty years old and was in the service of the Ottoman empire as a Turkish governor, first when a young man in Constanza, a harbor town which has since been ceded to Roumania. Later on he was transferred to Tripoli, but being suspected of liberal tendencies, he was exiled under Abdul Hamid, after whose abdication he served in the Young Turk parliament as a member of the liberal party. He is especially fitted for his present prominent position by his extended foreign relations, especially in England.

The present outlook of the country is favorable owing to the interest which Austria takes in its independence, and it is to be hoped that the Albanians will establish order among themselves better than could be done by any foreign conquerors. The men now in the lead are foreign trained and understand the blessings of civilization while the common people who resent the encroachments of foreign authority would probably be willing to tolerate order that would be established by men of their own blood.

THE PRE-CHRISTIAN NASAREANS.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

IT is the merit of Dr. W. B. Smith to have called attention in his work on the pre-Christian Jesus (*Der vorchristliche Jesus*) to the pre-Christian Nasareans¹ of Epiphanius, whom he assumes to have been the same as the Nazoreans or Nazarenes of the New Testament, the first followers of Jesus.

Now what are the facts concerning these Nasareans?

Epiphanius in his works on heresies classifies them under several main heads. I. Pre-Christian heresies: (1) Those of the Greeks; (2) of the Jews; (3) of the Samaritans. II. The post-Christian heresies of Christianity.

Among the pre-Christian heresies of Judaism he places that of the Nasareans in proximity to the Hemerobaptists, "who practise daily washings in order to free themselves from every guilt," and the Osseans, called by him once Ossenes (*Anakephalaiosis* 134 B, ed. Dindorf), and once Esseans (*Ankyrotos*, 12), "who follow the Jewish law in everything but also use other writings besides the law and reject most of the prophets" (*Anakeph.* 134 B et Proemium, Panarii).

Like the Osseans, who lived on the east side of the Jordan in Iturea and Moabitis near the Dead Sea (*Panarion* XIX), the Nasareans also originated east of the Jordan in Gilead and Bashan (*Pan.* XVIII). Of their beliefs Epiphanius speaks in four places.

In *Anakeph.* 134 C he says: "The Nasareans (interpreted, 'those who have cast off the reins') forbid all flesh-eating; they do not partake of that in which there is life generally; previous to Moses and Joshua the son of Nun they make use of the holy names of the patriarchs in the Pentateuch and believe in them, I mean Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and those before them, as also Moses himself and Aaron and Joshua. But they teach that the writings of the Penta-

¹ *Νασαραῖοι*.

teuch are not of Moses and affirm to have others besides these." The same passage is repeated in *Proem*.

In the *Epitome* he says: "Concerning Nasareans. These accept the patriarchs contained in the Pentateuch and Moses. That Moses received a law, they say. However, the law itself and the whole Pentateuch they do not accept, but believe that another law had been given him. They do not partake of that in which there is life, nor do they offer sacrifices. They say that the books have been falsified and that none of them took their origin from the fathers. 'Nasareans' is interpreted to mean 'Destroyers.'" With what Epiphanius connects his interpretation it is difficult to say. Perhaps with *nassar*,² "to saw, cut, divide"?

In *Panar.* XVIII he says: "The Nasareans are of Jewish race, have circumcision, observe the Sabbath and the same feasts, but they do not admit fate and astronomy [astronomy of course used here in the sense of astrology]. They accept the fathers in the Pentateuch from Adam to Moses, those glorious in the deeds of fearing God, I mean Adam, Seth, Enoch, Methusalah, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Aaron, Moses and Joshua, the son of Nun. But the Pentateuch itself they do not accept; yet they confess Moses and believe that he received the law though not this one but another. Wherefore they observe everything of the Jews, being Jews, but they do not offer sacrifice, nor partake of that in which there is life, but it is considered unlawful with them to eat flesh or that they sacrifice. They say that these books are falsified and that nothing of them has originated from the fathers. This is the difference between the Nasareans and others, and the reproach against them is also evident not only in one point but in many." After this follows a refutation of the Nasareans regarding their rejection of the Pentateuch, of sacrifices and of meat-eating, but which does not interest us here.

Epiphanius mentions the sect not only, as we see, in the passage to which we will come later, adduced by Dr. Smith (*Panar.* XXIX, 6) to support his theory, but more fully in the places cited.

Epiphanius always writes *Nasaraioi* (in *Anakeph.* 134C, *Nasaraioi*), in one place (*Panar.* XX) *Nasarenoi*, just as we have seen that he uses once *Ossenoï* and once *Essaioi*, but he clearly distinguishes the Nasareans from the Nazoreans of the New Testament, the first Christians. This is to be noticed, for while he is forced to make a clear distinction between the pre-Christian Jewish sect, on account of their diversity of opinion in weighty matters, and the

² נָסַר chald. נָסַר

orthodox Jews as also the first Christians, who likewise accepted the Old Testament fully as a divine revelation, he in his love for monastic life considers the Therapeutae of the *Via contemplativa*, ascribed to Philo, as Christians converted by Mark when preaching in Egypt, and classes them with the *Jessaioi*, though these are not a sect with him but simply another name for the followers of Jesus. After having shown in *Panar.* XXIX, 5 the difference between the word *Nazoraïos* and *Nazireios* (Nazirite), Epiphanius goes on to say in the next paragraph: "But they (the Nazoreans) did not call themselves *Nasaraïoi*, for the heresy of the Nasareans existed before Christ and did not know Christ. But all men called the Christians Nazoreans."

It is here where I charge Dr. Smith with having misled his readers by his inexact translation. He closes his extract from Epiphanius, composed of parts of §§ 1, 2 and 6 of *Panar.* XXIX and speaking of the first names of the Christians, with the translation: "But others called themselves *Nasaraïoi*." The rest of the quotation as above. This translation gives the impression that some Christians called themselves thus. But Epiphanius says nothing of the kind. He distinctly says: "But they (the Nazoreans) did not call themselves *Nasaraïoi*."

Dr. Smith must also have entirely overlooked the reason that Epiphanius does not say more in the chapter on the Nazoreans about the Nasareans. The fact is he had previously discussed the latter more fully in the separate chapter on them. He only mentions them again with the clear intent that they have nothing whatever to do with the Christian Nazoreans and must not be confounded with them. Ought not Dr. Smith to have consulted the previous descriptions of the Nasareans before making use of the short mention of them in the chapter on the Nazoreans in support of his theory?

* * *

Now what kind of people were the Nasareans?

I have two conjectures to make:

1. They may have been a remnant of an earlier stage of Hebrew religious development and civilization like the sect of the Rechabites in the Old Testament. These, belonging to the people of the Kenites a member of which, Hobab, was a brother-in-law of Moses, had kept up their nomadic habits even to the times of Jeremiah long after the conquest of Canaan, in which they had joined with the Israelites. According to Jer. xxxv, they drank no wine, just as the Arabs had been averse to it even before Mohammed; they built no houses, sowed no seed, planted no vineyard, but lived in tents.

strictly following the commands of one Jonadab, a Rechabite.³ Very probably the Kenites and Rechabites claimed to follow an older law than that developed among the Hebrews since the conquest under the influence of the higher civilization of the conquered Canaanites. They could trace back their law to Moses, who was related by marriage to the Kenites and had been guided as law-giver by Jethro, a Kenite.

The Kenites and Rechabites kept up their nomadic habits not only in the south of Palestine where they first had settled, but even as far north as the lake of Merom, where they had offshoots—this not far west from Gilead and Bashan, where the Nasareans arose, according to Epiphanius. The Nasareans, probably like the Rechabites, claimed to have the genuine Mosaic law, declaring the later law as developed in the Pentateuch a falsification. Living beyond the Jordan they could more easily keep their old organizations and customs intact. There the invading Israelitish tribes had first settled, and those tribes remaining there had never kept up a very close connection with their brothers across the Jordan anyhow. (Passages referring to the Kenites besides that of Jeremiah are Judg. i. 16; iv. 11; 2 Kings x. 15; 1 Chron. ii. 55.) By the way, it is interesting to see that one of the most uncompromising zealots against Canaanitish cults, Elijah, was a sojourner of Gilead (the Septuagint reads: "of Thisbe, Gilead"), while Jonadab, a Rechabite, assists Jehu in his treacherous butchery of the worshipers of Baal. Furthermore Elijah would have scorned the command of Deuteronomy to worship Yahveh only in one place as being Mosaic. The fact stands out that the legislation as represented in the Pentateuch was never accepted during Hebrew history by all Israelites, though they were one in the worship of the national Yahveh, of which in recent years we again have received a proof through the discoveries in Elephantine,⁴ and the Nasareans of Epiphanius seem to have belonged to those protesting against the Pentateuch.

2. This sect in rejecting sacrifices and flesh-eating must have had many things in common with some of the Essenes and other oriental gnostic sects. The vegetarian life was practised for religious reasons at the time of Christ by more Jews than we think. Witness the ascetic Banus, of whom Josephus tells in his life that he stayed with him three years, "who used no other clothing than what grew upon trees and had no other food than what grew of its own accord;"

³ Compare the opposition to the acceptance of a higher civilization among North American Indians and other peoples, as being a great sin against the simpler life and laws of the forefathers.

⁴ Compare "The Jahu Temple in Elephantine," *Open Court*, June, 1908.

and also those members of Christian circles, of whom Paul speaks in the epistles to the Romans and Colossians, who had scruples about the use of meat and certain foods. Whether the Nasareans brought their rejection of sacrifices and flesh-eating in connection with the revelation they laid claim to, Epiphanius does not say; these things may have been later developed. Still their simpler customs both as regards religious ritual and the mode of living in contrast to a more developed elaborate worship as at Jerusalem and the luxuries of civilization may have been, in part at least, survivals from an earlier stage.

What was the meaning of the name "Nasareans"? Here we can only conjecture again. Perhaps it had a very natural origin. The Old Testament often makes a distinction between fenced cities and the solitary "towers of watchers" (*migdal nošrim*) in the country and desert for watching herds and products of husbandry.⁵ The Nasareans, probably from living a pastoral and country life (Gilead and Bashan were preeminently pastoral countries) may have originally taken their name from their natural occupation (*našar*, "to watch, protect"). The original meaning may have later taken a transferred meaning. This verb is often used in the Old Testament for observing the covenant and commands of God (Deut. xxxiii. 9; Ps. xxv. 10; cv. 45). The Nasareans claimed to observe the genuine law of Moses, just as the Rechabites, as we are told in Jeremiah xxxv, observed strictly the commands of their forefather Jonadab. The word used for "observe" in that chapter is *shamar* and has exactly the same meaning, both original and transferred, as *našar*. The Talmud applies the latter verb in the same sense as *shamar* to the Rechabites. Reading in 1 Chron. iv. 23 *nošrim* instead of *jošrim* (potters), the version from which the English translation is taken, "who dwelt in the plantations and corrals of the king," and identifying these *nošrim* with the Rechabites, it says: "They were so called because they observed (*she našeru*) the commandment of their father" (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, article "Rechabites").

The Greek form *Nasaraioi* may have been from a later Hebrew form *našaraim*, just as we have the *Amoraim* (from *amar*, "speak,") "interpreters," and *Tanaim* (*tana*, "repeat,") "teachers," of the Talmud. All this is conjecture, but I deem as well founded, if not better, than the conjecture of Professor Smith, who on the simple similarity of sound of *Nasaraioi* and *Nazaraioi* builds the theory

⁵ Compare 2 Kings xvii. 9; xviii. 8; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; compare also "the herd tower" (*migdal cder*) Gen. xxxv. 21.

that they were identical, without in the least taking into consideration the facts given of the Nasareans, which place them in an entirely different category from the Jewish Nazoreans, who accepted the whole Jewish dispensation as laid down in the Old Testament.

NOTE BY DR. SMITH.

At the time of publication of the essay on the "Meaning of the Epithet Nazorean" and still later, at the publication of *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (1906) the accepted text of the Epiphanian passage was this:

"Ἄλλοι δὲ Νασσαραίους ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάλεσαν.

Of this the only possible translation is the one that is so sharply criticized above, namely, "But others called themselves Nasareans," or as the learned Jesuit Petavius renders it in Migne's Patrology, XLI, 400, "Sed alii Nazaræos seipsos appellant." In a footnote on the same page we read: "γρ. Ἄλλ' οὐ δὲ Νασοραίους." This text would of course be translated, "But they did not call themselves Nasoreans." This secondary text is not disregarded in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, but is mentioned, on page 228, as probably a purposeful modification of the original. Since 1906, and engendered by the aforementioned essay, a dense growth of controversial literature has sprung up around this Epiphanian passage (particularly the continuation, "For the heresy of the Nasarees was before Christ and knew not Christ"), and the text-critical question has been minutely studied, but not settled, for the opinions of scholars seem almost evenly and hopelessly divided as to which form is the older. In the second edition of *Der vorchristliche Jesus* I have touched again upon the matter and have shown both there and elsewhere that the text-question is rather curious than important (and in this judgment some of the highest German authorities concur), seeing that the main fact is the *pre-Christian existence of the Nasarees*. It matters little that Epiphanius in his "tremendous zeal for orthodoxy" (Case) should strive hard to make a distinction without a difference. All this I have set forth so fully and so repeatedly as to make further elaboration superfluous. It is enough to remark that in October, 1911, a learned and determined opponent, Professor Bousset, on the first page of the *Theologische Rundschau*, rejecting Wernle's appeal to the secondary text (ἄλλ' οὐ), declared that "all theological attempts thus far [to explain away the Epiphanian testimony] must be accounted failures." When something new is brought forward, I shall be glad to reopen the discussion, but not sooner.

January 12, 1913.

WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

THE CICADA AN EMBLEM OF IMMORTALITY IN CHINA.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN comment on the significance of the praying mantis and its prey, the cicada, as described by Dr. Berthold Laufer in the January number of *The Open Court*, we may add a few remarks on burial objects in China, among which the cicada made of jade is most popular among the relics of the Han period. These objects are commonly called tongue amulets because they are placed upon the tongue of the dead, as mentioned by Dr. Laufer in his book entitled *Jade, A Study in Chinese Archæology and Religion*.

Jade emblems of this kind are called in Chinese *Han yü*, which means a jade like that of the time of the Han dynasty. The term has been wrongly translated by Dr. Bushell "tomb-jade," but the word *Han* refers simply to the age in which this particular kind of jade, carved or uncarved, was used and has nothing to do with the word *han*, "to place in the mouth."

These jade objects have unquestionably a symbolic meaning, and appear to have been given to the dead for the sake of protecting them against evil influences. The jade cicadas are of a size which would fit into the mouth and are made to cover the tongue. As jade is expensive, it is natural that only rich people can indulge in such amulets. Dr. Laufer says:

"In the days of the Chou dynasty, jade was taken internally as food. 'When the emperor purifies himself by abstinence, the chief in charge of the jade works (*yü fu*) prepares for him the jade which he is obliged to eat,' says the *Chou li* (Biot, Vol. I, p. 125). Jade, add the commentaries to this passage, is the essence of the purity of the male principle, the emperor partakes of it to correct or counteract the water which he drinks, since water belongs to the female principle; the emperor fasts and purifies himself before

communicating with the spirits; he must take the pure extract of jade; it is dissolved that he may eat it. And in another passage of the *Chou li* (Biot, Vol. I, p. 492) we read that jade is pounded and mixed with rice to be administered as food to the corpse of an emperor before burial (*tsêng yü*).

"In later Taoism, we meet the belief highly developed that jade is the food of spirits and tends to secure immortality (De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Vol. I, pp. 271-273; Vol. II, p. 395). In the Han period a belief was dominant in a revival of the corpse, and the hill-censers and hill-jars of Han pottery interred with the dead have taught us how deep the longing for immortality was among the people of that age. Two ideas are, therefore, prominent in the burial of certain jade ornaments with the corpse during the Chou and Han periods,—the preservation of the body by the effect of the qualities inherent in jade, and the hope of a resurrection prompted by this measure.

"The idea of jade being apt to prolong life seems to have originated at the same time in connection with the notions and practices of alchemy then coming into existence. A marvelous kind of jade is called *yü ying*, 'the perfection of jade.' It is represented among 'the wonderful objects of good omen' (*fu jui*)—there are twenty-two altogether—on the bas-reliefs of Wu-liang of the Han period in Shan-tung where it is pictured as a plain rectangular slab accompanied by the inscription, 'The perfection of jade will appear, when the five virtues are cultivated.'¹ Vessels, it was supposed, could be made of this supernatural substance; in B. C. 163, a jade cup of this kind was discovered on which the words were engraved, 'May the sovereign of men have his longevity prolonged!' The then reigning Emperor Wên took this joyful event as a suitable occasion to choose a new motto for the period of his reign, and to count this year as the first of a new era, celebrated with a banquet throughout the empire.²

"It was believed that immortality could be obtained by eating from bowls made of this kind of jade. Thus the phrase, 'to eat in the perfection of jade' came to assume the meaning 'to obtain eternal life.' In the form of a wish, it appears in prayers cast as inscriptions on certain metal mirrors of the Han period connected with the worship of Mount T'ai in Shan-tung (Chavannes, *Le T'ai Chan*, p. 425)....

"Princes followed the observance of sending pieces of jade to

¹ Compare Chavannes, *La sculpture sur pierre en Chine*, p. 34.

² Chavannes, *Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. II, p. 481.

be placed in the mouth of their deceased friends as the last honor to be rendered. Special messengers were entrusted with this token who fulfilled their task as described in the *Li ki* (*Tsa ki* II, 31) as follows: 'The messenger with the mouth-jade holding a jade ring (*pi*) announced his message in these words, "My humble prince has sent me [giving his name] with the mouth-jade." The assistant [to the son of the deceased] went into the house to report, and said in coming out, "Our bereaved master [giving his name] is awaiting you." The bearer of the jade entered, ascended into the hall and gave his message; the son bowed to him [as sign of thanks] and touched the ground with his forehead [as sign of grief and mourning]. The bearer, kneeling, deposited the jade south-east of the coffin on a reed mat, or after interment, on a rush mat.' He then descended and returned to his place. An adjutant in court-dress, but still wearing the shoes of mourning, ascended the hall by the steps on the western side, and kneeling, his face turned to the west, he took the jade ring. Then he descended the same western steps, going in an eastward direction.' Thus the mouth-jade was presented according to rules of strict formality, and it is obvious from this passage that it could be presented even after the funeral had taken place without serving its purpose proper, and that even then the mourner was obliged to accept it; he doubtless kept it, but in what way, and to what end, is unknown. . . .

"A curious instance of an alleged or allegorical use of the mouth-jade in the case of live persons is narrated in the history of the kingdom of Wu, when King Fu Ch'ai (B. C. 494-472) joined the duke of Lu to attack the principality of Ts'i. At the point of giving battle, General Kung-sun Hia ordered his soldiers to chant funeral songs; another general requested his men to put into their mouths pieces of jade as used for corpses, while still another bade his men carry a rope eight feet long to fetter the soldiers of Wu (A. Tschepe, *Histoire du royaume de Ou*, p. 121). It can hardly be surmised that the second clause is to be taken in its real sense, for it would be difficult to see how a band of soldiers could be provided with these jade pieces at a moment's notice just before going to battle, unless we should suppose it a custom that every man should carry with him his mouth-jade, which is not very probable, and the general could hardly expect that a man while holding a piece of jade on his tongue could do efficient fighting. I therefore understand the sentence in a figurative sense meaning to say that the battle will be so fierce that every one should be prepared for death.

"The mortuary amulets in our collection described on the fol-

lowing pages were procured in Si-ngan fu from the private collection of a well-known Chinese scholar and archeologist who has been engaged for many years in antiquarian researches with great success. For the definition of these objects, I entirely depend on his explanations which agree with the general opinions upheld in Si-ngan fu. It will be seen that there is not only the tongue-amulet mentioned in the *Chou li*, but a whole series of jade amulets serving also for the preservation of other parts of the body. The underlying idea evidently was to close up all apertures of the body by means of jade, the essence of the *yang* element which was to triumph over the destructive underground agencies of the *yin* element, and it is assumed that this full equipment of the body was developed in the Han period. The characteristics of the pieces point to the same epoch. This is the most complete collection of this kind on record, and most of these types have not yet been described by Chinese archeologists.

"The archeological evidence quite agrees with the literary researches of De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Vol. I, pp. 271 *et. seq.*) The most important quotation for our purpose is that by Ko Hung: 'If there is gold and jade in the nine apertures of the corpse, it will preserve the body from putrefaction.' And T'ao Hung-King of the fifth century says: 'When on opening an ancient grave the corpse looks as if alive, then there is inside of the body a large quantity of gold and jade. According to the regulations of the Han dynasty, princes and lords were buried in clothes adorned with pearls, and with boxes of jade, for the purpose of preserving the body from decay.' The stuffing of the corpse with jade took the place of embalming, except that it did not have the same effect. In the case of the Han Emperor Wu (B. C. 140-87), the jade boxes mentioned had their lids carved with figures of dragons, phenixes and tortoise-dragons (*loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 401).

"Among the personal amulets worn by the corpse, those to be placed on the tongue are most important and frequently spoken of in the ancient texts. As all these amulets are imitative of bodily forms, those for the tongue are shaped in the outline of this organ. There are four types of them, the one plain, almost geometrically constructed, the other of a realistic design carved into the figure of a cicada, but at the same time preserving the shape of a tongue. A series of nine pieces is illustrated on the adjoined plate in natural size, the first four being of the plain tongue-shaped type. The first three are made of the same ivory-colored material, probably marble, which is decomposed and showing a rough surface in 1 and

3, while the original fine polish is preserved in 2. The substance of 3 has withered away so much that the ornamentation has disappeared and deep holes are eaten into the surfaces. The lines engraved on 1 and 2 explain themselves by serving the purpose of marking the parts of the tongue. In all these pieces, the medial portion is high and gradually sloping down towards the edges. In No. 1 the under surface is flat, and the tip is slightly turned upward. In No. 2, the lower side is shaped in the same manner as the upper one, but laid out with a different design of lines.

"The piece in No. 4 is of a uniformly pure milk-white jade, the two dark lines showing in the photograph being yellow in color. Rounded over the upper surface, it consists of two slanting portions on its lower side with a short incision cut horizontally into the medial line, in the same way as will be seen in No. 8.

"Numbers 5-9 show five variations of the cicada type, that in 5 being the most realistic, those in 8 and 9 being in an advanced stage of conventionalization. In No. 5*a*, the two wings and the body are well designed; 5*b* displays the lower face of the same specimen. All of this type have the two faces ornamented differently. The hardened earth incrustations which have penetrated into No. 6 will be recognized in the illustration. Both 5 and 6 are of grayish jade, and of excellent workmanship. No. 7 is remarkable for its size, its color, and its elegant technique. The color of the jade is black in the two wings and the right upper portion, and dark-gray in the central and upper part. In this, as in so many other cases, we have occasion to admire the ingenuity and color sense of the artist in carving the jade block in such a way that the colors were appropriately distributed, either to an artistic end, or as here, to lend an object its real colors, or realism of color and a color of realism. No. 8 is the smallest and plainest of this type which I know, and not ornamental on the obverse; it is of lustrous white jade with a slight greenish tinge. In the two slanting sides, it agrees with the plain tongue-shaped type, but the style of carving shows that here also the figure of the cicada is intended. No. 9 shows the specimen on its lower face which is of grayish jade, but with a very peculiar chocolate-brown portion in the upper end with a narrow bluish stripe below it. On the upper side, the two wings of the insect are brought out by lines engraved, as in the other specimens. Only two of them are provided with a contrivance by which they can be fastened. That in No. 5 has two small holes about 2mm. in length drilled in the upper edge; they communicate in the interior and thus allow the



1
4
7

2
5a
5b

3
6

8

9

— TONGUE AMULETS FOR THE DEAD IN THE SHAPE OF CICADAS. —

passage of a wire or cord. The object in No. 6 is provided with a small perforated rounded handle."

Dr. Laufer adds: "Why the cicada was chosen for this amulet, seems not to be known. This idea may be connected with the *memento mori* brought out by the figures of a cicada and mantis on the Han jade buckles."

This explanation seems to us forced, and we are reluctant to accept it, because we can offer another interpretation which is more probable and is suggested by the ancient Taoist rite to procure an elixir of life. If we consider that all lasting substances were deemed in the mystical notions of the Taoist sages a proper food of immortality, it is evident that these mixtures were taken as a kind of ambrosia, a food to procure immortality, and one of the most important ingredients among them was jade.

Jade was pulverized and eaten, or was mixed with water and taken as a drink. The idea also prevailed that the Taoist sages, through breathing exercises within their own bodies, could develop a new immortal personality which grew as in a cocoon after the fashion of the cicada, and it was thought that the body of the sage would burst open and set the child at liberty. This child represented the new soul of the sage, and when set at liberty it left the body just as the cicada would leave the shell of the cocoon. The ancient Greeks cherished the same idea and represented the *psyché* as the butterfly which would rise to new life after the caterpillar had ripened into a chrysalis and sprung its own shell leaving behind the empty cocoon at the moment of liberation.

Accordingly what would be more appropriate in Chinese symbolism than to place in the mouth of the dead a piece of jade to ensure the everlastingness of the soul? That this piece of jade was formed in the shape of a cicada would be just as appropriate as that the butterfly would be to the Greeks a symbol of the immortality of the soul. Nay, we may be sure that the Chinese really believed in it, and had the confidence of the effectiveness of a cicada placed within the body of the dead.

It seems to me that this explanation agrees better with Chinese traditions than the general idea of a *memento mori*, for the reason that the cicada was the victim of the mantis, or that it would remind us of mortality and of the fate that will overtake every man. It stands to reason that on the contrary the cicada was believed to be an effective means to escape the decay of death and to insure to the dead life everlasting.

HERDER AS FAUST.

BY GÜNTHER JACOBY.

[In a former number of *The Open Court* (December, 1912) we published a brief review of Dr. Günther Jacoby's book *Herder als Faust*. As an indication of the care and detail with which Dr. Jacoby has worked out his thesis we here offer a free and somewhat condensed translation of a few passages representative of his position and the comparisons he has drawn. The two paragraphs from Goethe's Autobiography are quoted from Oxenford's translation, and the many quotations from Faust are taken from Bayard Taylor with one or two slight changes when the more literal rendering of a term seemed necessary to bring out Dr. Jacoby's emphasis of identity between expressions of Herder and Goethe.—Ed.]

FAUST is only one instance of the far-reaching influence of Herder upon Goethe, but it is an instance in a remarkable sense, for there is no other work of Goethe's which has Herder himself as the subject and in which the evidence of Herder's influence can be more easily traced step by step. We may regard Faust as the combination of the most varied influences of Herder upon Goethe at the beginning of the seventies of the eighteenth century, but it is noteworthy that under the constructive power of Goethe's imagination these influences attained a depth and beauty which they did not possess in Herder himself.

That Goethe could after all represent the experiences of Herder more beautifully and more profoundly than Herder himself, is indeed wonderful and can be perfectly understood only when we realize how powerfully Herder's influence affected and stirred Goethe's inmost being just at the time when he was starting upon Faust; and how just at this time Goethe strove to imitate and recast in himself the nature of Herder. In Faust Goethe has represented the figure of Herder as the prototype of the truest and noblest humanity. He did not have in mind the pettiness of Herder with his many errors and weaknesses, but rather what was great and superhuman in him, the image of the saint and priest which had developed

for Goethe out of his peculiar, even unique, relation to Herder at the time of their first meeting in Strassburg and in the years immediately following. Faust is not the Herder whom we know from the traditional biographies of the nineteenth century, but he represents the picture of Herder which the young Goethe had drawn for himself from direct contact with him and in the spirit of the highest veneration. (Pages 3-4.)

In spite of opposed views based upon the fact that Goethe is known to have utilized many sources in his masterpiece, the present book maintains that Herder is Goethe's Faust and, what is more, the Faust of the first part up to the scene in Auerbach's cellar.

Let the reader for a moment restrain his inclination to reject the theory *a priori*, and observe that there is an essential difference between my statement, "Herder is Faust," and that Herder material is contained in Faust. To say that Herder material is contained in Faust means that words and thoughts of Herder's are taken over into the drama of Faust. On the other hand to say that Herder is Faust means that not only words and thoughts but Faust's external and internal experiences are those of Herder. Only by the fact that Herder is Faust as a man does the large number of positive agreements become intelligible. (3-5.)

Goethe himself writes of the days they spent together in Strassburg:

"Since his conversations were at all times important, whether he asked, answered, or communicated his opinions in any other manner, he could not but advance me daily, nay, hourly, to new views. At Leipsic I had accustomed myself to a narrow and circumscribed existence, and my general knowledge of German literature could not be extended by my situation in Frankfort; nay, those mystico-religious chemical occupations had led me into obscure regions, and what had been passing for some years back in the wide literary world had, for the most part, remained unknown to me. Now I was at once made acquainted by Herder with the new aspiration and all the tendencies which it seemed to be taking.... What an agitation there must have been in such a mind, what a fermentation there must have been in such a nature, can neither be conceived nor described. But great was certainly the concealed effort, as will be easily admitted when one reflects for how many years afterwards, and how much, he has accomplished and produced."

From such expressions we can well understand that at the time of the Strassburg acquaintance of the two poets Herder exerted a

powerful influence on the figure of Faust which was then just taking form. (19.)

We will be able to estimate in detail the different points in which Herder's influence is shown in Faust by an extensive comparison of that drama with Herder's writings in the sixties and seventies. But Goethe himself furnishes an important piece of evidence for their variety when he tells us that at that time in Strassburg all Herder's later works existed in him potentially as a germ, for no one knew better than Goethe that the later activities of Herder were in no wise limited to literature and its history. Goethe writes:

"As to the fulness of those few weeks during which we lived together, I can well say, that all which Herder has since gradually produced was then announced in the germ, and that I thereby fell into the fortunate condition that I could complete, attach to something higher, and expand all that I had hitherto thought, learned, and made my own."

In preparation for his essay on the origin of language Herder busied himself with naturalistic and philosophical questions. For a long time he had been interested in the questions of philosophy especially with reference to scientific theory. This is the first point in which the comparison of Faust with the writings of Herder can give satisfactory results. (22.)

Goethe's unrestricted love and devoted veneration for Herder, his consciousness of Herder's intellectual superiority and the recognition of the educative blessing which had fallen upon him through their acquaintance, is the fundamental tone noticeable in all his letters to Herder after the latter's departure from Strassburg: "Continue to be fond of me," he writes in the summer of 1771, "and it will always be only an *officium*, not a *beneficium*; for you feel how fond I am of you." And yet more intimately and more touchingly he writes in the same manner: "I shall not let you go, I shall not let you. Jacob struggled with the angel of the Lord, and must I injure myself in doing so?" Yes, veneration to the highest degree; he does not know whether he can transform a marveling admiration as one of the worshipers of Herder's exalted figure into the intimate appreciative communion of a friend on an equality with him; "whether I can soar above the worship of the idol which Plato painted and gilded and to which Xenophon offered incense to the true religion in which instead of a saint a great man appeared, whom I can press to my bosom in an ecstasy of love, and cry, 'My friend and my brother!' And to dare to say that confidently to a great man! Might I for one day and one night be Alcibiades and then I

fain would die." Continuing directly: "A few days ago I embraced you with a full heart as if I saw you once again and heard your voice." (29-30.)

Goethe's letters to Herder are so very valuable to us in this connection because they not only reflect Goethe's friendship for Herder, but they bear witness that this friendship was so *innig*, so rooted in the very depths of his whole existence, that his own being and the growth of his mind at this time can only be understood in terms of his friendship for Herder.

It may be said that this fact is of such fundamental significance for our understanding of Goethe and Herder's relation to Faust, that it can not be presented impressively enough. Only from this fact can we properly understand that in the first part of Faust Goethe has erected a memorial to Herder.

The second letter of the summer of 1771 is one of the most important evidences of the kind of relation between them. At this time it is not Goethe who is the great man of the two, but Herder. Nevertheless Goethe knowing himself to be the lesser of the two friends struggles for his own valuation, for a modest radiance in the same sunlight as Herder. He writes to Herder: "Apollo Belvidere, why show yourself to us in your nudity so that we must be ashamed of our own! A Spanish costume and make-up! Herder, Herder stay to me what you are to me. If I am destined to be your planet I will be so willingly and faithfully. A friendly moon to the earth. But feel sure that I would rather be Mercury, the last, the smallest among seven who revolve with you about the same sun, than to be the first among five revolving around Saturn."

And a very similar spirit is shown in the conclusion of that letter in which Goethe thinks of Herder as a saint and himself as Alcibiades. Here Goethe writes: "And now, right reverend priest, do not forget in the service of the altar the discipline of thy acolytes whose imagination naturally covets thy priestly vestments, but whose power in the position of *adjunctus* and verger unfortunately does not for the most part come up to the *non plus ultra*. Let my conclusion be the conclusion of Socrates as Plato gives it in his Apology: 'And if they pretend to be something when they are really nothing, then reprove them for not caring about that for which they ought to care, and thinking they are something when they are really nothing. And if you do this I will have received justice at your hands.'"

It is remarkable that Herder seems to have occupied a very similar priestly position previously in his youth at Riga. He relates

that there he was "adored by my friends and a number of youths who considered me their Christ." (32-33.)

* * *

In Strassburg Herder was filled with a Faustlike impulse to get away from the student's cell out into the active struggle and life of the world.

For proof of this assertion I will cite a passage from the diary of Herder's travels which seems to me remarkable because he not only appears as the Faust of the first part, but at the same time foreshadows the Faust of the second part. Surfeited with fruitless knowledge the Faust of the first part rushes through a life of love and pleasure, the Faust of the second part pushes forward to efficient political and industrial activity. Surfeited with fruitless knowledge Herder yearns for the joys of life and the pleasures of the world, for efficient activity in politics and industry. The whole diary is full of this.

In one passage Herder writes, "Livonia, thou province of barbarism and luxury, of uncertainty, of limited taste, of freedom and of slavery, how much might be done in thee! Might be done to put an end to barbarism, to uproot ignorance, to disseminate civilization and freedom, to become a second Zwingli, Calvin and Luther of this province! Can I do this? Have I the aptitude, the opportunity and talents for it? What must I do to accomplish this? What must I destroy? I still ask. I must give up useless criticism and dead researches; must raise myself above controversies and the rewards of books, must consecrate myself to the service and development of the living world, must win the confidence of the administration, the government and court, must travel through France, England, Italy and Germany to this end—arouse in myself noble ideals and great purposes, adjust myself to my age and acquire the spirit of law-giving, of commerce and of police, dare to look into everything from the points of view of politics, government and finance, not lay myself open to new attacks and to rectify former ones as soon and as well as possible, to meditate day and night upon becoming this genius of Livonia, to learn to know it dead or alive, to conceive and to undertake every practical thing in order to accustom myself to prevail upon the world, the nobility and the people to be on my side—noble youth! Does all this slumber in thee?" The longing for foreign lands is like Faust:

"Yea, if a magic mantle once were mine,
To waft me o'er the world at pleasure,
I would not for the costliest stores of treasure—
Not for a monarch's robe—the gift resign."

The motive of this wish is the same in both Goethe's *Faust* and Herder, namely the longing to leave the study to fare forth "to new and varied being."

All of Herder's ideal slumbered in Goethe's *Faust*; yes, to carry this out, is the motive of the entire tragedy, especially its second part. Like Herder, *Faust* is led from fruitless science to active life among the people and for the state; he rises above rewards of books, useless criticisms and dead researches, etc. He becomes the genius of a coastland as Herder of the Russian coastland Livonia. In a word, Goethe's *Faust* fulfils the great task which Herder had set for his own life at the time when he came in contact with Goethe at Strassburg.

Let us consider that Goethe's *Faust* originated in Strassburg under the first powerful impression of Herder's figure. Was there to be no connection between the general conception of Herder's plans for life and the general conception of the plan of the drama *Faust* which originated just at this time? Is the correspondence which actually exists between these two conceptions to be laid to chance? Must they be accidental, even though Herder and Goethe at that time were in most intimate daily intercourse? It would be a most remarkable chance hard to understand from a scientific point of view.

It is true, to be sure, and must not be overlooked, that many details of the second part of *Faust* which we might refer to Herder on the basis of the confessions contained in the diary of his travels are originally contained in the old *Faust* legend and so might have been derived from this latter source and even in some particulars were certainly derived from the old legend. Nevertheless it may be said that this hardly touches the mooted Herder question in *Faust*. All connections of *Faust* with the old folktale relate merely to details and externalities. In the comparison of *Faust* with Herder, however, we do not deal with these but with the entire outline of the drama and with the profundity of its human and philosophical content.

This profundity was not contained in the tales of the old *Faust* legend. The theme of the drama intimately experienced and magnificently portrayed—that man does not find in the business of scholarship the satisfaction that he seeks, that he runs in vain against the limits of his humanity, that he finds compensation in the enjoyment of the world and in busy activity as the counselor of a state and the benefactor of its people—this theme was not outlined in the externalities of the *Faust* legend. It belonged to Goethe, and Goethe

experienced it as a poetical symbol of Herder, the man whom he revered with a passionate enthusiasm and who just at that time was experiencing the same profound and magnificent theme in his own life. Herder's plan for his future became for Goethe the plan of his drama of Faust.

Indeed if during their life together at Strassburg, Herder revealed to his younger friend—as is very probable—the impulses of his inner life, then we may also assume that Goethe has utilized this self-communication of Herder for the general outline of his plan of Faust. It would be obstinacy to try to explain the actual correspondence of the two conceptions in this case in any different way. But this means that for the general conception of the drama, Faust himself is none other than Herder. (52-55.)

* * *

The entire first part of the drama of Faust is pervaded by a peculiarly medieval Gothic tone, mysterious and full of presentiment, exalted and profound. It is the tone which Herder expressly calls his fundamental tone. It sounds like a depiction of Faust in large outlines when Herder writes of himself in the diary of his travels: "A feeling for sublimity is the crisis of my soul; to this is directed my love, my hate, my admiration, my dream of happiness and unhappiness, my resolve to live in the world, my expression, my style, my deportment, my physiognomy, my conversation, my occupation,—everything, including even my taste for speculation and for the seriousness of philosophy, of thought, including my dread of physiological discoveries and of new thoughts of the human soul, my half-intelligible, half melancholy style, my perspective—everything. My life is a passage through Gothic arches, or at least through an avenue of green shade. The outlook is always lofty and reverent; the entrance was a sort of dread; but it will be a very different kind of confusion when the path suddenly broadens out and I find myself in the open." (62.)

To conclude Herder's Faust-like descriptions of himself, one more feature will be recalled which unexpectedly comes into the present connection with the diary and once more discloses Goethe's Faust to be his friend Herder. This feature, like the fondness for fairy tales, spirits and witches, begins back in Herder's youth and also in Faust's youth. It is by the recollection of his youth that Faust is drawn away from the goblet of poison:

"And yet, from childhood up familiar with the note,
To life it now renews the old allegiance.
Once heavenly love sent down a burning kiss

Upon my brow, in Sabbath silence holy;
 And, filled with mystic presage, chimed the church-bell slowly,
 And prayer dissolved me in a fervent bliss.
 A sweet uncomprehended yearning
 Drove forth my feet through woods and meadows free,
 And while a thousand tears were burning,
 I felt a world arise for me...."

It is remarkable that Herder, too, whose childhood was saturated with the spirit of ecclesiastical piety, made just this influence of his religious education responsible for his disposition at a later time; and it is almost more remarkable that like Faust he also lets the memory of those lonely walks in Mohrunge follow directly upon the religious impressions of his childhood—these walks which in other passages he describes exactly as Goethe's Faust describes his.

Of his feeling of harmony with the sublime, Herder writes: "Hence my early inclination for the clerical profession to which of course the local prejudice of my youth contributed greatly, but likewise also without doubt the impression of church and altar, chancel and pastoral eloquence, the official duties and deference for the clergy. Hence my first series of occupations, the dreams of my youth with regard to an aquatic world, my favorite pursuits in the garden, my solitary walks."

"The local prejudices of my youth"! Most significant for the meaning of the religious local prejudices of Herder in comparison with the childhood memories of Faust are the accounts given by Ludwig von Baczko of Herder's early youth. He writes: "The devout and gentle nature of his parents made an early impression on the lamented Herder, . . . His parents often found comfort in the Bible and hymn-book, recommending both earnestly to their son; many a touching and comforting passage from hymns, many a Biblical verse, were early impressed upon the vivid memory of the boy which was retentive and quick to grasp. Thus was aroused Herder's religious feeling, his attachment for simple songs and his frequent reading of the Bible."

Remarkably enough, it is exactly the religious songs and the reading of the Bible which in Faust are the indication of the Christian piety rooted in him also in childhood. This is not true only of Herder's favorite Easter song to which he has more than once given poetical treatment and which in Goethe restrains the despairing Faust from the last most fatal step:

"Why, here in dust, entice me with thy spell,
 Ye gentle, powerful sounds of heaven?...."

And yet, from childhood up familiar with the note,
To life it now renews the old allegiance."

But it is also true of Faust's Christian piety with reference to the Bible:

"We pine and thirst for revelation,
Which nowhere worthier is, more nobly sent,
Than here, in our New Testament,
I feel impelled its meaning to determine."

It is not an accident that Faust consults the Gospel of John. This again is a favorite subject of Herder, upon which he was working at the time of the inception of Faust.

On the other hand, the solitary walks of the boy. For them also Baczko writes of the boy Herder that he "gradually developed each of his splendid aptitudes for the beautiful, the good and the noble, took exceptional pleasure in arranging for a solitary walk around the Mohrung Lake and in the neighboring woods in the company of some cherished book." But even at that time the boy had betrayed "a tendency toward seriousness and melancholy."

In accord with this, Herder frequently tells us himself that he loved to imagine "a new world" in that lake and from his seriousness and childish melancholy we can understand the "thousands of hot tears" which may have been shed upon those solitary rambles. Faust is Herder when he recalls such solitary rambles in his childhood:

"A sweet, uncomprehended yearning,
Drove forth my feet through woods and meadows free,
And while a thousand tears were burning,
I felt a world arise for me."

These solitary rambles are extensively described by Herder in another passage and very much after the manner of Faust. "I began to think at an early age," he writes of his childhood years; "I early tore myself away from human society and saw a new world suspended in the water and went out in order to speak in solitude with the spring flowers and to enjoy myself in the creation of great plans, and for hours at a time I talked to myself. Time seemed short to me; I played, I read, I gathered flowers, simply in order to give myself up to my thoughts. What was great, inscrutable, difficult, attracted me. Easy things usually were given up as having too little attraction to hold me." That was the same world that Goethe's Faust felt arise in his childish heart under thousands of hot tears. (64-69.)

One remark about the words the Earth-spirit addressed to Faust in the scene known as the night excursion:

"Thus at Time's humming loom 'tis my hand prepares
The garment of life which the Deity wears!"

In Herder's poems also we repeatedly find the thought that the world is the "garment of life" of Deity, and together with this is the thought of a web in the garment. We find this in a small poem by Herder entitled "The World is God's Garment." The same thought appears more extended in another poem in which man is weaving diligently in his corner at the veil of Penelope-Minerva as it gorgeously gleams among boundless millions of stars; and finally in his poems on the creation with a surprising echo of the words of the Earth-spirit in Faust: "O splendor of God, thou beautiful robe of the earth, thou delicate garment in which everything is woven in aspiration for the higher life." Goethe's Earth-spirit prepares Deity's garment of life, the delicate garment of earth in which everything is woven in aspiration for the higher life. Herder's fundamental thought and expression are obviously related closely to the words of the Earth-spirit in Faust.

The relationship becomes more clear, however, when we go back to Herder's source of this mode of thought, to that ancient Oriental world in which Herder at the time of his stay in Strassburg was so diligently interested. He writes in the *Ältesten Urkunde* with regard to the Egyptian divinities Ptah and Neith that both names denote "one and the same thing, governor of the world, creator of the universe...the former breathes and creates; the latter weaves—what? The beautiful old, oft-misunderstood, picture of all mysteries, the great veil of nature, the splendid luminous form of all creatures. How fabrics, colors, and figures unite and move, break off and stop. How nature, the invisible mother, there weaves and rips, destroys and works, tapestry and veil, and a miraculous scene in which we gaze only at colors and do not understand nor decipher the plan or purpose. Here we see that primeval Penelope, the artist Minerva at Sais; her inscription is now plain enough;

"I am the all!
What was! What is! What is to be!
No mortal hath lifted my veil!
The sun was my child!"

This passage is very important in order to understand the appearance of the Earth-spirit in Faust. It closely resembles the Earth-spirit in being the governor of the world, the world creator, who

weaves the veil of nature. And as in Faust it is a "changing web" over "birth and grave"; Neith too "weaves and rips, destroys and makes again." Finally as Faust does not comprehend the Earth-spirit, so man can not understand or decipher the plan or purpose of Neith. "No mortal hath lifted my veil"!

Strikingly enough Faust makes use of exactly the same figurative expression of the same thought:

"Mysterious even in open day,
Nature retains her veil despite our clamors."

This is a fundamental thought not only of the first act of the play but also of its entire construction. In view of the Earth-spirit Faust stands before the veiled image of Sais, but Ptah and Neith are none other than the Egyptian god Thoth and the sign of the god Thoth is the sign of the macrocosm in the book of Nostradamus. (81-83.)

Finally in close connection with the night excursion in Faust we have Herder's poem "The Human Soul." Here just like Faust Herder relates how he had examined into many things upon the earth and many doors had opened to him, but how, still unsatisfied, he had longed to see behind the external drama of the world its true essence, its soul, divinity. Precisely this is the introduction and occasion for the appearance of the Earth-spirit in Faust:

"And thus the bitter task forego
Of saying things I do not know—
That I may detect the inmost force
Which binds the world and guides its course;
Its germs, productive powers explore
And rummage in empty words no more."

In this way Herder too is unsatisfied merely to know the external drama in the world, only the garment of God: "I fain would see deeper, would learn the abyss of his power, souls. More than worlds! The glory of divinity which called them into life.... To him the heavens sang the fullness of the harmony of nature, and unsatiated he stood, dreamed, and silently he breathed only in thee—in thee, O Soul." The mood is closely related to that of Faust between his glimpse of the sign of the macrocosm and the appearance of the Earth-spirit. Before the sign of Nostradamus, Faust also sang:

"When I the starry courses know
And nature's wise instruction seek."

He too in gazing at the heavens recognized

"How each the whole its substance gives,
Each in the other works and lives."

But like Herder he too is unsatisfied by this mere drama before the eyes and wishes "to see deeper, to learn the abyss, the souls," and enter into direct psychical contact with divinity.

"How grand a show! But, ah! a show alone.
Thee, boundless nature, how make thee my own?
Where you, ye breasts? Founts of all being, shining,
Whereon hang heaven's and earth's desire,
Whereto our withered hearts aspire."

In Herder in the same mood, in the submersion of self, of the soul, a *Gotteswink*, a beckoning of God reaches the thinker. From the depths of the grave he is enveloped in a holy shadow. He sees not the face of the image itself; he hears a voice and is seized by terror and a sense of his own smallness in the presence of the divine command. The similarity to the appearance of the Earth-spirit in Goethe's *Faust* is so unmistakable in this poem that we can scarcely call it accidental. Like Faust Herder despairs that by his knowledge he is kept at the surface of things and cannot enter into their depths, can not behold the abyss of divine power, the souls. Like Faust before the sign of Nostradamus he is not satisfied even with the view of the heavenly harmony of nature; like Faust he desires to see deeper, to know more than worlds—the glory of divinity which called them into life; and like Faust he stands in mystic self-submersion unsatiated. As in Goethe's *Faust* "God's beckoning" then seizes upon him and "dread" surrounds him; think of the mood of Faust before the sign of the Earth-spirit. The Earth-spirit of Faust appears to him. Like Faust he can not bear its face and with Faust must experience a feeling of shame that he is not called to lift the veil of the Deity behind which creative life is bringing to pass the creation of the most sacred things. A more convincing agreement could hardly be conceived. Up to the appearance of the Earth-spirit Faust is none other than Herder. (94-97.)

The Earth-spirit speaks words which were originally intended for the World-spirit. This is most clearly obvious from related passages in Herder. In sight of the Earth-spirit Faust stands before the veiled image of Minerva at Sais, and the Earth-spirit who is at work upon the Deity's garment of life is none other than his "weav-

ing and ripping, destroying and working" Penelope-Minerva herself, none other than Ptah and Neith who weave the great veil of nature. But the inscription of the artist Minerva at Sais does not read, "I am the Earth-spirit," but:

"The all am I!
What was, what is, what is to be!
No mortal hath lifted my veil!"

And like her also is the spirit who flings at the despairing Faust the words,

"Thou'rt like the spirit which thou comprehendest.
Not me!"

not the Earth-spirit but like the spirit of the image at Sais, the spirit of the All, the god Thoth whom Faust before the sign of the macrocosm is about to summon and for whom Minerva, Ptah and Neith are only different expressions. The words about making the garment of Deity and also the rejection of Faust were originally coined for the World-spirit instead of being intended for the Earth-spirit in the present connection. (151-152.)

* * *

In exactly Herder's sense Faust reproaches his assistant Wagner with the affectation of untenable grammatical niceties which arise when meaning and expression become separated:

"Yea, your discourses with their glittering show
Where ye for men twist shredded thought like paper,
Are unrefreshing as the winds that blow
The rustling leaves through chill autumnal vapor."

These words remind us of Herder not only in thought but in the language used. Indeed it is most remarkable in this connection that the unusual expression "twisted shreds" (*Schnitzel-Kräuseln*) is one of Herder's favorite phrases. Thus Herder in his "Literary Fragments" speaks of the "twisted play of fancy" (*Kräuselspiel der Phantasie*). Thus also he speaks in his "Provincial Papers to Preachers" (*Provinzial-Blätter an Prediger*), of the "twisted carvings" (*gekräuselten Schnitzwerke*) of dogmas, and in his "Earliest Records" of the "twisted chat of our eloquent philosophers" as if he intended to contribute a companion picture to the "twisted shreds" of Wagner's eloquence.

Most noteworthy in our connection, it seems to me, because important not only for linguistic similarity, is the following passage in Herder's account of Schlözer's "Universal History." This intro-

duction, Herder writes, is "a fine twisted skein entwined with many new writings, and therefore as sparkling but also as uncertain and weak as if wound out of another texture where it properly belonged." What Herder says here of Schlözer's treatment of history Faust says of Wagner's rhetoric. For the "twisted skein" that is so "sparkling" and the "twisted shreds" that are so "glittering," have much more in common than merely the similarity in sound. Both are sparkling and glittering because both are false, a twisted skein of others' writings, a misuse of others' words. (180-182.)

Faust likewise reproaches Wagner with the other comparison, that the "twisted" tinkling of words is as unpleasant as the winds that blow the rustling leaves through chill autumnal vapor. . . . It is noteworthy that Herder also in the seventies utilizes the comparison of dry autumn leaves in a similar connection. In his essay on "*Philosophie und Schwärmerci*" he says that the old masters "fondle their old once-classical style so thoughtlessly; what poor word-fanatics they are! Apothecaries of old fallen autumn leaves who do not see the forest bursting into bud and leaf"! (187.)

Herder's theory of the intrusion of false standards of judgment in history was in his mind closely connected with the theory he held on the nature of speech; namely that productions of the mind are nothing without the mind which produced them. The spirit is like phlogiston, like the flame in fuel which becomes a heap of ashes when the flame is extinguished. It is like the sap in the leaves which if deprived of sap would rustle in the autumnal vapor. A strange spirit can not kindle the ash-heap anew; a strange spirit can not put new life into the dry leaves. Borrowed phrases are lifeless in the mouth of the speaker who recites them by rote.

The same is true of history. In reality history would have its original life only for the man who could revivify the spirit of the times; so much the less for the one who reads into all nations and periods the ideals of his own time. To such a one history must become a dead thing like Schlözer's Universal History according to Herder's judgment or the patched-up speeches of the so-called elocutionary artists according to the judgment of Faust.

"So oftentimes, you miserably mar it!
At the first glance who sees it runs away.
A garbage barrel and a lumber garret."

In the falsification of history "garbage barrel and lumber garret" play the same part as "twisted shreds" in the false use of speech. It is especially noteworthy that here too not only the subject matter

but even the figure and expression of Faust is foreshadowed in Herder. He was fond of comparing the results of the dry and lifeless knowledge of the schools with a garbage heap. By this comparison he meant to give expression to the idea that the once living productions of the spirit would lose all intrinsic value as soon as they were separated by the scientific traffic of the schools from their original life-giving source. The science of the schools separates spirit from the productions of spirit, changes a living thing into a corpse and what is valuable into refuse. In so doing the object of its study becomes a heap of offal, a garbage barrel instead of a living plant.

The most notable resemblance to the garbage barrel in Faust may be found in a letter of Goethe himself to Herder in which the writer makes use of what seems to be originally a comparison of Herder's own. It is probable that Herder received the suggestion for the comparison of false history with a heap of refuse and true history with a living plant from Hamann [known as "the Magus of the North"], while Goethe apparently acquired the comparison through Herder. In May, 1775, Goethe writes with regard to Herder's "Commentaries on the New Testament" and the "Letters of Two Brothers of Jesus": "I have received your books and have regaled myself with them. God knows it is a sentimental world! a living garbage heap. So, thanks! thanks! . . . Your way of sweeping—and not sifting gold out of the garbage, but instead, of transpaligenesizing the garbage into a living plant—sends me to my knees with my whole heart!" Herder is fond of comparing the true course of history to a living plant, the deforming of history to a garbage pile. So Goethe in his letter wishes to turn Herder's own manner of speech back upon himself as he also does in Faust's answer to Wagner.

In the same sense in which he compared the wrong sort of history to a garbage barrel Faust compares it also to a lumber garret. This comparison also I find again in Herder, and essentially in exactly the same connection. The passage stands in the tenth collection of his "Letters on the Advancement of Humanity," not published, it is true, until 1797. There Herder writes: "Every nation must be observed alone in its own position with all that it is and has; arbitrary selections and discardings of separate features and customs do not make history. In such collections we enter into a charnel house, into the nations' store-room and wardrobe; but not into living creation, into those great gardens in which nations have grown like plants and to which they belong."

That the comparison of the wrong sort of history with a wardrobe is not found in Herder until 1797 need not disturb us. It happens very frequently that Herder revived phrases of his youth in his old age. It is therefore very possible that he used this term in talking orally with Goethe in Strassburg. It is even very probable, since this sort of comparison originated in Herder from Hamann who played a large part in Herder's intercourse with Goethe in Strassburg. At any rate we can unhesitatingly bring Herder's "Letters on the Advancement of Humanity" into our consideration of Faust. For the passage cited in Herder does not make the impression of a quotation from Faust, whereas on the other hand the short term in Faust does make the impression of alluding to certain views further developed elsewhere by Herder.

In confirmation of this view let us recall a noteworthy passage from the second collection of the Literary Fragments. It is especially remarkable because in the same connection it contains on the one hand the theory of "the spirit of you all" and on the other hand the words of Faust "garbage barrel" and "lumber garret." Herder writes of the art critic who is learned in the schools, who looks upon the past through the glasses of his own conceptual world: "Instead of becoming a Pygmalion of his author, he knocks off his head as did Claudius of the Roman statues and replaces it with his own."

"What you the spirit of all ages call
Is nothing but the spirit of you all,
Wherein the ages are reflected."

"Like a second Pluto he keeps guard over ancient inherited rubbish and venerable refuse of literature."... "With the spectacles of a compendium or the spy-glass of a system in his hand, he now comes closer to this truth and now removes farther from that one in order to keep constantly in view the shadow play of his favorite concepts." (199-205.)

* * *

When Faust comes into his room alone followed by the poodle after his walk on Easter day he has an impulse to open the Bible. He opens it at the Gospel of John:

"I feel impelled its meaning to determine—
With honest feeling once for all,
The hallowèd original
To change to my beloved German."

Here too our assumption is verified that Faust is none other than Herder, for just at the time when Faust was being written

Herder himself was interested in the writings of John. Like Faust he was translating John, and was setting forth his translation and exposition of the Gospel of John in those "Commentaries on the New Testament" to which we have already had occasion to refer in connection with Faust's first midnight monologue. This is the writing of which Goethe wrote in May, 1775, that its exposition was a quickened garbage heap which had been transpalingenesized into a living plant.

If in this point too Faust is Herder, the fact that he translated the Biblical text "with honest feeling," has a particular meaning, for at the time when he was making his comments on the Gospel of John, Herder was convinced that the specialists in New Testament theology often inserted intellectual insincerities into their interpretations of the Bible. It was against this alleged or actual scholastic insincerity that Herder's writings on the New Testament during the seventies contended. He himself speaks in detail about his relation to the specialists and turns to the unprejudiced reader as to an "honest inquirer" who is not contented to stop at the quibbling of the mode of speech but "hastens on to the sap, to the sense, to the truth."

Faust too tried to be an "honest inquirer." He too passed beyond the externalities of linguistic use to the sap, to the sense, to the truth of the written word. This is what it means when he goes at the translation with honest "feeling." Here too the feeling stands as the fountain-head of the inner life in contrast to the dry sense and dead reflections contained in the externalities. Here too feeling is the door of revelation through which the right interpretation must come.

We recall Herder's words that "nobody but a priest of God" can write history; that "only on the heights of revelation" can there be "vision." Faust translates the Gospel of John as a priest of God upon the heights of revelation. In this interpretation he is "by the Spirit truly taught"; "a warning is suggested"; "the Spirit aids" him. Faust's feeling with regard to the Gospel of John is another instrument of his union with Deity as in the first acts of the drama it was the instrument of his union with the spirit world. Faust translates:

"T is written: 'In the beginning was the *Word*.'
 Here am I balked: who, now, can help afford?
 The *Word*?—impossible so high to rate it;
 And otherwise must I translate it,
 If by the Spirit I am truly taught.
 Then thus: 'In the beginning was the *Thought*.'
 This first line let me weigh completely,

Lest my impatient pen proceed too fleetly.
 Is it the *Thought* which works, creates, indeed?
 'In the beginning was the *Power*,' I read.
 Yet, as I write, a warning is suggested,
 That I the sense may not have fairly tested.
 The Spirit aids me: now I see the light!
 'In the beginning was the *Act*,' I write."

As we see Faust struggling with the translation of the "Word" in the beginning of the Gospel of John so at the time of the inception of Faust we see Herder having trouble with the same Word. He devotes to it an extensive consideration from the point of view of the history of religion and philosophy and then proceeds to an attempt to render the Johannine Logos into German, which reflects the similar action of Faust.

"Word!" Thus Herder begins, and we can clearly see in him also the same deadlock as that of Faust striving after a more appropriate expression. "But the German word does not say what is contained in the original concept; if I could only find an expression which would express the concept and its expression, the original concept and its first operation, idea and reproduction, thought and word in the purest, highest, most spiritual way....in and through Deity and by it and in its depth....is the word, thought, image, idea of God;...eternally effective, creative, thought, will, image, primeval power, plan of God (merely human imperfect words....) all for this one being, essential, personal, supremely perfect."

Thus Faust's very difficulties at translation are found in the first manuscript form given by Herder to his "Commentaries on the New Testament." And in the printed edition of these commentaries we can still see the effort at a proper translation where the Word of John is "the image of God in the human soul, thought, word, will, deed, love.... Nothing is more effective, more inspiring than this Word. It is the will, the prototype of that which is to be, power, deed.... It is this Word in our soul that restrains us, bears us on and stimulates us."

In this passage may also be noted a relation between Goethe's Faust and Herder's writings which we have previously mentioned. What in Faust is indicated by a few words not always quite intelligible in themselves is clearly established and carried out in detail in Herder's writings. This is also true of our passage as a whole, but as a special instance we may turn our attention to the lines:

"Is it the *Thought* which works, creates, indeed?
 'In the beginning was the *Power*,' I read."

The translation of the Johannine *Logos* as work, creation, power, is probably intelligible enough to the educated reader, yet its insertion will seem to every unprejudiced person comparatively uncalled for in the present connection of our Faust passage. In Herder the connection is more obvious, but he discusses not only the "Word" and its popular conception in the beginning of the Gospel of John, but the *Logos* as a philosophical and religious concept in general. Of this indeed Herder could say without danger of misinterpretation that it is creative and eternally efficacious.

* * *

Faust's poodle becomes disclosed as Mephistopheles, and now the question is to define the nature of Mephistopheles. It has long been observed that in this definition an interpretation of evil and good plays a part which vividly recalls the religion of Zoroaster. This observation is not without foundation, but indeed Goethe was not obliged to go first to Jacob Böhme for his Parsi doctrine of the conflict between light and darkness. He drew it from a much nearer source, from Herder's Commentary on the Gospel of John in which is found the manifold translation of the *Logos* which has just been quoted. The complete title of Herder's work reads, "Commentaries on the New Testament from a Recently Discovered Oriental Source." This Oriental source is none other than the Avesta which was made newly accessible to the world by Anquetil du Perron in the year 1771. From Herder's commentaries based on the Avesta Goethe derived the details of Mephistopheles's character.

"With all you gentlemen, the name's a test,
Whereby the nature usually is expressed.
Clearly the latter it implies
In names like Beelzebub, Destroyer, Father of Lies.
Who art thou, then?"

"Part of that Power, not understood,
Which always wills the Bad, and always works the Good."

"What hidden sense in this enigma lies?"

"I am the Spirit that Denies!
And justly so: for all things, from the Void
Called forth, deserve to be destroyed:
'T were better, then, were naught created.
Thus, all which you as Sin have rated,—
Destruction,—ought with Evil blent,—
That is my proper element."

Most strangely are we moved at the first glance by that remarkable train of thought by which Faust arrives at the name of

Mephistopheles. In the case of Deity feeling is everything and the word so much despised, but it is different with the powers of the underworld.

How Goethe reached this particular train of thought is shown by the original connection of the thought in Herder. The entire description of the nature of Mephistopheles is very obviously derived from him. In the corresponding passage in the "Commentaries on the New Testament" we read:

"It is an axiom of the new philology that the whole collection of Indian devil tales come only from Chaldea. If this is true then Chaldea is at least first of all the key to the language on this subject. . . . Let us bring forward a series of his names and predicates of which the long litanies of the Zendavesta are full: Adversary, Enemy, Sneak, Lord or King of Death, Slayer, Liar, Father of Sin. . . the Evil One, the Villain, the Base One, Nesosch is his ordinary name."

We see that the unusual idea in Faust of reading the nature of Mephistopheles from his names referred originally to the characteristic language of the Chaldeans.

The same is true of the next words of Mephistopheles in which he exhibits his nature by his works, for Herder joins to each group of Chaldean devil names a series of descriptions which closely resemble the words of Mephistopheles. For instance he says with regard to the name "King of Death": "From the beginning he spread over all the elements, tried to poison and destroy all life, corrupted the first human beings, brought sin and death into the world, engendered illness and horrible vice.

Finally Mephistopheles calls himself

"Part of that power, not understood,
Which always wills the bad and always works the good."

Strangely enough this peculiar statement belongs also to the thought-cycle of Herder's writings. A genuine child of the 18th century, Herder thought that the victory of good over evil was apparent throughout the world. He was convinced that the power of evil in the world was destined to change into good. "According to an unalterable law of nature, evil itself must bring forth something good." Mephistopheles also is subject to this law.

Returning to Herder's writings on the Gospel of John we see that there as in Faust, Mephistopheles is "the spirit that denies" in spite of the undesired good result of his activity. All evil and sin in the world is his work, "is the generally accepted symbol of evil

and stands opposed to the light." In the description of his own nature Mephistopheles continues, emphasizing especially his antagonism to light:

"Part of the Part am I, once All, in primal night—
Part of the darkness which brought forth the light,
The haughty light, which now disputes the space,
And claims of Mother Night her ancient place."

These words portray the Avesta theory of the origin of the world upon which Herder based his comments on John. At earlier periods he had investigated similar modes of thought of other Oriental religions in connection with his work on the Old Testament, but he was particularly engaged with the Avesta at the time when he was in contact with Goethe at Strassburg.

We now return to Herder's commentaries on the Gospel of John which were influenced by the Avesta and in which the conflict described by Mephistopheles between darkness and light is most clearly evident. In the Avesta light contends with Mother Night for her old rank, for space. "The light shineth in darkness," writes Herder, "and the darkness comprehendeth it not, that is, did not receive it or was not able to withstand it. We see here the painting of present and past creation down to the noblest kinds of existence, all from one foundation. Light reflects only light. . . . In darkness, across a great ocean of undeveloped to that of developed powers, these higher rays of light were spread like stars from the dark curtain of night. Night is not part of them, it does not comprehend them, but neither can it swallow them up."

Similarly Herder writes in another passage: "The realm of light is forever in conflict with this night." And again: "Darkness (personifying Zoroaster) saw light as it was coming in brilliance and beauty, and hastened to pollute it, but fell back into his realm, the desert, and had no power against it. . . . Whatever light and life there is in the world, however dispersed it may be, however much it shines in the dark, and contends against darkness,—the good in the world must overcome evil, light darkness!"

Mephistopheles represents from his standpoint the reverse picture. According to his description darkness does not rush to pollute light, but *vice versa* light rushes towards darkness to purify it. It is not darkness that falls back in the face of light, but *vice versa* it is light that recoils from material bodies. And it is not light, Mephistopheles hopes, that will conquer in the end, but *vice versa*, darkness with its material world will overcome light.

"And yet, the struggle fails; since Light, howe'er it weaves,
Still, fettered, unto bodies cleaves;
It flows from bodies, bodies beautifies;
By bodies is its course impeded;
And so, but little time is needed,
I hope, ere, as the bodies die, it dies!" (235-237.)

[There are many more points mentioned by Dr. Jacoby such as the sterility of logic, of speculation, of analysis, that the spirit escapes while merely the parts remain. Further passages contribute to the condemnation of the use of words without meaning; and Herder makes comments similar to Goethe's on man's hankering after becoming like unto God. When Herder says: "All philosophy which begins with self and ends in self is of its cousin the serpent," we are reminded of Mephistopheles's expression, "My cousin the serpent."—ED.]

VERSES FROM JAPAN.

TRANSLATED BY THE LATE ARTHUR LLOYD.

It has no voice, the butterfly; but if
It had, perchance they'd put it in a cage,
And make it sing like some poor dicky-bird.

Daurin.

"Cuckoo!" cried one. "Why sings he not to-day?
Tell him I'll wring his neck unless he sing."
"Cuckoo!" another cried. "He knows not how,
So I must teach him."

But a third there was,
A patient statesman! "If he do not sing
To-day," said he, "I'll wait until he does."¹

Shoha, *ob.* 1600.

Think of eternity, past and to come,
And life is but as when a man escapes
A fleeting shower beneath some sheltering roof.
Sôgi, 1421-1502.

The year grows old, the well-worn winter robes
Come from their camphor chest, and, in their stead,
In go the light spring dresses; but, alas!
The spring joy goes in with them.—

Daurin.

The nightingale² doth sing at dinner time,
And when it sings 'midst clash of plates and cups
No one doth care to hear.

Buson, 1716-83.

¹ The three men are said to be Hideyoshi, Nobunaga and Iyeyasu.

² The Japanese nightingale (*uguisu*) sings by daylight.

Be not thou like the croaking frog that opes
His wide-stretched mouth, and shows you everything
That he has in him.

Anon.

There's always something wrong:
When noisy boatmen are not quarreling,
Then it's the frogs.

Yûya.

Soul-rapt, I listen to the entrancing song
Of that fair nightingale, which carries me
Almost to heaven's portals. Then a knock
Which brings me back to earth—the baker's boy!
Yaha, 1663-1740.

Sweet lark! 'tis very well for you each morn
To sing at heaven's gate your matin song;
But think of your poor young ones in the nest,
Waiting for breakfast.

Sugiyama.

My girl, your worldly vanities are like
A snow-storm falling.
Sweep it as you will,
Your doorstep's always white with tradesmen's bills.
Izembô, ob. 1710.

I've dreamed this dream for well-nigh eighty years.
Countless eternity, on either side
Seems a short nothing to the long-drawn dream.
Kaibara Ekiken,³ 1630-1714.

POEMS BY SOMA GYOFU.⁴

Japan.

Thou youthful keeper of the flower-beds,
Time was, when in thy small domains there stood
Not many flowers, but these of costly hue;
Which thou did'st tend with single-hearted love.

³ A great Confucianist teacher.

⁴ A young and comparatively unknown poet.

But now thy borders are enlarged, and lo!
 Thy beds are filled with many an ill-matched flower;
 And rare exotics from beyond the seas
 Stand cheek by jowl with plants of native growth,
 With cherry, plum, and tall chrysanthemum.
 Distraction haunts thee in thy very dreams,
 Thou know'st not which to choose, or this or that,
 And nought is trim and neat as heretofore.
 Ah! youthful keeper of the flower-beds!

God.

God? Can I paint that which I cannot see
 Nor comprehend,—the vaguely Infinite,
 Beyond all human ken, or word, or thought?
 Yet from the known we figure the unknown,
 And shadow forth the shadowless; and thus
 God is the heart that loves,—the lover's heart,
 That looks and yearns for sweet return of love;
 The husband's heart, that makes companionship
 With her whose hand he holds and calls his own;
 The father's heart, that careth for his son,
 Watching his growth with fond paternal pride.

And lovers, parting, oftentimes interchange
 Twin trinkets, tokens of a common love,
 And each one, gazing on the thing he wears,
 "My love," says he, "beyond the cold gray sea,
 Wears the twin fellow of this ring I wear,
 And, gazing, thinks of me as I of her:
 By this I know our absent love holds good."
 Such is the thing that men have christened Faith.

The Beyond.

Thou standest at the brink. Behind thy back
 Stretch the fair flower-decked meadows, full of light,
 And pleasant change of wooded hill and dale
 With tangled scrub of thorn and bramble bush
 Which men call life. Lo! now thy traveled foot
 Stands by the margin of the silent pool
 And, as thou stand'st, thou fearest, lest some hand
 Come from behind, and push thee suddenly
 Into its cold, dark, depths.

Thou needst not fear:
The hidden depths have their own fragrance too
And he that loves the grasses of the field,
With fragrant lilies decks the still pool's face,
With weeds the dark recesses of the deep.
March boldly on, nor fear the sudden plunge,
Nor ask where ends life's pleasant meadow-land.
E'en the dark pool hath its own fragrant flowers.

Disenchantment.

I dreamed, and in my dreams I heard the sound
Of soul-sweet music, harmonies divine,
And started from my couch, and oped my eyes
To earth's realities. A stringless lute
Lay by my side, voiceless, and that was all—
The lying base on which had reared itself
The futile fabric of melodious dreams.
Ah me! the disenchantment! How shall I
Lie down a second time, and rest my head
On pillows of dull rest, but not again
On pillows haunted by melodious sounds?

The Helpless Life.

Helpless I sit upon the rock and watch
The soaring stream flow by me. Idle drift
Of weeds and leaves caught by the eddying pool,
Is washed against the rock, and gathers there,
The harvest of the waters. As I watch,
The sun goes down, and I must leave my post.

A Contemplated Suicide.

She stood beside the still dark pool of death,
And saw her face, so young, so beautiful,
Mirrored upon the waters, slowly turned,
And sought once more the happy paths of life.

MISCELLANEOUS.

LAO-TZE BY CHOU FANG.

In the collection of Charles L. Freer, of Detroit, there is a valuable picture of Lao-tze by Chou Fang, a famous painter of the age of the T'ang dynasty (618-907). Chou Fang was also called Chung-lang and King-hüan. See Professor Hirth's *Scraps from a Collector's Note Book*, page 91. From Prof. H. A. Giles's *Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, (pages 65-66) we quote the following notes:

"Chou Fang flourished as an artist under the Emperor Tê Tsung, A. D. 780-805. His elder brother had accompanied Ko-shu Han on his victorious campaign against the Turfan, when the Chinese army captured the 'Stone Fortress,' the *λίθινος πύργος* of Marianus of Tyre and of Ptolemy, recently identified by Dr. Stein. On his return, he was able to put in a good word for his younger brother, and the latter was summoned to court, and ordered to execute a painting of a religious subject in a temple which the Emperor had just restored. 'No sooner had he begun to paint than the people of the capital flocked in to watch him, fools and wise alike, some pointing out the beauties of his work, and others drawing attention to its shortcomings. He made changes accordingly, and by the end of a month or so there was not a dissentient voice to be heard, everybody uniting in praise of the painting, and declaring it to be the masterpiece of the day.'

"Among his other great pictures may be mentioned 'Moonlight on the Water,' 'The Goddess of Mercy,' 'Vaisravana' (whose features were revealed to him in a dream), and also a portrait of Chao Tsung, son-in-law to the great general Kuo Tzū-i. A previous portrait of him had been executed by Han Kan, and the old father-in-law 'had the two placed side by side for comparison, but could not decide between them. When his daughter came to see him, he said, Who are these? Those are the Secretary, she replied. Which portrait is most like? he continued. They are both very like, she said, but the later one is the better picture. What do you mean by that? he asked. The earlier portrait is the Secretary so far as form and features go, answered his daughter; the later artist has caught in addition the very soul of the man, who seems to be laughing and talking before us.'

"The *Hsüan ho hua p'u* enumerates the titles of seventy-two of his pictures in the Imperial collection (12th cent.).

"In the very early years of the 9th century, according to one authority, there appeared certain men from the Hsin-lo nation, who 'bought up at a high price several tens of Chou Fang's pictures, and carried them away to their own country.' This entry is of some importance, Hsin-lo being an old king-

dom in the south-west of Korea, from which country Japan is said to have received her first lessons in Chinese art. Huang Po-ssü, the art-critic, points out that Chou Fang made his name first of all by Buddhistic pictures, and that later on his Taoist pictures were among the finest of his day. 'But now,' he adds, 'we see nothing save his men and girls, which is very much a matter for regret.'"

This artist also painted a picture of Confucius and another of Lao-tze as *T'ai Shang Lao Chün*, "the Great Exalted Ancient Sage," under which title he has been deified as the chief Taoist deity.

Our frontispiece, a reproduction of Mr. Freer's Chou Fang, represents Lao-tze as playing on a stringed instrument, and so far as we know this is the only picture in which he is so portrayed. Apparently the artist has in mind that a man whose main intention was to harmonize the soul by insisting on its attainment of unity must have been a lover of music. Lao-tze says in the tenth chapter of his *Canon of Reason and Virtue*: "Who by unending discipline of the senses embraces unity cannot be disintegrated." Usually he is painted as seated on an ox, indicating his journey into the distant west.

In this picture the sage, with a distant and thoughtful expression in his eye, is sitting cross-legged, the lute on his knees. His attendant, a boy of about fifteen, is squatting on his heels. Lao-tze is surrounded by scrolls, a gourd bottle, a fan, a bag, a back-scratcher in the shape of an ivory hand on a stick, and other objects.

The Open Court Publishing Company has in preparation a new and thoroughly revised edition of Dr. Paul Carus's translation of *The Canon of Reason and Virtue*, which it is expected will appear in the spring.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

ERINNERUNGEN EINER ERZIEHERIN. Nach Aufzeichnungen von * * * mit einem Vorwort herausgegeben von Prof. Ernst Mach. Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1912. Pp. 318.

That Professor Mach considers these "Recollections of a Governess" of sufficient interest to encourage their publication and to introduce them to the public himself is sufficient guarantee of their enjoyable character. In themselves these sketches portray a life experience of remarkable courage. Many details would be unspeakably pathetic were it not for the strength and bravery with which obstacles were overcome and defeat turned into victory. The chapter which records the author's experiences in Croatia reads quite like a sensational novel. The interest in the volume will be especially great just now because of the romantic picture another chapter gives of life and loyalty in Montenegro. We do not know the exact date of the author's sojourn there but suppose it was some time during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

The book contains many charming anecdotes about children in connection with the author's intimate acquaintance with them. In a chapter on "The Psychology of the Child," she has collected a number of notes from her own experience supplemented by comments on various writers who have made a study of the child-mind. These notes bear on the following general topics: Natural ability and education, cunning and persistence, vanity and the instinct of self-preservation, the child as poet, evolution, pity, memory, falsehood,

hallucinations, illusions of sense and memory, visions, recollection and mis-recollection, grief, childish jealousy, imagination, the language of children, and children's pets.

We translate a few of the anecdotes she has collected in a chapter of miscellanies:

The Astronomy of Children.

This is often very curious. A boy pointed to a twinkling star and asked why it winked its eyes; then why it did not fall, or whether there was water up there in which it could swim.

A little girl accompanied her older sister to the poultry yard to gather the freshly laid eggs. Some time afterwards she was thoughtfully gazing one night at the sky and asked, "Aren't the stars the eggs which the moon has laid?" Here the author calls attention in a footnote to the resemblance to the cosmology of the ancient Egyptians.

One little school-girl thought that on cloudy days the sun had a holiday, and expressed surprise only that its holiday did not recur at regular intervals. She wondered considerably that in the winter she had to take her piano lesson by lamplight whereas in the spring I called her to her lesson while the sun was still shining. When I explained to her the lengthening of the days, she shook her head doubtfully: "There is no order about it," she grumbled.

Once when the sky was covered with dark clouds I asked a pupil, "Why are the clouds so black?" "Because the water is dirty up there," was the prompt reply.

Children's Sayings.

A group of children were jumping down from the steps of a staircase, at first from the first step and then from the second. When they wished to continue from the third and the fourth they were forbidden, being told that they might break their feet. "How lucky God is," sighed a little girl, "for he could jump down from the twelfth step without breaking his foot."

A boy once drew a picture of a hen with but one foot. When he was criticized for it he said, "The second foot is on the other side."

"Mamma," asked a small boy, "Why do I have feathers only on my head while a pigeon has them on his whole body?" He did not comprehend the difference between feathers and hair.

A lady had a French maid who was by no means a beauty. When she proposed to her six year old son that he should learn the French language she received the answer, "But, mamma, please why should I learn French when all French women are so ugly?"

A boy of nine years confided to his little five year old cousin that he was going to marry a certain girl. The little one answered indignantly, "Do you intend to marry a girl like that? She is not at all healthy and hasn't any money. You had better marry me. I have ten florins in the bank."

A boy of seven years wanted to kiss his governess. She saw that his mouth was black with plum jam and so refused. "Oh, never mind," said the boy, "play it's a mustache."

A girl who was particularly good in nature study gave the following answers: "What is the goose?" "A singing bird." "What is the sparrow?" "A ruminant." "What is the snail?" "A beast of prey."

One evening I was out in the garden with my pupils. It was on a hill which sloped down steeply towards a meadow. Below in the meadow brook

a frog concert was taking place. One little girl of eleven years said: "Listen, *Fräulein*, they are regular Frenchmen." "How do you mean?" "The old ones are crying, *Roi, Roi*, and the young ones, *République, République!*"

Wickedness.

Of the wickedness of children which one hears so much about I have known but little. I have had to suffer only from the inconsistency and lack of comprehension of parents, who often work against the governess, sometimes from ignorance and sometimes from jealousy. For this reason I am always horrified at the efforts of those who try to introduce into the schools a larger amount of the influence of parents. What teacher could stand it? It would be necessary first to establish a school for parents. p

MY LITTLE BOOK OF LIFE. By *Muriel Strode*. Chicago: McClurg, 1912.

The many admirers of Muriel Strode's *My Little Book of Prayer* (Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., 1905) will cordially welcome her *Book of Life*. Like the former publication it is composed of brief and pithy aphorisms betraying an original and independent mind and often furnishing food for helpful thought. We believe we can best serve our readers by quoting a number of these terse sentences taken at random.

"If I go unloved, I shall not chide Fate, but I shall bemoan that I should be a thing unlovable.

"I will not ask for succor, but for increased strength.

"I cursed my misfortune,—and it remained one.

"I importuned the gods, and got a beggar's deserts.

"When I moan in agony of body, you may heal me, but when I moan in agony of soul, I must heal myself.

"If I would be queen to-morrow when I sit upon a throne, I must be not less a queen to-day in my hand-maiden sphere.

"Gladly would I toil in the mill,—it is the tread-mill we pray to be delivered from.

"Yesterday's weaving is as irrevocable as yesterday. I may not draw out the threads, but I may change my shuttle.

"In the hey-day I painted the spirit of the free, unfettered flight, and men passed it by, but later I painted the shadow of the broken pinion, and they came to look.

"It is my unending privilege to be my most eccentric self, but it is not my privilege to inflict my eccentricities upon my neighbor. When I am my neighbor's guest, I will leave my cats and my parrots behind in my own domain.

"I prayed to God for strength to keep a promise, when strength to break it was my great need.

"Who can abandon the thing but abandons a foundling. He has never known his own.

"We pray for fruition, when, if our prayer were answered, our all-too-soon-ripened fruit would be worm-mellowed and wind-blown.

"To become reconciled to, may be to become like unto. I will have a care. I may be the tree-toad taking on the color of the tree.

"It cannot possibly be to my discredit that I believed in you, but it may be to your shame.

"Life could have withheld her lash, but she did not wish me to die in my sleep.

"I toiled for my body, and starved. That day that I labor for my soul, the birds from heaven will feed me.

"I said I did not have time, but to what did I give the time, and was it a fair exchange?

"I bemoaned conditions, when I should have bemoaned merely the faint heart within me.

"I saw a cross on the mountain-side, white and holy in its repose, and on approach I found that it was a fissure in the earth, a scar, a nature-wound, which had been healed and anointed.

"I know not your decree to keep the Sabbath day holy. Go tell it to the brook. It will chortle at your implied desecration of the other six.

"I would have the things that I desire, to prove my power, and then I would have the capacity to forego them, to prove my greatness.

"I have stayed too long with a task that fed an alien hunger, and starved my own soul.

"I cry for the light to break, while all the time the light is shining. Courage to follow it is my great need.

"I will swear by a thing to-day, but I will have the courage to denounce it to-morrow, if needs be. The vows of ignorance are not binding upon enlightenment.

"Give me that fabric which bears the fingermarks of the weaver, whose thread is the fiber of character, and whose design is the impress of soul.

"Life gives her best gifts to those who could get on without them.

"I will have a care lest my burden rest all too long where my wings might have grown.

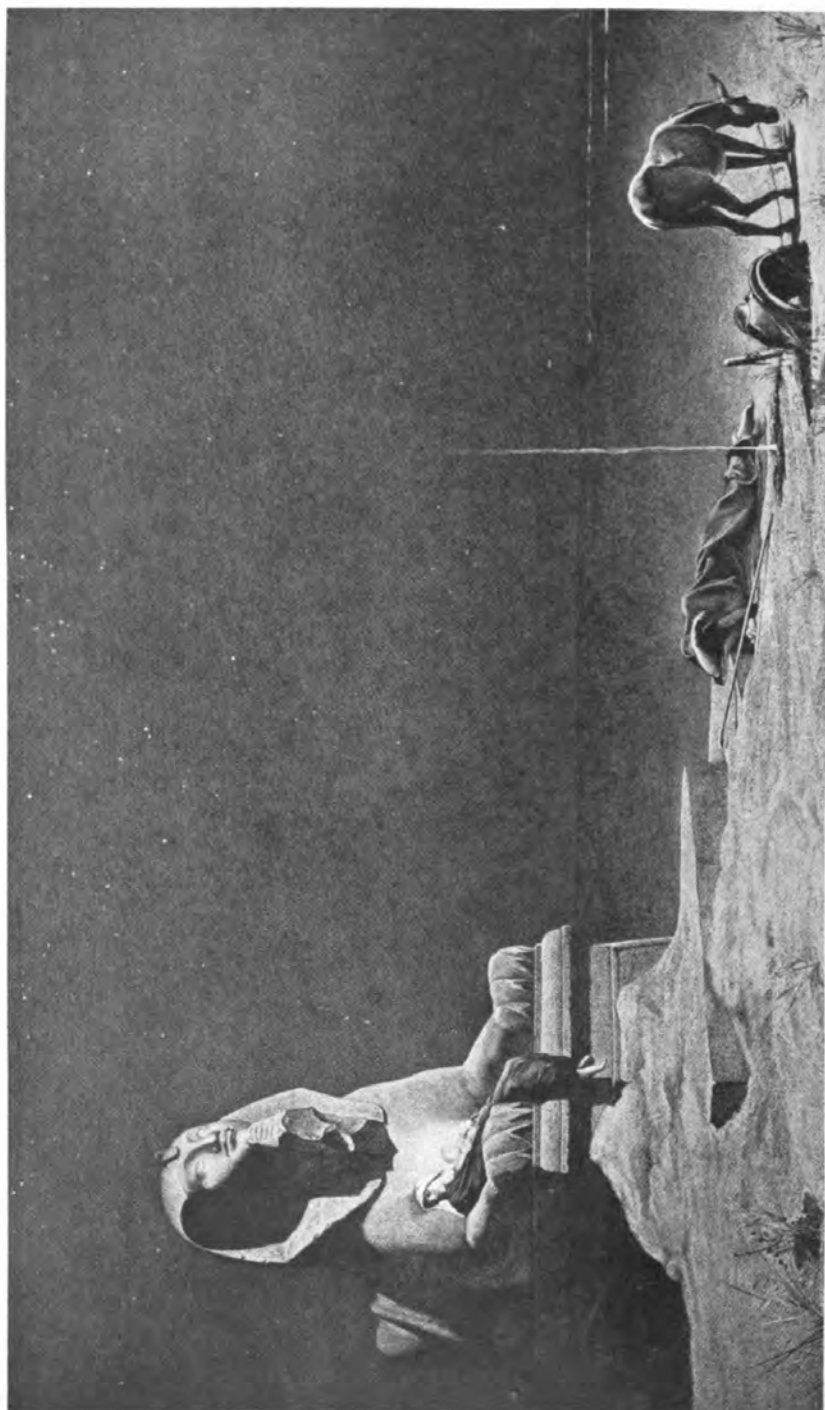
"If I drink the hemlock, it is because I have sat long hours over the fire brewing my own bitterness."

p

FARMERS OF FORTY CENTURIES Or Permanent Agriculture in China, Korea and Japan. By F. H. King. Madison, Wisconsin; Mrs. F. H. King, 1911. Pp. 441. Price \$2.50.

The author of this posthumous work was formerly professor of agricultural physics in the University of Wisconsin, and chief director of soil-management in the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Professor King has been a great authority in matters agricultural and has written a number of good books on his specialty, among which we enumerate *The Soil, Irrigation and Drainage, Physics of Agriculture and Ventilation for Dwellings, Rural Schools and Stables*. The present book is of a somewhat different character, for it refers to the nations of northeastern Asia, China, Korea and Japan. The book is fully illustrated, and is prefaced by Dr. L. H. Bailey, who has undertaken the publication of Professor King's manuscripts. The subject matter is treated in seventeen chapters and is the result of a journey to Japan, China, Manchuria and Korea. There are not less than 248 pictures and charts, all of which help to make the observations of the author vivid. The discussion is not entirely limited to agricultural matters, but treats all matters of interest in a pleasant way in the style of a diary, though the subjects of agriculture, of rice-culture, production of silk, and tea industry and other subjects relating to making a living out of the soil, receive first attention.

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REPOSE IN EGYPT.
After the painting of L. Olivier Merson.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII (No. 3)

MARCH, 1913

NO. 682

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THE EGYPTIAN ELEMENT IN THE BIRTH STORIES OF THE GOSPELS.

BY W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

THE first century, the age of the Gospels, is perhaps the most interesting epoch that can engage the student of history. The legions of Rome had conquered the uttermost parts of the earth and established communication with the most distant portions of her empire and seemed to her subjects to have united the ends of the earth. The thought of the east and west met, now in conflict, now in friendly embrace; and the stage for the enactment of this intellectual drama was Alexandria.

Alexandria was the asylum of all the old tradition of the Orient and the intellectual mart or clearing-house for the wisdom of the whole world. Here the romance and mysticism of the east encountered and blended with the precise thought and philosophy of the Greek world. It was at Alexandria that the school of Philo represented Hellenizing Judaism, and it was at Alexandria that the Gnosis synthesized all the thought of Syria, Chaldea, Persia and blended with Greek philosophy as well as Christianity and Judaism.

It was into this Pentecostal assemblage of thought—this world's conference of intellects—that the simple creed of the Galilean teacher, Jesus of Nazareth, was introduced about the year 70 A. D. The effect on this new-born system was such as might be expected; it did not succumb, but underwent such modifications and changes as to render it indeed a new system and better fitted for the conflict of the battle of intellects. Christianity came at an opportune moment and in a measure met a long-felt want and fulfilled a world's desire,

Of the atmosphere of the first century no better description can be found than that given by Zeller in his *History of Greek Philosophy* (Vol. V, pp. 391-392): The time was one of great strain, physical, intellectual and spiritual, a time when the nations had lost their independence, the popular religions their power, the national forms of culture their peculiar stamp, in part if not wholly; a time in which the supports of life on its natural side as well as its spiritual side, had broken asunder, and the great civilizations of the world were impressed by their downfall and with the particular sense of the approach of a new era; the time in which a longing after a new and more satisfactory form of spiritual being, a fellowship that should embrace all peoples, a form of belief that should bear men over all the misery of the present and tranquilize the desire of the soul, was universal. Christianity claimed to, and did eventually, fulfil this world's desire, but it was a Christianity modified in the fire of intellectual conflict, and equipped with weapons from many different workshops. The rapidity with which Christianity, with that strange faculty of adaptability so characteristic of Semitic thought, became changed and influenced in the school of Alexandria is best shown by the rise of Christian gnosticism. Basilides flourished in the reign of Hadrian (117-138 A. D.) some half-century after the advent of Christianity and the change had begun. The school of the Alexandrian Fathers raised Christian thought to a height it was not to surpass, and which was to cause terror in the orthodoxy of the councils. Basilides, Valentinus, SS. Clement and Origen opened up for the Christian mind new vistas of thought and unveiled for it mysteries which a Plato or an Aristotle had never fathomed."

The heterogeneous and polyglot nature of the population of Alexandria is most graphically described by the Greek philosopher Dion Crysostom in an address to the Alexandrians in the time of Trajan (52-117 A. D.). He says: "I see among you not only Hellenes, Italians and men who are your neighbors, Syrians, Libyans and Cilicians; and men who dwell more remotely, Ethiopians, Arabs, Bactrians, Scythians, Persians and Indians, who are among the spectators."¹ The description of this orator is amply confirmed by the discoveries of Professor Petrie at Memphis, where he found statuettes of all the nationalities mentioned above and many others.²

In relation to the development of Christianity in Egypt there is a most important element in the religious and intellectual life

¹ James Kennedy on Buddhist Gnosticism in *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. 1902, p. 386.

² *Petrie's Discoveries at Memphis.*

of the period to be now considered, that is the religious life of Egypt at the time of the first century.

Egypt was *par excellence* the home of magic; and indeed there is a saying in the Talmud that "Ten measures of magic came into the world, and that Egypt received nine of these." The magicians of Pharaoh will go down to all time as pre-eminent wonder-workers. Egypt was also the birth-place of the novel or popular romance and many of these have been preserved to us. Such are the Tale of the Two Brothers in the Daubeney Papyrus, and the old groups of Magical Tales of Pyramid times in the Westcar papyrus, the Tale of the Doomed Prince and the Adventures of Sinuit, all of which no doubt formed part of the stock of popular literature of the land of the Pharaohs. Such literature took a firm hold on the minds of the populace. No doubt like most popular literatures, poems or romances, such as the Arabian Nights, these tales were for centuries handed down by oral tradition, until finally in some literary age they were collected and committed to writing. This age of oral transmission is common to all ancient literature; in India the Vedic hymns, the poems of the Ramayana, the Gathas of the Zend-Avesta of Zoroaster, all passed through this stage. So in Chaldea the epic poems of the creation and the story of Gilgames, are all stated to have been committed to heart before they took written form. So the legends of Arthur and the sagas of Scandinavia in our own western lands, not to mention the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, were faithfully passed from bard to bard ere they became stereotyped by the scribe's pen. Like all folktales these popular legends of Egypt grew with the centuries and gathered material from the flotsam and jetsam of popular tradition throughout the centuries; legends from all or any source being fish for the net of the popular raconteurs of Thebes and Memphis, and later of Alexandria. The vitality of these magic and wonder tales is unlimited, and when religion and priestly tradition had lost their power and faith grown dim, these popular tales survived when canonical literature had ceased to exist. The decadence of the Egyptian state religion after the fall of the Theban hierarchy of Amen, and in turn followed by the overthrow of the priests of Sais, caused the sacred literature of the Egyptian religion to be obliterated. The Book of the Dead, a vast compendium of mythology and magic, gave place to shorter rituals, such as the Book of Breathings or the still shorter compilations of Greco-Roman times. The twilight of the gods had set in and the priest gave place to the magician. Under the Ptolemies there was a great revival of the love of these tales, tales of the things

that those of old time knew, and such legends were carefully sought for and committed to writing generally in the Demotic script, the writing of the people. Tales of the wise men of old led to their worship, and in those days the wise man and magician were raised to the level of the gods, as I-m.hotep,³ the wise medical man, architect and minister of King Zeser was deified as a son of Ptah, and Amen-hotep, the son of Hapi, the wonder worker and dream seer of the court of Amenophis III was deified in Greco-Roman times.⁴

Chief among the cycles of tales which were collected and committed to writing was a group which were associated with Prince Kha-m-Uast (Manifestations in Thebes) who had an immortal reputation as a magician and was high priest of Ptah at Memphis. He was the eldest son of Rameses II, the Pharaoh of Moses, and is said to have founded the Serapeum or tombs of the Apis bulls at Memphis. He is recorded in the earlier tales as spending most of his time in the necropolis at Memphis searching for magical books and charms. He is known to us, too, from several monuments and especially by a fine statue in conglomerate stone in the British Museum. On this statue is inscribed the XXXIVth chapter of the Book of the Dead, a great magical formula, a charm against serpents; and on the back the inscription is written in secret or magical writing and cannot be deciphered. Throughout the cycle of tales we find him mentioned by the name of Setme or Setne, a name derived from his title as high priest of the god Ptah of Memphis, but in some cases his full name and title being given there is no doubt or difficulty as to the identity of the priest-magician and prince.

Of the tales relating to this wonder-working prince we possess two manuscripts. The first is in the Khedival Museum at Cairo and was first published by the late Dr. Brugsch and since by Dr. Hess and more recently by Mr. F. Llewellyn Griffith, Reader in Egyptology at Oxford. The date of the first manuscript is uncertain, but it undoubtedly belongs to the Ptolemaic age (B. C. 323-300). The second and in many respects more important document is now in the British Museum and has recently been published by the Oxford Clarendon Press with a transcript, transliteration

³ I-m.hotep was deified as the son of Ptah and called by the Greeks Imouthes and identified with Æsculapius. He became a special god of the scribe caste who poured out a libation from the water jar they used to moisten their paints before commencing their work.

⁴ Amen-hotep, the son of Hapi, is probably the sage mentioned in the Logos Hiebræcos, a Hebrew magic charm published by Dr. Gaster, *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. 1901, pp. 109 ff.

and translation by Mr. Griffith, under the title of *Tales of the High Priests of Memphis*. Of this document we are able to fix the date with a considerable degree of accuracy. It is written on two large sheets of papyrus on the *recto* of which are written a series of land registers and fiscal accounts of the city of Crocodilopolis; and these are dated in the seventh year of the Emperor Claudius, that is in the year 46-47 A. D. The reverse of the papyrus left blank has been cleaned and on it has been written in Demotic of a very cursive character a series of tales of Setme Kha-m-uast and his magician son. Judging from the time of the re-usage of the papyri in the Fayoum according to Drs. Hunt and Grenfell, the interval between the two writings may be placed at from twenty-five to thirty years, making the date of the Demotic document 72 or 76 A. D. That would be from five to nine years after the mission of St. Mark to Alexandria, which on the authority of St. Jerome is usually placed at 67 A. D.

The contents may be divided into two portions: (1) The narrative of the birth of the wise son of Kha-m-Uast named Se Osiris and the wonders he performed, and (2) An account of the contest in magic and miracle between Se Osiris and the two magicians from Ethiopia, which resembles very closely the traditional contest between Moses and the two magicians Jannes and Jambres. The contest here described takes place at the court of Rameses II, an interesting point to note (2 Timothy iii. 8). The papyrus, slightly mutilated, opens with an account of the birth of the miraculous child,—Se Osiris. Kha-m-Uast and his wife are old, a fact which several references in the text indicate. The wife's name is Meh-usekht. The first complete portion of the papyrus commences with the dream of Setme, when we read:

"Setme laid down one night and dreamt a dream, they speaking to him saying, 'Meh-usekht thy wife hath taken conception in the night. The child that shall be born shall be named Se-Osiris, for many are the marvels that he shall do in the land of Kemi (Egypt).'"

Here at the very commencement we strike a well-marked similarity to the Gospel narrative. To continue:

"Her time of bearing come, she gave birth to a male child. They caused Setme to know it (and) he named him Se-Osiris according to that which was said in the dream."

In both these sections we have striking parallelisms with the New Testament, especially with Matthew i. 20, 22, 24.

"But when he [Joseph] thought upon these things, behold an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream saying, 'Joseph, thou

son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost and she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for it is he that shall save people from their sins.'"

We may now pass to another episode in the life of this miraculous child during his youth:

"It came to pass that when the child Se Osiris was one year old, people might have said that he was two years and he being two years old they might have said he was three years. He grew big, he grew strong, he was put to school and he rivalled the scribe whom they caused to give him instruction.

"The child Se Osiris began to speak magic with the scribes in the House of Life [Temple of Ptah in Memphis]. Behold the boy Se Osiris passed twelve years and there was no good scribe or learned man that rivalled him in Memphis in reading or writing a charm."

Here again we are in touch with St. Luke's Gospel (ii. 40) where we read:

"The child grew and waxed strong, filled with the wisdom and the power of God was upon him. And when he was twelve years old they found him sitting in the temple, in the midst of the doctors both hearing and asking them questions. And all that heard him were amazed at his understanding and his answers."

The agreement here is not only verbal, but the incidents agree, the growth in strength, wisdom and the resort to consult learned men in the temple all are similar. In the "Gospel of the Infancy" we have the wisdom of the child Jesus mentioned. There we are told:

"At the age of twelve Jesus discourses to astronomers on the heavenly bodies, also to philosophers skilled in natural sciences."

This gospel is essentially a gnostic work.

In the story of St. Luke of the birth and infancy of Jesus there are similar points of detail which show striking indications of Egyptian influence. We may take for example the expression "the power of God." This is a most important phrase in Egyptian magic, the *nekht.p.neter* or "power of God" was the means by which most deeds of magic and miracle were performed. Kha-m-Uast by his skill in magic was able to call down from heaven the "power of God to aid him in his magical deeds."

So also according to the papyrus was his son Se Osiris able to control the power of divine miracle working. The ancient Egyptians do not appear to have had any idea of angels in the Christian sense, but the divine will and messages were conveyed to earth by the

Nekht.p.neter, who appears to have taken some immaterial or spiritual form and been able to perform such acts as passing through the water to divide the waters like Moses and to have been exactly the same in its functions as the Christian angel. These conceptions and functions of the "power of God" would seem to have been known to the writer of St. Luke's Gospel who entrusts the announcement of the birth of Jesus, and his forerunner the Baptist, to the angel Gabriel, whose name is an exact Hebrew equivalent of the Egyptian *Nekht.p.neter* or "Power of God." The annunciation of the birth of the divine child is also in touch with Egypt. The Theban kings claimed in ancient times, as did the Ptolemies later in imitation of them, to be the divine offspring of Amen. To make this known to their subjects they built at Thebes, Esneh, Philae and other great temples small temples known as "birth-houses." Here were depicted the events preceding and following the birth of the divine child: Khnum moulding the divine child and his double; Thoth, as the chief embodiment of the "power of God" and the source of all magic and miraculous power, announcing to the Queen Mother the name of the child to which she will give birth. Then follows the birth and the presentation of the child to his divine father.⁵ One cannot read the New Testament account of the annunciation with a knowledge of these Egyptian beliefs, without thinking that the writer of the Gospel was cognisant of the Egyptian belief in the annunciation or pre-natal naming of a divine child.

There is another birth story of Jesus which must also be taken into consideration in this paper, that given by Celsus in his controversy with Origen. Origen writing (*Contra Celsus*, Bk. I, xxxii) says:

"The Jew of Celsus, speaking of the mother of Jesus, says when she was pregnant she was turned out of doors by the carpenter to whom she had been betrothed, as having been guilty of adultery, and she bore a child to a certain soldier named Panthera." In the Talmud we get some further details for the story of the supposed Jew of Celsus based on Talmudic legends. The passages are obscure: He was not the son of Stada (Joseph?) but was the son of Pandora." Rab. Chisda says: "The husband of Jesus's mother was Stada but her lover was Pandora." In the Talmud also Miariam, the mother of Jesus, is called Miriam, the hair-plaiter or tirewoman (*Magdil'ya*). It is this last expression that

⁵Lyayet, "Le Temple de Luxor." *Mémoires de la Mission Française au Caire*. Pt. XV, pp. 62, 68, 75.

helps us to a clue to the source of the story of Celsus. In the Gospel narrative Mary the mother of Jesus is lost sight of after the night of the crucifixion when St. John took her to his own home (John xix. 27) but in Jewish and Christian legend the place of the Virgin Mary is taken by Mary Magdalene, who became the center of a large cycle of legend and most of these legends are derived from the stories of Isis, who became, at least in Egyptian Christianity, the Virgin. Lagarde suggested some years ago that the name of Mary Magdalene was not derived from a somewhat mythical town of Magdala but was connected with the Hebrew word *Magdila'ya*, "the hair-plaiter" derived from *magdila*, "braider," from *gadal*, "to plait or twist." Considered in the light of Egyptian Isis stories this becomes perfectly tenable.

There is a story of Isis which must be quoted here. It is true we do not possess the ancient Egyptian version of the story but the substance of the authoritative narrative is so well confirmed otherwise by the monuments that we may conclude that the statements are based on some Egyptian authority—either monumental or on a papyrus not yet recovered. Plutarch in his treatise on *Isis and Osiris* gives this legend: "Isis having heard that the chest in which Osiris was enclosed had been carried by the waves of the sea to the coast of Byblos (not the Phenician city but a town in the Nile Delta) hastened thither. On arriving there she sat herself down beside a well and refused to speak to any excepting the queen's women who happened to be there; these indeed she saluted and caressed with kindest manner *plaiting their hair for them* and transmuting into them part of the wonderful grateful odor which issued from her own body." Here, then, I believe we see clearly the source of the "Miriam, the tirewoman" of the Talmud and the Jew of Celsus in the Egyptian legend of Isis quoted by Plutarch of which we do not as yet possess the original.

Many suggestions have been made for the name of the supposed father, Pandera or Panthera. Some see in it a play on the Greek *parthenos* (παρθένος), "virgin," but this is hardly tenable, as it requires a reversal of the order of the consonants. Others connect it with the panther (πανθηρᾶν) sacred to Dionysus and regarded as an emblem of sensualism and suitable to the adulterous intercourse of Miriam and the soldier.

Another solution, I submit, can be found from an Egyptian sense, and as we see from the epithet "tirewoman" the Talmudic writer was not acquainted with Egyptian folklore. In the Kha-m-Uast papyrus which is the basis of this article, the wonder-working

child is called "Se-Osiris," son of Osiris. This name is a name of the son of Osiris and Isis, but not frequently used, he generally being called Heru-se.Asi or Horus the son of Isis which passed into Greek and later Egyptian as Horsesi. In Ptolemaic and in Christian times Osiris was called *p'neter*, "the god," or *p'neter aā*, "the great god," and indeed this title was often used instead of his full name. Thus in the stela of Ta.hebt of Ptolemaic times, formerly in the collection of Lady Meux, the deceased lady is made to say, "From the days of childhood I walked in the path of the God (Osiris) upright as Ra." This path is explained by the beautiful hymn to Osiris in the XVth chapter of the Book of the Dead, which takes the form of a litany with the repeated refrain, "Show thou me a path whereon I may walk in peace for I am just and true." To the Egyptian of the centuries preceding and in the early ages of the Christian church in Egypt Osiris was "the god." The explanation of Panthera or Pandora seems to be perfectly clear in this Egyptian light.

We take the general title of Osiris *p'neter-aa*, "the great god," and we have the essential radical of Panthera, P N T R A, and even the final A is long, being the Egyptian *aā*, "great"; Horus or Se-Osiris was the son of Isis the "hair-plaiter" by Osiris *P'neter-aā*.

In regard to the birth stories in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, the verbal and incidental parallels are so striking as not to be easily explained away as coincidences. It is to be noticed that in the parallelism quoted above there is not one associated with the Gospel of St. Mark, only with St. Matthew and St. Luke.

Now if, as I believe, the writer of St. Luke's Gospel was a Greek-speaking Christian, the parallels would be quite possible from the existing material around him, the stories of Setme Kha-m-uast and his wonder-working child Se-Osiris must have been as well known to Alexandrians and Christian Egyptians as the stories of Antar or the Arabian Nights are to the modern dwellers in Cairo and Alexandria.

When we consider the atmospheres of the early days of Christianity in Egypt such a utilization of Egyptian material would seem not at all impossible. St. Mark left Rome on his mission to Alexandria about B. C. 67 taking with him, as St. Jerome states, a simple or elementary gospel—the *Ur-Mark* of the German critics of which we have an enlarged edition of the first Gospel. Both St. Matthew and St. Luke knew of and used this ground text and enlarging elaborated it in text and in incidents. If the date of the papyrus of

Kha-m-Uast is A. D. 74 or 76 as I make it, the tales would be accessible to both writers, but not to St. Mark, except in oral form.

St. Mark went to Alexandria to the Hellenist Jew community who had, as instanced by Apollos the Alexandrian Jew, received some elementary instruction in the way of the Lord, and it was the Greek-speaking Jews who founded the first Christian church. After a time the native Egyptian population, of whom some knew Greek, would be attached and desire to know something of the new and wonderful faith; they would be followed in due course by the non-Greek-speaking people, whose language was Coptic and a demand arose for translations of a simple gospel story of the life and death of Jesus and the scriptures which testified to him. By the latter part of the second century, when bishops were appointed and the native congregations had native teachers, this demand became very general, and by the third century a great literary activity had been developed in the native Coptic church. Of this activity we are now reaping the fruit in the valuable Coptic translations of the Scriptures which are being recovered from the earliest Christian cemeteries of Egypt, such as the versions of the books of Deuteronomy and Isaiah and the Acts of the Apostles, recently published by that great Coptic scholar, Dr. Budge of the British Museum. These works cannot be assigned to a later date than the latter part of the third century A. D.

The native Egyptians when they did become cognisant of the teaching of Christianity embraced it in no lukewarm manner; they threw themselves *en masse* into the arms of the church. They did not, however, wholly abandon their old creed and its beliefs. This strange compromise between the old religion and the new lasted for a long time and left its mark indelibly on the literature of the period. The Christian hell changed nothing of the Egyptian Amenti in the west of Heaven with its rivers and lakes of fire, to punish and purify the wicked, and the visit to Amenti is a stock incident in every Coptic saint's life or in the denunciations of Coptic homilies. The judgment still took place in Amenti with Osiris the great god seated on his throne and Anubis standing by the scale, with Thoth, the scribe of the gods recording the verdict and Amma, the composite devourer waiting to destroy for ever the damned. The Egyptian Christians still honored the old creed by calling themselves by names compounded with those of the old Theban gods. Thus Pachomius, the founder of one of the largest monasteries with 1300 monks is Pa-Khnum, after the creator god of the cataracts, the ram-headed divinity. Others like Serapamon, a com-

pound of Osiris, Hapi and Amen; Pet-Osiris, the gift of Osiris; or Pet.Bast, gift of Bast; or Horsesi, Horus, son of Isis. The great Coptic saint Shenuti has a name the exact equivalent of Se-Osiris for it is but the Coptic form of *Se-neter*, "son of the god," "son of Osiris."

To put the matter in plain terms, in adopting the Christian creed the native Egyptians of the first century, had little to renounce and nothing to learn. How close the conception of Osiris approached that of the Christian Christ is now evident.

The rule of the later Egyptian life was to follow in the path of Osiris, to do that which he did, thinking thus to attain eternal life. The belief in the god-man who died and rose again from the dead and who thereby opened the way to eternal life was the faith in which millions on millions of true believers had died in past time in Egypt.

"Osiris," says Dr. Budge,^a "only obtained the sovereignty of Heaven and life among the gods, because of his innocence from evil, his surpassing merit, and he who wished to enter Heaven must be innocent, just and righteous. He must have done as Osiris did, set right in the place of wrong, as far as in his power lay. His hand must have been purified by the Matter of his seat (Osiris). A man must have lived in such a way that it could be said of him as was said of Osiris, He hath done no evil." Had the native convert anything to learn in accepting the doctrine of the risen Christ through whom men gained eternal life? He believed that in Heaven he would have a perpetual communion with the Saviour, be it Osiris or Christ, feed to all eternity on the bread which was incorruptible, because it proceeded from the body of Osiris and drink the wine which came from the body of God.

In an atmosphere such as this it is not surprising that the writers of these gospels, who had a groundwork in the writings of St. Mark and were familiar with the story of the life of Jesus, should utilize the material of Egyptian origin about them in their accounts which in the first case were to appeal to their fellow Greek-speaking Egyptians. The opinion I have come to and set forth as clearly as possible in the above pages, is the result of more than twenty years' study, and I am convinced that not only these two gospels are derived from Egypt, but the same is true of a large element in all Christian teaching.

^a *Osiris and the Resurrection*, Vol. I, p. 313.

THE MYSTERY SURROUNDING THE DEATH OF JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

BY JULIEN RASPAIL.

[During the last spring and summer, the French newspapers and periodicals fairly teemed with articles concerning Jean Jacques Rousseau, the bi-centennial of whose birth occurred at the end of June. The government, several municipalities and many private individuals held ceremonies of different sorts in honor of the event, which naturally brought again to the fore the old question of how Rousseau met his death. Perhaps the most striking and original contribution on this subject is the one given below, written at my suggestion by a distinguished physician of Paris, who is in a position to speak with authority and who is at the same time an ardent admirer of the celebrated philosopher.

Dr. Julien Raspail belongs to one of those notable families, rare in all countries, whose various branches during several generations are marked by distinction. Dr. F. V. Raspail (1794-1878), chemist, vegetable physiologist and earnest republican agitator at a period when holding radical opinions meant imprisonment and exile, was the first to render the name famous. One of the fine new boulevards of Paris bears this patronymic. Dr. Raspail had four sons and one daughter. Benjamin Raspail (1823-1899), painter and engraver of talent, was a deputy under both Republics and shared exile with his father during the Empire. Camille Raspail (1827-1897) was a physician and a deputy. Emile Raspail (1831-1887) was an industrial chemist and a politician. Marie Raspail (1834-1876) devoted her life to her father and accompanied him to prison, where the last time, at the age of eighty, he was confined for his political ideas; she took cold and died there prematurely. Xavier Raspail, born in 1839, still lives, an able physician and a well-known naturalist. Eugène Raspail (1812-1888), a nephew, was a deputy and learned scientist. Of Dr. Raspail's children, Emile alone left descendants, the author of this article being the only one who has attained a reputation; but as there are five great-grandchildren of the founder of the house, the name of Raspail may soon again be celebrated in the political and scientific history of contemporary France. THEODORE STANTON.]

JEAN Jacques Rousseau died at Ermenonville, a village near Paris, on July 2, 1778. On the morning of his death he rose very early, as was his habit, and took his customary walk in the beautiful park

of the castle where he was residing, returning home in a perfect state of health. He breakfasted and then retired to his apartments with his companion, Theresa Levasseur. About ten o'clock, the Marquis de Girardin, his host, heard cries coming from the room where Rousseau was, and hastening thither, he found the body of the philosopher lying motionless on the floor, with Theresa, all covered with blood, at its side. At first, it was thought that Rousseau had died from an attack of serous apoplexy. The different accounts given by Theresa, the only person who saw Rousseau die, and by



THE CASTLE OF ERMENONVILLE.

one or two of his close friends, including the Marquis de Girardin, as well as the death certificate and the record of the autopsy, all pronounced the death to have been a natural one. But soon ugly rumors began to spread about. It was hinted that Rousseau had shot himself in the forehead with a pistol. There seemed some ground for this statement, for all those who saw the body—the servants of the castle as well as the inhabitants of the village—noticed a large wound on the forehead. But Theresa, M. de Girardin and one or two others declared that this wound came from the fall from his chair, face forwards, on the bare floor, which occurred when the

sudden attack happened. The general public, however, clung to its belief in suicide, and during the whole of the nineteenth century the discussion went on, one side holding to a natural death, the other to a self-inflicted one.

On December 18, 1897, a new fact was added to the controversy.

Rousseau's body was at first buried in the park of the castle at Ermenonville. But when the Convention decreed that the Pantheon at Paris should be made the burial place of the great men of France, Rousseau's remains were solemnly transferred there in October, 1794. When the Empire fell and the Bourbons returned, the Pantheon was returned to the church, when it soon became common report that overzealous priests had violated the tombs of Rousseau and Voltaire, and had thrown their bodies into some unknown potter's field. So the Minister of Public Instruction appointed in 1897 a commission who should examine and report whether the remains of Voltaire and Rousseau were still in the crypt of the Pantheon. On December 18, the two tombs were opened in the presence of this commission, and here is what was reported concerning Rousseau: "The skeleton of Jean Jacques Rousseau is in a perfect state of preservation, the arms crossed on the breast, and the head slightly inclined towards the left like a man sleeping. The skull is intact; there is no indication of it being perforated or fractured."

At first blush it would seem that this report settled beyond question the fact that Rousseau died a natural death and put an end to the accusation that he had committed suicide. But the truth is it did nothing of the kind, for the commission made no scientific identification of the alleged Rousseau skeleton. In fact, the very day after this report was made public, Dr. Hamy, the learned professor of anthropology at the Paris Museum of Natural History, published in the newspapers a letter in which he expressed his doubts as to the authenticity of the skeleton found in Rousseau's tomb. So the polemic continued as passionately as ever and the mystery which surrounds the death of Jean Jacques Rousseau remains as impenetrable as before. For instance, M. Jules Lemaitre, in his brilliant lecture on Rousseau, delivered at Paris in 1907, said: "It will never be known for a certainty whether he killed himself or died a natural death"; and two well-known French physicians—Drs. Cabanès and Fabien Girardet—have recently published two long essays on this subject. Though both of these medical men pronounce in favor of a natural death, another distinguished authority, Dr. Archard, of the Paris Medical School, writes at the same mo-

ment: "We can safely say what Rousseau did *not* die of, but we cannot say what illness killed him."

A document of the highest importance, which can throw an entirely new light on the subject, has been neglected by nearly all the students of the problem. I refer to the death-mask of Rousseau, made the day after his decease by the celebrated sculptor Houdon, famous in the United States for his busts of several distinguished Americans. Now, I have the good fortune to own this historic mask, which has been in my family since May 14, 1861, and a careful study



DEATH-MASK OF J. J. ROUSSEAU.
Moulded by Houdon. (Photograph by Dr. Raspail.)

of it has enabled me to come to new and very unexpected conclusions concerning the death of Jean Jacques Rousseau. In the first place, the wound already referred to comes out very clearly on this mask and has been noticed by others and especially by my grandfather; but what has never been remarked and to which I am the first to call attention is the fact that the face shows two other wounds, which those who have examined the mask have passed over unperceived. One of these is near the right eye. Now, the two eyes of the mask are very dissimilar. The lids of the left eye are much

more open than those of the right eye, the lower lid swelling out very noticeably. The right eye is quite different. The lids are much less open, the palpebral interspace more elongated, the swelling out of the lower lid is scarcely visible, and this same lid shows a slight ectropion. These very marked deformations of the external parts of this eye are fully explained by the neighboring contusion. Rousseau's right eye in its normal condition showed none of these characteristics, as is proved by Latour's excellent pastel portrait of the philosopher. In this portrait, the two palpebral openings are the same, the swelling out of the lower lids is equally pronounced in both eyes, and there is no ectropion of the lower lid of the right eye.

The third wound is on the nose. Just below the root of the nose a slight depression of the skin is noticeable, which is seen on both



WOUND ON FOREHEAD. WOUND ON THE NOSE. WOUND ON THE EYE.

sides of the bridge. The upper portion of this wound is of a horse-shoe shape and descends along the left side of the nose, where the fractured bone is laid bare. Here, as in the case of the two other wounds, there is a narrowing at the middle part. The traumatic origin of this disfigurement cannot be doubted. In Latour's pastel, the nose is well drawn and comes out clearly. No deformity of any kind is visible. We know that Rousseau had a well-formed nose. For instance, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, in his detailed description of Rousseau's physiognomy, refers to his "well-made nose." But in this death-mask, one is struck by the deformity just mentioned.

When one considers these three wounds, the first peculiarity which occurs to the mind is their parallel direction; the second is their respective situation. If, as was stated by Theresa Levasseur

and M. de Girardin, the wound on the forehead was made by falling forward from his chair, the salient parts of Rousseau's face would alone have shown the effects of this fall. But nothing of the kind is found on Rousseau's very high eyebrows nor on the point of the nose. The contrary is the case, as we have seen. It is the receding parts of the face which were hurt—the retreating forehead, the side of the nose, and the still more protected parts, the base of the nose and the under part of the right eye. Again, two of these wounds are on the right side of the face, while the third is on the left side. Now, it is stated that when Rousseau fell from his chair, he fell dead, and so could not have made the movements necessary to produce these wounds. The similarity in the shape of the wounds is also remarkable. This is strikingly shown by superposing the outline figures of the three wounds. In the case of the forehead and eye wounds, it will be noticed that the upper portion of both is transversally oval, that both grow more narrow towards the middle,

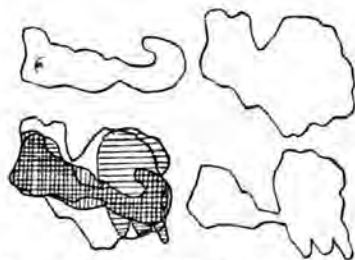


DIAGRAM OF THE THREE SCARS.

that the lower portion of both becomes more elongated and is not so large as the upper portion.

The difference in the contour of these two wounds is explained by the nature of the tissues hurt and by the unequal violence of the two blows. As regards the wound of the forehead, the hurt surface is nearly a plane, the soft tissues very thin, with a hard bony resisting surface underneath. A hard blow was given here and the imprint of the instrument which gave the blow is large and clearly marked. It is a serious wound; the crushing of the soft tissues and the crashing in of the bony plane. This I show further on. The blow in the region of the eye was much less hard. The wound is more on the surface, a simple bruise, an ecchymosis in the upper part, that is in the portion where an infiltration of the flesh is produced rapidly. The alteration of the tissues is still less in the lower part of the wound, in the region of the cheek.

I explain in the same way the difference between the nose wound

and the two others. The two first were occasioned by a blunt instrument which struck against relatively large and resistant surfaces. But the nose is of an entirely different formation, both as regards shape and tissues, and so a blow there should not produce the same kind of wound as a blow on the forehead or under the eye.

Though it is evident that the blows were produced by the same blunt instrument, it is not so easy to say what this instrument was. It might have been the small end of a hammer flattened by long use.

What was the gravity of these wounds? That of the right eye was not serious. That on the nose was deeper; but, though it made an impression on the bony structure, it did not produce dangerous results, nothing beyond an abundant hemorrhage. The only one of the three wounds which counts was that of the forehead. Did it effect only the soft tissues or did it effect the structure of the cranium? If it had been but a simple surface trauma, a slight abrasion of the epidermis, as it was declared to be by Theresa Levasseur, the Marquis de Girardin, and the signers of the autopsy, the contour of the wound would be quite indistinct, whereas the outline is very clearly marked. The border of the wound is formed of several sharp protuberances which separate very distinctly the portion of the bony surface broken through by the blow from the portion left intact. Other evidence enables me to be very affirmative on this point. If you look at the Houdon mask from above in such a way that the two frontal bumps are seen in profile so that their silhouettes cross the middle of the wound, it is evident that there is a depression, a sinking in, a breaking in of the right frontal bump at the point where is the wound. But Latour's portrait presents both of the bumps alike. It is plain that this blow crushed in the skull at this point and caused Rousseau's death. In other words, Jean Jacques Rousseau was assassinated.

Theresa Levasseur, was, as we have already seen, the only person who saw Rousseau die, and she has given four different versions of the event. But it is impossible that a woman of her mental calibre could have constructed the long accounts which she is said to have furnished of what Rousseau said and all the incidents preceding his death. Her memory could not have held them and her mind could not have coordinated them. All those persons who were intimate with Rousseau and his household agree in pronouncing Theresa to have been dull to a degree. Rousseau himself in his "Confessions" paints her in these same colors. The statements given out at the castle must have emanated from M. de Girardin. Now, it is well known that his word could not be depended upon

and it has often been shown that many things which he said about Rousseau were inexact. In this respect, Theresa Levasseur was still more unreliable. She was a woman without morals and was never



THERESA LEVASSEUR.

sincerely attached to Rousseau. His friends paint her in the very worst light. She was not faithful to him and he complained of this more than once and even threatened, on this account, to put an end to their relation. Just before his death, her conduct with a

valet in the service of M. de Girardin was especially open to criticism and caused Rousseau the profoundest sorrow. Statements coming from such a source are worthless.

The assertion that Rousseau poisoned himself is no longer

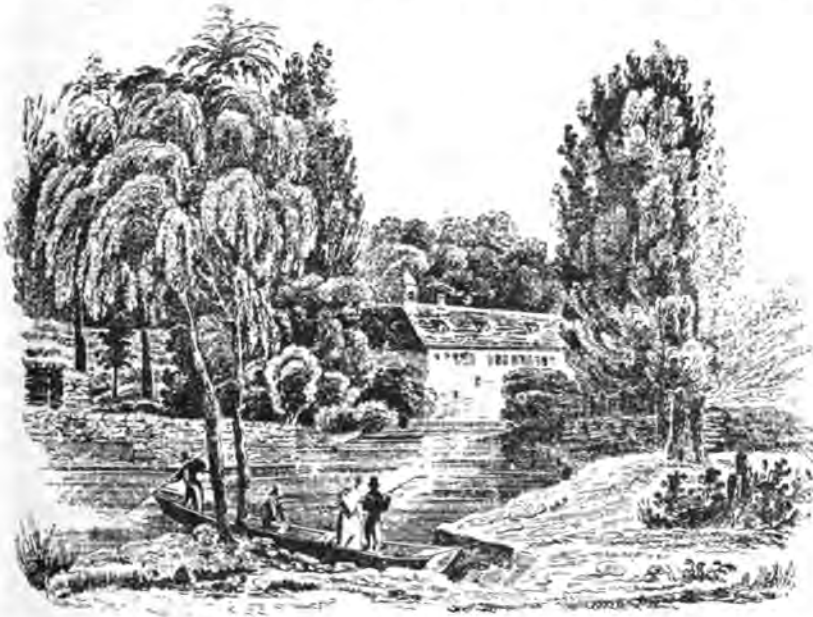


JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

made. That he shot himself with a pistol cannot be accepted after an examination of Houdon's death-mask. It reveals none of the well-known signs of a pistol shot, none whatsoever. Nor is there any solid proof that he died a natural death. In the description by

those who were near him of the cause of his death, of his state of health at that moment, are none of the symptoms of serous apoplexy, called to-day an acute attack of uræmia. And the clumsy statements of the autopsy also render this explanation improbable. Assassination is the only way out of the difficulty. But who would and could have killed Rousseau? Why, Theresa Levasseur, of course.

I have already shown that Theresa's life at Ermenonville was almost a public scandal. Rousseau finally learned of her abominable conduct and forthwith resolved, as I have already said, to carry out



ROUSSEAU'S HOME ON THE ISLAND OF ST. PIERRE IN THE LAKE OF BIENNE, SWITZERLAND.

a determination which he had arrived at in 1769 under similar circumstances—he was determined to break off all relations with her. It was with this in view that he was found alone with her on the morning of July 2, 1778, when she must have lost control of herself and killed him in a fit of anger. Referring to this fatal interview, Mme. de Girardin wrote as follows to Rousseau's friend, Olivier de Corancez:

"Frightened about Rousseau's position, I went to him and saw him. 'Why do you come at such a moment?' he asked me, and then continued: 'You will be much affected by the scene and the catas-

trophe with which it will end.' He begged me to leave him alone and go away. I did so, when he locked the door behind me."

When Rousseau returned from his morning walk, he did not complain of any illness; so it could not have been his state of health that frightened Mme. de Girardin. She went to Rousseau's room without being asked, for she knew what was going to happen between Rousseau and his mistress; she felt that there would be a stormy scene and she feared the consequences. If she had found him ill or if she had supposed him about to commit suicide, she would not have retired quietly as she did. And when her husband reached Rousseau's room after the tragedy, his first purpose was to hide the real facts and prevent a public scandal. So he and Theresa prepared together the account as given above. But the only logical and satisfactory explanation of what happened is that which I advance, viz., that Rousseau was assassinated by Theresa Levasseur.

If we accept this view, how are we to account for the fact that the skeleton found in the Pantheon is intact? In a very simple fashion. When the priests removed Rousseau's body they put a skeleton in its place. Several facts point to this as having been done. In the first place, the commission found no fracture of the bones of the head and face, whereas there should have been two, one on the forehead and another on the side of the nose. Further proof is to be found in the general condition of the skeleton. Rousseau, we have seen, died in mid-summer 1778. The body was not embalmed. In 1794, the coffin was exhumed and carried some thirty miles over bad roads from Ermenonville to the Pantheon in Paris. The coffin was again moved twice after having been put in the crypt of the church, in 1821 and again in 1830. This last removal occurred fifty-two years after Rousseau's death, when all the soft tissues of the body which hold in place the bones must have long been entirely decomposed. Each time the coffin was disturbed, it was carried up and down staircases. Under all these circumstances the different parts of the skeleton must have been displaced. But the commission of 1897 informs us that even the smallest bones were in their proper position! This perfect order proves beyond doubt that the commission was not in the presence of the body of Jean Jacques Rousseau.

Up to the present day, an almost impenetrable mystery has enveloped the death of Rousseau. The minute examination of the death-mask made by Houdon shows that it is possible to lift at least a corner of the veil and reveal what really happened in the philosopher's apartments at Ermenonville. But as I have also made plain

that another part of the mystery lies hidden in the Pantheon tomb. This too can be easily cleared up. A scientific examination of the supposed skeleton of Rousseau should be made. It should be compared with the death-mask by Houdon. In fact, there should be repeated here what was done in 1905 by the Anthropological School of Paris for General Porter at the time when he identified the body of John Paul Jones and when a bust of the Commodore by Houdon played the leading part.

THE LEFT-HANDED BACON.

BY NATHAN HASKELL DOLE.

SIR Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bart. published in 1910 a little volume entitled *Bacon is Shakespeare* and sent a copy of it to every library in the world. He has now supplemented it with a brochure entitled *The Shakespeare Myth* in which he adduces additional arguments to lay the ghost which is continually rising when a Baconian kills and buries William of Stratford. He first calls attention to the portrait prefixed to the Folio of 1623 and claims to be the first to show conclusively that it is a dummy. "It is almost inconceivable," he says, "that people with eyes to see should have looked at this so-called portrait for 287 years without perceiving that it consists of a ridiculous, putty-faced mask, fixed upon a stuffed dummy clothed in a trick coat." By "trick coat" he means "an impossible coat composed of the back and front of the same left arm." He fortifies this argument by an extract from *The Gentleman's Tailor Magazine* which in March, 1911, called the attention of the trade to the fact that "the tunic, coat, or whatever the garment may have been called at the time, is so strangely illustrated that the right-hand side of the fore part is obviously the left-hand side of the back part; and so gives a harlequin appearance to the figure, which it is not unnatural to assume was intentional and done with express object and purpose."

Sir Edwin then analyzes the ten lines facing the title-page and usually ascribed to Ben Jonson; he argues that instead of extravagant praise of a figure which Gainsborough damned in 1768, declaring that he never beheld a stupider face, Rare Ben, in language perfectly comprehensible at the time, praised the engraver for having "done out the life," that is to say covered it up and masked it. He retranslates the lines to read in modern English:

TO THE READER.

The dummy that thou seest set here
 Was put instead of Shake-a-speare;
 Wherein the graver had a strife
 To extinguish all of Nature's life.
 O, could he but have drawn his mind
 As well as he's concealed behind
 His face, the print would then surpass
 All that was ever writ in brasse.
 But since he can not, do not looke
 On his masked picture, but his Booke.

Sir Edwin finds 287 letters in the poem as printed in the Folio and that coincides exactly with the prophetic number of years which have elapsed since the Folio was published up to the time of this great discovery. Now 287 is a Masonic and Rosicrucian number, as mysterious as the number of the Beast in the Revelation. Sir Edwin says; "This important fact which can neither be disputed nor explained away, viz., that the figure upon the title-page of the first Folio of the plays in 1623 put to represent Shakespeare is a double left-armed and stuffed dummy, surmounted by a ridiculous putty-faced mask, disposes once and for all of any idea that the mighty plays were written by the drunken, illiterate clown of Stratford-on-Avon, and shows us quite clearly that the name 'Shakespeare' was used as a left-hand pseudonym behind which the great author Francis Bacon wrote securely concealed."

Sir Edwin next flies over to Holland and discovers there various editions of Bacon's works adorned with engraved title-pages which symbolically proclaim that Bacon was the great playwright. In that belonging to the ninth volume of *De Augmentis Scientiarum* there is a portrait of Lord Bacon seated and poring over a book which hides another (evidently the plays) while he lays his left hand on a theatrical figure in rags (evidently Shakespeare) holding up a book with a symbolical cover signifying a mirror: hence "The Mirror up to Nature," in other words, "The Book of the Immortal Plays." This is dated 1645.

Another dated three years earlier and ornamenting Bacon's "History of King Henry VII" contains five figures: one is a winged woman, Fame, standing naked on a globe and holding over Bacon's head in her right hand (to teach us that Bacon was 'the wisest of mankind') a salt-cellar, typical of human wit, and a mystical scroll which "it is absolutely certain. . . is a bridle without a bit, which is here put for the purpose of instructing us that the

future age is not to curb and muzzle and destroy Bacon's reputation." Fame with her left hand turns a wheel like that of a yacht the rim of which is decorated with the mystical mirror, the rod for the back of fools (such fools as still believe that the clown of Stratford was the author of the plays), the "bason that receives your guilty blood," that is, the symbol of tragedy, and a fool's rattle or bauble. On the left side of the globe facing the philosopher Bacon who touches Fame with his right hand, is another figure of Bacon who holds the handle of a spear stopping the revolution of Fame's wheel, while an actor shaking the handle of the spear with his right hand, touches the globe with his left and wears a spur (Shaxpur) on his left boot.

Sir Edwin next demolishes the six so-called signatures of Shakespeare and proves to his own satisfaction—with the authority of Magdalene Thumm-Kintzel—that not one of them could have been written by anyone else than the law-clerks who prepared the documents. He then declares that the number 53 was selected by Bacon as the key to the mystery of his authorship and sure enough on various pages numbered 53, or which should have been 53 if they had been numbered at all—the lack of a number not being the printer's fault but a part of a deep-laid plot—one finds the letters H, O, G or P, I, G or S, O, W, or even the word "hang-hog" which of course is Bacon, or the phrase "Gammon of Bacon." (Here the non-Rosicrucian is inclined to say Gammon!). In the third edition of Shakespeare's plays are found two pages folioed 53 and on each of these occurs the name St. Albans—which is significant, since Bacon was Viscount St. Albans.

Sir Edwin reproduces in modern script folio 1 of the Northumberland manuscript which he is confident was written by Bacon. On this occurs the name of Bacon written again and again, also the words "By Mrffraunces William Shakespeare" over the names "Richard the Second" and "Richard the Third." Then lower down "William Shakespeare" written at least half a dozen times not counting tentative efforts. We also find the word *honorificabilitudine* which instantly suggests Shakespeare's *honorificabilitudinitatibus* and the mysterious phrase "revealing day through every crany peepes."

Sir Edwin, like all Baconians, writes most enthusiastically and with perfect assurance. He fully believes that Shakespeare, a man so illiterate that he could not write and probably not even read, was paid a thousand pounds to allow his name to be put on the title-page of the plays. He argues that it strains credulity to the breaking

point to believe that this ignoramus, who never earned more than a few shillings a week, should have composed the works of Shakespeare which contain fifteen thousand words, or almost four times as many as are at the disposal of the average well-educated person, almost twice as many as Milton used. Sir Edwin goes even further. He thinks he has good proof that Bacon not only wrote the plays but also the Introduction to the King James version of the English Bible and besides that edited and unified it.

The "Promus of Formularies," now in the British Museum, the Northumberland manuscripts, and much interesting evidence, undoubtedly work together to constitute a tremendously strong case in favor of Bacon's interest in the Shakespearean plays. Whether it is philosophically possible that a mind so intensely analytic as Bacon's works show him to have been could also have been so intensely synthetic as was the author of the plays, is a difficult question. It seems also impossible to believe that the known examples of Bacon's verse which are prosaic and wooden to the last degree could have proceeded from the same fountain as the sonnets and the immortal lines in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Is it not, rather, more likely that Shakespeare, as a clever stage-manager, may have enlisted for his theater a syndicate of playwrights and have also utilized the brains of Bacon, who was chronically hard up, who was notoriously interested in the drama? Bacon may have furnished the raw material, as it seems likely from the *Promus* he did, and Marlowe who was a poet of high degree may have put them into poetic shape, while Shakespeare himself, knowing the demands of the stage, may have had the genius to combine all the materials into their present unity. We must remember that there were ten years of Shakespeare's life which are an absolute blank. What may he not have accomplished in the way of experience and even education in that decade?

The thorough-going Shakespearean thinks that the advocate of the Baconian theory is afflicted with literary measles or mumps and is certain to recover from that comparatively harmless disease. Nevertheless there is apparently a constantly increasing number of people, too old to have the measles or the mumps, who find it difficult to conceive the possibility of Shakespeare's having been the author of the plays. The opposite horn of the dilemma is almost as inconceivable. The theory here broached for the first time in print that the plays were syndicated and that Lord Bacon was the most important member of the syndicate seems to reconcile the two contentions and is at least worthy of being offered for discussion.

SHAKESPEARE DOCUMENTS.

BY THE EDITOR.

ASSUREDLY not the least important discoveries of facts that are apt to throw light on the question of Shakespeare's identity, or perhaps will add to the prevailing confusion, have been made by Dr. Charles William Wallace of the University of Nebraska, who when searching in the Public Record Office of London found several documents in which the name Shakespeare occurs.¹ There is first a decree in a chancery suit of *Bendesh vs. Bacon* in which Shakespeare is involved as a defendant. Further, in the suit "*Osteler vs. Heminges*" Shakespeare's name is mentioned in the testimony with reference to the value of his holdings in the stock of the Black Friars and Globe theaters from which we may approximately calculate the income he derived from his theatrical interests. Thirdly, however, there is an account of the Taylor-Heminges litigation in which the same holdings of Shakespeare are concerned. But the fourth discovery is the most perplexing to the current conception of Shakespeare traditions, for it proves that in 1612 and thereabouts Shakespeare was an apparently permanent lodger with a Huguenot wig-maker, Christopher Mountjoye. Here Shakespeare figures as a witness in a suit between Mountjoye's son-in-law Belott, also a wig-maker or, as one said in those days, a tire-maker. His testimony proves that years before 1612, Mountjoye's lodger Shakespeare made a successful go-between for the match on the side of the bride's father. At that time our tire-maker promised his prospective son-in-law a dower of 50 pounds, but he never paid them. Nevertheless so long as the mother-in-law was living the relations of the family seemed to have continued friendly. But according to the parish register Madame Mountjoye died in Oc-

¹ In this condensation of the facts we follow *New Shakesperiana*, IX, Nos. 1-3, May--September, 1910. The documents are reprinted in the same periodical, pages 34-40.

tober, 1608. Belott and his wife left the paternal household and stayed at an inn belonging to George Wilkins, who has been identified by Dr. Williams as the dramatist with whom Shakespeare is believed to have collaborated. The house in which the Mountjoyes and their son-in-law lived is standing at the corner of Silver and Mugwell (now Monkwell) streets which is situated (as one authority states) "within three or four minutes" walk of the residence of Hemings and Condell, editors of the folio of 1623, and within a short distance of the houses of Ben Jonson and Thomas Dekker. In the document itself the witness is spoken of as "William Shakespeare of Stratford *super* Avon in the County of Warwick, gentleman, of the age of forty-eight or thereabouts."

His profession is not mentioned. He is simply styled "gentleman," which at any rate does not exclude his being a playwright and would make his birth year 1566, two years later than that of William Shakespeare of New Place. However the addition "thereabouts" renders the identity of the two not impossible. The signature of the document is abbreviated to "Willm. Shaks.," but within the document itself the name is always plainly spelled out "Shakespeare" in the form used by the poet himself who sometimes even inserted a hyphen in the middle of the word so as to insure the pronunciation of the long *a* in place of the common traditional and etymologically correct form "Shaksper," for we must remember that the name means *Jacques' Pierre*, that is, Jack's son Peter. Hence even the spelling "Shaxper" prevailed until the poet chose to follow his own romantic etymology, a knight shaking his spear, and so relegated the former interpretation to oblivion.

Nothing is known of how the Belott-Mountjoye suit ended except that the court appointed as a referee the pastor of the French Huguenot church of which the litigants were members.

There is a similarity between the signature "Willm. Shaks." and those of the will, but there is also a similarity between Shakespeare's signature and the handwriting of the clerk. These similarities are not sufficient to prove that they are all of the same hand, for they bear traces of the style of writing of their age. Especially the capital S is the common form of writing of those days, and it would be venturesome to derive any conclusion from this similarity. But the main fact is that there was a certain William Shakespeare living as a lodger at the corner of Silver and Mugwell streets in the vicinity of well-known friends of the poet Shakespeare, while according to tradition the playwright had his home in New Place. It is not impossible that this London lodging may have been a tem-

porary city residence because if the traditional view be correct, business must have called him frequently to London.

* * *

Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence has published a little pamphlet entitled *The Shakespeare Myth*, of which one chapter is on "The Shakespeare Signatures" and contains statements of general interest. Whatever the truth may be with regard to the playwright Shakespeare's personality, we have certain documents, such as the will and papers of real estate transactions, which have played an important part in solving the Shakespeare riddle. We take pleasure in publishing what Sir Edwin has to say on this subject, quoting literally from his pamphlet, pp. 16-18.

"The next (so-called) signatures in order of date are upon the purchase deed now in the London Guildhall Library, and upon the mortgage deed of the same property, which is in the British Museum. The purchase deed is dated March 11, 1613, but at that period, as at the present time, when part of the purchase money is left on mortgage, the mortgage deed was always dated one day after the purchase deed, and always signed one moment before it, because the owner cannot part with his property before he receives both the cash and the mortgage deed. About twenty-five years ago, I succeeded in persuading the city authorities to carry the purchase deed to the British Museum, where by appointment we met the officials, who took the mortgage deed out of the show-case and placed it side by side with the purchase deed from Guildhall. After a long and careful examination of the two deeds, some dozen or twenty officials standing around, every one agreed that neither of the names of William Shakespeare upon the deeds could be supposed to be signatures. Recently one of the higher officials of the British Museum wrote to me about the matter, and in reply I wrote to him and also to the new librarian of Guildhall that it would be impossible to discover a scoundrel who would venture to swear that it was even remotely possible that these two supposed signatures of William Shakespeare could have been written at the same time, in the same place, with the same pen, and the same ink, by the same hand. They are widely different, one having been written by the law clerk of the seller, the other by the law clerk of the purchaser. One of the so-called signatures is evidently written by an old man, the other is written by a young man. The deeds are not stated to be signed but only to be sealed.

"Next we come to the three supposed signatures upon the will, dated March 25, 1616. Twenty or twenty-five years ago, on several

occasions I examined with powerful glasses Shakespeare's will at Somerset House, where for my convenience it was placed in a strong light, and I arrived at the only possible conclusion, viz., that the supposed signatures were all written by the law clerk who wrote the body of the will, and who wrote also the names of the witnesses, all of which, excepting his own which is written in a neat modern looking hand, are in the same handwriting as the will itself.

"The fact that Shakespeare's name is written by the law clerk has been conclusively proved by Magdalene Thumm-Kintzel in the Leipsic magazine, *Der Menschenkenner*, of January, 1909, in which photo reproductions of certain letters in the body of the will and in the so-called signatures are placed side by side, and the evidence is conclusive that they are written by the same hand. Moreover, the will was originally drawn to be sealed, because the solicitor must have known that the illiterate householder of Stratford was unable to write his name. Subsequently, however, the word 'seale' appears to have been struck out and the word 'hand' written over it. People unacquainted with the rules of law are generally not aware that any one can, by request, 'sign' any person's name to any legal document, and that if such person touch it and acknowledge it, any one can sign as witness to his signature. Moreover the will is not stated to be signed, but only stated to be 'published.'

"In putting the name of William Shakespeare three times to the will the law clerk seems to have taken considerable care to show that they were not real signatures. They are all written in law script, and the three 'W's' of 'William' are made in the three totally different forms in which 'W's' were written in the law script of that period. Excepting the 'W' the whole of the first so-called signature is almost illegible, but the other two are quite clear, and show that the clerk has purposefully formed each and every letter in the two names 'Shakespeare' in a different manner one from the other. It is, therefore, impossible for any one to suppose that the three names upon the will are 'signatures.'

"I should perhaps add that all the six so-called signatures were written by law clerks who were excellent penmen, and that the notion that the so-called signatures are badly written has only arisen from the fact that the general public, and even many educated persons, are totally ignorant of the appearance of the law script of the period. The first of the so-called signatures, viz., that at the Record Office, London, is written with extreme ease and rapidity."

Another document of great interest which Sir Edwin makes

parent connection or sense. In a book entitled *A Conference of Pleasure* (1870) Mr. James Spedding publishes a full size facsimile of this cover, and Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence reproduces a transcription of it in a more legible modern script in his *Shakespeare Myth* (Gay and Hancock Ltd., 1912). We here reproduce the same because this page of scribbling promises possibly to become of some significance in the Shakespeare problem.

Having no clue as to the origin and meaning of the scribbling nor knowing anything about the writer we cannot say whether the many repetitions of the names of both Bacon and Shakespeare is accidental, and we are at the same time puzzled to find the word "honorificabilitudine" which recalls at once that grotesque word "honorificabilitudinitatibus" mentioned in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act V, Scene 1, in ridicule as an example of a ponderous word formation. Strange though this scribbling may appear it does not prove anything beyond the fact that the writer was a man who took an interest in both Shakespeare and Bacon.

MASSAQUOI AND THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

AN ECHO OF THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

BY C. O. BORING.

A RECENT series of experiences has brought to mind one of the signal events of the Parliament of Religions in 1893. Those familiar with the addresses of notables on that occasion will probably recall Momolu Massaquoi who represented Liberia. This young man appeared in the robes of an African chieftain and was not only spectacular but attracted attention by his figure and intelligence.

A brief history of Massaquoi might be interesting at this time. His mother was chieftainess, or as we say queen, of the Vai tribes consisting of several associated tribes situated about five days journey east of Freetown. When twelve years of age he had his choice of accepting his mother's religion, Voodooism, or his father's religion, Mohammedanism. However, he had met a lady missionary of the established Church of England and had been warmly attracted to Christianity, and therefore at this crisis chose to abandon his country for the time being. He made his way through the desperate forests (and Sir Samuel Baker says they are indeed desperate) which lie between his country and the coast. There he succeeded in reaching an American vessel whose captain took pity on him and at his earnest request carried him to America.

The captain brought him to the Bishop of Baltimore of the Episcopal Church, who sent him to the Gammon School at Nashville, Tenn., a Methodist institution for colored students, where he received a liberal education.

While attending the Parliament of Religions he was a guest at my home for a time and I enjoyed my association with him. He gave me a number of illustrations of their life and manners and among other incidents related one which I believe worth repeating.



MOMOLU MASSAQUOI.
From a recent photograph.

The Voodoo doctors were greatly perplexed and angered by the impression Christianity was making upon their people. Three of these wise men met by appointment and told the people that it had been stated by the missionaries that Jesus was three days in the grave and then arose from the dead. They would demonstrate that they were more powerful than Jesus for one of their number would be forty days in the grave and would then rise from the dead. After a series of incantations and ceremonials one of their number was selected and was put into a deep sleep. His tongue was turned back in his mouth, and the body being now in a perfectly rigid and apparently lifeless condition, he was placed in a box. The people were requested to bring stones to cover this box and then to set a guard so that there might be no deception. At the end of forty days the stones were removed, the box opened, and the Voodoo priest taken from it. Various incantations were resorted to, and then one blew into his nostrils and commanded him to return to life. To the great surprise and terror of the natives he did so.

When this anecdote was reported to Professor Starr he stated that he had heard similar stories regarding India and that in every case the tongue was always reported as being turned back in the throat.¹

During the Parliament of Religions, the Liberian government cabled Massaquoi that his mother had been killed and it was necessary for him to return. I received one letter from him after he had

¹ The experiment of burying people alive in a state of stupor is founded on a principle similar to the hibernation of bears and other animals during winter; but it is difficult to perform in so far as this state is not a state of life but of suspension of life which has been called lifeless, but not dead. This suspension of the vital functions is not absolutely complete but nearly so. The history of fakirs, by no means religious or even pious men, has been repeated on good evidence, and many of their tricks have been reviewed in detail in a former number of *The Monist* (X, p. 481) by the German Sanskritist, Dr. Richard von Garbe, in an article "On the Voluntary Trance of Indian Fakirs." These fakirs who allowed themselves to be buried for a money consideration, after fasting for a time, would subject their bowels to a rigorous expurgation so as not to leave the slightest vestige of material that could cause putrefaction, and then would cause all the openings of the body to be closed with wax and finally the tongue to be put back in the mouth, so as even to cut off the air supply from the windpipe. In this state the man was put into a coffin, buried, and grass was sown over the grave. Sentinels were kept at the grave day and night, and among the witnesses of one case in particular there were British officers and magistrates of high standing. After a fortnight, or even longer, the fakir was exhumed, and the resuscitation to life began with gentle massage and warming the body. The first symptom of returning life appeared when the wax stoppers blew out of the ears with a slight explosion and the tongue regained its natural position, whereupon the lifeless fakir began to breathe again. Nourishment was given carefully, beginning with very small doses, and the buried man would live many years and never show signs of having received any injury.—ED.

returned to his tribe, which was to the effect that the people had been greatly broken up by the inroads of savage tribes. He had been furnished firearms by the Liberian government and was drilling his people in their use with the hope of repelling invaders.

We heard nothing from him after that letter until this winter. When Prof. Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago started for Africa I wrote him urging that he attempt to find Massaquoi, and by a curious accident he did so just as he was about to leave Liberia. The following letter relates the incident:

"Freetown, S. L., Oct. 31, 1912.

"My dear Mr. Boring:

"Just by chance, the last day I was in Liberia, I had a long talk with Mr. Massaquoi—Prince M. of whom you wrote me. Depending upon the information I had, I wrote discouragingly to you in June. Prince Massaquoi is all right, although he does not use his title. He ruled his people for quite ten years after you knew of him as Paramount Chief. He now lives in Monrovia, and is the second man in the Department of the Interior—well known as a faithful, hard working and reliable official. He is a man of great influence with his people, the Vai, and the government depends much upon him. When I realized who he was, I got out your letter and read it to him to his sincere pleasure.

"Very truly yours,

FREDERICK STARR."

Two months later I received a letter from Massaquoi himself, written from the office of the Interior Department of the Republic of Liberia:

"Monrovia, December 31, 1912.

"Dear Mr. Boring:

"I was much pleased when calling upon Professor Starr, to be handed a letter written by you in which you inquired of me! I have felt all along that some of my American friends still remember me but not knowing their addresses I could not write them.

"Since I left Chicago many changes have taken place. I succeeded both my mother and father in different chiefdoms—my father's country being the largest. I removed there (in the British Protectorate) but for what Great Britain calls "political reasons" I was deposed by the British Government in 1906.

"I am now in Liberia where my late mother ruled a (native)

tribe, and his Excellency the President has appointed me a native expert and Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

"When I hear from you, I shall write again. Professor Starr will show you a letter on some business which I trust you will find time to help attend.² I am trying to turn many people to America if possible, and this is one of the ways to do it.

"With kind regards to self and family, I am, dear Mr. Boring,

"Yours sincerely,

"M. MASSAQUOI."

Upon Professor Starr's return to Chicago I met him by appointment and we reviewed many incidents. He has also furnished me with an interesting communication by Massaquoi to the *Journal of the African Society* with reference to the character writing of the Vai tribes.

The Vai characters which they use in writing are phonetic and extremely characteristic. Massaquoi informed Professor Starr that the people generally were well acquainted with these characters and read the Koran and the Bible readily in them. He tells an interesting anecdote of Dassia, a chieftain of the Tama country in Liberia, who once visited a school at Cape Mount where Massaquoi was teaching a Vai class. A copy of a portion of the Iliad was handed to Dassia which he readily perused and was greatly affected by it. The tears rolled down his cheeks while he turned to the teacher and made the inquiry which thousands of students of all languages have asked: "And where were Helen and Paris all of this time?"

The family of Massaquoi inherited the chieftainship and were an old family who had been long upon the ground. In explaining the classification of his country Massaquoi tells the story of the Maui tribes (Mandingo) who once occupied the plain from Tuba to Wasara and beyond. They were a tall, handsome and enterprising race of people with a knowledge of agriculture, cattle raising etc. They heard stories about the great body of salt water and started an emigration to it. On the way the tribes divided and one portion found the sea. One of these thrust his spear into it and said, *Mausa*

² It seems that in Liberia there is a species of pygmy hippopotamus weighing only about 400 pounds, though otherwise identical in character with the larger form. It is therefore a real curiosity that would be appreciated in menageries connected with circuses and municipal parks. These animals are easily cared for and readily domesticated when they become tame. They were formerly very difficult to capture, but Massaquoi has learned an easier method and would therefore undertake to furnish one to any city or firm that would desire it. He estimates that the cost of procuring and transporting one animal to New York would be about \$8000.

mu ila goi, "Truly thou art a ruler." This was the founder of the family which afterward was known as "Massaquoi" and which became the ruling dynasty of the northern part of the Vai territory known as the Galinois country. Other branches settled elsewhere but they have all remained acquainted with one another.

When Professor Starr met Massaquoi in Monrovia he learned much that was of great interest to me and will probably be to others at this time. In Monrovia they are much alarmed over the possibility that the government of the United States under the new administration may practically abandon Liberia to its fate. This Massaquoi states would not only be a great wrong in itself but would result in much harm to that country.

In order to comprehend the situation it must be understood that there are now living in Liberia about 12,000 fairly educated persons who are descendants of the original American negroes sent to Liberia. In addition there are about 30,000 Africans who have been affected by the outside world, making in all about 42,000 persons who form the ruling and advanced class in that country. Behind these are about 1,000,000 natives who look to Liberia for their protection, for *Liberia is the lone star of liberty in Africa*. If it were understood that the United States had withdrawn its protection, either Germany, France or England would certainly make some excuse to intervene and possibly to take possession of that land.

* * *

Since writing the above, a significant despatch from Monrovia under date of February 5, informs us that the Liberian troops under the command of Major Ballard, a United States officer loaned to the Liberian government, defeated the Kroo natives at Rock Call. The same despatch states that "the recalcitrant Kroos were responsible for the recent arrival of the German gunboats Panther and Eber, to defend German colonists who had informed the German government of their danger."

In all probability another and more important reason for the presence of gunboats at this time is the anticipated change in the attitude of the new administration of our government upon the question of defence of Liberia from so-called civilized nations. Let us remember that England has a force on the east, France on the north in Niger and on the south in Sierra Leone. Not alone to save Liberia from annihilation, but also possibly to save a war of nations our policy should be a determined stand for the little republic of black men.

A word of warning at this time may be very valuable, and this Professor Starr is giving to all he can reach. We sincerely hope that what he says may be heard and that our nation may find it possible to protect this country from invasion in the future better than it has in the past.

THE SPHINX.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE sphinx has become to us an emblem of an unsolvable problem. Indeed we often mean by it the problem of problems, the riddle of the universe.

In ancient history we find the first traces of the sphinx in this sense in the Œdipus legends whence the name has been derived. for sphinx means "throttled." According to Hesiod, Sphinx was the daughter of Chimaera and Orthrus; according to others, of Echidna and Typhon. Hera (or, as some accounts have it, Ares or Dionysus), in anger at the crimes of Laius, sent her to Thebes from Ethiopia. She took up her abode on a rock near the city and gave to every passer-by the well-known riddle, "What walks on four legs in the morning, on two at noon, and on three in the evening?" She flung from the rock all who could not answer it. When Œdipus explained the riddle rightly, as referring to man in the successive stages of infancy, the prime of life, and old age, she flung herself down from the rock.¹

The origin of the sphinx idea seems to have come originally from Egypt, and when the Greeks came to Egypt they called the strange figures of humanheaded lions by the name of the mythical creature with which they had become familiar in their heroic legends.

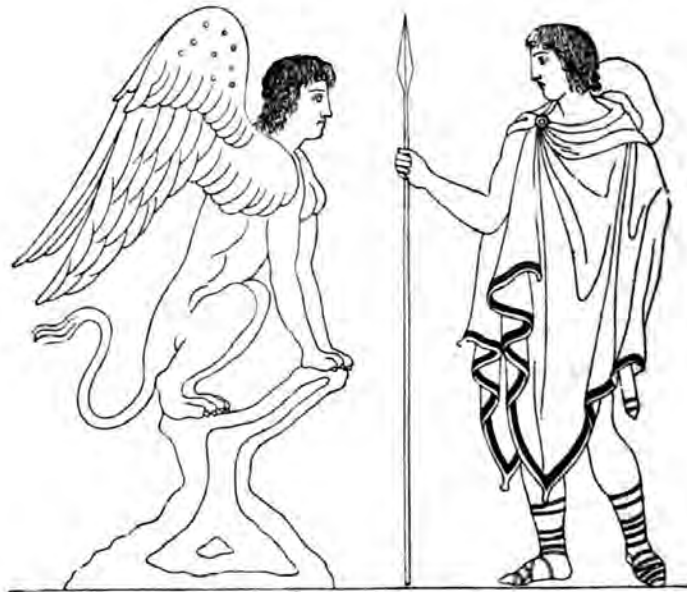
Professor Wiedemann says (*Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, 194-200):

"The sphinx of the Egyptian had little in common with the sphinx of the Greeks, beyond the name given to it by the latter people. When the Greeks first came into the valley of the Nile and there saw figures of human headed quadrupeds, they remembered that at home also there was the tradition of such a creature, and that it was named 'sphinx.' This name they bestowed, therefore, not unnaturally, upon the creature of Egyptian myth, undis-

¹ *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, p. 1487.

turbed by the fact that there was no real similarity between the two conceptions.

"The Egyptian sphinx plays the part of guardian of a temple or deity, and hence the god Aker, the watchman of the underworld and the guardian of the god Râ during the hours of the night, is generally shown as a sphinx with the body of a lion when represented as going forth to destroy the enemies of the sun-god. As the image of the winged solar disk over the door of a temple by its mere presence prevented any evil thing from entering within the sacred halls, so the couchant sphinxes guarding the approach served to keep back any enemy of the god of the place from the gates of the



OEDIPUS BEFORE THE SPHINX.
From a red-figured vase picture.

divine abode. In tombs also, especially those of later date, sphinxes were placed in the capacity of guardians. In one such instance the sphinx is made to address the deceased as follows: 'I protect the chapel of thy tomb, I guard thy sepulchral chamber, I ward off the intruding stranger, I cast down the foes to the ground and their arms with them, I drive away the wicked one from the chapel of thy tomb, I destroy thine adversaries in their lurking place, blocking it that they no more come forth.'

"Primarily the sphinx represented an imaginary quadruped living in the desert, human headed, and supposed to be the favorite incarnation assumed by Râ the sun-god when he desired to protect



THE TEMPLE OF LUXOR WITH ITS AVENUE OF SPHINXES.
Restoration by Gnauth in Erman's *Life of Ancient Egypt*.

his friends and adherents. This is the conception embodied in the gigantic sphinx near the pyramids of Gizeh, hewn out of the living rock and standing seventy-five feet above the plain of the desert. Sculptured in remote antiquity, here it couched even in the time of Khephren, builder of the second pyramid, guarding the necropolis against the approach of evil genii. It faced the east and the rising



THE GREAT SPHINX OF GIZEH.

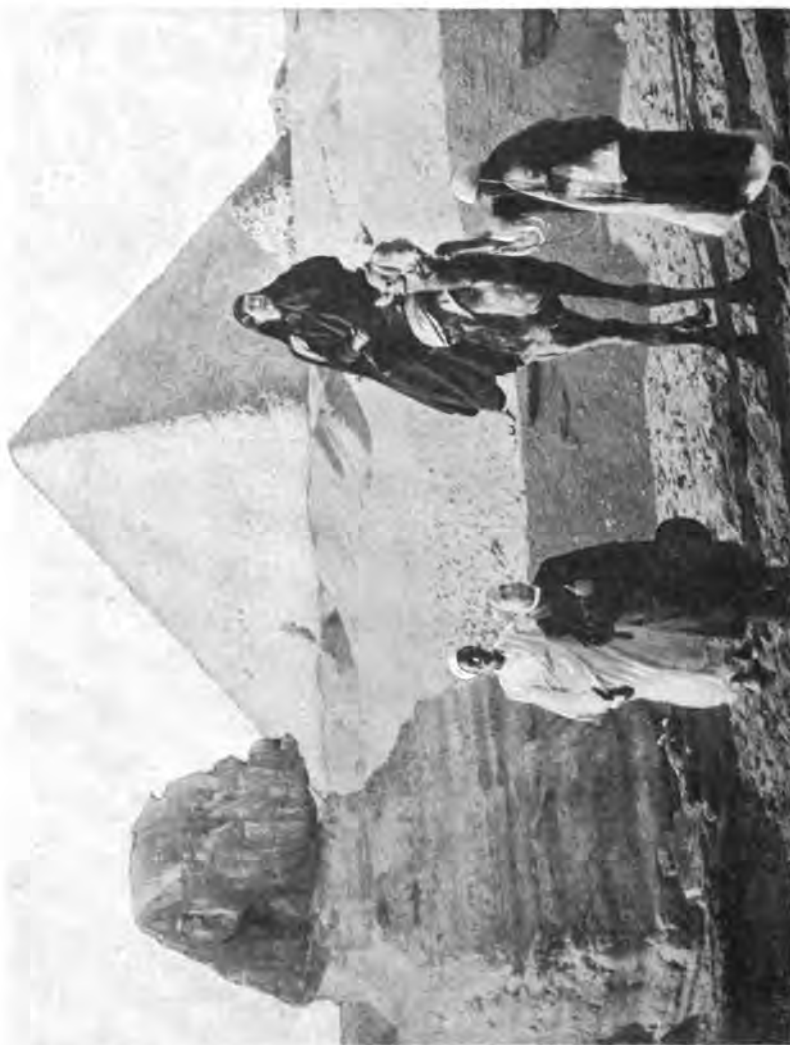
sun, being itself one of the manifestations of the sun-god, and more especially dedicated to the sun of the morning, banisher of the mists of the night. Hence it bears the name of Khepera as well as Râ Harmakhis. Between the fore feet was a small temple approached by a flight of steps and containing stelae and inscriptions relating to the worship of the sphinx; but the temple was by no means always

accessible, for in ancient times as now it was repeatedly buried by the whirling sands of the surrounding desert. An extant stela tells us how one day when Thothmosis IV was out hunting and took his siesta in the shadow of the great sphinx, the god Râ Harmakhis himself appeared to him in a dream, ordering him to clear away the sand from the divine image. But the work of the king was of no lasting avail; the sands soon drifted back again, covering the stela erected to commemorate the royal excavation. Later the sphinx would seem to have been cleared by Rameses II, for his name frequently recurs in the inscriptions of its temple; but again the sands swept back. No mention of the great image is to be found in Herodotus, although reference is made to it by later Greek writers. More than once in the present century the sand has been cleared away, only to return as of old. Nothing is now to be seen but the face, gazing out over the desert, still majestic, though sorely mutilated by the Arabs. To them the sphinx is known as the 'Father of Terror,' as if in recollection of its ancient significance. And so obviously does the figure produce the impression which it was intended to convey that, long before its exact office was made known to us by the decipherment of the hieroglyphics, the great sphinx of Gizeh was described by travelers as the guardian of the necropolis near the pyramids.

"Few indications of the existence of sphinxes in the old kingdom remain; the predilection for them prevailed chiefly from the time of the XIIth dynasty to that of the Ptolemies. The face of this manifestation of the deity was generally modeled after that of the reigning sovereign, for similar reasons to those which led the Egyptians to represent their gods in the likeness of their Pharaohs (p. 183); and since the sovereign was usually a king, as a rule the sphinxes were male sphinxes, as in the case of the Amasis sphinxes at Sais mentioned by Herodotus. But the sphinxes of a temple founded by a queen might well be female sphinxes, more especially if they were also intended to serve as representations of a goddess. For a sphinx was not regarded as belonging exclusively to Râ: its form was not only adopted by the god Aker in his capacity of guardian to the sun-god, but also by various other tutelary deities, as, for example, occasionally by Isis when she appears as the guardian of her spouse Osiris.

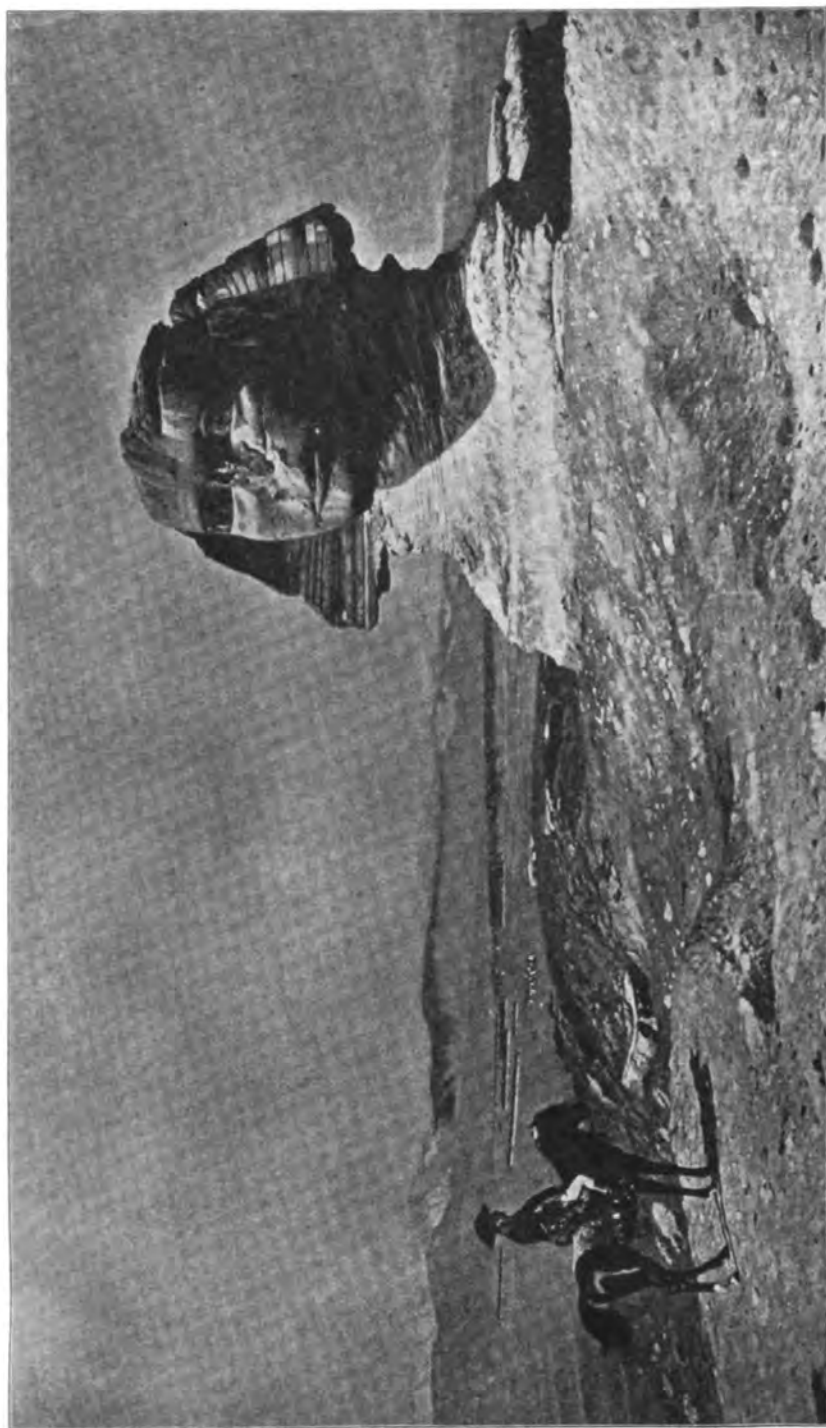
"This fact further explains how it came to pass that a sphinx was sometimes sculptured with other than a human head—for example, the head of a hawk or of a jackal—the animal head substituted being that ascribed to the sacred animal of the deity who

was supposed to have chosen the sphinx for his incorporation. But the stone rams, lions, etc., which we find as amulets, or which in many instances occupy the same position before Egyptian temples as the sphinxes, must by no means be confounded with the sphinxes: each was simply an image of the sacred animal of the god of the



TRAVELERS AT THE SPHINX.

place, of the creature in which he took incarnate form, and each was therefore the equivalent of the statue of the god. There is no authority whatever for calling these objects by the name of sphinxes, and the mistaken nomenclature has arisen only from the fact that their office was the same, architecturally speaking."



NAPOLÉON BEFORE THE SPHINX.

By Gérôme.

The sphinx has been utilized by modern artists in the sense of the problem of life, once by Gérôme who represents Napoleon as halting before the sphinx as if he, the great man of his age, with his unlimited ambition was the typical, perhaps even the ideal, man whose object is the riddle of the sphinx. This solution is contrasted in another picture of no less significance painted by L. Olivier Merson who shows us as the solution the Christ-child sleeping peacefully in the arms of his mother between the paws of an Egyptian sphinx. (See the frontispiece to this number.)

SONGS OF JAPAN.

POEMS OF MADAME SAISHO ABSUKO.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY THE LATE ARTHUR LLOYD.

[Madame Saisho was for many years a lady in attendance on the empress, being appointed to the imperial household almost immediately after the marriage of the emperor and empress. She won the esteem of all who knew her, and was often consulted about matters of importance, for her judgment was very sound. She died several years ago.]

The Woodman's Return in the Evening.

With faggot on his back, and hook in hand,
The weary woodman leaves the upland slopes,
And seeks the cot that nestles, like a child,
Close to the mother-mountain's peaceful breast.
The gentle moon then rises from her lair
Behind the hill, to guide him on his way,
Through woods and darkling valleys, till he reach
That well-loved home where he may take his rest.

Moon and Stars.

[The thought underlying this poem is that of the restoration. Soon after it had been accomplished, the *daimyō* or barons of the various provinces surrendered their fiefs and territories to the central government, and thus made possible the unification of the country.].

The imperial moon with splendor fills the skies,
And earth rejoices. But the lesser lights
That ruled, each in his sphere, have hid themselves
For very shame, and modestly refuse
To match their paler fires with her bright beams.

The Cries of the Wild Geese.

[This poem also refers to the confusions of Japan in the seventies of last century, until the restored imperial power was able to make its influence effectively felt.]

What time the evening fell upon the land
 With deepening shades, and wild disordered clouds,
 We heard the wild geese crying in the fields;
 But could not see them, till the imperial moon
 Broke through the clouds and ordered all the sky.
 Then o'er its face we saw them flitting by,
 Or mirrored in the placid pool, and knew
 How sovereign worth brings out the subjects' praise,
 And servants shine in the true master's light.

A Moonlight Night.

My neighbor, poor prosaic soul, is going to bed;
 I hear the shutters rattle and the bolts
 Creak in their sockets. But this heavenly night,
 With silver moonlight flooding all the air,
 I cannot go to bed—I simply won't.

Kamenaga Shinnō.

[Kamenaga Shinnō was the son of the unfortunate Godaigo, the Charles I of Japan, who fought so valiantly to maintain the dignity of the crown. When his father's cause was almost lost, Kamenaga ("the Bamboo-Garden's Son") went to Kyushu where, in conjunction with Takemitsu Kikuchi, he raised an army and gave battle against the Daimyos who held by the cause of the rebel Takanji. The loyalists were however defeated by Naouji Isshiki, one of Takanji's generals, and Takemitsu was slain. Kamenaga disappeared after the battle. It is supposed that he lost his life too. *Tsukushi* = *Kyushu*.]

The Bamboo-Garden's son, what time his sire
 Stood long confronting adverse circumstance,
 Went off to Tsugushi's isle, and lifting there
 His father's standard, raised a host and fought!
 Ah! had but Fortune smiled upon his arms,
 The imperial court had ne'er been desolate.

Taira Munemori.

[Taira Munemori was a son of the famous Kiyomori, the prince of the Heike house. Taken prisoner by Yoritomo he received from his captor a hint

to save himself from disgrace by suicide. The hint was a disemboweled fish placed on a cooking-board and sent in to Munemori's prison. But Munemori was too stupid to understand the hint, or else lacked the courage to take his own life. He met his death therefore at the hands of the common executioner.

"The self-same pine that stood so high," is of course the family of the Heike or Taira, the wars between Heike and Genji being to Japanese history what the wars of the Roses are to English history, both in character and in time.]

Branch of the self-same pine that stood so high
On the mount's topmost peak, he knew not how,
When all was lost, by voluntary act
To save his honor, and so fell at last
A victim of the headman's shameful axe.

Fujiwara Fujifusa.

[Just as in the English rebellion the royal cause lost a good deal owing to the light-hearted behavior of the court at Oxford, which had been intoxicated by the few successes at the commencement of the campaign, so the Emperor Godaigo, having succeeded in establishing himself at Kyoto, gave himself up to pleasure of all sorts and speedily lost all the advantages that he had gained. Fujiwara Fujifusa was Godaigo's faithful counsellor, and repeatedly warned his master of his folly. But his admonitions were unheeded, and at last one day he suddenly disappeared, having retired from a society which refused to hear him.]

A cuckoo crying in the undergrowth
Fringing the imperial lawns, and when men stop
To pick up stones to scare th'importunate bird
That vexes ears august with petulant cries,
No bird is to be seen: but still the sound
Of "cuckoo! cuckoo!" floating in the air.

Hōjō Yoshitoki.

[Hōjō Yoshitoki belonged to the family of the Kamakura regents who were mere vassals of the shogun, just as the shogun in the fourteenth century was a mere vassal of the emperor. The fact remains, however, that the Hōjō regents actually held in their hands the supreme sovereignty, both emperor and shogun being mere puppets in their hands. Hōjō Yoshitoki is credited with having designed to put an end to this anomalous state of affairs by raising himself to the imperial dignity, another instance, if one were required, of the shameless unveracity of the modern Bushidoists who maintain that such a thing as rebellion against the sovereign has never been known in Japan].

That crooked pine that grew upon the slopes
Of Kamakura's heights, what mind was his

To be transplanted to the cloud-girt throne,
And there to flourish?

Tomoe.

[Tomoe was the concubine of the brave warrior Yoshinaka, daimyo of Kiso, whose broken fortunes she followed to the very end. When Yoshinaka saw that no hope was left for him he persuaded Tomoe to leave him, which she did, demonstrating her faithfulness by retiring into a nunnery and refusing to form any fresh connections. For love of Yoshinaka, she was contented to be thrown aside and neglected like a worthless faggot.]

"Leave me," he said, "my faithful follower,
Comrade in arms, sharer in all my woes,
My day is done. I will not have it said
That in the hour of black calamity,
My thoughts were of my pleasures and of thee:
Leave me." They parted: he to meet his death,
She, widowed yet no widow, to a life
Of cloistered solitude and chaste desire,
A half-charred faggot, made of worthless twigs
From that great pine that grew on Kiso's heights.

A Chinese Tale.

"The king will wed, let maids who fain would win
His favor send their pictures, that the king
May look upon them, and so make his choice."
Then all the painters in the land were set
To making flattering portraits for the king,
Of ladies beautiful in form and face,
In hair, in dress, and with enchanting smiles.
But one alone declined the painter's arts,
"Paint me," she said, "to life." And when the king
Beheld the daub, hers was the foulest face.
Then from the northern marches, from a chief
Of savage hill-men came a message rude:
"Send me," it said, "one of thy courtly dames
To be my wife, or else"—No need was there
To read the rest: the king and all his court
(Effeminate, unnerved, unskilled in arms)
Turned pale to think of that most fearful threat.
And then the king, "That woman, foul of face,
That pleased us not, we'll send her," and they laughed,
And forthwith bade her pack her things and go.

Yet ere she went, the king, in kindlier mood,
 Seeing she went to save the king from harm,
 Resolved to see her, and so sent for her
 To come into his presence, when, behold,
 Her face was found the loveliest of them all,
 As lovely as her deeds; and so she passed
 Into the north. And ever and anon,
 A sound, as of a ghostly four-stringed lute,
 Sweeps through the palace chambers, and a voice,
 "Fair in my face, and fairer in my deeds,
 I go to save my Lord—speak well of me."

Fulfilment of Desire is Not Always Happiness.

All day the sky lowered with leaden clouds,
 And some said, "Good: the snow will come and change
 Our world to silver."

So it came, and lo!

They looked not at it, but round the fire
 Sat shivering, till the sun should melt the snow.

The Mist on Lake Hakone.

[Madame Saisho was an attendant on the empress during the early days of the present reign, when the restoration of the imperial power had not yet been fully effected; and when there reigned in the country a confusion of which very few foreigners had any conception. This poem (or rather these poems, for I have here put together two songlets) shows that at headquarters there was always a feeling of confidence in the ultimate restoration of tranquility and peace.]

Thick lies the mist upon the mountain lake,
 And all the lower heights are shut from sight
 Behind me and before: perplexed in mind,
 I stay my foot and ponder. Lo! I see
 Kingship in Fuji raise his royal head
 Far over all the mists, and on the lake
 A boat with bellying sail is scudding fast
 Before the wind. Soon this life-giving breeze
 Will clear the mists, and show the mountain's base.

Human Happiness.

Ah! deem not human happiness to lie
 In Fortune's singling thee above thy mates
 To special privilege.

Yon grasshopper,
Whom Fate elected to his high estate,
And placed to sing in yonder gilded cage,
Think'st thou he's happy? Nay, although thou bid
Him sing his native song in that strange place,
He can't forget his freedom, and be sure
He's yearning all the time for those lost fields
Wherein, a humble citizen, he took the air,
And chirruped as he leaped for want of thought.

Life's Oases.

Ever and anon,
Life's wint'ry path o'er snow and ice is cheered
By fair oases in the wilderness,
Like kindly Uji with its sheltering screen
Of kindly mountains where the flowers bloom
In cold midwinter and defy the blasts
Of all the jealous crew of winter winds.

A Japanese Lucretia.

He told his wicked love, and she, who knew
His brutal nature, feigned to give consent.
"But first," said she, "my husband must be slain;
This night he lies alone." In the dark hours,
His cruel blade in hand, the ruffian crept
To where a single sleeper lay outstretched,
Struck one swift blow, and gazed upon the dead—
Not him, but her. And he, the wicked earl,
Moved by the sight of one that gave her life
To save her lord from death, herself from shame,
Fled from the world, assumed monastic garb,
And sought by penances austere to gain
Heaven's grudging pardon for a deed of shame.

The Long Nights of Autumn.

How long I thought the evenings when, at home,
My mother made me spend my leisure hours
In darning, mending, or embroidery!
And yet not half so long, methinks, as these
Dull autumn nights which never seem to end.

Yet why complain that the long autumn nights
 Drag slowly through th' appointed tale of hours,
 When cruel Fate stands ready with her shears
 To cut, with one sharp snip, my thread of life?

Autumn Nights in a Fishing Village.

[The home-made cotton cloth, which is manufactured all over Japan, has to be beaten with wooden mallets to give it smoothness and gloss.]

The autumn days draw in, the nights are long,
 And early gathering darkness drives men in
 To fireside and hearth. Industrious hands
 Bring out the mallet, and prepare the cloth
 With much monotonous thumping for the mart.
 A weary sound, yet one I love to hear:
 It tells of honest work, that seeks to add
 A well-earned penny to the household stock;
 It tells of patient watching, when the wife
 Waits for her lord's return from storm-tossed seas,
 And scorns to wait with idly folded hands.
 And, when the nights are cold, and reed-built huts
 Let in the frosts, it tells of glowing cheeks,
 And bodies warmed with healthful exercise
 That gives contented minds and peaceful sleep.

Autumn.

'Tis not yet winter by the almanac:
 But when old folks get full of aches and pains,
 They don their winter clothes in autumn time,
 And scorn appearances.

The Autumn Moon.

The white chrysanthemum is gemmed with dew;
 Yet who would know it, if the imperial moon
 Shone not to put the sparkles in the drops?

Quail in Autumn.

[This and the previous poem both refer to the common Japanese conception of the emperor as the motive power of all that is good in the nation.]

The quail are stirring in the grass; the breeze
 Which wafts the sounds is fragrant: can it be

That, as when some great man, by nature shaped
 For honored place, but forcibly constrained
 By envious Fate, graces a lower sphere,
 Ennobling all he touches, so there lurks
 'Midst humbler weeds, some tall chrysanthemum,
 Filling the waste with its august perfume?

Autumn.

What time the summer sun upon the plains
 Scorched all the lower lands, and parched our throats
 With burning thirst, how oft we climbed the hill,
 And dipped our vessels in the ice-cold spring
 That bubbles from the mountain, fresh and cool.
 It bubbles still, but men forget its use:
 Only the moon, constant in heat and cold,
 Mirrors herself on its unbroken face.

The Palace Moats in Winter.

[The wildfowl on the palace moats are protected against the hunter.]

The palace moat is full of fowls to-day.
 Perhaps the rising tide has swamped the ice
 That fringed the beach, and the poor worried birds
 Have fled from Nature's persecuting hand
 To try the vaunted clemency of man.

Hawking.

- a. In rain and snow, in wet or shine, I go
 Hawking with my good lord;¹ and habit makes
 A second nature, so without a thought
 I don my rain-coat now, and sally forth,
 •Because he wills to have me go with him.
- b. I hear them singing over on the moor:
 Presumably they've killed, and now my lord
 Has given the men the wherewithal to drink
 Success to huntsman, horse, and keen-eyed hawk.

¹This may refer to Madame Saisho's husband, but more probably to the Emperor. Hawking is a sport still practised in aristocratic circles, and Madame Saisho was all her life attached to the court.

- c. They've had a good day's hunting on the moor:
 The huntsmen are not weary, nor the steeds;
 And e'en the hawks are fresh. 'Tis not success
 That wearies, but the disappointed heart.

A Flutter Among the Birds.

The water fowl along the river's bank
 Rise with excited cries and flutterings,
 And much confusion, long drawn out,—and ere
 They settle back again, the raft which caused
 The hubbub, gently gliding on, has passed
 Far down the river, out of sight and mind
 Like some forgotten cause that, passing, leaves
 Nought but a hollow party-cry behind.

The Cricket.

- a. The farmer in his barn, these short cold days,
 Threshes his rice, the while the cricket's song
 Chirrup around. *He* knows, the artful knave,
 On which side of his bread the butter lies.
- b. The storm-cloud burst, and every other sound
 Was silenced by the voice of wind and rain:
 The storm hath ceased, and everywhere around
 The dauntless cricket 'gins his song again.

The Cry of the Stags.

- a. 'Tis sad to hear, upon the mountain-side,
 The stag call to his mate, and with that cry
 To start from sleep; but lonelier far, to lie
 Tossing at anchor in a little boat,
 And hear the stag's cry o'er the darkling wave.
- b. Just hear that stag that's calling to his mate
 Upon the mountain side, now here now there;
 I fear his wife is gadding—poor old boy!

[I believe these to refer to times when the husbands ("stags") were away
 on military service, e. g., the war with China or the Saigo Rebellion.]

Flowers in December.

Behold! 'Tis yet December, but the stalls
That line the streets at fair-time teem with plants
Already half in bloom, as though for them
Winter were past and gladsome spring had come.
Thus happy Hope grasps at the coming good,
As though 'twere hers already.

Preparing for the New Year.

Just now, in every house throughout the land,
The housewives ply relentless brooms and mops
To clear the soot and rust that, through the year,
Have clung to walls and rafters. Would they could
Sweep off my load of tiresome years as well.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE NEEDS OF LIBERIA.

BY FREDERICK STARR.

The situation of Liberia is critical. Her long-troubling boundary questions with Great Britain and France are not permanently settled; they have been re-opened and both countries are pressing.

We did well to come to her financial aid; but we did badly in needlessly inflicting upon her an *expensive* and *complicated international* receivership instead of an *economical, simple* and *national* one.

Liberia's crying needs are:

- a. Training of her native frontier force to protect her boundaries and maintain order there;
- b. Development of existing trails, with their ultimate transformation into roads and railroad beds;
- c. Restoration and development of agriculture—now neglected;
- d. Education, especially along lines of manual and technical training.

Liberia's greatest asset is her *native population*; only by imbuing it with the feeling of common interest and by securing its hearty cooperation can the government of Africa's only republic hope to maintain itself and prosper.

AN INTERVIEW WITH NAPOLEON.

The personality of the first Napoleon has been transfigured by the awe in which this extraordinary man was held in his lifetime and also in history, so as to make it almost impossible to see or know him as he really was; for even his enemies could not help describing him with features which super-added to his appearance characteristics which were foreign to him. To some he was a hero, to others a demon and anti-Christ, the scourge of God.

With the appearance of the memoir of *Lady John Russell* (edited by Desmond McCarthy and Agatha Russell, and published by John Lane of New York) we have come into possession of a close view of Napoleon which is remarkably realistic. It was written by Lord John Russell, who visited the banished emperor on the Isle of Elba on Christmas eve in 1814. The Memoir says of him: "Lord John was always a most authentic reporter. His description of the emperor, written the next day, is so characteristic of the writer himself that it may be quoted here." It is a pity that the interview breaks off in the middle of a sentence. The account in Lord John's journal reads as follows:

PORTO FERRAJÓ, December 25, 1814.

At eight o'clock in the evening yesterday I went to the Palace according to appointment to see Napoleon. After waiting some minutes in the ante-room I was introduced by Count Drouet and found him standing alone in a small room. He was dressed in a green coat with a hat in his hand very much as he is painted, but excepting his resemblance of dress, I had a very mistaken idea of him from his portrait. He appears very short, which is partly owing to his being very fat, his hands and legs being quite swollen and unwieldy; this makes him appear awkward and not unlike the whole length figures of Gibbon, the historian. Besides this, instead of the bold marked countenance that I expected, he has fat cheeks and rather a turn-up nose, which, to bring in another historian, made the shape of his face resemble the portraits of Hume. He has a dusky grey eye, which would be called a vicious eye in a horse, and the shape of his mouth expresses contempt and derision—his manner is very good-natured, and seems studied to put one at one's ease by its familiarity; his smile and laugh are very agreeable—he asks a number of questions without object, and often repeats them, a habit he has no doubt acquired during fifteen years of supreme command—to this I should attribute the ignorance he seems to show at times of the most common facts. When anything that he likes is said, he puts his head forward and listens with great pleasure, repeating what is said, but when he does not like what he hears, he looks away as if unconcerned and changes the subject. From this one might conclude that he was open to flattery and violent in his temper.

He began asking me about my family, the allowance my father gave me, if I ran into debt, drank, played, etc.

He asked me if I had been in Spain, and if I was not imprisoned by the Inquisition. I told him that I had seen the abolition of the Inquisition voted, and of the injudicious manner in which it was done.

He mentioned Infantado, and said, "*Il n'a point de caractère.*" Ferdinand he said was in the hands of the priests—afterwards he said, "Italy is a fine country; Spain too is a fine country—Andalusia and Seville particularly."

J. R. Yes, but uncultivated.

N. Agriculture is neglected because the land is in the hands of the Church.

J. R. And of the Grandees.

N. Yes, who have privileges contrary to the public prosperity.

J. R. Yet it would be difficult to remedy the evil.

N. It might be remedied by dividing property and abolishing hurtful privileges, as was done in France.

J. R. Yes, but the people must be industrious—even if the land was given to the people in Spain, they would not make use of it.

N. Its succumberaient.

J. R. Yes, Sire.

He asked many questions about the Cortes, and when I told him that many of them made good speeches on abstract questions, but that they failed when any practical debate on finance or war took place, he said,

"Oui, faute de l'habitude de gouverner." He asked if I had been at Cadiz at the time of the siege, and said the French failed there.

J. R. Cadiz must be very strong.

N. It is not Cadiz that is strong, it is the Isle of Leon—if we could have taken the Isle of Leon, we should have bombarded Cadiz, and we did partly, as it was.

J. R. Yet the Isle of Leon had been fortified with great care by General Graham.

N. Ha—it was he who fought a very brilliant action at Barrosa.

He wondered our officers should go into the Spanish and Portuguese service. I said our Government had sent them with a view of instructing their armies; he said that did well with the Portuguese, but the Spaniards would not submit to it. He was anxious to know if we supported South America, "for," he said, "you already are not well with the King of Spain."

Speaking of Lord Wellington, he said he had heard he was a large, strong man, *grand chasseur*, and asked if he liked Paris. I said I should think not, and mentioned Lord Wellington having said that he should find himself much at a loss what to do in peace time, and I thought scarcely liked anything but war.

N. La guerre est un grand jeu, une belle occupation.

He wondered the English should have sent him to Paris—"On n'aime pas l'homme par qui on a été battu. Je n'ai jamais envoyé à Vienne un homme qui a assisté à la prise de Vienne." He asked who was our Minister (Lord Burghersh) at Florence, and whether he was *honnête homme*, "for," he said, "you have two kinds of men in England, one of *intrigants*, the other of *hommes très honnêtes*."

Some time afterwards he said, "Dites moi franchement, votre Ministre à Florence est il un homme à se fier?"

He had seen something in the papers about sending him (Napoleon) to St. Helena, and he probably expected Lord Burghersh to kidnap him—he inquired also about his family and if it was one of consequence.

His great anxiety at present seems to be on the subject of France. He inquired if I had seen at Florence many Englishmen who came from there, and when I mentioned Lord Holland, he asked if he thought things went well with the Bourbons, and when I answered in the negative he seemed delighted, and asked if Lord Holland thought they would be able to stay there. I said I really could not give an answer. He said he had heard that the King of France had taken no notice of those Englishmen who had treated him well in England—particularly Lord Buckingham; he said that was very wrong, for it showed a want of gratitude. I told him I supposed the Bourbons were afraid to be thought to depend upon the English. "No," he said, "the English in general are very well received." He asked sneeringly if the Army was much attached to the Bourbons.

Talking of the Congress, he said, "There will be no war; the Powers will disagree, but they will not go to war"—he said the Austrians, he heard, were already much disliked in Italy and even at Florence.

J. R. It is very odd, the Austrian government is hated wherever it has been established.

N. It is because they do everything with the baton—the Italians all hate to be given over to them.

J. R. But the Italians will never do anything for themselves—they are not united.

N. True.

Besides this he talked about the robbers between Rome and Florence, and when I said they had increased, he said, "Oh! to be sure; I always had them taken by the *gendarmerie*."

J. R. It is very odd that in England, where we execute so many, we do not prevent crimes.

N. It is because you have not a *gendarmerie*.

He inquired very particularly about the forms of the Viceregal Court in Ireland, the *Dames d'honneur*, pages, etc.; in some things he was strangely ignorant, as, for instance, asking if my father was a peer of Parliament.

He asked many questions three times over.

He spoke of the Regent's conduct to the Princess as very impolitic, as it shocked the *bienséances*, by which his father had become so popular.

He said our war with America was a *guerre de vengeance*, for that the frontier could not possibly be of any importance.

He said, "You English ought to be very well satisfied with the end of the war."

J. R. Yes, but we were nearly ruined in the course of it.

N. Ha! le système continental, ha—and then he laughed very much.

He asked who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at present, but made no remark on my answer.

I asked him if he understood English; he said that at Paris he had had plenty of interpreters, but that he now began to read it a little.

Many English went to Elba about this time; the substance of their conversations is still in my recollection—April 2, 1815. He said that he considered the great superiority of England to France lay in her aristocracy, that the people were not better, but that the Parliament was composed of all the men of property and all the men of family in the country; this enabled the Government to resist the shock which the failure of the Duke of York's expedition was liable to cause—in France it would have destroyed the Government. (This is an opinion rather tinged by the Revolution, but it is true that our House of Commons looks to final results.) They were strong, he said, by "*les souvenirs attachants à l'histoire*"; that on the contrary he could make eighty senates in France as good as the present; that he had intended to create a nobility by marrying his generals, whom he accounted as quite insignificant, notwithstanding the titles he had given them, to the offspring of the old nobility of France. He had reserved a fund from the contribution which he levied when he made treaties with Austria, Prussia, etc., in order to found these new families. "Did you get anything from Russia?"

N. No, I never asked anything from her but to shut her ports against England.

He wished, he said, to favour the re-establishment of the old fam-

ilies, but every time he touched that chord an alarm was raised, and the people trembled as a horse does when he is checked.

He told the story of the poisoning, and said there was some truth in it—he had wished to give opium to two soldiers who had got the plague and could not be carried away, rather than leave them to be murdered by the Turks, but the physician would not consent. He said that after talking the subject over very often he had changed his mind on the morality of the measure. He owned to shooting the Turks, and said they had broken their capitulation. He found great fault with the French Admiral who fought the battle of the Nile, and pointed out what he ought to have done, but he found most fault with the Admiral who fought—R. Calder—for not disabling his fleet, and said that if he could have got the Channel clear then, or at any other time, he would have invaded England.

He said the Emperor of Russia was clever and had "*idées libérales*," but was a veritable Grec. At Tilsit, the Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, and N. used to dine together. They separated early—the King of Prussia went to bed, and the two Emperors met at each other's quarters and talked, often on abstract subjects, till late in the night. The King of Prussia a mere corporal, and the Emperor of Austria very prejudiced—"d'ailleurs honnête homme."

Berthier quite a pen-and-ink man—but "*bon diable qui servit le premier, à me témoigner ses regrets, les larmes aux yeux*."

Metternich a man of the world, "*courtisan des femmes*," but too false to be a good statesman—"car en politique il ne faut pas être *trop menteur*."

It was his maxim not to displace his Marshals, which he had carried to a fault in the case of Marmont, who lost his cannon by treachery, he believed—I forget where. The Army liked him, he had rewarded them well.

Talleyrand had been guilty of such extortion in the peace with Austria and with Bavaria that he was complained against by those powers and therefore removed—it was he who advised the war with Spain, and prevented N. from seeing the Duke d'Enghien, whom he thought a "*brave jeune homme*," and wished to see.

He said he had been fairly tried by a military tribunal, and the sentence put up in every town in France, according to law.

Spain ought to have been conquered, and he should have gone there himself had not the war with Russia occurred.

Lord Lauderdale was an English peer, but not of "*la plus belle race*." England will repent of bringing the Russians so far: they will deprive her of India.

If Mr. Fox had lived, he thought he should have made peace—praised the noble way in which the negotiation was begun by him.

The Archduke Charles he did not think a man of great abilities. "*Tout ce que j'ai publié sur les finances est de l'Évangile*," he said—he allowed no *gaspillage* and had an excellent treasurer; owing to this he saved large sums out of his civil list.

The conscription produced 300,000 men yearly.

He thought us wrong in taking Belgium from France—he said it

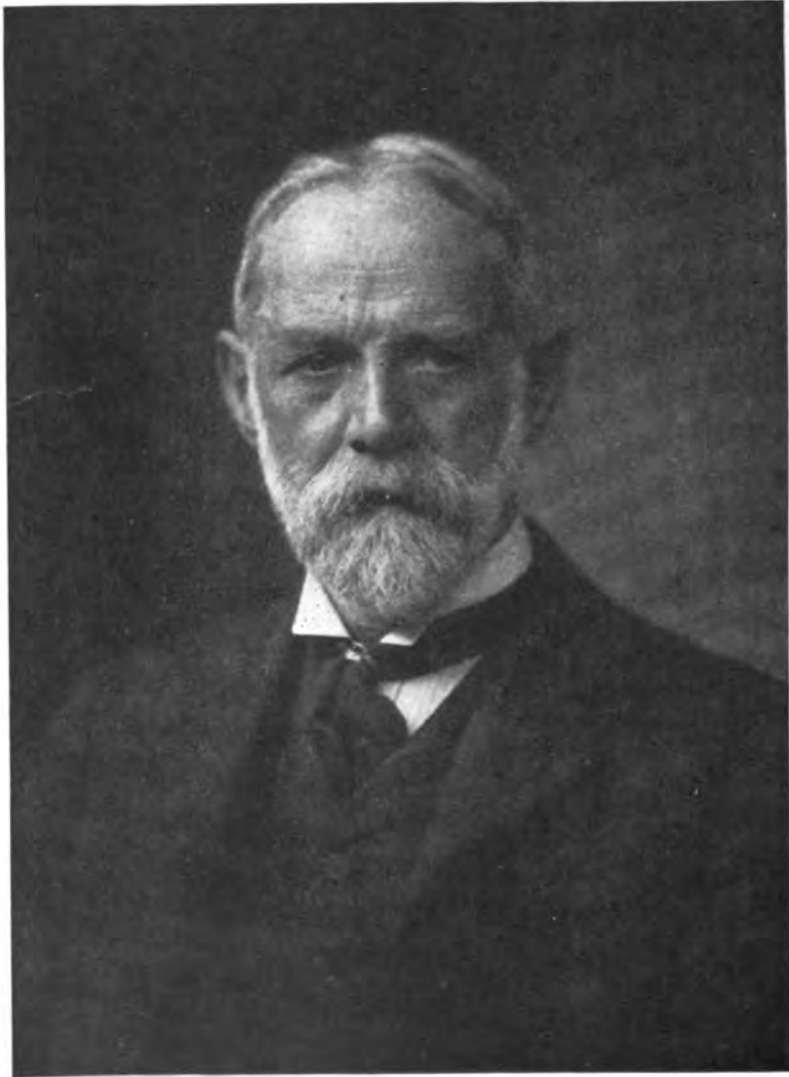
was now considered as so intimately united that the loss was very mortifying. Perhaps it would have been better, he said, to divide France—he considered one great advantage to consist as I—(*End of Journal.*)

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE SCIENCE OF HISTORY AND THE HOPE OF MANKIND. By *Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912. Pp. 76. Price, 90c net.

The author is a lecturer in political science at the Bengal National College, Calcutta, and is apparently of Hindu nationality, but the book shows an unusually broad conception of history not commonly found in scholars of Oriental birth. The main tendency of this little book is to show the paramount importance of the world forces for the development of every single nation. Our author says: "The prosperity and adversity, growth and decay, as well as freedom and subjection of each individual community at any time, in one word, the destiny of each nation acts and is acted upon by the conjuncture of all the forces of the universe. And this is created by the international relations of the epoch and indicated by the position of the political and social center of gravity of the world brought about by them. Hence, for a proper understanding of any of the conditions of a single people, it is absolutely necessary to realize the whole situation of the human world at the time, and minutely study the array of world-forces that has been the result of mutual intercourse between the several peoples in social, economic, intellectual, and political matters.... It is impossible that a nation should be able to acquire or preserve freedom and prestige solely on the strength of its own resources in national wealth and character. Every people has to settle its policy and course of action by a careful study of the disposition of the world-forces, and the situation of the political center of gravity at the time." The advance which naturally follows is for every single individual as well as nation to study the world centers and identify his interests with that of humanity. He concludes: "So long as there is one man in this universe capable of opening up new fields and discovering new opportunities by making the necessary modifications and re-arrangements, so long humanity's cause will continue to be broadening from 'precedent to precedent,' and the interests of mankind widening through revolutions and transformations to 'one increasing purpose' with 'the process of the suns.'"

Mathematicians and people interested in mathematics, especially teachers, will welcome the appearance of *Mathematical Wrinkles* by Samuel I. Jones, professor of mathematics in the Gunter Biblical and Literary College of Gunter, Texas (published by himself at Gunter, Texas, price \$1.25 net). It contains a large collection of arithmetical, algebraical, geometrical and other problems, exercises and recreations, mostly appropriate for high school pupils, collected from many sources with an admixture of some original ones by the author himself. No one will object to finding among them some old well-known puzzles because there is no harm in finding these repeated in several books of the same nature. The book covers 320 pages, not counting the index.



SIR GEORGE DARWIN.
(1845-1912.)

From a recent photograph.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII (No. 4)

APRIL, 1913

NO. 683

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SIR GEORGE DARWIN: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

(1845-1912.)

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

I.

GEORGE HOWARD DARWIN, the second son of Charles Darwin, was born at Down in Kent on July 9, 1845, at the house where Charles Darwin's experiments with plants were conducted. He and his three younger brothers—Sir Francis Darwin, Major Leonard Darwin, and Mr. Horace Darwin—give a most striking example of the inheritance of intellect. Mrs. Charles Darwin (Emma Wedgwood) was the youngest child of Josiah Wedgwood who was the second son of Josiah Wedgwood of Etruria, the great potter. It appears that George owed his mathematical tendency to the Wedgwoods and the Galtons, to whom he was also related, and not to the Darwins. The attractive character of Charles Darwin and the wonderfully charming family life of the Darwins are admirably described in Mr. (now Sir) Francis Darwin's *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, published in 1887, and in *Emma Darwin; Wife of Charles Darwin: A Century of Family Letters* (by her daughter H. E. Litchfield), privately printed at the Cambridge University Press in two volumes in 1904.

In such happy surroundings, George Darwin, a promising and merry child,¹ grew up. That quiet humor which seems to be one of the qualities which make all the Darwins so lovable, was possessed also by Mrs. Charles Darwin. In 1887 she wrote:²

¹ *Emma Darwin*, Vol. II, p. 156.

² *Ibid.*, p. 379.

"I am wading through Emerson, as I really wanted to know what transcendentalism means, and I think it is that intuition is before reason (or facts). It certainly does not suit Wedgwoods, who never have any intuitions."

If this is true, and if George Darwin inherited his mathematical ability from the Wedgwoods, he would be an unconscious refutation of Kantianism! But, whatever mathematical heritage the Wedgwoods may have bequeathed does not appear to have been previously much used by them. The only Wedgwood, I think, who has made any mark in science is the invalid Thomas Wedgwood* (1771-1805), who, before Daguerre or Talbot, made experiments in photography, and anticipated von Groese in devising an operation for the cure of conical cornea.

Besides this quiet humor, other characteristics which seem to be common to all Darwins are a charming modesty and a winning and childlike *naïveté*. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the quiet humor and the *naïveté*. One of Sir George's daughters, when a small child some years ago, attended a drawing-class in Cambridge. The drawing-mistress had just explained the great similarity of human and monkey's bones; so the child, with real or assumed innocence, asked shrilly: "Wasn't there a man once who said we were all descended from monkeys?"

George Darwin, like Charles Darwin's other children, greatly helped his father in his scientific work. To him are due some of the illustrations in, for example, *Insectivorous Plants*; and it was he who worked out the problem of the fertilization of the orchid where pollenization is done by a microscopic fly which carries off the pollen bags on its two front legs.

II.

George Darwin went to the school kept by the Rev. Charles Pritchard, a Fellow of the Royal Society and afterwards Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. Under Pritchard's able tuition, he made such good progress in mathematics that he came to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1864, as a mathematical scholar, took his degree as second "Wrangler"⁴ in 1868, and, in the same year, was second Smith's prizeman. In this year, too, he was elected a Fellow of Trinity. After some years of residence at Cambridge he had the

* See *The Value of a Maimed Life. Extracts from the Manuscript Notes of Thomas Wedgwood*; selected by M. O. Tremayne, with an introduction by (Mrs.) M. E. Boole, London, 1912.

⁴ The present Lord Moulton (Fletcher Moulton, the eminent King's Counsel) was senior wrangler in that year.

idea of becoming a barrister, and was called to the Bar in 1874, but never practised.

In 1870, after accepting the offer to make one of the Government party going to Gibraltar to see an eclipse of the sun, George Darwin narrowly escaped shipwreck.⁵ From the period before his election to a professorship at Cambridge date a statistical memoir on the marriage of first cousins, an early example of the present exact investigations in cognate biological domains, and the beginnings of his striking contributions to the subject of the evolution of the solar system—especially the system of the moon and the earth—and to cosmogony in general.

Considerations of health had prompted his return to Cambridge, where he had devoted himself to researches in dynamical astronomy. He was elected to the Plumian chair of Astronomy and "Experimental Philosophy"⁶ in 1883, and in 1884 was reelected Fellow of Trinity, his Fellowship having expired in 1878. In 1884 he married Maud, daughter of Charles Dupuy of Philadelphia and niece of Lady Jebb.

III.

His long and close friendship with Sir William Thomson (Lord Kelvin) probably influenced Darwin's work considerably. Darwin took up, organized, and greatly extended the systematic observation of the tides initiated by Lord Kelvin, and in the second edition of Thomson and Tait's *Treatise on Natural Philosophy* the important chapter on the tides was written by Darwin. The preface to his *Collected Scientific Papers* contains an eloquent expression of the warmth of Darwin's feeling for Kelvin. The first volume of these *Papers*—of which the fourth and last was issued by the Cambridge University Press in 1911—relates to tidal theory, was dedicated to Kelvin, and contains the words:

"Early in my scientific career it was my good fortune to be brought into close relationship with Lord Kelvin. Many visits to Glasgow and to Largs have brought me to look up to him as my master, and I cannot find words to express how much I owe to his friendship and to his inspiration."

It is certain, as Sir J. J. Thomson says, that there were few

⁵ *Emma Darwin*, Vol. II, pp. 235-236.

⁶ Since the time of Newton the word "philosophy" has often been used in England as synonymous with "science." Sometimes the substitution of "philosophical" for "scientific" had the most comical results. Thus, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a certain hairdresser in London used to advertise that he cut hair on "philosophical" principles.

men of science to whose opinion Kelvin would pay the attention that he paid to George Darwin's. The practical developments of tidal theory and prediction, worked out mainly by Darwin, were published in a series of reports to the British Association from 1883 onward.

The recognition of lunar tidal friction as a cause of lengthening of the day goes back to Kant.⁷ The problem as to how the tidal loss of energy is divided between the earth's rotation and the lunar orbit had baffled Airy; it had been shown by Purser that the principles of energy and momentum conjointly can lead to its solution; but it remained for Darwin (1879) to develop, by the aid of graphical representations which have become classical, most striking inferences regarding the remote past history of our satellite. This discovery was the starting point of a series of memoirs in the next subsequent years, which applied similar procedure to the precession of the equinoxes and to other features of the solar system.

It was in these researches that Darwin began to work in the same domain of science as Henri Poincaré, whose regretted death also took place last year. Both engaged in the examination of the mutual attractions of rotating spheres of fluid, such as primitive planets, suns, and satellites may be supposed to be. For a number of years the two mathematicians, French and English, worked at the task, supplementing one another's work, adding something to it here and criticizing there till in certain cases solutions of the problem were obtained. Some forms of the solution were popularly indicated by Darwin in his presidential address to the British Association when it met in South Africa in 1905. A spinning liquid planet, as its rotation increased, would eventually become egg-shaped. Then, he went on to point out, one of the two ends of the egg would begin to swell; and the swelling would become a well-marked protrusion or filament. The protruding filament would next become bulbous at one end, and would be joined to the main mass only by a gradually thinning neck. Finally the neck would break and we should be left with two separated masses which might be called planet and satellite.

In some such wise Darwin imagined the moon to have become separated from the earth, and the place of mathematical reasoning with which his name will always be associated is that of having estimated the effects of tidal friction during the separation of the

⁷ *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels oder Versuch von der Verfassung und dem mechanischen Ursprunge des ganzen Weltgebäudes, nach Newtonischen Grundsätzen abgehandelt* (1755). There is a convenient edition of this edited by A. J. von Oettingen, in No. 12 of *Ostwalds Klassiker*.

earth and the moon and the gradual increase of distance between these two bodies under the operation of tidal effects. The article on "Tides" in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and a summary, in an easily intelligible form, of his reasoning in a volume entitled *The Tides and Kindred Phenomena in the Solar System*, published in 1898^{*} and being developed from a course of Lowell lectures delivered at Boston, are in some sense epitomes of a mass of work ranging over many years, and contained in papers published in the *Proceedings* and *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London. Other and kindred topics were the mechanical conditions which exist in a swarm of meteorites; and the consideration of periodic orbits.

The last-named subject was intimately connected with special cases of the most complex of all problems of mathematical astronomy, the "problem of three bodies." Newton worked out the problem of two bodies which mutually attract one another. When a third body is added for consideration the complexities are such that no general solution can be obtained by any mathematical method known. Darwin referred as follows to his own contributions to special cases of the problem when addressing, as president, the International Congress of Mathematicians held at Cambridge in August last: "To the layman the problem of three bodies seems so simple that he is surprised to learn that it cannot be solved completely, and yet we know what prodigies of mathematical skill have been bestowed on it. My own work on the subject cannot be said to involve any such skill at all, unless, indeed, you describe as skill the procedure of a housebreaker who blows in a safe door with dynamite instead of picking the lock. It is thus by brute force that this tantalizing problem has been compelled to give up a few of its secrets, and great as has been the labor involved, I think it has been worth while. To put at their lowest the claims of this clumsy method, which may almost excite the derision of the pure mathematician, it has served to throw light on the celebrated generalizations of G. W. Hill (an American mathematician) and Poincaré."

Sir Joseph Larmor says of Sir George Darwin:

"His studies in astronomical evolution necessarily required him to push the history of the motions of the planetary bodies back into the past, far beyond the times for which the usual practical approximations of gravitational astronomy are suitable or valid. To this end he began to apply a process of step-by-step plotting to the

^{*}The preparation of a new edition of this book, expanded, and in part rewritten to include recent developments, was one of the last works of his life.

determination of orbits in the classical problem of three bodies, essayed in simpler cases by Lord Kelvin, but in its adequate use laborious, and demanding skill in arrangement of arithmetical processes; this work culminated in an extensive memoir in *Acta Mathematica* in 1896. The maps of families of orbits there published attracted the attention of other mathematicians. In particular, Poincaré—utilizing the general mode of discrimination and classification which he had already employed with signal success in Lord Kelvin's and George Darwin's problem of the forms possible for fluid rotating planets—pointed out the necessary existence of some intermediate classes that had escaped the analysis. And S. S. Hough, Royal Astronomer at the Cape, who had in his Cambridge days collaborated with Darwin in tidal theory, followed with a memoir devoted to fuller developments. This fascinating subject continued to occupy Darwin's attention up to the end of his life; one of his last public appearances in London was to communicate a paper on it to the Royal Astronomical Society."

In the same strain, Sir J. J. Thomson says:

"Any one turning over the pages of the four volumes of his *Collected Papers* published by the University Press must be struck by the extraordinary laborious nature of the work of which they are the record. Other distinguished mathematicians have indulged in laborious arithmetical calculations from time to time, sometimes as a grim sort of recreation, for example, Adams calculated Bernoulli's numbers to an almost extravagant degree of accuracy, but with Darwin these calculations went on uninterruptedly. Many of his most important discoveries were made by doing a prodigious quantity of 'sums' rather than by any refinement of analysis. For example, his celebrated paper on orbits, in which results of the highest scientific importance and suggestiveness are obtained, is a kind of apotheosis of arithmetic. Mathematicians have not as yet discovered any general method of dealing with these orbits; Darwin calculated them, so to speak, inch by inch. Few have the qualifications to wield this method; it requires not merely exceptional industry and doggedness, but also a kind of genius for order and symmetry, otherwise the work will degenerate into mere tabulation of numbers. Darwin possessed to the full the Darwinian characteristic of sticking doggedly at a problem until he had found a satisfactory solution. The amount of work he got through is all the more surprising from the fact that his health was never very robust; indeed, I remember hearing him say some years ago that he could

hardly remember a day in which he had not suffered acute physical discomfort."

For the benefit of mathematicians, it may be remarked, as an example of the tremendous labor which some of Darwin's work involved, that the papers on the pear-shaped figure required a reduction of ellipsoidal harmonics to a form suitable for arithmetic, and the processes were all carried to squares. Now, even the reduction of spherical harmonics to squares is sufficiently laborious. The work on periodic orbits was done by pure quadratures.

IV.

These gigantic calculations were rather a contrast to some of his lectures. His eldest son, Mr. C. G. Darwin, wrote to me: "I attended my father's lectures once, and there were a lot of interesting deductions in the theory of potential worked out in some way different from the ordinary one, and very simple. . . . There were other very nice questions discussed, such as what size might be an irregular lump of granite before it would collapse under its own gravitation. In his lectures, I think that the thing with which he was most pleased was a simple exposition of the very complicated mathematics in Hill's Lunar Theory. Indeed, he suggested to me not long ago that it would be worth while considering whether it might be published."

I well remember hearing a friend of mine, just after coming from one of Darwin's professorial lectures on dynamical astronomy, express his enthusiastic admiration of the way in which Darwin subjugated his problems by extremely simple mathematical methods. The successful use of simple methods in science is again a Darwinian *trait*, but a *trait* which Darwins share with some others of the world's greatest men. With some of these, too, Charles Darwin and George Darwin share the glory of living laborious lives and doing work of the highest order under the burden of an almost ceaseless physical discomfort.

V.

After his presidency of the British Association in 1905, Darwin was knighted. He had received a Royal Medal from the Royal Society in 1884, and, in 1911, gained the highest distinction that England can confer on a man of science, namely the Copley Medal of the Royal Society. On this occasion he protested that its early bestowal was due in his case to the merely practical applicability of some of his investigations. One of these was concerned with the

pressure of loose earth, a subject of supreme interest to engineers and one for which he received another medal from the Institute of Civil Engineers. His experiments for the paper were made in his rooms at Trinity with a wooden box, a piece of tarpaulin, a heap of sand and a biscuit tin. One day when he was ladling sand from box to biscuit tin he said to his observant bedmaker: "This is a funny sort of job, Mrs. Pleasants;" to which she responded, "Oh, yes, sir, but it amuses you." That, remarked Sir George to his audience, was the attitude of the British people towards science.

VI.

Sir George Darwin's last appearance in public was as president of the fifth International Congress of Mathematicians at Cambridge on August 22 to 28 of last year. Those who attended the Congress will remember the energy and charm of Sir George and Lady Darwin during what many would find arduous and tedious functions. A few weeks afterwards it became known that he was suffering from a disease from which there was no prospect of recovery. He died on December 7, 1912.

Sir George Darwin was an honorary member of practically every scientific society of repute in Europe and America. As president of the British Association when it met in South Africa in 1905, his own personality and that of Lady Darwin helped to make the meeting a great success. Indeed, Lady Darwin's kindness and hospitality were as great as her organizing capacity; and, besides being on numerous committees—such as the Girton Laundry and the Boys' Employment Registry—and taking a large part in the management of the Arts and Crafts guild and the technical classes, she was secretary to the Ladies Discussion Society of Cambridge for a long and prosperous period. This society, it is interesting to recall, was started by Mrs. Creighton, Mrs. Lyttleton, Mrs. Marshall, and Mrs. Sidgwick; the first secretary was Mrs. Prothero, Mrs. Horace Darwin followed her and in time was followed by Lady Darwin.

Sir George not only organized tidal and meteorological observations. His invaluable aid and powers were given to university and college administration and organization as well as to the Royal Society and Government and especially to the great trigonometrical survey of India, the predecessor of the vast geodetical operations now being carried out in the United States. Sir George was the British representative on the International Geodetic Association; a very successful meeting of it at London and Cambridge in 1909 was

organized by his care, and he was preparing to go to its meeting at Hamburg last September when prevented by his fatal illness.

He also, as Sir J. J. Thomson remarks, "did his full share of the irksome work of reporting on papers for scientific societies, for the university, and for Trinity College. Again, the subject of the tides and the evolution of the solar system, on which he was recognized to be the leading authority, is one that attracts many people who have more enthusiasm than scientific training or sound judgment, and who expend years on developing theories which they embody in papers of great length. I know nothing more distressing than to have to deal with papers of this kind; the authors have often spent the best years of their lives on these theories, they write with a modesty which but ill conceals their confidence that they have made an epoch-making discovery which has but to be published to make them immortal; in general their work is quite worthless, and one has the hateful task of dimming their bright expectations. Darwin always seemed to me very sympathetic in such cases. If he could discover a lucid spot he made the most of it, and certainly, in one instance at least, turned a crank into a useful worker in science. As an example of the care with which he read essays submitted to him, I may mention that shortly after I had taken my degree I received from him a letter of eight closely written pages, containing most valuable advice and criticism on an essay of mine on which he had to adjudicate."

I must acknowledge my indebtedness, in preparing this biography, to Sir Joseph Larmor's notice in *Nature* of Dec. 12, 1912; to Sir J. J. Thomson's in *The Cambridge Review* of Jan. 16, 1913, to a biography in the *Morning Post*,⁹ to Mrs. Litchfield for kind permission to quote from a book that was edited by her and privately printed; and to the Hon. Mrs. Horace Darwin, Mrs. Cornford, and Mr. C. G. Darwin, for some other details.

⁹ There is also a good notice of Darwin's work in *The Observatory* for January of this year.

KWAN YON PICTURES AND THEIR ARTISTS.

BY THE EDITOR.

KWAN YON (also transcribed Kwanyin) is a Chinese deity commonly considered as a female Buddha incarnation of love. We need not doubt that it is an old pre-Buddhist *Magna mater*, the mother of the universe, the Goddess of Heaven, corresponding to the Babylonian Istar, to the Diana of Asia Minor, to the Roman Juno, and to a combination of Hera, Aphrodite, Artemis and Athene in one person. In fact all these latter deities are differentiations from the original *Magna mater*, the eternal virgin mother, the great female deity of primitive man. It is for this reason that the Chinese Kwan Yon represents love in general, particularly mother love, and this trait in her has never been lost, although under Buddhist influence she has been assimilated to the character of the Buddha and has become mainly the emblem of compassion.

As the representative of love, of motherly love, she is the goddess of life, *Venus genetrix*, and is very frequently depicted either with a child in her arms or carrying a fish in a basket. The fish, as we have seen elsewhere,¹ is the symbol of life and immortality. The fish crosses the ocean of life and death, and he is able to reach the other shore.

The collection of Mr. Charles L. Freer of Detroit contains several Kwan Yons which are of great interest. There is an ancient pencil drawing in such very fine outlines as almost to make it impossible to photograph the picture. The artist has done his work with great reverence and simplicity, his piety being visible in every line of the goddess who stands before us surrounded by clouds in flowing robes with a breast ornament and wearing the headdress of a woman of noble birth. The upper garment is tied in a knot, and

¹ See the author's article "The Fish as a Mystic Symbol in China and Japan," *Open Court*, 1911, XXV, p. 385. See also other articles published in the same year on the fish-symbol, perhaps especially "Animal Symbolism," page 79.



KWAN YON.

By Li Lung-mien (11th cent.)

From the original painting in the collection of Charles L. Freer in Detroit.

below this knot her hands are shown, the left one clasping the wrist of the right. Her eyes are cast down in dignified modesty.

The picture was drawn by Li Lung-mien, a famous painter of the eleventh century who lived under the Sung dynasty, and in his *Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, Prof. H. A. Giles gives the following interesting account of this artist:

"Li Kung-lin, popularly known as Li Lung-mien, Li of the Dragon Face, (Japanese, *Ri-riu-min*), has been described by one critic as 'the first among all the painters of the Sung dynasty, equal in brilliancy to the masters of olden times.' He belonged to a literary family, and in 1070 he himself gained the highest degree and entered upon an official career. After serving in several important posts, he was compelled in 1100 by rheumatism to resign, and retired to Lung-mien Hill, from which he took his fancy name, and where he died in 1106. He was a man of many talents. 'He wrote in the style of the Chien-an period (A. D. 1196-1220); his calligraphy was that of the Chin-Sung epoch (3d and 4th centuries); his painting ranked with that of Ku K'ai-chih and Lu T'an-wei; and as a widely-informed connoisseur in bells, incense-burners, and antiques generally, he was quite without a rival in his day.'

"During the ten years he was in office at the capital, he never frequented the mansions of influential persons; but whenever he got a holiday, if the weather was propitious, he would pack up some wine and go out of the city, taking with him two or three congenial companions. Then in some famous garden or leafy wood he would sit on a rock by the water, while the hours passed quickly by.' 'During all the thirty years of his official life, he never for one day forgot mountain and forest; therefore his pictures were those scenes which he had brought together in his own mind. Late in life, when suffering from rheumatism, between the groans he would raise his hand and sketch as it were upon the bedclothes; and when his family forbade him to do so, he smiled and said, The old habit has not gone from me; I do this unconsciously.'

In his early career he was especially fond of painting horses, and his animals were said by some to surpass even those of Han Kan himself. Su Tung-p'o, in one of his poems, thus alludes to his anatomical skill:

"In Lung-mien's brain a thousand horses swell;
He paints their flesh, and paints their bones as well.'

"He would pass hours gazing at the horses in the Imperial stables, some of which came in tribute from Khoten and other foreign countries. It was even alleged that, because 'six of these tribute-

horses died soon after being painted by Li, the artist had entered into the very seat of life, and had stolen the vital principle from their bodies.' At length a Buddhist priest reproved him, saying, 'The disposition of all living creatures is determined by influences gathered upon them during past æons of time. Now your mind is taken up solely with horses. Take care lest by process of metempsychosis you become a horse yourself.' At this Li was much alarmed, and took to painting Buddhist pictures, in which he soon excelled.

"Wang Mai, writing in 1206, tells us that soon after Li Lung-mien abandoned the study of horses, he undertook a picture of the Five Hundred Lohans or disciples of Shâkyamuni Buddha, which occupied him for several years. According to Wang Mai, who actually saw the picture, these disciples, 'fat, thin, tall, short, old, young, handsome, ugly, had each a special characteristic. Some were walking on the sea just as if treading on dry land, and dragons, turtles, and such monsters of the deep, were listening with bent heads to their words.' Others were enjoying the 'music of Heaven;' others again 'were standing about, each with a vase, or *pâtra* (alms-bowl), or staff, or chowry (fly-brush), in his hand.' Some were disrobing, or washing their feet, or sitting absorbed in meditation on the rocks.

"The *Hsüan ho hua p'u* gives the titles of one hundred and seven of his pictures in the Imperial collection. Besides religious pictures, there were among these 'Wang Wei (poet and painter) Gazing at the Clouds,' 'Wang Hsi-chih Writing on a Fan,' 'A Glass Mirror,' 'Barbarian Horsemen,' 'Weaving a Palindrome,' 'The Heavenly Horse' (a copy of Pegasus), 'Rocks,' etc. etc.

"He copied all the pictures by older masters that he could lay his hands on, and carefully stored the copies until he had a very large and representative collection, to which he could always refer. In forming his own style, his endeavor was to reproduce the strong points of each of his exemplars, and it seems to have been universally conceded by native critics that he achieved a marked success. In his own compositions, however, he always managed to introduce some novelties of his own. He painted a Goddess of Mercy with an exceedingly long girdle, now known as the 'Long-girdled Kwan Yon'; also a Kwan Yon reclining on a rock, which was quite a new departure; and again he painted a 'Placid Kwan Yon' sitting cross-legged, with fingers interlocked around the knee and a placid expression of countenance. 'The world,' said he, 'thinks that placidity must necessarily be associated with a cross-legged position; but placidity is in the heart, and not on the outside.'

"The painter and art-critic Mi Fei goes into raptures over a picture by Li, entitled 'A Refined Gathering in the West Garden.' This work consisted of sixteen of the most eminent men of the day, including both the writer and the artist himself, sitting or standing about amid rocks and water and flowers, dressed in all kinds of fancy costumes, and engaged in various ways. Su Tung-p'o, 'garbed as a Taoist priest in yellow robe with black hat, had just taken up his pen to write.' His brother, Su Chê, 'resting his right hand on a rock and holding a book in his left, was reading.' Li Lung-mien was painting a picture of T'ao Yüan-ming hastening 'home again,' after his hurried resignation of office. Mi Fei, wearing a cap of the T'ang dynasty and a voluminous robe, was 'looking upwards and inditing a eulogy of the rocks.' There was a Buddhist priest in cassock, sitting on his prayer-mat and propounding the doctrine of no birth, etc., etc. A few servants completed the picture. Panegyrics on this work were also written by Yang Yü, 1365-1444, and by Wang Shih-chêng, 1526-1593.

"The well-known statesman, poet, and calligraphist, Huang T'ing-chien, who said that if a man was commonplace there was no hope for him, was once engaged with some friends in looking at pictures. Among others he produced a work by Li Lung-mien, which seems to have been leveled at the morals of the day. It was entitled 'Virtue, farewell!' and the subject was a gambling scene. 'There were six or seven gamblers, and one of them had just thrown the dice into the bowl. Five of the dice had settled, but one was still spinning round and round. The gambler who had thrown was leaning over the bowl and shouting out noisily. At the sight of this picture Huang's friends changed color and rose to their feet, overcome by the masterly way in which the theme had been handled; and they were discussing the great beauties of the work, when Su Tung-p'o happened to come in. He looked at the picture, and said, Li Lung-mien is indeed a master; he can even depict the *patois* of a Fuhkienese. The others were much astonished at these words, and asked him what he meant. Within the Four Seas, answered Su, every one pronounces the word six (*luh*) with the lips drawn together; except the Fuhkien man, who opens his mouth wide. Now all the dice in the bowl are sixes, barring the one which has not yet settled. Another six would naturally be called for; what then is the meaning of the open mouth of the man who is shouting? When this story was told to Li Lung-mien he laughed and said that it was so.'

"We read that Li 'worked at human figures, and was able to



AN ARHAT AND AN APSARA.
Attributed to Li Lung-mien.

deal with the appearance and features of each in such a way that every one saw at a glance what manner of man was intended.' Persons from the four quarters of the empire were easily to be distinguished, and so were those of high or of low estate; 'not, as depicted by painters of to-day, all after the same model, rich, poor, beautiful, ugly, distinguished only by being fat, thin, red or black.' 'His pictures were mostly monochromes, and were painted on transparent paper; only in the case of copies of old pictures would he use silk and colors. His brushwork was like clouds passing, or water flowing.' 'After his death his works became very scarce, being bought up at high prices. This led to much forgery for the sake of gain. He who is not deep in art may be taken in, but such imitations cannot escape the mirror-like skill of the connoisseur.'

"There is a long list of his chief pictures; among others 'Home Again!' a subject inspired by the beautiful poem of T'ao Yüan-ming, A. D. 365-427, who resigned office as magistrate after only eighty-three day's tenure, on the ground that 'he could not crook the hinges of his back (to superiors) for only five pecks of rice a day';² also 'Illustrations of Filial Piety,' 'Illustrations of the Nine Songs' (by Ch'ü Yüan of the 4th century B. C.), 'Lute and Crane,' 'Rest and Peace,' 'Yen Tzū-ling (a Cincinnatus of the Far East) Fishing,' 'The Lung-mien Hill,' 'Divining for a Home,' 'A Tiger on Pegasus' (alluding to the winged horse of Greece, first heard of by the Chinese in the 2d century B. C.), 'A Horse Rolling,' 'A Red Monkey,' 'Scratching an Itching Tiger,' etc., etc.

"Su Tung-p'o has the following appreciation of a picture by Li Lung-mien:

"It has been said that Li Lung-mien painted his "Mountain Village" in order that future wanderers on the hills should easily find their way, striking the right path as though they had seen it in a dream or in a glimpse of a previous birth; also in order that the names of the fountains and rocks and plants and trees along their route should be known to them without the trouble of inquiry; and finally in order that the fishermen and woodcutters of those happy solitudes should be recognized by them without a word being spoken. It has been asked how the artist could force himself to remember all these, and not forget. To this I reply that he who paints the sun like a cake does not forget the sun, neither does a man who is drunk try to drink with his nose nor to grasp with his foot. In all that pertains to our natural organization we remember without any forc-

² This beautiful poem has been translated into English by Mr. James Black, and was published in *The Open Court* of July, 1910.



KWAN YON.
By Chang Seng-yu (6th cent.)

ing. Just so Li Lung-mien; when he is on the mountains, he does not concentrate on any one object, but his soul enters into communion with all objects and his mind penetrates the mysteries of all crafts. Nevertheless, there is both genius and technique to be taken into account. If a man possesses genius, but is ignorant of technique, although things may shape themselves in his mind, they will not take shape from his brush. Now I once watched Li Lung-mien painting a Bôdhisatva. For this he drew entirely upon his imagination, yet none of the Buddhist characteristics were wanting. The words of the Bôdhisatva and the brushwork of the artist seemed to proceed from a single man. How much more then would Li Lung-mien be able to effect this in the case of objects which he had actually seen.'"

Professor Giles reproduces a picture which not without good reason has been attributed to Li-Lung-mien. Its subject is an *arhat* or saint with a gazelle, an Indian nymph (*apsara*) standing in the background. Mr. Laurence Binyon, an art critic of the British Museum gives the following opinion with regard to its merits:

"A magnificent example of the religious painting of the Sung dynasty, whether actually by the hand of Li Lung-mien or no. The reigning qualities of this art,—serenity and grandeur expressed by means of a rhythm of fluid lines building up a majestic composition, apparent also in the calm and superhuman figures,—denote a period of climax, similar to those from which Phidias and Raphael were produced. In such periods the energy and force of a previous age have attained balance and harmony, which in their turn have not yet given way to insipid grace and mannered skill. Grand in design, this picture loses vastly without its color—the faint lilac and dull blue of the draperies of the saint, the sudden edge of crimson on the robe of the nymph, answered by the red of the lotus which she carries, glowing from the low-toned silk."

Another picture, also in the Freer collection, by Chang Sêng-yu shows the goddess holding in her right hand a basket containing a fish. The attitude is not as if coming from the market but indicates, as it were, the purpose of showing the fish as a significant emblem. The meaning of the fish as the symbol of procreation has never been lost sight of.

The picture is attributed to Chang Sêng-yu (6th century). The long label on the back of the picture reads: "Chang Sêng-yu's portrait of Kwan Yon in her fishing costume. Preserved in the Hall of Seven Inkstones." The large label on the back of the picture reads: "Liang [dynasty] Chang Sêng-yu was a native of Wu state



KWAN YON.
By an unknown Chinese painter.

[now Kiangsu province]. In the period of Tian-chan, he was *ssū-lang* of Prince Wu-lin Wang, and had charge of the paintings of the prince. He became general of the right troop, and, afterwards, the prefect of Wu-shing district. Emperor Wu-ti was a firm believer in Buddhism, and he ordered Chang Sêng-yu to decorate the temples with paintings. The emperor also ordered him to paint the portraits of the princes. (From *Li tai Ming hua chi*.)

"Emperor Ming-ti of Liang dynasty, saw Chang Sêng-yu's paintings of 'Lu-s'o-la' [Buddhist god] and of the ten sages of Confucianism in a Buddhist temple. The emperor asked Chang Sêng-yu why the Buddhist temple should have pictures of Confucian sages. Chang Sêng-yu replied that the Confucian pictures would be of great service to the temple in the future. Afterwards, in the 'Later Chou' dynasty, all Buddhist temples were burnt down; but this temple was spared, because it contained the pictures of Confucius. Chang Sêng-yu also painted four dragons in the temple of An-lo in Nankin, but all without eyes. He often said that if the eyes were put on the dragons, the dragons would fly away. People did not believe him, and compelled him to paint the eyes. He painted, and in a moment, the wall was broken by lightning and thunder, and two dragons were seen flying away. The other two dragons on which he had not put the eyes, remained as before on the wall. (Copied from *T'ai-ping-Kuang-chih*, a book of legends and stories.)

"The temple Hua-yen of Kuen-san, of Soochow district, in Kiangsu province, had Chang Sêng-yu's pictures of dragons on its foundations. Whenever there were rain and wind, the painted dragons were seen to be jumping about. Chang Sêng-yu also painted dragons on the walls of Lung-ch'uan Hall (Soochow district) in the temple. In the period of T'ai-ching, thunder smote the hall, and the wall was lost. People knew that the wall was enchanted. The paintings of Chang Sêng-yu had many such stories. His portrait of Ting-Kuang Ju-lai [Buddhist god] was presented to the Court in the period of Yuan-ho, and was preserved as the portrait of Wei-mo-chih [another Buddhist god], and both were well known in all succeeding dynasties. [Copied from some story book, not given.]

"From Liang dynasty to the present time a thousand years have passed. This picture of Kwan Yon in her fishing costume is the genuine painting of Chang Sêng-yu, and is really a rare, valuable gem. It ought to be preserved with the greatest care."

The above inscription was written by the master of "the Hall of Plum Blossoms and first quarter moon." The first seal below



KWAN YON.
By Kano Hogai (19th cent.)

this inscription reads, "Long live the Art," and the second, "My heart is pure as water." There is a label on the right side of the picture which reads: "Genuine painting of Chang Sêng-yu, of the Liang dynasty." A seal in the lower left corner is unreadable.

In another painting of Kwan Yon, two children are seated guarded by the benevolent goddess as if she were the guardian angel of the growing generation, and this same idea is still more plainly brought out in a more modern painting of the 19th century by Kano Hogai. Though the artist of this latter painting is a Japanese, the picture follows an older design of an unknown Chinese artist of the Sung dynasty who claims to have copied it from an original by Wu Tao Tze, the painter of Buddha's Nirvana.³ In this modern painting the idea of creation is not as delicately expressed as in the older pictures and it is not improbable that modern science has not advantageously impressed itself upon the ancient religious traditions.

³ This picture was reproduced as frontispiece to *The Open Court* of March, 1902, and has been published together with full explanatory notes in pamphlet form by the Open Court Publishing Company.

ON THE ARDUOUSNESS OF BEING A CITIZEN IN A FREE COUNTRY.

BY EZRA B. CROOKS.

THE late national political campaign revealed a humble-minded willingness on the nation's part to acknowledge past lapses, to confess present sins and urgent needs, and to face future menaces that was rather new to our proud and touchy American spirit. All the parties professed themselves reform parties, and instead of "pointing with pride," each anxiously sought to convince the electors that it was best fitted to make the needed changes, the significant thing being that it was assumed on all hands that changes were necessary, and many changes at that.

But I am convinced that the most threatening aspect of our political life was only lightly or not at all touched upon. I mean a menace so all-pervasive that it lacked the dramatic quality that would get it into the speeches.

This "menace" is the enormous difficulty of casting an approximately intelligent vote. To be sure, the citizen of a free country, to be a good citizen, must willingly count on devoting a good deal of time to governing, but the question remains as to whether our governmental situation is not now so complicated that the average intelligent citizen is unable, even with care, to reach a judgment of any value on most national issues, on many state issues and even on some municipal issues.

To begin with, the vast majority of the citizens have really only one source of information as to the facts involved—the newspapers. Fortunately, some of our daily journals have a high sense of honor in their news service, even when their editorials are utterly partisan, but unfortunately, other journals have such honor not at all or only in degrees. During a trip last summer I had a striking illustration of how a considerable section of the country may be excluded prac-

tically from intelligent participation in the discussion of the issues of a national election. The two counties of two states I visited are normally supplied by the papers of one of our large cities, and in these papers, with the exception of a small evening paper that circulates but little in the country, one of the three principal parties before the people was alternately ignored and systematically misrepresented. Few of these voters saw any fairer papers and few indeed of them read any of the important magazines, i. e., few in proportion. It is difficult to see how intelligent votes should be cast in the light of such misinformation, as. e. g., on the question of governmental supervision of interstate corporations, even if the voter had the interest and intelligence to form an opinion.

For my part, I read campaign literature of four parties on this subject as well as numerous papers diurnal, weekly, and mensal, and was able to arrive at a pretty definite opinion as to what will be necessary in this most difficult question of the relation of business and government. However, this judgment rested on more general theories, economic and governmental, which I had worked out before this campaign. Now comes currency reform and here I feel no confidence at all in either my private or public judgment, whether bolstered or unbolstered by print.

The point is *here*, of course, that it appears that more is being demanded of us as citizens than we are able to perform. We can mark and put in the box certain sheets of paper, but is that voting?

Our problems of government have become so many and so complicated that only a few men can be so placed as to get hold of enough of the facts to be able to decide. In part this is the price of becoming big. But far more this complexity has been forced upon us by advancing civilization. Success is measured now by ability to cooperate and not by individual initiative and effort. If we are to hold our own in this new world of cooperative and scientific effort, new in China and in Europe as well as in America, then we must find a way to cooperate too. This means big business of every kind, monster industrial corporations, huge aggregations of capital, continent-embracing railway systems, massive labor-organizations, on the one hand, and on the other hand, highly trained technical and administrative specialists, continuous commissions with broad powers and resources to watch and guard major special interests, such as interstate commerce, manufacturies, standard of living and efficiency of the working population, educational opportunity, food supply, moral health.

All these and many more such problems we will have to attack

cooperatively, i. e., under the guise of governmental activities. Such commissions of special investigation as we have had so far have just about revealed to us the nether depths beneath the pits of waste, inefficiency and ignorance into which we had looked before. Seven special congressional committees are now at work on seven problems of national interest, and the "Money Trust Committee" alone is furnishing more food for reflection than most of us voters can digest.

And after all, most of us have several things to do besides voting. If we are family men there are the family duties and the living to make in any case and then some of us have special interests of our own which take time. Just when, during the next few months, I am to find time to read up on the currency question is not easy now to see. And economics is not my line any way.

So these are some of the troubles that beset the earnest voter, but not all of his troubles, for not a few of his responsibilities are local. I live in the second city of Cook County, Illinois. Within eight months the following demands have been made here upon voters: an important campaign and primaries for state legislators "jack-pot" proof; agitation for presidential direct primaries; these primaries under strong excitement; two history-making national party conventions in the town next door where we transact our business; the national campaign and election, and surely this needs no comment; and to end up the year a strong fight for a filtration plant and pure water. I see I have forgotten the aldermanic and school elections and also a special referendum on a new building for our township high school. I feel almost guiltily certain that I have forgotten one or more elections, and then there are the first four months of the year of which I have no clear memory.

Does one marvel that it becomes just about necessary to knock down and drag to the polls the commuter who is making the daily rush for his train? Many escape however. Of America's twenty-one million enfranchised citizens, almost one-third failed to exercise their privilege in the last presidential election. The voting business is getting pretty strenuous and fatigue distress signals are appearing in the electorate.

Nothing has yet been said about the length of the ballot, as of New York's famous fourteen foot ballot as against Chicago's mere nine feet. But the proportion of feet of ballot to population is in our favor. Think of our fifty-foot ballot when we get those ten million inhabitants.

I do not believe that the average Chicago or Cook County voter has ever heard of one name in ten on his ballot. Is there not some-

thing innately absurd in this kind of voting, especially for officials whose duties are chiefly technical? This aforementioned average American has a wholesome aversion to making a fool of himself too often.

It is evident enough that we the electorate are being called upon to settle questions about which we know nothing now, and in the nature of the case can find out but little even about the facts, much less their application. But the moral is not that voting is a failure and that we should quit it. True there is no heavenly vision, even in a free government, to illuminate electors as to facts that can only be reached by expert investigation, or as to the scientific soundness of the principles involved in a proposed reform, or yet as to the technique necessary to carry into practice a needed measure, but we common voting fellows are good judges of results. We even claim that we are the best judges of whether the thing worked well or not, and, in the final analysis, the only people entitled to a deciding opinion, for we are the consumers of the results. Or to change the figure, we are the dog on which the thing is tried and we know how it feels.

So what mere citizens require is more efficient public servants and these better protected by civil service rules as long as they can and will do the job. Colonel Goethals and his many first-class assistants is an example of what I mean. The past rivers and harbors "acts" is an example of what I do not mean. We can judge whether or not the canal is being dug and we can even have a valuable opinion on the wisdom of spending hundreds of thousands of dollars year after year on making a river navigable up which we never see any boats going.

But we need more than individually efficient public servants. There must be permanent commissions each of which knows about some great public interest, what has been done, is being done and to be done or left undone as the case may demand. These will be the efficient and permanent guardians of the public interests. If they do not guard them the voting public should have a way of reaching such recreant servants either directly through the recall or indirectly through bringing pressure to bear on the appointive power.

Here again we ordinary voters will not know how to reach an anthracite coal mining and railroad trust, but we are capable of making out that the continuous rise in price of that commodity, a dollar a ton on the excuse of paying the miners a few cents more per ton, is a hardship. And without much of a strain, we could demand of our Commission to know the why of this hardship and

that fair dealing be given us, i. e., we could if we had such a commission. And when the price of eggs suddenly jumps ten cents per dozen, when there are millions of dozens of them deteriorating in cold storage, we are shrewd enough to smell rottenness.

Yes, it will be an important relief to the overworked voter not to require him to do what he can't do by voting, in fact what voting is unable to effect at all. Our government is the vastest and most diversified business corporation that we know anything about. We voters can't spend wisely and justly one billion dollars a year by making pencil marks on certain slips of paper. It is not the best plan to vote so often.

Not only will it lighten our electoral burdens not to have to vote so often, but it would vastly ease the elector's spirit to have a justifiable confidence that his voting makes more difference. And really has our voting made much difference? In this last national campaign, I felt more confidence that my vote bore a meaning than I ever had, except of course in the case of that first presidential vote. But voting must make more difference else there will be yet more cynicism concerning it than at present.

Voting must be more direct. Under our present highly overdone representative system we vote for somebody to elect or to appoint somebody else to do everything. And if the thing is not done the best we can do about it is to refuse to vote again for the first somebody. But he may be elected just the same on some other irrelevant ground, e. g., by a general party landslide. Or perhaps he got all he wanted the first time. We must have a way of getting at the recalcitrant "representative" while he is yet in office, and we must also be able to get a measure to which we have fully made up our minds, despite all our "representatives" severally and combined.

It may sound a bit illogical to ask for new powers in the franchise in order to relieve the voter. But I believe it is the only way in which the voting method of government can be saved. If the voters had this power of recall and initiative it would but seldom have to be used. Our servants the representatives would find new ways to interpret our wills. Especially would this be true if the recall extended to their acts.

Inasmuch as we vote for some judges, are not at least these elective judges our representatives? All the other judges are appointed by our elected representatives and so indirectly are our creatures, too. Now, if our voting really does impart to a man a divine attribute, a species of infallibility or irreversability, by making him a judge, then we may well shrink from the responsibility of exer-

cising so divine a power of creative activity. What good reason can there be for the possibility of an act of the legislative department plus a decision of the judicial department being able to fasten irrevocably an evil upon the body politic? When voting can strike at such a condition as this then voting will be no burden for me, and cheerfully will I give up my lunch on that day of voting in order to exercise the right.

No way can be devised in a free government, however, by which the conscientious elector can evade a serious contribution in thought and in time to his political duties. It will mean financial loss often enough.

Only one solution can be had for this problem of electoral responsibility and that is for the voter to find a vital and considerable part of his life interest in public affairs. That is, he is to include politics, in its broad interpretation, in his program. And politics is interesting, nothing can be more so, on off years and all. Since I happened to find this out the question now is to prevent this interest from invading the time that justly belongs to my trade and to social life. Here is drama, comedy and farce, credulity and cynicism, benevolence and diabolism, pathos and tragedy, in one word—life, life, pretty raw at times, but always real, and, taken as a whole, touched with the promise of the ideal. How any live man, even just a little alive, can keep out of it is more than I can see. When you take it in this way the burdens of the electorate do not constitute a hardship.

Two things have been meant by all this: first, that voting must be made simpler, less frequent and more efficacious; and, second, that the voter ought to accept voting, not as a side issue, but as an integral part of his normal life interests.

THE SPIRIT PORTRAIT MYSTERY.

ITS FINAL SOLUTION.

BY DAVID P. ABBOTT.

I.

IT is now about four years since I made a discovery that finally cleared up one of the greatest of mediumistic mysteries. For about fifteen years the feat of producing spirit portraits has baffled all of the investigators that have studied the problem. Through its agency some of our most prominent men have been converted to spiritualism, and conjurers have universally acknowledged it to be the most miraculous phenomenon that ever confronted them. Meanwhile two famous lady mediums of Chicago have continued to produce these wonderful portraits as the work of the spirit world; and while some have disputed the genuineness of this claim without being able to substantiate their view, the large majority that were conversant with the subject have continued to be believers. Editor Francis of *The Progressive Thinker*, a leading spiritualistic journal, for years kept a standing cash offer to be given to any one who could explain this wonder; but there were none who could do so, and he finally died without any one claiming the reward.

Since the discovery of the secret of these productions, the illusion has been presented from the theatrical stage as a magical creation. The English conjurer Selbit, under authority of Dr. Wilmar of London (to whom I had sent the secret), first toured England and France with it, and then presented it on the Orpheum Circuit in America at a large salary. The great American magician, Mr. Howard Thurston, under direct authority from the writer, has now presented it in his programs for two years, and is still doing so; while Henry Clive, the English conjurer, and W. J. Nixon, known as the "Master Mind of Modern Magic," both are now presenting it in vaudeville houses in the east. I am informed that it is also

being presented in Australia. The *Pittsburg Post* of Jan. 1, 1913, contained an offer of five hundred dollars made by Mr. Clive for any chemist who would chemically analyze his canvases and find them prepared in any way. These two last-named gentlemen have had a controversy recently through *Variety*, as to who has the American rights, etc., and it has developed in this that salaries as high as five hundred dollars a week are now being paid in vaudeville for it. But this amount is small when compared with the sums paid to mediums for this work.

In the summer of 1908 the two Chicago mediums above mentioned visited Kansas City, Mo., for a few months. It was said that their expenses were paid by a noted "healer" of that city, who usually had some fifty patients at his doors each morning awaiting the "laying on of hands." He was said to have an income of five hundred dollars daily, and was Kansas City's heaviest individual bank depositor.

Mr. C. F. Eldredge of Kansas City, Mo., in a letter speaking of this healer and these mediums, said: "I hope you will expose this work, for it is the greatest mystery in the world. One man of this city spent perhaps ten thousand dollars with these people, and he is to-day just as certain that his pictures were painted by spirit artists as that he lives. He has just published a big book on the subject,¹ all full of these pictures, which he claims was written by his dead wife through their mediumship. He is only one of hundreds who are ready to stake their lives on this work."

Mr. Eldredge is a very intelligent man, and is teaching the mysteries of the human mind, how to effect certain marvelous cures, and how to perform other mental miracles—if I may be allowed the word. It was through a description furnished by him that I was able finally to work out the solution of this mystery, and to settle definitely the extravagant claims of the mediums, besides making the stage illusion possible. Mr. Eldredge had the privilege of witnessing one of the Kansas City seances, and I here give his report:

"Having met by appointment at the residence of the mediums, my doctor friend and myself were ushered into the studio where the sitting took place. The object was to secure a portrait in colors

¹ The book is entitled, *Through the Valley of the Shadow and Beyond*. It has an introduction by "The Supreme Divine Ruler of the Spheres." Among the psychic portraits reproduced in it are one of this dignitary, one of "The Divine Jose," one of "Rose the Sunlight,—one who walked through the Valley of the Shadow, etc.," one of "Emma the Starbeam" and others. See also the book, *Two Years in Heaven* by "Rose the Sunlight."

of the doctor's sister who was killed some six years ago in a run-away accident.

"The doctor was requested by the mediums to select two canvases from a dozen or more that were leaning against the wall. This he did from near the middle of the pile, holding them up to the light and rubbing his hand over them in order to determine if there was any coating or film over them. I also examined them very carefully, and was satisfied there was not. One of the mediums now took the two framed canvases and placing them face to face, stood them upon a small table in front of a window which looked out upon the Paseo, one of the great boulevards of our city. The canvases were leaned against the window which faced the south.

"One of the mediums stood upon a chair and pulled down the blind to the top of the canvases, and then each of them drew a soft, dark curtain from the side of the window to the frames, thus darkening all of the window except where light came through the canvases.

"The light from the window passed directly through the canvases and they appeared clear and white. My friend held a picture of his dead sister in his hand, being requested to fix the expression of her face in his mind. We were seated immediately in front of the window, not more than three feet from the canvases while the mediums stood at the two sides of the table holding them and talking to us.

"After waiting possibly five minutes, one of the mediums said, 'You will observe how the canvases are drawing. They are being sized.' The front canvas did seem to be stretching on the frame making a slight noise, as if the thumb were being drawn upon the side of the frame. Presently the noise stopped, and there appeared on the outer edge of the canvases, or rather between the two, a slight shadow. I did not notice it until our attention was called to it by the mediums. It continued to darken while the center remained white and clear. In a few minutes I noticed a pale pink, almost directly in the center. It seemed like the glow of sunrise, but there was no form. Next we noticed an outline. The face was forming. We noticed two dark blurs that grew more distinct, and we saw that they were eyebrows and eyelashes of closed eyes. The lines of the mouth appeared, and the outlines of the head became visible, while the shoulders were distinct; and then the eyes opened out, giving a life-like effect to the portrait.

"Was I dreaming? I felt like pinching myself to see. A

woman's face was looking at us from between the canvases, beautiful in form and feature.

"My friend had been told to suggest any changes he wanted during the formation of the picture. He now said that he would like the face turned a little more to the right giving more of a front view. Almost immediately the picture began to fade from the canvas, and it grew fainter until it lost every detail. The outlines of the head became indistinct. The eyes went out into mere dark rings. Presently we saw the face coming as before. The face seemed turned a little this time, though I am not positive that it was. I imagined that it was, and the doctor seemed better satisfied; however, the change was very slight if any. We were so carried away with the marvel of the performance, that reason gave place to sentiment. The very marvel was inspiring. This time the development was more rapid. The eyes opened again as before.

"The doctor now asked that the eyes be made a little darker blue, more of a gray; and while he was speaking I noticed that the eyes were changing to a blue gray, or else my imagination was playing me false. He now suggested a slight change of the nose, which was made, and the lines of the mouth were altered at his suggestion. He now suggested that the face was a little too full, and it seemed to narrow slightly. The picture seemed to follow the doctor's thought. He was asked if he would have, as a hair ornament a crescent, a star or crown. The doctor suggested a crescent, and immediately a crescent of gold with gems of white appeared. Up to this time the shoulders seemed bare. He was asked to choose whether there should be a high or low collar. He suggested one of medium height and it at once appeared. On looking at the photograph, the doctor now saw a string of beads around the neck. Without speaking, the beads came into view about the neck, one bead at a time. They changed in color from white to amber then to gold. He seemed to conjure the picture. As a dream follows the will, so this picture followed the doctor's thought. Meanwhile the background had changed in color several times, from white to light yellow, then to dark yellow or brown, and then to green with a tinge of red, after which it mottled beautifully until the effect was superb. The changes took place like waves of light passing upwards over the whole picture. The two canvases were now laid flat on the table, and a third canvas was then lifted from the floor and placed over them for a cover. We were then asked to place our hands on this, so as to 'set the colors.' Soon the portrait was uncovered, and I

found the paint was a kind of greasy substance, as I rubbed some of it on my fingers.

"My friend had enclosed a photograph of his sister, together with a letter to her spirit, between slates for a time, in the presence of these mediums, some three days before this sitting. It was then his appointment was made.

"I have heard of the Hindu magician who plants a seed and grows a tree before your eyes, and of the turning of water into wine, but here was a phenomenon even greater; one that seemed to contradict every known law of nature; and now as I record this the day after, I am more bewildered than when I saw the work done. I do not believe the picture was painted before our eyes, for that is beyond rational belief, and by no process of reasoning can such an idea satisfy my mind. Where did the colors come from? How did they get between the close fitting canvases, and by what miraculous power were they intelligently spread over one of them?

"We compared the portrait with the photograph; the psychics asked to see it, claiming never to have seen it before. The likeness was perfect. Any one could recognize it. There seemed to have been no opportunity for trickery or fraud, and everything was open and above-board. We could see all over the room at all times, under the table in front of us, and everywhere. Yet the work was contrary to natural law and all human experience.

"One of these mediums said to me when speaking of their marvel, 'We are the only people in the world to-day, who positively and absolutely prove immortality.'

"I expect to work out this problem somehow, somewhere, sometime. But there is no hurry. It will be the result of patient effort.

"Another lady here had quite a large portrait made. It came in about five minutes. She said it seemed like a rain-storm on the canvas, the colors seemingly being pelted on in waves."

I also have a report from Thomas Grinshaw, the spiritualist lecturer, and President of the Missouri State Association of Spiritualists. He saw a portrait produced on a stage in the auditorium at Camp Chesterfield. An attempt was made to produce a portrait in the afternoon, but it resulted in an accident and nearly caused a fire. The attempt was repeated in the evening with more success. Clean canvases were selected by a committee and faced together, and placed in front of an ordinary wooden soap-box.

The box was first placed on a little table near the front of the stage. It had neither front nor back, and an ordinary kerosene lamp was placed in the box to shine through the canvases. A black cloth

was then hung over the rear of the box so as to darken the room, and cut off all light except what passed through the canvases. A medium stood at each side of the box holding them. The portrait gradually materialized, then dematerialized, after which it again reappeared. He was particularly impressed by the making of the lace work around the neck. A large audience witnessed this production, and a large committee was on the stage and helped to select the clean canvases.

This is a very brief summary of his report. It will be seen that all of the main features are about the same as described by Mr. Eldredge.

I also have a report from a gentleman by the name of Odell. He saw a portrait produced in the center of a room with the canvases held upright on a table, and an ordinary incandescent lamp hung behind them to shine through and show the formation of the likeness. Also in a report I have from Dr. Funk, a production is described where the canvases were set on an easel, and he was permitted to walk between them and the window while the picture was coming and going.

These reports are of great length but I have given here in the briefest possible manner such of their contents as I think will best describe what I think it is safe to say is without exception the most remarkable mediumistic performance ever given in the world.

After studying these reports, I decided to begin experimenting to discover the secret of the process, always assuming that nothing but natural means were employed.

Readers of my book *Behind the Scenes with the Mediums*,² will remember some correspondence I had through *The Open Court*³ in regard to some spirit portraits produced by certain famous mediums. At that time the descriptions of the act, as furnished me, were very meager and incomplete; and this fact misled me. Naturally, I thought of the old spray method of developing a prepared canvas, and elaborated on the method, thinking that I surely had the principle upon which the act was performed. However, as at a later date, I was furnished the above accurate reports of this remarkable performance, which showed entirely different conditions from those the first reports conveyed to my mind, I soon discovered that the spray method was impossible; and I freely confess that the explanation given in my book is not the correct one.

I now experimented with a graduated gauze screen, as there

² Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909.

³ January and May, 1907.

were rumors that such was used. I soon found this impossible; but after a short time I made a most startling discovery of a subtle principle by which I could cause a portrait to materialize between canvases, and also again to dematerialize at will. This I worked in my windows and showed it to a number of magicians, spiritualists, and other friends, among them my magician friend, Mr. Gabriel Rasgorshek, and I explained the principle to him at that time. I may say that it is not a spray method, neither is it any principle of developing a picture, from light, chemicals or otherwise. Also it is no system of projection such as the stereoptican idea advanced by Rev. Osborn of Kansas City, Mo. It is something absolutely new up to that time and entirely unknown to every one excepting those using it publicly and possibly a few of their most intimate friends.

Mr. Rasgorshek and I both decided that I had discovered the principle by which this thing was done, and that the famous secret was at last brought to the light of day; but owing to the "over-enthusiasm" of some parts of my reports, we thought there was some other thing used with it as an accessory for producing the after effects, such as the lace work, and hair ornament. Neither had I solved the problem of the composition of the colors. So, for that reason, I did not publish my discovery at the time, but waited until opportunity should enable me to verify whether or not my discovery were the only principle used in the production.

On August 11, 1909, which was nearly six months after my discovery, Dr. Wilmar (William Marriott) of 84 Bushwood Road, Kew, London, S. W., psychic investigator and lecturer, wrote me a letter of inquiry, which I still have and of which I have furnished the editor of *The Open Court* a photographic copy. He stated that two of these paintings had arrived in that country, and he asked me to furnish him the fullest report possible of one of these productions. He did not know I had been working on the case and asked the probable expense of having me see a portrait produced.

I replied to this letter on August 25, 1909, and gave him all of the reports on the work then in my possession, and *I also freely explained to him the principle which I had discovered for causing the portrait to materialize and dematerialize.* After this a number of letters on the subject passed between us. Dr. Wilmar then asked me not to publish my discovery for a time, and I dropped the matter.

This was the last I heard of Dr. Wilmar for a long time. Meanwhile I occasionally exhibited the act in the windows of my office to certain magician friends when they happened to call.

On January 31, 1911, Mr. Eldredge again wrote me, requesting

me to see the spirit portraits which were being produced upon the Orpheum Circuit, and which would arrive in Omaha the following week. Amongst other things he said, "The whole work is exactly as performed by the mediums, and the paint was not dry when the pictures were finished. The miracle was repeated twice. There was no switching of canvases, no tables, everything right before the eyes of the committee on the stage. The canvases were handed out to be examined by the audience. The man conducting the work here offered five hundred dollars to any chemist who could tell what substance the colors consisted of. He offered the same amount to any one who could come on the stage and explain how the work was done. This challenge was good all week. The work was exactly like the spirit portrait work performed by the mediums I wrote you about in every detail. There can be no question whatever that it is the same thing as any one who has seen both must admit. If you could solve this you could easily get one thousand dollars a week on the legitimate stage. The mediums made ten times that amount while here. This is certainly as claimed for it—'the riddle of the century.'"

He also enclosed a program which I here reproduce:

<p>PROGRAM</p> <p>MR. P. T. SELBIT</p> <p>Offering a Wierd and Wonderful European Sensation</p> <p>SPIRIT PAINTINGS</p> <p>DR. WILMAR'S RIDDLE OF THE CENTURY.</p> <p>Famous Paintings Reproduced by Spirit Artists in Full View of the Audience, Upon Ordinary Canvasses Chosen by Themselves.</p> <p>(Continued on Next Program Page.)</p>
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As soon as I saw the name "Wilmar," I felt assured that my principle was the foundation of the illusion. My wife and I then attended the Orpheum Theater, and, naturally being so familiar with the act followed everything in minutest detail. Not a thing escaped us.

Sure enough it was my principle upon which the act was based,

and the whole illusion was built around it, and depended upon it entirely, and was utterly impossible without it.

Later, Mr. Selbit called upon me with a letter of introduction and proved a very fine gentleman indeed. Naturally, I told him how the act was done and of my share in making it possible; and he was courteous enough to take me over to the theater where he worked it for me a number of times at close range. He also presented me with one of the portraits as a souvenir.

He told me that he had contracted with Dr. Wilmar to produce it on the stage, and to pay for such rights enormous royalties. He said that Dr. Wilmar claimed to be the originator of the idea, and when I showed him the letters of this gentleman, stated that this was his first knowledge of where the doctor had obtained the secret. He asked me to keep the secret private for a time, as he had invested heavily in the act, and as an exposure at that time would cause him heavy financial loss. I promised him to do so. He continued to produce the illusion in the name of Wilmar, and I have lately seen a letter wherein he stated, that up to the time of its date, he had paid over ten thousand dollars in royalties for the use of this illusion, and which he said, according to his information, was the highest price ever paid for a single illusion. Since the above date, Mr. Selbit has visited me and he stated that the royalties he has paid, now aggregate about twelve thousand dollars. He said he would furnish me with the dates and amounts of his payments.

Spirit portraits can now be produced in vaudeville all over the world, and will materialize between canvases that are selected from a number of clean ones by the audience, just as has been done in the private seance for a number of years by two of the greatest mediums the world has known.

A number of large, clean, white, unprepared canvases are on the stage. A genuine committee is invited up. They select the canvases that are to be used. These are faced together before every one, and placed in a nice gilt frame, which is then stood upon an easel. The committee is allowed to pass all around this easel, at any time before the frame is set upon it or afterwards during the materializing. They are also permitted to examine it and the frame thoroughly. The body of the easel is some two feet above the floor, and the legs of the committeemen can be seen beneath it when they pass behind. A large arc light is placed just back of the canvases, and they are illuminated a most beautiful white. The performer then places his arm and hand behind the canvases and they are distinctly seen through them. The committee now selects the name of

the portrait desired from a list of some forty which are printed on a screen.

Soon the shadows begin to appear around the margin, then comes the rosy glow like sunrise in the center. Later, the eyes gradually appear as dark rings, and the outlines of the mouth, nose, and head appear. The background is at the same time working in most beautifully; and, lastly, the eyes open, and lacework appears around the neck,—if the portrait asked for requires it. The canvases are now taken down, and the beautiful, finished picture, about forty by fifty inches, is passed down the aisle. The act is then repeated, and at any time one requests it, the light is turned off to show that the picture develops independently of the light. The committeemen can pass all around the canvases during the materialization, and can be within two feet of them.

There surely could not be two principles in nature, that would produce exactly the same results, in a case of this kind, although those who do not understand the secret cannot of course fully realize this as I do. For myself I am confident that the famous secret has at last been discovered, and I feel gratified that I was able to work it out from a mere description of the act without ever seeing the thing done.

Selbit related to me that the night King Edward died he was producing a spirit portrait of him, and that the audience went wild with enthusiasm, the orchestra played "God save the King," and the demonstration lasted twenty minutes. This was in London.

I was refraining from publishing the secret of this act, at the request of Dr. Wilmar, but as he put the act on the vaudeville stage without notice to me, I feel released from further obligation to him to keep the matter secret.

II.

Mr. Selbit having long since finished his tour, and Mr. Thurston, who holds his rights directly from me, having graciously consented, I shall now proceed to relate the history of my discovery, and to explain the long-sought secret.

It will be remembered that in my early reports but one canvas was said to be used, and this was set in a window; but as soon as I learned that two canvases were used and faced together, I knew that a spray developer could not be employed, and I began to search for some other means. I first devised an elaborate system of projection and window traps upwards and downwards, with concealed assistants above and below, etc., by which the effects might be dupli-

cated.' I had Mr. Eldredge examine the building used in Kansas City, and he found it to be solid brick with no chance for window traps and no chance for assistants above or below to give any help. So I knew that this could not be the principle.

Mr. Rasgorshek, who has had much experience with mediums, kept insisting that I would find it to be some simple thing that required no apparatus, and that I surely would find a substitution somewhere. He often said: "Abbott, mediums do not dare use apparatus, for the danger is too great. It must be something so simple that if a sitter 'grabs,' nothing can be found to use as evidence."

I also knew that in tricks every little thing is for a purpose, and that nothing superfluous is used when the art is perfect. I analyzed and re-analyzed the problem, and I decided that there was certainly a good reason for using two canvases. Why did the mediums invariably use two faced together? Surely it would be much more simple as well as conclusive if but one were used. Also, if it were possible to produce a portrait when using but one, we certainly would hear of their doing it that way sometimes. Yes, there was a reason for using two canvases; and it surely was merely to have the front one conceal from the sitter what happened to the one behind it. When both were in position in the window, and the side and upper curtains drawn and pinned to the front frame, anything could happen to the rear canvas and the sitter would know nothing of it. Again, there must be a reason for laying the canvases over on the table and covering them with a third canvas under pretense of "setting the colors." What could be the real reason of this? It will be seen later why this is.' I was entirely satisfied that a painting was made in advance; and that somewhere before delivery of the portrait at the close of the seance, it was substituted or introduced in some way. I knew that in magic, substitutions always take place early in the performance—much earlier than one imagines—and hence the real trick is always executed sooner than is thought.

Now, evidently the portrait was really produced on the rear canvas, and it surely was in the window at the time the two were laid over on the table. So it must have been substituted before this time. Then it must really have been in the window during the entire coming and going effects. Laying them over on the table would bring it on top to be handed out first. How did it get in the window, and above all, *how was it made to appear and disappear at will?* Window traps permitting substitutions being impossible, and projection ideas and developers being out of the question, what subtle

principle could here be involved? The more I thought, the greater the mystery became; and I finally decided that to take the advice of my friend, Mr. Rasgorshek, and experiment, was the only thing to do. I secured a portrait and a blank canvas, and as I had heard rumors that a graduated silk gauze screen was secretly introduced gradually between the canvases for screening off the portrait, I decided to try this. I made a rectangular frame that was only one-eighth of an inch thick and placed on it rollers and a windlass, so that I could reel up many thicknesses of silk on it. This I placed between the two canvases in the window and began reeling. I did not decide where I would conceal my assistant, or how get rid of the frame or substitute the portrait; I simply wanted to discover how to materialize and dematerialize the latter.

I found that by reeling up many thicknesses of silk the portrait was gradually cut off; but that the canvases were at the same time darkened so that their beautiful transparency was ruined. I saw that this could not be the secret, for the light had to be entirely screened out before the portrait utterly disappeared. As long as there was any light the portrait was visible. I next unreeled the silk and I found that the portrait was indistinct even when it was all withdrawn—that it appeared “out of focus” as it were. I then removed the frame from between the canvases and crowded them closer together; and the portrait, viewed from the front through the blank canvas, immediately became clear and sharp. I again moved the portrait backward, viewing it through the front one. It grew indistinct, more and more “out of focus,” until it became an indistinct cloud, then merely some dim shadows; and finally it vanished utterly leaving the canvas clear and white. I brought it forward slowly, and it gradually made its appearance, the dark lines first appearing, then the rosy glow at the center; and finally the features began to form; and at last the eyes changed from dark shadowy rings, to open, bright eyes.

I looked on in awe. Here was the very thing for which I was searching, and without screen of graduated gauze, or apparatus. Here was the long-sought subtle principle, the famous secret that had baffled scientists and the investigators of the world; and it was a thing so simple that it staggered me. When the canvases were separated, the rays of light passing through the portrait began to diverge and spread evenly over the blank canvas, until, as the distance was sufficiently increased between them, the illumination became evenly diffused over it. This distance was about three inches. At the same time, as the canvases were separated, side light was

being admitted between them which helped to illuminate the front canvas evenly, and to obscure the portrait. The greatest portion of the effects were within a distance of a quarter of an inch, and nearly all of them within a half-inch.

So, to precipitate a portrait and erase it, it was but necessary for the two psychics at each side to move slowly—very slowly indeed—the rear canvas forward and backward with the most steady and slightest motion possible. This was easily done with the fingers through the slit in the soft side curtains; and were any one to violate all rules and “grab,” he would only find a portrait “just about finished by the spirits.” An ideal scheme, just such as mediums would use!

This principle, then, would account for the materializing and dematerializing of the portrait at will; but it necessitated a substitution early in the sitting, just as most magic tricks require. Naturally a substitution for professionals is an easy matter; but for non-performers it seems a great difficulty. Now suppose the portrait really made and finished in advance of the sitting, how was it gotten into the window behind the blank? It will be remembered that after the selection and thorough examination of the two blanks, they were faced together and placed by a table near the window, from where later on the third blank or cover canvas was lifted. Meanwhile one of the two mediums removed the discarded blanks from the wall, taking them out of the room.

Now the mediums undoubtedly use various means for making this substitution, varying them to suit the occasion. But I think that in most cases they have the finished portrait in the room all of the time. It could be left standing on the far side of the table from where the sitter enters the room, and could be leaned with its face against the wall, or more probably facing into the room. If the soft black side curtains reach the floor, one of them can cover the portrait completely; so that should the sitter happen to get in a position to look on that side of the table, he could see nothing. In this case, one of the mediums would take the two chosen canvases and carry them over to that side of the table, and stand them on the floor in front of the portrait. Now, while the other medium seats the sitter at the end of the table in front of the window, the first one has but to lift into position on the table, the front blank and the rear canvas with portrait, leaving the discarded blank on the floor to be used for the cover canvas later. I think this method, being the simplest, is oftenest used; but more complicated means may be employed at

times. For instance, the medium who carries out the discarded blanks may bring the portrait back unobserved when she reenters.

Here is how I should do it if I were a lady medium. I should wear a skirt that was really open in front but lapped over in a fold; and I should suspend the portrait on a hanger between my legs under my skirt. If I were quite large I could carry a good-sized portrait here unobserved by all. Of course it would not have to be in this particular position, and in fact could be hung on the outside of the skirt, if the medium keeps that side away from the sitters. But under the skirt would be much safer; and I have always found that female mediums do not hesitate to take advantage of their sex and the sacredness of their skirts, to cover deception.

As the medium returns from carrying out the blanks and advances to the window to lift up the two blanks and place them in front of it, her person hides them from view and her back is toward the sitter. She now has but to draw out in front, from under her skirt, the real portrait; and this move is invisible to the sitter, as will also be the act of bringing it behind one of the blanks; and then she visibly lifts both to the window while her person hides the discarded blank that will later on be used for a cover canvas. Since the portrait behind the blank is *hidden by the latter from the view of the sitter*, the deception can not be discovered. The blanks have been examined so thoroughly by the sitters that they are tired of examining them, and are really ashamed to exhibit further incredulity. So the psychics, acting simultaneously, pin the soft black curtains at the side of the window to the front frame, and at the same time allow the back canvas to tilt back out of focus. The top curtain, still being very high, lets so much light into the room, that it helps to obscure what comes through the canvases, when the two are separated but an inch. But before the top curtain is drawn, completely darkening the room, the portrait must be moved or tilted further back. It must be remembered that the bottoms of the canvases stand on a table end directly in front of a window, with a psychic at each side holding the canvases and discoursing and gesticulating, so as to take and direct the attention where desired. The sitter sits in front of the end of the table facing the window and canvases, and the person of one of the mediums is between him and the third or discarded cover canvas on the floor near the window. The sitter naturally thinks that his two chosen blanks are now in the window, and he seems to be seeing right through them and they appear clear and white. He does not dream that his portrait, all

finished, is already in the window behind the front canvas, but merely moved back out of focus.

The psychics have previously watched with sharpest eyes for any marking of canvases, and the one bringing in the portrait has a chance when out of the room to duplicate the markings. Or, if the portrait be already in the room, then one medium must divert the sitter's attention by a slate test or otherwise, until the other medium gets the portrait marked. As to the sitter buying his own canvas, as often reported, it is remarkable that the ones so bought correspond exactly with the ones furnished by the mediums, even to the number of threads per inch in the cloth and the thickness of same, etc. Queer, isn't it? Dr. Wilmar had the canvases of two thoroughly examined in this manner. One was supplied by the psychics and the other the sitter claimed to have bought down town; but they corresponded as above described.

Next, everything being in readiness, the psychics have but to manipulate the rear canvas very slowly to get the effects. Meanwhile they skilfully employ suggestion announcing in advance each effect as it is to appear. The eyes seem to be dark blurs until the tops of the canvases are crowded together very closely, whereupon they appear to open. That is, the dark blurs dissolve into open eyes, giving them the appearance of opening out. This is particularly apparent when the eyes are colored a beautiful sky-blue. The use of suggestion before this effect, by the psychics announcing that "the eyes will now open," impresses this effect upon the sitter's mind. By crowding together the top of the canvases first, the eyes open when the shoulders are still indistinct enough to appear indefinite or bare—that is, mere dark outlines. As the majority of the effects appear the last quarter of an inch, and nearly all of them in the last half-inch, if it be remembered that four or five minutes are used in this amount of motion, one can realize how very slowly the rear canvas must approach the front one. Also the use of so much time greatly adds to the effect when a miracle is supposed to be in the act of performance. The psychics seem to be trying so hard to hurry it up, and the stress of desire is so great, that the slowness of production produces the effect on the sitter's mind of great effort on the part of the spirits.

After the eyes open, if one psychic crowds up the bottom of the canvas on her side, the lace work will begin to form on her side and the beads, etc., to appear. Then if the other psychic slowly crowds up the bottom on her side, this causes the lace work to finish and the beads to come one at a time. There is also an apparent

change of color as each object takes on clear-cut detail. Naturally during this movement the background is working in most beautifully like waves of light, etc. The changes of color are, however, to a certain extent imagination; and this occurs easily among so many confusing details all coming at the same time. The hair ornament can be made to appear by skilfully pulling off a patch on the back of the portrait which has been stuck on with wax and with a thread attached, but I hardly think this necessary. The choice is undoubtedly "forced" by suggestion; and if this occurs early in the performance, before the ornament appears, the psychics can announce its appearance when the right time arrives and thus produce that effect. For instance, one psychic would say to the other, "She ought to have a hair ornament. I think a crescent would be beautiful, don't you? Or would a star, or crown, be better?" The other would say, "Oh, it should be a crescent by all means; for I think a crown or star would be out of place and not at all artistic. Which do you think would be best, Mr. . . . ?" Naturally he would choose a crescent, and would afterwards think he had free choice. Should he choose a crown or a star, it would only be necessary to explain to him that a crescent is much more artistic, and he would be sure to yield to "superior persons who wield supernatural powers."

The effects of narrowing the visage, or of slightly turning it, or of altering the lines of the nose or mouth slightly, can be apparently effected by a slight jostling of the rear canvas and the use of suggestion at the time. Thus, if the sitter request the visage to narrow, the psychic can say "all right," and at that instant cause the portrait behind to move sidewise the slightest amount. The sitter will see the portrait move, and construe it to be a slight narrowing, for the vision being at the time concentrated on the point in question, will see only its movement. The same will apply to the lines of the nose or mouth. Also, at any time, a slightly tighter crowding of the canvases so as to make any feature come out brighter and clearer, coupled with suggestion, will carry the effect of an alteration of the portrait in response to the sitter's request. All of this is the real art of the performance, and what makes it "strong." It is not what you do, but how you do it. The strong way this has been dressed up and presented to believers, is the secret of the marvel and has made it what it is. The principle alone was not so much, but embellished with this incomparable art of presentation, it has been one of the wonders of the world.

Any time that the sitter expresses dissatisfaction with a portrait, the psychics say, "All right, the spirit artist will erase it," and

instantly it begins to fade from the canvas. They slowly recede the rear canvas until every vestige of the portrait is gone, and then again slowly materialize it.

From all I can learn, all of the objections offered by the sitters are invariably at the psychics' request, which shows they are the result of suggestion. Mr. Eldredge in a letter said: "The psychics kept insisting that we ask for changes in the portrait, and seemed very anxious to please us in every detail." The psychics cause the sitters to think certain things should be changed, and then apparently make the change. The sitter thus thinks every detail was altered to suit his will. As an example: One fine portrait of a beautiful girl was produced for a wealthy farmer of my acquaintance. It was supposed to be his daughter, now twenty years old in the spirit world, but who died when but two. He said: "When the portrait started to come, the hair seemed to be 'done up on a rat'; and I said, 'Hold on! I don't want the hair like that,' and immediately it faded out." Now I saw this portrait, and the hair was hanging over the shoulders in the most beautiful and artistic golden ringlets and curls; but the top of the head with the hair thereon was much more deeply colored, or rather covered with the paints; as these portions of the picture must be heaviest. As a result they appeared as dark shadows before the curls were visible, and the mediums had but to say: "Do you like the hair that way? It seems to be coming done up on a rat;" and naturally he would say "no." If not, they would advise him to change it, but there would be no trouble in getting him to take the suggestion; and then the psychics would fade the portrait and cause it to reappear, with the beautiful curls coming out as it progressed. Naturally the old gentleman thinks the portrait was actually changed at his request. Thus the reader can see how adroit are these psychics at the art of suggestion. They always manage to change a portrait to some form more beautiful and artistic, knowing a suggestion will be readily taken that way. They never attempt, for instance, to change beautiful ringlets and curls to an old-fashioned mode of dressing the hair.

When the portrait is finished, naturally the extra canvas would be discovered and would arouse suspicion. But if one of the mediums lifts it for a cover, as if it had been there all along for this especial purpose, its existence is thought nothing of, and hence it does not have to be "got rid of." Of course every one could not put this act on in so "strong" a manner; but ladies with plenty of "nerve" and years of experience and practice, coupled with a natural aptitude for such work, can do so. It must be remembered that sus-

picious persons get no portrait. Witness Carrington who was sent by Dr. Funk, and who tried for hours with no success. The ability to choose whom to work for, is part of the art of the psychic. This is why some of them are so successful for so many years. They are so cunning at judging the dispositions and mental characteristics of persons that they make no mistake, and only get results for persons whom they are sure they can "handle."

Readers may doubt the possibility of this great effect by such simple means. Let them try it with good light, and nicely colored portraits on transparent canvases. If still in doubt, I will wager that if anyone who is not under the ban of suspicion, goes for a portrait and suddenly grabs the canvases as soon as placed in the window, he will find the finished portrait in the rear, right on the start.

An observer trying to catch the psychics would doubtless (if he took notice) see no third, or cover canvas, near the window before the lifting of the two to the window by one of the mediums; but should they see him directing his attention there he would be under the ban of suspicion at once, and might get no portrait. The psychics control the situation, and their task is to see that the sitter does right, and that his attention is constantly taken and concentrated; and they are both talking and gesticulating so as to take it. If they observe that the sitter is not giving attention where they direct, but looking elsewhere, "where he has no business to," then look out. They will immediately be suspicious and something may happen.

Of course it is unnecessary to explain how the photograph can be extracted from slates, or from pockets of coats which were left out in the hall, etc., so as to enable the mediums to get a "snap shot" of it. Any one reading the many slate tricks in my book will not need further enlightenment on this point. Where a portrait conforms to a photograph, an interval of a day or so is taken after the first sitting, before the psychics will give the portrait sitting. If forced to try for a portrait at once no results will be obtained, and it will have to be tried again later. This gives them time to make the portrait.

Probably it might be well for me to give some extracts from a very accurate report I have of a sitting which took place in the year 1909, and which shows the nature of this part of their work very well. The gentleman making this report seems very intelligent, and the report is remarkably accurate for a non-performer. He seems to have remembered a large portion of the details very well,

and to have forgotten but little which would at the time have seemed to him to be unimportant. Here is part of this report.

"Jack went in first, and when he came out just before I went in, he remarked to me that he would like to have a portrait. He said that the artist had told him that it would be better for the party who sat for the portrait *to have a picture of the subject on his person*,⁴ and handed me his watch, on the lid of which was an etching of his wife's face. I put it in my pocket and went into the room. After I had received my letter from the slate, the artist remarked to me that Jack wanted to have a picture made of Minnie. I said, 'Very well, I will sit for it.' She asked me whether I had a picture of Minnie on my person. I said, 'yes.' She called her sister, and they produced two framed canvases, which they placed face to face and set up before me, placing them on a table close to a window. They pulled the window shade down to the top of the canvas and draped the curtains along the two sides of the two canvases, and one sitting on one side and the other on the other at the two ends of the table, they held the canvases together while I in front of the table waited for developments. Some shading presently appeared on the canvases but nothing satisfactory resulted. While one of the artists left the room for a few minutes, leaving the canvases in their positions on the table, the artist who remained again said, 'You have a picture, have you?' I said, 'Yes.' She said, 'What is it?' I said, 'It is an etching on the lid of a watch.' She said, 'Let me see the watch.' I handed it to her without opening it. She took it in her hands a moment, but did not open it. *She put it in an envelope*, and sealed the envelope, and placed the latter with the picture in it between the slates; and she and I held the slates pressed together for a few moments. Still nothing resulted on the canvas. We then opened the slates and *she handed me the envelope* containing the watch which I took from it and returned to my pocket. I do not see how it is possible that she could have seen the etching, and it would be almost impossible to convince me that the watch left the room even for a moment. I sat a little while longer before the canvases, but nothing resulted. I left the studio. When I reached the hotel that evening I returned the watch to Jack. So much for the first day. I returned to the studio the next afternoon, etc., etc."

This reminds me of a lady in South Omaha who a few years ago allowed a medium to seal two thousand dollars of her money in an envelope in her presence. He handed it to her *without its leaving her sight*, and she wore it on her person for thirty days.

⁴ Italics in all these reports are the author's.

This woman insisted that nothing could convince her that this money left her sight; yet when friends induced her to open the envelope nothing but pieces of paper were found in it. The police of Omaha are still looking for the medium, but he has dematerialized. This lady believed in the spiritualist philosophy that "like attracts like"; and the medium had no trouble in convincing her that our wealthy men possess "the money influence and that money is attracted to them because of the vast sums they handle or carry on their persons." She was to wear this money after the medium magnetized it in order to obtain this "money influence."

Now in the case of the gentleman above, why did not these mediums place the watch between the slates *without sealing it in the envelope*? There could then have been no question but that it was between the slates. What he saw was an envelope resembling the one with the watch in it placed between them.

Here is how I would make the substitution if I were the lady doing the trick. Just as I dampen the flap of the envelope and seal it, I would leave it in my left hand and reach with my right for the slates on the table. I would follow my right hand with my eyes. This is called "misdirection." The sitter's eyes would involuntarily follow mine, and my right hand; and during this instant I would allow my left to drop below the level of the table top, and leave the envelope with the watch in my lap, and instantly withdraw from a pocket in the fold of my dress, a duplicate envelope made up in advance for the purpose. When the medium went out to call her sister she could easily explain to her, and that sister could slip her the "dummy" when she came in to do what in the language of the profession is called the "stalling" with the canvases, wherein the rear blank was slipped sidewise far enough for its solid frame to make the shadow effects by the advancing and receding motions.

At the instant that the right hand grasps the slates, the left comes forward with the "dummy" and inserts it in the slates. When the time comes to take out the envelope I should remove it with my right hand, and ask the sitter to "see if there is any writing on the slates"; and at the instant he is looking at the slates again drop the hand and change the "dummy" for the watch envelope. During the holding of the slates the canvases were evidently watched for developments, which was simply "stalling for time." Now the other sister could come in and hold the canvases for a short time, standing close to her sister, and finally leave the room after secretly receiving the watch from her hand. By coming in again after photographing the etching, she could return it to her sister's lap in the same way.

Or they might have a small floor trap through which the second lady opening it, could reach up and get the watch and return it from below. In this case she would have overheard the conversation about the watch, and would have prepared the dummy and handed it up without any conference with her sister. Having this same work to do so much they must have a thorough understanding of the method to be pursued in all cases. Of course many methods can be used for these substitutions, and to tell the exact method used I should have to see them done; but the matter is very simple for professionals.

These mediums always, or nearly always, frame and pack a portrait before delivery. At such times they very frequently retouch it or add some new thing which the sitter afterwards reports as having appeared on his way home. I quote some more of the above gentleman's report, which illustrates some work of this character:

"We spent a good deal of the forenoon sitting for my father's picture without obtaining any result excepting some shading of the canvases. . . . Nothing however resulted, as I have remarked, during the forenoon interview; so I retired for lunch and came back early in the afternoon and went into the studio and went through the same process as on previous occasions. In twenty minutes from the beginning of the afternoon sitting, my father's face appeared upon the canvas; and it was indeed a most exact reproduction and conformed more exactly to his face in life than even to the photograph. During the first part of the afternoon sitting the face alone appeared on the canvas without any background, neither did the first result reproduce his clothing, simply his face and beard. They then in my presence *placed the picture in a dark closet that opened off the room*, left it there a few minutes and brought it out, at which time all the background was completed, as well as the clothing. They then had the portrait framed.

"I was so profoundly impressed with this result that I acceded to their request to sit for a picture of my daughter which was made in the course of fifteen or twenty minutes. They remarked to me *before framing and packing the portrait* that the work would be retouched by the mysterious artists who were doing the work, after leaving the studio. The lady who accompanied me told me, in the absence of the artists from the room, that she was making a very careful study of the face so as to be able to detect any changes. The picture was then framed and I carried the two with me to the hotel. *On opening*, the lady remarked that there had been a change, viz., that the hair falling back over the shoulders had been curled. I could

not corroborate this point; and if I could *it would not be very satisfactory*. As you know, *I had no picture of my daughter who died in her early infancy*. All I can say in regard to the picture is that it sustains a close resemblance to her mother's family. I had it inspected by a prominent scientist, who has lectured occasionally for the purpose of exposing the work of mediums. When he first saw it, he asked me instantly whether there was any peculiarity about the eyes of my child, calling my attention to the peculiarity referred to. My wife, on being questioned by him, affirmed that such a peculiarity marked the eyes of more than one member of her family.

"The purport of some messages my friend and I received was that my daughter was very anxious to have me know that she did this portrait work for me, or at least her teacher did with her help.

"I had at least half a dozen interviews with as many different psychics in New York and Chicago, within a few months after the painting of my daughter was made. It was utterly impossible that I should have been known to these psychics or that any one of them should have known that I had interviewed any other one. In every case something was said to me about my daughter's painting."

It is quite evident that on the opposite side of the dark closet is a second door which permitted the sister or an assistant to withdraw the portrait on that side, fill in the background and clothes and replace it. Professionals naturally fix their houses to suit the work by which they make their livelihood.

I have known cases in Denver and elsewhere when a "rounder," as the mediums call a believer who visits various mediums, was, in the language of the profession, "tipped off" by telephone to the various brothers of the profession. Also, by adroit conversation his interest was always aroused in some other medium before leaving the home of a medium with whom he would be finishing a sitting. This was professional courtesy on their part to their fellows. These stories were related to me personally by mediums who took part in the deception.

Some very large portraits have been made; but from all I can learn these are not made in a window, but are covered with a curtain in some way. They are made evidently for the "dead-easies" only, who have been thoroughly converted by small portrait production in windows, and who now merely want a large portrait made and are willing to pay for it. Hence the psychics in such cases can use such means as may be required in these larger productions. One of these of which I heard was a very large portrait of the "guide" of the sitter, who wanted his guide's portrait made large and was not

bothering about the method of production. An analysis of the paints used proved them to be pastels mixed in a vegetable fat. The canvases are thin and transparent. Some of them seem to have a coating of thin paper and the base of some of the paintings is a solar print.

Readers may feel in doubt that such a marvelous performance as these mediums gave is effected by such a simple principle as a moving rear canvas which contains a portrait; but they need only remember that this same principle enables magicians to give stage performances at big salaries. If it is good enough for that, and for critical theater audiences, it is also capable of the other use when in the hands of expert mediums. Let no one dispute this fact until he "grabs" the canvases at the instant the first shadows appear; and then let him say whether or not a finished portrait was at that instant on the rear canvas. But the psychics take good care that they are not grabbed at such a time; for they particularly remarked at the Eldredge sitting, "If you were to touch the canvases now the picture would instantly fade out." This gave them a good excuse to resist physically any attempt at touching or "grabbing." A bolder investigator might grab and search the mediums' persons and canvases just as they go to lift them up; but there would be the chance of this being a case where no portrait is to be produced.

For myself, I am confident that I have given the correct solution of this mystery; and although I have never seen the work personally, I could hardly be more certain of anything than I am that I have solved this mystery in its principal details.

The mode of substitution may be different, *but substitution it is, and that is certain*; and beyond any doubt the materializing and dematerializing is produced on this principle of the moving rear portrait canvas viewed through a blank canvas by transmitted light. Readers who doubt, and sitters who assert that there is no substitution, are cautioned to remember that in every magic performance they have ever seen there were substitutions right before their eyes which could not be detected. Remember how deftly the great performers of the stage make their substitutions, and how impossible they are to discover except by an expert. Did not Mr. Eldredge assert in his letter to me about Selbit's performance, that there was no substitution? Yet we know there was and I will further on show just how it was made, but it escaped the eyes of that theater audience. That was Selbit's business; and unless he could make substitutions that are indetectable, he could not successfully run the business,

I turned to my wife when I saw this performance and told her when the substitution occurred, because I understood the trick; but I could not see it, for it took place in such a way that no one could. I simply knew it because it was his only opportunity. I afterward proved I was right. So let not the believer think substitutions which he can not see are impossible in his presence. The thing is, to know when and where to look for them.

But all believers in spiritualism are not ready to acknowledge the work of their mediums to be trickery, even when the trick is thoroughly explained to them. Frequently they will insist that the conjurer uses one means and the medium another for producing identically the same effect. They are not all so reasonable as is their President, Dr. George B. Warne of the National Spiritualist Association. I revealed this secret to him early enough to enable him to witness a stage performance in Chicago, and to make it possible for him to follow every move and trace the trickery. He said it had been very educational to him, and had opened his eyes to possibilities of which he had never before dreamed. He said that he felt it now to be the duty of the mediums to admit the trickery, or else to give a test sitting, under conditions that would positively disprove the fact that they use the method I have discovered.

Now, in order to assist in making this conclusive, I make the following offer to these mediums, good for one year, and I shall faithfully keep my obligation: If these mediums will produce a portrait under the conditions given below, I shall pay them the sum of five hundred dollars for it, and shall publicly acknowledge that they do not use the means I have published.

This portrait must be produced either for me or for any one of three others chosen by myself. I offer this, so that if the spirit artist shall refuse to paint for a skeptic like myself, there will be an opportunity for him to paint for others who are not so hard-headed. This portrait must be produced in my home, or in a room or house selected by myself, and prepared in advance under their directions by myself, with a suitable table, window curtains, etc. I shall retain the key to this room, or have my assistant remain in charge of it until their arrival. This is to prevent the smuggling in of a portrait in advance. On arrival of the mediums, they shall permit two ladies, chosen by myself, to examine their persons and clothing for the purpose of disproving that they bring any portrait or canvas with them. This portrait shall be produced in the day-time on one of two canvases faced together and stood in a window as previously described. These canvases together with a third one shall be furnished

by myself. I shall keep them in my possession until time to stand them in the window. I shall then stand them there myself; or, if I allow the mediums to do this, shall require the privilege of separating the canvases when in the window, at the beginning of the sitting, so that I can see that no portrait has been substituted. The third canvas which I shall furnish must be used for the cover canvas, if any be used for such purpose. The portrait is then to be materialized upon one of the two canvases in the window, in my presence and in the presence of at least two others selected by myself who shall have been present during the preparation. I do not refuse the right of a believer to be present, if he submit to the same conditions and examination to which the mediums are to submit.

The portrait produced must be a reasonable likeness of a photograph which I shall have with me at the time; but which—if there be a requirement to place it between slates, or to seal it in an envelope—I shall have the privilege of sealing it myself and placing it in the slates and helping to hold them. Or, if it be necessary for the mediums to seal and place this photograph, I require the privilege of occupying any position I desire, so that I may satisfy myself that the photograph, envelope, or slates are not substituted. I require both mediums to remain in the room during the entire sitting; and if a second sitting be necessary, I shall retain the photograph and canvases myself meanwhile, and shall have the same privileges as outlined for the first sitting. Of course I shall prepare the frames with special tools, grooving them in certain ways impossible to duplicate in a short space of time, and I shall stain the wood certain tints so I can follow them easily. Also, I shall make upon the canvases certain markings so that there can be no question of identity.

In case the photograph must be sealed or placed between slates, I shall furnish the envelope and slates myself, and shall mark or stain them in any way I desire. If a second sitting is necessary I shall require the privilege of changing slates, canvases, and envelope for this sitting.

I shall select the house to be used in my own city, providing my own be objected to, and the mediums must give the sitting there.

I make this offer in the friendliest spirit and assure the mediums of the most courteous treatment if they will only respond. If I can prove that natural means are not employed, I can well afford to pay this sum; and I shall be only too glad to do so, and to give the public a statement of the facts that will be worth many times more to the mediums. In view of the benefit this will be to science

and to an inquiring and longing world, I sincerely hope that these mediums will accept my offer.

Nevertheless, I feel sure it will be ignored, even though I double the price. I am so confident that my explanation is correct, that I feel sure my readers will never have the pleasure of hearing that the mediums have proven that they do not use this method. If they ignore this fair and sincere offer, I feel that my readers will be justified in assuming that they dare not give a sitting under these fair conditions, and that my explanation is tacitly admitted to be the correct one.

III.

Now the stage illusion. The difference between the mediumistic and the stage production of this illusion is merely the difference between hand-work and machine-work. In one case only the hands are employed to execute the movement; while in the other a mechanism is used.

Soon after my discovery, I designed a mechanical easel to use in my parlors with electric light, intending to use a floor trap to effect the substitution, but having but little use for it. I did not build it. However, but little of this idea was original with me; for the use of an easel upon which to stand the canvases was suggested to me by Dr. Funk's report of a seance where the mediums used one. Only the idea of a floor trap was my own, but this has been in general use in many illusions for many years.

Mr. Odell's report describing a seance where an electric light was placed behind the canvases, suggested the use of the same for an illusion on the stage, or in parlors when not using a window.

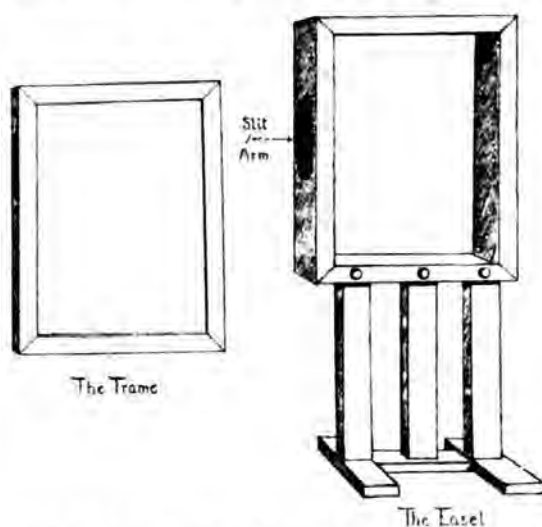
Thomas Grinshaw's report of the use of a box without front or back, just behind the canvases, suggested to me the idea of using a box-like affair without front or back, to be placed on the easel just back of the canvases, for the purpose of concealing the motion of the rear canvas. I designed a sliding affair to use in this, and to move the portrait canvas backward and forward. After delaying in building this mechanical easel, I decided to use a sliding mechanism in my windows; and I partly completed it, intending to use a worm screw from my stereopticon light for executing the movement. If this could not be concealed, I intended to use threads or wires for the same purpose. These were secretly to pass through the floor to an assistant.

On receipt of Dr. Wilmar's earnest inquiry, in August 1909, thinking he was an investigator like myself making research for

the satisfaction of acquiring knowledge, and not knowing he was interested in stage work for professional purposes, I sent him all of these reports describing these things and ideas, together with a plain explanation of the secret I had discovered. Also, I sent my various ideas for making the substitution, including floor and window traps, nested canvases, slitted skirt, etc. In the construction of the stage easel, most of these ideas were utilized.

The first working model of this easel was built by Mr. Selbit, after he secured the secret and information from Dr. Wilmar by agreeing to pay this gentleman a royalty for its use.

Mr. Selbit was quite ingenious; and he presented the illusion very well indeed, but he only produced a portrait. He did not de-



MECHANISM USED IN THE STAGE PRODUCTION.

materialize it, probably because he used cords instead of worm screws and cog wheels for executing the movement. Also he did not change the colors of any of the parts at request, as my original design calls for.

It is evident that, if the rear or portrait canvas is to be mechanically moved to and from the front one while the big gilt frame rests on a kind of easel, this motion would be visible to parts of the theater unless concealed by something. Accordingly this portrait has to move backwards into a kind of hollow box *without front or back*. This box is a mere skeleton frame covered with dark cloth, and is larger than the canvas, but smaller than the big gilt frame; so that the latter can be attached to its open front end and so that the

portrait can be attached to a sliding carriage within it. This carriage with the portrait can be slid backwards away from the front canvas and gilt frame into the hollow box-like affair, which is also open at the back to admit the powerful light.

Therefore the easel is really such a box-like affair set on suitable legs to hold it some two feet above the stage floor. The skeleton frame of the box-like affair is about one foot or more wide, and has the sliding carriage within it. There are buttons for attaching the rear canvas to this carriage when the big gilt frame containing the canvases is buttoned on to the front of the easel.

The sliding carriage has strings or wires running over little pulleys and down through the legs of the easel through the stage floor to a drum under the stage which at the right time an assistant slowly winds up. These strings then slowly draw the picture up to the front canvas permitting it to gradually materialize. The performer announces that the box-like contrivance on his easel is for concentrating the light from an arc light on a stand which is directly behind it; but he does not explain how black cloth and black paint that do not reflect, can concentrate light.

His committee is genuine, and blanks clean. The blanks are usually on the left side of the stage viewed from the audience. The committee first thoroughly examine the easel and large gilt frame that is to hold the blanks. The large gilt frame is made of quite wide material. When it is set upon the easel front, it is buttoned to it in some way. The cloth sides of the box part of the easel have a slit so that the performer can introduce his arm in between the canvases when the rear one has been slid backwards after the frame is put up with the canvases in it.

The manner of presentation is like this. The curtain goes up on a fully lighted stage with the easel in the center and an assistant standing on each side of it. The performer now enters, and taking a number of blank canvases, exhibits them and invites a committee from the audience to examine them. The committee comes on the stage, and selects three that they are sure are unprepared.

The easel being on castors is now shifted to the front of the stage and turned all around so that all can see its simplicity. The committee are invited to inspect it and they do so, walking all around it. The arc light on a stand is also brought forward and shown. These are now shifted to the rear of stage on the left and the big gilt frame is taken down by the assistants and carried to the right center of the stage where it is stood upon the floor facing the audience, and supported by an assistant holding it at each side.

There is a narrow trap in the floor of the stage just behind the big gilt frame, but it is concealed from view by the carpet. This however is slitted and held in position by suitable springs. An assistant is directly under this trap with the portrait that is to be produced. The performer now steps through the big frame from the front and comes out from behind. This is apparently to show that there are no mirrors, but it is also later on to convince any spectator who may be thinking it over, that there was no floor trap behind the frame. Of course when passing through this frame, he steps over the opening.

The performer now hands one of the selected canvases over the top of the big frame down into position behind it, and the assistants instantly button it in. But just at that instant, the assistant under the stage shoves up the portrait, and in reality both are buttoned in at once. The audience sees the front canvas go down into position, but can not see the portrait come up behind it immediately after for the reason that the front canvas, the wide frame, and the assistants' persons conceal from view what happens behind. Next, the performer hands over the top of the frame the second selected canvas, and the assistants make a pretense of buttoning it in; but in reality it goes on down under the stage in an assistant's hands which had been shoved up through the trap waiting to grasp it.

The big frame, containing one blank and the portrait, is now carried to the committee who puts marked stickers upon the edges of the canvas frames to prevent substitution. As the painted side of the portrait is next to the blank canvas, the committee thinks that it is also a blank, and the one they have just selected and examined.

The easel is now shifted to the center of the stage with its center leg directly over a small "pull trap" in the floor, and the big frame is lifted upon the easel and apparently buttoned to it. During this process the rear or portrait canvas is secretly released from the big frame, and buttoned to the sliding carriage of the box-like contrivance; and then it is slid backwards six or more inches, out of focus.

Next the arc light is turned on, illuminating the canvases to a beautiful transparent white; but the portrait, being back out of focus, does not show. The performer now introduces his arm through the slit in the side of the box-like contrivance on the easel, and it can be seen through the front canvas by the audience, who imagine they are looking through both canvases.

Next the committee chooses the portrait that they desire the performer to produce. Inasmuch as the one that is to be produced

is already in the mechanism, this selection must be "forced." This is done in different ways.

One performer exhibits about one hundred post cards of Paris art subjects, and shows them to the audience, showing that they are all different. These are now divided into two heaps and one given to each of two committeemen to shuffle. When well mixed, the performer takes them and states that he will lift off one card at a time, and for some one to call out when they desire him to use the picture at that time in his hand. This is done and the picture in his hand is of course the one the mechanism is set for. He effects this "force" as follows: In the first place all of the edges of the cards are black and he has them on a little black tray. He takes them up and shows them to be different, which they are, and has them shuffled and returned. Now he has twenty cards all like the one he desires to force, lying on the tray; but the top one of this pile has its top blackened just like the tray; and when he lifts the tray his thumb rests on this black pile and keeps the cards from scattering about. Of course this pile is invisible at a slight distance; and when the shuffled cards are returned, he lays them on the tray, but directly on top of this invisible pile. He now picks up the entire pile with the twenty cards all alike underneath, and as quick as a flash, makes a "pass" well known to magicians which brings about fifteen of these to the top. Now he takes the cards off slowly one at a time, and the impatience of the audience causes some one to choose long before the fifteen are all taken off.

Another method used is a process of elimination. Fifty blocks, all numbers from one to fifty are used. These are separated into two piles and a committeeman asked to point to one of the piles. If the committeeman points to the pile containing the desired number (which corresponds to some numbered art subjects whose names are on a large screen) he uses the pile pointed to; and scrapes off of the table the other pile, discarding them. But if he points to the other pile the performer discards it just as if he had it selected for that purpose. Next he separates the remaining blocks into two or more piles, and asks the committeeman to point to one or two of these piles. If he points to two that do not contain the desired block they are scraped off and discarded; but if he points to the piles containing the desired block the performer discards the other pile. Next he asks the committeeman to point to one of the remaining piles and continues this method of elimination until only the desired block remains on the table, or is pointed to directly.

The performer next commands the spirits to paint the chosen

portrait, and the confederate under the stage works either the winding drum and wires (which he has secretly drawn through the pull trap), or rods with cog wheels and worm screws, which causes the portrait to advance slowly towards the blank canvas in front and gradually to materialize. If requested by any one, the spirits will erase this portrait; or at least it is possible in my original design of the illusion. The confederate under the stage has but to work the mechanism that recedes the portrait, and it will gradually dematerialize beautifully until every vestige of it disappears. The spirits can now paint it over; and when it is finished the performer lifts down the big frame, and unfastening the canvases, adroitly gives them a half turn, so as to bring the portrait to the front; then taking off the front frame, he deliberately turns its face to the audience, and passes it down for examination. A second portrait is now sometimes produced with the remaining blank, and the extra one chosen; but this is of slight importance, so I shall here omit the explanation of the means used in substituting this portrait from the wings.

It may be well to state that it is possible to change the color of eyes, hair, flowers or tie, etc., at the second production of a portrait. If some of the committee object to the color of these parts of the picture, the performer can have the spirits erase it and paint it over in the desired colors. Of course this committeeman must be a confederate. Here the principle of compound colors must be utilized. A thin piece of cloth, preferably white silk, can be dyed or have the colors placed upon it and then be fastened on the back of the portrait with conjurors' wax. In this case it might be necessary to omit the affixing of the marked stickers, as, unless adroitly held, the committee might see this. Now the light, on passing through the double coloring for the first production would be compound. For instance, if the tie is really red and the screen behind is green, then the tie will appear brown; as green and red make brown. If the green screen extend over other parts of the picture they too will appear in compound colors. Upon someone requesting the performer to change the color of the tie to red, he simply has the portrait faded out; and then a cord running through the hollow leg of the easel can be pulled and draw off the piece of colored silk to which it must have been attached when affixing the big frame, and this must then be drawn into the hollow leg of the easel. The next materialization will show the tie red.

The same effect could be produced by a transparent colored screen of small proportions being concealed in the arc light and which should be revolved at the right time into position. This could

be done by pulling a string running through its base and the stage. This must afterwards at the right time be revolved out of the way. The screen in the first place would have to be revolved into position just as the colors begin to appear with cloud-like effect. This would look like waves of color passing and changing on the canvas. Then the portrait should be fully materialized under this colored light. Now when upon request the spirits erase the painting, just as the portrait becomes confused, indefinite, or cloud-like, the screen must be revolved out of the light. The second materialization under white light would then show the portrait in its true colors which are the ones requested. I consider this method preferable to the other. Colored glass or gelatine films can be used for this revolving screen in the arc light.

For the canvases, stage performers use quite stiff white artists' paper pasted on tarleton. This is so thin and transparent that the arc light gives an unusually beautiful effect. The paints are pastels pulverized and dissolved in sweet gin, or some good liquid fixative. This is "the spiritual paint" that "defied the chemists of the world." It works nicely on a paper surface, but can be put on in only one coat like water colors. Pastels show beautiful tints under transmitted light and are well suited for this particular work. In making the canvas frames, their surfaces must be kept absolutely level and true, for if warped the slightest they will not contact with each other nicely, and will not show the portrait clear and sharp. This causes performers more trouble than any part of the illusion. The front surface of the sliding carriage must also be perfectly true, and the portrait must be buttoned to it perfectly tight. The big frame must also be held rigidly and perfectly parallel to the portrait, so that the contact will be perfect.

When in Portland, Oregon, Selbit produced the portrait of a lady's mother, who had died sixteen years before in Germany and of whom no photograph existed; the lady recognized the portrait.

Here is how this happened, according to Mr. Selbit who related it to me. Representatives of the press challenged Mr. Selbit to permit a physician to examine and mark two canvases and then to produce a portrait that the latter should choose on one of them. Selbit accepted the challenge. The physician did not want to use Selbit's list of portraits, so Selbit took a list that had been published in the *Review of Reviews*, and the physician agreed to use this list. Each portrait Mr. Selbit had would fit about three titles, and he secretly arranged and numbered a list in advance to correspond.

Here is how the feat was accomplished. Instead of two blanks,

Selbit took six to the physician; and he examined them and then wrapped them, affixing a seal. This was Selbit's suggestion; as he said the audience would feel better if the two were selected and marked in their presence. The physician and Mr. Selbit then deposited these at the box office until evening. This was to prevent the physician from opening and secretly marking them in advance. When the physician first came upon the stage, Selbit asked him if he had chosen a portrait; and he drew out his list, and Selbit saw which number was checked. Pretending not to have seen the number, he requested the physician to keep the list until they were ready. Meanwhile he secretly sent word to the assistant under the stage what portrait to use, which was a subject that would fit the title of the one selected.

Next the physician opened the canvases and selected one, permitting the committee to select the other. Mr. Selbit suggested that they omit affixing marked stickers in the usual way, but to use a different means of marking these. He then had his assistants place first one canvas in the big frame as usual, and then apparently place the second one in. The assistants then brought the big frame to the physician, who wrote his name on the frame of each canvas. Of course the portrait was already in the frame.

This made such a stir in the press that a gentleman who seemed to believe in spiritualism very strongly, wanted his mother-in-law's portrait made. The next evening Mr. Selbit used the only old lady picture he had; and after its production, it was taken into the box office to see if the gentleman's wife could identify it. The lady and her relatives went in, and she denied its resemblance at first; but her husband and relatives insisted so strongly that it was correct that, by taking a feature at a time and shading off the rest of the portrait, they induced the lady to acknowledge that there was a resemblance in each separate feature when viewed by itself. They then with great emphasis insisted it was the lady's mother; and the lady apparently quite timid, reluctantly acquiesced. Then returning to the theater it was announced from the stage that the lady had recognized her mother's portrait. If a conjurer who lays no claim to mediumship got this effect, what could a medium do?

When the reader remembers what a profound and absolute mystery this illusion was, and then reflects what simple means are employed for its production, it should be a lesson well remembered when dealing with the mysterious performances of mediums.

MISCELLANEOUS.

VISIT OF MR. SELBIT AT THE LOWE OBSERVATORY.

BY EDGAR LUCIEN LARKIN.

I called upon the Selbits at their hotel when they were captivating all Los Angeles, and even the vicinity, with their stage wonders in the Orpheum. [See Mr. Abbott's article on another page.] After a pleasant chat with Mr. and Mrs. Selbit, I asked if they would take me over to the Orpheum. Mr. Selbit took his hat and in a few minutes the stage manager admitted us to the "secrets of the stage." None was there save we three. Mr. Selbit let me handle every minute part of the apparatus, yet I failed to discover the extremely simple optical principle of the projection of these pictures. When Mr. Abbott later wrote me how the consummate illusion was performed, I was filled with chagrin and discomfiture, to think how I could have missed this very easy explanation, and that after handling every kind of lens since early youth. Mr. Selbit is a master in the art of illusion and delusion. But then I had it out with him: I invited him to come up here to the Observatory on the top of this mountain. He was delighted with the telescope, spectroscope, and the shining instruments, with their great variety of lenses. He admired their beauty and power of penetration into space deeps. After a pleasant afternoon, he went down to Los Angeles. But he went away without detecting how to measure the distance of the sun; nor how to measure the distance of a star; nor how to weigh our sun and hundreds more; nor how to compute the mass of the sidereal universe. We are evened up.

LOWE OBSERVATORY, Mount Lowe, Cal., Febr. 12, 1913.

DAVID P. ABBOTT, THE SOLVER OF MYSTERY.

We are greatly pleased to be able to make public in this number of *The Open Court* a secret of mediumship which has puzzled the world of believers and unbelievers in spiritualism for many years. The editor of *The Open Court* is especially interested in its publication because he has been a party, albeit in a passive character, to its gradual disclosure.

Mr. David P. Abbott of Omaha, Nebraska, a genius in mediumistic lore, the author of the remarkable book *Behind the Scenes with the Mediums*, was for a long time puzzled at the marvel of some well-known mediums, two sisters, who made the pictures of dead relatives appear in colored painting before the eyes of their sitters. We need not repeat reports of spiritualists who were often overwhelmed at the spectacle, and even skeptics became convinced that here was true evidence of spirit life which would prove the im-

mortality of the soul. From time to time Mr. Abbott communicated to us the gradual progress of his work including his disappointments when his theories proved incorrect, but he never lost the conviction that the mystery



MR. DAVID P. ABBOTT.

could not be a miracle and that because the trick was so effective it must be very simple.

Any one who is acquainted with Mr. Abbott's great work *Behind the Scenes with the Mediums* will grant that there is no one more familiar than

he with the subtle methods of deception by which telling effects are produced upon believers in spiritualism—effects which will frequently remain a puzzle for the staunchest skeptics.

We may here mention that Mr. Abbott is also the inventor of a mystic teakettle which can be carried all around the room in one's hand and is without connection either by pipes or wires with any external object, and yet its mysterious little spout will intelligently answer questions to the inquirer while he holds it in his hands. The ghost whom he makes inhabit the teakettle speaks in a tiny whisper, not unlike the voice of the famous nun of Lübeck who has dwindled away to nothingness and is preserved in a bottle hung up in the cathedral of her native city.

We congratulate Mr. Abbott on the great success he has achieved in solving the great mediumistic mystery, although we regret that it was not he who reaped the pecuniary rewards.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

ELLU, THE ORACLE OF THE OTHER SELF. By the Author of *Psychocraft*. Portland, Me.: C. H. Emerson, 1912.

The author, Mr. C. H. Emerson, a believer in mysticism, has devised an oracle which in many respects resembles the ancient Hebrew system of divination by the Urim and Thummim, and also the Yih King of the Chinese based upon the Yin and Yang. To us outsiders such devices are mere games like telling fortunes by cards, but this modern invention both illustrates the need of mankind to have a guide in cases of doubt, and offers a method of satisfying that need. The difference between Mr. Emerson's invention and the oracle of Yahveh, the Urim and Thummim, is mainly that the latter is based on a binary system and has but two elements, the Urim, or the shining ones, and the Thummim, their opposites, whereas Mr. Emerson introduces balls of three colors, blue, white and red. These move freely in a little box with a glass-covered slit permitting three of them to show at a time. The book itself (attached to the box) contains answers corresponding to the order in which the three balls appear, when invoked in connection with any of the twenty-six suggested questions. The Chinese Yih King is an enigmatical book to those who do not conceive it as a book of divination; and we may say that if we had Mr. Emerson's book on *Ellu* without any information as to its use we would be just as puzzled in reading its various sentences as a modern scholar when confronted with the perplexing declarations of the Yih King. κ



THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. SEBASTIAN.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII (No. 5)

MAY, 1913

NO. 684

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THE RELIGION OF BIOLOGY.¹

ITS TRUTH AND ITS SUPERSTITIONS.

BY COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

"Nec vero superstitione tollenda religio tollitur."
Cicero, *De divinatione*, II, 72.

I.

"A logical society of atheists is impossible because the idea of absolute responsibility is a necessary social error."

This declaration uttered some years ago by Felix Le Dantec in his work *Athéisme* somewhat scandalized a large number of free-thinkers who claim to conciliate their rejection of deity with faith in the obligatory character of duty. At the same time it greatly delighted the opponents of independent ethics, whereas in fact it has nothing to do with ethics which relies solely upon reason to indicate the rules of conduct to be followed by individuals and by societies. But the point is to know whether the very foundation of the idea of duty does not disappear with the notions of obligation and responsibility which M. Le Dantec declares to be correlative with faith in God and destined to the same extinction.

First of all we must inquire whether the philosophy of the eminent biologist is really as anti-religious as it appears to be and whether it is not open to the suspicion of destroying one religion for the sole purpose of replacing it by another. In his lecture de-

¹Translated by Lydia G. Robinson from the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*.

livered at Brussels at the last jubilee of our university and published in its *Revue*,² he informs us himself that biology assumes in his eyes "all the attractiveness, but likewise all the despotism of a religion," and he adds this comment: "The chief end of religion is to teach man what he is, whence he comes, whither he is going. Biology which has for its object the study of life, ought more than any other science to satisfy our religious curiosity."

M. Le Dantec moreover is far from being the only one to proclaim this new gospel. There are many writers—less perhaps among scholars properly so called than among popular writers in philosophy, romance and even poetry—who apply to their conception of life the current phraseology of religious feeling. Although to-day we have completely abandoned the hypothesis of a vital force with which all biological manifestations are related, life is still commonly regarded in *abstracto*; it is dressed out in a capital letter; it is treated like an entity; qualifying epithets are conferred upon it which imply if not personality at least a sort of autonomy; hymns in verse and prose are sung in its honor; it is endowed with marvelous properties calculated to insure the happiness of humanity, and therefore commanding henceforward our support. The old scholastic adage, *philosophia ancilla theologiae*, becomes a claim to regard all the sciences, even moral and political science, as hand-maids of biology.

With all due allowance, this biological mysticism is no new thing in the history of the human mind. Manifestations of life unquestionably figure among the first phenomena to have attracted the reasoning imagination of man, and at a very early time the attempt was made to abstract vital energy from its various applications in order to see in it an essential mode of divine activity. The book of Genesis confuses the soul with life, which latter it regards as the breath of the Eternal alternately emitted and inhaled.³ From the earliest times the chief insignia of the Egyptian gods was the key of life in the form of the ansated cross. As early as in the time of the ancient empire the conflict between Horus and Set which constituted the leading myth of the Egyptian religion had become the symbolical glorification of life at its foundation, eternally renewed. Professor Tiele remarks:⁴ "To the Egyptian, the indestructible character of life in spite of all the powers of death and

² *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, December, 1909.

³ Renan, *Histoire d'Israel*, I, III.

⁴ C. P. Tiele, *Histoire comparée des anciennes religions de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1882, p. 139.

destruction comprises the sole content of his faith, the foundation of all his hopes."

The Persians based their dualism not only on the opposition between light and shade but still more on that between life and death. No sacred book formulates more forcibly than the Avesta the divine command to respect and develop life among animals and useful plants as well as among men. Moreover the general prevalence of phallic cults testifies to the importance which all the peoples of antiquity attached to the transmission of life, even aside from the satisfaction assured to the instinct of procreation.

In all the religions of antiquity the future life was simply a prolonging after death of the present life, wherefore there was no reason why men should not love, adorn and make the most of life on earth. On the other hand, from the Christian point of view earthly life was only a time of trial, and the soul separated by death from its fleshly bonds sought elsewhere the fulness of existence. The Renaissance gave value to life once more and restored to man the joy of living. But the antagonism still remained, and even yet remains, as to whether life should be assigned a natural or supernatural origin.

The theory of evolution has decided the issue of the conflict by affirming the unity of natural forces, but if this theory is being more and more accepted to-day it owes the fact in great part to the wonderful discoveries which have renewed the study of the science of life in the course of the past century. We can comprehend the importance attached to that science, the enthusiasm that it arouses, the prestige of its revelations, even of its conjectures, and we ought not to be greatly surprised if in its pride at having shaken the foundation of the ancient theologies, it tends somewhat to inherit their function while affirming very sincerely—to use the terms of M. Le Dantec—that it has not the slightest intention of "replacing the gods whose altars it overthrows."

II.

To look only at externalities we might assert without too great a paradox that biology possesses the chief characteristics of a religion. Life has its places of worship in the laboratories where scholars officiate whose task it is to penetrate into the mysteries of nature; it has its sacrifices where animals are offered as a holocaust for the health and prosperity of mankind; it has its seminaries in the higher schools where successive generations of students become initiated in the nostrums of science; it has its missionaries who popu-

larize its laws by word and pen; it has its exorcists who armed with formulas and instruments vie with one another like the priests of ancient Chaldea in contending that the heart, the liver, the entrails, all parts of the human body, are given over to the invisible generators of disease and death; it even has its martyrs, victims of professional duty or of scientific research who with a devotion often sublime courageously risk their own lives to prolong the existence of their fellows or simply to wrest some new revelation from the unknown. But biology has also—and this is one more respect in which it resembles religion—its exaggerations, its illusions and even its superstitions.

First, it is an exaggeration to claim that all sciences are simply branches of biology. Le Dantec writes: "Since man is before all a social animal the search for the most favorable conditions of life can not be separated from the study of laws which govern societies. I do not see by what principle we can find limits that reasonably separate social hygiene from individual hygiene." If the learned professor, who moreover in another passage presents biology to us as "a chapter of physics," had simply meant that the study of sociology implies and presupposes knowledge of the laws which regulate the individual life every one would agree with him; but we need not study this thought very deeply to find there the claim that all social problems can be solved by biology. In reality it is only by analogy that we can speak of the social "body" and of the social "life," when once we have passed the level of madrepore societies.

Would you like to know to what conclusions this comparison taken literally has led so distinguished a leader of thought as M. Le Dantec? With regard to the word, or rather the idea, "justice," he writes: "Biology teaches us that the law of the strongest, or, if you prefer, the fittest, is the only general law; life itself has a warlike and triumphant definition and this affects painfully our natural nobility.... All these absolute notions of whose humble origin we are now aware are represented in our language by words which can boast of a wonderful prestige. These words respond so perfectly to some hereditary details of our nature that we can not hear them without experiencing profound emotion. These words are the greatest obstacle to the acceptance of the conquests of revolutionary science." Now it is more and more recognized that the universal law of vital concurrence with its inexorable results in the animal world is completed and corrected in man by other laws whose existence is revealed to us only through sociology. From this point of view biology can hold only a subordinate rank on the ladder of

our knowledge, as has been admitted by all those who have undertaken to arrange the hierarchy of the sciences from August Comte to Herbert Spencer.

* * *

Another exaggeration is the assertion that "more than any other science biology makes possible the discussion of the fundamental affirmations upon which human religions are based." It is very possible that theology, even Catholic theology, in making its appeal to symbolism will one day make an attempt, since it can not act otherwise, to become reconciled with the discoveries of biology as it has done with those of astronomy, and as it is about to do with those of geology and prehistoric anthropology. It will certainly be greatly to the credit of biology to have forced the church to this evolution. But this is no reason to disregard the fact that history, historical criticism, has contributed just as much if not more to dissipate the miraculous aureole in which revealed religion is enveloped.

In fact M. le Dantec thinks that biology alone can definitely replace religion in teaching man "what he is, whence he comes, whither he is going," and it is for this reason more than all else, he declares, that it deserves to inspire a religious interest. This assertion would have some foundation if life could be regarded as the end and crown of evolution with which no one would agree. But this would be to fail to recognize: (1) that life is only one detached leaf from the tree of nature; or, if you wish, the sap which circulates in one of its countless branches. M. le Dantec moreover himself defines it as "a form of universal activity," like motion, heat, light, electricity and reason itself; (2) that it is simply one step in the course of evolution, since in our globe it is later than the inorganic development of matter and precedes the appearance of intelligence; (3) that above the biological conception of the individual (though in making the claim I subject myself to the reproach of heresy in the eyes of certain scholars) there exists the juridical conception of the person with his rights and his duties.

I entirely agree with Haeckel that life exists in germ in the inorganic world and that consciousness is its expansion in man. I will not complain that this proposition exceeds the limits of observation, although the source of life is always a mystery and hitherto our experience is not sufficient to enable us to grasp its appearance above the cell. Unless we suppose with certain adventurous spirits that organized life preceded inorganic bodies and that the latter represent the remains of the former—or again with other scholars

that the first cells must have been transmitted to us from some distant star in the form of cosmic dust, we ought indeed, if we do not wish to break the continuity of evolution, to admit as highly probable that life existed potentially in unorganized matter and even in the primitive nebula. But in order to call it forth there must be an evolution the place and time of which could explain the *how* but not the *why*. Let us add that from the day when life appeared, being has developed in some way along a new plan, and that the same was true when reason came to be added to life.

The actual tendency in biology—and Le Dantec has contributed not a little by his works—is to explain vital manifestations as the result of an unstable equilibrium, of a reciprocal exchange, of an incessant reaction between the organism and its environment. There is authority for the statement that life represents simply a higher degree of complexity among the physico-chemical reactions of unorganized matter.⁵ However, even the partisans of this last proposition must recognize that in the living cellule the reaction tends to perpetuate itself as is not the case in the inorganic molecule; that it gives rise to a persisting individuality (we have even heard of the immortality of cellules); that it transfers its seat from the outside to the inside of organisms; that it furnishes these organisms with their conditions of existence and of reproduction, for this purpose integrating the usable elements of the surrounding environment; much more that by the hierarchical arrangement of the cellules complex beings are formed which admit of structural differentiations and coordinated functions absolutely foreign to their cellular constituents and consequently subject to new laws that are not contradictory but complementary. Exactly the same thing takes place in the intellectual and social domain. Thus is amply justified the formation in the first place of biology and later of psychology and sociology, as distinct and special sciences. In the midst of humanity man acquires the power not only to react to his social environment as well as to his physical environment, but also to create motives of action in himself in increasing measure. The idea in its turn becomes force, as has been so well demonstrated by Alfred Fouillée.

In wishing to reduce everything to the application of a single criterion, perhaps biology, we would fail to recognize certain necessary steps, we would even lose all feeling of proportion and would

⁵ See an ingenious development of this solution in the *Essai sur une théorie de la vie*, by R. Petrucci, with a preface by Ernest Solway, Brussels, 1909. Also in Albert Jacquemin's *La matière vivante et la vie*, Charleroi, 1910.

finally come to the point, like M. le Dantec, of writing this psychological enormity which they wish us to accept as a judgment of history: "Between my individual constitution and that of my ancestors in the time of Cæsar the difference is inappreciable: there is as much disproportion between my scientific consciousness and theirs as there is in the distance between man and the ornithorhynchus."

A little less exaggeration in science—not to say a little more modesty—would be more becoming.

* * *

No less is it an illusion to think that the religion of life can replace the notion of duty. Without doubt it is the province of science based upon observation—or to be precise of sociology, comprising ethics, law, economy and politics—to find the formula of the necessary relations between men. But it is not enough to formulate rules; they must be enforced. Now what becomes of considerations of general interest when they run counter to conventionalities and individual passions if we have logically suppressed the ideas of justice and of duty denounced by M. le Dantec as contrary to the clearest teachings of biology?

Leaving aside an old remnant of ancestral prejudices which in time will disappear, there no longer exists any other restraint than the fear of repression or, which amounts to the same thing, the right of the strongest, and the strongest in an inevitable conflict of all against all will not always be the social organism. Even Guyau in his work *La morale sans sanction ni obligation* closes by recognizing that "a sort of sanction" is absolutely indispensable and he thinks he finds it in the desire to realize "the most intensive and the most extensive life possible in physical and moral relations."

Very well, but if it pleases me to lead a life less complete and less extensive what will morally compel me to sacrifice a direct and immediate advantage to a greater one perhaps but less personal and farther removed? We do not conceive "a sort" of obligation or of sanction, and I consider irrefutable in so far as it applies to the basis of ethics this sentence of Edouard Scherer: "Morality needs the absolute; duty is nothing if it is not sublime, and life is a frivolous thing if it does not imply eternal relations."

The rapid progress of our civilization has multiplied enormously our forms of activity and the sources of our enjoyment. This intensification and exhilaration of life coincides on the one hand with the relaxation of the social bonds which not long since restrained the individual; on the other hand with the reaction of free minds against

the excesses of an extreme regulation tending to replace the detailed tyranny of custom or of faith by that of law, and the yoke of churches by that of government. Whence comes the vogue of philosophies and literatures which in their several rituals preach the right of each to "live his life" as the motto of modern times. (A century ago one would say, "to follow his nature").

No fault can be found with this formula if by it we understand "the harmonious development of our faculties" (to employ the terms of the old Belgian master, Guillaume Tiberghien, so out of fashion to-day although he was one of the fathers of free thought in Belgium), including the sentiment of altruism and the obligation of duty. But who does not see that the pretext of obeying every inclination, good and bad, especially the bad, may become too often the justification of all our selfishness and all our failings, in fact an encouragement to place superannuated tabus from which it is creditable to free ourselves in the same rank with the higher obligations which assign to life a useful function in the evolution of humanity and of the universe? This is the place to repeat Juvenal's dictum, "For the sake of life to forfeit every inducement to live," . . . *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*.

III.

If we wish to ascertain at what point an exaggerated conception of the rôle and importance of life has given rise to what, continuing the use of religious terms, I have called superstitions, it is not necessary to confine ourselves to the speculative and necessarily abbreviated account of an academic lecture even when delivered by so conscientious and representative a scholar as M. le Dantec; it is more desirable to examine the social applications by which they are currently interpreted. I do not intend here to draw up a syllabus, but I would like to set forth some characteristic examples.

* * *

In the first place there is the axiom that the only function of living beings is to propagate life. Not very long ago I heard one of the most brilliant physiologists of Brussels seriously maintain in a popular lecture that about the age of from sixty to sixty-five years (it is well to add that our learned lecturer had not yet reached this limit) man became in the order of nature a useless and parasitic creature because he then lost the faculty of reproduction. Does not this view fail to recognize that man has not only an organ of reproduction, but also a brain? The observation formulated by Leo Errera in his *Mélanges posthumes* is of far-reaching significance

when he says that among the higher organisms individual life tends to outweigh reproduction. It seems to me that this difference characterizes to some extent a new order of things. Statistics are no less eloquent when they establish the fact, like a law of destiny, that the generative power is decreasing—whether or not the fact is to be deplored—on account of cerebral power and it is this cerebral power which in its turn is seeking for means to prolong life.

* * *

We have also the assertion that the conservation of life must be assured for life itself. When traveling in the northeastern part of India some thirty-five years ago, I heard related as a recent incident the story of an ascetic belonging to the Jaina sect who for fear of injuring or destroying some living thing carefully swept the place where he was about to sit down, and when he went to drink put a cloth over his mouth after the fashion of many of his coreligionists. Some well-intentioned missionaries tried one day to show him by the aid of a microscope how the air, the water and the surface of any object whatever swarmed with invisible animalcules which no one could help destroying all day long. The unhappy man condemned himself to absolute motionlessness and died of inanition. Here at least was a life worshiper who was logical to the end.

Many a time I have heard objections raised to cremation of the dead on the pretext that it created an obstacle to the transmutation of life as carried on in the laboratory of nature; in other words that it deprived tombstone epitaphs and the plants of the cemetery from their share of life. This touching posthumous solicitude recalls to some extent the legend of Buddha offering his body as food for a famished tigress so that she could nourish her young.

Our physicians do not hesitate to sacrifice animal life in the interest of science. But it is an absolute rule that they must prolong human life no matter what circumstances might seem to justify an opposite action. I am not speaking of an "Instance of Conscience," recently produced at the Comédie Française by Paul Bourget⁶ in which a physician by prolonging the life of a dying man for a few hours gave him sufficient time to commit an unjust and detestable act. But there is the case of a wretch in the last stages of hydrophobia whom the Pasteur treatment is powerless to cure or even to relieve. How many physicians are there who would consent to administer to the patient at his earnest supplication in a lucid interval a drug which would let him pass without suffering,

⁶ *Un cas de conscience*, a play in two acts by Paul Bourget and Serge Basset.

from an artificial to an eternal sleep? They were more merciful in the days when they would have smothered him between two mattresses!

I recall the case of one of my colleagues in the senate, when he was stricken with an ailment which condemned him to an early end. An operation might prolong his days for a few weeks, but as he also suffered from cardiac complications he could not take chloroform without risk of dying on the spot. His surgeons decided to operate without putting him to sleep. Some hours afterwards he died after having submitted to a terrible and useless torture under the surgeon's knife. Every follower of Æsculapius ought to remember that a physician's mission does not consist only in delaying death but also in assuaging pain. Of course in such a case his problem would be a delicate one, but he owes it to his patient to tell him the truth and if the patient demands an easy death the responsibility of the operator should cease.

* * *

Equally a superstition in the same line is the absolute condemnation of suicide on the pretext that no one has the disposal of human life, even of his own. It is true that suicide is too often an act of cowardice, a desertion before the enemy, as Plato calls it. Generally too it is an act of stupidity in view of the chances which the future always contains. But each one of us is no less the master of his life than of his personality, and I can find no word of blame for the man who, if stricken for instance by an incurable cancer, would kill himself rather than be resigned to a slow decomposition, which would make him an object of disgust to himself and to those who took care of him.

I would say as much for the man who after committing a dishonorable act in a moment of weakness would ask at the hand of death the means to escape the condemnation of a court, the stigma of which under our present customs would fall upon his innocent family.

* * *

Another superstition is the reproach of immorality which is laid upon all who promulgate or practice neo-Malthusianism.

On the part of the Catholic church this accusation is based on the principle that it is a sin to prevent the birth of souls fit for salvation. It is considered of equal importance in military nations where the diminution of the birth rate would have a like effect on the supply of victims for the cannon. However, considering the general conditions of our society, is it not absurd because of a

theoretical love of life to encourage the indigent classes to give birth without limit to children condemned by fate to chronic destitution or congenital weakness?⁷ I say without hesitation that reasoning beings have a duty higher than that of the multiplication of the species. This duty is to abstain from giving birth to children except as they are able not only to feed them but even to equip them for the struggle for existence.

When the archbishop of Malines issues a pastoral accusing of impiety those who refused to take literally the commandment of the Bible, "Increase and multiply," he is perfectly within his rights, although the church likewise contributes to limit the population by favoring the institution of convents. But what can we think of a physician, the professor of a clinic in a large Catholic university in the north of France, who when impeaching the medical axiom, however reasonable and suitable it may be, addressed to tubercular women, "Girls, do not marry; women, do not have children"—does not hesitate to write in a report addressed to the medical section of the scientific society of Brussels and to reprint in a pamphlet at the end of the archbishop's letter:

"How many tubercular women we know who in spite of their disease have had one or several children. Probably some of these children were born dead, but *others have survived to perpetuate a family* and some have been of useful service to their country.... And then," he goes on to say, "*although the world can not understand it*, is it not better for them and for their families that they

⁷ We call to mind the judicial proceedings of which Dr. M., the alderman of an important community of Hainaut, was a victim—on the pretext of a violation of the Woest law, whose purpose is to check outrages against good morals committed by the distribution of written material or by discourses in public places—in reality for the crime of publishing and distributing neo-Malthusian doctrines among the laboring classes. The tribunal of Charleroi condemned him without reprieve to three months in prison, a fine of two hundred francs and five years of interdiction for having exhibited in a lecture delivered before the members of the "League for Human Regeneration" certain pictures "contrary to good morals" and, the comment was added, "outraging public decency." Upon the pleading of Eugene Hanssens, professor of civil law at the University of Brussels (published under the title *Le Neo-Malthusianisme en Belgique*, Brussels, Lamberty, 1910) the court of appeals reversed the decision and of the three accusations intended it retained only the one which stated that he had furnished explanations "of nature offensive to modesty." But as the result of a line of reasoning which the circumstances of the arrest failed to justify, it confirmed the sentence given by the former judge. With reference to this suit a clerical journal, in superb disregard of our constitutional guarantees demanded measures which will make it possible to attack directly the propaganda of neo-Malthusianism in Belgium on the grounds that it is anti-religious and anti-social. How justified are those members of the Belgian legislature who, while unanimously proscribing pornography in all its forms, were certainly justified in defying the unreasonable act which the honorable M. Woeste succeeded in making a law in 1905.

are born? Probably they have missed some years of life on this earth where illusions and suffering abound, but they have been assured of a happy life in eternity."⁸

There is no doubt but we belong to the world "who can not understand," for we see here a fanaticism worthy of the Jaina ascetic, although he injured but himself.

The ability to refrain from giving birth is a privilege of humanity which man and woman have a right to exercise for motives to be judged by their consciences alone. Like all rights it is subject to abuse, but to point out the limits to be observed is the duty of ethics and sociology. We would agree with Mgr. Mercier when, deploring the extension of Malthusianism among the leisure classes, he attributes it among other causes to an exaggeration of luxury and to the degeneration of family life. In France Guyau wrote vigorously in 1887: "Malthusianism is the pauperism of the middle classes. Just as too great poverty can sometimes kill a whole social class, Mathusianism is sure to result in the destruction of the *bourgeoisie*." Among the economic causes has been mentioned, and not without reason, the law of succession which requires the equal division of property among children. But the same alarm has been raised in England where parents possess absolute freedom to dispose of their property by will. Under the title "The Extinction of the Upper Classes" the English review, *The Nineteenth Century*, published in July, 1909, an instructive and suggestive article which shows that England, for a long time proud of her large aristocratic and middle-class families, would not have been able to keep up the normal figure of her population for the last three-quarters of a century had it not been for the productiveness of the lower classes. Among the upper classes which were formerly so prolific—the nobility, the landed proprietors, the professional classes, the more prosperous citizens and even skilled mechanics—the birth rate has gradually lowered more than half since 1830. In some social classes it has fallen from 7.1 to 3.13 per household. "These classes," the article adds, "have therefore retrograded far below the level in which the birth rate ceases to equal the death rate. Under these conditions it is clear that their extinction is only a matter of a few generations." After having shown the damage inflicted by this selection in the wrong direction on the intellectual capital of the English nation, it concludes with the recommendation that early marriages and large families should be encouraged among those elements which are the best endowed physically and morally, and should be discour-

⁸ A pamphlet, *Pour l'honnêteté conjugale*, Louvain, 1910.

aged among the rest. Nevertheless it neglects to supply the practical means for carrying out this double end.

The essential difference between our own point of view and that of the church is that the latter regards voluntary restriction of the birth-rate as a crime in itself, an outrage to the sanctity of marriage considered before all as "a means of furnishing the church with an organ of transmission of its vitality" (Mgr. Mercier). The fact is that it is one of those questions in which the morality of the act depends upon circumstances and upon the motives, to be condemned in certain cases, excusable in others, sometimes even commendable as we have seen above in the case of a couple physiologically defective. Even when it occurs in relations outside of wedlock the church to be logical ought to regard the tendency to neo-Malthusianism as an aggravating circumstance of immorality. In my opinion, on the other hand, the disregard of consequences increases the sin. To say the least it is an act of culpable lack of foresight to bring into the world when avoidable unfortunate beings who whether legally recognized or not would remain in a state of juridical and especially social inferiority because of the irregularity of their birth for which they are in no wise responsible, and Mgr. Keesen is not altogether wrong in proposing to the senate to introduce in certain cases legal penalties against the natural father. However it be we can see that in all these complex questions the problem lies far outside the sphere of biology.

* * *

We must also treat as superstitious the effort to keep alive abnormal children or those afflicted with the rickets. Logic says yes, but sentiment says no, and it is sentiment which must be followed. We can not make an abstraction of the instincts of altruism and pity which are a constructive part, and perhaps the best part, of our nature. Can anything be more touching or more to be respected than the frequent sight of a woman of the common people reserving the best of her care and affection for an ailing or crippled child? Ought we forbid at least the legality of marriage to individuals afflicted with transmissible defects? This is a more delicate problem, for unless they were condemned to seclusion they could not be prevented from bearing children out of wedlock which would be no improvement. We may console ourselves by saying that the communication of hereditary disease has not prevented the progress of civilization, and that if the advance of science tends to hinder the elimination of contaminated elements it also is trying to perfect the means of

remedying them. Indeed, certain ones of the United States, especially Indiana, California and Connecticut, have settled the matter by submitting not only certain criminals but even epileptics and deranged persons to a surgical operation which the Sistine chapel has long since abandoned and at which the Orient itself is beginning to blush officially. Nevertheless we have here a legal monstrosity which justly shocks humane feelings no less than the juridical sense of our times; it is not the superstition of life which is the cause of this but the superstition of heredity.

* * *

How shall we regard capital punishment? It is clear that necessity alone can justify its application and this justification has been so greatly abused in the past that we ought to be glad to cancel the law definitely from our statutes. Nevertheless almost all the Germanic people oppose its abolition. In France it has been reestablished in the case of exceptionally serious crimes. Belgium has practically suppressed it and does not seem to suffer by the loss. I see no reason why attempts in this direction should not continue and I hope that in all countries the scale will finally tip towards the side indicated by the increasingly gentle character of our customs. But is it indeed necessary to refer to the statements of the romantic school on the sacred character of human life, when we are obliged to take into account only the requirements of society modified by humane considerations?

If life, particularly human life, is sacred, why maintain armies? To be sure we are all looking forward to an international organization which by substituting justice for force will put an end to the disastrous emulation of armaments and to the periodic horrors of international war. But in the meantime no nation has begun to disarm and I am persuaded that it would be folly to undertake it one at a time. Suppose that certain states of a liberal tendency would become convinced that they should set an example, they would only put themselves in the power of the militarist and absolutist powers which would take good care not to imitate them. Hence we can not see what the cause of peace and civilization would gain by this means. The life cult would here run against the cult of patriotism which demands first of all to safeguard the independence of one's country. The latter religion has its foundation in our ancestral traditions, and its object being a tangible reality is more justifiable at the bar of reason than that of the abstraction of life, although the idea of country itself is relative and temporary.

If one really wishes to find among the generalizations of our intelligence a conception capable of becoming the object of religious sentiment, he would better replace the life cult by that of the family which represents the most ancient and permanent social cellule; or rather that of humanity since it comprises all human beings, present, past, and future. Perhaps by directing the education of new generations in this direction the feeling of obligation presupposing devotion to an ideal might fulfil the hope of August Comte and be reinstated in the human heart to the great profit of human society. Nevertheless even if one concedes with the extremists of sociological science that the content of the human mind is produced entirely by social influences, he can not but admit that this mind, such as it is, has not succeeded in establishing the existence of any force more powerful and more extensive than that of society. As Herbert Spencer writes: "Nothing resembling humanity can erase even temporarily the idea of a power of which the human race is the feeble and fugitive product, a power which in its constantly changing manifestation existed long before humanity and will continue to manifest itself in other forms when that will be no more." This power, the support and woof of the universe, to employ the terms of the great evolutionist philosopher, is "the infinite and eternal energy whence all things proceed."

IV.

We are justified in drawing the conclusion not only that the apotheosis of life does not furnish elements essential to religion, but also that if taken too seriously it may lead to some of the exclusivisms produced by the positive religions.

Moreover the same observation applies to other substitutes by which the attempt has been made to replace the God of the ancient religions in terms of a moral agent—the goddess Reason, the supreme being Humanity, Duty itself conceived as a self-existent categorical imperative.

And yet must we confine ourselves to this purely negative solution? We may perhaps find means to escape the dilemma M. le Dantec presents in the statement which serves as an introduction to the present study. But to do this we must look farther than life. We must do more than take into consideration biology alone or any other branch of our systematized knowledge; we must include all scientific systems among which biology fills only a subordinate rôle; we must mount the ladder of phenomena from series to series until we find ourselves facing their ultimate source, namely that by which

everything comes into existence, the principle of all changes which take place in nature, the primordial and universal factor which in the absence of a better term we call "force" or "energy."

It can not be gainsaid that this last notion if regarded in its relation to the workings of the universe is sufficiently imposing to give rise to sentiments of dependence, of alarm, of amazement, which are the component parts of religious sentiment; for this we have to do with a reality, still relative if you wish, but the greatest and most enduring of all realities. Moreover it is no more than the Unknowable, a limitless ocean for which, following the expression of Littré, "we have neither bark nor sail, but the clear sight of which is as beneficial as it is formidable." Nevertheless in order that this energy may inspire in us something more than a formidable and fruitless contemplation we must consider its purposes, that is to say the orientation given it by the study of evolution—a gradual tendency to put more equilibrium into nature, in other words, more order in the physical world and more uprightness in the moral world.

Man will find again his destiny and his duty by attaining in the proportion of his increasing liberty a realization of the task by which the supreme Power labors to perfect the universe according to laws accessible to our intelligence.

Faith in an infinite progress, it is true, lies outside the sphere of observable phenomena but it completes it, and if an act of faith is necessary here it is as essential a faith as that which causes us to admit the universality of the reign of law or the unity of the forces of nature—two axioms of the highest probability which cannot be more accurately verified by direct observation. If the idea of infinite progress is included with that of posthumous reward among "the prejudices of another age" the life of individuals and even of societies would be like the work of a squirrel in a cage, and the last word of wisdom would be found in the philosophy of Ecclesiastes, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die."

It has been maintained that in order to be moral it is necessary to be religious, an abstraction made by any adherence to a definite religion. I would readily say that in order to believe in duty it is necessary to believe in the certainty of final progress, in the coming of overmen, in the future of the universe—which moreover is another form of religion. We need the constant hope that even if humanity should disappear none of our useful efforts will be lost—humble *foraminifera* that we are, working isolated and unknown though doubtless with innumerable fellow-workers in the depths of

the celestial ocean to build up the courts of some city vaguely foreseen by our reason in the mists of the future. However, the only scientific basis offered by a belief in an infinite progress consists in a deduction inspired by the apparent direction of the mysterious and universal agent which we call energy. It is of this alone that in the present state of our knowledge we can say or repeat:

"In the beginning was Energy and besides Energy there was nothing except the Unknowable.

"All things were made by it and without it was not anything made that was made.

"In it was motion, life, reason which is the light of men.

"It was in the world, and the world was made by it, but the world knew it not.

"Man has come, in whom it has received consciousness of itself, and he has born witness of the power which labors constantly to establish order in the universe."

Now if we wish to substitute the term Life for that of Energy there is no great objection provided that the interpretation remains the same. If some would prefer to preserve the metaphysical term Logos, or one of its more or less forced translations, I am not enough of a grammarian to seek a verbal quarrel with them. The important thing in this question as in many others is the idea and not the word. Grant me only the possibility of assuming life to possess a transcendent end, one superior to the pleasure of feeling oneself alive, and I will show the point of attack from which Archimedes sought to lift the world, that is, in the present case, to explain morally as well as rationally the organization of the universe and the destiny of man.

THE CALL OF SCIENCE TO THE CHURCH.*

BY H. E. JORDAN.

HAPPILY the time has passed when science and religion were felt to be antagonistic. The same spirit now characterizes the rational devotees of both of these cardinal interests. True religion is not incompatible with scientific ability. Since religion is the impulse to strive for the highest and best in human conduct, and since science furnishes our human test of what is best and highest, there can be no conflict between religion and science. Indeed scientific training would seem to be essential for effective religious activity. At source and with respect to fundamentals of subject matter and individual mental equipment for effective service, religion and science are largely the same. Both deal with nature and with God—God in nature. Absolute and uncompromising honesty and fidelity to fact are the marks of both the scientist and the truly religious. Another name for Divinity is Perfect Truth.

In the words of Henry Scougal religion is simply "the life of God in the soul of man"; and Sabatier speaks of man as "incurably religious." "The instinct of worship is indestructible in man's nature. Religion is the activity of our sympathies, the feeding of our hopes, the strengthening of our knowledge of the trend of things," says Professor Thoburn.¹ Science and the church have much in common in their overarching ideals and their underlying motives. The church stands in the position of official organ in religious matters, being simply the ecclesiastical expression of organized religion.

Too long has the church regarded science as outside its pale. "Let science do its peculiar work," it practically said, "we will attend

* Lecture delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Virginia, 1912.

¹ The quotations from Professor Thoburn are taken from Dr. David Starr Jordan's book, *The Religion of a Sensible American*.

to ours, the salvation of souls." But while science has made enormous strides forward in recent times, the church has advanced but relatively little. We seem to have reached the peculiar condition where men generally are more scientific and more religious, while the church is losing its hold on thoughtful men.

But the church contains elements of incalculable good. It is greatly to the interest of civilization and to the church itself to conserve these same elements, and to fulfil its high mission for the all-round salvation of men. Moreover science needs the help of the church in much of its humanitarian work. Science issues a call for help in its efforts for human welfare here and now. Real progress demands harmonious relationship between church activity and scientific advance. Such alliance will mean the very life of the church itself and the spiritualizing of science and the progress of the race. The call of science is for religion to put itself into action in the interests of man with reference to social conditions. Religion and science have a common ground of community of human interest.

The Reverend Madison Peters says that when he offered to preachers to speak without charge on "The High Cost of Living and How to Reduce it," four or five responded, "but when my willingness to speak became known to clubs and sororities of all sorts, the telephone rang for dates and the mail crowded with invitations, and my experience furnishes one more illustration that the work the church should do in moulding the future is done by outside organizations. With a narrow conception of her mission the church sits on a high platform of empty dignity with folded hands, while other organizations are doing the work which the church should have done."

The danger in the Christianity of to-day, according to Bernard Shaw, is "the destruction of all our moral responsibility by detaching God from man and attributing to him independent supreme wisdom, independent omnipotent executive power, and consequently complete and undivided responsibility for all terrestrial conduct and events.—If my actions are God's, says he, "nobody can fairly hold me responsible for them; my conscience is mere lunacy." But "if I am a part of God," he continues, "if my eyes are God's eyes, my hands God's hands, my conscience God's conscience, then also I share his responsibility for the world; and woe to me if the world goes wrong!"

Professor Thoburn says: "It is pathetic to see how the world is struggling towards the Christian ideal almost in spite of the great institutions which have so long stood as the representatives of

Christ. The pulpit no longer has a monopoly in proclaiming the truth. The truest religious life finds expression now in a thousand ways that have not yet been adopted by any institution.

"For the church this means that it loses that great body of true and earnest men who do not recognize their ideal of humanity in it. But for many of these true and earnest men, lovers of their fellows, it means that they classify themselves as heretics and outcasts and unreligious. This in itself does not make it so except so far as a man unconsciously lives up to the reputation he makes for himself. Custom has so identified religion with its institutions in our minds that it is difficult to think of one without the other. It is a sign of vitality when a man inside of a church or outside recognizes his religion as his life, independent of any means of expression."

Before the church will respond to the call it will properly demand an expression of science's position with respect to the church's essential interests. Before just claim can be made for help, identity of aim and interest must be shown. The church guards the interests of the ancient conceptions of God, the Christ, heaven, hell, atonement, immortality, prayer, sin, the Bible. It justly asks, "What attitude does science take towards these matters?" I do not claim to speak for scientific men universally on this matter, but in general I believe I am rightly interpreting their attitude somewhat as I shall outline below.

At this point I should like to add that I have long thought that every scientist, especially every one in the capacity of teacher or popular leader, should give an expression of his position with respect to the fundamental concepts of religion. To the youth would thus accrue inestimable benefit in thoughtful leadership concerning some of the most vexed problems of adolescence. Such expression, however, can only be expected when met by the attitude that only hypocrisy is reprehensible. If the world wants this great help from scientific men in this line, it must respect any shade of honest conviction whether so-called agnostic, infidel, heterodox or supposedly orthodox, and it must understand, and give opportunity for, change of position in matters of belief.

This is one of the lessons that the church must yet more fully learn from science, that progress means change, not blind and deaf attitude of consistency. Like Bishop Welcome in *Les Misérables*, the scientist "never solves problems of faith by hypocrisy." Personally, I do not now hold with the same intellectual and emotional content one of the religious beliefs I was taught to respect as a youth. Thought and scientific training have made me alter every so-called

religious concept of my childhood. And yet I was taught these same things by physically mature men and women who still hold, at least verbally, perhaps never have held in any real sense, these same beliefs.

How much happier a childhood many a man might have had if he had never been taught the Bible *in toto* and indiscriminately until he entered college there to study it as he studied philosophy, politics and European history! Until my college days religion had no real compelling power in my life. What a gloomy childhood I had because I believed literally in heaven, hell, the evil of death, eternal damnation, etc. I shall never forget the hours of childhood agony I spent over "the unpardonable sin," and the terror I felt at possibly having unwittingly committed it.

If I had my profession to choose over again, and if I chose it from motives of greatest usefulness rather than from native inclination, I should devote my life to attempting to formulate some comprehensive system of child instruction, including especially moral and religious conceptions. Our present system of Sunday School teaching is largely pernicious. Very early in life many men cease really to believe much of what they were here taught. Here lies one of the most serious needs and one of the greatest opportunities for the moral uplift of mankind. Science calls to the church for scientific and rational instruction in religious fundamentals.

I have a scientific friend who, after careful consideration of this matter, has finally decided to substitute for the ordinary Sunday School teaching and the moral precepts of the Bible, largely of dogmatic character, the Samurai creed of the Japanese for the moral instruction of his children. That the Bushido creed of rectitude, courage and benevolence is not without great potency in the formation of high moral character is evidenced in the superb unselfishness of the ordinary Japanese. But it is a rather sad commentary upon the church's pedagogical material and methods, when scientific men cannot find it in their hearts to entrust wholeheartedly to its light and leading their very dearest possessions, the offspring of their own aspiring souls. Much has of course been done within the last twenty years to fit and gradate religious truths to the impressionable, confiding but swiftly expanding infant mind.

The greatest care should be had not to tell the child aught that in maturer life it may come to believe untrue. The things that it cannot understand as a child, should form no part of its infant mental life. Nothing is so destructive of proper moral and religious development as dogmatic instruction in unknowable things. The

fundamental truths of religion as expressed in the Bible should be graduated to meet the receptivity and rational criteria of the blossoming mind at the several stages of its development. The important fact is too generally neglected among religious teachers of children that no one is so keen as they to detect discrepancies between words and acts. No child should be vexed, for instance, with the mysteries of the Apostles' Creed. This is unintelligible to many mature minds. Mr. Dooley says that "Since I read the Apostles' Creed, it seems less convincing than when I heard it and did not understand it."

Rather late in life the religious phase of my nature as reflected in traditional Christianity suffered a very rude shock. It was when Ingersoll died. I had long since learned to love Ingersoll's lecture on Napoleon and his lines on laughter. I couldn't believe that a man who could write such beautiful things could be the wicked man he was generally held by the church to be. The Sunday after his death, from pulpits all over the land, as I gathered from Monday's papers, ministers of the Gospel of Jesus hoped that "Bob Ingersoll was now enjoying the hell-fire he so strenuously denied." Was that Christ-like to hope that any one should be damned? Robert Ingersoll was a better character by far, whatever his open faults—and his shortcomings were many—than those who condemned him living and dead. And the time will come when the church will recognize its great debt to him for help to free itself from the thralldom of tradition and superstition.

I believe that mind is the best gift that God has given to man. I believe that one can best repay this gift by the proper use of it. Such use is thought and reason, no matter where it leads.

Some one has said that "the only sin is to be unkind." If the matter can be summed up in a few words, I believe it could be better stated thus: "The only sin is to be dishonest." The church will never progress and do the complete service it has the opportunity and mission to do until it pays more sincere homage to free thought and respects in deed, as now though sometimes only reluctantly in word, absolute honesty. This is the common meeting ground of science and religion, namely honesty of thought, word and deed. Science teaches the church the dignity, even the divinity, of honesty.

I quote from President Jordan's booklet *The Religion of a Sensible American* which quotes from Dr. William M. Salter: "We will tread the floors of hell if need be, rather than hocus-pocus ourselves into believing it is heaven. We will face reality and by long facing it, and above all working in it, we may, under the surface and the

scum, detect traces of heaven in it; not traces that *we* put there, God forbid, but that are there, immanent, struggling, and destined yet to transform the whole."

Paraphrasing Professor Thoburn: In an attempt to be rational we must not yield to the temptation to hoodwink ourselves by imagining we believe what we know we doubt; nor need we classify ourselves as unreligious altogether because we are not like some people who say they believe what we doubt, and who loudly affirm their own religion. To be religious one needs to believe only so much "as finds response in our own lives. It is only that part of God or Jesus that we can appropriate, assimilate and recognize as possible and attainable in our own lives that is of any use to us."

To return: What then does science say with respect to the religious concepts above enumerated. About God as all-encompassing nature—the thought of God—or as first, eternal and perpetual cause, it makes no doubt. The immanence of God it accepts as undeniable fact. The popular child conception of God as a "gaseous vertebrate," in the words of Haeckel, has no place among the religious concepts of a thoughtful man.

When you press science for an answer regarding a personal God who answers prayer it is pretty generally agnostic. It sees only stubborn facts and beneficent laws. It has never known these to be arbitrarily altered. It would seem reprehensible to science to expect alteration for personal good.

Prayer in the ordinary sense science cannot understand. To it a God who has ordained universal natural laws eternally the same and working for general good, is more sublime than one who could be induced through prayer to change those same laws for supposed personal good. Prayer seems natural only as it may have efficacy in working a mental change in the one who prays. An honest useful life is a continual prayer. The scientist regards the world as his country, and worthy human service as his religion.

I can well remember when it seemed altogether proper to pray for money, success, health and all sorts of individual blessings for myself or friends. Such conduct now would seem despicable. I now know that nothing can really hinder a man from achieving but his own native limitations; and that even God will not raise a man beyond the limits of inherited potentialities. I now know that health within the limits of inherited capacity is a matter of obeying natural laws. I now know that unearned money is among the least of good gifts. Intellect, free will, moral conscience—"the amount of innate knowledge"—and the like are possessions compared with

which material things are insignificant. I now know that dishonor is worse than death, and that even death has a content of sacred interest when at least a few of life's aspirations are achieved.

I well remember with what a thrill of satisfaction I first read Emerson's definition of prayer, i. e., "soliloquy." This has been satisfying to this day. Science recognizes within man reservoirs of spiritual or nervous force. In soliloquy one in a sense connects with these and gathers strength for combat with weakness and evil in the world and oneself. Here one finds weapons for offense against the inherited evil tendencies, ancestral remnants of the organic evolutionary process. We have all had the experience of feeling at rare moments almost divine; at others demoniac. More frequent soliloquy with our better selves and the spiritual forces they represent—God within us—would give us a more continuous divine earthly life.

Science can accept the Bible only as a book compounded of poetry, history, philosophy, law and folk-lore, inspired in the same sense that any other great work, literary or otherwise, is inspired, with perhaps a difference in degree; and Christ as a sublime historical fact, the great human ideal, as well substantiated as the fact of the existence of Socrates or Julius Cæsar, divine and human as you and I are. You and I are "sons of God" in the same sense that Christ was; his relationship with "the Father" was perhaps more intimate.

Heaven and hell as commonly understood are fictions of the imagination. They are states of mind figuratively attributable to present conditions, but of no significance regarding an unknowable future. "The medieval pictures of eternal torment in hell-fire are of pagan, not of Christian, birth. Except in the Book of Revelations and in one parable of Christ, fire in the Scriptures is a symbol of either purification or destruction, never of torment." Dr. Lyman Abbott continues: "I refuse to believe that the accident of death transmutes God's mercy into wrath and makes repentance impossible, and so closes the door of hope upon the soul forever."

As to Immortality, science can only be agnostic. However, science seeing that in nature there is no loss but only change, now generally adopts the attitude of hope for some sort of life after death, of the nature of which it has no adequate conception.

This I believe represents in general science's attitude to religious concepts. But it represents simply the irreducible minimum of scientific religion. The attitude is anything but antagonistic, and it is not altogether final, but only in the making, and the church

must respect it as long as it is attained by process of honest thinking. No scientist will object to this much; a great many go much further and believe much more. But this much represents common meeting ground for all and is sufficient base for both science and religion to cooperate in humanitarian efforts.

Finally all must admit that scientific proof, in the ordinary sense, of religious concepts is not possible. The highest religious faith *in extenso* cannot wait upon scientific demonstration. Still it must always accord with the criterion of rationality. Religious belief, however, in its inmost soul rests upon personal experience. Nothing less will gain and hold acceptance. There is a phase of man's complete nature to which spiritual facts appeal, and which does not respond, because of a different or higher nature, to scientific evidence.

But this "phase" develops at the top; nevertheless it has its beginning in the first unfolding of the infant mind; and at this stage can be appealed to similarly only by simple words and pictures and precepts of reason. To attempt to reverse in religious instruction this order of development, as is still so largely done, is simply to handicap or perhaps permanently blight the full blossoming of the religious nature and the closely-knit moral sense. With this understanding the church must now answer science's call for help in its effort to help man here, this being the surest way of helping him for the hereafter.

Science is particularly interested in two of the church's sacraments, namely, confirmation and marriage, incidentally the former, very specially the latter. Religion has made and held its place in the world largely by reason of its relation to the reproductive life. Slaughter claims that if the church is to grasp its modern opportunity, failing which he thinks there is little need of the church at all, it must utilize these two sacraments for their true purpose, namely in the interests of an idealism which recognizes the responsibility laid upon the present by the future.

Recent developments in biologic science which have caused the crystallization of such ideas are due to the discovery of the laws of heredity. Within the past few years a new science, founded upon the facts of heredity, has been born, namely eugenics, or the science of breeding the human thoroughbred. It has become the main interest of both science and religion to bring about the highest type of physical, intellectual and moral man within the limits of human protoplasm. Science points the way; but the end cannot be attained as fully and as speedily as seems desirable unless the church give

to the movement its heartiest cooperation. Indeed it would almost seem that unless the church grasp this opportunity of revitalization in identification with this most important world movement, it will fall into deserved desuetude. Comprehension of the facts of heredity is the truest bond linking religion to science through the love of man for man.

The bare facts are these: our present knowledge of heredity clearly indicates that men sound in body, mind and soul are born of similar ancestors. In a very literal sense is it then that out of an unclean thing no clean thing can come, that figs do not grow on thistles, nor grapes on thorns, that as the parent so the child, that like produces like. We no longer believe the sentiment in one of the hymns in Isaac Watt's hymnal:

"Diseases are thy methods, Lord,
To make thy people good."

Dr. Johnson pronounced a far more sensible dictum in "Every sick man is a rascal"; and Elbert Hubbard gives it as the summary of his wide experience and deep knowledge of men that "only healthy men are honest." "The distemper of anemia," in the words of President David Starr Jordan, "should never be accepted as religion."

But religion has from the beginning emphasized the virtue of relieving distress, poverty and disease. Christ himself is said to have cast out devils, healed the sick and raised the dead. But the present is greatly overburdened by the calls upon its resources for care of the insane, feeble-minded, vagrant, criminal, pauper, indigent and sick. And the number of such individuals and the burden of their care is steadily increasing.

Science believes that greater virtue resides in efforts for the prevention of the steadily augmenting stream of the unfit, and science holds the key to a humane solution of the difficulty. It is a debt the present owes to the future. It seems clear that if we persist in our present emotional and shortsighted methods of indiscriminate charity and relief, evidenced more particularly in our treatment of the feeble-minded and idiot, posterity will be given a legacy of unbearable economic burdens. The prevention of this steady quota of deficients lies in the control of the source of production. Science would control to some extent the mating of individuals; but the church has appropriated to itself full control of the sacrament of marriage.

To me the recent step taken by the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul of Chicago, at the instance of Dean

Sumner, is one of the most momentous events of our century. The authorities of this cathedral have declared that hereafter no marriage ceremony shall be performed for persons who cannot present a satisfactory medical certificate guaranteeing freedom from venereal taint or other genetic injury. When all the churches and clergy are brave enough and honest enough to take a similar stand, and state legislatures are wise enough to formulate laws looking to similar eugenic ends, the world will be approaching the condition so earnestly prayed for by the church, a kingdom of heaven upon the earth. It was a most gratifying circumstance when last June, Dean Hodges, of the Cambridge Theological Seminary, showed the courage to present as an exponent of the church this aspect of human service with great tact but in plain terms in a baccalaureate sermon to the medical graduates of the University of Virginia.

In the exercise of these two sacraments the church holds an opportunity for service of inestimable value to mankind. In addition to the accepted more strictly religious purposes of confirmation this should be a time for instruction in racial matters and for the shaping of eugenic ideals. It should be a time when young people are brought to realize the sacredness of their bodies as well as their souls. It is a time for the birth of altruistic aspirations, and for the awakening to knowledge of bonds to the past and obligations to the future. How the soul existed before birth or how it will conduct itself after death is not scientifically knowable; here and now soul is knit to body and dependent upon it, with possibly reciprocal relationship subsisting; in this life at least the body as a fundamental condition is quite as important as the soul.

To disregard body for a supposed higher spiritual interest is subversive of individual and racial welfare. The church need not include efforts for shaping racial ideals among its confirmation interests, but in neglecting to do so, it is surely losing one of its greatest opportunities for social good and for its own usefulness.

As concerns the use of confirmation in the interests of eugenics, one cardinal difficulty presents itself. This difficulty must be satisfactorily, that is rationally, disposed of before other steps can be effectually taken. The candidate for confirmation is asked or presumed to accept the Apostles' Creed. Every normal child finds here a stumbling-block in the statement that Jesus "was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." Personally, I could accept the statement interpreted in terms of reverent folk-lore; but literally, that is in a strictly biological sense, I cannot believe it. I am convinced that every normal thoughtful child has this same

difficulty. To say publicly that one believes what one privately doubts is subversive of good morals. The trouble is not with the possibility of the fact. Christ had power, perhaps, to come into the flesh in an infinite variety of ways. And the organic world offers numerous examples of parthenogenesis, or conception without direct male intervention. But to teach that Jesus literally had no human father at once brands sex and sex-relationship as things beneath the divine dignity of the human Jesus, and leaves the impression that sex impulse is impure. On the contrary, man has perhaps no higher or more sacred gift than sex, in the proper exercise of which function he approaches most closely to God in his supreme act, that of creation. Sex in life is at the root of much that is pure and noble and sacred. It is the inspiration of the bulk of art and music and literature and idealism and pure family life. To leave the slightest intimation as touched by religion that it is inherently tainted with "sin" is individually and racially hurtful.

In eugenics we must start with the idea of the purity of sex. To teach that Jesus, the ideal of the world, lived outside its necessity and influence at birth, makes such stand impossible. The idea will sooner or later enter the mind of youth that if Christ did not come in the natural human way, just as every human being comes into the world, he missed the supreme opportunity of his sacred mission, namely, to hallow and bless also the very source and fountain of life, the instinct of sex. When the church takes a right attitude to the use and abuse of sex and sex relationship it will no longer be asked so often to bless with its benediction what should be most foreign to its purpose, namely, voluntary sterility. The agreement between a man and a woman to live together for any purpose is of the nature of a legal contract. The church should be brave enough in this present crisis of an appalling decrease in the birth rate among the better stocks and an appalling increase of defectives, to withhold its blessing and sanction except to healthy unions formed with avowed intent of an economically reasonable procreation. Just as the church is largely responsible for the continuance of more or less open vice, so it is perhaps still more largely responsible for a critical social condition, the result of a recreancy to its eugenic opportunity, in that it has apparently failed in the matter of proper instruction at confirmation respecting racial responsibility.

There is no human interest that should be foreign to the church. It is one of the most encouraging signs of a better time when our large cities, e. g., Chicago, could recently form a Vice Commission with a personnel of its best Christian citizens. The church claims

for its peculiar right the administration of the marriage sacrament, and then largely refuses to interest itself in the vices which despoil it. Vice flourishes as it does largely because the church continues to regard itself as too good to attack it at the source, or because it is actually too indifferent to take an interest in matters which call for real courage and sacrifice. St. Paul tells us, "To the pure all things are pure." Shakespeare said, "Nothing is good or bad but thinking makes it so." Vice may be ignorance, or even innocence, but it is always racially destructive.

There is a class of diseases than which none is more inimical to the marriage sacrament or so disastrous to the race, which the church persists in regarding as shameful and refuses to countenance. Science calls from the bottom of its heart, if I may so speak, that the church give it help in its great battle upon this enemy of individual and racial health. Science knows very well that this class of diseases should be treated as are small-pox, diphtheria, and other infectious diseases. Strict isolation and marriage disqualification until pronounced permanently cured by competent authorities are the only effective means of combatting the "social diseases." These safeguards must be coupled with a crusade for the eradication of the social vice from which they perennially take source.

Such measures wait upon adequate legislation, which further waits upon public opinion. In the formation of the latter, the church again has peculiar opportunities which a true Christ-like spirit should not permit it to neglect. It is not sufficient to mean well. Emotional misguided activity frequently does more harm than inaction. Promiscuous and misguided charity largely defeats higher ends.

"If God created man in his own image, is it not the duty of the church to keep that creation as free from pollution as possible? Are we to think less of human beings than we do of our own live stock, to protect the pure strain of which we have laws, written and unwritten, laws based upon medical science?" (Dr. J. N. Hurty.)

This is nowhere more clear, or productive of more pernicious results, than in our treatment of the criminal and mentally defective. The fetish that "all men are born free and equal" is no part of a scientific or effective religion, or of rational patriotism. Fortunately we now have a measure in the Binet-Simon test of innate mental capacity. We are just beginning to see that criminals and anti-socials of various sorts are simply forms physically mature, but mentally in various stages of infancy and childhood. A child, whether four or forty years of age, must be treated as a child, not

as a "criminal." And the only rational method for permanent eradication is the same a farmer would pursue in eliminating from a herd of cattle an inferior or vicious strain, i. e., prevent breeding from that strain.

Sir Francis Galton, the founder of eugenics, speaks thus on these points: "Eugenic belief extends the function of philanthropy to future generations. It renders its actions more prevailing than heretofore by dealing with families and societies in their entirety, and it enforces the importance of the marriage covenant by directing serious attention to the probable quality of future offspring. It strongly forbids all forms of sentimental charity that are baneful to the race, while it greatly seeks opportunity for acts of personal kindness as some equivalent to the loss of what it forbids. It brings the tie of kinship into prominence and strongly encourages love in family and race. In brief, eugenics is a virile creed, full of hope, and appealing to many of the noblest feelings of our nature."

I am informed that at the time of the Civil War only one colored insane person was known in Virginia. The asylum at Petersburg now has 1500 inmates. When one takes the trouble to learn the names and look into the family histories of the inmates, one soon finds that there are frequently from four to twelve of the same family, and that their entire pedigree is characterized by like traits in varying degrees.

It is true of all our asylums for mental defectives, that when a certain degree of improvement is shown, the inmate is given his freedom, only too often to return a year or two after, meanwhile having brought into the world for a too-long suffering already over-taxed people to support, one or several like himself. It is no rare occurrence to have an entire childhood feeble-minded and confined at the same time in the same institution.

When will we begin to show common sense in the solution of such problems? When will we ever awaken to the injustice and the folly of our institutional methods? How long will the people refuse to learn the truth that "like produces like"?

At Williamsburg recently, where 900 whites are confined, I was shown what was the merest wreck of a human form with less mind than a two-year old baby. It was a "star case." The idiot had been kept alive for three months by feeding with a stomach tube; he could now be fed by spoon. To what end, my friends, to what end! I have never seen a more pathetic sight! If tradition and sentiment forbid alteration of our methods respecting present treatment of these mental and physical wrecks, a physical and moral burden to

themselves, and an economic burden to a toiling common people, what law of God or man stands in the way of at least forbidding reproduction of type of serious defectives. The problem demands the charity, but also the wisdom and courage, of a Christ. It is the work of his true disciples.

"We have had almost two thousand years of Christianity, and in that time there has been ceaseless inculcation of religion and morals, and still the scarlet woman, social diseases, imbecility, insanity, and crime exist. Wars are still going on, in which young, healthy, normal men are slaughtered. The monastery and the nunnery still claim a no insignificant number of the healthy and the gifted, and the cripples, the imbeciles, the diseased, the vicious are left free to multiply." (Dr. J. N. Hurty.)

Scientific knowledge, effective propaganda and wisdom in the application of ascertained remedies are what the times demand. Honesty and consistency of ideals are the fundamentals of Christian as well as of scientific conduct. Acts and motives must be measured by the foot-rule of the character of Christ. The individual that can decorate its hat with the white breeding plumage of the blue-heron—ignoring the fact that the mother heron must cruelly die and its new-born perish from starvation—and yet wax emotional over vivisection conducted under the most humane conditions, and for the purpose of health to mankind, forgets the first principle of Christianity and civilized conduct, namely that theory and practice must harmonize.

More pathetic still is the not uncommon attitude which condemns scientific men because they cannot honestly accept certain tenets of so-called orthodox belief, and ignores the fact that the very life of these same scientists is a faithful fulfilment of Christ's highest requirement of men in his service, namely, that one lay down his life for His cause. Christ's cause is the cause of toiling mankind. Many are the scientific men who have surrendered life, as for example the beloved Dr. Walter Reed in his work on yellow fever, young Dr. Ricketts of Chicago University in his work on typhus fever, and young Dr. McClintock of Washington in his work on Rocky Mountain spotted fever, for the demonstration of a scientific fact, which meant life and life more abundant to their fellow-men; or who in laboratory or in hospital are literally laying down their lives for the same cause. Christian martyrs did no more than this. Martyrdom for sincerity of conviction becomes the more noble as the conviction is honestly founded and according as it achieves for worthy causes. These young scientists laid down their lives

that we might live. Lord Lister by applying the knowledge of infection and asepsis to the practice of surgery, was instrumental even in his own lifetime, in saving more lives than were destroyed in all the bloody wars of the nineteenth century.

Jesus said, "I am come that they (my brethren) might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." Oscar E. McCulloch reminds us that he said "life" not "salvation"; "and then salvation is a word that Jesus never used." He says further, "I understand God's business in this world is not salvation alone; that is a little part of it. It is not restoration alone; that is but a phase of it. It is not repair; that is a small portion of it. But it is utilizing all the forces that are as yet unlimited and unexhausted that children shall be born to happy homes and joyful parents; shall be surrounded by education and by the conditions of a happier and purer society, that they shall not go astray, that they shall not fall into evil, that they shall have no taint of sin upon them. There shall be no need of their being born twice, since God's first birth is good enough for all and suffices for all, if nothing come to prevent the perfect development of his plan."

THE NICHIREN SECT OF BUDDHISM.

BY T. J. KINVABARA.

[Among the Buddhist sects in Japan the adherents of Nichiren have a great following and are distinguished by their zeal and missionary propaganda. Some time ago we received an artistic illustrated volume telling in Japanese the story of the saint and the development of his movement. It is written by Mr. Tanaka Chigaku, the editor of the *Myoshu* and of the *Nichirensbhu*,



THE SAISHOKAKU.

and the founder of a university at Miho in the Suruga province. Since we are unable to read the text we applied to the Japanese friend to whose courtesy we owe Mr. Tanaka's book, and we take pleasure in publishing the information he forwards us together with his explanation of the pictures.

The frontispiece of the book is Nichiren, the saint himself. His vigorous

features remind us very vividly of Luther, and his teaching too presents more than one similarity to the teachings of the Reformation. He believed in the infallibility of the scriptures just as Luther replaces the infallibility of the pope by that of the Bible. Nichiren also insists on faith as the only means of salvation, and that prayer if uttered in faith will set us most effectively into communion with God. Good works ought to result from this disposition of mind and amount to nothing if they are not an expression of faith.

In the religious art of China long ear lobes are a symbol of virtue. Thus Lao-tze's by-name is "the long-lobed one" and it will be noticed that the lobes of Nichiren greatly exceed the natural size.

The picture reproduced from the book which we call "A Buddhist St. Sebastian" exhibits a strange similarity between the religious art of Buddhism and Christianity. The two stories originated independently but here we have a Buddhist scene of martyrdom which might serve as well for an illustration of the Christian legend.

The questions we asked Mr. Kinyabara, who is connected with the University of Miho, to which the accompanying article is a reply, are as follows:

1. "How do you differ from the other Buddhist sects? For instance, can Nichirenite priests marry? What is the sect's regulation of diet? Do the believers abstain from flesh and fish? Do they practise fasting? What do they believe about the soul? Do they believe in the *anatman* doctrine that there is no self? If there is no *atman*, no self, what do they think of reincarnation? How would they explain immortality? What is the condition of final salvation or deliverance from evil? What are the methods of deliverance, and finally can you describe the nature of the Buddha of Bliss, the omnipresent Buddha, and what relation has the historical Buddha and Sankhara to the omnipresent Buddha?

2. "Please also explain some of the illustrations. I take the frontispiece of Nichiren himself to be very old. Is there anything known about the artist and whether it was a portrait made during his life so that we can take it as a faithful portrayal of his face?

"The picture facing page 554 is of special interest because it looks very much like Christian pictures of St. Sebastian who suffered martyrdom by being shot with arrows. Will you please explain this picture.

"The next picture on page 556 looks like a confession. Does it represent a scene from the life of Nichiren? The picture facing page 558 looks like an apparition, and I would like to know what it means. What is the nature of the excitement on the picture facing page 562? Has the inscription on the right-hand side of the gate any special meaning? An explanation of the picture facing page 564 would also be welcome. It would be interesting for the readers of *The Open Court* to know something about these pictures.

3. "Is your university building at Miho in the Suruga province, and can you tell me anything about the courses of study pursued at that place, the number of students, and the number of professors with their specialties? Should the place not be rather called a seminary preparing boys for priesthood than a university? By university we would understand such an institution as the Imperial University at Tokyo, while a place where young men are especially prepared for priesthood would be called a seminary. Does *Saisho-kaku* mean the university? Is it the name of the university or the place where the university stands?"—[Ed.]

WE [of the university] are not as yet ready to give any precise information with regard to the Nichiren sect, since we are in no way connected with that sect. We are a lay movement, and we keep apart from Nichirenite priests.

The Buddhist priests of Japan, no matter to what sect they belong, all marry and eat meat and fish on the pretext that the law of the country allows them to do so, but of course these practices are against the teachings of Buddha.



MT. FUJI FROM THE SAISHOKAKU.

As regards the soul problem, the popular Buddhist belief is that the soul does and can exist apart from body and mind, and this common belief is much adhered to in the teachings of Nichiren as means of arousing the faith of the people. But the only true and original soul, according to the Saddharma-pundarika-sutra, which is the basis of Nichiren's teaching, is the omnipresent Buddha, and until a person realizes a oneness with Buddha, he may be said to be soulless; an unbelieving person may have a soul, but the nature of that soul being subject to the influence of Karma is impermanent,

and may in the evolution of the aeons of ages, turn into a grass or a stone.

I may classify the ideas of ego in Buddhism as (1) ego, (2)



ST. NICHIREN.
(Frontispiece of book.)

non-ego, (3) super-ego, (4) ultimate ego (which is the Omnipresent Buddha). The super-ego, in the successive periods of reincarnation, carries in it a part of the ultimate ego, but it does not count as



A BUDDHIST ST. SEBASTIAN (P. 554).

an ego unless the person attains to Buddhahood. The Buddhist thoughts on immortality may be considered under the three categories of personal immortality, social immortality and cosmical immortality. The fact that a person has once lived, however insignificant he may be, will leave an indelible mark in the spiritual and material life of mankind; whatever he has done or thought will exercise a permanent influence in the evolution of human society, nay, even in the evolution of the universe itself. Cosmical immortality is that immortality which a person attains by devotion or faith; he identifies himself with the Omnipresent Buddha by the merits of devotional work, and he becomes immortal not only in the life beyond, but in the present life also. These remarks are only a general exposition of Buddha's teaching on immortality.

Saint Nichiren's idea of deliverance from evil is that one should not try to oppose or overcome evil, but should learn to "utilize" it. In the teaching of Nichiren the utilization of evil means final salvation. In the solution of the problem of evil, utilization is more effective than opposition or subjection, and the way of utilizing evil is to believe in the teaching of Buddha as set forth in the Saddharma-pundarika-sutra, and to repeat the incantation of "*Nam-myo-ho-ren-ge-kyo*" ("Nama to the Saddharma-pundarika-sutra"). Nichiren taught that a mere repetition of this formula is more meritorious than the deepest contemplation of the Dharma. In Nichiren philosophy, things, thought and language are considered as one thing and to be embodied in "name." In his writings he often remarks that "the name is the thing itself."

The relation between the Omnipresent Buddha and the historical Buddha constitutes the most important study in Buddhism to which even the Buddhist scholars of note of the present time in Japan seem utterly indifferent. Nichiren said that any Buddhist priest who is indifferent to this study is worse than a beast morally, intellectually and practically. In the chapter on the limitless duration of Buddha's life, Sakyamuni taught that he (the historical Buddha) himself is the Omnipresent Buddha, that the personal Sakyamuni does not perish, and that the salvation of the world solely depends on the realization, by men themselves, of the oneness of men, the historical Buddha, and the Omnipresent Buddha. The omnipresence and omnipotence of the historical Buddha form the principal teaching of Saint Nichiren.

Nichiren was born in Awa-province, 691 years ago (1222) in the era of Jo-o in the reign of Emperor Gohorikawa. In the whole range of Buddhist history we find no person who may be compared



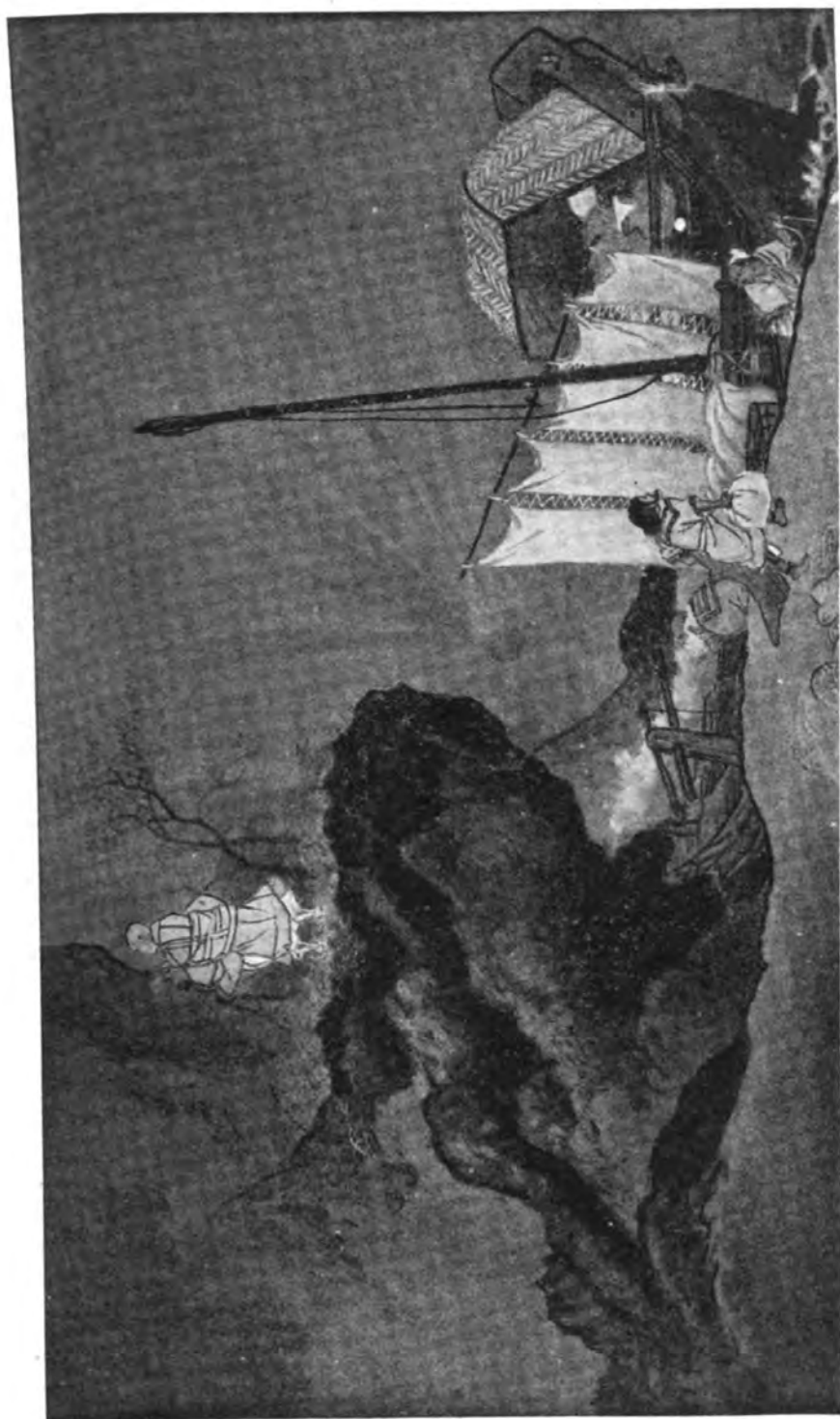
THE PENANCE OF NITCHO (P. 556).

to Nichiren as patriot, reformer and prophet. His eventful life is full of interest and presents studies of deep significance. There are many characteristic details in Nichiren's life that may be cited, but the most important of them are his repeating the "*Nam-myo-ho-ren-ge-kyo*," worshipping the morning sun as an opening ceremony of the proclamation of his religious principles, preaching on the streets, and his utmost exertion to convert the state. Nichiren declared that he wished neither to found a sect nor to establish a denomination, but in his time Buddhism, after passing successive periods of free and unhindered development, ramified in so many inconceivable ways, and the time was ripe for a reformer like Nichiren to appear and give it unity, spirit and harmonious activity. The teaching of Nichiren is distinguishable from that of other sects in that it is intellectual (or rational), ethical, and bears a deep nationalistic color. In some passage in his writings he says that "unless a man be a person of great intellect he will not be able to appreciate my teaching." In his opinion, any Buddhist whether he be a priest, a monk, or a layman, who failed to understand or willfully ignored the real nature of Sakyamuni, the historical Buddha, was not a righteous man; and he repeatedly declared that he was "the master, teacher, father to the emperor," and that he only "fostered the spirit of great loyalty" within him. In Nichiren's eyes there are two Japans, the small Japan and the great Japan; and while the small Japan is destined to collapse, the great spiritual Japan is to be the principal power in the movement to create a heaven upon earth.

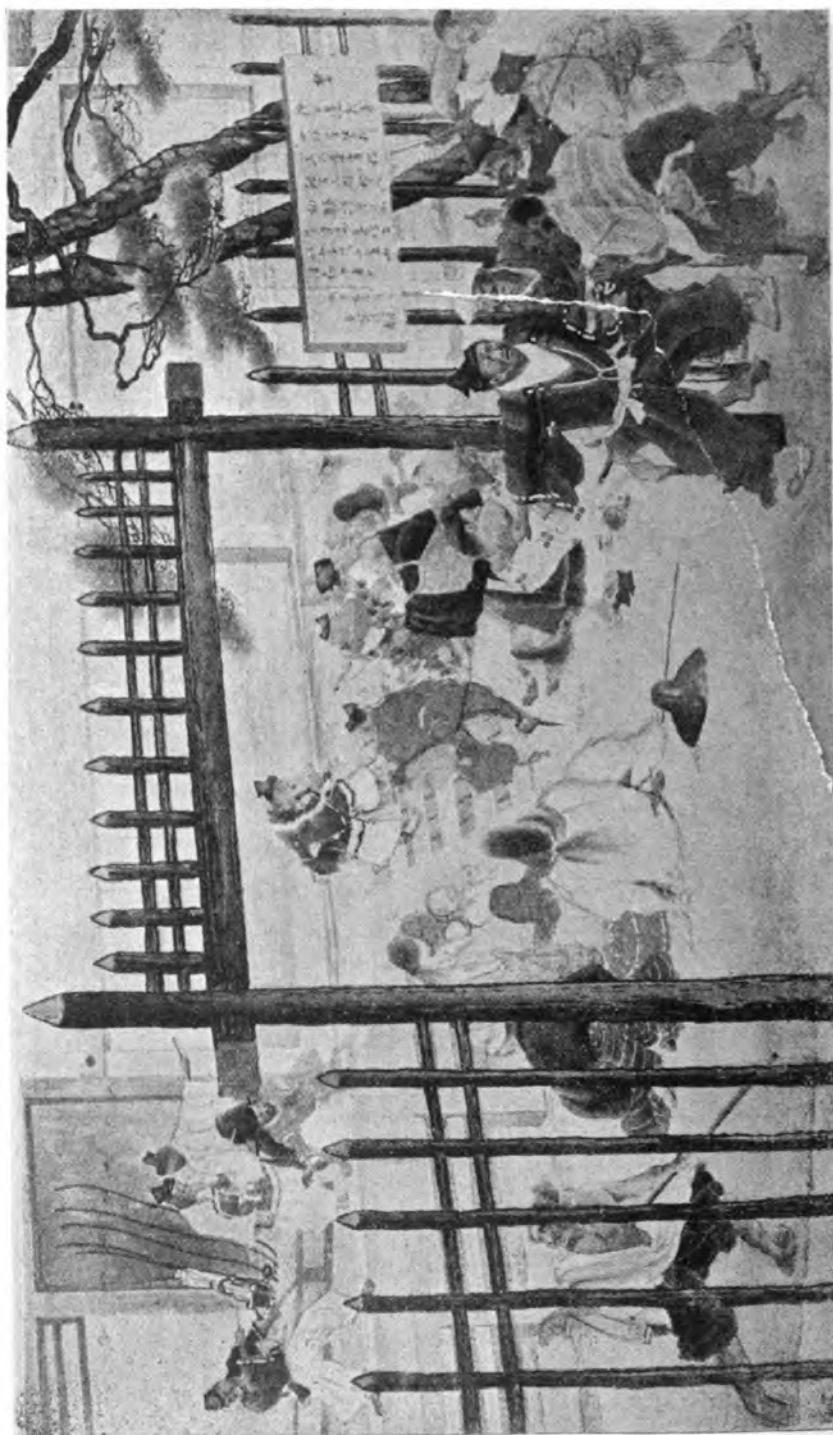
* * *

The frontispiece of Mr. Chigaku's book is the picture of Nichiren. It represents Nichiren in his later years, and is said to be the most faithful portrayal of his face. The painter's name is Okura. He lived in the time of Nichiren, but of his life much is not known. The long lobes seen in the portrait need not have been so long in reality, as you say, but it is recorded that the lobes of Saint Nichiren's ears were uncommonly long.

The picture facing page 554 represents a scene where Atsuwara Jinshiō Kumishige, a zealous follower of Saint Nichiren, is being shot to death with other friends of the faith who numbered more than twenty. With every arrow that pierced Atsuwara, the demand "to quit *Nam-myo ho-ren-ge-kyo* and worship the Amitabha" was uttered, but only the cry of "*Nam-myo-ho-ren-ge-kyo!*" came from the mouth of the faithful martyr as a response. When seven arrows had pierced him, Kunishige expired repeating the sacred formula with his dying breath.



NICHUJI ABOUT TO SAIL FOR FOREIGN FIELDS (P. 558).



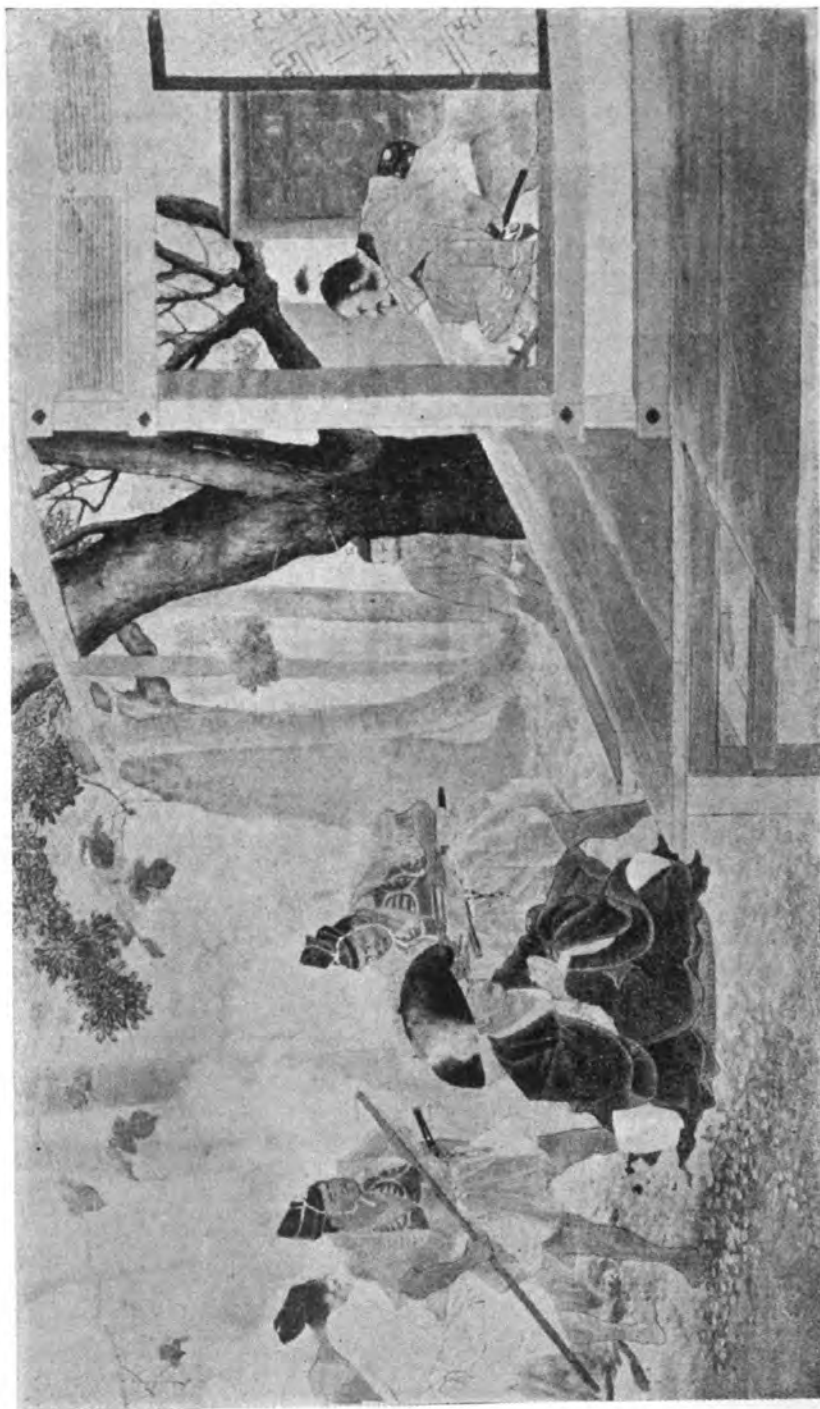
THE SHŌGUN'S PROCLAMATION (P. 562).

The picture on page 556 is not a confession. Nitcho, one of the six senior disciples of Nichiren committed a certain inexcusable fault seven years after the death of his master, and he read from the Sutra for seven days and nights to ask pardon, but his appeal was not listened to, only a robe of ashen hue being given him as a mark of partial approval of his contrition. I wish I could describe this episode in detail but that would involve a long story.

The picture facing page 558 is not an apparition. The person on the rock is Nichiji, one of the six senior disciples of Saint Nichiren. He is about to depart from the country to undertake foreign missionary work, and is inscribing the seven characters reading *Nam-myo-ho-ren-ge-kyo* on the rock as a memorial autographic writing. He is the first of all Japanese Buddhist priests who started for a foreign land to open a propagandist work.

The picture facing page 562 represents an incident having both serious and humorous features. Some five hundred years ago, in the era of Eikyo, the Ashikoga Shogun issued the order that all persons professing faith in Nichiren should be decapitated or banished to an island, and a board on which was inscribed the Shogun's order was hung on every street-corner in the town (Kamakura). To the surprise and regret of the Shogun several hundred persons, including young and old, men, women and children, flocked to the palace court from all quarters in the city and asked the officials that they be taken into custody and be given any punishment, because they would rather undergo any hardship than forsake their faith. But the Shogun had too much conscience to punish persons guilty of no offence, and made haste to withdraw the order.

The picture facing page 564 represents the event known as "The Pot Persecution of Nisshin." In the 12th year of the era of Eikyo, the Ashikoga Shogun Yoshinori (not the one who issued the threatening order) summoned before him the priest Nisshin. An iron pot heated to red heat was put on Nisshin's head for torture, but the maltreatment did not disturb the priest. When asked by the Shogun how it was that the divine wrath did not immediately descend on him, Nisshin replied that the wrath would come within three years. Again when Yoshinori said in ridicule that three years were too long to wait for wrath to come, he replied, "Then I will shorten the three years to 100 days," and lo, on the day which exactly counted 100 days from the day on which Nisshin was tortured and made his prophecy the Shogun was assassinated by Akamatsu Maniu, one of his retainers. Nisshin was imprisoned and tortured 28 times in his life.



THE POT PERSECUTION OF NISSHIN (P. 564).

The courses to be given in the university are not quite formulated, and I can not give you any exact information in that line at present. All modern and ancient languages are to be taught in the school. The institution is not to be a seminary, and the students are to be trained rather to become new citizens of New Japan than to be priests. The word *Saishokaku* means "the most admirable hall" and is the name of the building; the university assumes the name of Hōge-Dai-Caku-Iu. I hope that the picture I sent you may be of service to you. The place commands an excellent view of Mount Fūgi, and that is the reason why the *Saishokaku* has been built in this place.

THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE EAST AND THE WEST.

BY STANWOOD COBB.

IS the East more spiritual than the West? There is no doubt that it is more religious. The effect of education and scientific progress in the West has seemed to be skepticism and, what is worse, indifference toward religion. Our churches are empty, our clergy at their wits' ends, and men of affairs too often content to get along without any definite religion. One man, a scientist, remarked to me that science had produced more of benefit to the world in the last hundred years than religion had in all the centuries preceding. It is not hard to see where the interest of the West lies. Practical things absorb its attention. In so far as religion is practical it appeals, otherwise not.

The East is different. It has not yet awakened to this pure intellectualism. It is still medieval, and religion is the most dominant motive in the lives of its people—the chief control over their actions.

This influence amounts to a superstition. Be careful how you admire the pretty baby of a Turkish mother. Admiration brings on the jealousy of Allah and the child may die. Any praise you may give it is met with an apprehensive *Mashallah*, "God forbid!" Even looking at it too fixedly will give it the evil eye. To ward off such influences it wears a blue stone about its neck, or a magic formula of some kind.

Even in business the fear of God is stronger than the dollar. Two Turkish merchants are bargaining together. The seller wants a larger price. The other replies, "I will give it—but may Allah turn it bad for you." This curse, pronounced not on the seller but on the extra money he demands, is usually enough to give him cold feet and make him content with the lesser price. The Greek merchant, however, takes a thrifty advantage of this way of bargaining

with the Turk, for he does not fear the curse and is quite willing to accept this tainted money.

No plans are made for the future without the added *Inshallah*, "God willing." A story illustrates this. There was a woman who was very pious, and never made a promise without the humble *Inshallah*. Her husband becoming tired of this, ordered her to stop it, or he would beat her. One morning as he was leaving for business he asked her what time they would have supper. "At seven o'clock—God willing." At this word which had slipped out in spite of his threat, the good man took a stick and gave her a good beating, saying, "Nonsense, woman, we will have supper at seven whether God wills or not," then went on his way. At nightfall as he was returning to his home, some robbers fell upon him and beat him so that he lay there insensible for most of the night. At the early hours of the morning he managed to crawl home, a regenerated man, and told his wife to say *Inshallah* all she wanted. The result of his blasphemy had been immediate and unfortunate enough to make him ever after a pious man.

Stronger than any other idea in the Mussulman's mind is his belief in destiny. His every act is in accordance with this fatalism. The candy vender enters a coffee shop and smokes nonchalantly, regardless of whether he misses a customer meanwhile. The Turkish boatmen and hackmen do not compete for a customer with the fury of other nationalities, because they know if it is their destiny he will come to them anyway. The Turkish merchant does not force his goods upon you, nor race out in the street after prospective customers, like the Jew and the Armenian. Those whom it is his destiny to get will come of their own accord. This apparent indifference to trade is amazing to the hustling American traveler. He wonders how the Turk can make a living. As a matter of fact, he does not make as good a living as his Jewish or Greek or Armenian competitors, but the peace and contentment which is written on his face is worth the cost he pays for it. There is no strain in his business life. He is as calm and placid as if he were an anchorite meditating upon the goodness of his Creator.

The absence of ambition in the average Turk is partly an outcome of this same fatalism. He is content with whatever Allah sends. He has few desires which a large income could satisfy. In times of business stress his faith in God is superb. In these ways, religion enters into the daily life of the Turk to sweeten it and make it calm and peaceful. Misfortune is met with complete resignation. *Worry never dwells upon the smooth brow of the Turk.*

Life's end is met with the same calm and fortitude. The Angel of Death never comes save at God's command, and at the destined time. Why murmur or repine? Why fruitlessly endeavor to escape one's fate? The prime minister of a certain Sultan once came in fright to his master and asked leave to withdraw for the rest of his life to Tunis. The Angel of Death was following him with calm steps. It was the sight of Death which had caused him to make this effort to escape. The Sultan granted the request and as the prime minister walked gladly from the room thinking he had saved his life for a few years more, the Sultan saw a grim smile upon the face of Death. "Why do you smile?" he asked. Death replied; "Your majesty, Allah sent me to fetch this man, but I was commanded to take him at Tunis. I wondered how I could get him to go there, but now you have solved the difficulty for me."

Such fatalism has its evil side—a folding of the hands without effort to struggle against unfavorable conditions—but it robs life of much of its terror, and death too. It is said that veteran soldiers in any country become fatalists. Frequent exposure to death obliges them to this protection against fear. The calmness with which they face the whistling bullet is induced by the belief that they will not be shot until their time comes. Napoleon was a confirmed fatalist. His faith in his own destiny was so strong that by it he inspired all his followers, and the spirit with which they fought was but a reflection of his own fiery assurance.

In the East this spirit controls all. And in addition to this every Mohammedan who falls in a religious warfare has the promise of immediate Paradise which gives not only calm acceptance of death, but a welcoming to it, and lends a fury to Mohammedan warfare which has more than once made Europe quail.

The Mohammedans in general carry their religion into their every-day lives: it is not a matter of mere seventh-day observance. Their hospitality is renowned. Never do they let the stranger go hungry. They have few organized charities but each Mohammedan is at the service of his brother. A poor man can get bread at the kitchens of the rich; no one need starve. The feeling of brotherhood is very strong in Islam—stronger than in Christianity. Islam is a powerful religious democracy. He who asks in the name of Allah is seldom refused.

I have already spoken of the reverence with which the Mohammedan goes through the forms of his religion. The mosque service cannot fail to inspire any visitor with its feeling of hushed worship and devotion. The Mohammedan at prayer has no attention for

anything else. Nothing can distract him; his thoughts are fixed on God.

The fear of God is always in the heart of the Mohammedan. He is simple-minded—childlike, if you will, but his heart and mind are fixed upon God. He lives near to God. His speech is permeated with pious phrases.

The hold of religion upon Mohammedans is best seen in their faithful observance of the fast of Ramazan (necessitating a real sacrifice of personal comfort and efficiency) and their total abstinence from liquor, a thing which Christian countries are not able to produce with all their temperance societies and prohibition. The blood of Moslems is not tainted with the ravages of this social evil, they do not bequeath scrofula and insanity to their children. Here is a vigorous race full of red blood that is pure and strong. The Turks are not degenerate nor effete. Their physique is among the best in the world, thanks to their simple life.

The things of which I have so far been speaking are the externals of religion, rather than the indications of a true spirituality; but there are many ways in which the Oriental shows himself to be more spiritually-minded than his western brother. His thoughts are more constantly upon the divine. It is not without significance that every one of the great world religions has arisen in the East and had its conception in the mind of an Oriental. There is something in the East which seems to induce meditation. Its climate invites you to be dreamy and mystic, just as our American climate forces life into feverish activity. I suppose that is what one means by the "spell of the East." One falls under it insensibly; but it is there—a real thing—as vital in the lives of its peoples as our machinery is to us. How little time our business men have for meditation, and for speculating on the nature of existence. How seldom when they are together does their conversation turn on spiritual themes, the nature of the ultimate—man's position in the universe—his duty toward the divine. Their view seems shut in, confined, in comparison with the Oriental. The typical American has few thoughts outside the round of his business, his city, and national politics and problems. He has no cosmic view. His mind does not scan the universe—nor formulate for him any definite relation to this mysterious All of which the world where he breathes and lives is but an infinitesimal part. He bothers little with such idle speculations.

To the Oriental, however, this is the one absorbing theme. He is ever pondering upon the nature of existence as a whole. Other things—the practical things of every-day life—are but passing shows

from which he is glad to withdraw whenever possible in order to be face to face with the divine, to feel that mystic sense of union with the Whole which is peculiarly Oriental. If two or three business men get together, their talk is sure to run into religion. It is the favorite subject of discussion. From the time he enters this world till the time he leaves it, the Oriental is surrounded with the feeling of awe and reverence for the unseen, and a reaching out for a closer relation to it.

It is from the East that there have come the ideas of renunciation, submission to God, and the absence of all desire save his will—which I take to be the essence of spirituality; without these qualities no individual can be called spiritual.

Islam teaches these qualities and they are strong in every earnest Mussulman. The very word Islam means "submission" and a Mussulman is "one who submits to God." The patience with which he bears suffering and misfortune is wonderful. This folding of the hands in complete submission to God's will, this calm and majestic attitude toward the buffets of the world, rendering the sufferer superior to his suffering, placing man, even in misfortune, above the plane of material fluctuations—is a thing which only a strong religion can bring to pass.

What is the goal of every individual's desire, save to be beyond the power of misfortune, to be assured of constant peace and happiness? One way of striving for this is to pile up investments, to perfect the external conditions of life, to surround oneself with friends—and then to shake one's fist in the face of destiny and defy it to injure. But the very defiance is a fear. No stronghold is proof against calamity. And even if all other obstacles to happiness were removed, death alone were sufficient to disturb the materialist's peace of mind.

It was an Oriental who once said, "Lay not up your treasures on earth, where moths do corrupt and where thieves break through and steal." And having perhaps a vision of the bravado of our twentieth century materialist, this same Oriental told the story of a man who piled up wealth in his barns and then invited his friends to carouse, defying destiny to do him harm. Fool that he was. His *grain was safe* but *he* was not, for his soul was required of him that very night.

At the risk of tiring the reader we will quote Emerson's poem "Hamatreya," because it so admirably illustrates the different attitudes of the East and West toward material possessions.

HAMATREYA.

"Bulkeley, Hunt, Willard, Hosmer, Meriam, Flint,
 Possessed the land which rendered to their toil
 Hay, corn, roots, hemp, flax, apples, wool and wood.
 Each of these landlords walked amidst his farm,
 Saying, 'Tis mine, my children's, and my name's.
 How sweet the west wind sounds in my own trees!
 How graceful climb those shadows on my hill!
 I fancy these pure waters and the flags
 Know me, as does my dog: we sympathize;
 And, I affirm, my actions smack of the soil.'

"Where are these men? Asleep beneath their grounds
 And strangers, fond as they, their furrows plow.
 Earth laughs in flowers, to see her boastful boys
 Earth-proud, proud of the earth which is not theirs;
 Who steer the plough, but cannot steer their feet
 Clear of the grave.
 They added ridge to valley, brook to pond,
 And sighed for all that bounded their domain;
 'This suits me for a pasture; that's my park;
 We must have clay, lime, gravel, granite-ledge,
 And misty lowland, where to go for peat.
 The land is well,—lies fairly to the south.
 'Tis good, when you have crossed the sea and back,
 To find the sitfast acres where you left them.'
 Ah! the hot owner sees not Death, who adds
 Him to his land, a lump of mould the more.
 Hear what the Earth says:

EARTH-SONG.

" 'Mine and yours;
 Mine, not yours.
 Earth endures;
 Stars abide—
 Shine down in the old sea;
 Old are the shores;
 But where are old men?
 I who have seen much,
 Such have I seen.

" 'The lawyer's deed
 Ran sure,
 In tail,
 To them, and to their heirs
 Who shall succeed,
 Without fail,
 Forevermore.

"Here is the land,
Shaggy with wood,
With its old valley,
Mound and flood.
But the heritors?—
Fled like the flood's foam.
The lawyer, and the laws,
And the kingdom,
Clean swept herefrom.

"They called me theirs,
Who so controlled me;
Yet every one
Wished to stay, and is gone,
How am I theirs,
If they cannot hold me,
But I hold them?"

"When I heard the Earth-song,
I was no longer brave;
My avarice cooled
Like lust in the chill of the grave."

To the Occidental a material possession seems the most solid thing in the universe, but to the Oriental, who has always the eternal values in mind, the things of this earth appear very fluctuating and unstable, while death is the only sure universal adjunct of life.

Here is another way, a better way of insuring peace in the midst of one's possessions, and that is by being detached from them. Only he who is without desire is safe from misfortune. As Lao-tze says, "By not making any claims of ownership, the sage is superior to loss." Of course he is, for how can a man lose what he does not possess? And the man who is free from desire, who is submissive to God's will, looks upon his possessions as loaned to him, and is ready at any time to see them go without complaint or whining. Thus only is he master of his possessions, instead of being mastered by them. Thus only is he superior to misfortune.

This is the constant attitude of the mind of the Oriental. He is very little attached to material things. He can do without the things which the Westerner considers as necessities. He can be happy under almost any circumstances. Thus he lives perpetually in a realm of peace above the jar and turmoil of the world. In the solitudes of his deserts he meditates upon God and his life is partly lived in spiritual spaces.

No visitor to the East returns without an indelible impression of the joy of life there—its lambent happiness, surrounding one like

a Lethean stream and blotting out bothersome things. It is not conducive to activity, perhaps. It fails at the point where the West is strong—in the constant striving for improvement, for more perfect mastery of the material environment. I do not say that the East has all, nor that it is better than the West, but only that it is more spiritual. The practical also has its claims, and here the West leads.

The perfect civilization would be that which combined these two elements; the masterful wrestling with nature for the utilization of her resources and the prevention of waste, whether economic, social, or physiological; and the calm submission to the will of the Almighty which insures peace and happiness. Either without the other is but half perfection.

TALES WITH PHILOSOPHICAL MORALS.

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

I. THE MODEST KING.

"FINALLY," concluded the King, who had just been opening a Cats' Home, "let us remember, in our search for knowledge, that there are some things which are for ever beyond the reach of human intelligence."

The King sat down amid thunderous applause at this appropriate speech, and next day the papers were unanimous in their praise of "the philosophy, and still more the modesty, of a monarch who could make such admissions as to the limitations of the intellect of human beings, of whom he is one of the most illustrious."

* * *

I will pass over the rage of the King when he found that his speeches for the opening of the Cats' Home and a Theological Congress had been interchanged, so that he addressed the Congress as follows:

"This Institution will be, not only a refuge for those forsaken by their owners, but also a place where many, I hope, will enter peacefully upon their long last rest."

I will, I say, pass over this, because it has nothing to do with the story.

* * *

The general chorus of admiration pleased the King and at last he began to get a little less modest. I regret to say that this was brought about chiefly by a saying of the Court Fool:

"Not only has the King surpassed us all in modesty, but he has also given evidence that he possesses a mind of quite singular power. While content, with the rest of us, to disclaim all knowledge of what

cannot be known, he shows by his very words, that he knows something about the latter, namely, that it cannot be known."

The King was so pleased that he made the Fool a little Ruler of the province of a neighboring King (who had died intestate); but, curiously enough, the Fool, when he heard of the appointment, laughed and said:

"The difference between the King and me is that he has made a King of the Fool, while I have made a"

But the rest is *lèse majesté*.

II. THE PHILOSOPHER'S REVENGE.

Once upon a time two philosophers (whom I will call A and B) quarreled. I quite forget what the quarrel was about, but it was very trivial compared with the dreadful revenge taken by A.

First of all, B, deeply insulted, tried to express his contempt for A by sending him *Emerson's Essays*. A retaliated with some plays by Mr. G. Bernard Shaw. Then both lost their tempers, and bad English was bandied about in the shape of works by Miss Marie Corelli. Then A struck the final blow.

One dark, windy night A crept up to B's house and put a bit of cardboard into B's letter-box. On it were some sentences which A had cunningly contrived to give acute pain to the philosophic mind.

* * *

The next morning B found the card, and read:

The statement on the other side of this card is false.

"Well, suppose that is true," thought B. He turned over the card and read:

The statement on the other side of this card is false.

"This is false, then, so the statement on the other side is true. That confirms my hypothesis!" So he borrowed a pencil in a gold case (which he forgot to return) from a neighbor, and marked the first side he had looked at "true." Then he went into breakfast quite happily, and showed the card with a chuckle, to his wife.

"Why have you written 'true' on this side?" asked she; "the other side says it is false."

"Why, don't you see, it is true because the statement on the other side is false."

"Stuff," replied she, "there is no reason why it shouldn't be false and the statement on the other side true!"

As sometimes happens with women, her wild, unpremeditated

shot hit the mark. So poor B had no retort ready, and had to content himself with grumbling at the hardboiledness of his egg (which was, as every housewife knows, just right.)

* * *

In the course of the morning B had an inspiration. "Every woman," said he, repeating one of those silly generalities about women indulged in by people like Max O'Rell or Dr. Emil Reich, "assumes that a statement is false unless it proves to be true,—and then, if a true woman, she still thinks it false." So he wrote on another card:

The statement on the other side of this card is true.

"She will think this false, so that when she turns it over and reads

The statement on the other side of this card is false, she will have to think the first statement *true*. Won't that puzzle her! Perhaps she will toast me a muffin for tea," he added with true insight.

* * *

At the luncheon table B's wife glanced at the card, sniffed: "True, is it?" and turned over the card.

"I *knew* it was false," added she then. "Do you mean to say *that's* what you have been doing all the morning?"

"No," said he untruthfully, "I....."

"You had much better have been mowing the lawn," replied she.

* * *

So, as a result of A's wicked deed, B not only got no muffin for tea, but, ever afterwards, his wife held him and his logic in even greater contempt than she had before.

But the lesson was not wholly wasted. B gradually came to perceive the great truth that falsehood, in logic as in other things, though a good servant, is a bad master.

III. A KING'S INFLUENCE.

This particular King was pompous, rude and stupid, and, one day, he actually said to one of his Nobles, who, he thought, could do him no harm:

"You are *absolutely* incapable of telling the truth!"

It must be confessed that the King had some grounds for this statement, for the Noble in question had never told the truth yet,

and had even selected fishing as his pastime, in order to avoid breaking his record for untruthfulness.

The Noble was a bit of a wag, and replied with mock humility: "Alas; I am afraid that what your Majesty says is quite true!"

The King was pleased at this tribute to his influence. It showed what deep repentance he could call into being by a few simple and well-chosen words. So he boasted of it to a neighboring King, who was rather cleverer.

* * *

To the pompous King's surprise the clever King burst out laughing:

"Ha, ha, ha! He had you nicely that time, the sly dog!"

"But, my dear fellow, I don't understand...."

"Why," replied the clever King, "if he couldn't speak the truth, his saying that you did is false, so *you* told an untruth!"

* * *

The pompous King summoned the Noble and said:

"I regret to see that you took the unwarranted liberty of trifling with me the other day. Of course I saw it at the time and wished to let it pass, but now I see that my dignity cannot allow this, and..."

"Excuse me, your Majesty," interrupted the Noble, "you saw, of course, that it might appear that I hinted that your saying was untrue. To show you that I did not mean this I will go on a step farther: If I *did* suggest that your statement was false, and consequently (since I never told the truth before) that my remark was true, it follows that *your* remark was true, which is what I meant to suggest."

The King smiled rather uncertainly, and said:

"You are a clever fellow,—but I believe that you mean well."

The Noble hid a smile, but whether it was at his little joke or at that last "but" of the King's I can't tell.

IV. THE CONSCIENTIOUS PRINCE.

There was once a Prince who was obliging, conscientious, and just a little stupid. His education was entrusted to a very wise man, who endeavored to fit the obliging young man for the duties of kingship by imparting to him all the well-worn and ill-worn maxims he could think of, from the polished trivialities of Montaigne to the pithy platitudes of Bacon, including, I regret to say, even selections from the works of John Oliver Hobbes and Henry Seton Merri-man. However, his *pièce de résistance* was by none of these authors,

but was: "Be all things to all men." This, the tutor pointed out with wearisome frequency, should be carefully observed by the Monarch who wishes to avoid making enemies.

The Prince was so conscientious that he determined to begin at once to be all things to all men; of course he would have to do the things one by one, for one can't be two things at once (it is a mistake to think that one can blow both hot and cold at the same time).

So, next day, the Prince began by being friendly to every one.

The next day the Prince saw that he must hurry up if he wanted to be *all* things in a lifetime, and, since the next most obvious thing to being friendly was being unfriendly, he was unfriendly to every one.

The next day he took the next most obvious step, and was first friendly and then unfriendly.

The next day he was first friendly, then unfriendly, and then friendly again.

And so on.

* * *

At last his changes of temper got so rapid that he began to be very much disliked, and his tutor shook his head (his *own* head, by the way) and said: "Alas, now, if he had only followed my precept!"

And he *had*, hadn't he?

* * *

I am at a loss to know whether the moral is: Not to pay attention to maxims; or not to be conscientious; or not to do what people tell you; or what; so I cannot do better than conclude with the poet's words:

"I wish that I were wise
Enough to moralize!—
But I forgot
That you do not."

V. THE SEARCH FOR THE ABSOLUTE.

[This story of Mr. Jourdain's recalls one of Schiller's *Xenions* which reads as follows (see *Goethe and Schiller's Xenions*, p. 150):

"Do you take truth for an onion whose layers you singly can peel off?
Never on truth can you draw save you deposit it first."—P. C.]

There was once a man who spent his time about equally between his study and his bed. But he was not wholly devoted to sleep and

literature: once he was known to enjoy a meal. That was when he had Irish Stew for dinner. The peculiar flavor of the onions was so pleasing and new; and he began to meditate....

He bought a raw onion, and it gave him a feeling of disappointment. It had a light brown cover and smelled earthy. "Nevertheless," said he, "inside this casing there is the Absolute Onion; it *must* be there somewhere; the casing is unessential." So he peeled it off.

The inside was pale green and had a penetrating smell not nearly so nice as the smell of the onion in the Irish Stew. Still there was something alike in the smells, and this encouraged the philosopher. Then he made a discovery; *that* was a shell unessential to the Absolute Onion, and off it came.

Soon afterwards he made another discovery. There was a new shell under that. And so on.

As time went on, the philosopher's disappointment grew. So much was unessential, and each coat was so like the last. Tears sprang to his eyes: he thought they were tears of disappointment, but—well, have you ever peeled an onion yourself?

Still he persevered, and when he had shelled off all that was unessential, he found—nothing at all.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE OCCIDENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

How often do we hear the spirituality of the East praised in contrast to the material interests of the West. The Oriental is more frugal and contented, more submissive to destiny or God. Lacking the energy of the more rigorous northern races he is easily satisfied in poverty so long as he can eke out a scanty subsistence, and he leads the simple life in a spirit of childlike happiness. The West, on the contrary, is stimulated by an unbounded ambition. Originally so poor in resources and hampered by an unfavorable climate, the northern races of the West started on a career of industrial conquest, of invention, of bold enterprise, and of a culture based upon the utilization of machinery. When we compare the two we must admit the enormous superiority of the West over the East in everything that pertains to the development of life, but we must at the same time recognize that the satisfaction of industrial progress has not always helped to raise the culture of the heart to a higher level. It almost seems as if in the scramble for wealth the most important feature of civilization, the refinement of humane-ness, had been lost sight of, and under the influence of such a consideration we hear the praise of the Oriental with his simple childlike faith, with his submission to the dispensation of God and the naïveté of his emotional life. We are fully aware of the advantages which lie on either side. Nevertheless we cannot help raising a protest against the overestimation of the East and the scorn of the West in its own superiority.

Mr. Stanwood Cobb's definition of spirituality as "renunciation, submission to God, and the absence of all desire save his will," (see page 306 of this number) appears wrong, and if we consider the spiritual elements of life as the refinement of man's emotional nature, as his belief in ideals, and the ability to devote all effort to the elevation of humanity, we cannot help thinking that this passive Oriental piety is quite a primitive condition which characterizes the child, while western spirituality in its manly vigor should be ranked higher.

We will say at the same time that the greed and the egotism so strongly marked in western dealings is by no means absent in the Orient. On the contrary, those who really know the Orient from inspection at first hand must grant that the eastern vices of the landlord's greed, of the oppression of the poor, of extortion, of cruelty exercised by the conqueror against the conquered, of brutality, of the most outrageous lasciviousness, of such institutions as child marriage, and generally a disrespect for the natural rights

of the female sex, have produced conditions which it will take centuries to reform under the influence of western civilization. Western visitors see the suffering produced by Oriental traditions which make millions of unfortunate martyrs to the curses of Oriental habits miserable, and we admire the patience, the endurance and the spiritual submission they display. Some of their sufferings have been mitigated under the influence of the western conqueror, as we see for instance in the abolition of such customs as widow-burning. But does it not seem preposterous to denounce the western man as lacking in spirituality in comparison to the Oriental who in his helpless condition needs the assistance of his materialistic and unspiritual brother to drag himself gradually out of the slough into which he has sunk in spite of a so-called superior spirituality?

If by spirituality a dualistic belief in spiritism or kindred notions is meant we must confess that there is more of this sort of spirituality in the East than the West. But is not this an antiquated phase in the conception of spirit? The Orient still lags behind the West in its religious development and is much marred by anti-scientific superstitions. Is there not danger that these childlike races while developing into broader views will lose their religion entirely and become useless and unscrupulous? It seems that a progress which overlaps the natural phases of development is not desirable and that in thus losing their traditional religion, whether to become Christians or atheists, they will simply lose the nobler qualities of their more primitive faith.

We would say in conclusion that with all due respect for the noble qualities of the eastern races, with all the recognition which we must give the elevating influence of the ancient eastern civilization which about 2000 years ago was imported into the northern West, with all the confidence we may cherish for the future development of the East, we must not forget that the West has arisen above the East and that it is now our turn to lend them a helping hand, to develop a higher spirituality which does not consist in a submission to God or the powers that dominate destiny, but in a courageous effort to build up a nobler life through a deeper comprehension of the laws of nature.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NICHIREN SECT OF BUDDHISM.

On another page we are publishing some instructive facts with regard to the Nichiren sect and its founder. It will be of further interest to our readers in this connection to learn that the present Lord Abbot of that sect regards it as similar to Christianity in essentials if not in outward form. For the following translation from Abbot Honda's writings published in *The Japan Advertiser*, of Tokyo, we are indebted to the Rev. Ernest W. Clement.

"Many who have become aware of evils and the lack of solidarity and harmony, have discovered that the principles of Nichiren are perfectly suited to the needs of the time, and that these teachings are idealism, realism, religion, and nationalism harmoniously combined and can promote the national feeling. Our efforts to lead men to study the Nichiren tenets are not for the purpose of promoting any single religion nor any single sect, but the happiness of the nation and people as a whole.

"As a result of earnest study of Buddhism the glory of the holy Nichiren has been more clearly recognized in society. The reason of this is that the teachings of Nichiren combine the best of Christianity and Buddhism into one great harmonious religion. Nichiren has thrown away the dross of these two religions and has taken the essence of both, thereby forming a most precious teaching. In truth this teaching is founded on life and society. The Nichiren doctrine of the holy one does not depend on real religion and the future state alone. It exists in truth, for the uplift and eternal welfare of the country. The object of these teachings is to promote a healthy state in the society of the present, to satisfy the desires of the individual, to encourage the ideal of benevolence, and though it is hard to steer clear of secularism, the penetrating eyes of the holy one saw these weak points well, and all his life he encouraged organizations for promoting the welfare of society. He planned the reformation of organizations and the peace of the people as individuals. The one thing to lead mankind to enlightenment centers in the doctrine of resolution and the nation's peace.

"Before going into Nichiren's teachings, I should like to say a word about the relation between religion and society. From the beginning in the Nichiren sacred books according to the one vehicle law (*ichi-jeko*) the present conditions of society continue throughout eternity in another world. Faith in religion, and the cultivation of morality are one and the same and are unchangeable. In the future the ideal life and the real life are united, and the spirit and flesh experience a harmonious blending. This thought is expressed in the following words: 'This law of ours (the one vehicle) is enough to fill the world.' The law expressed in other words means time and eternity are the same, different words expressing the same idea. In the same book this expression is found. 'The pleasures of this world are revealed to be continued into Nirvana.' 'The present world is rest and the future will be goodness.'

"These holy words are the most appropriate and harmonious of all the words found in the Buddhist classics. If the people of Europe and America only possessed such classics, how highly would they prize them! That they do not possess them is much to be regretted.

"Generally speaking, Japanese Buddhism has put much emphasis on the thought of the future and future happiness, and has not taken into account real society and the moral life. A way of aiding society has been devised to a limited extent, but the methods have been of a negative character and the failure of Buddhists to exert themselves along positive lines in behalf of the national good, shows Buddhism has lost its vitality. Only Nichiren realized the evil and labored to save society. Nichiren from the beginning proclaimed the establishment of righteousness and the peace of the nation and his reproof of the rulers at that time meant nothing more than the putting into practice this great ideal. When we examine the writings of the holy one everywhere we find doctrine, country and morality equally emphasized. To quote: 'Knowing the doctrine inspires patriotism.' 'A comparison of the laws of the land with Buddhism shows their harmony.' 'The clearing up of the heavens makes earth clear.' 'Knowing Nichiren enables us to understand the laws of the earth.' 'A deep knowledge of earthly laws is found in Buddhism.' These words make it sufficiently clear Nichiren holds out a great ideal to the world and so inspires the faith of society as to enable it to realize this perfect ideal."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

BIYONDE CIFRUN. By *George D. Buchanan*. Boston: Buchanan, 1911, Pp. 64.

The author is an occultist or a mystic or whatever we may call that attitude which allows sentiment to take the leading part in building up our world-conception. The naturalist and the scientist pass these propositions by as worthless, and we know very well that from the standpoint of science they possess no value. Nevertheless there is sometimes a poetry in these propositions which is worth heeding, and here lies the secret of the great influence which in former centuries mysticism has exercised upon mankind. The little book before us takes up an idea which is actually the source of all mysticism, the idea of zero, of nothingness, but it is not treated from the standpoint of the mathematician who is fully convinced of the mysterious qualities of the naught, the zero, the cipher.

Mr. Buchanan discusses the zero as the point of rest between motions such as the swing of the pendulum when one force changes into its opposite. He says: "There is much evidence that when a whirling material object, be it a solid, liquid or gas, attains a certain speed, which seems to depend upon other qualities or conditions together with volume and weight, some of the laws which govern it, or rather some of the forces, developed by it below that rate of speed seem to change, some of them even becoming reversed and the object becomes a self-sustaining entity by passing a point in rate of speed (the zero or cifrun) where the development of centrifugal force (that force which tends away from the center) ceases and centripetal force (that force which tends toward the center) is developed both within and beyond certain radii. But at the terminals of those radii it seems to surround itself with a belt or cifrun which separates it in a measure from everything else and at which points it repels, although it attracts at points both within and beyond."

This zero, or, as the author prefers to say, "cifrun," is materialized; or rather it is looked at as an actual positive reality of a mysterious existence which exercises its effects in some way beyond the zero, and thus he speaks of the "Biyonde cifrun." The action of the biyonde cifrun is illustrated with diagrams in which, however, the mind of a materialist will scarcely take much interest. It is a kind of poetry with a mathematical idea at the bottom of it, and we can not deny that it is suggestive. The main object, however, is the author's application to death and immortality. He says: "There are those who enter the dark belt, death, believing that dying is simply lying down to a peaceful eternal sleep; that it is as the bursting of a bubble—that, like the comet, the vacuum which this life sometimes almost seems to be, will close up at that point where we shall touch the inner wall of the cifrun, death, and that we, as individuals, shall there vanish forever—that we exist as does a flame...."

"As the only immortality which it knows is that which lives on in the progeny and reputation which the individual leaves to exist after itself, it influences for high ideals of parentage and personality.

"But whether one believes this or that or any of these, is of little moment. Matters of greater importance, and that demand our immediate attention, confront us at every step."

Attempts like that of our author are interesting both to the psychologist and the historian. Religious movements have grown up from seeds of this

kind, and such phenomena ought not to be neglected by the psychologists of both the individual and the race. There is an intrinsic tendency in all these aspirations which tends to the same goal. It is the goal which all religions aspire for, and our author expresses his aim in the concluding paragraphs as follows:

"The present life is real, full of demands and is the one that concerns just now. He who spends it in doing the right, need have no fears concerning what lies beyond. He who wastes it in dreaming of what awaits him after it is all over, is himself a zero here and might as well move on and make room for better men.

"May it have for its chief aim the elevation of the human race to a higher plane of physical, mental, moral and spiritual, that is ideal, excellence, so that men may dwell together in peace, regardless of differences in beliefs concerning what lies beyond this world.

"The human race is nearing an epoch in which the truthfulness of the basic principles herein contended for will be revealed and acknowledged."

During the autumn and winter months most of the scientific journals and many less technical periodicals of Europe and America have contained obituary essays with reference to the late Henri Poincaré, scientist, but especially mathematician and astronomer. One of the most detailed and appreciative of these is by George Sarton, published in the Bulletin of the Belgian Society of Astronomy, *Ciel et terre*. M. Sarton apparently takes exception to the improvident ways of Providence, saying, "For my part I know of nothing more agonizing (*angoissant*) than a death so unwonted, I was about to say so stupid; it is as if an ill-disposed and jealous fate was implacably bent on destroying the best of us as soon as ever we become too well trained and too discerning.... The life of a genius is every bit as fragile as that of an idiot or a bandit. One does not seem to weigh any heavier than the other in the scale of destiny."

Sarton emphasizes as particularly characteristic of Poincaré the encyclopedic quality of his genius in this respect resembling Gauss. He calls attention to the fact that he completed the analytical work of Cauchy and Riemann, that his work in celestial mechanics crowns the magnificent monument whose foundations were laid by Newton, and whose erection was continued by Laplace; that he fathomed and perfected the study of all contemporary physical theories and thus made valuable contributions to the work of Maxwell, Hertz and Lorentz; and that finally this mathematician and physicist has been revealed to us as a master of philosophy, his critical work carrying on most effectively that begun by Kant and Mach.

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ST. NICHIREN IN HIS HERMITAGE ON MT. MINOBU.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII (No. 6)

JUNE, 1913

NO. 685

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THE GOSPEL OF ILLUSION—BEYOND TRUTH.

BY F. W. ORDE WARD.

WHEN we feel ourselves in the presence of some great idea or ideal the very last question we ask ourselves is about its truth, because this term has so many different meanings, according to the time or place or person. That which seems truth to one man, seems false to another. Temper or temperament, the subjective and the objective, the merely relative and the utterly absolute, all of these offer us materials that must be weighed well in the balances of consideration before we can even begin to state the problem—much more before we can decide upon it.

The hegemonic idea or ideal appears to capture almost everybody at once, nor do we dream for a moment of doubting its truth. If a captious critic ventured to assert a misgiving, we should reply in some such way as this: "If it is not what you think true, it ought to be, it must be, it shall be—my belief will make it true." We might proceed to add, "anyhow it is true to me and my wants in particular, and to human nature in general, and I ask for nothing more than this. I recognize in it a propriety of its own, and indeed something vaster still, something like the thoughts of things ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὄντων—'at the back o' beyond.'" We hear, so to speak, the challenge of an eternal verity, which assumes varying forms with varying conditions or modes of thought and feeling.

The driving force—paradoxical as it may sound—behind the dynamic ideas of miracle and science, portent and proof, which to the superficial observer are so diametrically opposed, is practically one and the same, namely a revelation of the unknown. God in

both, from behind his cloud, says, "Come and find me." The sole difference between the two consists in this, that the former appeals rather to faith and imagination and the latter to logic or reason and research, though most philosophers now would probably agree that faith cannot be separated entirely from reason, and, as Pascal said, has reasons of its own.

The human mind, in the course of its evolution and culture, simply exchanges one set of wonders for another. And so, when our contemporary theologians persist in asking if miracles are true, they completely misapprehend the vital point at issue. *Non tali auxilio, non defensoribus istis*. Truth, whatever it may be, and it has a thousand meanings, does not enter in here at all. The question is rather, "Did God reveal himself through miracles in an age of miracles, and did he work them as he has worked since and does now and always must, owing to our imperfections and infirmities, by the instrumentality of illusion?" And the discussion on the subject, at the last church congress, really added nothing to our knowledge, nothing to any sort of solution, and left the case exactly where it was before.

Of all arguments or methods, the dilemma is often the most useless and the most stupid. We can hardly ever, perhaps never, urge either—or. Realities cannot be disemboweled in this short and easy way, and sharply divided into this or that. Many things may be both true and false, or neither. The passion for labeling and so frequently libeling matters, the lust for pigeon-holing vast propositions that refuse to be pigeon-holed or quantified, the spatial analysis, these crude and coarse methods, have done an infinity of harm. The deepest things and thoughts cannot be reduced to categories, or confined in strait waistcoats, or pared down to fit a Procrustean bed. We might as fairly put the question thus: Is chivalry true? Is Homer or Virgil or Dante or Shakespeare true? Of course they are both true and false or neither. They were something different, something larger, something better than true. They proved adequate, dynamic, seminal centers of inexhaustible energy for all time. The whole matter as to the truth of miracles, as represented by the theological (yes, and scientific) thought of to-day, is a gigantic *ignoratio elenchi*. It is impertinent and monstrous to ask such a question, at this stage of intellectual progress.

Truth has nothing to do with miracles. Whether real or imaginary, they did their duty, they attracted attention, they excited debate, they stimulated the mind, they engaged interest, they aroused dead or dying souls, and they rightly obtained universal belief. They

played a magnificent part in the expansion of the intellect and in the stirring of the dry bones. Nothing else could possibly at that age have produced the same result. People wanted them, the human heart craved for the marvels that were its congenial food, and it got them. The credit that miracles then received inspired great words and deeds, and supported great lives. Churches and states, whole civilizations, lived in them and breathed through them. It is not of the slightest importance whether they were true or false. They gave the growing world the needed and appropriate push; they pulled with a gravitative power that helped the infant race onward and upward. If objectively untrue from a modern, and therefore an erroneous, standpoint, they were subjectively true. They energized in larger life and action, they compelled and impelled alike the educated and the uneducated, the ruler and the ruled, the priest and the prophets. What more can we conceivably demand? Wonder, as Bacon finely said, is broken knowledge, and always will be. And to lose this divine faculty, is to lose the chief thing that makes life worth living. "He who wonders shall reign, and he who reigns shall find rest."

"Our little systems have their day—
They are but broken lights of Thee."

Wonder prepares the way, it creates the atmosphere of receptive and impressionable faith, with which science itself cannot dispense—science which begins with postulates and ends with hypotheses, and is too often a mixture of assumption and presumption, but is nevertheless the last and not the least heavenly revelation, with all its consecrated errors.

God, if we may beg the question and allow his existence as something more than a pious theological expression, can be of no use to us and is no God at all, unless he manifests himself as a working God. Christ saw and proclaimed this truth—"My Father worketh hitherto and I work." And thus throughout the pages of history, so far back as we can return, we discover in the very earliest times traces of this fact, that God works through illusion, by a kind of wise and beautiful and divine series of deceptions. Realities cannot be entirely unveiled immediately. "I have many things to say unto you but ye cannot bear them now." Accordingly they come to us wrapped up in various forms and figures, mythical machinery, bright or terrible shadows, allegories, poetry, theogonies and cosmogonies. Nature's forces and resources are ransacked to bestow the particular instruction vitally needed by some particular people,

at the various crises of its development. These veiled visions seem always at the most but suggestions of, and approximations to, unspeakable certitudes and verities behind and beyond the passing vehicles of a temporary expression. "*God, having of old times spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of the days spoken unto us in His Son.*" From the first governing illusion, whatever it was, whether of dreams or ghosts or the pathetic fallacy, as old as man and Nature, down to the illusion of the last ultimatum in metaphysics or theology, history has reported but guesses and glimpses. We must go beyond the truth, in order to arrive at truth.

We begin with a dreamland of mixed magic and religion, un-individualized groups of men, animism, totemism, legends or history at its birth, myths or philosophy in its cradle, combinations of both when there were no insuperable barriers between gods and human beings, or the visible and the invisible. It was all more or less illusion. Stones, plants, trees, woods and waters, animals, fetichism, theriolatry, went to the making of man and his relations with God. They were all illusions, but not delusions. They constituted energizing factors in the development of souls and civilizations. They preluded a fuller harmony.

All religions at the outset were enormous illusions, though never without some divine spark, some *divinae particula aurae*. And the *error* was *splendidus*, simply because it contained some admixture of the *verum* or the *ultraverum*. The human mind had to be taught through the medium of pictures and signs and symbols and object lessons. Through no other channel could the intelligence of children (as we are still) be instructed in spiritual subjects, which were necessarily materialized, localized and adjusted to them. These allegories or parables or visionary representations made people think. "And God fulfils Himself in many ways."

If history has shown us one incontrovertible fact, surely it is this, that processes are necessary and processes are long, and the more protracted the discipline of evolution the more satisfactory and permanent the results. God, having all eternity in which to work, makes no measure of time. *Deus patiens quia aeternus*. But we observe also,—and here we have the vital point—he operates, he communicates through a veil. Maya is universal. Conveyance for the light needed for the period, must be and persistently proves to be just a matter of accommodation. We see through a glass darkly, and the veil imperatively required cannot but often blur and distort and deceive our vision. We could not endure the full

light, the blaze of perfect truth—nay, we should not even understand it. The totality would address us in an unknown tongue. And therefore the message comes to us dimly and tardily filtered through some parabolic medium. For “precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little. For with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to his people.”

It all must be illusive and slowly prelusive, but ever divine. We are yet, even now, infants in school, laboriously spelling out fragments of the spacious mystery behind the veil. But still, *some on boards and some on broken pieces, we shall escape at last all safe to land.* So far as we are able to apprehend at present, God allows us to see. But, let us never forget that every illusion must be also an illusion of the truth or the over-truth, for gnosis leads on to epignosis and that to hypergnosis. Else it could not and would not be an illusion at all, for the bright or dark shadow is thrown by a reality behind or above—“coming events cast their shadows before.” Otherwise, the illusion would be fruitless and could not achieve anything practical and permanent, as it invariably does.

The light reflected may be darkness, but at the same time it is light—light at any rate for the blind. And every idea or ideal, however transitory, bequeathes something that lives and lasts out of the eternal core which constitutes the soul of its contents. Here too many readers, studying history or philosophy teaching by example, have gone astray. Racial antipathies and ethnic enmities, no less than tribal solidarities in which the sin of the individual tainted the whole of the community or his suffering involved all his fellow tribesmen; slavery and the subordination of women; the predatory and militant stage; the city, state and empire; fixed and fluid civilizations, even feudalism—all of these states or stages had and have a meaning of indispensableness and some useful purpose in the formation and deepening of character or life, in the eternal progress by antagonism. And patriotism itself, so much out of fashion for the aggrandisement of so-called cosmopolitanism—patriotism, “the last refuge of a scoundrel,” possesses a majesty of its own. They were, they are, all illusions, because imperfect and inadequate and mere promises of propaedeutics or accommodations, but notwithstanding this they were (those that have passed) and they are (those that remain) inevitable. They represent or represented dominant ideas or ideals, and translate or translated themselves into shape and action to deposit some day valuable knowledge and instructions for future advances. No hegemonic

illusion can die without adding something to cosmic wealth. But none of them really die, though they pass away. They rather assume fresh forms, and enter into new disguises and operate dynamically through altered conditions, in the pomp and circumstance of the moment or period.

For instance, we (most of us) believe in a soul, but we know little or nothing about it, except that we adopt the name as a symbol of something that may be at once a personal and an everlasting possession. But, if we could localize it or visualize it under the microscope in the pineal gland or some tangle of ether, it would not in the least degree resemble our ideas of it. We are obliged to conceive it in terms of matter and space, we have no spiritual language with which to describe it. And so it endures as an illusion, but an illusion far more real to us than a thousand beggarly facts, which can be analyzed to the bottom, quantified to the very last atom of insignificance. Whether the body possesses the soul, or the soul possesses the body—a much more philosophical conception—nothing can shake our belief, though we never reason out our faith, we merely symbolize. And, in the same manner, were we to go through all our most cherished convictions and make an inventory of the articles classified as the dearest treasures of our heart's firmest creed, we should find them not by any means demonstrable truths, but more precious and inspiring still—namely, dynamic illusions. We ask for no proof, because proof appears unnecessary, superfluous, even an insult to faith which we accept as elemental, both primary and ultimate. The solid earth does not seem half so substantial as these.

When we once have accepted this principle (as we must, if only to understand something of the incessant transformation of appearance and the flux of things) we discover a cosmic key to the universe, always changing and yet always the same. We have no more hungry gods or theories to feed with perpetual sacrifices, and a revaluation of all values, especially spiritual values, becomes a necessity. The Baganda say that the priest, when possessed by a god, is "married to the god." So the philosopher, anxious to ascertain the right path must be wedded to his method of inquiry, treating it as a permanent wife and not a mere passing mistress just when it happens to suit a preconceived system.

Now in illusion we have the master key and the chief of all the *idées forces*; but, from this point of view, we need not make truth our goal. Everybody knows now, or should know, that the gospel of eudaemonism has proved a failure, and satisfies no one.

If we put this before us as our main pursuit, as our final object, we inexorably miss it. Happiness comes by the way or not at all. It is not an end, but like heaven itself a temper, and only arises out of a proper balance between the worker and his work. And such the many competitive schools of philosophy have abundantly shown to be the case with truth. The rival teachers and preachers claim it as their own. But when we have examined the message of prophet after prophet down to Eucken and Bergson, we see not truth, but illusion upon illusion.

If inquirers had resolved simply to decipher the dialectic of life with no foregone conclusions, and honestly to interrogate the powers and processes all around them, they would have obtained better if not infallible results. Most philosophers seem to seek not what is consistent with itself but what is consistent with their cast-iron views, and have already begged the question they profess to ask. If we troubled less about truth and more about the meaning of life or mystery, we might be infinitely less learned, but we should be infinitely more wise and infinitely more near to the center. Fooling with abstractions, and wild cat *petitiones principii*, will inevitably end as it began in a fool's paradise of idle negations and empty generalities. We must put the matter of truth aside, because we are unable to state at first any problem dispassionately or without prejudices. Our initial steps take the color and taint of obstinate partiality and predetermination. The thing must be conformed to the thought, and not the thought adapted to the thing. And, as Pilate said, "What is Truth?" An ignorant and uneducated and stupid man, who knew nothing whatever about anything, might nevertheless lead a noble and true life, though all his ideas were false. Life, character, a good working unstable equilibrium between the man and his environment, more sweetness and more light, as Swift preached long before Matthew Arnold, will give us far more peace and strength, and enrich far more the contents of the spiritual personality, than all the so-called truths in the world.

The alleged truths of science and laws of science, and facts of science, keep perpetually passing to enter into new and broader combinations. What are they at the best but symbols useful for a time? What are they but illusions? Even with mathematical truths, the position (or imposition) looks no better. The new school of mathematics has shattered a host of ancient and venerable idols. Euclid has gone at last into the dust-bin. We have infinites upon infinites, and within infinites. Parallel straight lines may meet at last, if sufficiently produced. The part may be greater than the

whole and two and two might conceivably make five and not four. Old landmarks have gone forever, and old boundaries no longer divide but bridge over impassable gulfs, and insuperable mountains. Nothing remains fixed or final, *panta rhei*. All is illusion, that sternly orders us to keep moving on. Truth has become a bugbear, fascinating, flying, Protean. Creation did not once happen, and then cease forever, it continues now and is an eternal process. The Incarnation did not begin or end with Jesus Christ, at a particular epoch in history. He was from the outset of all, embodied as a principle of life, the predominating principle of life in every man. And the Crucifixion has ever been enacted and operative in every creature's act of vicarious suffering, whether voluntary or involuntary. The real ultimate significance of such tremendous mysteries and processes, we do not know. They are illusions, they baffle our vision and our intellectual faculties, but they are also life and leading. We can steer our every course by them, as by the stars. They lavish upon us their bounty, light and strength and beauty, and above all they compel us to go on and on and work and assist in the birth of fairer creations still.

We must endeavor to reach beyond truth, and receive humbly and thankfully the government of illusion. No more barbarous and blundering frontal attacks. Realities must be, so to speak, outflanked and circumvented. The pathway must be treated as the goal, or the goal given up entirely as a fallacy, a siren, luring us to shipwreck on the rocks of despair.

And why all this agitation about miracles? If we want to believe in them we can, and if we do not want to believe we need not. But, in spite of Matthew Arnold, miracles have always happened and always will, whether true or false. They constitute an integral part of the grand general cosmic Illusion. They act and react in an appropriate medium, edify millions rightly or wrongly, and irritate university professors in their academic milieu with their academic souls. And it would be the greatest miracle of all, if there were no miracles. Were they but vendible goods, they would flutter the markets of the world. "*Mes enfants,*" said Renan, "*tout n'est ici bas que symbole et que songe.*" And when one reads the elaborate imbecilities expended on discussing insoluble questions, we feel tempted to say with Mark Twain, "Man was made at the end of the week's work, when God felt tired!"

But, in the acceptance of illusion, we imply at the same time all we need desire. It must have some substratum, some marvelous reality, some infinite over-truth, beyond its kaleidoscopic per-

mutations and combinations. There cannot fail to be a ground work, a vital and vitalizing basis, for this universal phantasmagoria. These symbolisms are God speaking to us, warning, encouraging, chastening, cheering, pulling down only to lift up again higher than before, and even slaying at the last just to save so as by fire, and sowing the seed of future countless harvest fields in every grave. *L'homme* (as well as *Dieu*) *se retrouve à la fin de tout*. And nothing reveals God and ourselves like illusion.

TRUTH *vs.* ILLUSION.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE present age is a time of reaction and our intellectual life seems to be readjusting itself to new conditions. On the one side there are iconoclasts who would break down the old, ruin the churches, denounce the old erroneous confessions of faith as superstitions, and start our intellectual life over again. On the other side there are fanatics who would cling to the old, put a ban on modernism, fetter science, brand liberalism as irreligious and indulge in praising submission to blind belief as the highest ideal of morality. Between these two extremes are large masses who try to regain their equilibrium and attempt a reconciliation with the opposite principles by selecting what most appeals to them and harmonizing the result as well as they can.

Among the tendencies of the present age which may be considered as failures are the philosophies of pragmatism and all kindred aspirations. A subjectivism has taken hold of those who try to be liberal and yet feel that they cannot give up the support which the old ideas have given them. In their quandary as to what to accept as true among a confusion of contradictory principles, they attack the objectivity of truth itself, they place instinct above reason, sentiment above logic, vision above exact computation and prophetic enthusiasm above science.

We are fully convinced of the importance of the part played by imagination in science and scientific discovery. We know the power of poetry and the significance of art and literature in human development. We appreciate the prophet and have many instances in history of the debt mankind owes to him. Instinct is a mighty lever, and in prescientific ages it moved mountains where the scientist, if he had existed, would have been incapable of affecting any change because he would have found no echo in the minds of the people for a clearly spoken truth. He would have remained un-

understood. In a former exposition on this subject,¹ we called attention to a drastic incident in history where superstition gained a victory in battle, when the crusaders besieging Antioch were attacked and countersieged by an enormous army of Saracens under Kerbogha, superior both in numbers and equipment, and merely by a fraud, fully believed in by many, the starving Christian army gained an almost superhuman strength of fanaticism and liberated itself from this hopeless plight. I refer to the so-called discovery of the holy lance through Peter Bartholomew.

Such things have happened again and again, and superstition has frequently supplied mankind with a marvelous power which impresses even the impartial historian of a later age and was frequently and freely interpreted at the time as a special intercession of God. This is all very true and must be granted, and superstition has often done wonders in the right cause and in the promotion of progress. But for all that, we must not forget that error remains error and that error is always injurious. Says Schiller:

"Let but an error be hid
In the stone of foundation—the builder
Buildeth with confidence on;
Never the error is found."

Illusions can be condoned, but they should not be gloried in. Illusions are not truth; at best they but contain truth. They may be allegories and may drive home a truth that at the time is unintelligible to the ignorant masses. Such truths in disguise, such allegories, such symbols of unintelligible verities are found in religious myths, in the mythology of Christianity as well as of the pagans, and, in a higher stage of human development, in religious dogmas also. That the divine power which controls the destiny of the world is pictured as a great monarch or even as a father, as a person of authority in human fashion, is an allegory which literally understood is not true, but not even the atheist, if he ever recognizes that there is a power in and above ourselves which makes for righteousness, will be prepared to deny that if taken as an allegory it is true; and the historian will confirm that in history the God-idea has been a most important factor in the elevation of the human race. But it is obvious that in this and any other similar instance, it was the truth in the allegory, in the myth, in the dogma, in the symbol, which proved helpful and not the error. The rejection of the error which referred to the outer garb of the truth but at the same time

¹ See the article "Christian Science and the Reason of Its Strength" in *The Monist*, Vol. XVII, pp. 203-205.

killed the truth dressed up in it, proved injurious and so there are instances where for good reasons the destruction of illusions, let us even add of superstitions, have had fatal consequences which seemed to point out the usefulness of error.

Our friend and contributor, Mr. F. W. Orde Ward, presents us in the present number with a eulogy of error, under the title "The Gospel of Illusion," and in recognizing the service performed by illusion under certain conditions he cannot but believe that at the bottom of illusion there must be some great reality, some beyond-truth, some over-truth, and this he thinks is the highest with which man's mind is confronted, it is God.

We appreciate the part which illusion has played in the world and need not repeat that in spite of it we recognize the supremacy of the truth ideal. On the other hand we recognize also that truth and the seeking after truth is not all there is to the human soul. Sentiments have their right, and the artistic, the emotional, the religious, the poetically mystical, the ethically aspirational aspects are important factors in our spiritual existence. But the noetical, the scientific, the critical, the exact and logical methods comprise the balance wheel indispensable in the economy of the human mind as a supreme regulator, and whenever the seeking after truth is prevented from having its way all the other aspirations, be they ever so fervid or powerful or well-intentioned, will become dangerous and may bring wrack and ruin in their wake.

While truth, our search for truth and the attainment of truth, is the regulator of our entire soul-life, we must not say that the attainment of truth is an end in itself. It is simply the instrument of our mental growth, the means by which we adjust ourselves to the powers that be, to God. It is the standard by which the stature of our soul can be measured, and the comprehension of which matures us and exercises a wholesome influence on us to lead us in the right path and prevent us from going astray. But the main purpose is not merely the attainment of truth, but the attunement of our souls to truth so as to set our sentiments into harmony with the All of existence, with the constitution of the universe, with the order of the world,—with God; and the attitude of harmony is the end and aim of our entire intellectuality. Its result is what Paul calls the peace that passeth understanding.

I need not enter here into details to show that even if superstitions contain truths they have at the same time always been perilous factors in religion. The dualistic conception of the soul has been harmless in many respects, but when it was taken seriously

and when the dualistic conception of mental effects by mere mental means produced the superstition of the possibility of doing mischief to others by invoking the powers of evil, it brought forth the belief in witchcraft. The result was tragic, and its immediate consequence was seen in the persecution of witches and the establishment of the Inquisition. All the horrors of that age are the plain results of an error, of a superstition, of an illusion, which in other respects had proved beneficial.

The modern subjectivism with its denial of the objectivity of truth and with its attempt to build up a new truth-conception which would be more pliable and less exacting, which would ease our scientific conscience and give ample room for our sentimental wants, appears very harmless in itself and it may even be helpful in many cases, but we see in it a rock ahead which must be avoided. In the serious well-intended and religiously fervid defense of illusion presented by the Rev. Orde Ward, we have an instance of this tendency which will serve to many as a mere excuse for not facing a problem demanding an unusual concentration of thought and would require us to dig deeper for a solution of the problem.

Let us not despair. Where we see contrasts, which for all we can say at present appear to be irreconcilable contradictions and would encourage a belief in the objective significance of errors and illusions, let us hold fast to the belief that truth is above all, and let our God not be a God of illusion but the God of truth.

NICHIREN TRADITION IN PICTURES.

BY T. J. KINVABARA.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

NICHIREN, the Buddhist saint, is one of several reformers of Buddhism, and his sect has become one of the most powerful institutions of Japan. In the last number of *The Open Court* we published an account of the Nichiren sect and its founder by Mr. T. J. Kinvabara. Around the traditions of this sect there has been developed an enthusiastic sentiment which has produced artistic representations of their tradition in all its naïveté which at once reminds Occidental readers of the medieval legends of Christian saints. We publish in this issue reproductions of twelve selected paintings which picture events in the life of the saint and his followers. They are accompanied with the explanation of Mr. T. J. Kinvabara, who represents Mr. Tanaka Chigaku, the founder of the University of Miho. Mr. Kinvabara explains to us why Mr. Tanaka has withdrawn from the sect and we learn that he did so not on account of a desire to modernize the sect but on the contrary he finds that the present adherents of Nichiren do not preserve the master's true teachings. Mr. Kinvabara writes as follows in a personal letter:

"Mr. Tanaka, who is now in his fifty-fourth year, was in his youth a monk of the Nichiren sect, but at the age of nineteen he returned to secular life. One of the main reasons for his giving up the life of a so-called priest and for severing all connection with the Nichiren sect was that in his opinion the Buddhism of the future should be the Buddhism of the layman; that the monks ought not to have anything to do with it. In these days the Japanese *bonze*, no matter to what sect he may belong, either marries or requires a woman to take care of him, which is quite against the original teaching of Buddha. Then too the law of the country does not exempt

even monks from military service and of course no Buddhist monks are allowed to acquire the arts of warfare. It was, therefore, from his desire to become a layman and a simple priest of orthodox Buddhism that Mr. Tanaka separated from the sect. Moreover, the Nichiren sect of the present day has lost all semblance of the original teaching of its founder, and is in fact disfigured by all sorts of superstitions. Mr. Tanaka urged ameliorations and reforms upon the representatives of the sect but in vain, so that his own movement is to-day entirely independent of the sect.

"Though no longer a member of the Nichiren sect, he is nevertheless a follower of Nichiren and has given up his life to the work of propaganda. Twenty-five years ago he founded the Rissho An-koku Kai, an organization whose members are counted by the thousands. He edits *Nichirenshugi* which aims to introduce to the general public a popular and at the same time a scientific exposition of the doctrines of Nichiren, and the *Myoshu* which publishes material of a more specific character and is therefore more suited to those who already know and believe in Nichiren's teaching. He has written, among many other books, the *Myoshu Shiki Moku* which is the first synthetic treatment of the teachings of Nichiren Shonin in the polemical history of the sect.

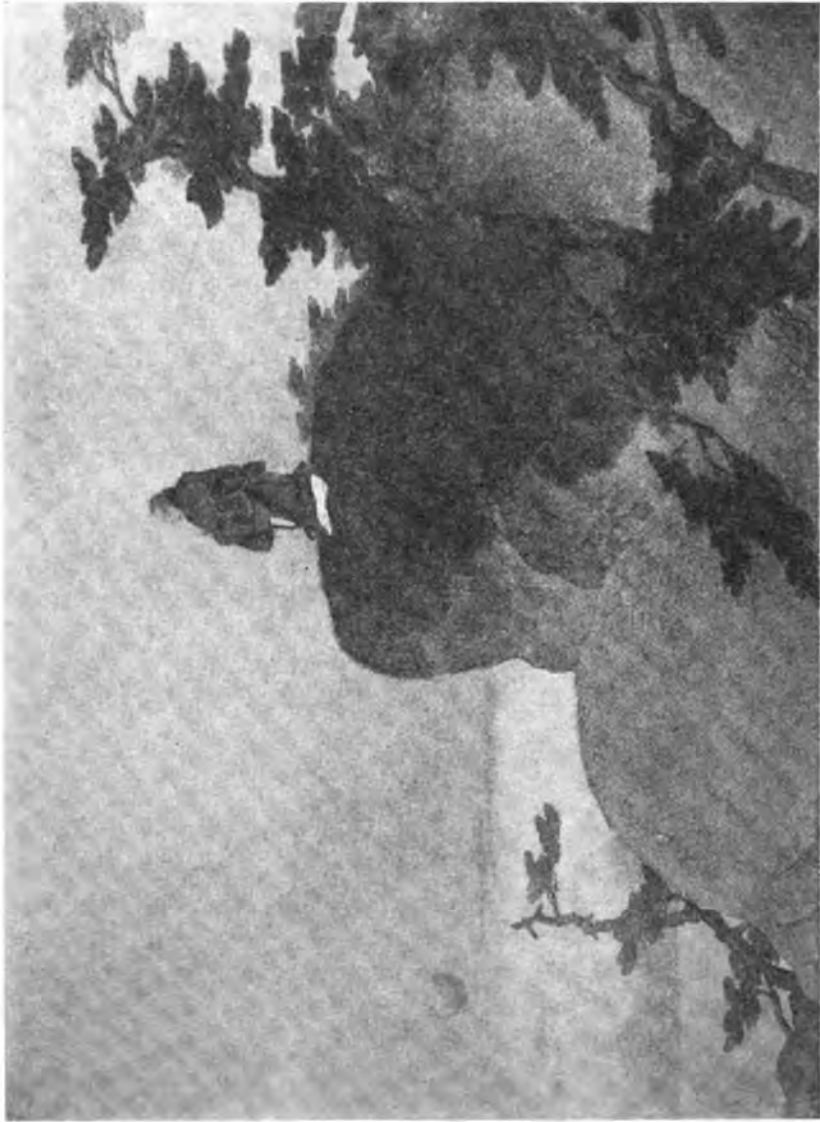
"Mr. Tanaka does most of his work in the Saishokaku, and once or twice a year he travels over the whole country to deliver lectures. He is the father of seven children, and though he is one of the busiest men in the country, his home life is extremely happy."

MR. KINVABARA'S EXPLANATION OF THE NICHIREN PICTURES.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 8 of the pictures and the frontispiece present a panoramic view of the most notable events in Nichiren's life, and Nos. 4, 7 and 9 are pictures that refer to the doings or conduct of his direct followers, while 10 and 11 illustrate certain phases in the lives of famous persons in the history of the sect.

1. The man on top of the high rock is Nichiren Shonin, the founder of the Nichiren sect. In his devotions he stands facing the sun, which is characteristic of Nichiren worship, although it must not be thought that he taught adoration of the sun. After pursuing his study for nearly fifteen years in the noted temples, monasteries, and educational institutions of the country, he returned to his old master, Dozen, and his friends in the temple on Mt. Kyojumi, and, on the morning of April 28 in the fifth year of the Kencho era

(1253 A. D.), he climbed to the top of the mountain, and ten times repeated the formula, *Namu-Myo-Ho-Ren-Ge-Kyo*, as a formal declaration of his faith.



1. NICHIREN CONFESSING HIS FAITH.

Three reasons may be given for his reverencing the sun on this occasion: (1) Of all phenomena in nature the sun presents the most glorious sight, and is at the same time the very symbolization of the principles of growth, unity, harmony, and benevolence, and

what he desired to teach mankind was in substance identical with the virtues of the sun. (2) The sun is the spiritual body of Amaterasu-o-Mikami, the ancestral god of Japan who proclaimed that his descendants shall forever rule the country and finally realize the unification of the world. The principles taught in the Saddharma pundarika-sutra which he would expound to humanity aimed for the establishment of an eternal unity, harmony, and peace among mankind, and it was not only a matter of faith, but of acute knowledge for Nichiren Shonin that the spirit of the Sun-God and the Law of the Saddharma were originally one thing and worked in unison and harmony. (3) According to the teaching in the Saddharma-pundarika-sutra, all things in the universe whether spiritual or material are emanations of the omnipotent and omnipresent Sakyamuni, and as an actual manifestation of his powers and virtues in the world the sun is the most real and conspicuous. It was therefore with the mingled emotions of awe, admiration, affection and duty towards his master that he did homage to the sun on this most momentous occasion in his life.

2. Here again Nichiren is seen on a rock overlooking the sea, but this time in a perilous situation surrounded by the surging waves. At a distance is seen a fisherman coming up in a boat. The moon shines forth from a rift in the clouds. In the fortieth year of his life, Nichiren Shonin incurred the wrath of the regent Hojo by the zealous insistent method of his propaganda, and was sent over the sea to the Ito peninsula in Izu province, at that time a barren, desolate land, situated in a south-eastern direction from Kamakura in Sagami province. After a perilous voyage in a small boat over the rough sea he reached the country but was not allowed to land in safety. The guardsmen left him on a certain rock which bears the name of "Chopping-Board Rock" (*Mana-ita-îwa*) telling him that he was to make his own way out of this wretched plight. He could not, of course, find passage to the mainland because the rock was surrounded by deep, surging water. It was evening, the tide was gradually rising, and in a short time the rock would be hidden from view and he would perish in the water. The Shonin was reciting aloud from the Sutra (the book of the Lotus of the Good Law), when a fisherman by the name of Funamori Yasaburo heard the voice and came rowing towards the rock. The fisherman was surprised and mystified to behold the priest standing alone on the rock. He was struck also with admiration for his noble appearance and calm demeanor, and, though not yet aware of his character, he asked him to get into the boat, took him home, and gave

him shelter and protection. Daily this ignorant but high-minded fisherman and his wife listened secretly to Nichiren's teaching and finally became his most faithful converts.



2. ABANDONED ON A ROCK AMID THE SURGES.

3. After three years' exile in the bleak peninsula of Izu, Nichiren was permitted to return to Kamakura, and the next year he made a visit to his mother who was lying dangerously ill in his old home in the province of Awa. After his mother's recovery under

miraculous circumstances, he started back to Kamakura. When he was passing "Little Pines Field" (*Komatzubara*) in the district of Tojo in Awa province, he was suddenly attacked by one of his



3. THE DEATH OF TWO FAITHFUL DISCIPLES.

inveterate enemies on horseback, who with several hundred armed men rushed upon him with drawn sword. There were only a few persons with the Shonin on this occasion, and among them were Kyoninbo, his disciple, and Kudo Yoshitaka, the lord of Amatsu,

one of his loyal adherents. All fought valliantly in defence of their master and these two died on the spot. The dying man in the picture is Kudo Yoshitaka who is being blessed by his master in the moment of death.



4. REPORT OF KUDO'S DEATH IS BROUGHT TO HIS WIFE.

4. The woman dressed in white is the wife of the lord of Amatsu who, in his dying moment received a blessing from his master as seen in the foregoing picture. The two warriors are the nobleman's retainers. They had fought with their master and have

come back to report his death to their lady. She holds her child in her arms, who, when grown up, became one of Nichiren's disciples.

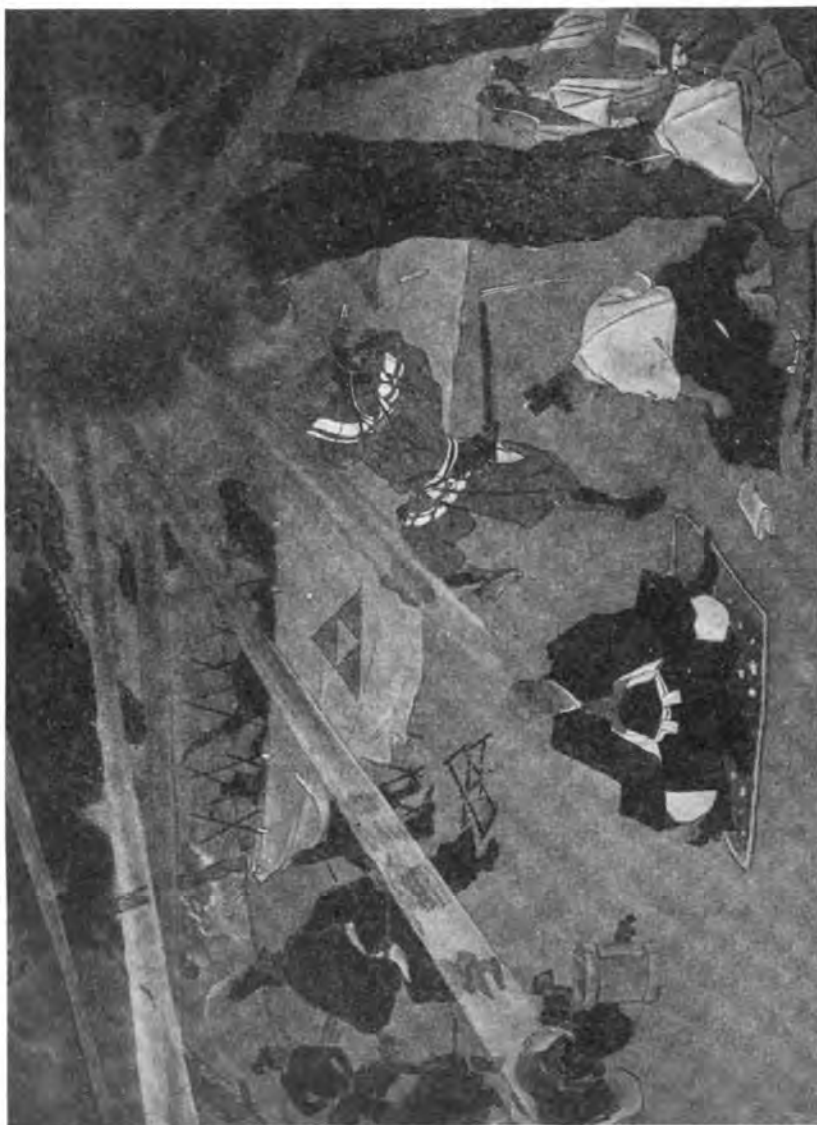
5. Nichiren Shonin has been riding the white horse, and



5. ON THE WAY TO EXECUTION.

has just alighted from it. In his fiftieth year, when he was engaged in his proselyting work with ever increasing energy and enthusiasm, Nichiren Shonin was suddenly captured, imprisoned, and, after a nominal trial, was sentenced to capital punishment. He

was to be beheaded at the beach of the Dragon's Jaw (*Tatsunokuchi*), a few miles westward from the town. During the day set for his execution, he was taken round the town on horseback for



6. A MIRACULOUS DELIVERANCE.

public ridicule and in the night was led to Tatsunokuchi with a guard of several hundred swordsmen. On the way he passed a shrine dedicated to Hachiman, one of the principal guardian deities of the country. He alighted from the horse, and standing erect be-

fore the shrine delivered a warning to the god. According to the teaching in the Saddharma-pundarika-sutra, all gods and deities have issued from the Lotus of the Good Law. Hachiman was one of the most prominent of them, and was in duty bound to protect a hard-working, persecuted priest of orthodox Buddhism like Nichiren. On this occasion, therefore, Nichiren challenged the god to prove that he was faithful to his duty, and warned him that he would be punished if he should in any way neglect his task, in spite of the fact that Nichiren himself was only too glad to die for the sake of the Saddharma, his country and mankind.

6. When he reached Tatsunokuchi he was ordered to sit on a piece of flat stone. The executioner stood behind him and drew his sword, and death certainly seemed to be the fate of the holy priest, when to the astonishment of all, a gigantic ball of fire was seen to descend to the spot, and to hover above the executioner's head. The man was greatly terrified, but mustered up his courage and was about to pass the sword across the neck of the priest, when, lo, the sword broke into several pieces. These incidents may be what are called miracles. The facts are stated here as they have been recorded by authentic hands. At any rate, either these unusual happenings or some other unknown cause prevented the execution of Nichiren Shonin, and he was ordered to be banished to the island of Sado.

A noteworthy incident, though not savoring in any way of miracle or supernatural agencies, may be mentioned in connection with this event. The four Shijo brothers, Nichiren's most faithful devotees, who followed him to the place of execution ready to commit *harakiri* and share his fate, wept bitterly at seeing the pitiable, apparently helpless, state of their beloved master. They cried, "Oh, Shonin, you will certainly be beheaded," but Nichiren Shonin replied with a calm and radiant expression of his face, "My men, be not so foolish as to give way to tears. This is a thing to be rejoiced over. Had we not promised among ourselves to laugh with joy when such a thing happened?" These words of his uttered at the most critical moment of his life places him in peculiar contrast with Jesus on the cross. Both confronted death, but the former was optimistic, even joyous, while the latter according to the accounts given in the four gospels was either pessimistic or simply resigned and composed. It is clear that Nichiren Shonin's spiritual triumph, as it were, over the most preponderating secular power of the time at Tatsunokuchi marked one of the most significant periods in his life as Buddhist teacher, reformer and prophet.

7. The man on horse-back in full career is Shijo Kingo, the oldest of the four faithful and devoted brothers who followed Nichiren to the place of execution at Tatsunokuchi in order to die with



7. SHIJO KINGO TO HIS MASTER'S RESCUE.

him. On another occasion when the master's life was endangered in some political trouble, Kingo, hearing of his lord's peril, crossed over Hokone Mountains, covering a distance of eight *ri* (about 20

miles) in an hour that he might be with his master in time to save his life. The mountain road is not covered with snow as might at first be thought. To the eye unaccustomed to the strong realistic

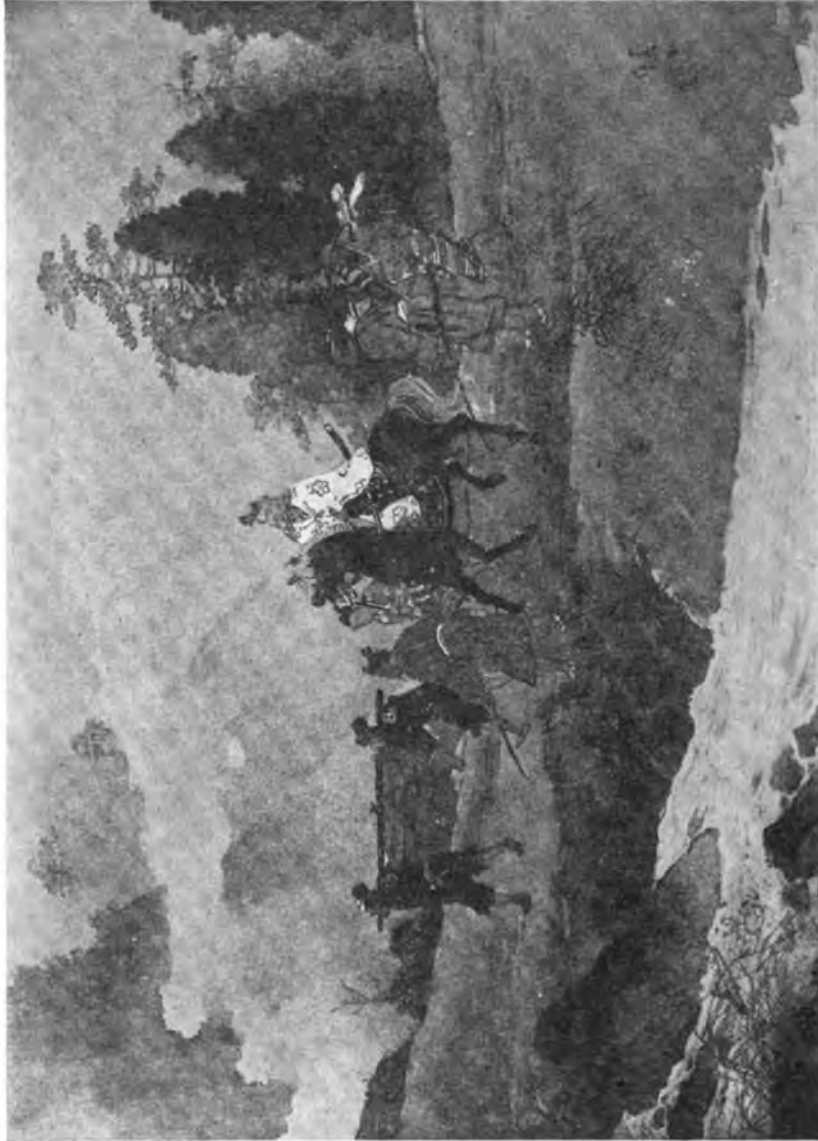


8. NICHIREN'S REFUGE ON THE ISLE OF SADO.

coloring of Japanese oil painting the strokes of the painter are often misleading.

8. The figure which Nichiren Shonin is here worshipping is a golden image of the omnipresent Sakyamuni. The scene represents

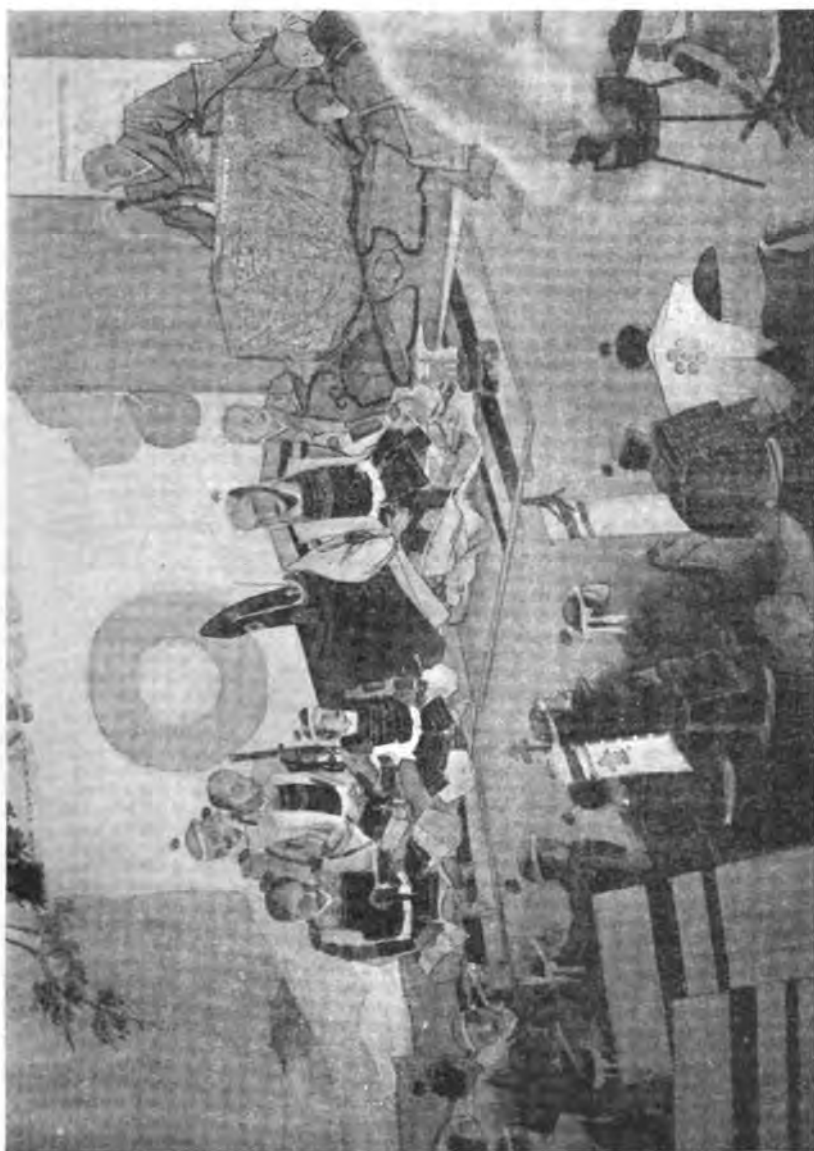
the ruined temple in Tsukakara in Sado. As has been stated, Nichiren Shonin was sent to Sado from Tatsunokuchi, and this was the temple where he was forced to seek shelter for several weeks, for



9. THE LORD OF WAKAMIYA BEARING GIFTS TO NICHIREN.

when he landed on the island there was no one to give him protection. Night and day he repeated the formula *Namu-Myo-Ren-Ge-Kyo* before Buddha's image which came into his possession mys-

teriously while he was an exile in Izu. He was four years in the island under banishment. While he was there he made a great number of new proselytes and wrote several important polemical



10. KATO KYOMASA, THE DEMON GENERAL.

works which form the basis of his religious system. He was permitted to return to Kamakura when for the third time he had an interview with the regent Hojo for the purpose of advising him to

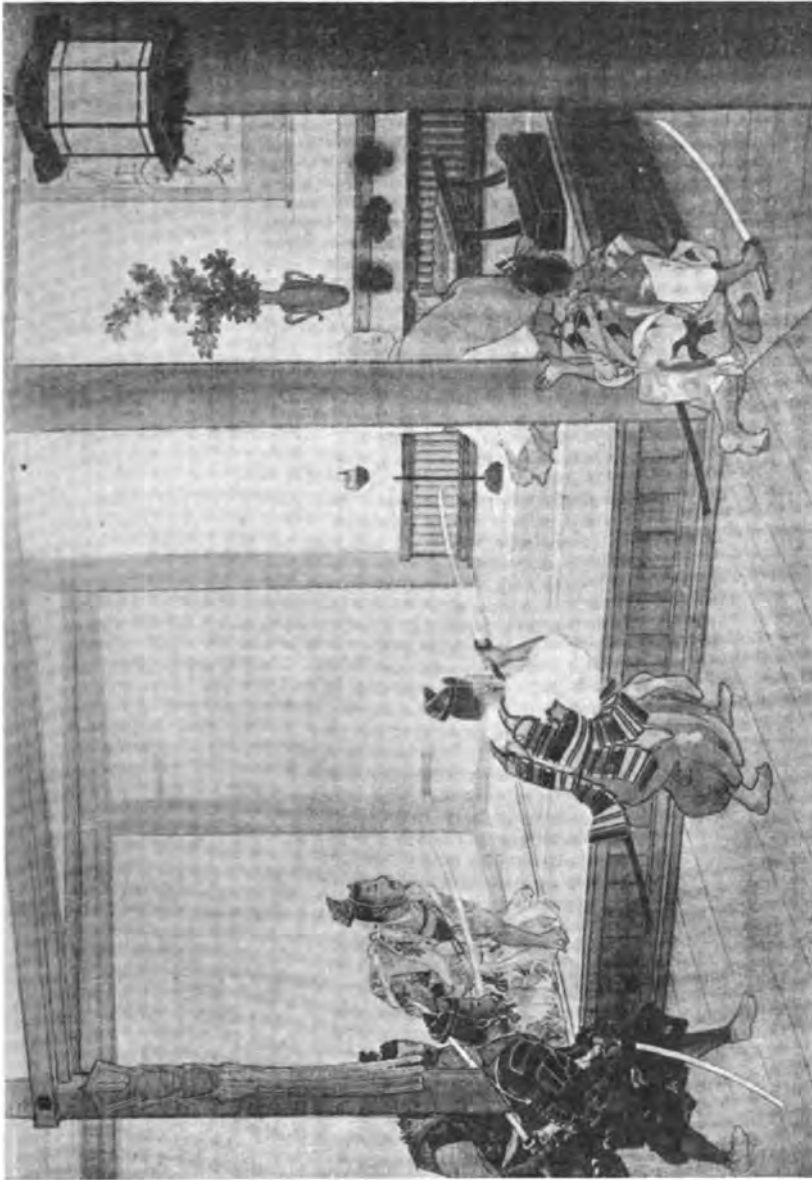
prohibit the dissemination of all Buddhist teachings except that expounded in the Saddharma-pundarika-sutra, for to him false Buddhism was the cardinal evil of the country.

On finding that the regent was reluctant to accept his advice he left him, sternly refusing certain favorable propositions offered him, and went to Kai province to spend the rest of his life on Mt. Minobu as a hermit. Our frontispiece shows him seated beneath the thatched roof of his mountain retreat. While his disciples and devotees were propagating his doctrines in the towns and cities, he led the life of a hermit on the mountain. The term "hermit" does not, however, in his case, denote a person who has forsaken the world that he may live in solitude, for, although the inclination of his heart was to live a serene and unmolested life, nevertheless he considered it a duty to educate the great number of new pupils who flocked to him to receive his teaching. Besides this educational work he found time to write and to perfect his plan for the spiritual resuscitation and future upbuilding of the country. He lived nine years on the mountain and passed away in his sixty-first year. One of the characteristic features of his secluded life was that every day, no matter what the weather, he climbed a distance of about fifty *cho* from his cottage to a precipice where he could obtain a full view of his native province, Awa. There he read from the Sutra that he might bless and honor his parents' spirits in their graves. To cherish the memories of his dead parents was almost a passion with him even in the closing years of his life.

9. The man on horse-back and wearing a white mantle is Gorosaemon-nojo Togi, the lord of Wakamiya in Shimofusa province. Nichiren Shonin, during his student life, and in his work as a teacher and a reformer, received valuable support from this nobleman. The pious lord is here depicted on his way to visit the master on Mt. Minobu. The chest is filled with presents.

10. The priest in this picture is a military chaplain, and the presiding warrior sitting near the table is Kato Kyomasa, the most loyal and able of the generals of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He was a devoted adherent of the Nichiren sect. During the campaign in Corea, he carried into the battle-field a banner on which were inscribed the seven characters of *Nam-Myo-Ho-Ren-Ge-Kyo*. Wherever his army went the opposing forces fell back so that he was called by his enemy "Demon General." Cruelty is not implied in this use of the word "demon," but rather an almost superhuman invincibility. After his death, he was deified, and as a god he is popularly known as "Seisho Ko." The priest is holding in his hand

a *hossu*, a brush of long white hair which is an insignia of dignity and rank.



11. HONKOJI NICHIRZU PROTECTED BY HIS SANCTITY.

11. The man sitting before the altar is Honkoji Nichirzu. He lived about one hundred years after the death of Nichiren Shonin. He claimed that the true spirits of Buddha and Nichiren were em-

bodied in only eight of the twenty-eight chapters in the Saddharma-pundarika-sutra. His strenuous, insistent method of propaganda made him many enemies. On a certain occasion while he was reading from the Sutra before the Mandala (a Buddhist representation of the universe) several samurai armed with swords approached him from behind to make an attack, but determined as they were they could not assail the priest, so dignified, composed and absorbed was he in the performance of his devotional duties.

SAINT IGNATIUS *vs.* THE HISTORICISTS.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

IN the recently published Vol. IV of his *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, the distinguished savant, Mr. Salomon Reinach, devotes pp. 189-206 to a consideration of some phases of Docetism and reaches certain "grave conclusions that seem to offer the equivalent of a Palestinian document of the first century in support of the uncompromising scepticism of Benjamin Smith." To appreciate the full force of the archeologist's reasoning, one must read the relevant memoirs in their entirety, along with the rejoinder of M. Paul Louis Couissin, generously included in the same volume.

The argument turns on the testimony of Ignatius.¹ At mention of this name a cold shiver may seize the reader, for the Ignatian question is one of the most difficult and desperately contested that have ever puzzled the critical understanding, and seems even now almost as far as ever from complete and satisfactory answer. For precisely this reason, not to entangle the thought in such a knotty skein, little use was made in *Ecce Deus* of the witness of Ignatius, —it was merely declared (p. 206) that he "has his heart set on a strict historic interpretation of the Gospel," and "has the ardent zeal of one that is advancing something comparatively new, not the calm confidence of a conservative upholding the old." So much at least might be safely affirmed, without prejudging any disputed point concerning the Longer and the Shorter Recension and the still shorter Syriac version discovered and preferred by Cureton.

It is a nearly parallel thought that Reinach has skilfully developed. He distinguishes two forms of Docetic doctrine, a milder and a more radical; it is with the latter that he is particularly concerned. This "extreme Docetism," he holds, was born in Palestine, is attested by the learned Alexandrians and by the Acts of

¹ Second Bishop of Antioch in Syria, sent by Trajan (according to Eusebius, *H. E.*, III, 36) to Rome to be devoured by wild beasts in the amphitheater, A. D. 108. *En route*, he is supposed to have written his "Epistles."

St. John (first half of second century), and dates back to the age of the Apostles themselves; for Jerome declares in a familiar passage,² that "while the Apostles were still living on earth, while the blood of Christ was still fresh in Judea, the body of the Lord was declared to be a phantasm." According to Mgr. Batiffol (*Revue biblique*, 1911, 180-181) this is what Ignatius calls "Judaizing." Contrasted with this radical Judaizing Docetism, the milder Christian Docetism appears to M. Reinach as an attempt "to conciliate the Christian idea of the divine and spiritual Christ, without which—no Christianity, with a Judaic *x*." But what was this *x* that so vexed the Docetic Christians? Reinach answers: "A circumstantial denial of the existence of Jesus at the epoch where the Christians placed his life and his death." To the Jews of Palestine who denied the historicity *exactly on the supposed scene of that historicity*, the Christian Docetist replied: "Yes, you did not see Jesus in his flesh, because he did not exist fleshwise; but the Apostles and the throngs of the faithful both saw and heard him; they beheld him on the cross at the time of Pilate, they beheld him re-risen. It was a divine phantom, an aerial being, wholly spiritual, whom their eyes saw, whose voice their ears heard, but who was not palpable to the touch."

In this way Docetism becomes intelligible and explains many things. It was a polemical device, an artifice to turn the edge of the unbelieving Jew's denial. Why did not the Christian appeal to historic evidence, to carefully preserved archives, or to some other form of documentary proof? M. Reinach replies, "perhaps there was no authentic document."

Up to this time Docetism has not been understood. On current suppositions it is hard or impossible to understand it. Why should any Christians who were preaching with so much zeal and emphasis the doctrine of the saving suffering of Jesus yet turn right round and teach that he did not suffer at all, that he merely seemed to suffer, that it was all merely a phantasm, his whole earthly life and death? Such a strange doctrine does not seem to emerge naturally from the early Christian consciousness as commonly conceived. By Reinach's hypothesis it is made thinkable, it appears as a *dernier ressort* in the exigencies of controversy.

Without further elaboration of this ingenious theory, let us turn to the witness itself of Irenæus and see what it may teach us

²"Apostolis adhuc in saeculo superstitibus, adhuc apud Judæam Christi sanguine recenti, phantasma Domini corpus asserebatur."—*Dial. adv. Lucif.* § 23.

in any and every case, independently both of this theory and of the particular view that one may take of the origin and original form of the Ignatian Epistles.

The first hint of the great interest of Ignatius in the historicity is given in the word "true" (real, genuine) in the address of *Ephesians*: "Elect through the true passion by the will" etc. The same word is repeatedly emphasized in other Epistles of Ignatius. Evidently he has in mind certain Christians who did not think there had been a *true* passion. But the all-important passage is found in chapters XVIII and XIX:

"Offscouring my spirit is of the cross, which is an offence to the unbelieving but to us salvation and life everlasting. Where is a sage? Where a disputer? Where boasting of those called prudent? For our God Jesus the Christ was conceived by Mary according to dispensation (of God), as well of David's seed as of holy spirit, who was born and was baptized, that by the passion he might purify the water.

"XIX. And hid from the Prince of this æon was the virginity of Mary and her bringing forth, likewise also the death of the Lord. Three mysteries of shout, which in stillness of God were wrought. How then were they [or was he] manifested to the ages? A star in heaven shone beyond all the stars, and its light was ineffable, and its novelty produced amazement; and the other stars along with sun and moon became chorus for the star, but itself in its light was far surpassing all; and perplexity there was, whence the novelty so unlike them. Whereby was dissolved all magic, and every bond of vileness vanished away, ignorance was annulled, the ancient kingdom was destroyed, God being humanly manifested unto newness of eternal life, and its beginning received what with God had been prepared. Hence were all things commoved by taking death's abolition in hand."

What natural, what inevitable reflections arise on reading these verses thus literally rendered? Surely none can fail to ask, what has Ignatius in mind? Is he stating historic facts? Or even what he himself in his heart regards as historic? Is he telling what happened publicly in Judea, known and observed of all men, notorious throughout all Palestine, proclaimed by apostolic witnesses throughout the world? If so, then his language could hardly have been more unfortunately chosen. If so, why does he call these three events, conception, birth and death, "three mysteries of clamor"? Why does he say they "*escaped the notice* of this age's prince," of Satan, who is commonly regarded as a keen, accurate, and up-to-date

observer, especially of matters in which he is particularly interested? And what of the heavenly manifestation and of the starry choir? If this be meant as literal history, what would be meant as poetical symbolism? Notice too the results of this manifestation. Are they anything but the overthrow of idolatry, with all that is implied therein? Is not this "cosmic" "eschatologic" revolution, following straight upon this revelation, is it not the conversion of the whole world from heathenness to the worship of the One God, of "our God Jesus the Christ"? About the details there may be room for wrangling; concerning the general import there seems to be none. Ignatius seems conscious that he is *not* dealing with matters of earthly experience, with a human life in Palestine, but with celestial happenings, with spiritual doctrines enveloped in the sensuous robes of figurative speech.

In the letter to the Magnesians, the Bishop of Antioch, whose main insistence is that one should "do naught without the Bishop," finds time to speak in an unfinished sentence of "deacons... entrusted with the deaconship of Jesus, who before [the] ages with [the] Father was and in [the ages'] end appeared." Here the "cosmic" "eschatologic" element so accented by Weiss and Schweitzer is visible. The end of the ages coincides with the appearance of Jesus, with the final revelation of "our God Jesus Christ" to all the world. It was not at all strange that the conversion of all Pagandom to the "monotheistic Jesus-cult" (Deissmann) should seem to be the consummation of history.

In c. VIII we read: "For the most divine prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. Therefore also they were persecuted, being inspired by his grace fully to convince the disobedient that there is one God who manifested Himself through Jesus Christ his Son, who is his Logos proceeding from Silence, who in every way well pleased the one that sent him."

Here we note that the Christ Jesus is treated as active during the pre-Christian ages, as inspiring the prophets, whose mission was and is to convince the disobedient (heathens) of monotheism, as realized in the revelation of "our God Jesus Christ." "Proceeding from Silence" seems to be a Gnostic notion, and the whole color of the passage is strongly dogmatic and metaphoric, not at all historic.

In c. IX we read of "His death which (or whom?) some deny," which would show a marked diversity of christological theory in Antioch.

In c. XI the Magnesians are exhorted "to be fully persuaded

in the birth and the passion and the resurrection that occurred in [the] time of the governance of Pontius Pilate: accomplished truly and surely by Jesus Christ our hope, from which to turn aside may none of you befall."

Note carefully the historic element here and compare it with the Long Recension, which declares explicitly that "the Christ was begotten by the Father before all ages but was afterwards born of the Virgin Mary without any intercourse with man. He also lived a holy life, and healed all manner of sickness and disease among the people, and wrought signs and wonders for the good of men, and to such as had fallen into the error of polytheism he made known the one and only true God, his Father, and underwent the passion and endured the cross at the hands of Christ-killing Jews, under Pontius Pilate the governor and Herod the King. He also died, and rose again, and ascended into the heavens to the one that sent him, and sat down at his right hand and shall come at the age's end with his Father's glory, to judge the living and the dead, and to render to every one according to his works."

Compare the earlier with the Longer, and later, Recension and this with the so-called Apostles' Creed. Is it possible not to recognize that here are three stages, that the dogma of the historicity is growing, growing under our very eyes?

The Trallians appear (c. II) "to live not according to man but according to Jesus Christ, who died for us, that having believed on his death ye may escape dying" (in the Longer Recension, "ye may by baptism be made partakers of his resurrection"). We note the significance of the belief. It is conceived magically. Moreover this latter "dying" is clearly not to be taken literally. Why then should the first "death" be taken literally? Are we not moving here in "spheres of magic, dream, and vision"? Is not the indication against the historicity in question? In the third verse we read of "the deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ." These "mysteries" have already been defined (in Eph. xix) as three dogmas concerning quasi-historical facts. If these be really historical, there can be no mystery about them; only on the supposition that they are not historical, but are religious symbols, can they be called mysteries.

Certainly Ignatius strives hard enough to teach that all is simple history. In c. IX we read: "Be deaf then whenever any speak to you apart from Jesus Christ, him [born] of David's stock, him [born] of Mary, who was truly born, both ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died, those in heaven and on earth and under earth beholding; who also

was truly raised from the dead, his Father having raised him, according to the likeness whereof us also that believe in him shall his Father raise up in Jesus Christ, apart from whom true life we have none.

"X. But if, as some that are godless, that is, unbelieving, assert, his suffering was semblance only, themselves being the semblance, then I wherefore am bound? and why even long to fight with beasts? etc."

The Longer Recension is far more elaborate, introducing much that is found in the Gospels, and again illustrating vividly the growth of the "history." The important thing is that Ignatius attaches the weightiest moment to the historicity, he affirms it with exceeding emphasis and explicitness. One would think that in such a vital matter he would do something more, that he would hint at some form or semblance of proof. But nay! He does naught of the kind; apparently he has no evidence of any order to submit. Neither has the Longer Recensor. Except a few inapposite citations from Scripture, he has nothing to offer in support of his central thesis. The question must force itself upon the reader's mind: How can these things be? How is it that a Bishop of Antioch, that great center of early Christianity—who might as a boy have seen Paul and Barnabas, James and Peter, the most intimate witnesses of the earliest Gospel and the Galilean ministry—when grappling in a life-and-death contest with heresy, is yet unable to produce a single bit of historical evidence, where even a trifle would be sufficient, but where *something* is absolutely necessary? Strange, when we reflect that Antioch was only a very moderate distance from Galilee (about 230 miles as the crow flies), and that intercourse between the two was lively.

Passing by a few scattering phrases that have interest but allow no confident conclusions, we come to a noteworthy passage (Philadelphians VIII, 2), on which M. Reinach lays great and merited stress: "But I entreat you do naught in factiousness but in love of Christ. For I heard some saying, that 'unless in the archives I find [it] in the Gospel I do not believe [it], and when I said to them that *It is written*, they answered me, That is the question [*prokeitai*, it lies before, it is open for discussion]. But for me archives are Jesus Christ, the untouched archives his cross and his death and his resurrection and the faith that is through him, in which I wish through your prayers to be justified." The accepted text *archeiois* (archives) is rendered "charters" by Kirsopp Lake as well as by Lightfoot, but *ta archeia* means properly *the public*

records, and hence more generally *original documents*. Understood in the strict sense it would refer, as Reinach shows, to the official papers at Cæsarea, though others think it means the Old Testament Scriptures. Doubtless the report of such an execution by Pontius Pilate would have been filed at Cæsarea, the "head of Palestine" (Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 79) and seat of the Roman government. Its absence from such records would have been a rare occasion for a victory of faith. The argument would seem to be that some doubters urged, "Unless it be found in the archives (at Cæsarea), the account in the Gospel I will not accept." Had there been such an official record, it could have been produced, and that would have been the end of controversy. But what did Irenæus reply? "*Gegraftai*, it is written." This means, it is Scripture, and refers regularly to the Old Testament, to which accordingly Irenæus made his appeal. So too did the early Christians in general. When Philip would convert the eunuch he never hinted at archives, he expounded the Isaian passage concerning the Servant of Jehovah, he preached Jesus. When the "Apostle" would demonstrate the Gospel proclaimed unto the Corinthians, he tells them he delivered them what he had himself received, namely, that "Christ died for our sins *according to the Scriptures*, that he was buried, and rose again *according to the Scriptures*." Similarly Justin proves whatever history he needs by finding it predicted in the Scriptures, and Chrysostom holds that the testimony of the prophets is superior to that of any historian,—nay, "prophecy outweighs even the historical facts themselves." If the facts did not agree with prophecy, so much the worse for the facts. Such a universal frame of proto-Christian mind seems impossible, if the real basis of the primitive faith had been history; it seems natural and intelligible, only if that original was a body of dogma, and the historical element a later accretion, which could not support the dogma but which the dogma itself had to support.

To return to Irenæus. The proof from prophecy, from the Old Testament Scriptures, was all that he produced (or at least has mentioned) but the Docetists would not admit the validity; they answered, "There's the rub." Do the Scriptures really prove that there must have been a virgin birth and a passion and a resurrection, all of the flesh? Of course, to call in question was to end this proof, hence Irenæus apparently abandons all reasoning and betakes himself to passionate assertion. "But for me archives are Jesus Christ etc." Obviously such is the device of a man that is at his wits' end for argument and puts his trust in declamation

alone. For the Bishop the only archives are the sacred dogmas in his own mind.

Well, then, at the beginning of the second century, the Bishop of the greatest Asiatic church, which had given name to Christians themselves, and was situated within easy reach of the supposed Palestinian site of the historical Gospel, has nothing but prophecy to call to his help when the historical reality of his central and most vital doctrine is called in question. Is this state of case consistent with the hypothesis of the historical verity of the dogmas doubted? The reader may decide.

For the sake of completeness we must append the passage in the Epistle to Smyrneans (c. I): "I glorify Jesus Christ, the God that hath thus made you wise,—who are fully persuaded as to our Lord, as being of David's stock according to flesh, son of God according to will and power (of God), born truly of a virgin, baptized by John, that there be fulfilled all righteousness by him; truly under Pontius Pilate and Herod (the) Tetrarch nailed for us in flesh, from whose fruit (are) we from his God-blessed passion, that he might set up an ensign unto the ages through his resurrection, for his Saints and Faithful, whether among Jews or among Gentiles, in one body of his Church." The next chapter protests in the now familiar fashion against such as hold "his passion was in semblance." Chapter III adduces the speech to Peter, "Take, handle me, and see that I am not a demon incorporeal," referred by Jerome to the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and closely paralleled by Luke xxiv, 39.

This passage is important as attesting the comparative primitiveness of the Docetic theory. For no critic will contend that the incident is historic or deny that it must be understood precisely as Irenæus employs it, as a protest against the Docetist. A similar attestation is found in the similar story in John xx. 26-29. A doctrine thus witnessed in three Gospels (to say nothing of others still) representing as many widely diverse phases of early Christianity, must itself have been much older than any of the three and have been widely diffused.

Moreover, we have here a vivid illustration of the method of controversy prevalent in those circles. If a doctrine displeased, its opponent did not have recourse to a common basis of historic fact from which he could proceed to confutation,—the one and only such accepted basis was the Old Testament, which perhaps had only very remote bearing on the case. Nor could he in general fall back on some received philosophic or theosophic dogma and thence de-

duce the contradiction of the doctrine opposed. For there was no such clearly defined and fruitful dogma, and the path of deduction was long and narrow and intricate. It was much easier and more effective as well as more congenial with his modes of thought and feeling to *state* his own view so eloquently, plausibly, persuasively as to carry conviction to the heart of his hearers or readers—a method still in the highest favor in the most respectable circles. The most captivating form that he could give to such a statement was the historic. After a fashion endlessly exemplified in the Talmud, he invented an incident as a setting or framework for his idea; he enlivened the dull shades of the dogmatic statement with the bright hues of anecdote, he composed the figures subtly, with an eye to dramatic effect. In this way a whole body of doctrine may be set forth under the garb of historic events. There is no understanding early Christianity without keeping this favorite method in mind.

But we should do the ancient scribe a great injustice in supposing that he was trying to deceive. The literary-argumentative method in question was well-known and generally approved. It was like returning the answer "Not at home" to the caller, who takes the symbol as it is meant and is neither offended nor misled. Such a method may not please the Western European; but the proto-Christians were Western Asiatics.

The zeal of Ignatius leads him to declare of these Docetists, perhaps the followers of the ascetic Saturninus, c. VII: "From Eucharist and prayer they abstain, through not confessing the Eucharist to be flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, which in his goodness the Father raised up." Here the bread is actually the flesh, the flesh that suffered and was raised up by God. Of course, here as elsewhere the Longer Recension is still more emphatic and has gone much further along the same road. In chapter XII the writer returns to the passion, but without adding anything new.

Naturally the Bishop of Antioch does not presume to instruct Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna. But in c. III he exhorts the latter not to "let those that seem to be trustworthy and teach other doctrine overthrow thee. Stand firm as an anvil smitten,"—the finest sentence in the Ignatians. We note that these early Docetists (for such they must have been, since other forms of error receive little attention from Ignatius) are described as "seeming to be worthy of faith." They are not denounced as innovators, but merely as "other-teaching" (not "teaching strange doctrines," as Lightfoot

and Kirsopp Lake render it. Of course, the word came to mean *teaching error*). The indications are that they were highly respectable, representing more or less perfectly the elder form of the faith, which the ardent reformer Ignatius would supplant with the crass materialism that has dominated the church for nearly 1800 years.

The reader might think that the Bishop is wholly concerned with obvious errors touching matters of historic fact, and that he is using plain speech of daily life, to be taken literally at its face value. And yet his speech is shot through and through with the boldest and baldest metaphors. A single example: In Trallians (c. VIII) we read, "Do ye, therefore, adopting meekness renew yourselves in faith, which is flesh of the Lord, and love, which is blood of Jesus Christ." No hint of the meaning is given. Surely such an exhortation must be addressed to a consciousness familiar with parabolic, allegoric, and other figurative modes of speech, such a consciousness as would not stumble at any of the symbolisms interpreted in *Ecce Deus*. Could such a consciousness have been nurtured on the artless matter-of-fact Gospels that people the fancy of the critics who are set for the defense of the historical character of Jesus?

It has not escaped the notice of the reader that we seem to have discovered at various points in these Ignatians a more or less primitive phase of thought and form of expression, the author falls into phrases and notions that betray a Gnostic tinge in his mind (as when he speaks of "proceeding from Silence" and in the long description of the manifestation of Jesus, Eph. IV). Once and again he seems to pass over at least towards the Docetism he so insistently combats.³ Yet there can be no doubt that he is intensely earnest in his battle. He is fighting the heresy with passionate zeal and launches against it all the shafts of his orthodox fervor. Whence then his own taint of the heterodoxical expression?

The answer does not seem difficult. Ignatius is a bishop, a shepherd of the fold of God. In some way he has come to regard the historical view of the Gospel and of the Christ as by all means the safest for his flock and for all such flocks. He is not a philosopher, not a liberal thinker, not in the least democratic. He has

³ This is no mere conceit of the writer's. Bishop Lightfoot speaks of the "Gnostic colouring" of the Ephesian passage and asks (*A. P.*, I, 388): "Will not the suspicion cross our minds that Ignatius may have moved more or less in the same circles from which Valentinianism sprung?" Pfleiderer declares, "This conjecture" of the Coryphæus of English orthodox scholarship "is doubtless well founded" (*Prim. Christianity*, III, 350).

no faith whatever in human reason, none in freedom of thought, nor in the process of the suns, nor in the long result of time, neither does he care a straw for the education of the masses. His ideal is a thoroughly harmonious and devoted hierarchy of bishops and other officers, all caring zealously for the souls committed to their charge, and a laity of unquestioning worshipers, accepting everything at the hands of their clergy and official superiors as from the hand of God himself. The more priest-ridden the better. In no other way could perfect unity of faith and practice be attained or preserved. To this end the simple historical view of the Gospels seemed alone suited. To this end he inculcates it with unwearied insistence and denounces fiercely even the most respectable opponents. But Ignatius had not always been such an uncompromising historicist; it is even doubtful whether in his inmost mind he was even then so convincingly historical as he seemed. The historical view appeared to him best suited to the people, the only one in fact that promised the unity and harmony that he craved, the only one that could *catholicize* (unify and universalize) the church. On this his heart was set, and he seized upon the apparently single effective means. His own thought, his own knowledge in the matter he counted but dross, as "offscouring" to be cast aside. If then he occasionally lapses into other fashions of thought and language, he must not be judged harshly, nor his essential sincerity impeached.

The case of Irenæus is not at all strange or peculiar. It has been repeated millions of times in the history of church and state. It is notorious that a wide chasm separates the dialect of the parlor and the pulpit, of the hustings and the home. Over twenty years ago a popular and able clergyman, a very successful evangelist and builder of churches, and withal an excellent man, remarked to me: "I dare not tell the people the best that I know. That sounds pretty bad. A *suppressio veri* is very nearly a *suggestio falsi*. It gives me great distress. I don't know what to do about it." What he did do, was to keep on preaching "what the people can bear," fanning the flames of orthodox zeal and arousing congregations to enthusiasm. How many such there are even now in every established form of polity, we shall never know till the books are opened.

The hypothesis of M. Reinach is seductive and calls for gratitude.⁴ But in any case the witness of Irenæus is distinctly against

⁴In general it seems certain that Docetism was one of the oldest and most wide-spread phenomena of the Christian faith. It was practically universal in Gnosticism, which is now admitted to have been pre-Christian. It is combatted in the Gospels and in the Epistles. It tinged even the learned

the dogma of historicity, which he so pertinaciously forces to the front. "Methinks the lady doth protest too much." It is incredible (if Jesus was historical), that a bishop of the Mother Church of Gentile Christianity, within a day or two's journey of the shores of Galilee, where witnesses of the wondrous life and death would have been still alive,—a bishop who must have known the first disciples or their immediate followers, who could not have failed to learn from them a large body of biographical details,—should yet when confronted with an abhorred heresy denying *in toto* the historical reality of that wonderful career, when there was the most imperative need for just one little fact of history to confute the hated heretics,—it is incredible that such a bishop under such extreme urgency should not be able to produce a single item of evidence, not even the smallest, but should have to content himself with repeated assertions of the dogma in question and should find his *only* testimony in the thousand-year old prophecies of the Old Testament! We repeat, then, the witness of Irenæus is distinctly *against the historicity of Jesus*. It attests cumulatively in the Shorter and still more in the Longer Recension, the *gradual growth of the dogma* of the humanity of Jesus as opposed to an older Docetic faith dating from the apostolic age, which did not recognize the historical reality of the human life. This Docetism was itself in all likelihood *not* the very earliest form of Christianity (which was the still purer proclamation of the One Saviour-God), but in any case its existence negatives the notion that the first preaching proclaimed a man Jesus. We are exploring the tossed ruins of worlds on worlds of thought. Like Dörpfeld we may expect to find stratum piled on stratum, Troy heaped on Troy.

We have cited the Ignatians exactly, at all significant points,

Clement of Alexandria. What is still more important, it is the *later forms* that incline most towards the orthodox historical view (as Lightfoot, followed by Pfeiderer, admits in these words: "The tendency in docetism was to become less pronounced as time went on."—*A. F.* I, 382); the oldest forms of which we have any knowledge are the clearest and sharpest in their definition, in their simple direct dogma that Jesus was God, that the human form was wholly unreal, at most a phantasm. Such was the assertion (says Jerome) even in the days of the Apostles. *But even this was not the most primitive phase*. Behind the Apostles, behind the New Testament Gospels, lies the still earlier Gospel ("older than the Gospels is the Gospel"—Zahn). According to psychology, to history, to common sense, it must have presented a still simpler form, which spoke of Jesus as the Saviour-God, in patent anthropomorphic terms, much as the Old Testament speaks of Jehovah.—The facts of Docetism, and of Gnosticism in general, are decisive against the historicity and were among the first to engage my attention and to employ my pen. But they are so many, so immense in range, so complicate, and often so obscure as to make any adequate statement and discussion both tedious and difficult in the extreme.

but no amount of citation can present the argument in its full strength. The reader should peruse the whole "Ignatian Body" at a sitting, should yield himself to the general impression, laying aside all prepossession, and should then ask himself the question: Is this the defence of a rather recent, well-ascertained, well-established, and indubitable historical fact against the extravagant fancies of errorists? or is it a special pleading for a new construction of ancient symbols of faith and doctrine? The reader's impartial judgment will hardly hesitate long, for truly, Ignatius, thy speech bewrayeth thee.

STOICISM.

BY RANDOLPH S. BOURNE.

A READING of the Stoic writers for the first time inevitably suggests certain comparisons and contrasts with the Greek philosophy from a study of which the subject has been approached. The student is likely first of all to be impressed with the fact that Stoicism presents a more comprehensive outlook on life than did the philosophical schools which preceded it. Here for the first time is to be found a firmly welded unity with a fourfold aspect of science, religion, philosophy and ethics. Philosophy is no longer the reduction of the concrete to the abstract with entire emphasis on humanism, as we found it in Plato, or a comprehensive system of interweaving and nicely related scientific departments of knowledge, as in Aristotle, but an outlook on the universe in four directions, with a new and stern atmosphere of grim fate and renunciation hanging over it all. This is not, however, to say that each of these aspects is equally vital. The scientific and philosophical sides of Stoicism, based entirely on the science and philosophy of the past by a cunning rearrangement and combination of elements from Democritus, Plato and Aristotle, seem singularly barren when compared with the living doctrines of the sources. The sound, firm materialism of Democritus has become a curious kind of spiritual mechanism. The world of reality, to be sure, is to the Stoics corporeal; force and matter, the active and the passive, mind and body, are correlative and inseparable, distinguishable from one another in degree and not in kind. But it is to the first of these pairs that the actual enthusiasm of the Stoic goes out; he conceives force and soul as material, but he insists on treating them as if they were spiritual. Soul gets carried over into a religious sphere in a way that utterly distinguishes it from mere passive matter. Nor in absorbing Aristotle do they get the full inspiring force of his teleology. They follow him, it is true, in making the universe teleological, but they give the idea a

mystical color and merge it into an adoration of God or the gods, giving it a religious, or at least ultra-scientific aspect which Aristotle would not have accepted.

Not only the science of the Stoics but their metaphysics has a religious color. The idea of the *logos*, or immanent reason by which the universe is governed, which has fitted everything together, good and evil, into one perfect whole, regulating itself with eternal fitness and adequacy,—this *logos* is no cold philosophical principle, but a religious fact which enlists the emotional attitude of the Stoic. As an indispensable and vital part of one majestic whole, he acquires a supreme dignity and worth; he is a part of God. Similarly the thought that every individual soul is a manifestation of a great world-soul, to be eventually absorbed into it again, has a religious meaning for the Stoic; he feels himself, as Epictetus says, a son of God, as all men on earth are sons of God. Although the scientific and philosophical principles of Stoicism furnish its fundamental basis—indeed the one ultimate fact on which the whole spirit of the ethics rests is that the world is governed by irreversible laws and in accordance with reason—science and philosophy become vital to the Stoic only when they are transmuted into religion. It is the religious side of Stoicism which captures the enthusiasm and fires the soul. This attitude is, of course, different from the Greeks'; they kept their religion separate. Christianity, on the other hand, had no scientific content at all. Stoicism is thus a sort of half-way stage between Greek philosophical-scientific thought and Christian religious-ethical thought. It drags along with it the Greek science and philosophy, but the vitality is slowly leaving both. At the same time it has its face towards the future of Christian thought and ethics and goes to meet it with joyful steps. Stoicism is at once the senility of Greek thought and the infancy of Christian faith.

If the religious predominates in Stoicism at the expense of the philosophical and scientific, we may expect the ethical element in it to show also a flourishing vitality. And of course this is the case. In fact so predominant is this ethical aspect of Stoicism that it almost in fact and quite completely in tradition obscures even the religious. Yet they are bound up inseparably together. There can be ethics without religion, but can there be such an ethics without religion? I cannot conceive of such an ethics as that of Stoicism being practiced by human beings except warmed and vitalized by that emotional attitude towards the universe which we call religion.

The ethics of Stoicism is an ethics of conformity to nature. Although God is benevolent and all-wise, his plans and reason are

not to be pettily used for the individual's advantage. The responsibility for the happiness, well-being, and integrity of soul of the individual are strictly upon himself. It behooves him, therefore, to recognize both his powers and his limitations. Opinion, pursuit, desire and aversion are within a man's power; in these spheres he is absolutely free. Body, property, reputation are not; he is, from the nature of things, helpless before them. If a man desires or enjoys only those things that are in his power, he can never be unhappy; for he can never be deprived of them. If he ceases to desire or fear or shun those things which are not in his power, he can be nothing but happy, for he will never suffer disappointment. Freedom is not requiring things to happen as you wish, but wishing them to happen as they do. Knowledge is knowledge of the will of God and obedience to it. The virtuous man cannot be affected by poverty, pain, bereavement, misfortune, insults, pleasures, or any evil, for he has no feelings of either desire or aversion for these things. He is independent because he wishes nothing that depends on others. He is happy because he is acting in accordance with the Universal Reason. He knows that nothing can happen which is not conformable to the order of the universe. He knows that "what e'er betide, he is the Captain of his Soul."

A reading of the Stoic writers, Epictetus, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius gives one a sort of composite picture of the ethics through the medium of three contrasting temperaments. Epictetus has the true philosophical spirit, a poise, a placidness, a grave irony, that rings true. Even if one knew nothing about his history, one could say, "Here is a philosophy that has been lived, that has worked with one man at least; whose words and practice have been identical, and are still vital with sincerity." If one allows himself at times a little appreciation of the ingenuity with which he works out his ethical ideas, this does not destroy in one the profound sense of the power and force of such a philosophy for men in all ages and climes, situated as was Epictetus, or a realization of the happiness which he achieved. Epictetus is a living philosophy, a gospel incarnate, a missionary of a way of life for men.

Seneca, while delightful in style and form, has a curious attitude of detachment from his writings. Stoicism to him is a good philosophy, he is earnestly trying to follow it, he understands it and expounds it luminously; but it is not precisely his way of life. Not only his ideas but his treatment of them are strikingly like the ethics of modern Christianity. I have heard many a sermon which followed word for word his discourse on "Providence." Where

Epictetus pictures Stoicism in all its sternness, even though it be a tonic sternness, a fortifying and ennobling strength,—Seneca dwells rather on the compensatory and comforting aspects. Trial and pain are not simply matters of utter indifference; they are tests of valor, means perhaps to an end. The virtuous life is happy, not so much on account of the attainment of the desired apathy, but because virtue has some sort of positive quality about it. If the rigid outlines of Stoicism sometimes get softened down in Seneca to a suggestion of the utilitarian, he has yet succeeded in making the Stoical ethics attractive in a greater measure than either of the other writers.

Far different is the gloom which pervades the "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius. The ancient world, which had begun to decline in the days of Epictetus, to which decline Stoicism may be said to have been a philosophical reaction,—this world had become sunk in almost irretrievable decay. Had Marcus Aurelius been slave instead of emperor, Stoicism might have enriched and vitalized his life, as it did that of Epictetus. It is a philosophy which puts heart and meaning into misery and oppressive environment. But to Marcus Aurelius at the head of the world, lacking nothing of material wealth, honor and fortune, it only revealed the hopeless futility of life. He saw that society was utterly decayed; he did not have misfortune and evil conditions to contend against, or a struggle with environment into which he could, like Epictetus, pour wholeheartedly his spiritual energy. His Stoicism revealed nothing to him except that overpowering sense of the vanity of life which hangs like a pall of horror over his writings. I have seen Christians of to-day of the Tolstoyan type who feel keenly the social misery around them, who struggle to remedy it, fail and in despair see nothing that they can do except to mellow their spirits and trust in the ultimate divine justice. This, I imagine, was Marcus Aurelius's cast of mind. Stoicism helped him to endure, but it shed no ray of light into the gloom; it rather intensified the darkness. Every thoughtful man gets at some period or other of his life a sense of the futility of living; but it is the sustained feeling and constant impression of having run into a *cul-de-sac* that makes Marcus Aurelius such appalling reading. It is a far cry from the richness of Epictetus to the sterility of Marcus Aurelius.

The contrast between the three men in religious tone is equally striking. Epictetus has the grave, responsible feeling of partnership, a sturdy working together with God; Seneca shows that rather complacent attitude which characterizes many of our modern theo-

logians, a sort of good, amicable understanding with the universe; Marcus Aurelius's cry is that of the wounded Job,—“Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him!”

This markedly religious element in Stoicism furnishes, I think, the clue for its relation to Christianity. That there is such an indissoluble relation between them is of course almost a platitude. But the similarities between Stoicism and Christianity which appear to the theologian as curious coincidences are really evidences that Christianity found in Stoicism the fruitful soil from which alone it could spring and bloom. I do not see how Christianity could have converted any but a Stoic world. Instead of coming as a fulfilment of the Law and the Prophets, it can be said rather to have come as a fulfilment of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. It filled out the religious content of Stoicism, which bade fair to wither in the barren soil of Pantheism; it revitalized its virtues and added hope to its rugged strength. It made the God of benevolence and Immanent Reason, a divine Father, who cared for each one of his children; it made the vague hope of immortality a triumphant certainty; it made suffering and submission to the will of God, the basis of Eternal Life; it made the tranquil peace of the virtuous man over into the saintliness of the redeemed; it made of the conviction that a man was a part of the universe, the overpowering sense of communion with Christ; it made over the Stoic's contempt of the world and its pleasures into a complete and triumphant other-worldliness, in which the Unseen was the only Reality; and, finally, it added belief, the fierce clinging of the soul to a dogma, the spiritual and intellectual sense of being planted on a rock, that Stoicism had so sadly lacked. Christianity transfigured Stoicism, poetized it, completed the spiritualization of it, and with it swept the western world. Christianity was in a sense an easier religion than Stoicism. The latter was quite too hard for the mass of men; only the sage and philosophic few could attain virtue under it. Christianized, however, it became possible for every one, and with the cunning progress of the church, it became irresistible. The way in which the church adapted Christianity to the people, adding touches here, filling up niches there, warping and molding it until every part of the soul of man was soothed and satisfied, must in detailed study, I think, form one of the most fascinating fields of research. Little as the result of this process, the medieval church, resembles the Stoicism of Marcus Aurelius, the body and blood of it was that very Stoicism. Christianity was the vital breath that was breathed into its dying body and with it conquered the world. Else I do not see how the phenomenon can

be explained. Surely nothing sounds more incredible than that a religion of other-worldliness, of asceticism and sacrifice, with the cross, that sign of the lowest dishonor as its symbol, should overcome the decaying, despairing, vicious Roman world. Yet exactly that happened. Only when we realize that the noblest spirits of the time felt a soul-sickness in the irretrievable degeneration going on about them, that their hearts ached for rest, for satisfaction, for some world of reality away from this frightful chaos, that while Stoicism offered them a partial respite and consolation, it lacked definiteness, hope and sensuousness, and that Christianity supplied all these,—only when we realize this can we understand how it was possible for the cross to triumph. The world was sick for redemption; Stoicism could solace but it could not redeem.

This Stoic element Christianity has borne along within her fabric down through the centuries. In times of crisis or critical change, when dogmas lose their grip and the supernatural becomes misty before our eyes, the bare, rugged outlines of Stoicism stand out in our midst. Much of the ethical preaching of to-day is pure Stoicism. Resignation to our lot; realization of our responsibility and dignity in the sight of God; the imperative of duty as measured by our relations to others; governance of the spirit, and struggle against besetting sins; the vanity of life and a need for a decent preparedness for death; realization that suffering and misfortune are indispensable means to goodness, and that all is finally safe in God's hands,—all this is Stoic. It may be said that all this is Christian too; but in Christianity it is incidental to a more glorious, transcendental fact, while in Stoicism it is the very root and branch.

If it was into Christianity that Stoicism led, it was out of Greek ethics that it came. The time between the death of Aristotle and the height of the Stoic school is a time of slow decay in Greece. The ethics of Plato and Aristotle were formulated in a society in which there were potentialities for the realization of their ideals. But with the passing glory of Greece, with increasing political chaos and decline of material prosperity, with insecurity of fortune and social instability, any realization of the Greek ideal, that is, the harmonious development of the tendencies and powers of the individual through the medium of a well-ordered state, became absolutely impossible. Men turned to an ethical philosophy that had at least some potentiality of realization in it. Epicureanism was a sort of last stand of the Greek spirit, but with Lucretius it comes to be hardly differentiated from Stoicism in actual ethical tone. The latter with its

message of solace for a defeated world completely replaced the old ethics. It is pathetic to think of an ethics of intelligent cultivation of the finest spiritual and material resources of the world, their rational, scientific utilization and mastery, in a world of social virtue and cooperation and mutuality,—of such an ethics being superseded by an intensely narrow, individualistic, renunciatory system such as Stoicism. It seems like a sort of spiritual suicide that the thought of the time committed. It was certainly an amputation, a mutilation, and all for the sake of a negative thing like tranquillity! And yet the goal of Greek ethics, although its emphasis was on the dynamic, was also a satisfying happiness. It was the positive aspect of the same thing that the Stoic labored, though so negatively, to acquire. The difference, however, was as wide as the poles. For the Greek moved in harmony with the vital forces of Nature, but the Stoic cut across her grain at every point. Yet our topsy-turvy notions ascribe a higher nobility to Stoicism than to the Greek ethics! On the assumption, doubtless, that the more hopeless and corrupt and unspiritual the age, the more beautiful and pure and noble will be their ethical philosophy, while an age of beauty and happiness and knowledge and power and spiritual values of the highest import must perforce possess a sordid, mean and material ethics? If we say we feel instinctively that the Christian-Stoical ethics is nobler than the Greek ideal, it is because we have lived so long and so submissively in an ugly, deformed world of social misery and maladjustment that we have lost our sense of true ethical values. The only world worth living in,—it cannot be too often reiterated,—is a Greek world, or a world which people with you are trying to make Greek; and this fact should be the basis of all our teaching, our preaching, our talking, our writing and our working.

It will be said that this is all very well, but that even the best of Greek worlds will deal the individual, at some time or other, terrific blows of misfortune. For the individual, and at such times, Stoicism is surely legitimate and indeed indispensable. Every man is a Stoic at some crisis of his life. There is a fierce satisfaction in feeling that whatever may happen, one's own soul cannot be shattered; that a man has something which no power in heaven and earth can deprive him of; that with it he can face fearlessly the whole universe, and no real harm can happen to him. The Stoical doctrine, however, sounds better than it works. The Stoical spirit at its best can be but a temporary thing. It is a splendid thing to be kept on hand for emergencies. But as a way

of life it falls pitifully short of the Greek ideal. It is in its last analysis but a way of making the best of a bad bargain; it is a "sour-grapes" philosophy, and however much we may admire the wisdom and submissiveness of the renunciator, we must admit that there is something still better and that is to have gotten the grapes themselves. I may accede to poverty (since I must), but I will not insult the integrity of my soul by saying that it is right. The Stoic would. Or rather perhaps he would remove the whole question to the apathetic plane, and say that he is entirely indifferent to both poverty and well-doing, and can say nothing about the rightness and wrongness at all. I do not charge the Stoic, as do some, with subscribing to fatalism, or of investing himself with spiritual pride. But I do accuse him of evading the question that Greek ethics puts with such beautiful clearness, "What is the happiness of man, constituted as he is?" and I accuse him of being a foe to progress. The Greek ideal is dynamic; it pushes men forward to a definite goal which in the best moments of the race they have clearly seen to be the desirable one. But Stoicism is purely static and passive; the Stoic endures, he does not pioneer. To the Greek mind, man in the mechanism of the world is the tender, the guider of the machine; to the Stoic, he is the helpless product, or at best an infinitesimal cog or screw. The Greek ideal may be delusion, and the Stoic the divinely ordained road to the skies. If so, is it not strange that all that is finest in mankind has called imperatively, insistently through all the ages for the realization of the former ideal? Only when the crushing force of environment has sapped his hope, only when the odds of fate seem hopeless against him, only in defeat does man turn to Stoicism. Here he may find strength sufficient for the day, but not renewed vigor for the battle. Stoicism in its last analysis is an ethics of weakness and decline and deficit, and not of strength and constructive power.

TRUTH-SPEAKING; THE FACT VERSUS THE IMPRESSION.

BY CORA LENORE WILLIAMS.

NOW that the god ship Truth, after having ridden many a philosophical gale, seems about to slip her moorings and disappear forever in the treacherous waters of Pragmatism, her sister ship Mathematics should to the rescue; she too may come to need the life line, her topsails, geometrical though they were, having already gone by the board.

With the passing of the Puritanic influence from our religion has come a renaissance of Greek ideals in matters of veracity. For the cultured Greek there were two forms of lying, the honorable and the base; the difference lay in the motive; a lie told in a good cause was not a falsehood.

Of this moral substratum of the Greeks, there are frequent outcroppings in the field of modern literature. Stevenson says that to speak the truth is not to state the true facts, but to convey a true impression; Maeterlinck, that as soon as one is no longer among equal consciences, every truth, to produce the effect of truth, requires focusing; and as still further evidence of this same general conformation, we have the statement from James that our duty to agree with reality is grounded in a perfect jungle of concrete expediences.

Along with the growing scientific habit of facts in all lines of research, there is an increasing tendency to regard facts lightly in matters of personal relation. As man comes to realize the inexorableness of the natural laws to which he is subjected, he would assert his independence by setting his own spiritual standards.

The application of mathematical principles to the problems of ethics should bring about some moral determinations of practical value. The general purport of much present writing on the subject

of moral truth is to place such truth with the empirical sciences, and there is no science to-day but that acknowledges its dependence upon mathematics. From physical geography to political economy, graphical analysis has been found to have great interpretive value and the methods of the calculus are working their way into all lines of research. The ethical chart has been too long in the hands of the impressionists; it stands in need of some strong mathematical lines to clear up the general blur and bring out definite principles of action.

Let us represent the import of a certain incident which you wish to tell me by the length and direction of the line AB.



Fig. 1.

This segment stands for the truth in the matter as it appears to you and which you expect by a statement of the facts to convey to me. These facts may be regarded as component forces (for convenience reduced to two) AC and AD applied at A.

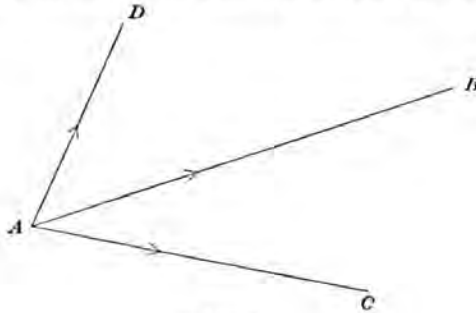


Fig. 2.

The resultant AB is then determined as the diagonal of their parallelogram ACBD. (See Fig. 3.)

Now if these forces, AC and AD, were entirely under your control there would be no question as to the effect. It were then as simple a matter as it is generally supposed to be to speak the truth. But through some ignorance or prejudice on my part, a deflection or change in magnitude may take place in one or both components, so that I get quite another impression AB' from the one AB that you intended I should receive. (See Fig. 4.)

You have spoken the facts but I have not heard the truth.

Or again there may be factors bearing on the case, of so subtle and elusive a nature, that while you feel intuitively their importance, you know yourself unable through lack of expression to give them their due weight. In either case if you have an eye single to the truth of the impression you wish to make, you will be impelled to

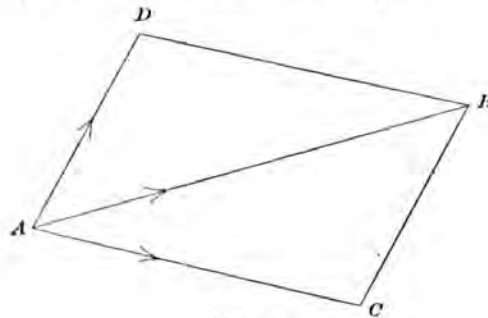


Fig. 3.

alter the forces at your command to avoid the probable error on the part of the hearer. Then if you have made the proper correction, we shall have the same resultant AB from a different set of components AC_1 , AD_1 . (See Fig. 5.)

The moral issue in the problem is evidently one with the mathematical, and for the pragmatist has its solution, as far as our parallelo-

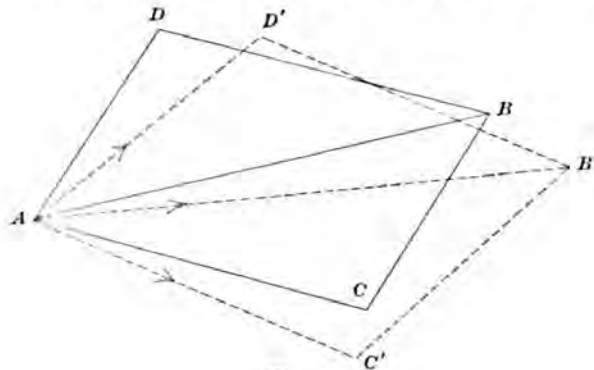


Fig. 4.

gram represents it, in any set of components that will give the correct resultant.

But at this juncture I hear the mathematician ask of his co-worker, the moralist, "What of the forces of reaction, are they not operative in your world as in mine?" "Certainly," that other replies, "should the speaker fail in his computations for the making

of the correct impression, his veracity will stand in danger of being questioned. A lie that has its origin in a bad judgment carries with it the same consequences as the lie that comes from a bad purpose. However great one's desire to hit the bull's eye of truth, to the extent that he falls short of the mark, is he handicapped in his future efforts to make it, for his errors are sooner or later

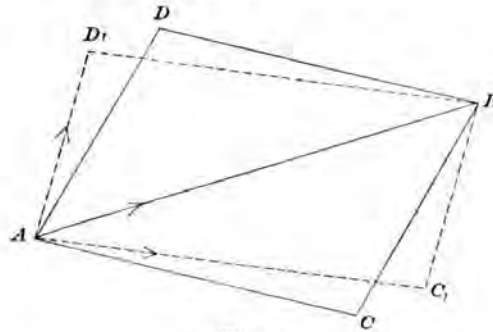


Fig. 5.

attributed to unworthy motives and corrections in turn made on his statements. But any power may be misdirected; ignorance has merely its attendant penalty in this as in other functions of life." The mathematician here interposes, "Let us grant that the desired goal has been gained with all good intent, even then I fear we shall find deleterious results coming from the forces of reaction. Inas-

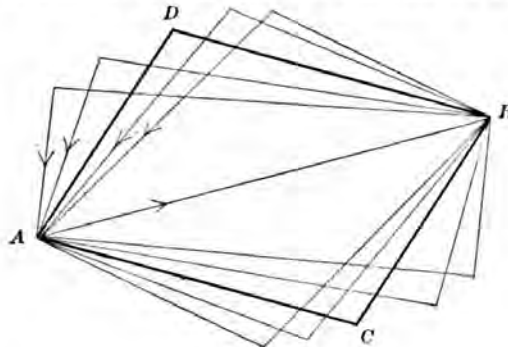


Fig. 6.

much as the angle of deflection for any particular component must change for each recipient, if the resultant in question is to remain a constant, there will in time come about a disintegration of the standard component (the fact as it was originally known to the speaker) through its various substitutes striking it on their return at all angles.

In that the deflections have been made in the cause of truth, there is the greater danger that the truth should be lost. There are no compunctions of conscience to keep it in sight as in the falsehood that knows itself false."

The reality for any one is his experience as it stands in his own mind. If the images of that experience in the minds of others when reflected back do not merge into and strengthen the original image, they will blur its outlines, if they do not destroy it altogether. A disassociation of personality with all its attendant evils is likely to follow as a consequence. A weak character must needs anchor itself firmly to the facts, if it would attain to an individuality of its own.

That the making of a correct impression has come to take precedence of the speaking of the fact is due largely to our consideration for others. Ours is a religion of altruism whose charity covers a multitude of sins including that greatest of all sins, ignorance. The Greeks lied to protect the weak; we lie so as to foster the weakness itself. How frequently we say, "I could not tell him the truth for he would not understand." At times it may be necessary to sacrifice one's truth, as it is at times necessary to sacrifice one's health, for others; we should, however, not do so in the name of truth but of the other moral obligation that for the time being we rightly or wrongly place above the truth.

The problem of truth-speaking is so closely correlated with that of truth-hearing that the two should be considered as one. The injunction to speak the truth should be preceded by the one to hear the truth. How often do we find ourselves unable to give utterance to the fact through the consciousness of an ear that will not understand. In the strained moments of a close friendship or of family relations, a falsehood is frequently invoked by an unsympathetic attitude. As Thoreau says, it takes two to tell the truth, one to speak it, and one to hear it. A child knowing that he will suffer misinterpretation, if not injustice, for the reason that his motives can not be understood, in his impotence hurls a lie into the very face of the facts themselves. Nor are such obliquities peculiar to children. Most of us recall humiliating incidents of the kind in our grown-up experience. Mr. George Gissing in his *Ryecroft Papers* gives one so apropos of the point in hand that I quote it in its entirety.

"At an inn in the north I once heard three men talking at their breakfast on the question of diet. They agreed that most people ate too much meat, and one of them went so far as to declare that, for

his part, he preferred vegetables and fruit. 'Why,' he said, 'will you believe me that I sometimes make a breakfast of apples?' This announcement was received in silence; evidently the two listeners didn't quite know what to think of it. Thereupon the speaker, in rather a blustering tone cried out, 'Yes, I can make a good breakfast on two or three pounds of apples.'

"Wasn't it amusing? And wasn't it characteristic? This honest Briton had gone too far in frankness. 'Tis all very well to like fruit and vegetables up to a certain point; but to breakfast on apples! His companions' silence proved that they were a little ashamed of him; his confession savored of poverty or meanness; to right himself in their opinion, nothing better occurred to the man than to protest that he ate apples, yes, but not merely one or two; he ate them largely, by the pound."

We should prepare ourselves to receive the truth as we prepare ourselves to speak the truth. To tell another the truth as it is known to you, is to offer him the highest recognition of equality with yourself. To hear the truth as it is told you is to establish that equality in the fullest sense.

THE CHINESE BATTLE OF THE FISHES.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

IN his article "The Fish as a Mystic Symbol in China and Japan," Dr. Carus reproduced among other illustrations a stone bas-relief of the Han period representing a battle of the fishes,¹ and aptly described it as "an army of fishes going to war, thus presupposing the existence of a Chinese fish-epic which may have been a battle of the fishes corresponding to the Homeric Battle of the Frogs and Mice." Neither Dr. Carus nor I were able at that time to point to a source of ancient Chinese lore from which this representation of a fish-epic might have been derived. I believe I am now able to supply this want, and to trace the tradition which may have given the impetus to this curious artistic conception.

It is well known that under the reign of the first Emperor Ts'in Shi (B. C. 221-210) the belief prevailed in the existence of three Isles of the Blest, P'êng-lai, Fang-chang and Ying-chou, supposed to be far off in the eastern ocean, and to contain a drug capable of preventing death and securing immortality. The desire of the emperor to possess this drug prompted him to send an expedition out in search of these islands. The party consisted of several thousands of young boys and girls headed by the magician Sü Shi.

"Several years elapsed," Se-ma Ts'ien,² the father of history, tells us, "and they were not able to find the drug. Because they had incurred great expense and feared a reprimand, they made this false report: 'The drug of P'êng-lai can be found, but we were always prevented from so doing by the large *kiao*³ fish and therefore could not reach the place. We wish to propose that an excellent

¹ *The Open Court*, July, 1911, p. 402.

² E. Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. II, p. 190.

³ A species of shark.

archer be sent with us so that when the fish appears, he can shoot it with arrows from the repeating crossbow.⁴

"Emperor Ts'in Shi dreamed that he was fighting with the God of the Ocean who had the appearance of a man. He applied to a scholar of profound knowledge, an interpreter of dreams, who said to him: 'The God of the Ocean cannot be seen, because he is guarded by the large fishes and dragons. If your Majesty will offer prayers and sacrifices, and be ready and attentive, the good gods may be invoked.'

"The emperor, accordingly, ordered those going to sea to take along implements for catching the large fish, whereas he himself, armed with a repeating crossbow, and waiting for the large fish to come forth, kept in readiness to aim at it. He went from Lang-ya⁵ to the mountain Yung-ch'eng,⁶ without seeing anything; arriving at Chi-fu,⁷ he perceived a large fish which he aimed at and killed." Shortly afterwards the emperor died.

In another chapter of his "Historical Memoirs" Se-ma Ts'ien gives a different version of the story:⁸

"Emperor Ts'in Shi dispatched Sū Fu to sea in search of the marvelous beings. On his return Sū Fu forged an excuse and said: 'I saw a great god in the ocean who thus addressed me: Are you the envoy of the Emperor of the West?—I replied in the affirmative.—What are you looking for?—I replied: I wish to ask you for the drug prolonging the years and increasing longevity.—The god said: The offering of your king of Ts'in is trifling; you may see this drug but must not take it.—Thereupon the god conducted me toward the south-east, and we arrived on the island of P'eng-lai. I saw the gate of the palace Chi-ch'êng, where stood an emissary of copper color and having the body of a dragon; his splendor illuminated the sky above. Then greeting him twice I said: What offering can I make to you?—The God of the Ocean said: Give me sons of good family with virgin daughters, as well as workmen of all trades. Then you will obtain the drug.'

"Emperor Ts'in Shi was very well satisfied and sent three thousand young boys and young girls; he gave Sū Fu seeds of the five kinds of grain and workmen of all trades. Sū Fu set out on

⁴ Such crossbows with a magazine from which six to eight darts can be shot off in rapid succession are still manufactured and utilized in China.

⁵ On the south coast of Shantung Province.

⁶ In the prefecture of Lai-chou on the north coast of Shantung Province.

⁷ On the north coast of Shantung.

⁸ Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, p. 152.



THE ENVOY OF TS'IN SHI AND THE OCEAN-GOD.
(Repeated from *The Open Court*, July, 1911.)

his route; he found a calm and fertile place where he stopped and made himself king, and never returned."

From both these versions of the tradition, an understanding of the bas-relief in question may be derived. Indeed the submarine kingdom of the God of the Ocean is there displayed before our eyes. It is the sea, not a river, which is intended, as above all evidenced by the representation of sea-mammals. A seal is manifestly outlined on the upper left margin just above the canopy of the chariot, and there are reasons to believe that the Chinese first became acquainted with seals and other marine mammals through these very sea expeditions under Emperor Ts'in Shi. The oil obtained from seals was utilized for burning in the lamps placed in the emperor's tomb, and it was believed that they could not burn out for a long time.⁹

On the right-hand side of the slab is represented a four-footed mammal (slightly damaged) holding a spear in its forepaws. The center of the composition is occupied by the dignified personage driving the chariot drawn by three huge sea-fishes. The powerful God of the Ocean, "of the appearance of a man," guarding the Fortunate Isles and their treasure, the drug of immortality, may now be recognized in him; he is holding a jade emblem of rank in his hands. The man kneeling in front of his chariot, likewise provided with such an emblem, is apparently the magician, the envoy of the emperor, requesting the aquatic ruler for the drug. The armed warriors astride the fishes, and the fishes and frogs armed with bucklers and swords surrounding their lord on all sides, are his valiant body-guard ready to fight the unwelcome intruders, or perhaps on the warpath toward the shores of Shantung to punish the audacious emperor for his high-minded ambitions.

The subject of this bas-relief may therefore be defined as the struggle of Emperor Ts'in Shi with the God of the Ocean and his fish-creatures.

⁹ Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, p. 195.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE DOCETIC HERESY IN BUDDHISM.

One of the strangest parallels between the history of Buddhism and Christianity is the appearance of the Docetic heresy in both religions. An essential thought is the idea that the Buddha is the Blessed One whose peace of mind is never disturbed and whose equanimity is never rippled by pain or suffering. For the Buddha has escaped suffering; even in this life he lives in a state of undisturbed happiness, and this idea has produced the heresy of Docetism.

We quote from *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics* the following passage:

"The Docetic heresy believed that Christ, because he was God, could have suffered no pain; his whole being was uncontaminated with material existence, and his body was mere appearance, a sham—hence the name of the sect from *δοκεῖν*, to seem. This view is represented in the apocryphal "Gospel according to St. Peter," in which we read (verse 10): "And they brought two malefactors and crucified the Lord between them; but he kept silence, as *feeling* no pain." Docetism is also one of the Buddhist heresies, as may be learned from a passage quoted from the *Fo-pan-ni-pan-king*, an expanded rendering of the *Parinirvana-Sutra*, translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIX, pp. 365 ff.). The Tathagata says to Chunda, the smith:

"To those who as yet have no knowledge of the nature of Buddha, to these the body of Tathagata seems capable of suffering, liable to want (but to others it is not so); at the time when the Bodhisattva received the offering of food and drink (he was supposed to have eaten the food)...so now having received your offering, he will preach the law. But still, as in the former case he ate not, so neither does he eat now."—Transl. by Samuel Beal, *loc. cit.*, p. 367."

The Docetic heresy is not originally orthodox but has grown up later. The Docetic views, as appears in the just quoted passage, are very artificial. The Buddha himself has to explain to Chunda, the smith, that Buddhas do not eat, do not suffer pain, and in a similar way the "Gospel according to Peter" has the insertion that Christ *seemed* to suffer, so it is difficult to believe that the Docetic view was original. It is a secondary thought based on the principle that Christ is God and God does not suffer.

We do not intend to enter here into the problem whether Christian Docetism has produced its Buddhist counterpart or *vice versa*. This much is sure, that Buddhist influence begins to be strongly felt in early additions to the Christian canon. The main traces of Buddhist thought are to be found

in Luke and in the Fourth Gospel, not in Matthew and still less in Mark. They seem to have reached Christianity in its later Hellenistic form, not in its primitive Aramaic sources.

P. C.

A BALAAM AMONG THE HISTORICISTS.

Less than a year ago Dr. Erich Klostermann, Professor of Theology in the University of Strassburg, addressed by special invitation the *Pastoral-conferenz* on "The Latest Attacks on the Historicity of Jesus." The address was notable for its dispassionate tone, for its clear and fair statement of some aspects of the controversy, but more especially for the numerous and important concessions made to the radical criticism. The audience must have heard with dismay from such a high-placed authority that "the strength of his attack has been hitherto mostly underestimated," that "rusty weapons will have to be set aside in the corner," that "even Weiss has alas! not renounced these weapons," that "we can not make appeal to Schmiedel's Nine Pillars against *these* opponents," that "new and more efficient weapons will have to be forged." (Conspicuous by name among the castaways is the "*uniqueness*," along with the "*uninventibility*"—a fact to be commended to the prayerful consideration of such as Mr. Edwyn Bevan, who in the *Nineteenth Century* (April, 1813, p. 859) not merely leans but formally lays out his Deutero-Christianity at full length on this "*uniqueness*," now officially discarded.) Klostermann does not essay to forge these much desiderated "doughtier weapons," but in the brief "Foreword" to the published Address he says significantly: "The wishes expressed to me for an essentially enlarged statement or for greater sharpness in repelling the adversaries, I could not fulfill." No explanation of this inability is either stated or hinted. "I took thee to curse mine enemies, and behold thou hast blessed them altogether."

W. B. S.

CRIMINOLOGY.

Mr. Arthur MacDonald is a great advocate for the study of man, and his specialty is the study of criminal man. He has with various success proposed the idea of establishing laboratories to investigate the criminal, pauper, and defective classes, and has proposed a bill before the finance committee of the New York State Senate and the Judiciary Committee of the United States House of Representatives for this special purpose. We do not doubt that his proposition is important, and among the many movements of reform it ought to have full consideration. Mr. MacDonald writes to us:

"When a student chooses for his life work a subject in the older branches of knowledge, as physics, philosophy, philology, Greek, Latin and natural history, he finds the field somewhat well developed; but not so in more recent sociological lines of research, as criminal anthropology (criminology, shorter term), and other cognate subjects, in which there is full opportunity for mental acumen and scientific ability of the highest character, to carry out most lofty purposes.

"The question may arise as to what course of study will prepare one best for such work. I would suggest the following:

1. A two-years course in psychology, especially laboratory work.
2. Medical studies to the extent of anatomy, physiology, general pathology, nervous diseases and insanity (especially clinical studies).
3. A practical course in craniology in the laboratory.
4. Facility in reading modern languages, especially German and French.

"Thus social pathology, and especially criminal anthropology, one of its branches, requires more extensive preliminary training than most subjects, for it involves the investigation of man both mentally and physically. Such training is synthetic, which in this age of specialism is much needed. As such education is relatively new and experience in it as yet limited, it is difficult to designate a preparatory course. I have myself followed the course of study just indicated, but more extensively especially in medical lines, but such additional preparation might not be practicable for most students."

He sends us for inspection a small pamphlet entitled *Study of Man*, which outlines his plan of work. This he will gladly mail to any student who will send name and address to him at "The Congressional," Washington, D. C. The gist of his work as here expressed may be summed up in the following sentences:

"1. The prison should be a reformatory and the reformatory a school. The principal object of both should be to teach good mental, moral, and physical habits. Both should be distinctly educational.

"2. It is detrimental financially, as well as socially and morally, to release prisoners when there is probability of their returning to crime; for in this case the convict is much less expensive than the ex-convict.

"3. The determinate sentence permits many prisoners to be released who are morally certain to return to crime. The indeterminate sentence is the best method of affording the prisoner an opportunity to reform without exposing society to unnecessary dangers.

"4. The ground for the imprisonment of the criminal is, first of all, because he is dangerous to society. This principle avoids the uncertainty that may rest upon the decision as to the degree of freedom of will; for upon this last principle some of the most brutal crimes would receive a light punishment. If a tiger is in the street, the main question is not the degree of his freedom of will or guilt. Every man who is dangerous to property or life, whether insane, criminal, or feeble-minded, should be confined, but not necessarily punished.

"5. The publication in the newspapers of criminal details and photographs is a positive evil to society, on account of the law of imitation; and, in addition, it makes the criminal proud of his record, and develops the morbid curiosity of the people; and it is especially the mentally and morally weak who are affected.

"6. It is admitted by some of the most intelligent criminals, and by prison officers in general, that the criminal is a fool; for he is opposing himself to the best, the largest, and the strongest portion of society, and is almost sure to fail."

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Photograph by Frank Wolcott, Chicago.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII (No. 7)

JULY, 1913

No. 686

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE,

INDIA'S GREATEST LIVING POET.

BY BASANTA KOOMAR ROY.

ALTHOUGH it is perhaps not known to many, America is at the present time harboring a guest who is not only the greatest living poet of his own country, but whose work bids fair to live for all time. With the nations of the West, poetry has come to be looked upon as the language of the unusual, perhaps even the eccentric. The epic and lyric feeling does not penetrate into the masses of Western population as it did when poetry was still transmitted by oral tradition; nor do many of the West have the feeling that thought and sentiment expressed in poetry is a necessary element in every-day existence. So the great poets live their immortal lives confined largely to the book shelves. It is the written, rather than the living, word that tradition preserves. Only a very few have their memories stored with treasures of poetry, and even those who have literary tastes are often more ready to read about great poetry than to steep themselves in the poet's own thought. Now there has come to America one who, indeed, is one of the choicest intellects of his race and nation, but whose thoughts are not confined to the printed page; if his verses are read by the thousands, they are known by heart, sung, and recited by the millions. No Western poet has ever had such a constituency of contemporaries. Not only is this Hindu singer imposing through the vast chorus whose feelings he has interpreted, but his lines have a force which ranks them with the finest things the world has yet produced.

William Butler Yeats, in introducing Rabindranath Tagore to the literati of London, at a recent banquet in the Trocadero Hotel, said: "To take part in honoring Mr. Rabindranath Tagore is one of the greatest events of my artistic life. I have been carrying about with me a book¹ of translations into English prose of one hundred of his Bengali lyrics, written within the last ten years. I know of no man in my time who has done anything in the English language to equal these lyrics."

The enthusiasm at the banquet waxed high. The British literary men were lavish in showing admiration of a very "unusual degree." Some even, in Hindu manner, touched his feet by way of salutation, others were disappointed in not being able to do so. Rev. C. F. Andrews, a British missionary to India, and one of India's truest friends, thus tells us of his own disappointment: "I should like to have made obeisance to the poet, who has so raised his nation by his songs, but in a moment he had clasped my hand." It was a scene of great international significance. As art transcends all physical limitations, so in this gathering of artists everything else but art was lost sight of. The feeling of race difference, the apathy between the conquerors and the conquered, the gulf between the European and the Asian, all vanished before the illuminating spirit pervading the finer things of life.

As a result of Rabindranath's visit to England, British literary men are demanding the translation of his works; and already some half a dozen Hindus are at work to accomplish the task. On the other hand, many British literary men and women have begun studying the Bengali language so that they may read his works in their original beauty. The poet's short story "Dalia" has been dramatized as "The Maharani of Arakan" and produced in the Royal Albert Hall Theater in London.

If family tradition has anything to do with culture, then Rabindranath has nothing to complain of. He was born in the illustrious Thakur, anglicized into Tagore, family which has loomed high in the horizon of the intellectual and social life of India ever since the tenth century. Amongst the Tagores are counted men like Prosonno Koomar Tagore, a landowner, a lawyer of great reputation, an editor, a writer on legal and educational subjects, founder and president of the British India Association; Raja Sir Sourindra Mohun Tagore, undoubtedly one of the highest musical authorities in India, the founder of the Bengal Music School and the

¹*Gitanjali* (song offerings) published, with an introduction by William Butler Yeats, by the India society of London.

Bengal Academy of Music, and author of many volumes on Hindu Music and musical instruments; Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, a distinguished painter, and an undisputed leader in the Hindu art revival; Maharaja Ramanath Tagore, brother of our poet's grandfather, a political leader and writer; Dwarakanath Tagore, the grandfather of the poet, a landlord, a founder of the Landholders' Society, a philanthropist, a social reformer, preeminently an agitator against the *suttee*, an ardent worker for the "identification of the feelings and interests of the Indians with their government," anxious to "strengthen the bond which unites India with Great Britain."

Debendranath Tagore, the father of the poet, was not a Maharaja (great king). He did not care to be decorated that way. Instead he was decorated by the people with the title of Maharsi (great sage). He was one of India's greatest spiritual leaders and intellectual giants. His godliness was contagious. Once a skeptic friend of his came to him and asked: "You talk of God, ever and again of God! What proof is there that there is a God at all?" Maharsi pointed to a light and asked his friend, "Do you know what that is?" "Light," was the reply. "How do you know that there is a light there?" "I see it; it is there and it needs no proof; it is self-evident." "So is the existence of God," replied Maharsi, "I see him within me and without me, in everything and through everything, and it needs no proof, it is self-evident."

It was in such a family—a family that combined culture with wealth and leisure, that Rabindranath first saw the light of day. It is said that born poets are generally handsome. Rabindranath was no exception to the general rule. He has long been famous in India both for his poetry and beauty. Indeed, his youthful portraits bear a striking resemblance to the best pictures of the poet of Galilee who wrote not a single verse, but who hallowed the world with the majestic poetry of his life and sayings. The Hindu poet's flowing hair; his broad, unfurrowed forehead; his bright, black, magnetic eyes, chiseled nose, firm but gentle chin, delicate sensitive hands, his sweet voice, pleasant smile, keen sense of humor, and his innate refinement, make him a man of rare and charming personality. To look at him is to notice the true embodiment of the artist.

That Wordsworth is right when he says, "The child is the father of the man," is witnessed by the early life and later development of Tagore. His childhood was the most constructive period of his life. It was then that he was imbibing the spirit of nature

which was to color all his life and all his writings afterwards. It really did bid fair to be of supreme importance to himself and his motherland. In one of his letters, the poet tells us about some of his childhood experiences:

"I but faintly remember the days of my early childhood. But I do remember that in the mornings, every now and then, a kind of unspeakable joy, without any cause, used to overflow my heart. The whole world seemed to me full of mysteries. Every day I used to dig the earth with a little bamboo stick thinking that I might discover one of them. All the beauty, sweetness and scent of this world, all the movements of the people, the noises in the street, the cry of the kites, the coconut trees in the family garden, the banyan tree by the pond, the shadow on the water, the morning perfume of the blossoms—all these used to make me feel the presence of a dimly recognized being assuming so many forms just to keep me company."

The future poet was then only six or seven years old. He was so busy looking at and enjoying things natural, that he hated to be hemmed in by the walls of the class-room. They were all the more unbearable for him because of his dislike for the teacher of Bengali literature, a man of ordinary intellect who was notorious for his coarse manners. The impertinent pupil would not answer any oral question asked by this man, consequently he used to gravitate to the bottom of his class. But he surprised the same teacher by capturing the first place in every written examination.

Maharsi Debendranath, after closely studying the inborn proclivities of his son, took him out of school, never to return for any length of time, and started with him for a trip to the heights of the Himalayas to train him in the school of nature. Young Tagore was glad to get out of school and beyond the reach of his teacher's care, and his heart leaped with joy now that he was about to see the mountain world. The first night out of Calcutta, as he was being carried in a *palanquin* to the Bolpur Shanti Niketan (peace cottage at Bolpur, his father's country home for meditation), he closed his eyes all the way to the bungalow simply not to see the beauties of nature by the faint light of the falling darkness, that he might take keener delight in the rich landscapes under the morning light.

When in the course of time the boy reached the Himalayas, he knew that he had found what his heart was craving for—a wealth of the beauty of nature resplendent with the luxury of lovely color and majestic form. Here his father introduced him to the sylvan deities, who, in their turn, unfolded to the boy poet a thousand and one mysteries of nature and the majesty of all these mysteries. Here

his father also taught him English, Sanskrit, Bengali, and in the sciences, botany and astronomy.

Then a boy of only eleven summers, having been born in the spring of 1860, Rabindranath had already finished reading some of the most important books in Bengali literature, and had just begun to "lisp in numbers for the numbers came." The next year his mother died, and his intense love for her now went to reinforce his worship of nature. At this time he was living at Chandranagore, in a garden house by the River Ganges. Such a contrast of change from the majestic grandeur of the Himalayas to the soft melody of the Ganges enriched and strengthened his imagination, and sharpened his intellect, until he became inspired with the nectar of nature; and he would spend hours together watching the mystic flow of the Ganges or seeing the moon kiss the sacred river into ripples. Here he would spend night after night upon the flat roof of the house, musing on the mystery of the star-lit universe.

Thus he spent several years in dreaming, studying English and Bengali literature, (Bengali, a daughter of Sanskrit, and the language of Mr. Tagore's poems), composing poems, and writing essays for different magazines, especially for his family magazine, *The Bharati*, which is now edited by his erudite sister, Sreemati Swarna Koomari Devi. At the age of seventeen, he made a short visit to Europe. His learned letters from there show his command over the Bengali language, his breadth of vision and keen sociological insight. In England he perfected his knowledge of English and acquired a lucid prose style which few have equaled in India.

Mr. Tagore's versatility is astonishing. To name a few of his activities and accomplishments: he is a profound philosopher, a spiritual and patriotic leader, an historical investigator, a singer and composer, an able editor (having edited four different magazines, *Sadhana*, *Bangadarsan*, *Bharati* and *Tattwabodhini*), a far-sighted educator, and a kind and considerate administrator of his vast "Zamindary" estate. But he is, above all, the poet—the poet of love. Love flows from his heart, mind and soul in a continuous stream, assuming all different forms in its windings from the gross to the spiritual, from the known to the unknown, from the finite to the infinite. He interprets love in all its multiform expressions—the love of mother, of son, husband, wife, lover, beloved, patriot, of the Dionysian, nature-drunk, and of the God-frenzied. Each and every one of these he portrays with his characteristic softness of touch that recalls the lyrics of Théophile Gautier, and with the exquisite felicity of Shelley and Keats. His verses carry within them

an emotion which thrills, enraptures, and causes every fiber of a human being to ache with joy that almost stops the throbbing of the heart and draws tears to the eyes.

Expression of love is so natural to him because of the fact that he has, like many other poets, passed through all the phases of love and life. Like the prose-poet Tolstoy, he has traveled from the worship of the senses to the quiet of sainthood. He understands the thrills of love, the romantic passion, the gloom of disappointment, the depth of despair, the profundity of quiet, and the ecstatic realization of "being, intelligence and bliss" (*sat, chit, anandam*).

When the surging tide of youth overtook the young poet quite unawares, he, in the onrush, could see only love and romance. The same nature, the same people, the same life; still everything looked different to him. He was at a loss to know whether it was himself or the world that had changed; and it did not take him long to discover that as he changed first, so the world changed to keep in touch with him. Love was no longer a thing far off—something to be imbibed from without; but instead, it became a reality to be drawn out from within. It was no longer a fancy, but a thing tangible, that first overpowered him. Thus for a time he became an epicure and *bon-vivant*; fashionable dress—the finest of silk robes—delicious dishes, ardent romances, love lyrics, literary production, constituted his interests, though there was always present in his sub-conscious self a strong under-current of spirituality which he inherited from his father.

It cannot be denied that in spite of this under-current many of his youthful poems were colored by the still stronger surface-current of his life. Indeed, some of them shocked the old-fashioned Hindu moralists, who received them with disdain. I remember one day in a students' boarding house in India, when I was trying to sing one of Mr. Tagore's songs, some of the young men that were present shouted: "What makes you sing that nautch-song?" When told that it was one of Rabi Babu's songs they were more than surprised and would not believe it until the printed verses were shown. Then they all changed their mind and confessed that it was quite proper to read or sing anything that Rabi Babu wrote. The song in prose translation reads:

"Hither, O beloved, come hither! step forth in this pleasure garden of mine and see where my flowers are blowing in beauty. Gentle breathes the west wind laden with the perfume of the blossoms. Here moonlight glimmers and a silvery stream murmurs down the forest ways.

"Hither, O beloved, come hither! for we shall unfold the depths of our

hearts gleaning the beauty of the immortal flowers; and in consuming ecstasy weave garlands each for the other, and watch the stars until they fade in the dawn.

"Beloved! in this joyous garden of ours we shall ever dwell and sing songs in rapturous joy. Here shall our hearts thrill in the mystery of life. Yea, and the days and nights shall pass as Visions of the Lord of Love, and we shall dream together in a languor of everlasting delight."

Again listen to his musings on "The Pensive Beloved":

"The young girl who sits by the window alone has forgotten to garland the flowers for her beloved. With her head resting on her hand she seems entirely rapt, while about her the gathered blossoms of the summer lie all neglected.

"For the breeze gently blows in to her, whispering softly, caressingly, as she sits by the window in a solemn rapture.

"The clouds fleet in the blue, and the birds flutter in the forest, and the odorous *bakul* blossoms fall intermittently before her eyes: Yet she is unregardful.

"But in sweet repose she smiles, for now the tender chords of her heart stir melodiously in the shadowland of dreams."

The conservative Hindus were up in arms against Rabindranath, thinking that he was likely to demoralize the youth of India by the sensuousness of his love poems and songs, especially the ones in "Love" (*Prem*), "Youthful Dreams" (*Jouban Sapna*), and "Chitrangada," a poetic drama. They were afraid that he was going to introduce the romanticism of the West, of Byron and Shelley, into India, and to depart from the classic severity of Indian literary treatment of the human passions. But they, in their over-zealousness to preserve for the youths of India the pleasures of Nirvanic bliss, forgot to take notice of the fact that in the writings of the young poet there could not be found anything like the coarse vulgarity of an earlier Bengali poet, Bharat Chandra Rai Gunakar, who was widely read by the young Bengalis at the time.

Mr. Tagore has all along held that he was not for salvation by *Bairagnya*, renunciation. In one of his poems he plainly says:

"My salvation shall never come through renunciation. I shall enjoy the triumph of salvation amidst the innumerable bondages of this world....My *Maya* will evolve itself into *Mukti*, and my love will transform itself into adoration."

Dividing his time between his palatial home in Calcutta and Bolpur Peace Cottage, he was on the one hand receiving the

message of life, action, noise, politics and society in Calcutta, while on the other he was profiting by the inspiration of nature and quiet at Boalpur, but devoting most of his time to writing plays, essays, songs and poems. As the two outward forces were acting and reacting on each other; similarly, the opposite currents of the sensuous and the spiritual within him were struggling to harmonize themselves. During this period of doubt, despair and uncertainty, the poet wrote poems on such subjects as, "The Call of Sorrow," "Lamentation of Happiness," and "Despair of Hope."

At last the under-current of spirituality came to the surface again and in the process drove the opposite current out of existence. His entire life was now saturated with the spirit of this renaissance. He got what he sought; and the story of such a transformation he gives in a letter which in translation reads:

"One morning, the moment I saw from my veranda the sun rising from behind the foliage of the trees in the garden, the scales fell from my eyes. A singular glory covered the entire universe for me—bliss and beauty seemed to ripple all over the world.... Then nobody and nothing whatsoever remained unwelcome to me. The people whose company was heretofore unpleasant to me, now on their approach my heart would run before me to offer them a cordial welcome. Even the coarse forms and features of some of the members of the laboring class, as they passed by on the street, had an inner glory for me."

With the change in the man, changed the tone of his poems. Now, filled to the brim with the love for God and looking upon this universe as the visible expression of God's love, he touches nothing, he writes nothing, that he does not saturate with the thought of divine love of spiritual life, and of eternal beauty and splendor in nature. The sun, the moon, the stars in heaven, and the trees and flowers on earth speak a language of love for the Supreme Being whose handiwork they are. Mr. Yeats speaks of the spirituality of Mr. Tagore's later poems in these words: "In all his poems there is one single theme: the love of God. When I tried to find anything western which might compare with the works of Mr. Tagore, I thought of 'The Imitation of Christ' by Thomas a Kempis. It is like, yet between the work of the two men there is a whole world of difference. Thomas a Kempis was obsessed by the thought of sin; he wrote in terrible imagery. Mr. Tagore has as little thought of sin as a child playing with a top. His poems have stirred my blood as nothing has for years."

Here follow two of his spiritual poems in prose translations. In the first he thus addresses God as a passer-by:

"In the deep shadows of the rainy month with secret steps, thou walkest, silent as night, eluding all watchers.

"To-day the morning has closed its eyes, heedless to the insistent calls of the loud east wind, and over the ever wakeful blue sky a thick veil has been drawn.

"The woodlands have hushed their songs, and doors are all shut at every house. Thou art the solitary wayfarer in this deserted street. Oh, my only friend, my best beloved, the gates are open in my house—do not pass by like a dream."

In the second he dwells on the mysteries of the final home of the soul:

"Thou art the sky and thou art the nest as well. Oh, how beautiful! There in the nest it is thy love that encloses the soul with colors and sounds and odors. There comes the morning with the golden basket in her right hand bearing the wreath of beauty, silently to crown the earth. And there comes the evening over the lonely meadows deserted by herds, through trackless paths, carrying cool draughts of peace in her golden pitcher from the western ocean of rest.

"But there, where spreads the infinite sky for the soul to take her flight in, reigns the stainless white radiance. There is no day nor night, nor form nor color, and never never a word."

If by a natural disaster all of Mr. Tagore's thoughtful essays, profound philosophical dissertations, learned historical interpretations, soul-stirring short stories, powerful dramas, carefully wrought novels, and his exquisite books of ballads and lyrics are destroyed forever from the face of this earth; still as long as men live in India he will be remembered as one of India's greatest poets, for they could never forget the message of his national songs. His songs have made such an indelible mark on the life of the nation that they will continue to shower their beneficent influence as long as the name India shall endure. Imagination itself is at a loss to comprehend, and language feels its inadequacy to express, the real usefulness of his patriotic songs in the up-hill task of nation-building in India. The Philippics of the political agitators, and the diatribes of the caustic editorial writers are mere pin-pricks when compared with the majestic sweep of the patriotic-fire songs of our poet. These deep appeals are lashing the little ripples into mountainous waves of unalloyed nationalism that are, in the India of to-day, dashing against and engulfing the rocks of selfishness and provincialism and thus helping to form a mighty, homogeneous nation out of a multitude of conflicting interests.

His patriotic songs are sung everywhere. In the morning

when the rising sun darts its rays of liquid gold we hear his songs being sung in the bathing *ghats* and in *sankirtan* parties that go about in the streets to wake people up from sleep to join in the service of God and Motherland. At scorching noontide, under the shade of the spreading banyan trees in lonely *maidans* when the shepherds play the king, they sing the same songs to themselves, to the birds on the trees and the cattle in the fields. And again, when the Indian landscape is bathed by the vermilion sprays of the setting sun, and as the boatmen go down the river or as the village peasants flock homeward—they all sing the songs of Rabindranath. They are sung in the national congresses and conferences, they are sung by the athletes in the gymnasiums, the beggars in their begging excursions, and the washermen in the *dhobi Khanas*; and they are sung at weddings and at times of religious ceremony.

There are critics who claim that Rabindranath's national poems are too gentle, too effeminate, to suit the present requirements of India. It is true that he has not the fire of Hem Chandra Bando-padhya, nor the masculine force of Nabin Chandra Sen. It is also true that he appeals to the softer emotions, and they to the sterner, and it cannot be denied that the latter also is needed in India. Indeed, the "Sleep no More" of Hem Chandra Bandopadhya, and some of the stanzas of "The Battle of Pallasy" (*Pallashir Judho*) of Nabin Chandra Sen are mighty factors in the present crisis in India. Yet, in spite of all, it must be acknowledged by those who know anything about the imaginative and speculative nature of the Hindus, that of the two sentiments—"Awake, arise, conquer and dash to earth the oppressor's rod," and "Your Motherland is struggling, she is suffering, O! she is starving, who else but a dutiful son can assuage the sorrows of the mother!"—the latter appeals to the Hindu soul more strongly and has a more enduring influence than the former. Rabindranath decidedly follows the latter path. He idealizes the motherland, he speaks of her in a thousand different ways, arousing in the hearts of his readers as many different shades of passionate emotion. He speaks of her waving rice fields, her smiling blossoms, perfumed flowers, singing birds, talking streams, awe-inspiring mountains, noisy bazars, sweet homes, her granaries and her play-grounds full of dear little children—and he clothes them all with the hallowing love of the motherland—*Bharat Mata*, as she is called in India. Over and above that, with his characteristic insight into Hindu traits and temperaments, he gives some of his best national songs a touch of colloquialism and the cadences of Baul and the Ramprasadi religious songs. They

both have peculiar tunes that appeal to Hindu higher emotions and devotional nature. Incessantly he pleads the cause of India in a hundred different ways and always in his inimitable style. Thus he sings of consecration :

"To thee, my motherland, I dedicate my body, for thee I consecrate my life; for thee my eyes will weep; and in thy praise my muse will sing.

"Though my arms are helpless and powerless; still they will do the deeds that can only serve thy cause; and though my sword is rusty with disgrace, still it shall sever thy chains of bondage, sweet mother of mine."

Then in another place he rebukes the mother by saying :

"Mother should you send your children as beggars to the doors of strangers, who, at sight of begging bowls, begin to hate and throw stones at them in contempt?"

Again he consoles her by saying :

"Sweet mother! You can hope nothing from these children of yours, they will give you nothing, though you are giving them everything you have, —air, water, grains, and your age-long culture. Forgive your ungrateful children, who promise you so much, but at the next breathing break all their solemn promises."

When the young patriots of India find themselves deserted on all sides, when their friends, relations, alas! even their own parents disown them for the crime of patriotism, they find a mine of inspiration in the song, "Follow the Gleam":

"If nobody responds to your call, then follow the path all alone, all alone; if every one is afraid and nobody wants to speak to you, then, O, you unfortunate! speak to yourself the story of your sorrow; if while traveling in the wilderness, everybody deserts you and turns against you, mind them not, but trample the thorns and bathe your feet with your own blood and go all by yourself; if again in the stormy night you do not find a single soul to hold the light for you, and they all close their doors against you, be not faint-hearted, forlorn patriot, but take a rib out of your side and light it with the fire of lightning and then follow the gleam, follow the gleam."

Love, pathos, encouragement and the spirit of sacrifice inspire his patriotic poems; but in them there is not even a suggestion of anger, jealousy or hatred for anybody in the world. That is what marks him out as a representative of world-wide humanity. His universalism has reached the very height of perfection. He, as a twentieth century idealist, believes in the unity of the human race —unity in the richness of its diversity. He holds with Goldwin Smith, that "above all nations is Humanity." He holds also that the presence of the national, the racial, the creedal and the continental

elements and their cooperation in human society are essential for the harmonious development of the universal; just as the presence and the cooperation of the distinct organs of the body are essential for the normal development of the man. He thinks that "as the mission of the rose lies in the unfoldment of the petals which implies distinctness, so the rose of humanity is perfect only when the diverse races and the nations have evolved their perfected distinct characteristics, but all attached to the stem of humanity by the bond of love."

That is the reason why he believes that the East and the West have their special lives to live, and their special missions to fulfil, but their final goal is the same. That is exactly why he does not, as no sensible man any longer does, believe in the cynic charlatanism of

"Oh East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

Thus he spoke in the banquet where the master minds of Great Britain and Ireland gathered to welcome him in their midst:

"....I have learned that, though our tongues are different and our habits dissimilar, at the bottom our hearts are one. The monsoon clouds, generated in the banks of the Nile, fertilize the far distant shores of the Ganges; ideas may have to cross from East to Western shores to find a welcome in men's hearts and fulfil their promise. East is East and West is West—God forbid that it should be otherwise—but the twain must meet in amity, peace and mutual understanding; their meeting will be all the more fruitful because of their differences; it must lead both to holy wedlock before the common altar of humanity."

The story of his love for the universal, for "things both great and small," for people both rich and poor, is best told in one of his poems:

"The myriads of human beings that inhabit this globe of ours enter my heart and find unspeakable joy in one another's company; there lovers enter and look at each other, and children stand and laugh in merriment....My heart is full to the brim with transcendent joy, and I find the world without a single human soul in it. It is all empty. O, I know! How can it be otherwise when all have entered into my heart!"

Exactly in the same strain he writes his dainty little poem, "The Small," which in prose translation is as follows:

"What is there but the sky, O sun, which can hold thy image?

I dream of thee but to serve thee I never can hope."

The dew drop wept and said,

'I am too small to take thee unto me, great lord,
And thus my life is all tears.'

"I illumine the limitless sky,
Yet I can yield myself up to a tiny drow of dew.'
Thus said the sun and smiled.
'I will be a speck of sparkle and fill you,
And your tiny life will be a smiling orb.'"

In his poem, "The Infinite Love," Rabindranath Tagore, who combines in his poetry the idealistic flights of Shelley, the luxuriant imagery of Keats, the exalted beauty of Tennyson, and the spiritual fervor of Thomas a Kempis, strikes the dominant note of his life and work, both of which have been tremendously influenced by the sublime philosophy and the eloquent natural beauties of India. The poem as translated by the poet himself reads:

"I have ever loved thee in a hundred forms and times,
Age after age, in birth following birth.
The chain of songs that my fond heart did weave
Thou graciously didst take round thy neck,
Age after age, in birth following birth.

"When I listen to the tales of the primitive past,
The love-pangs of the far distant times,
The meetings and partings of the ancient ages—
I see thy form gathering light
Through the dark dimness of Eternity
And appearing as a star ever fixed in the memory of the ALL.

"We two have come floating by the twin currents of love
That well up from the inmost heart of the Beginningless,
We two have played in the lives of myriad lovers
In tearful solitude of sorrow
In tremulous shyness of sweet union,
In old, old love ever renewing its life.

"The onrolling flood of the love eternal
Hath at last found its perfect final course.
All the joys and sorrows and longings of the heart,
All the memories of the moments of ecstasy,
All the love-lyrics of poets of all climes and times
Have come from the everywhere
And gathered in one single love at thy feet."

TO THE SUMMIT OF MOUNT ARARAT.

BY EDGAR J. BANKS.

“YOU can not ascend Ararat, Effendi. No man has ever been to the top of the mountain, and no man ever can. Ararat is the mother of the world, and Allah forbid that any man see her face. Men come from England and from France, and they go into the mountain for three days or for four days or for a week, and then say they have climbed to the summit, but they speak not the truth, for when they reach a certain place in the mountain, Allah casts a deep sleep upon them and bears them back to the base. Seek not to go up Ararat, Effendi, lest you too become a man of lies.”

The aged Kurd, who would dissuade me from climbing Ararat, was sincere. He was expressing the belief of most of the Kurds and Armenians and Turks and Persians who live in the little villages about the base and on the sloping sides of the great mountain. And yet in the wonderfully clear air the summit of Ararat, all white with snow, was distinctly visible; it seemed an easy climb of but an hour or two.

The belief that the summit of Ararat is unattainable dates back at least several centuries, perhaps even to a great antiquity. Sir John Mandeville, the tale of whose wonderful travels was written about 1332, refers to it. He says:

“And there beside is another hill that men clep Ararat, but the Jews clepe it Taneez, where Noah’s ship rested, and yet is upon that mountain. And men may see it afar in clear weather. And that mountain is well a seven mile high. And some men say that they have seen and touched the ship, and put their fingers in the parts where the fiend went out, when that Noah said *Benedicte*. But they that say such words, say their will. For a man may not go up the mountain, for great plenty of snow is always on that mountain, neither summer nor winter. So that no man may go up there, no man never did, since the time of Noah, save a monk that, by the

grace of God, brought one of the planks down, that yet is in the minster at the foot of the mountain.

"But upon that mountain to go up, this monk had great desire. And so upon a day, he went up. And when he was upward the three parts of the mountain he was so weary that he might no further, and so he rested him, and fell asleep. And when he awoke he found himself lying at the foot of the mountain. And then he prayed devoutly to God that he would vouchsafe to suffer him to go up. And so he did. And sith that time never none. Wherefore men should not believe such words."

In 1330 Friar Odoric, who actually traveled in the region, refers in his journal to the same tradition. He says:

"In the foresaid country there is the very same mountain whereupon the ark of Noah rested: unto the which I would willingly have ascended, if my company would have stayed for me. Howbeit, the people of that country report that no man could ever ascend the said mountain, because (they say) it pleaseth not the highest God."

Ararat is of special interest, not only because of its unusual beauty and height, but because of the story that Noah's ark rested there. However to connect the story with this particular peak is somewhat difficult. In ancient Assyrian times the name Ararat referred to the entire mountain range, rather than to an individual peak. St. Jerome, an early Christian writer, speaks of Ararat as the plain of the Araxes, which lies at the northern base of the mountain. It seems, therefore, that only in comparatively modern times has the name been attached to the highest peak of the range. The Armenians, to whom the mountain is specially sacred, call it Massis. The Kurds and Turks call it Egri Dag, or the Crooked Mountain, because of its double summit. The Russians know it by its European name.

Ararat lies just where three great empires meet,—Russia, Turkey and Persia. The surrounding region, therefore, is generally infested with robbers and brigands, and is specially unsafe. The mountain may be said to consist of three peaks, forming an equilateral triangle, the sides of which are about seven miles in length. The western and the tallest of the three peaks is Ararat proper, or Big Ararat, as the natives call it, rising to the height of 17,260 feet. Seven miles to the east is Little Ararat, a great conical peak 12,840 feet high. Were it not overshadowed by Big Ararat, it would be a mighty mountain in itself. There drifts of snow remain all summer long in the hollows, and there too is a small Arabic cemetery of

considerable antiquity. The third peak, Takelti, lies a few miles to the north of the other two, and from a distance resembles the first of three steps by which in ancient times some mighty god may have ascended to heaven. Connecting Big and Little Ararat is a sharp ridge, Muchtepe, which at its lowest point is about 8800 feet high.

To climb Big Ararat, in spite of the belief that the gods forbid it, has been the aim of many a traveler; few have succeeded. Tradition says that before the Christian era twelve wise men long stood on the summit watching for the star of Bethlehem to appear,



THE THREE PEAKS OF ARARAT SEEN FROM THE NORTH.

and when it did appear three of them followed it to the Christ child. Though but a tradition, the story suggests that possibly in those early days men may have climbed the mountain to its summit. The tradition to which Sir John Mandeville refers, is still repeated by the natives, for they still tell how Hagop or St. Jacob frequently tried to reach the summit, but was always brought back to the base during the night. Finally when he succeeded, he brought back a plank from the ark, and some of the pitch with which the ark was smeared. The plank was shown in the monastery at Aghurri until 1840, and the pitch was sought for its wonderful medicinal

properties. The pictures of Ararat of two centuries ago plainly show the ark standing on the summit of the mountain between its two peaks.

The first ascent of Ararat, of which there is a record, was made by the Frenchman Dr. Parrot, in 1829. He succeeded in reaching the summit only in his third attempt, and though he wrote a book, describing the ascent in detail, his story was long doubted. In 1834, Spassky Aftonomoff, a Russian astronomer, climbed to the summit to prove his theory that from that height the stars were



THE TWO GUIDES ON THE HIGHEST PEAK OF ARARAT.

visible at noon. In 1845 the Russian general Chodzko, with a party of surveyors, camped on the summit for three days. In 1876 Mr. James Bryce, lately British ambassador to the United States, reached the top. Other ascents have since been made, but of the many who try to climb the mountain, few succeed.

On August 7, 1912, with my companion, Dr. Gibson of Chicago, I arrived at Erivan, a Russian town about forty miles to the north of Ararat; even from that distance the great mountain with its cap of snow seemed but a few hours away. We had come to climb

to its summit. Ice axes were made by the local blacksmiths; shoes were provided with sharp, long nails, and the necessary provisions were purchased. Then we discovered that Ararat was under military control, and that special permission from the government must be had before we could climb it. To obtain the permission we sent telegrams which received no answers, and at length in despair we started for the mountain. Our first stop was at Etchmiadzin, the seat of the head of the Gregorian church. The little place has always been associated with the mountain, for though at a distance it seems to stand at its very base, and carefully preserved in a chamber of the church, in the rear of the altar, is a piece of dark wood, three inches long and an inch in width, carved with the figures of Christ and of the Virgin Mary. The priests claim that it is a part of the ark. Further up the valley, at Nachtchevan, is the reputed tomb of Noah.

Alikizil is the little Armenian village close to the northern foot hills of Ararat. There we secured an ox team to carry us and our goods to Sadar Bulak, the military station near the ridge between the two peaks. The road was merely a trail, and so rough that progress was slow. Great stones, hurled in ancient times from the craters of Ararat, frequently blocked our way. Our first night on the mountain was spent in a little Kurdish village near the entrance to the great chasm which reaches into the very heart of the mountain. Aghurri is a modern town near the site of an earlier town of the same name. There it is said that Noah settled after he left the ark. There he cultivated the vine, and there he made the wine of which he drank. Seventy years ago his very vine used to be pointed out. There too used to grow the willow trees which sprang from the planks of the ark. But these interesting things may be seen no more, for on June 20, 1840, an earthquake shook the mountain to its foundation; a part of the mountain fell upon the village and completely buried it. Not one of its two hundred houses escaped, and not a soul, save two men who happened to be away from their homes for the day, survived. Huge rocks, thousands of tons in weight, were hurled for miles down the slope, and the once fertile fields and vineyards are now so thickly strewn with them that they are fit only for the grazing of sheep. The shrine of Saint Jacob, far in the gorge, together with the plank from the ark, perished; only the sacred spring remained, for that no earthquake may ever destroy. Its waters still slowly trickle down from the rocks, drop by drop, into the tank beneath. When there is drought in the valley below and the wheat is parched, the Christians and Mohammedans

together, for it is sacred to them both, climb to the spring to obtain water for their priests, and as the priests pray over it, rain comes to dispel the drought. When swarms of locust devour the grain, again the peasants take water from the spring to sprinkle over the fields, and the *tuti* bird, like a large gray crow, is attracted by the sacred water, even from a great distance, and devours the locusts. Though the water drips but slowly from the rocks, there is always an abundance of it, for however much of it is taken away, the tank is always full; at least the peasants say so.

From Aghurri up the mountain to Sadar Bulak is but ten



ARARAT FROM THE BARRACKS OF SADAR BULAK.

miles, but for us it was a full day's journey. There between the two high peaks was the military post with about thirty soldiers, and about the post were a hundred or more tents of those who would escape the excessive heat of the Araxes valley. Still higher up the mountain sides, wherever grass would grow and foothold could be had, the shepherds were grazing their flocks of sheep and goats. It is from Sadar Bulak that the ascent of the mountain may best be made. We called upon the commander of the post for permission to climb the mountain; he promptly informed us that it was not in his power to give it. However we persuaded him to telegraph to

his superior, and during the two days we were waiting for the reply, he entertained us royally. The reply was favorable, and though we were already about eight thousand feet up the mountain, the real ascent began on August 18th.

The guide, whom the commander recommended, was Ahmed Beg Shemsiddin, a powerful Kurd of forty. For his services we paid ten rubles a day. He claimed to have made a dozen ascents of the mountain. Seven strong men at two rubles a day were employed to pack the provisions and blankets. Each man carried a load of about twenty pounds; one carried a bundle of sticks for fuel. At



THE HOME OF THE KURDISH GUIDE AT SADAR BULAK.

seven o'clock we set out on horseback to slowly ascend the ridge between the two peaks, but after three hours the horses were returned, for they could go no farther. Tales are told of the fierceness of the Kurdish shepherds of Ararat, but these lonely mountaineers received us kindly and brought us milk to drink. From the summit of big Ararat a brook of cold snow water came bounding down over the rocks. Along its side we saw the fresh tracks of a bear. The wolf and the fox also inhabit the mountain, and large harmless snakes lurk among the rocks, but we saw nothing of them. The occasional call of a mountain bird excited our packmen, and

had they possessed guns, they might have abandoned us for the chase. In the warm moist places between the stones were mountain flowers in abundance; some were of a beautiful blue or white, but the best of all were the great clusters of forget-me-nots. Great stones of black diorite, jagged and rough as if they were freshly blasted from a quarry, frequently blocked our way.

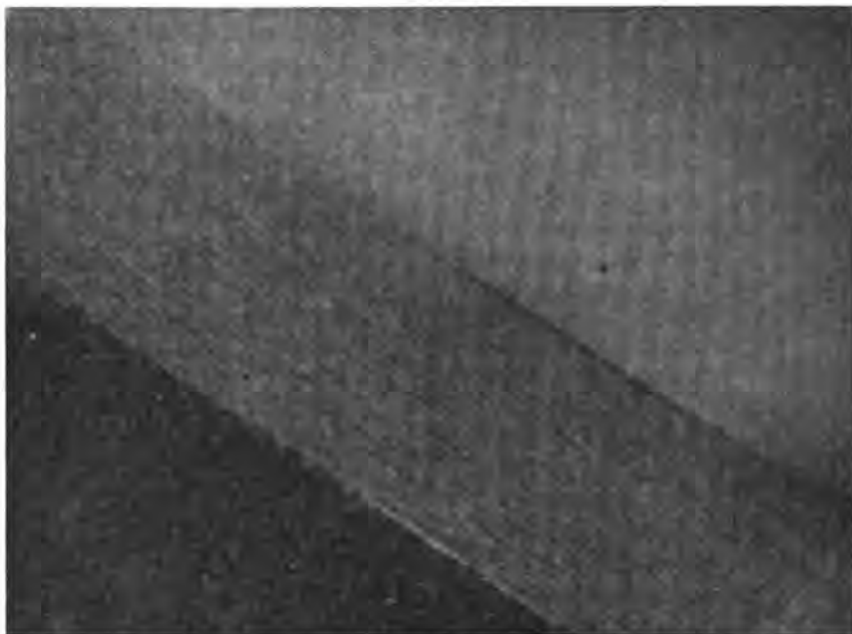
The first night we camped about eleven thousand feet high by the side of a stream of melted snow. To protect us from the cold



A HARD CLIMB NEAR THE SUMMIT OF ARARAT.

wind which swept down from the snowy heights above we heaped stones about the beds. The Kurds, doubled up in their great black capes shivered the night away, or sang to keep up their spirits. In the morning the stream of water was nearly dry, for during the night the snow did not melt, and what little there was, was solidly frozen over. At sunrise we were again on our way. Up over great heaps of stones we climbed, sometimes with great difficulty, or now and then a snow field made the ascent easier, but the Kurds, with

their simple, raw-hide, fur-covered shoes, always clung to the rocks. At the height of twelve thousand feet the air became rarer; the heart beat faster, and it was difficult to breathe. Frequently we stopped to rest. At night fall we found a camping place on a projecting rock, by the side of a great snow field, about fourteen thousand feet in height. The Kurds called the place Kis Kalesi, or Maiden's Castle, but it is doubtful if any maid ever climbed so far up the side of Ararat. Here we heard the streams of water trickling far down beneath the rocks, and melted snow was our drink.



A SNOW PLANE REACHING THE SUMMIT. THE PHOTOGRAPH SHOWS THE SLOPE.

The night air was bitterly cold. Clouds were about and below us, and the stars above alone were visible.

At daylight we were awake eager for the final climb to the summit, three thousand feet above. Once the rumble of thunder seemed to warn us to go no higher, and the clouds became so thick that we could see but a few yards ahead. My companion, already fatigued, decided to go no farther, and the men remained with him. Hesitatingly the guide wrapped up his head, and we two alone started on. Finally as the clouds broke away, one of the men joined us, and we were three. Higher up the mountain the rocks were

steeper and more difficult to climb; in places they were almost perpendicular. Once I tried to cut my way along a snow field which reached to the summit, but it was too steep for safety. Finally a thousand feet from the summit we reached the last barrier of great diorite rocks; beyond, the slope was not so steep, but loose stones of reddish porphyry, mixed with ashes, made climbing even more difficult. When half way up the ash field we observed the strong odor of sulphur, yet no fissures in the mountain side could be seen. The guide asserted that it was there that one always fell asleep while climbing the mountain, and he complained of a severe headache.



THE AUTHOR ON THE SUMMIT.

The bottle contains the names of earlier climbers.

It is sometimes asserted that smoke is seen issuing from near the summit of Ararat, but the craters, all of which have long been extinct, are low down on the slope, and the odor came from the sulphur which was mixed with the ashes on the surface. However every native believes that at some future date Ararat will again belch forth fire as it did in ancient times. Five and a half hours of climbing brought us to the summit of the rocky ridge which ran along by the side of a snow field, and exhausted, we stepped out upon a comparatively level plain. As we stood there the wind drove the clouds away for an instant, and in the bright sunlight, not more than

a quarter of a mile away, and a hundred feet above us was the sparkling, snow-covered peak of Ararat. Excitedly we hurried up the slope; our climb was at an end. At a little distance away was another peak, but at a slightly lower level. In the hollow between the two summits it is said that the ark rested.

At the edge of the snow-capped summit there project from the snow two wooden poles which once supported a large wooden box. It was placed there by some Russian officials several years ago to contain a book, that all who climbed the mountain might record their names, but the strong wind had broken the poles and hurled down



THE SUMMIT OF ARARAT IS GENERALLY OBSCURED BY CLOUDS.

the box, and we found it half buried in snow and ice. Once a Russian flag waved above the box, but the flag, now in shreds, was also frozen into the ice. Near the box is a pile of stones; search among them revealed a bottle and a tin box containing the names of those who had reached the summit. Of the few names which I saw, all were written in Russian; one man, more ambitious than the others, had left there a bronze plate engraved with his name and a date.

The Summit of Ararat is frequently very cloudy, even when it is perfectly clear in the valley below. During the daytime the hot air from the valley rushes upward, and reaching the snow fields near

the summit is cooled. Thus the clouds are formed. It has been said that Ararat is always concealed by clouds from about ten o'clock in the morning till sun-set, but of the two weeks I spent within sight of its summit, more than half of the time there were no clouds to be seen. Unfortunately, when we were on the summit, it was one of the times when Ararat preferred to veil her face. Consequently the air was bitterly cold; the wind swept over the snow in a gale, and only now and then, for just an instant, did the sun penetrate the clouds so that I could make use of the camera which I had brought to the summit with great effort.



ON THE SUMMIT OF ARARAT.

The view from the highest mountains is seldom the best; frequently it is the least interesting. So it is with Ararat. The mountain rises so abruptly from the plain to such a great height that everything below is almost too far away to be seen distinctly. Even little Ararat, which is a mighty mountain, seemed to be flattened out, and the lower peaks were but little knolls on the level plain. The edges of the horizon seemed to be tipped up, as if the earth were shaped like a huge dish, and we were standing on a knob in its center. Forty miles to the north is Ali Goez, 13,400 feet in

height. To the east is Kara Dag, 11,000 feet high, but the clouds hid them from our view. It is said that the Caspian in the east, and the Black Sea in the west, are visible, but we could see nothing of them.

An hour upon the summit chilled us through. The descent to the camping place took less than half the time of the ascent, for in places we merely stood upon the loose stones and ashes, and they carried us down, but the climb over the large rocks was even harder than the ascent. Finally when we stumbled into camp, and dropped from exhaustion, my companion had brandy ready to revive us, and the Kurds were preparing coffee over a tiny fire. The next day, the fourth, we were at the post of Sadar Bulak.

Two days later, in the little town of Igdir to the east of the mountain, while sipping the delicious Russian tea in the public garden, an aged Armenian approached.

"Whence did you come?" he asked.

"From America."

"Why did you come?" he continued with the customary directness of the Oriental.

"To climb Mount Ararat."

"God forbid; that may never be."

"But, Effendim, I have already climbed the mountain."

"May God keep your tongue from such falsehood."

"But, Effendim, it is no falsehood. I climbed to the very summit, to that white peak you see yonder, above the clouds."

"God forbid that my old ears hear such words."

Then I took from my pocket a formidable looking paper which the commander of the post of Sadar Bulak had given me. The old man carefully looked at the seal at the bottom and then in Russian he slowly spelled out these words:

"A Certificate. August 8 (Aug. 21), 1912.

"Post of Sadar Bulak.

"This certificate is given to the American subject, Edgar J. Banks, who has come to the post of Sadar Bulak, and from there, with the guide Ahmed Beg Shemsiddin, has mounted to the summit of Big Ararat. In evidence of this fact, namely the mounting of Big Ararat, I attach hereto the official seal.

"Commander of the Post of Sadar Bulak,

"(Signed) Captain Shatiloff."

Silently the old man handed the paper back, arose, and shaking his head as if bewildered, went on his way.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LA METTRIE AND PERTINENT MATERIALS.

BY ERNST BERGMANN.¹

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

THE April *Monist* contains a discussion on the mechanistic principle and publishes in this connection an exposition of La Mettrie's contention that man is a machine. At the same time the Open Court Publishing Company has brought out an edition of La Mettrie's book *L'homme machine* in both French and English, the English translation being, strange to say, the first that ever appeared of this remarkable book.²

Dr. Ernst Bergmann, of Leipsic, has recently published a meritorious book³ setting forth among other things the several phases of La Mettrie's discussion with his great antagonist Haller, known to his contemporaries better than to the present generation as both a poet and a prominent professor of physiology. His fame has waned, his verses are no longer read and his scientific accomplishments are placed in the background by the great strides which physiology has made since his day. Many know him only in the lines which Goethe dedicated to him in criticism of his pious agnosticism. Haller had the conviction that the core of everything was ultimately unknowable, and he expressed it in these words:

"Nature's within from mortal mind
Must ever lie concealed.
Thrice blessed e'en he to whom she has
Her outer shell revealed."—Tr. by P. C.

¹The translations of the chapters from Dr. Bergmann's book and of the additional matter from the French edition of La Mettrie have been made by Lydia G. Robinson.

²Julien Offray de la Mettrie, *Man a Machine*. French-English. Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1912.

³*Die Satiren des Herrn Maschine*. Leipsic, Ernst Wiegandt, 1913.

To which Goethe replied :

*"Nature's within from mortal mind,
Philistine, sayest thou,
Must ever lie concealed?
To me, my friend, and to my kind
Repeat this not. We trow
Where'er we are that we
Within must always be.*

*"Thrice blest e'en he to whom she has
Her outer shell revealed!
This saying sixty years I heard
Repeated o'er and o'er,
And in my soul I cursed the word,
Though secretly I swore.
Some thousand thousand times or more
Unto myself I witness bore:
Gladly gives Nature all her store,
She knows not kernel, knows not shell,
For she is all in one. But thou
Examine thou thine own self well
If thou art kernel or art shell."*

—Tr. by P. C.

Goethe's criticism of Haller was mild in comparison to the onslaught of his radical enemy La Mettrie, who fought this pious pedant of Swiss birth with a weapon which the German professor could not handle, namely, the trenchant sarcasm of French wit. In the spirit of irony La Mettrie dedicated his book to Haller, as if Haller had been the originator of these materialistic principles, and the poor good Haller, not catching the full import of the satire, was very indignant at this misrepresentation of his views.

We here collect material which will be supplementary to the new edition of *Man a Machine*, consisting (1) of the preface written by the publisher of the first French edition which proves that according to his idea the publication of such an irreligious book was very hazardous; (2) La Mettrie's dedication of *L'homme machine* to Haller which does not appear in the new edition and has probably been omitted by the translator because it seemed unintelligible without historical explanation (which is here furnished by extracts from Dr. Bergmann's book *Die Satiren des Herrn Maschine*); (3) Dr. Bergmann's dedication of his book addressed to the spirit of La Mettrie in a style worthy of La Mettrie himself; (4) an article of Dr. Bergmann on "La Mettrie and his Mechanistic Theory," followed by (5) his account of the beginning of the La Mettrie-Haller controversy, and of (6) "La Mettrie's Personality." For reasons

of convenience so as to introduce the reader gradually into the complication of La Mettrie's satirical controversy with Haller we reverse the order and shall begin with Bergmann's essays and follow these with the preface of the Dutch publisher of La Mettrie's French edition, and the satirical dedication to Haller.

P. C.

BERGMANN'S DEDICATION TO LA METTRIE'S SPIRIT.

My dear Mr. La Mettrie:

As you see, I have carefully collected and brought together into a booklet the mischievous little satires with which you made yourself troublesome to my countrymen now a century and a half ago. Do not let this fact too greatly startle you. The librarians of your own time, it is true, dropped these little volumes into the waste basket from their finger tips. This is why they are so rare. But to-day we are not living in the age of Louis XV. To-day we understand better how to appreciate things of this sort, and—we have a science of history. And if the results of this science do not always serve tangible purposes, it nevertheless affords us great pleasure to make unusual heads, such as you were, sir, stand out in high sculptured relief from the mediocrity of their contemporaries, and to take this opportunity to observe from our own height the many complicated paths up which you were then obliged to toil so painfully.

You have, my worthy Mr. Machine—for you yourself say this is your *nomen et omen*—treated our good German Leibnitzians with but little respect because they were not willing to waken quickly enough from their dogmatic noon-day nap. You aroused Messrs. Haller, Hollmann, Tralles, and all the rest of those *savantissimi et pedantissimi professores* rather roughly with your grotesque machine theory, and then all at once while they were still rubbing their eyes in amazement you served them with that *Antiseneca* in which it seems to me you were not so much engaged in discovering the truth as in having your own fun. To be sure the fright did not harm the worthy gentlemen in the least. They fell asleep again after you, sir, I am sorry to say, had left us so early, and they rested on the soft pillows of the three rational sciences for quite a while until a greater came who interrupted their sleep forever. But the affair has turned out quite badly for you, sir. History has outlawed your name and we are compelled to make the painful discovery that with all your brilliant gifts you have injured more than you have served the good cause of intellectual progress and civilization. Whoever lays his hands on the loftiest possessions of humanity which he regards as hollow, from him we

demand the peaceful objectivity of our Kant or the holy gravity of a Spinoza.

Meanwhile—time has overcome these antagonisms, and justice has been meted out to you, sir. And as the great king suffered it smilingly when you cast aside your periwig in his presence, and—you know you did!—unbuttoned your vest a little after dinner, because in other respects you were a good fellow and a jolly companion, so we too for the sake of your wit and your many lusty jokes and repartees will pardon you for introducing yourself into our literature in so unceremonious a fashion. Farewell, and may you mend your ways.

The Author.

Leipsic, October 21, 1912.

[Ernst Bergmann.]

LA METTRIE AND HIS MECHANISTIC THEORY.

"None e'er comprehended
How soul and body wedded are and blended."

Faust II, Act II, Scene II.

It took one hundred years before the slowly stepping human race could catch up with the far-advanced genius of Spinoza. One hundred years have passed ere that lesser exile of the eighteenth century, the notorious author of *L'homme machine*, celebrated his resurrection before the face of history.

How nervously the metaphysicians of the academy stirred in their seats when on January 19, 1752, M. Darget read aloud to them the eulogy from the hand of the master ("*de main de maître*") in which the ill-famed atheist and materialist De la Mettrie was granted by the royal hand a pure heart and an obliging disposition! What loud applause came from all the benches one hundred years later when on the same spot Du Bois-Reymond applied to the bold much-slandered pioneer of civilization in the darkness of pre-Kantian dogmatism, the verse of Heine:

"Beat the drum and fear thee not,
Drum the people from their sleep,
Drum reveille in strength of youth,
Drumming, drumming march along!"⁴

Truth can wait; it is unchanging.

Up to the sixties of the nineteenth century it was customary either entirely to pass by this most original of all the materialists

⁴*Lametrie*. An address delivered in the open meeting of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences held in memory of Frederick II, on January 28, 1875. Berlin, 1875. 23 pages.

in the history of philosophy and literature or to prejudice the originality of his teaching in a way quite contrary to truth by asserting that La Mettrie followed in the train of Diderot,⁵ or to slander his name in the most insulting way together with the whole eighteenth century.

Among other writings, the histories of Hettner⁶ in Germany and of Villemains⁷ in France were characteristic of this last mode of procedure. Then in 1866 came the great deliverance ("*Rettung*") of Friedrich Albert Lange in his *Geschichte des Materialismus*,⁸ the inspiring address of Du Bois-Reymond in the Berlin Academy (1872), the monographs of Jules Assézat,⁹ Nérée Quèpat,¹⁰ and Picavet¹¹ in France, Poritzky¹² in Germany, the new edition of *L'homme machine* by Ritter,¹³ etc. With what impartiality of judgment we of the 20 century are now able finally to judge the former scapegoat of materialism is shown by Max Brahn's sensible introduction to his translation of *L'homme machine*.¹⁴

To-day we know that La Mettrie is the earliest advocate of a whole series of thoroughly modern views in the realms of medicine, natural science, and philosophy. To select a few details, we remember his humane opinion that the criminal like the mentally diseased should first be put into the hands of the physician;¹⁵ then too the doctrine of the localization of brain functions which he was the first to bring forward in an exact form;¹⁶ and finally the circumstance that La Mettrie has anticipated in great detail Lange's vasomotor theory of feeling as Rolf Lagerborg of Helsingfors¹⁷ has pointed out, etc.

⁵ Thus still in 1896 in the fourth edition of a well-known history of philosophy. Diderot became converted to materialism in 1754. La Mettrie died in 1751. His main philosophical work appeared one year before Diderot's *Pensées philosophiques*, 1745.

⁶ "La Mettrie is a bold libertine who sees in materialism only the justification of his profligacy." Even the fifth edition of 1894 is not just to La Mettrie.

⁷ *Cours de littérature française*. 2d ed., Paris, 1891, page 101.

⁸ Pp. 163-186. English translation by E. C. Thomas (London, Trübner, 1880), Vol. II, pp. 49-91.

⁹ *Singularités physiologiques*, Vol. II: "Homme Machine." 51 pages. Paris, 1865.

¹⁰ *Essai sur Lamettrie, sa vie et ses œuvres*. Paris, 1873. 202 pages.

¹¹ *Lamettrie et la critique allemande*. Paris, 1889.

¹² *Lamettrie, sein Leben und seine Werke*. Berlin, 1900. 356 pages.

¹³ *Der Mensch eine Maschine*. Leipsic, 1875.

¹⁴ *Philosophische Bibliothek*, Vol. 68. Leipsic, 1909. 22 pages.

¹⁵ Vigorously emphasized by Brahn on page 18.

¹⁶ To which Poritzsky refers on page 103.

¹⁷ In *Das Gefühlsproblem*, Leipsic, 1905, pp. 38 and 134 ff.

As a practising physician and a voluminous writer on medical subjects (1737 to 1745) the pupil and enthusiastic adorer of Boerhaave, the great reformer of medical science, disclosed a many-sided activity in fundamental studies and observations; as philosopher (1745 to 1751) in a consistent evolution of Boerhaave's ideas including Cartesian and Spinozistic elements in anticipation of Diderot, Condillac, etc., he attained his peculiarly materialistic, mechanistic, and deterministic standpoint.

Averse to all systematic philosophizing and all rationalism he chose the experimental sciences, anatomy, physiology and pathology, in the very spirit of Boerhaave, to be his guide in the solution of the anthropological problem which formed the center of his philosophical reflections. As an anti-spiritualist, which he was most fond of calling himself,¹⁸ he contended with the same inconsiderate severity against those powerful temporizing and harmonizing attempts to explain the mutual relations between body and soul as well as against Cartesian dualism and the theory of innate ideas, in order to found his monism in the very spirit of Locke's sensualism, "No sense, no ideas!"

Accordingly, in the important tenth chapter of his first work on "The Natural History of the Soul" (1745) he rejects rational psychology and the theory it advanced, without reference to experience, of one simple soul-substance whose existence can be thought of as independent of the body. Numerous anatomical and physiological experiments convinced him that psychical phenomena are directly dependent on the organic processes of the body, and that the soul is nothing but the aggregate of the functions of the nervous system in the living animal body and consequently ceases to exist with the annihilation of this body. Immortality and freedom of will are phantoms. God is the whole of nature (Spinoza!). Man is like a machine, just as the animal is (Descartes!); yes, man is nothing but a highly developed animal, a statement which at that time called forth a storm of opposition.

In his second and far more impassioned work *L'homme machine* (1748), La Mettrie, following Descartes's thought to its consistent conclusion, developed his paradoxical machine theory. The two most interesting errors of La Mettrie are the following: he is firmly convinced that the breeding of a gifted animal up to man is only a question of education, and *vice versa* that a man growing up in a complete wilderness without any education would sink at once back to the level of an animal; that the orang-outang like the deaf mute

¹⁸ *Petit homme*, p. 35.

needs only instruction to be able to speak, a statement which especially called forth the jibes of his contemporaries.

La Mettrie without reservation could not deny that it would not be possible some day to construct an artificial human machine in a purely mechanical fashion by the combination of numerous springs and spirals, which would move like the first automaton of Vaucanson at that time exciting much comment at Paris, yes perhaps would even be able to speak and perform all of man's customary acts. These views were based on ancient Utopias of Arnobius then being revived in Condillac's idea of a statue gradually coming to life. We who have seen the course of history can scarcely put ourselves back to-day into the indistinct hopes of that period of civilization. But in these very Utopias do we not hear the mystical tinkle of the Homunculus vial which once intoxicated a century of Fausts?

"Insane, at first, appears a great intent;
We yet shall laugh at chance in generation;
A brain like this, for genuine thinking meant,
Will henceforth be a thinker's sure creation."

—Tr. of Bayard Taylor.

To us the personality of La Mettrie is still a book with seven seals. To be sure we have long known that behind the apparently immoral author of the *Antiseneca* and the *Art de jouir* lay hidden the exact opposite of a licentious and dissipated character, that this dissolute Frenchman who had trailed for decades through the history of literature as a profligate and glutton was in reality an unusually industrious and laborious man who in the short period of a decade and a half published a very presentable list of writings. The Marquis D'Argens, one of La Mettrie's most bitter antagonists, declared of his own accord that in the intervals of his foolishness La Mettrie possessed "*plusieurs vertus civiles*,"¹⁹ and Frederick the Great, certainly not without reason, was far more closely attached to him than to any other member of his Round Table. Lange's defence is well known: "He neither sent his children to the orphan asylum like Rousseau, nor deceived two girls like Swift; he was never convicted of bribery like Baco nor was he ever suspected of forging documents as was Voltaire."²⁰

But these facts do not suffice to solve the enigma in La Mettrie's character. We do not know why he set himself in sharpest contradiction to the whole world often on the flimsiest pretexts and ran

¹⁹ *Ocellus Lucanus*, Berlin, 1762, p. 248.

²⁰ *Geschichte des Materialismus*, 1st ed., p. 182.

the risk of the Bastille for the sake of a repartee. Above all we do not know why he played such an ugly trick on the good Haller. Precisely this quarrel with Haller is the point where most people give him up. Even Lange, his powerful advocate, characterizes him here as "mischievous and low in the choice of his methods" (p. 166). According to Du Bois-Reymond also, this incident brought him little honor, more than that, it shows him from his worst side.²¹

Nevertheless Brahn seems to be right in regarding the entire quarrel more from the esthetic than the moral point of view, and in seeing in La Mettrie's procedure not so much a malicious intention as an overweening pleasure in mockery and satire.

In La Mettrie's behaviour towards Haller we see nothing that should serve as a model or is worthy of imitation, and we do not hesitate a moment to condemn his mode of procedure from the ethical point of view. But in the form in which this satyr play has issued from the ever swelling womb of history, it is as interesting and edifying a picture of the civilization of the eighteenth century as the pen of the historian of philosophy could produce, illustrating as it does the historically memorable contest between two world-conceptions and lines of thought (the rationalistic and empiricistic), and characterizing very aptly the representatives of two directly opposed types of men (spiritualist and materialist).

How delightful it would be if the worthy Göttingen professor would don his coat and register his protest before the civilized world! With him we are filled with indignation, but we laugh with his opponent. Our moral sympathies belong to Haller but our esthetic sympathies to La Mettrie.

It is now some time since Du Bois-Reymond declared in 1875 that a new fundamental treatment of the subject was hardly likely to contribute any new facts of consequence about La Mettrie. To-day we bring forward such new facts of consequence. When Brahn declares that it is worth while to enter more extensively into the controversy because it has been made more familiar to us in all its phases through Ludwig Hirzel's work *Albrecht von Haller's Gedichte*,²² we can not agree with him. Hirzel is acquainted with the first and last (fourth) phase of the controversy counting on the basis of our own classification. Moreover his exposition is scarcely objective. The French expositions, as they have been presented (but

²¹ Page 6. Similarly Poritzky, p. 17.

²² Frauenfeld, 1882. Hirzel's discussion is on pp. 253-262.

very tersely) by Jules Assézat,²³ more extensively by Nérée Quépat in the above mentioned monograph²⁴ and by the eminent Desnoiresterres in his large work on Voltaire,²⁵ are on the whole very defective, and this is the more surprising since all these investigators ascribe great weight to this remarkable literary quarrel so abounding in characteristic circumstances.²⁶ We must also criticize Poritzky in spite of the rich material gathered together with such remarkable industry which he brings forward in his voluminous work on La Mettrie.²⁷ He permits himself to be misled into foolishly carrying on a polemic against the illuminating exposition of the well-informed Johann Georg Zimmermann,²⁸ and consequently gropes in the dark.

HOW THE CONTROVERSY STARTED.

Insurmountable contradictions in the thought and feeling of Haller and La Mettrie soon lent the resonance of personality to what was in the beginning an insignificant conflict. On the one hand the devout, austere, somewhat pedantic German professor, on the other the former army surgeon, of earnest endeavor but lacking in discipline and reared in the atmosphere of French corruption; on the one hand the spiritualistic Leibnitzian who in his famous poem "On the Origin of Evil"²⁹ gave the arguments of theodicy in poetical form, on the other hand the confident empiricist and materialist who adhered strictly to natural science. Haller believed in a personal God, freedom of the will and immortality; La Mettrie was a pantheist, a determinist and a monist. The circumstance that both were prominent physicians and belonged to the same school does not diminish the frictional surface, but on the contrary furnishes precisely the external occasion for the quarrel. But of decisive importance is the fact that the poet of "The Alps," this primitive, wholesome and natural Swiss who anticipated Rous-

²³ Haller's letters in complaint of La Mettrie have been reprinted by Assézat, Paris, 1865. Pp. 161 to 173.

²⁴ Pp. 22-23.

²⁵ *Voltaire et la société au XVIIIe siècle*. 8 volumes, 2d ed., Paris, 1871. Vol. IV, 39-48.

²⁶ According to Desnoiresterres, IV, 39, the contest is "one of those episodes which indeed troubled this distracted brain (of La Mettrie) more than any other consideration or any other occurrence had ever affected it."

²⁷ Poritzky, pp. 17-31.

²⁸ *Das Leben des Herrn von Haller*. Zürich, 1755. Pp. 226-238.

²⁹ Hirzel, pp. 118-142. Georg Bondi can not convince us in his superficial dissertation on "The Relations of Haller's Philosophical Poems to the Philosophy of His Time," Leipsic, 1891, that Haller was not a Leibnitzian.

seau's ideals of civilization, had no receptivity for the excessive refinement of La Mettrie's French wit of the Swift school which could find expression only in irony. You ought to read that absolutely uncomprehending critique of La Mettrie's brilliant satire on the charletanry of the medical profession!³⁰ Haller has no sense of humor. He takes satire at its face value, no matter how thickly laid on. La Mettrie was not so far off when he had his dedication of *Man a Machine* to Haller reprinted in the first complete edition of his works "*cum bona venia celeberrimi, savantissimi, pedantissimi professoris*, whom the advanced age of fifty years can not free from childish prejudices."³¹

* * *

The facts leading up to this dedication are for the most part well known, although there is still a good deal which deserves to be placed in a clearer light.

In 1745 Haller joined the editorial staff of the *Göttingen Gelehrten Zeitungen* and assumed entire charge in April, 1747.³² Among the new publications of medical literature, a French translation of the *Institutiones medicae* of the famous Boerhaave (1668-1738) must have aroused his particular attention some time previously. This translation, which appeared in 1743 under the title "*De la Mettrie, Les institutions de médecine de Boerhaave avec un commentaire*," made use of the notes which Haller had added to his own commentary on Boerhaave's text in such a wholesale fashion that Haller felt obliged to enter a protest in his review.³³ Rather unceremoniously, but by no means with any malicious purpose (in the preface Haller is mentioned as his source), La Mettrie reports a physician's experiences as if they were his own, whereas they are in reality those of Haller which he translated literally, rendering Haller's preliminary *vidi* into a *j'ai vu*. His behavior was the more inexcusable, thought Haller, as he incidentally gave specific credit to Haller for one of his notes, in order (as Haller thought) to give the impression that the rest were his own literary property.

In the same year (1745) appeared La Mettrie's first important work, "The Natural History of the Soul." Here too La Mettrie was alleged to have again given out the mental labor of another (Haller) for his own. In his criticism³⁴ Haller arranged a formal

³⁰ "Ouvrage de Pénélope." *Gött. Gel. Zeit.*, August 1, 1748.

³¹ *Ceuvres philosophiques*, Berlin, 1751, p. 53.

³² Hirzel, p. 247.

³³ *Gött. Gel. Zeit.*, June 10, 1745.

³⁴ *Gött. Gel. Zeit.*, June, 26, 1747.

list of plagiarisms, confronting La Mettrie's text with his own, page by page. He speaks of the "evil intention" of the anonymous author whom he rightly recognizes as "the de la M. who disappeared from France." The word "theft" escapes him. The truth is that La Mettrie drew inspiration from Haller's commentary as from Boerhaave's *Institutiones* only in a very general way. The leading ideas are his own property. But Haller is indignant at the "culpable injustice" that the statements of the righteous Haller following the strictly spiritualistic Boerhaave should be summoned by La Mettrie as star witnesses for the grossest materialism.

There is no doubt but La Mettrie had before him this second much more cutting criticism of the end of June, 1747, when, while still living in Holland, he finished *Man a Machine* (according to our calculation probably in August, 1747) and, providing it with a polite dedication to Haller, let it loose upon the world in an anonymous character.³⁵ *L'homme machine*, although to be sure it bears 1748 upon its title page as the year of publication, was reviewed by Haller on December 28, 1747. Even as early as November 19, 1747, Frederick the Great was aware of the persecutions which the book caused its author in Holland.³⁶ In short, La Mettrie's dedication is the direct answer to Haller's attacks, than which all other attempts to ascribe motives to La Mettrie's mode of procedure have missed their mark.

This is shown clearly enough by the ironical style with which in his dedication—and this, by the way, deserves to be called a little rhetorical masterpiece—La Mettrie intentionally plagiarizes one of Haller's poems.³⁷ Through a Swiss who happened to be studying in Leyden at the time, La Mettrie, who was not very well versed in German, received a French translation of Haller's poem, "Vergnügen an den Wissenschaften,"³⁸ and with an unmistakable intention worked the contents of this poem into his dedication, an artistic

³⁵ The alleged original editions of *L'homme machine* extant in German libraries are all reprints of a later date (in spite of the date 1748) and all contain 109 pages. The true original has only 108 pages and probably not more than six or eight copies have been preserved. One of these is in the possession of the present writer [and a second in that of the editor].

³⁶ Du Bois-Reymond (page 25) is mistaken in doubting the accuracy of these dates. They agree exactly. The year 1748 is an advance dating which was customary even at that time.

³⁷ Even Zimmermann (as Lessing later in another case) did not discover the satirical purpose of the plagiarist and simply mentions the fact with scornful satisfaction (p. 226). Hirzel too believes this is another thievery (p. 154).

³⁸ The same as Haller's ode "To Gessner." Hirzel, pp. 190 ff.

stroke which he took pleasure in utilizing in his controversy against Haller.

The dedication, by the way, contains nothing injurious. Haller is praised in most extreme terms, even if with too great irony, as the "two-fold son of Apollo," and spiritual enjoyments are enthusiastically praised at the cost of sensual pleasures. Happy the man who can enjoy the pleasures of study! They are more enduring than sensual delights. All this is just like Haller's own writings. La Mettrie characterizes himself as the pupil and friend of the Göttingen professor, whom in fact he never saw. He even pretends—the satirical purpose could not be more distinctly evident—that the orthodox Haller who had taken Boerhaave under his protection against the charge of materialism, was the spiritual father of *Man a Machine*.

LA METTRIE'S PERSONALITY.

Contemporary opinion differs widely with respect to La Mettrie's character. Hate and fanaticism have ever been a troubled spring from which to draw history. Little credence can be given to Voltaire's vile abuses and likewise the spiteful obituary of the Marquis D'Argens offers scarcely any points of departure which can be used in a characterization. It avails us little when we hear that the vain marquis was airing his spite for the neglect he suffered in such expressions as *ignorant, insensé, fou, frénétique, énergumène*, etc.³⁹ But even the fine public eulogy of Frederick, the only friend La Mettrie possessed, must be reviewed with discretion. "Nature had made La Mettrie an orator and a philosopher; but a yet more precious gift which he received from her was a pure soul (*âme pure*) and an obliging heart. All those who are not imposed upon by the pious insults of the theologians mourn in La Mettrie a good man (*honnête-homme*) and a wise physician."⁴⁰

In personal letters Frederick gives his opinion with less regard for effect: "He was a happy-go-lucky good-natured devil, and an excellent physician. If one didn't read his books one could be very well satisfied with him."⁴¹ This agrees pretty closely with the well-meaning characterization sketched out by La Mettrie's countryman and patron Maupertuis in his letter to Haller. "You are mistaken," writes he,⁴² "if you think that there is as much malice in

³⁹ *Ocellus Lucanus*, pp. 238-245.

⁴⁰ End of the Eulogy, *Man a Machine*, p. 9.

⁴¹ To the Countess of Bayreuth, November 21, 1751.

⁴² Page 53.

his writings as there seems to be. This is a paradox to all who are not personally acquainted with him. I knew his frenzy for writing, his dangerous power of imagination. I heaped accusations upon him; he was touched and swore to leave religion and ethics out of the question in the future, but still could not keep his promise. He wrote his books without any set purpose. He wrote against every one and yet would have done a service to his bitterest enemy. He found excuses for the most abandoned customs and possessed almost all the civic virtues (*presque toutes les vertus sociables*). In short, he deceived the world in an entirely different way from that in which it is usually deceived." Maupertuis expressed his judgment though not very successfully in the following couplet:

"A kindly heart, but muddled brains, you see,
In German means, a fool was La Mettrie."

[Ein gutes Herz, verwirrte Phantasie,
Das heisst auf Deutsch, ein Narr war La Mettrie.]

Hence a happy-go-lucky good-natured devil, a sort of philosophical court fool who occasionally takes up the pen! Is that really to be the quintessence of this man? Let us ask the man himself. No one else can answer the question why he chose irony and satire in which to speak of his age. In his last work the *Petit homme*, written a few weeks before his unhappy end, he himself puts the key into our hands (pp. 32-34).

"Since I have always," he writes, "valued the courageous author who battles against the prejudices of the public with open vizor, you will wonder, sir, that I should have chosen the language of irony which dominates all my writings. It is my way to lash the ocean in order that I may ride upon it the more safely. If behind my veil I laugh excessively, run back and forth so busily, make so many detours in order finally to get around again to the same point from which the (criticized) author started out, I do this only *because I find myself in the position of a seaman for whom the favorable season has not yet arrived*. The season is always favorable, as you know, only for the opposite port. To the man who dares to steer to the harbor of reason and truth, almost all winds are so contrary that one could not bring into play enough cunning and skill were we *not living in this climate where a philosopher reigns*.⁴³ In other regions one can hardly take two steps in entire security unless he understands how to steer a middle course, an art without which the ship is either utterly wrecked in the storm, or those who steer

⁴³ The words, "*dans ces climats gouvernés par un Sage*," are made prominent by spaced type.

it soon become the prey of the holy corsairs in clerical vestments whom the stupid public still respects."

What a bitter reproach for his own time! A recollection of his childhood is revived in this comparison—of his home, the Brittany port of St. Malo surrounded by the roaring sea where the storms of the Atlantic Ocean regularly destroyed anew each successive season the painstaking labor of the bold seamen. "I was not born under a lucky star, and must be ready any moment to fall a sacrifice to the fanaticism of wretched pietists (*à la fureur des dévots méprisés*). No God would save me from shipwreck."⁴⁴

How they hounded him through all lands, those holy corsairs in clerical vestments! The smoke of the *Pensées philosophiques* had not yet cleared away when on July 9, 1746, the executioner of Paris prepared a similar fate for La Mettrie's writings. La Mettrie was deprived of his post as army surgeon. An atheist can not heal French guardsmen. Already the Bastille stood open for him, and what sinister comparisons it furnishes in his works!

He fled to the Calvinistic Netherlands where two centuries previously William of Orange had spoken the resounding words: "Faith is free. The prince does not rule the conscience of his subjects." But now—it is Frederick who wrote this sentence: "Calvinists, Catholics and Lutherans forgot for the time that consubstantiation, free will, mass for the dead, and the infallibility of the pope divided them, and all united to persecute the philosopher."⁴⁵

He barely escaped the storm. A Leyden book dealer came to his assistance. "They start away on foot at night without shelter, without provisions, without any other equipment than La Mettrie's indomitable cheerfulness."⁴⁶ In the midst of his deepest distress, he received the call of the king. "I would like to have with me the La Mettrie of whom you told me," Frederick wrote to Maupertuis.⁴⁷ "He is the victim of priests and blockheads. Here he will be able to write in peace. I have a feeling of sympathy for the persecuted philosopher." Royal words indeed!

This seaman knows the sea and its dangers. "Since life is nothing but the sport of nature, we must know how to laugh in the tempest." Thus reads the conclusion of *Le petit homme*. They are La Mettrie's last words. He wrote them in the arrogance of life born upward on the wave of good fortune.

⁴⁴ *Le Petit Homme*, p. 35.

⁴⁵ Frederick the Great in his Eulogy. [See *The Open Court*, Dec. 1910.]

⁴⁶ Fréron, *Lettres sur quelques écrits de ce temps*. Nancy, 1753, X, 106.

⁴⁷ *Vie de Maupertuis par Beaumelle*. Paris, 1856, p. 368.

Spinoza had disciples and followers and saw his ideas take root. He had friends who helped him to bear the contempt of his age; La Mettrie had no one but Frederick. Neither in his native land, nor in Holland extolled as the Capua of free spirits, nor even in the home of Leibnitz and Wolff, did he ever have an apostle or even adherents, and for this he was not alone to blame. Never had a time rejected and opposed new ideas with such absolute unanimity as that murky pre-Kantian epoch opposed this bold pioneer of civilization and his theories, no small part of which to-day have long since become the scientific common property of all educated people. Among all the voices of the contemporary press which we have had the opportunity to hear, there is not one that betrays a spark of understanding.

A feeling of bitterness must arise in every unprejudiced observer when confronted with this wall of stupidity against which every sensible thought falls to pieces in ridiculous impotence. We can understand how a man who began by desiring only the best finally comes to renounce certain ideals which we value highly and hurls only the scourge of a lacerating satire whistling over the heads of his contemporaries.

For the man who steers for the harbor of truth and reason the season is nearly always unfavorable. The climes of a Frederick are of rare occurrence in history. La Mettrie was fortunate enough to find one and to escape shipwreck. Do you now understand why I laugh so excessively behind my veil? Do you now understand why I have become a writer of satires and deceive the world in a different way from that in which it is used to being deceived?

La Mettrie died at the age of forty-two years in the fulness of his strength. His literary activity in the realm of philosophy covered scarcely six years. No descent can be perceived in his activity, but a constant ascent. *Deus nobis haec otia fecit!* These words of Virgil were written by the exile shortly before his death in grateful reference to Frederick, on the title-page of the first collection of his philosophical writings.

Had he not been obliged to exchange so soon the hospitality of the great king for Pluto's Bastille, what would not this restlessly active spirit, this industrious worker, this bold battler in the ranks of civilization—if not always exactly unobjectionable in the choice of his methods—have performed for humanity! How much ripper fruits might not a discreet and refined old age have thrown into his lap! How far might he not have spread his branches in the shadow of the royal oak! And how many sleepers would he not have

awakened from their celebrated dogmatic slumber, this drummer of the dawn!

"Beat the drum and fear thee not!
 Drum the people from their sleep,
 Drum reveille in strength of youth,
 Drumming, drumming, march along!"

APPENDIX.

Publisher's Preface to the First Edition of La Mettrie's L'homme Machine.

It may cause some surprise that I have ventured to put my name to so daring a book as the present. I would certainly not have done so had I not believed religion to be safely sheltered from all possible attempts to overthrow it; and if I could have persuaded myself that some other publisher would not have done most gladly what I would have refused to do from conscientious principles. I know it is the part of prudence not to give occasion to lead astray the feeble-minded. But while duly considering them I perceived at the first reading that there would be nothing to fear for them. Why need we be so careful and on the alert to suppress arguments against the ideas of divinity and religion? Can they not serve to make people believe that they are being deluded? As soon as they begin to doubt, goodbye conviction and consequently religion! By what means and with what hope of success can we ever confound the irreligious if we seem to fear them? How can they be reclaimed if, while forbidding them to make use of their reason, we content ourselves with inveighing against their practices on general principles without informing ourselves as to whether these deserve the same censure as their mode of thought?

Such conduct would but decide the case in favor of the skeptics. They would make fun of a religion which we in our ignorance would try to keep from conciliating with philosophy; they would shout victory in their intrenchments which our mode of combat would cause them to consider invincible. If religion is not triumphant it is the fault of the unskilful authors who defend it. Let good men but take up the pen, let them but show that they are well armed, and theology will carry the day with a high hand over a rival that will prove weak enough. I compare atheists to those giants who would fain scale the heavens; they will always meet the same fate.

These are the things I have thought it necessary to place at the beginning of this little booklet in order to forestall any uneasiness which might arise. It does not become me to refute what I

publish nor even to express my feeling with regard to the arguments that may be found in this work. The well-informed will easily see that these arguments offer no difficulties but those which present themselves whenever the attempt is made to explain the connection between soul and body. If the consequences which the author deduces from them are dangerous it should be remembered that they are only a hypothesis for a working foundation. Is it therefore the more necessary to destroy them? Nevertheless, if I may assume what I do not in the least believe, then even if these consequences should prove difficult to overthrow, there would only be the greater opportunity to shine. "To conquer without danger is to triumph without glory."

The author, who is entirely unknown to me, sent me his work from Berlin with the one stipulation that I should send six copies to the address of M. le Marquis d'Argens. Surely he could take no better means to preserve his incognito for I am persuaded that even this address is nothing but a jest.

La Mettrie's Dedication to Haller.

(Here translated for the first time in English.)

This is not in any sense a dedication. You are far above all praise which I could render you, and I know of nothing so useless or so vapid as an academic discourse. Nor is it an exposition of the new method I have followed in reviving a hackneyed and worn-out theme. You may find in it at least this merit, and for the rest you will judge whether your disciple and friend has attained his end.

The pleasure I have had in preparing this work is what I wish to speak about. It is myself and not my book which I address to you that you may enlighten me upon the nature of the sublime pleasure of study. That is the subject of this dissertation. I would not be the first writer to take a theme requiring no imagination when he had nothing to say to redeem the barrenness of his own. Tell me, then, O twofold child of Apollo, illustrious Swiss, modern Fracastor, who know at the same time how to sound the depths of nature, to measure her, what is more, to sympathize with her, and what is still more, to express her—erudite physician, still greater poet, tell me by what seductions study can transform hours into moments, and what is the nature of these intellectual pleasures so widely different from the pleasures of the crowd. But the perusal of your charming poems has entered too deeply into my heart for me not to try to tell what they have inspired within me. Man con-

sidered from this point of view, is not in the least irrelevant to my theme.

Sensual pleasure, however desirable and cherished it may be, whatever praises have been rendered it by the pen of a young French physician, evidently as appreciative as it is delicate, has but one single gratification and this is its grave. If perfect pleasure does not permanently destroy it, at least it takes a certain time to revive it. How different are the resources of intellectual pleasures! The nearer one comes to truth, the more charming he finds it. Not only does its gratification increase the desire, but here we enjoy as soon as we seek to enjoy. The enjoyment is long and yet swifter than lightning travels.

Should we be surprised that the pleasure of the mind is as much better than that of sense, as the mind is superior to the body? Is not the mind the leader of the senses and so to speak the meeting place of all sensations? Do they not all, like as many rays of light, meet at that one center which produces them? Then let us not seek further by what invincible magic a heart inflamed by the love of truth finds itself all at once transported as it were into a world more beautiful where it tastes pleasures fit for the gods. Of all the attractions of nature the most powerful, at least for me as for you dear Haller, is that of philosophy. What greater glory than to be conducted to her temple by reason and wisdom! What conquest more flattering than the submission of all the spirits!

Let us enumerate all the objects of those pleasures which are unknown to commonplace souls. What great beauty and how wide a scope do they possess! Time, space, infinity, the earth, the sea, the firmament, all the elements, all the sciences, all the arts, everything enters into this kind of pleasure. Too confined within the limits of this world, it imagines a million more. All nature is its sustenance and imagination its victory. Let us enter into some detail. At one time it is poetry or painting; at another, it is music or architecture, singing, dancing, etc., which give to connoisseurs a taste of these ravishing pleasures. Look at Madame Delbar (wife of Piron) in a box at the opera. Pale and flushed in turn she keeps time with Rebel,⁴⁸ is touched with Iphigenia and raves with Roland. All the impressions of the orchestra are shown upon her face as on a canvas. Her eyes become tender, fatigued, they laugh or are armed with a warrior's courage. People take her for a fool, but she is far from it unless it be folly to experience pleasure. She is merely affected by a thousand beauties which escape me.

⁴⁸ Leader of the orchestra.

Voltaire can not refuse the meed of tears to his Mérope because he feels the value both of the work and of the actress. You have read his writings, and unfortunately for him he is not in a position to read yours. In whose hands, in whose memory are they not? And what heart is so hardened as not to be moved by them. How would it be possible not to spread abroad their flavor? He speaks of them with enthusiasm.

When a great painter (as I have recently seen with pleasure when reading a preface of Richardson) speaks of painting, what praise does he not bestow upon it! He adores his art, and places it above everything else; he almost doubts whether a man can be happy unless he is a painter, so enchanted is he with his profession.

Who has not felt the same enthusiasm as Scaliger or Malebranche in reading certain fine passages from the Greek, English or French tragic poets, or certain philosophical works? Madame Dacier never counted on what her husband promised her, and yet she found a hundredfold more. If one experiences a kind of enthusiasm in translating and developing the thoughts of another, how much more if he himself is a thinker? What is this procreation, this birth of ideas produced by the love of nature and the search for truth? How depict that act of the will or of memory by which the soul is in some way reproduced when one idea follows in the track of another similar one, so that from their resemblance, and as it were from their union, a third is produced? Therefore marvel at the creations of nature. Such is their uniformity that almost all of them are accomplished in the same manner.

When the pleasures of sense are ill controlled they lose their keenness and are no longer pleasures. The pleasures of the mind are like them to a certain extent. They must be interrupted in order that they may be stimulated. In fine, study has its ecstasies as well as love. If I may be allowed to say so, there is a catalepsy or immobility of mind which is so delightfully intoxicated by the object which claims its attention and enraptures it that it seems detached by abstraction from its own body and from all that surrounds it in order to throw itself entirely into the subject it is pursuing. It feels nothing because it feels so much. So great is the pleasure one enjoys both in seeking and in finding truth! Judge of the power of its charms by the ecstasy of Archimedes. You remember it cost him his life.

Let other men throw themselves into the crowd that they may avoid knowing themselves, or rather may hate themselves; the wise man flees from the wide world and seeks solitude. Why is he not

happy except with himself or with his kind? Because his soul is a faithful mirror; to see himself mirrored in it satisfies his proper self-love. The virtuous man has nothing to fear from acquaintance with himself unless it be the agreeable danger of falling in love with himself.

As to the eyes of a man who would look down upon the earth from the height of the skies, all the greatness of other men would vanish, the most superb palaces would be changed into cabins, and the largest armies would resemble hills of ants fighting over a grain with ridiculous zeal, so matters appear to a wise man like yourself. He smiles at the vain activities of men when their number embarrasses the earth and they struggle for a nothing, with which it is certain that none of them would be content.

How grandly Pope starts out in his *Essay on Man*! How petty seem great men and kings beside him! O you, less my teacher than my friend, who have received from nature the same power of genius as he, which you have abused—you ingrate who do not deserve to excel in the sciences—you have taught me to laugh like this great poet, or rather to groan at the playthings and trinkets which engage the serious attention of monarchs. To you I owe all my happiness. No, the conquest of the entire world does not afford the pleasure that a philosopher enjoys in his study surrounded by dumb friends who yet tell him all he desires to learn. That God will not deprive me of the necessities of life and health is all that I ask of him. With good health my heart without repugnance would love life. With the necessities of life my mind contented would always cultivate wisdom.

Yes, study is a pleasure for every age, for every clime, for every season, and for every moment. To whom has not Cicero given the longing to enjoy this delightful experience? It is a diversion in youth whose fiery passions it moderates; in order to enjoy it aright I have sometimes been obliged to yield to love. Love causes a wise man no fear. He knows how to combine everything and to make one thing of greater value by means of another. The clouds which obscure his understanding do not make him idle, they only point out to him the remedy that will scatter them. Truly the sun does not scatter more quickly the clouds in the sky.

In old age, the age of ice, when a man is no longer in a position to give or to receive other pleasures, what a great resource he has in reading and in meditation! What a pleasure to see a work come into being and take form day by day under one's eyes and by his hands which will delight future centuries and even his contempo-

raries! One day a man whose vanity was beginning to feel the pleasure of being an author said to me, "I would like to spend my life in passing between my home and the printers." Was he wrong? And when one gains applause, could a tender mother be any more happy in having brought into the world an attractive child?

Why vaunt so highly the pleasures of study? Who does not know that it is a possession which brings in its train neither dissatisfaction nor the uneasiness caused by other possessions, an inexhaustible treasure, the surest antidote for cruel ennui, which accompanies us and travels with us and in short follows us everywhere? Happy the man who has broken the fetters of all his prejudices. He alone will taste this pleasure in all its purity; he alone will enjoy that sweet tranquillity of spirit, that perfect contentment of a strong soul free from ambition, and this is the father of happiness if it is not happiness itself.

Let us stop a moment to strew flowers on the path of those great men whom like you Minerva has crowned with an immortal garland. Here Flora invites you with Linnæus to climb by new paths the icy summit of the Alps, to admire under another snow peaked mountain a garden planted by the hands of nature, a garden which was formerly the heritage of the celebrated Swedish professor. Thence you descend into the prairies whose flowers await his coming to range themselves in an order which they seem hitherto to have disdained. There I see Maupertuis, the honor of the French nation, which another land has better deserved to enjoy. He leaves the table of a friend who is the greatest of kings. Where is he going? To the council board of nature where Newton awaits him.

What can I say of the chemist, of the geometrician, of the physicist, of the anatomist, etc.? The latter experiences almost as much pleasure in examining a dead man as did the one who gave him life.

But all of this yields place to the great art of healing. The physician is the only philosopher to whom his country is indebted, as has been said long before me. Like the brothers of Helen, he appears in the storms of life. What magic, what enchantment! The very sight of him calms the blood, brings peace to a troubled soul and revives tender hope in the heart of wretched mortals. He foretells life and death as the astronomer predicts an eclipse. Each has the torch which illuminates him. But if the mind has had the pleasure of discovering the rules which guide it, what a triumph

this delightful experience gives you every day, what a triumph when the result has justified its rashness.

Therefore the greatest usefulness of the sciences lies in their cultivation. This in itself is a very real and lasting joy. Happy the man who has the taste for study, happier the one who succeeds by its means in freeing his spirit from illusions and his heart from vanity—a desirable end to which you were led at a tender age by the hand of wisdom, whereas so many pedants after half a century of night watches and of labor, more bowed under the burden of prejudices than under that of time, seem to have learned everything except to think. That knowledge is indeed rare especially among the learned, and yet it ought to be at least the fruit of all the rest. It is to this knowledge alone that I have applied myself since childhood. Judge, sir, whether I have succeeded, and may this homage of my friendship be forever cherished by your own.

DID JOHN THE BAPTIST EXIST?

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

AS the historical existence of John the Baptist is now also denied, and as a first-century secular testimony to him is declared "a shameless interpolation,"¹ it surely is not out of place to lay that testimony in full before skeptical readers, together with a comparison of it with the accounts of the gospels, in order to see whether it is independent and genuine or not.

In the *Antiquities* of Josephus (XVIII, 5) we read: "At this time [about 34 A. D. according to the preceding paragraph] Aretas, the king of Petra, and Herod had a quarrel for the following reason. Herod, the tetrarch, had married the daughter of Aretas and had already lived with her a long time. But on the way to Rome he stopped with Herod his brother, though not of the same mother, for this Herod was born of the daughter of Simon the highpriest. Now he [the tetrarch] fell in love with Herodias, the wife of this Herod, a daughter of Aristobulos, their brother, and a sister of Agrippa the Great. He therefore dared to talk about marriage to her. Since she accepted his proposal, they agreed that she change her abode and come to him as soon as he would leave Rome. It was also arranged that he should divorce the daughter of Aretas, and so he sailed for Rome, having made this agreement. But when he returned, after having accomplished the business in Rome for which he had set out, his wife, having found out his agreement with Herodias before he knew that she had learned everything, asked him to send her to Machærus on the border of the land of Aretas and Herod, but did not betray her design. So Herod sent her out, thinking she had not perceived anything. But because she had previously sent to Machærus, which was tributary both to Herod and her father, and everything had been prepared for the journey by the general, as soon as she arrived she set out to Arabia under the escort of several generals in succession, and came to her father as

¹ These words are cited from Grätz (*History of the Jews*, 1888, III, 278) in a footnote by Drews (*Christ Myth*, p. 129). I have looked up Grätz (English translation, 1893) and cannot find them anywhere. Grätz in that translation rather assumes the Baptist to be historical.

quickly as possible and told him of the intentions of Herod. But Aretas made this a cause of hostilities together with the boundaries in the land of Gamalitis, and both gathered armies and came to war, sending their generals instead of themselves. In the ensuing battle Herod's whole army was destroyed on account of the treachery of some fugitives who had set out with him from the tetrarchy of Philip. This Herod wrote to Tiberius. But the latter, enraged at the attempt of Aretas, wrote Vitellius to make war and either capture him alive and put him in bonds, or kill him and send his head to him.

"But to some of the Jews it appeared that the destruction of Herod's army was brought about by God as a very just retribution for the murder of John called the Baptist. For Herod had killed him, a good man who commanded the Jews to practice virtue and to follow righteousness towards each other and piety towards God, and to come to baptism. For thus baptism would appear acceptable to God, if not used as a propitiation for sins, but as the purification of the body, inasmuch as the soul had been previously purified by righteousness. Now when all the others assembled in crowds—for they were greatly carried away by hearing his words—Herod, fearing that his persuasion to such a degree over the people might lead to some uprising, for they seemed likely to do anything on his advice, thought it would be much better to capture him before he should bring about any innovation, and to put him out of the way, than to repent after difficulties had arisen from a change of things. And thus through the suspicion of Herod he was sent bound to Machærus, the castle mentioned before, and there put to death. But to the Jews the destruction of the army appeared to be a retribution for this deed in that God wished to punish Herod."

This is the report of Josephus on John the Baptist. Now to compare this report with the accounts of the gospels.

1. According to Mark vi. 17, the husband of Herodias is Philip (evidently the tetrarch of Gaulanitis and Trachonitis is meant), the son of Herod the Great by Cleopatra. According to Josephus it is another Herod, a son of Herod the Great by Mariamne. Philip, instead of being the husband of Herodias as Mark states, was the husband of Salome, who according to Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII, 5, 4) was the daughter of Herodias by her divorced husband.

2. If this was the Salome meant by the gospels, she could not very well have been "a little girl,"² as in Mark, dancing at the birth-

² κοράσιον. Some manuscripts have "the daughter of Herod, Herodias," as if noticing the error.

day of Herod. Her husband Philip died 34 A. D., about the time the troubles started between Herod and Aretas (compare *Ant.* XVIII, 5, 6).

3. According to the gospels the beheading of John takes place at Tiberias, the residence of Herod. This is surely meant by the words of Mark: "Herod made at his birthday a banquet to his lords, captains and the first men of Galilee." Tiberias was the residence of Herod according to Josephus. In the *Antiquities* John is executed at Machærus.

4. According to the gospels Herodias is the cause of John's death. According to Josephus Herod executes him for fear that he might stir up a revolt.

5. Herod could never have promised half of his kingdom to the girl, because he held his kingdom subject to Roman control. The gospel account is very probably a popular legend as it arose gradually among the people and the early Christians.

On the other hand the gospels and Josephus agree in this, that John is a great preacher and practices baptism, though the nature of his preaching and the meaning of his baptism are stated differently in the two sources. The eschatological character connected with John's preaching is wanting in Josephus.

We further find in Josephus an indirect testimony in agreement with the gospels concerning the locality of John's preaching. The gospels say that the Baptist preached in the Judean desert, i. e., east of Jerusalem towards the Dead Sea and the country around the Jordan.³ This agrees with Josephus that Herod not only had jurisdiction in Galilee but also in Perea (comp. *Ant.*, XVIII, 7, 1 and *Jewish Wars*, II, 9, 1). From this we see why it is just at Machærus, east of the Dead Sea, that John is imprisoned. This was near the locality of his preaching.

The possibility that a Christian interpolator should have written the account about the Baptist in Josephus is, as far as I can see, absolutely excluded. Nobody who had the gospel accounts before him could have written a passage with such glaring contradictions to those of the gospels. We might rather say that the gospel story is a further legendary elaboration concerning the causes of John's death on the basis of the popular hatred against Herod and Herodias of which Josephus speaks. Not only do the people see in Herod's defeat a divine retribution according to Josephus, but he himself at other places expresses his strong condemnation of Herodias. In *Ant.*, XVIII, 5, 4, he speaks of her as "confounding the laws of

³ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

our country and divorcing herself from her husband while he was alive, marrying Herod," and in *Ant.*, XVIII, 7, he writes a long chapter about the intrigues of this ambitious woman. He relates that when Agrippa, her brother, became king, she continually harassed her husband to seek the kingship in Rome also. The consequence was that when Herod finally yielded to her, he not only lost his tetrarchy by the counter-intrigues of Agrippa, but was also banished to Lyons, Gaul. Josephus, though relating the redeeming trait of this intriguing and ambitious woman, that she shared her husband's exile voluntarily, telling emperor Cajus (Caligula), she would not forsake Herod in his misfortune, having been his partner in prosperity, closes his account with the words: "Thus did God punish Herodias for her envy of her brother and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman." It seems more probable that the gospel account, which lays the greatest blame on Herodias in regard to John's death, is an outgrowth from the popular opinion in which this woman was held and of which Josephus gives such a strong reflection, than that a Christian interpolator should have written the account of the Baptist in Josephus. We may also remark here that while Origen knows nothing of a passage in Josephus with reference to Christ, he is acquainted with the reference to John the Baptist.

The relations of Herod Antipas to the death of John the Baptist had an indirect bearing also upon the final fate of Jesus. Luke tells us (ix. 7-9) that Herod, when hearing of the work of Jesus in his dominions and what the people said about John having risen again from the dead was wrought up about it, and that a warning was given to Jesus through some Pharisees to leave Galilee as Herod intended to kill him (xiii. 31). This was toward the end of the career of Jesus in Galilee. Evidently the tetrarch (Jesus treats those Pharisees as emissaries of Herod) wished to get rid of him without soiling his hands with another murder.

John's existence would probably never have been denied if a similar deifying process had not taken place later with regard to his personality as with that of his contemporary Jesus. In the syncretic system of the Mandæans (from Aramæan *Manda*, knowledge, enlightenment) or Sabæans (Aramæan *saba*, to baptize) John has become the last incarnation of *Manda de Hajje*, i. e., the knowledge or enlightenment of life, "the beloved son" of *Mana rabba*, i. e., the great *Mana* (comp. either Iranic *manas* or Arabic *mana* in the sense of mind or spirit), the god of light and knowledge. But probably *Mana rabba* is ultimately only a form for the more ancient Baby-

lonian god *Hea* or *Hoa*, who dwells in the ocean, his holiest element, and who according to the ancient legend arose under a fishlike form from the sea, the Persian Gulf, near which the Mandæans live, to bring knowledge to mankind. The Babylonian priest Berosus, who translated this myth into Greek, calls that being by the Hellenized form *Oannes*.

But originally the ocean, in which *Hoa* dwells, was meant to be the heavenly ocean, an idea which recurs in the Mandæan system under the name *Ajar-Jora*, i. e., the heavenly Jordan. *Ajar* = Greek *aër*, air, a word early taken into the Aramæan languages.⁴

Because the often repeated baptism of the Mandæans is a theurgical-magical act which aims at a continually growing insight into the secrets of the realms of light and knowledge by interposition of the elements of *Mana rabba*, the king of light, namely water, John the Baptist was assumed to be the last incarnation of *Mana rabba's* son, *Manda de Hajje*, who answers to the personified divine wisdom of the Old Testament (comp. Prov. viii. 23), the pre-existent, heavenly Christ of Jewish apocryphal and rabbinical literature and of Paul, and to the divine *Logos* of Philo and the fourth gospel. John the Baptist as the last incarnation of this *Manda de Hajje* thus became the eponymic hero of the gnostic baptism of the Mandæans.

The Hellenized form *Oannes* used by Berosus for *Hoa* has philologically no connection with the Hellenized form *Joannes* used in the New Testament for John the Baptist, and even if it had, it would not disprove John's historical reality and make him originally a god, any more than the original mythical divinities Gunther and Brunhilda, occurring in the *Nibelungenlied*, disprove the historical existence of a Burgundian king Gunther actually destroyed by Attila and likewise of a historical Burgundian queen Brunhilda, who met a tragic fate. Both of these characters were unquestionably worked up into that epic, just as John the Baptist has been in the complicated system of the Mandæans. And if John has been worked into that system, Jesus, who can not be disconnected from him and has been worked up in the Christian system in a similar way, must likewise be a historical reality. The existence of both stand and fall together.

* The present-day Mandæans imagine heaven as being formed of the purest water, but which at the same time is so hard that no diamond can cut it.

POSSESSION AND THE STABILITY OF THE PERSONALITY.

BY HERBERT CHATLEY.

AMONG primitive peoples there is an almost universal belief in the frequent occurrence of demoniacal possession, and, as ethnologists often point out, those peculiar nervous complaints which are now called epilepsy and insanity are ascribed to this cause.

It is a matter of interest to inquire why such a belief should have developed. Primitive man, simple as his logic must have been, would need some definite foundation for an idea which involves considerable complexity. There can be little doubt that the phenomenon of "modified personality" provides such evidence and the fact that such a condition may be voluntarily produced provided a further basis for much of the working hypothesis of magic. In *The Monist* of January, 1912, the writer called attention to the psychological features of the "Boxer" outbreak, in the course of which artificial production of "possession" occurred. A book on this subject, *A Thousand Miles of Miracle* by Rev. A. Glover, M. A., (Hodder and Stoughton) gives some further particulars:

"He [the Boxer recruit] was required to repeat over and over a certain brief formula '*until the gods took possession* and the subject fell backward to the ground, foaming at the mouth and lying for a few minutes as in trances, then rising to drill or fight; whereupon he was declared to be invulnerable to foreign sword or bullet" [p. 11, italics in original].

The writer of this particular book (who displayed extreme fortitude in the persecution) is a believer in the reality of possessions, and quotes certain other examples of non-Boxer origin of considerable interest. It is of course somewhat difficult to say to what extent his theological bias has colored the descriptions but there can be little doubt of his sincerity.

In one case, a woman whose house he sheltered in, suddenly became "possessed" when addressed on doctrinal matters, sat with vacant stare and then commenced an imprecatory incantation which finally convinced the missionary of the presence of a Satanic influence.

Another case he mentions of a girl who sat in the road and similarly chanted, like the classical case in the Acts of the Apostles.

Several missionaries whom the present writer has met give similar accounts, but it is noteworthy that all such reports are tinged by the belief or otherwise in the reality of possession. All agree that Chinese women are liable to go into a trance, and, following this, *ma* (= curse) for hours or even days, after which they naturally pass through a phase of extreme exhaustion, followed by normality. Both men and women occasionally *sheng-ch'i* (= "generate breath," i. e., become furious) to an extent which culminates in illness or death, while it is a common feature of the Taoist ceremonies for the Tao-shih or Wu (exorcist) to go into a fit in which he is insensible to pain and utters oracles in the rôle of a second personality.

Amongst orientals generally there seems to be less "stability of personality" than amongst occidentals. Possibly vegetarian diet (which is the only marked point of difference in habits) may affect the coordination of the psychic elements. There may also be some relation to sex-functions. Hysteria, which appears to be the first stage in the displacement of personality, is notoriously associated with imperfect health in this respect (note the etymology of the word), and it is well known that certain modifications of personality (ecstasy, etc.) are producible by suppression of sexual instincts (celibacy). So close is the relation between these phenomena and the eccentricities of sex that some extremists have thought "religion" explicable on this basis alone. The sexual element in antique cults probably was considered of value as means of producing abnormal psychic states. The fact probably is that the state of equilibrium defined as personality suffers disturbance whenever a great emotion is experienced, and repeated similar emotions or a violent emotional shock will permanently modify the conditions of equilibrium so giving rise to a second personality. Recovery implies a reversal of shock or natural reversion to a more stable state. It is noteworthy that modifications of personality are most frequent among peoples who allow themselves to become excessively "excited," i. e., disturbed by emotion. Furthermore all philosophical thinkers (particularly among certain nations such as the Hindus) have realized that per-

¹ See Note at end on mechanical definition of stability.

sonality can only be "held" by the cultivation of placidity and resistance to emotion, although there is the paradoxical fact that extreme developments in this direction again tend to critical states (Nirvana, etc.).

There is a considerable weight of evidence in favor of the efficacy of "exorcism" in curing cases of "possession." The suggestion theory will go far to explain even this. The ecclesiastical doctrine of the priestly "absolution" is a simple form of the same idea, viz., the modification of a mental state (remorse, conviction of sin) by an insistent suggestion reinforced by the responsivity of the person (his belief in the remission of sins by such a process, etc.). One may go further and say that the phenomena of "conversion" (so ably described by Harold Begbie in his book *Broken Earthenware or Twice-Born Men*) afford a similar example of transition from one critical state of personality to another.

Psychologists have found that in all cases of mutation of personality certain associations persist, and it is conceivable that the human soul can remain in a number of adjacent conformations, some of which involve so large a displacement from the position of unanimous stability (normal personality) that the sense of identity vanishes, whereas others are less remote and while involving a great change in the mental attitude do not imply discontinuity of identity. Theologians speak of "perversions" as well as "conversions," and argue the existence of a special spiritual factor for each. It would seem far less cumbrous to regard them in the light suggested above. Christianity undeniably includes many of the processes of soul-culture by suggestion and there need be no hesitation in accepting such a hypothesis because it conflicts with dogmatic theology. Hudson in his *Psychic Phenomena* has made almost the best defence of Christianity extant by following somewhat similar lines.

Stability.

Stability may be defined as the *permanence of equilibrium*, and implies that any disturbance ("perturbation") of a body from its state of equilibrium (not necessarily of rest) is accompanied by forces which will restore it to that condition when the disturbing forces are removed.

In all practical cases stability is limited, i. e., with a sufficiently great perturbation the restoring forces cease or are insufficient. The extent of the perturbation within which recovery can occur is called the *range of stability*. Thus if a ship can heel either way through

an angle of 30° before the righting moment of the buoyancy vanishes, it has 60° range of stability.

Permanent stability is only possible when (1) The slowly applied disturbing force never exceeds the maximum righting force, and (2) when the work done by the disturbing force however applied cannot exceed the work done against the righting force within the range of stability.

Temporary disturbance of equilibrium is followed by oscillations unless there is great friction (damping). If the disturbance is periodic and the period coincides with that of the natural oscillations, energy will be supplied at each application of force and instability must finally happen. This is known as *synchronism*.

The only true criterion of stability is the decrease of the amplitude of oscillation, so that a mathematical analysis of the conditions of equilibrium in any case needs to be supplemented by an investigation into the oscillations which follow any disturbance. If these have a decreasing amplitude the body is stable, and not otherwise.

THE PANAMA CANAL QUESTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

ONE of the international problems prominent in our politics to-day is the question of the toll for American ships through the Panama Canal and the meaning of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. It seems that both our Solons and our diplomats have acted rashly, the former in passing a bill according to which American ships engaged in coastwise trade shall pass through the canal free; the latter in making treaties which prove to be traps. The bill concerning the Panama Canal toll bestows an unusual privilege upon one class of the people, and there is a principle in government that favors should not be given to a special class or a special industry or special individuals. Whether the motive of the bill was to favor Americans against Canadians need not be investigated. Be it sufficient to state that it is a bill of singular favoritism, and it ought to be reconsidered and revoked. This might be done without reference to the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, on which, as it is claimed by many experts, the bill is an infringement.

Whether or not the bill is contrary to the Hay-Pauncefote treaty is a question in itself, and we repeat the bill ought to be revoked. But if, on the other hand, the bill indeed violates the treaty, then the treaty ought to be canceled. It is true that if we make a treaty we ought to keep it. If a treaty involves us in the payment of money we ought to pay it, but if a treaty supersedes the sovereignty of our national independence, it indicates that we have suffered a crushing defeat, for we would submit quietly to humiliating conditions only if compelled to yield to a stronger force, and no one would blame us if at the first opportunity we try to regain our independence by shaking off the yoke thus imposed upon us. If the Hay-Pauncefote treaty really implies that the government of the United States forfeits the right to dispose of and administer its

own property, we ought to repudiate the treaty on the risk of going to war for our independence.

It seems clear that Mr. Hay did not understand the treaty in any such sense as submission to English sovereignty. Otherwise he would never have acceded to its terms without being driven thereto by dire necessity. It is true that the Hay-Pauncefote treaty supplants the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the unacceptability of which had made itself felt. But it now seems that the Hay-Pauncefote treaty is, in intention at least, only a little more favorable than the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and if this is the case serious steps ought to be taken to redress the wrong which we have foolishly permitted ourselves to suffer.

Geographical points of such vital importance in peace and war cannot be left in an unfortified and unsafe condition on the supposition that all the powers on earth will be so meek and well-intentioned that they would never make use of an advantage by which in case of war they could cripple our offensive and defensive forces. It has always been customary that in case of an intended war any advantage may be taken, and it would be lamentable for the United States if suddenly some strong power would pounce on the canal, seize it, and retain it. No peace congress, no idealists, no committee of international judges can change these conditions. It is a law of nature, and we can as little legislate against it or abolish it by treaty or arbitration as we can abolish thunderstorms or hurricanes.

The Hay-Pauncefote treaty demands that the canal should be rigorously neutral, but it appears to be understood that it shall have to be fortified, for it would be a gross neglect if the United States would trust too much in the general good-will of the warlike powers.

If the Hay-Pauncefote treaty really deprives the United States of the right to administer her own property, it ought to be canceled, and this ought to be done at once, the sooner the better. It should be done frankly, freely and openly by declaring that the whole treaty was a mistake, that it infringes upon the dignity of the United States and that its abolition is tantamount to a reassertion of our independence.

While we thus advocate the canceling of the bill to allow free passage of the American coastwise ships through the canal we at the same time insist that the Hay-Pauncefote treaty ought to be plainly and unequivocally interpreted in a broad sense that would not involve a surrender of American independence, or if that be not conceded by the other contracting party, it ought to be unreservedly renounced.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A BREATH FROM NIRVANA.

BY H. BEDFORD JONES.

I gripped the coverlet in pain, and there
Death's fore-word came to me. I saw the great
Ineffable, the nameless glory-state
That waited on my soul, and loomed so fair
Across the Void; the angel-thronged Stair
Leading unto the Throne, the sun-streamed Gate—
These lay before me, seeming but to wait
Death's final kiss, within my heart a prayer.
"Now come, sweet Death, and close this Heaven-pact!"
Then sudden fell a light across the sun,
And I—I shrieked and died; for, heavenless,
My sundered spirit found the Nature Fact,
Cast unto fragments, joined within the One
And All, the *Universal Nothingness*.

SCHILLER'S SKULL.

Goethe has written a poem on the contemplation of Schiller's skull, and it is well known that the great German poet kept this skull on his desk before him in constant commemoration of his beloved friend. The skull was dug up from the Grand Ducal mausoleum where Schiller's body had been placed soon after his death. In 1826, twenty years after Schiller's death, the mausoleum had to be rebuilt so as to make room for more bodies, and at that time the Mayor of Weimar, Carl Leberecht Schwabe, selected this skull, fully convinced that it was the skull of the great poet, and some highly respected physicians confirmed him in this view. In the meantime the suspicion grew stronger and stronger that the skull could not have been that of Schiller, and that Goethe had wasted his reverence on the relics of a lesser man.

Prof. Hermann Welker, an anatomist of Halle, was led to this conclusion from a number of corroborating circumstances. There is a death mask of Schiller made in plaster of Paris, and also a plaster of Paris reproduction of his skull, made before the great poet's body was deposited in the mausoleum. The mask is still in the possession of the Schwabe family, the descendants of the Mayor of Weimar. Both casts differ from the skull which was in Goethe's possession, and are positive evidence that it can not be genuine.

Dr. von Froriep, a native of Weimar, took a deep interest in the question and has finally succeeded in discovering the genuine skull of Schiller. He

searched the Weimar archives and learned from Herr G. Schnaubert that the current opinion that all the bones found in the mausoleum were buried in the northeastern corner of the cemetery was based on mere gossip and had no



GOETHE CONTEMPLATING SCHILLER'S SKULL.

foundation. Archives disclosed the fact that no remnant of the dead bones had ever been removed from the mausoleum, and that therefore Schiller's skull ought to exist still in that vault of the mausoleum where it had been originally deposited, which was known under the name *Kassengewölbe*. Dr.

Froriep acquired the permission to dig in this place and discovered at a depth of three meters a great collection of human bones covered with debris of old walls and rubbish, among them fifty-three well preserved skulls, and in addition fragments of other skulls so as to make the complete number of bodies between sixty and seventy. In continuing his digging he discovered half a meter lower a number of bones with the skull which he could identify as that of Schiller. It was difficult to identify the bones or to distribute them to the several skeletons to which they belonged, for they were well arranged in a kind of classified order, the skulls heaped together in one place, the jaw-bones in another and legs and arms somewhere else so that it would be difficult to identify the bones of different individuals.

It was well known that Schiller's teeth were very regular, and that only one, the second upper molar on the left side, was missing. This information is well attested by Schiller's servants and in general also by other people who were intimately acquainted with the poet, and proves that the jaw-bone discovered by Professor Froriep must be that of Schiller himself, especially as the lower jaw belonging to this skull showed a perfect set of sixteen teeth regular in formation and position. Further, there was an undeniable agreement with both the death mask and the plaster of Paris cast of Schiller's skull. The skull shows a broad forehead although not unusually high, a weak development over the eyebrows which is so strong in the Neanderthal skull, delicate nasal bones but rather high so as to indicate the aquiline formation which was one of the poet's prominent features.

Professor Froriep recently submitted his discovery to his colleagues at the Anatomical Congress which met on April 22 to 24, 1912, at Munich, and there was not one voice which contradicted the argument.

We learn that Professor Froriep will publish a book on the subject which will contain photographic reproductions that are expected to be fully convincing of the truth of his contentions.

P. C.

THE LIFE OF AUGUST BEBEL.

August Bebel's autobiography (*My Life*, University of Chicago Press, Price \$2.14 postpaid) is a human document of remarkable significance. It gives a first-hand report of the rise and growth in Germany of the Social Democratic party. Though Mr. Bebel has been the leading spirit in this important political and economic movement for the half-century of its existence he looks upon it as in any case inevitable and upon himself as "a willing helper at a birth of whose origin he is entirely innocent." He goes on to say:

"Into the rôle of an assistant at a historical process of evolution I was thrust by the conditions of my life and as a result of my experience. Once driven into the movement that originated in the sixties of the last century among the German working-classes, it was my duty and my interest, not only to take part in the conflict of opinions born of this movement, but also to examine the ideas which were then newly emerging, and as judiciously as I could to decide for or against them. It was thus that in the course of a few years from being a convinced and decided opponent of socialism I became one of its most zealous adherents....and so I shall remain to the end, as long as my strength is left me."

The Social Democratic party had suffered much persecution from the German government, especially Bismarck, but it must be conceded that the policy of the Iron Chancellor in this regard was a serious blunder and the persecution of the leaders of the movement served only to strengthen the party. We will not here discuss the feasibility of a social democracy, but we must insist on the noble character of many of its representatives of whom Bebel certainly stands in the first rank. Much of the respect that has been reluctantly accorded to the recognition of the character of the Social Democratic party in Germany is certainly due to him, and the probability is that if he had ever been admitted to the cabinet it would have been a great benefit to the cause for it would have matured a man like Bebel and would have helped to educate the multitudes who believed in him.

Bebel's youth was spent in poverty, and his trade was that of a turner, though he says he never became an artist at the lathe. His early education was necessarily limited and he felt his deficiency in this respect very keenly when he became interested in political matters. His political persecution included several convictions for treason and *lèse-majesté*. He made excellent use of his incarcerations in filling up to some extent the gaps in his education, and during the first imprisonment of 31 months at Hubertusburg he read the political works of Plato, Aristotle and Sir Thomas More, as well as Marx, Engel and John Stuart Mill. His political influence and activities continued during his imprisonment. He was most impressed by Buckle's *History of Civilization*. As an instance of the treatment he received in prison, we quote literally from his book:

"Before I set out for the fortress a friend wrote, in a farewell letter: 'If it were not for your families, I could almost shout for joy over the stupidity of your enemies. You, for example, will certainly profit largely in health and will learn much; then you will be a dangerous fellow indeed, and your good wife, in spite of the pangs of separation, will be content if you undergo a cure which will strengthen you for good....'

"On the afternoon of the 8th of July I started on my journey to Hubertusburg. A crowd of both sexes was at the station to bid me goodbye. Amidst my luggage was a large cage with a cock canary, the gift of a Dresden friend, 'as a companion in the prison cell.' I got him a wife, and a goodly number of children and grandchildren were hatched to him in prison....

"The Castle of Hubertusburg is quite a considerable pile of buildings in the baroque style. Our cells had large iron-barred windows, which overlooked the great kitchen garden, where we took our regulation walks, and beyond the walls over forest and field to the little town of Mutzchen.

"The cleaning of our cells was done by a so-called 'calefactor.' We had to pay for this cleaning and rent as well—for the State does not give even prison-room for nothing—at the rate of some fifteen shillings monthly. We got our food from an inn in a village near by. Our daily routine was as follows: We had to be dressed by seven o'clock, when the cells were opened for cleaning. In the meantime we had breakfast in the large corridor. Our friend Hirsch used to take this opportunity to play chess with another civilian prisoner, with whom he used to be continually quarelling over the game. From eight to ten we were locked in our cells; then we took our regulation walks in the garden. From twelve to three in winter and four in summer we were once more locked up, and then took our second walk, to be locked up

at five or six, according to the season, until the cells were unlocked next morning. We had the right to burn a light until 10 p. m., and these hours I devoted to study. After some months I obtained permission to have Liebknecht locked up with me in my cell, from 8 to 10 a. m., that he might give me lessons in English and French. Of course, we used to discuss our party affairs, and I answered the business letters which my wife sent me every day.

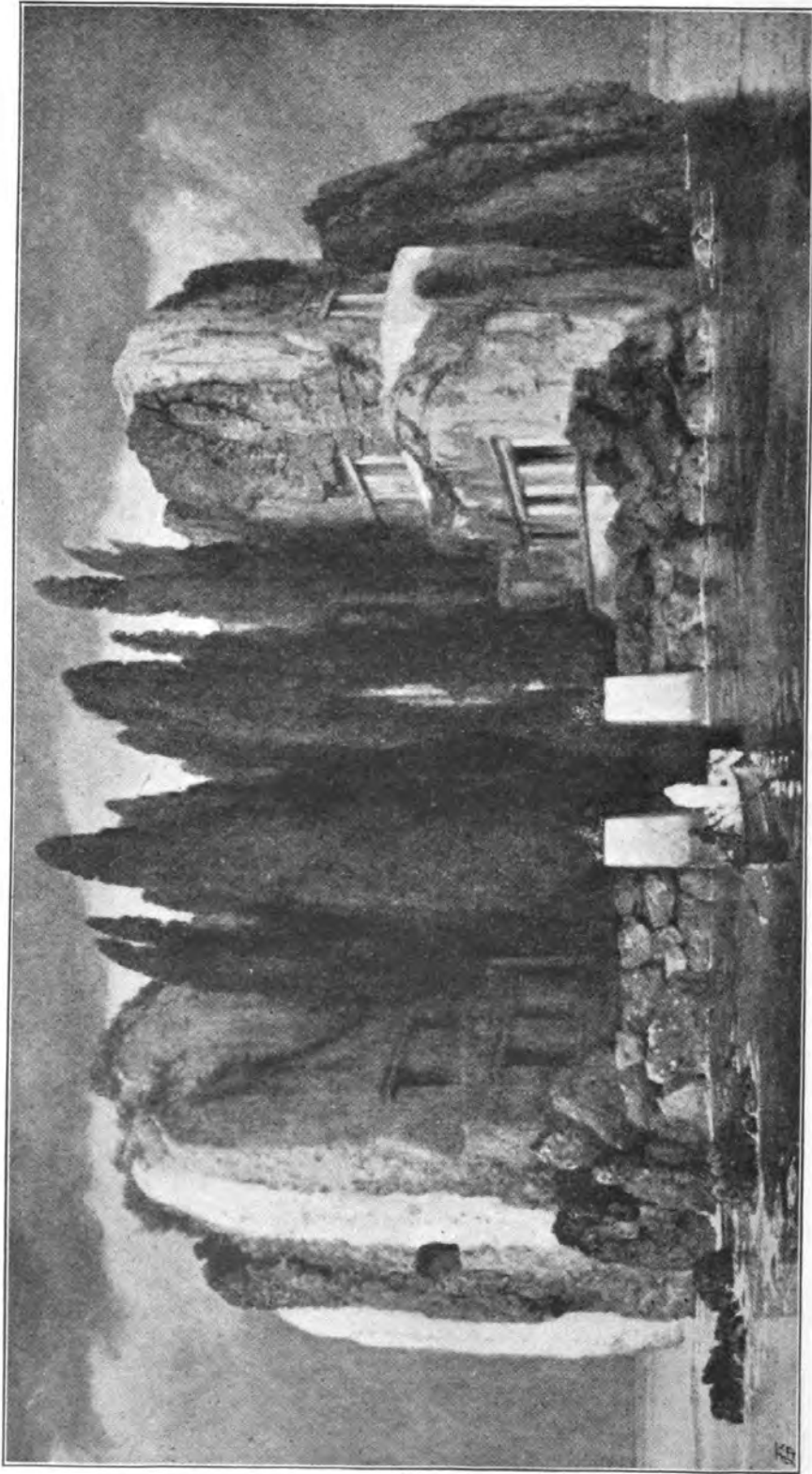
"Liebknecht and I were great lovers of tea; but we could not get any, and we were forbidden to make it ourselves on account of the danger from fire. However, rules are made to be broken, and I managed to smuggle in a spirit lamp and kettle and the necessary ingredients. As soon as we were locked up for the night I began to brew my tea; and in order to give Liebknecht the pleasure of indulging in his favorite beverage, I had cut a pole in the garden, which was about nine feet long, to the end of which I attached a net of my own making. As soon as tea was ready I knocked on the wall—Liebknecht's cell was next to mine—and I placed a glass of tea in the net; I then thrust the pole out of the window and swung the glass round to Liebknecht's. In the same way we exchanged newspapers. . . .

"I experienced a great need of bodily exercise, and the notion struck me that I would do some gardening. We could not get garden plots allotted to us, but were allowed to cultivate as much as we liked of the fallow land along the garden wall. We set to work with great energy. Liebknecht, who was just then writing his essay on the land question, regarded himself as an expert on agrarian matters, and assured us that this fallow land was one of the most fertile soils. But when we began to dig we found nothing but stone. Liebknecht pulled a long face, but we all laughed. We then took to spreading manure—not a very nice job, and one which we should have refused with indignation had the authorities forced us to do it.

"We sowed radishes and awaited the harvest. They came up beautifully—at least, the leaves did—but there were no radishes. Every morning when we started to take our walk there would be a race to see who should first pull up a radish. But always in vain. There were no radishes; and finally the warder told us the reason: we had manured the ground too well. The soil was too fat. We looked very foolish indeed."

NOTES.

The chief propagandist work of the Ethics of Nature Society has reached its third edition in the French language under the title *Morale fondée sur les lois de la nature*. It is written by the president of the society, M. Marius Deshumbert, and was reviewed extensively with comprehensive quotations from the English edition in *The Open Court* of April, 1912. Copies of the French version will be furnished without charge to any one applying to the Hon. Secretary, Dewhurst, Dunheved Road, Thornton Heath, England. p



THE ISLAND OF THE DEAD.

By Arnold Böcklin.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII (No. 8)

AUGUST, 1913

NO. 687

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TAMMUZ, PAN AND CHRIST.

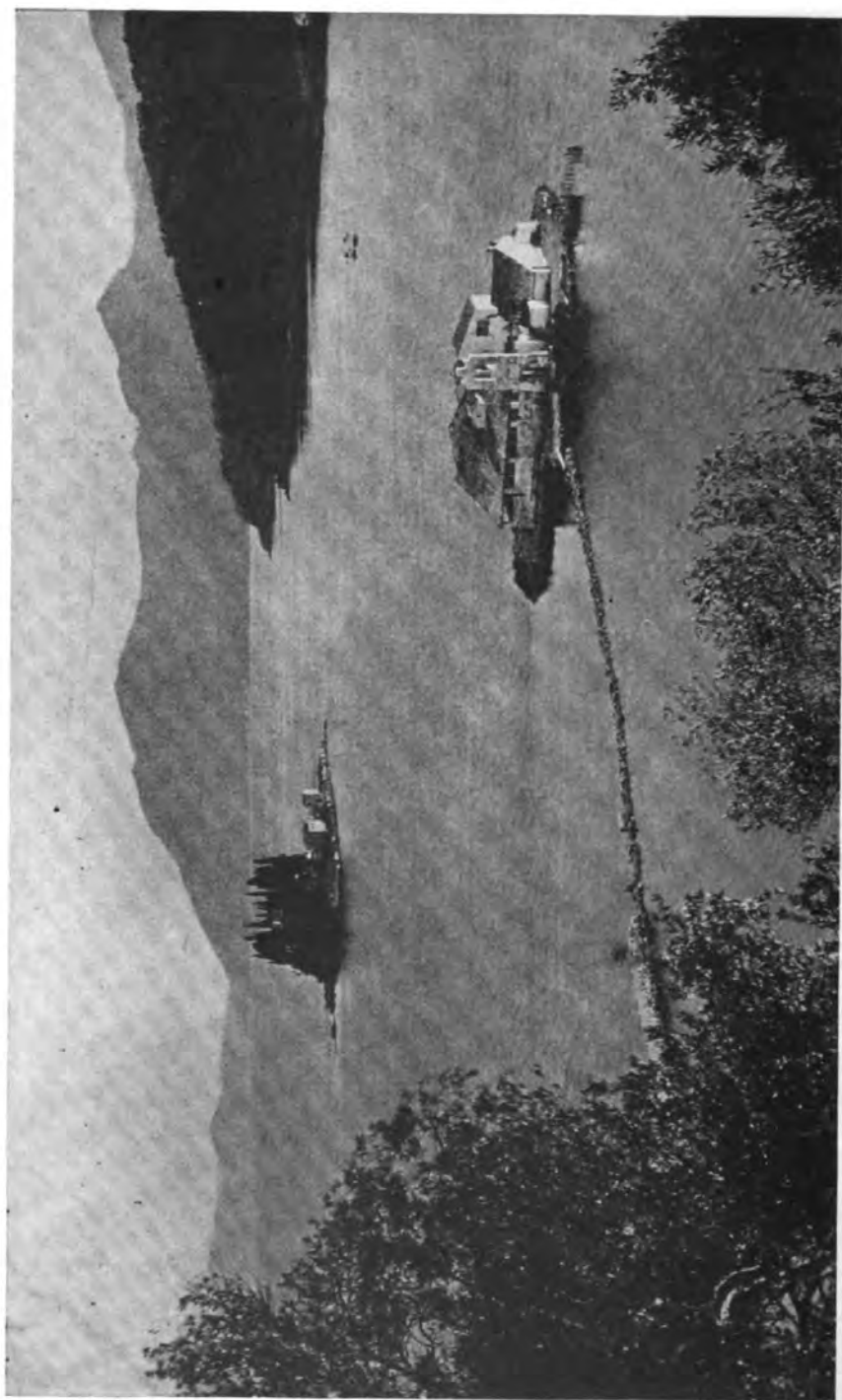
FURTHER NOTES ON A TYPICAL CASE OF MYTH-TRANS-
FERENCE.

BY WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

IN a recent number of *The Open Court* (September, 1912) I sketched the history of the transference and development of a myth, by which the ancient custom of the annual mourning of Tammuz has been misinterpreted by Plutarch as a lament at the death of the "Great Pan," and finally, through a chance quotation by Eusebius, carried into Christian legend as proof of the assertion that the incarnation and passion of Christ had brought about the downfall and death of the elder gods. The sequence of the legend was followed, from the "Pantagruel" of Rabelais, and the "Nativity Hymn" of Milton, through the "Gods of Greece" of Schiller to the "Dead Pan" of Mrs. Browning. A more thorough examination of the apparitions of the "Great Pan" in the literature of Christendom shows how strongly the tale has influenced the most diverse imaginations. This prehistoric Accadian and Babylonian rite has not only gone into Christian legend, but has been upheld as logical proof of Christian dogma, and attacked as the essence of Christian faith. It may therefore be of interest to trace its wanderings since Eusebius first suggested the Christian significance of Plutarch's ὁ μέγας Πὰν τέθηκεν, which the grammarian Epitherses, sailing in a vessel steered by one Thamus, had misreported from a ritual verse overheard from the shore of Paxos below Corfu.*

Θαμοῦς Θαμοῦς Θαμοῦς πανμέγας τέθηκε.

* The accompanying photograph shows the vicinity of the scene of this incident. The island in the background is the original of Arnold Böcklin's



THE COAST OF EPIRUS OFF CORFU.

Eusebius had said:¹

"So far Plutarch. But it is important to observe the time at which he says the death of the *dæmon* took place. For it was at the time of Tiberius, in which our Saviour, making his sojourn among men, is recorded to have been ridding human life from *dæmons* of every kind. . . . You have therefore the date of the overthrow of the *dæmons*. . . . just as you had the abolition of human sacrifice among the Gentiles as not having occurred until after the preaching. . . . of the Gospel. . . . Let these refutations from recent history suffice."

We cannot say how seriously Eusebius intended that this suggestion should be received. It is merely an episode in his great work, and seems to have been rather a *tour d'esprit* than a direct statement of fact. But the clever wit of the latter-day Greek was translated into the arid literalism of the medieval Latin, and finally emerged, through the rediscoveries of the Renaissance, as a revelation from early Christianity, newly accepted by the western world.

It would be interesting to know how fully the writings of Eusebius were available to the medieval church in western Europe. Greek, after the days of Charlemagne, was practically a forgotten tongue; especially so, after the great schism over the *filioque* in the Creed. Eusebius may have survived in some Latin abstract or compendium of priestly instruction, but a quotation from a mere heathen like Plutarch was of doubtful importance in the West, and it is quite possible that the Pan story slept throughout the dark millennium. The researches of the schoolmen, of Aquinas and his followers, may have uncovered it to the few, but to the many it probably remained unknown until the Renaissance.²

famous painting, "The Island of the Dead," reproduced as the frontispiece of this issue.

¹ *Præparatio Evangelica*, V, 17.

² Portions of the writings of Eusebius, translated into Latin by Trapezuntius, were printed at Venice by Nicolaus Jenson in 1470; another incomplete translation appeared at Cologne in 1539. The first complete impression of the Greek text of the *Præparatio Evangelica* was that edited by R. Stephani and printed at Paris in 1544, under privilege of the King of France. In this edition (a copy of which is in the Library of Congress at Washington) the name of the pilot appears as Thamnus (*Θαμνός*). Another edition, put forth by a French Jesuit named Fr. Vigerus (or Viguier) appeared at Rouen in 1628, and was reprinted at Leipsic in 1688. Other editions were those of Heinichen, Leipsic, 1842; Gaisford, Oxford, 1843; Migne (in the *Patrologia Græca*) Paris, 1857; Dindorf, Leipsic, 1867; Heikel, Helsingfors, 1888; and Gifford, Oxford, 1903.

In Gifford's notes (IV, 207) the following remark is made of the Pan story:

"The simplicity of Eusebius in accepting this tale, and finding in it 'a lamentation of evil *dæmons*' as presaging evil to themselves from our Saviour's death, is less wonderful than the credulity of modern writers who suppose that 'the Great Pan' is no other than Christ himself. See Cudworth, *Intellec-*

The awakening of the "Dead Pan" in Christian legend came through a Spaniard of Seville, named Pedro Mexía, who in 1542 published a work entitled *Silva di varia leccion*, a sort of compilation of marvelous tales, somewhat after the fashion of Gellius's *Noctes Atticæ*. It had a considerable vogue; there was a French version published at Tournon, by C. Michel, under the title *Les diverses leçons de Pierre Messie, gentil-homme de Seuille, mises de Castellan en François par Cl. Gruget parisien*, of which the fourth edition appeared in 1616.

Of Mexía's work the thirty-second chapter treats "of several things that happened at the birth of our Lord, told by several historians, aside from the account of the Evangelists." He quotes a saying of St. Jerome, that "when the Virgin fled to Egypt with her child, all the idols and images of gods in that land fell down from their altars to the earth, and that the oracles of these gods, or rather devils, ceased and no longer gave their answers." And he goes on to say that "this miracle, cited by St. Jerome, seems to be confirmed by Plutarch, an excellent man, although he was a pagan, who did not believe these things, nor why they occurred;" and he quotes Plutarch's full account of the passage of Epitherses from Greece to Italy, of the supposed call to the pilot from the island of Paxos, and of the repetition of the news, with answering lament, at Palodes, as given in his *De Defectu Oraculorum*. He prefaces the story by observing that in Plutarch's time, "which was after the death of Christ, men perceived that their Oracles had failed," and that Plutarch could not explain it otherwise than that "some dæmons had died," although he did so as "a man without faith." The story suffers somewhat in the spelling of the names; Paxos appears as *Paraxix*, and the pilot as *Attaman*, thus by some copyist's error entirely obscuring the origin and sequence of the legend. The inquiry of Tiberius is mentioned, and his finding that "it was the truth"; and Mexía concludes, apparently following Eusebius, "thus it is evident that everywhere the devils complained of the nativity of our Lord, as cause of their destruction; for a calculation of the time shows that these things occurred at the time when he suffered for us, or a little earlier, when he was driving and banishing them from the world." Mexía explains that "it is to be supposed that this Great Pan (like the Great Pan, god of the shepherds) whom they said to be dead, was some master devil, who then lost his

tual System, I. 585, with Mosheim's long note in refutation of the strange conceit. In Plutarch the story is told as evidence that the so-called gods were mortal."

empire and his strength, like the rest." And he caps the story thus: "Beyond these things, the Jew Josephus writes that in these same days there was heard in the temple at Jerusalem a voice (though no living creature was there) which said, 'let us quickly flee this land'; for they perceived the persecution they would have to undergo, and which now drew near to them, by the death of the Giver of Life"....

A German version of Mexia appeared at Nuremberg in 1668, with commentary by J. A. Matthen, who thought the "Great Pan" was certainly Satan, although he could not quite forego the possibility of the "Unknown God" of the Athenians, of which see St. Paul in Acts xvii. 23.

Mexia's wonder-book was followed in 1549 by the *Christianæ Philosophiæ Præludium* of Guillaume Bigot, published at Toulouse. This was, as the title indicates, an effort to restate the Christian philosophy in the light of the new knowledge. It quotes the Plutarch-Pan story on pages 440-442, "with its application to the death of Christ." Bigot was a friend of that genius of the Renaissance, François Rabelais; whence the story promptly reappears, in 1552, with truly Rabelaisian improvements, as a philosophical treatise of the absurd Pantagruel.³

Through Rabelais the "Dead Pan" entered into French literature. England adopted him through another writer, Ludwig Lavater of Zürich, who published at Geneva in 1570 a strange compilation of wonder-stories under the title *De spectris, lemuribus et magnis atque insolitis fragoribus, variisque præagitionibus quæ plerunque obitum hominum, magnas clades, mutationesque imperiorum præcedunt*. This was promptly translated into English by "R. H." and published in London in 1572, as *Lewis Lavater, of Ghostes and Spirites Walking by Night, and of strange Noyses, Crackes, and sundry Forewarnynges, whiche commonly happen before the Death of Menne, great Slaughters and Alterations of Kyngdomes*.

Lavater in English had evidently a great vogue in the Elizabethan period. There is a copy in the British Museum, but in the United States I have been able to find only the Latin original of 1570, and a reprint of 1683, both in the Library of Congress in Washington. Chapter XIX of part I is entitled "To whom, when, where, how, ghosts appear, and what they do," and on pages 113-119 of the edition of 1570, is the subhead, "Pans, fauns and satyrs, of whom many things are told by the ancients." Here Lavater quotes

³ As to the connection between Bigot and Rabelais, see Abel Lefranc in *Revue des études rabelaisiennes*, IV (1906), pp. 100 ff.

the Pan story from "Plutarch in his little book on the ceasing of oracles, translated by the learned Adrian Turnebo"; he seems to be in possession of a correct text, for he does not repeat Mexia's errors, but correctly locates the story at Paxos, and gives the pilot's name as Thamus; and he also correctly cites Eusebius. Scholarship had moved rapidly in that generation between 1540 and 1570! Lavater then cites Paulus Marsus in his notes on Ovid's *Fasti*, to the effect that "the voice heard that night on Paxos, which followed the day of our Lord's passion, in the nineteenth year of Tiberius, was miraculously given forth from a deserted coast, to announce the passion of our Lord and God. For Pan signifies *all*: and so likewise, the lord of all, and of universal nature, had suffered." And he goes on to tell of a ghostly apparition to a friend, Johann Vuilling of Hanau, which he believes to have been, like most of its sort, the work of Satan.

The 1683 edition of Lavater, in the Library of Congress, bears the autograph of John Locke; and has a symbolic page preceding the title, *Ludovico Lavateri, Theologi eximii, de spectris, lemurius variisq. præagitionibus: Tractatus vere aureus*. By Ludwig Lavater, then, "most eminent theologian," through his "truly golden treatise," was the "Dead Pan" carried into English literature, through no less a medium than the prince of poets, Edmund Spenser, whose lovely *Shepheards Calender* appeared in 1582. In "Aegloga quinta," the month of May, verses 51-4, we read:

"I muse, what account both these will make:
The one for the hire which he doth take,
And the other for leaving his Lords taske,
When Great Pan account of shepherdes shall aske."

And Spenser's "Glosse" explains, "*Great Pan*, is Christ, the very God of all shepheards, which calleth himself the greate, and good shepherd. The name is most rightly (methinks) applyed to him; for Pan signifieth all, or omnipotent, which is onely the Lord Jesus. And by that name (as I remember) he is called of Eusebius, in his fift booke *De præparat. Evang.* who therefore telleth a proper storye to that purpose. Which story is first recorded of Plutarch, in his booke of the ceasing of Oracles: and of Lavetere translated, in his booke of walking sprighthes." (Then follows Plutarch's story in summary) "By which Pan, though of some be understood, the great Satanas, whose kingdome at that time was by Christ conquered, the gates of hell broken up, and death by death delivered to eternall death, (for at that tyme, as he sayth, all Oracles surceased, and enchanted spirits, that were wont to delude the people, thenceforth

held theyr peace:) and also at the demaund of the Emperoure Tiberius, who that Pan should be, answere was made him by the wisest and best learned, that it was the sonne of Mercurie and Penelope: yet I thinke it more properly meant of the death of Christ, the onely and very Pan, then suffering for his flock."

Later in the same "Aegloga," verses 109-112, we read:

"Well ywis was it with shepheards thoe:
Nought having, nought feared they to foregoe;
For Pan himselfe was their inheritaunce,
And little them served for their mayntenaunce."

And the "Glosse" explains:

"*Pan himselfe*, God: according as is sayd in Deuteronomie, That, in division of the lande of Canaan, to the tribe of Levie no portion of heritage should bee allotted, for God himselfe was their inheritaunce."

The Spenser version of this story is, of course, sufficient explanation for its subsequent adoption by Milton and Mrs. Browning.

On the continent the "Dead Pan" reappears in the *Contes et discours d'Eutrapel* of Noel du Fail, published in 1585.⁴

This versatile and amusing writer quotes Plutarch's story entire, from Pedro Mexía; and observes, "by the word Pan, the ancients understood not only the God of the shepherds, but also the God of all things."

In Germany the tale reappears in 1591, in the *De Magorum Dæmonomania* of Fischart, a version of Bodin's *Dæmonomania*. On pages 4 and 47 Fischart refers to the various identifications of the "Great Pan" with Christ and Satan, but thinks he may rather have been the "old Adam."

Again in 1600, at Eisleben, appeared an anonymous compilation entitled *Magica*, wherein Plutarch's story was quoted in full, while the commentary questions whether Pan was Satan, Christ or the "souls of men"; and so likewise in the *Dæmonolatria* of Remigius, Hamburg, 1693.

In 1615 appeared at Oppenheim *De Divinatione et Magicis Præstigiis* by Jean Jacques Boissard, wherein Pan is found at page 36, with the note that "Christ is the Lord of all nature, like Pan the Universal God. The voices referred not to a good angel or a demon, but to Christ himself."

In 1629 the story reappears in the sublime "Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" of John Milton, which I have already

⁴ See *Œuvres facétieuses de Noel du Fail* edited by S. Assézat, II, 339 ff, Paris, 1874; also G. Regis, *Rabelaiskommentar*, II, 653, Leipsic, 1839.

quoted. A few years later appeared the *Vates* of Pierre du Moulin, or Petrus Molinæus (1568-1658), of which chapter 11 of part III is devoted to the story of the death of Pan, with the conclusion that it was due to "voices of demons who knew that the death of Christ had ended the reign of Satan"; but that it "might also mean Christ himself, All in All (Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 28)."

Holland takes up the story in 1664, with the *Roomsche Mogentheid* of Joachim Oudaans, published at Amsterdam. At page 176 Plutarch is cited, and the explanation is offered that "Pan might be Christ, the 'all,' but perhaps more probably the Devil."

And again, in 1680 appeared in Amsterdam the *Demonstratio evangelica* of Bishop Huet, or Petrus Daniel Huetius. In volume II, page 931, after citing the story, he says, "And this happened at the time of the death of Christ Jesus, who is the true Pan, father of all things and lord of all Nature, whom the mythologists meant under the symbol of Pan."

So far in their several courses, the writers on magic, on ghosts, and on theology. Up to this point, if we except Rabelais, the story of Pan has not been questioned. It has been accepted as a truthful statement of fact, and the explanation of Eusebius has gone with it. But now comes the first word of serious protest. A conscientious Hollander finds it beyond his belief, and says so. In 1683 this man, a Moravian preacher named Antonius van Dale, published in Amsterdam *Dissertationes duæ de oraculis veterum ethnicorum*. Later in 1696 appeared his *De origine ac progressu idolatri et superstitionum*. Van Dale thinks it is time to call a halt on the easy-going acceptance of these ancient and alien superstitions. And as to the story of the death of the "Great Pan" he is especially skeptical. He quotes it, refers to Baronius in *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*, I, 2, 15, "where he relates absurdities about the dead Pan in the time of Tiberius."

Again in France is heard the note of disbelief. Fontenelle, in his *Histoire des Oracles* (1686, and in various subsequent editions) quotes the story, reviews the protests of Van Dale, and says, "this Great Pan who died under Tiberius together with Jesus Christ, is the master of the demons, whose empire was ruined by that death of a god, so beneficial to the universe; or if this explanation pleases you not, for after all one may piously give contrary meanings to the same thing in matters of religion,—this Great Pan is Jesus Christ himself, whose death causes sorrow and general consternation among the demons, who can no longer exercise their tyranny over men. It

is thus that the means have been found to give this Great Pan two very different faces."

By this time Tammuz-Pan, as interpreted by Plutarch and Eusebius, had been too closely woven into Christian teaching for such mockery as Fontenelle's to pass unproved; and so now we come to the formal defense of the story as a revelation of Christian truth. In 1707 Jean François Baltus, a Jesuit priest, published in Strasburg a *Réponse à l'histoire des Oracles de Mr. de Fontenelle, dans laquelle on refute le système de M. Van Dale sur les auteurs des oracles du paganisme, sur la cause et le temps de leur silence, et où on établit le sentiment des pères de l'église sur le même sujet*. The original treatise I have not found. An account of it is given in Collin de Plancy's *Dictionnaire des Sciences Occultes*, published at Paris in 1848-52. But I quote from an English translation. *Baltus: An Answer to the History of Oracles, translated by (H. Bedford) a priest of the Church of England, London, 1709*. (Thus we have the story of Pan adopted, as it were, into the Roman and Anglican churches; not by pontifical or archiepiscopal action, but still we may believe, without disapproval). On pages 22-4 we read:

"As to the story of Thamus related by Plutarch, it is true, Eusebius has inserted it in his Book de Præparatione Evangelica. But can you say 'tis on this story he relies to prove, that the oracles of the Gentiles were delivered by Devils? You cannot but know, that he produces a great many other Reasons for it in the 4th, 5th and 6th books of his Work. As for this Story, as appears from the very Title of the Chapter where he relates it, he only makes use of it to show, that the Heathens themselves had own'd, that the greatest part of their Oracles had ceased after the Birth of Christ. and that, not knowing the true Cause of this extraordinary Event, they had ascrib'd it to the Death of those Dæmons or Spirits, who, as they believ'd, presided over these Oracles. Eusebius did not concern himself, whether this story were true or no. Perhaps he believ'd it no more than you do. At least it is very certain he did not believe, that these Dæmons could die. But what he concluded from this story, true or false, was and always will be true, whatever you may say of it: 1st. That the Heathens acknowledg'd, that the greatest part of their Oracles had then actually ceas'd. 2nd. That those stories, they told of the Death of their Gods or of their Dæmons, having never begun to spread abroad among them, 'till under the reign of Tiberius, at which time our Saviour expell'd those evil Spirits, it was easily known, to whom they were to ascribe the Si-

lence of Oracles, and the overthrow of that Empire, which these Dæmons formerly exercised throughout the World by their means." (*Post hoc, ergo propter hoc!*)

"This is the only Reason for which Eusebius mention'd this Story: He makes use of it as an argument very proper to convince the Heathens, by the Testimony of their Authors themselves. It is therefore in vain, that you would make it pass for a Fable, since after all it will be ever undoubtedly true, that this Fable was current among the Heathens, and that Plutarch related it to explain the Silence of Oracles. This is sufficient to justify the Conduct of Eusebius, and to shew that he had reason to insert in his Work, as he has done, this (whether Fable or true Story) by copying this Place entirely out of Plutarch."

I quote also the heading of chapter IV in which the following appears:

"Eusebius only cited the Story of the Death of the Great Pan, to prove the Cessation of the Heathen Oracles by the Acknowledgment of the Heathen themselves.

"Whether it were true or false, Eusebius had reason to cite it."

Some of these discussions as to the nature of the "Great Pan" are summarized by Abbé Anselme, in *Memoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des Inscriptions*, printed at the Hague in 1724. (Vol. VI, p. 304.)

Among other eighteenth century criticisms of this legend may be cited Gottsched, *Heidnischen Orakeln*, Leipsic, 1730 (a translation of Fontenelle); J. Nymann, *De Magno Pan Plutarchi*, Upsala, 1734 (very possibly known to Swedenborg, whose remarks on the downfall of the demons I have already quoted); and Wagner, *Historia de morte magni Panis sub examen revocata*, in *Miscellanea Lipsiensia*, IV, 143-163.

Voltaire, in his *Dictionnaire philosophique*, article "Oracle" (1779: see *Œuvres*, XLV, 349) summarizes Fontenelle's refutations of this ancient story, and defends them against their priestly critics.

That it was still familiar in Germany is shown by the "Oberon" of Wieland (2, 18: published in 1780):

"... Es ist so stille hier, als sei der grosse Pan
Gestorben."

What we may call the "text-book" stage of the Pan legend is reached in the *Griechische Götterlehre* of Welcker (II, 670) who says of it:

"In the time of Tiberius, a shrewd pagan, who understood the insufficiency of the official paganism and orphism in the presence of

the Christian movement, and who foresaw the downfall of the hylozoic pantheism personified in the God Pan, the universal god, used this story as a mounting, finely worked, to hold the jewel of his thought and so to give it greater brilliancy. But the savants of the court of Tiberius misunderstood or endeavored to misapply the omen by referring it to the Arcadian Pan, who had never been qualified as the 'Great Pan.'"

This, as Reinach observes, (*Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, vol. III) is indeed a curious piece of explanation, a strange mixture of eighteenth century criticism and early nineteenth century mysticism. It is duplicated, however, by Thomas Bulfinch in his *Age of Fable*, under title "Pan":

"As the name of the god signifies *all* (!) Pan came to be considered a symbol of the universe and personification of nature; and later still to be regarded as a representative of all the gods and of heathenism itself." And again, after quoting Schiller's "Gods of Greece" and Mrs. Browning's "Dead Pan": "these lines are founded on an early Christian tradition that when the heavenly host told the shepherds at Bethlehem (!) of the birth of Christ, a deep groan, heard through all the isles of Greece, told that the great Pan was dead, and that all the royalty of Olympus was dethroned, and the several deities were sent wandering in cold and darkness."

Here are, indeed, some startling extensions of the story. Among such may be noted, also, the account given in the *History of Magic* by that curious nineteenth century Cagliostro, Eliphas Lévi Zahed, or by his true name Alphonse Louis Constant, a renegade French priest and *soi-disant* Orientalist and exploiter of the "occult"—intimate, none the less, of Lord Lytton and of many another man of note in that period—who cites the Pan story, as a specimen of magic art, as follows:

"It is a matter of general knowledge (!) that at the Advent of Christ Jesus a voice went wailing over the sea, crying 'Great Pan is dead!'"⁵

For recent discussions of the development of this legend, the reader may consult also, E. Nestle of Maulbronn, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XII, 156-8; Seymour de Ricci, *ibid.*, XII, 579; and Otto Weinreich of Heidelberg, "Zum Tod des grossen Pans," *ibid.*, XIII, 467-473; for which and other references I have to thank Mr. Alfred Ela of Boston.

In the course of the long history of this legend, we have seen

⁵ See translation by A. E. Waite, recently published by Rider & Son, London; also review in *Athenæum*, London, April 5, 1913.

how Dumu-zi-abzu became Tammuz, and how by a curious verbal misinterpretation, Tammuz in turn became Pan, who was explained both as Christ and Antichrist; how the explanation was carried into Christian legend, expounded in Christian doctrine, attacked by Protestant reformers and French skeptics, and defended in angry rejoinders by a French Jesuit and an Anglican priest. There remains only to cite the adoption of this story as the essence of Christian faith, as the central point of attack on Christianity as a religious and philosophical system. This appears in the *Kasidah of Hâji Abdû el-Yezdi* of Sir Richard F. Burton (written in 1853, but first published in 1880), part IV, couplets 24-27:

"And when, at length, 'Great Pan is dead' uprose the loud and dolorous cry,
A glamour wither'd on the ground, a splendor faded in the sky.

"Yea, Pan was dead, the Nazarene came and seized his seat beneath the sun,
The votary of the Riddle-god, whose one is three and three is one;

"Whose saddening creed of herited Sin spilt o'er the world its cold grey spell,
In every vista showed a grave, and 'neath the grave the glare of Hell:

"Till all Life's Poesy sinks to prose; romance to dull Reality fades:
Earth's flush of gladness pales in gloom and God again to man degrades."

Here, perhaps, the mourning of Tammuz, restated as the death of the Great Pan, may rest in the story of Christendom. No council of the church will be likely to formulate it as an article of the faith; let it more fitly live in the verse of Spenser and of Milton, there to gladden the souls of men:

"But see, the Virgin blest
Hath laid her Babe to rest;
Time is, our tedious song should here have ending;
Heaven's youngest-teemèd star
Hath fixed her polished car,
Her sleeping Lord with handmaid lamp attending;
And all about the courtly stable
Bright-harnessed angels sit in order serviceable."

THE DRAGON OF CHINA.

BY CHURCHILL RIPLEY.

NOTHING could be more indicative of the genuine intention of the revolutionists in China to bring about entirely different political conditions from those that have been in existence for centuries than the fact that they have abolished the dragon from their flag.

The dragon has adorned the standards and banners of the



AN ANCIENT FOUR-CLAWED DRAGON.¹

Chinese, from the earliest times. The dragon represents not only the present dynasty but the throne of China and has from the most remote period. The dragon has always been a Chinese emblem used as extensively by the native Ming and other dynasties as by the present Ching dynasty, therefore much more than the regaining of native Chinese control is indicated by the discarding of the dragon. Nothing could more clearly bespeak complete and absolute change

¹The illustrations in this article are from Gould's *Mythical Monsters* (London, 1886).

of the Chinese mind itself than the adoption of a new design for the standard.

The revolutionists are evidently determined not only to regain for the Chinese that which has been wrested from them by the Manchus but to create a new China by subduing the "dragon force," or imperialism itself.

Great reverence for this "dragon force" has existed through the centuries and seems to underlie all Chinese thought. The emperor has always been spoken of as having the "great dragon face," as wearing the "great dragon robe," and as sitting on the "great



EMPEROR OF HIA DYNASTY, 2000 B. C.

Illustration from an ancient Chinese book.

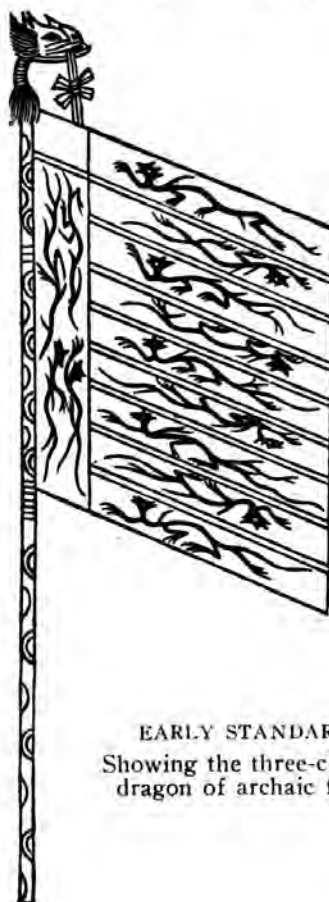
dragon throne," and his voice has ever been called the "dragon's voice."

It is therefore not surprising that any protest against existing conditions should be signalized by the giving up of that which is emblematic of imperial power.

The significance of the dragon is realized by any one acquainted with the arts of the Chinese empire. The dragon winds itself about the costliest porcelains and is woven in gold and silver threads in fabrics designed for the emperor for palace, temple and personal use.

The dragons that adorn art objects differ. Some are represented with three claws, some with four claws and others with five

claws on each of their four feet or paws. Whatever liberties are taken without permission with the dragon form in art it is supposed and claimed that the dragon with five claws is used only for the emperor and those to whom he gives the right to use it.



EARLY STANDARD.
Showing the three-clawed
dragon of archaic form.

Opinions differ in regard to the time when the five-clawed dragon became the imperial emblem.² Some most learned and

² While the classics are available to students who are anxious to know about the mythical dragon, it is to *art books* that collectors look for information about *art objects*. The writers of those books differ in their statements.

Chester Holcomb who catalogued the George A. Heam collection says that the imperial symbol during Sung and previous dynasties was represented with three claws; during Ming with four, during Ching (present) with five.

Jacquemart (out of date but held to by collectors, based on Stanislas Julien) says: "Imperial dragon is armed with five claws," but gives no date.

Marryat states: "Chinese carry back the origin of dragon as imperial standard to Fuh-hi, 2962 B. C.," but he does not mention claws.

Mayer in his *Chinese Reader's Handbook* mentions "imperial dragon with five claws," but does not state time.

Bushel makes the statement: "The claws, originally three in number on each foot, were afterwards increased to four or five,—the last number be-

thoughtful students, sinologues of world-wide reputation, hold that the imperial dragon had four claws during the Ming dynasty and three claws before that time. Those making this statement fail to say in which dynasty the dragon was first used as imperial emblem.

A personal visit to the Ming tombs for the purpose of noting the number of claws on imperial sculptures, and a close examination of sculpture and carving of the Ming and earlier dynasties, enforces the conviction that whatever other dragon form has appeared in art, the five-clawed dragon has been the imperial emblem for the past six hundred years at least.



TILE FROM IMPERIAL PALACE, NANKING.
14th century. Shows dragon with five claws.

The eave tiles of the old imperial palace in Nanking, the home of the early Ming emperors, were decorated with the five-clawed or imperial dragon. This emblem, so says the Chinese chronicler, "cannot be borne by any one outside of the imperial service under penalty of death."

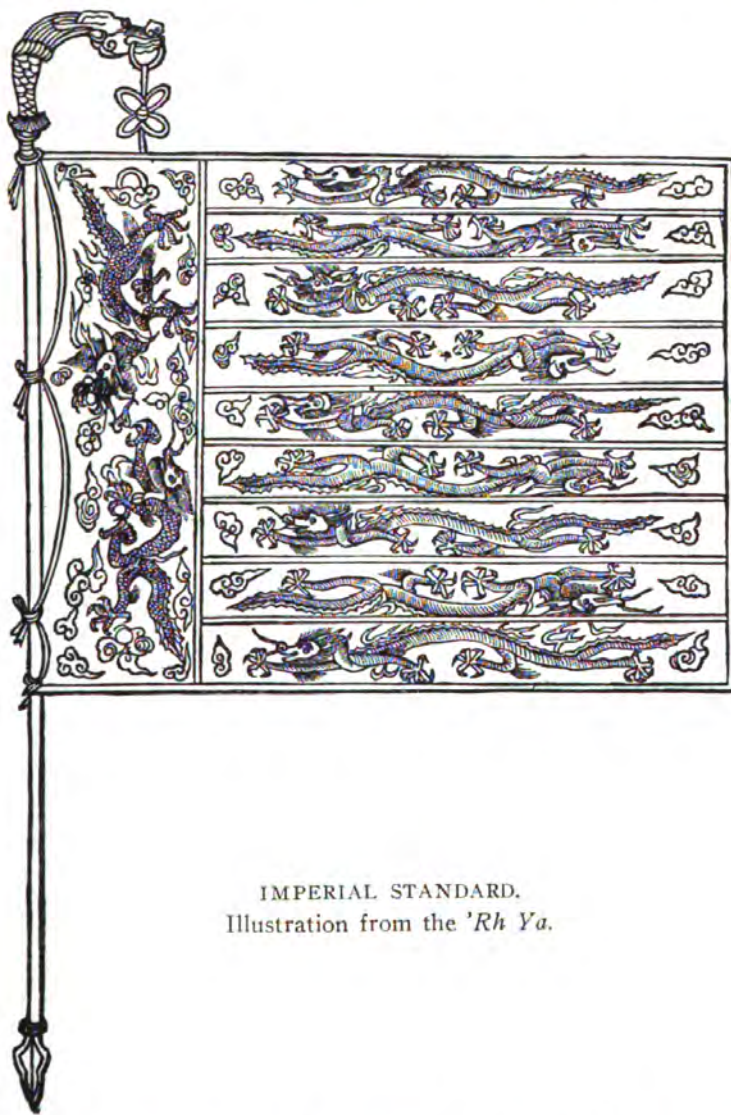
Whether the same restrictions governed the use of the five-clawed dragon prior to the Ming dynasty cannot be stated with any degree of accuracy at the present moment, simply because those ing restricted to the imperial dragon of last and previous dynasties, as *brocaded* on imperial robes and painted on porcelain made for the use of the palace."

Doolittle: "The emperor appropriates to himself the use of the true dragon, the one which has five claws on each of its four feet," (not stating when).

Hippisley: "The dragon intimately associated with the emperor is always depicted with five talons on each claw, and it is he alone, properly speaking, who can use such a device upon his property; the dragon borne by princes of the blood has but four talons on each claw."

Dr. Joseph Edkins in 1902 in a personal letter to the author wrote: "The present dynasty was the first to add a fifth claw to the imperial dragon. Before that there were four."

best fitted to search the Chinese records and classics for information on the subject have not been sufficiently interested to look into the matter. It is certain that vast numbers of objects existed which have been described and illustrated in early books of the empire,



IMPERIAL STANDARD.
Illustration from the '*Rh Ya*.'

as decorated with five-clawed dragons ; but it does not seem equally certain that only the five-clawed dragon was reserved for imperial use. On the contrary, if many of the old traditions are not apocryphal we must accept the fact that dragons with four claws were represented as being driven by the emperors of early dynasties, and

upon coins and very early standards of the empire the three-clawed dragon figures as imperial emblem.

In illustrations taken from the *Rh Ya* the five-clawed dragon is found on imperial banners used prior to the Christian era, and at the same time a less fully developed Saurian appears with only three claws.

Were it the intent of the leaders of the present disturbance in China merely to regain for the Chinese a native dynasty, a design from one of the native Chinese standards of the past centuries might have been adopted. The attack is more far-reaching and demands the discontinuance of imperial power.

JOSEPH AND ASENATH.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

INTRODUCTION.

THE romance of Joseph and Asenath is founded upon the words of Gen. xli. 45: "And he gave him to wife, Asenath, the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On." Later Judaism took offence that Joseph should have married a heathen woman, and the assertion was therefore made that Asenath, whom Dinah bore to Shechem, was brought up by the wife of Poti-pherah, prince of Tanes.¹ However this may be, certain it is that this religious romance was once widely known.

A fragment of a *Greek* text of this legend Fabricius published from a *Codex Baroccianus* in his *Codex pseudepigraphus*, Vol. II, 85-102; but the complete text according to four manuscripts was first published by Batiffol, *Studia patristica, études d'ancienne littérature chrétienne*, fasc. 1-2, Paris, 1889-1890, pp. 1-87, and this is the one we follow.

The *Latin* text, which was formerly the main source for the knowledge of the legend, is only an extract. It is printed in Vincentius Belloracensis (13th century), *Speculum historiale*, Vol. 1, lib. II, cap. 118-124, and reprinted in Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, I, 774-784. The complete Latin text from which this extract was taken, was discovered by James in two MSS. of English origin (13th-14th century) at Cambridge, and is given in Batiffol's work, fasc. 2, pp. 89-115.² According to Batiffol, the translation, like that of the "Testaments of XII Patriarchs," may have been

¹ So the Targum Jonathan on Gen. xli. 45. In the Bible we read nothing of Dinah's daughter. In the "Testaments of the XII Patriarchs," Joseph (XVIII, 3) speaks to his children of his father-in-law Potipherah, his lord, who gave him his daughter Asenath to wife, and a hundred talents of gold besides.

² A perusal of this text proves that it is not as complete as the Greek.

made by Robert Grosseteste, or may have proceeded from his school (13th century).

A Syriac version was published by Laud, in *Anecdota Syriaca*, III, 1870, pp. 15-46. According to Wright (*Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 1047) this text (Add. 17202) belongs to the sixth or seventh century. Batiffol is inclined to ascribe it to the middle of the sixth century. If such is the case the Greek original must belong to the fifth century, or perhaps to a still earlier period. From the Syriac translation G. Oppenheim made a Latin version, *Fabula Josephi et Asenethae e libro syriaco latine versa*, Berlin, 1886. The Syriac text is imperfect; the end of section XIII, the whole of XIV and XV and the beginning of section XVI are wanting.

An *Armenian* translation was published by the Mechitharists of Venice in *Revue polyhistore*, Vol. XLIII, 1885, pp. 200-206, XLIV, 1888, pp. 25-34.³ A part of it was rendered into French by A. Carrière, "Une version arménienne de l'histoire d'Asseneth" in *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux publiés par l'école spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*, 1886, pp. 471 ff.

An *Ethiopian* version is mentioned at the end of an Ethiopian MS. belonging to the fifteenth century, as may be seen from A. Dillmann's catalogue of Ethiopian MSS. in the British Museum, Add. 16188, p. 142.

A *Slavic* text was edited by Novakavic, for which see the notice of Kozak in *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1892, pp. 136 f., and Bonwetsch in Harnack's *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, I, 915.

Batiffol thinks that a Jewish legend is the basis of our narrative which became "the theme of a Christian development in the same style as that of the post-Constantine hagiographical legends, probably of the fifth century." He also thinks that the author "has left us more than a novel; we are indebted to him for a document of value for the history of ritual theology and of the Christian life" (p. 37).

JOSEPH AND ASENATH.¹

I. In the first year of plenty, in the second month, on the fifth

³ It is also printed in the collection of Old Test. Apocrypha edited by the Mechitharists, Venice, 1896.

¹ The title varies in the different manuscripts. Batiffol adopts the title "The Prayer of Asenath"; the Syriac reads, "The History of the Righteous Joseph and his Wife Asenath." We prefer the more common "Joseph and Asenath."

day of the month, Pharaoh sent Joseph forth to go through the whole land of Egypt. In the fourth month of the first year, on the eighteenth day of the month, Joseph came to the borders of Heliopolis, and he gathered together the corn of that land as the sand of the sea.

There was a man in that city named Pentephres,² a priest of Heliopolis and a satrap of Pharaoh, and a ruler of all satraps and great chiefs of Pharaoh. This man was very rich and exceedingly wise and mild, being also a counselor of Pharaoh, because he was wiser than all the great chiefs of Pharaoh. He had a daughter, a virgin named Asenath, eighteen years of age, tall and handsome and more beautiful than any virgin upon the earth. This Asenath was not like the virgins among the daughters of the Egyptians, but in all respects was like the daughters of the Hebrews, being tall like Sarah, and comely like Rebecca, and beautiful like Rachel. The fame of her beauty spread over all that land and unto the ends of the earth, so that on this account not only the sons of the great chiefs and satraps but also the sons of kings, all the young and mighty men, wished to marry her; and on her account there was much strife among them and they attempted to make war against each other.

The first-born son of Pharaoh also heard of her, and he entreated his father to give her to him for a wife saying: "Give me, O father, Asenath, the daughter of Pentephres, the first man of Heliopolis, for a wife." And his father, Pharaoh, said to him: "Why seekest thou a wife who is inferior to thyself, who art king of this whole land? Behold the daughter of Joachim, King of Moab, is nearer to thee, for she is a queen as well as very beautiful; take her, therefore, for thy wife."

II. Now Asenath was high-minded and proud, despising every man and holding them in contempt, and no man had ever seen her, because her father had built nearby his house a great and very high tower, and at the top of the tower was an upper story having ten rooms. The first room was large and very beautiful and strewn with bright stones; and its walls were covered with flat pieces of costly and variegated stones. The ceiling of that room was of gold, and inside many silver and golden gods of the Egyptians were fastened to the walls. And Asenath worshiped and revered all these, and offered sacrifices to them daily.

The second room contained all the dresses and chests of Asenath. There was much gold and silver in it, and new apparel inter-

²This is the Greek for Potiphar.

woven with gold, and many select gems and precious linen and all her ornaments.

The third room was the treasury of Asenath, containing all the good things of the earth. The other seven rooms were occupied by the seven ministering maidens of Asenath, each one having one room, because they were of the same age and born in the same night with Asenath, and she loved them fondly. They also were very beautiful like the stars of the heavens, and they were acquainted neither with any man nor male child.

The great room of Asenath wherein she passed her maiden days had three windows; one, which was very large, looked into the court towards the east; the second towards the south, and the third toward the street [where the passers-by could be seen].³ A golden bed stood in the room, looking toward the east, and it was covered with purple interwoven with gold, prepared of hyacinth and linen; only Asenath slept in this bed and in it no other person had ever slept. Round about the house was a large court, and around the court a very high wall built of square stones. In the court were four gates overlaid with iron, and a guard of seventeen armed young men watched them. Inside the court near the wall there were trees of great variety and all bearing fruit, their fruit being mellow, for it was the time of the harvest. To the right of the court was a spring of water, and underneath the spring a large basin received the water from that spring, whence it went like a river through the midst of the court and watered all the trees therein.

III. Now in the first of the seven years of plenty, in the fourth month on the eighteenth day of the month, Joseph came into the borders of Heliopolis to gather the corn of that country. And as he came near to Heliopolis, he sent before him twelve men to Pentephres, the priest of that city, saying: "I will lodge with thee to-day, because it is noon and time for dinner, and the heat of the sun is very great, and I will refresh myself under the cover of thy house." When Pentephres heard this, he rejoiced greatly and said, "Blessed be the Lord God of Joseph,⁴ because my lord Joseph has thought me worthy."⁵ And Pentephres called the steward of his house and said to him, "Make haste and prepare my house, and make ready a great meal, for Joseph, the mighty of God, comes to us this day."

When Asenath heard that her father and mother had come

³ So the Syriac.

⁴ One MS. reads: "Israel."

⁵ Some MSS. omit: "because—worthy."

from the field of their inheritance, she rejoiced greatly and said, "I will go and see my father and mother, for they have come from the field of our inheritance," because it is the hour of the harvest.⁷ And Asenath ran into her room where her dresses were,⁸ and put on a dress interwoven with gold and girded herself with her golden girdle,⁹ and put bracelets on her arms and golden sandals on her feet; and round about her neck she put a costly ornament and costly gems, having the names of the gods of the Egyptians inscribed on all sides, on the bracelets as well as on the stones;¹⁰ she put also a mitre upon her head, and a diadem she bound tightly¹¹ around her temples, and covered the head with a veil.

IV. And hastening she descended the steps from the upper room and came to her father and mother and kissed them. And Pentephres and his wife rejoiced very much over their daughter Asenath, because they beheld her dressed and adorned like a bride of God; and they took all the good things which they had brought from the field of their inheritance and gave them to their daughter. And Asenath rejoiced over all the good things, over the grapes and pomegranates and dates and over the doves and fruits and figs, because everything was beautiful and good to the taste.¹²

And Pentephres said to Asenath, his daughter, "My child," and she answered: "Here am I, lord." And he said to her: "Sit down between us, and I will speak to thee my message." Having seated herself between her father and mother, Pentephres, her father, took her right hand in his and kissed her, and said, "Most beloved child." She said to him: "Here am I, my lord father." And Pentephres said: "Behold, Joseph the mighty one of God, comes to us to-day. He is the chief of all the land of Egypt, and King Pharaoh has made him the chief of all our land, and he supplies all the land with corn and saves it from the coming famine. Joseph is a God-fearing man, wise and unmarried, as thou art to-day, and a man mighty in wisdom and understanding, and the spirit of God¹³ is upon him,

⁶ The Syriac omits: "she rejoiced—inheritance."

⁷ The Syriac and 2 MSS. omit: "because—harvest."

⁸ The Syriac omits: "into her room—were."

⁹ The Syriac and 1 Greek MS. omit: "and girded—girdle."

¹⁰ The Syriac and two Greek MSS. add after stones: "and the faces of the idols were graven in the stones."

¹¹ Two MSS. and the Syriac omit: "she bound tightly."

¹² One MS. omits: "and good to the taste." The Syriac omits all after "all the good things."

¹³ Syriac: "of the holy God."

and the grace of God is in his heart. Now then, most beloved child,¹⁴ I will give thee to him for a wife, and thou shalt be his bride, and he shall be thy bridegroom forever."

When Asenath heard these words of her father, drops of sweat stood on her face and she was greatly incensed, and looking askance at her father, she said: "Why speakest thou these words, my lord father? Wouldst thou give me to be a slave to a stranger and a fugitive, to a person bought with money? Is he not the shepherd's son from Canaan? Is he not the one who had guilty intercourse with his mistress and whom his master put into the dark prison, and whom Pharaoh took out of the prison when he interpreted his dream, in the same manner as also the old women of the Egyptians interpret?¹⁵ Nay, but I will become the wife of the king's first-born son, because he will be king of all the land.¹⁶ When Pentephres heard this, he spoke no more of Joseph to Asenath, his daughter, because she had replied boldly and with anger.

V. And lo! a youth of Pentephres's household rushed in and said to him: "Behold, Joseph stands before the gates of our court." And when Asenath heard these words she fled from before her father and mother and went to the upper story to her room, and stood by the large window looking toward the east that she might see Joseph coming into her father's house. And Pentephres and his wife and all their family and household went out to meet Joseph, and when the gates of the court were opened, which looked toward the east, Joseph entered, sitting in the second chariot of Pharaoh. Four horses, white as snow, were harnessed with golden-studded bridles and the whole chariot was made of pure gold. Joseph was dressed in a white and glittering robe, and his stole was purple, made of linen interwoven with gold; a golden wreath was upon his head, and round about the wreath were twelve choice stones, and upon the twelve stones were golden rays, and in his right hand he held the royal rod, surmounted by a divided olive branch with much fruit on it.

After Joseph had entered into the court and its gates were shut, every stranger remained outside of the court, because the gate-keeper closed and locked the gates. Then Pentephres and his wife and all their family, with the exception of their daughter Asenath, came and fell before Joseph to the ground. And Joseph, having descended from his chariot, lifted them up.

¹⁴Two MSS. and Syriac omit: "most beloved."

¹⁵Some codices omit: "in the same—interpret."

¹⁶One MS. and Syriac: "land of Egypt."

VI. And when Asenath saw Joseph she was stung to the heart, her knees became enfeebled, her whole body trembled and she was much afraid and said in her heart: "Woe is me, wretched me! Whither shall I, miserable one, go now, or where shall I hide myself from his face? Or how shall Joseph, the son of God, see me, because I have spoken evil concerning him? Woe is me, unhappy one! whither shall I go and hide myself, because he sees every hidden thing and knows all things, and no hidden thing is forgotten by him on account of the great light that is in him? And now be gracious unto me, O God of Joseph, because I have spoken evil words in ignorance concerning him. What shall I do now? Have I not said that Joseph is the son of the shepherd from the land of Canaan? but now he comes to us in his chariot like the sun from heaven and entered into our house to-day and shines like a light on earth. I was foolish and bold, because I mocked at him and spoke evil things about him, and knew not that Joseph is the son of God. Who among men upon earth has ever begotten such a beauty, or what woman has brought forth such a light? I am wretched and foolish, because I spoke such evil words to my father.¹⁷ Now, my father, give me to Joseph to be his handmaiden and slave, and I will serve him for ever."

VII. And Joseph came into the house of Pentephres and sat upon the throne, and they washed his feet and set before him a separate table, for Joseph ate not with the Egyptians because this was an abomination to him. And looking up, Joseph saw Asenath, and he said to Pentephres: "Who is that woman who stands in the upper story by the window? Let her go away from this house." For Joseph was afraid, saying, "lest she also may trouble me." For all the women and daughters of the chiefs and satraps of all the land of Egypt were anxious to be with him. But also as many of the wives and daughters of the Egyptians as saw Joseph were affected by his beauty; and the chiefs whom the women sent to him with silver and gold and precious gifts Joseph dismissed with threats and in pride saying: "I will not sin before the Lord God and before my father Israel." For Joseph had God always before his eyes and he always remembered the commandment of his father, Jacob, who often spoke and admonished his son, Joseph, and all his sons: "Keep away, my children, from a strange woman and have

¹⁷ The Syriac reads besides: "And now whither shall I go and hide myself from before his face, that Joseph, the son of God, see me not? Whither shall I flee, since every place is open and covered with light before him, since the light which is in him illumines everything. But now, have mercy upon me, O Lord God of Joseph, because I have spoken foolishly."

no intercourse with her, for intercourse with her is utter destruction and corruption." On this account Joseph said: "Let that woman go away from this house."

And Pentephres said unto him: "My lord, she whom thou seest standing in the upper story is not a stranger, but is our daughter, who despises every man, and no other man has ever seen her excepting thyself to-day. And if thou wilt, O Lord, she shall come and salute thee,¹⁸ for our daughter is as thy sister." And Joseph was very glad because Pentephres told him that she was a virgin hating every man,¹⁹ and Joseph said to Pentephres and to his wife:²⁰ "If she is your daughter and a virgin,²¹ let her come, for she is my sister,²² and I will love her as my sister from this day on."

VIII. Then her mother went upstairs and brought Asenath to Joseph, and Pentephres said to her: "Welcome thy brother, for he is also a virgin like thyself to-day, and he hates every strange woman as thou also hatest every strange man." And Asenath said unto Joseph: "Hail, O Lord, blessed of the most high God!" And Joseph said to her: "May the God who gives life to all, bless thee, O maiden." And Pentephres said to his daughter Asenath: "Go and kiss thy brother." As Asenath was approaching to kiss Joseph, Joseph extended his right hand and put it upon her chest between her two breasts (for her breasts stood out like beautiful apples) and Joseph said: "It is not proper for a God-fearing man who blesses with his mouth the living God, and eats the blessed bread of life, and drinks the blessed cup of immortality, and is anointed with the blessed ointment of incorruption, to kiss a strange woman who blesses with her mouth dead and dumb idols, and eats from their table the bread of strangling, and drinks from their libation the cup of treachery, and is anointed with the ointment of destruction. But the man who fears God kisses his mother and his own sister, and the sister of his tribe, and his wife—all such as bless with their mouths the living God. In like manner, it becomes not a God-fearing woman to kiss a strange man, for this is an abomination before the Lord God."

And when Asenath heard these words of Joseph she became very sad and groaned aloud, and as she was gazing at Joseph, her eyes being open were filled with tears. And when Joseph saw her

¹⁸ Syriac: "salute thy nobility."

¹⁹ Syriac omits: "hating every man."

²⁰ Syriac omits: "to Pentephres and his wife."

²¹ Syriac: "virgin, and despises every strange person, she will not vex me."

²² Syriac: "relative."

weeping he pitied her very much, for he was meek and merciful and feared the Lord. He then laid his right hand on her head and said: "O Lord God of my father Israel, thou most high and powerful God, who givest life to all things and callest from darkness to light and from error to truth²³ and from death to life, bless thou also this maid, and quicken and renew her with thy Holy Spirit,²⁴ that she may eat the bread of life²⁵ and drink the cup of thy blessing; and number thou her with thy people whom thou hast chosen before the world was, that she may enter into the rest which thou has prepared for thine elect and live in thine everlasting life unto eternity."²⁶

IX. And Asenath was very glad for the blessing of Joseph. She then hastened and went to her upper room, and fell upon her bed, being weak²⁷ because she had joy and sorrow and sadness. And she did sweat as she heard these words of Joseph and how he spoke to her in the name of the most high God. She then cried bitterly, and withdrew from her gods which she had worshiped and the idols which she renounced,²⁸ and she waited till evening.

And Joseph ate and drank, and told his servants to yoke their horses to their chariots and to go round all the country. And Pentephres said to Joseph: "Let my Lord remain here to-day, and go on thy way to-morrow." But Joseph said: "Nay: I will go to-day, for this is the day on which God began to create all his creatures, and on the eighth day I will return to you and stay here."

X. When Joseph had gone away, Pentephres and all his family went about their business and Asenath was left alone with her six maidens,²⁹ sad and weeping, till the sun went down. She neither ate bread nor drank any water, and while all were asleep she alone was awake and wept and beat her breast vigorously with her hand. After this Asenath arose from her bed and crept silently down the steps from the upper story, and went to the gate where she found the gate-keeper sleeping with her children. She hastily took down from the door the covering of the doorway, filled it with ashes and carried it to the upper story placing it upon the pavement. She then locked the door firmly and threw the bolt from the side,³⁰ sighing and weeping heavily.

²³ Some MSS, omit: "and from error to truth."

²⁴ Syriac and one MS. omit: "Holy."

²⁵ Some codices omit: "That she may eat the bread of thy life."

²⁶ One codex omits: "and live—eternity."

²⁷ Syriac omits: "being weak."

²⁸ Syriac and one codex omit: "and the idols—renounced."

²⁹ Some codices omit: "six."

³⁰ Syriac omits: "she then—side."

When the maiden whom Asenath loved more than the others, heard her sighing, she hastened to the door, awaking the other maidens also from their sleep, and she found it locked. And as she heard the sighing and weeping of Asenath, she said to her, standing outside: "What aileth thee, my mistress? What maketh thee so sad, and what giveth thee such trouble? Open unto us and let us see thee." And Asenath answered from within without opening: "My head suffers a great and heavy pain, and I am resting on my bed and am unable to get up and open to you, for I am ill in all my limbs. Go, therefore, each one of you to her own room and rest, and leave me alone."

And when each maiden had gone to her own room³¹ Asenath arose, and opening the door of her bedchamber³² silently went to her second room where her garments were. She opened her coffer and took out a dark tunic which she had worn when her brother, the first-born, had died. Taking this tunic³³ to her room, she carefully locked the door again and threw the bolt from the side. Asenath then took off her royal robe and put on the dress of mourning. She loosened her golden girdle, girding herself with a rope, and cast aside her head-dress and the diadem, and the bracelets from her hands and feet, throwing everything to the ground. She then took her choicest dress and the golden girdle and the head-dress and diadem, and flung them out of the north window to the needy.³⁴ She also took all her gods which were in the room, gods both of silver and gold of which she had a number, and broke them into pieces and flung them out of the window to the beggars and the needy.³⁵ She also took the royal meal, the fatlings as well as the fishes and the meats of the heifer and all the offerings to her gods, and the vessels of sacrificial wine, and flung them out of the window on the north to the dogs³⁶ for food. Then she took the curtain with the ashes and spread it on the ground; she took a sack and girded her loins; she loosened the plaits of her hair and besprinkled her head with ashes, and with her hands she smote her breast and cried the whole night bitterly till morning. And when Asenath arose in the morning she looked, and behold the ashes on her head were like

³¹ Two MSS. and Syriac omit: "And rest, and—room."

³² Two MSS. and Syriac omit: "of her bedchamber."

³³ Syriac: "this mourning tunic."

³⁴ Syriac omits: "to the needy."

³⁵ Syriac omits: "to the beggars and the needy."

³⁶ Syriac: "to the strange dogs, saying: it is not becoming to give this impure and fetid meal to the domestic dogs but to strange ones."

clay because of her tears; and she fell again on her face upon the ashes, till the sun went down. This she did for seven days, without tasting food.

XI. And on the eighth day as the morning dawned and the birds were singing and the dogs were barking at the passers-by, Asenath rose a little from the floor and ashes on which she was lying, because she was very weak and exhausted from much humiliation; for Asenath was distressed and fainthearted, and her strength failed, and she leaned against the wall sitting down below the window looking towards the east; she threw her head into her lap, twisting the fingers of her hand over her right knee; and her mouth was closed, and she had not opened it during the seven days and seven nights of her humiliation. In her heart she thought without opening her mouth: "What shall I do, the lowly one, or whither shall I go? to what place shall I flee, or to whom shall I speak, a maiden orphaned and lonely, forsaken by all and hated? For all will hate me and with them even my father and my mother, because I have renounced their gods and destroyed them to the needy to be destroyed by men. For my father and my mother will say: 'Asenath is not our daughter'; and all my family will also hate me, and all men, because I have given their gods to destruction. And I, too, have hated every man and all that sought me in marriage, and now in this my humiliation I am hated by all and they rejoice in my affliction. The Lord God of the mighty Joseph hates all who worship idols, because he is a jealous God, and, as I have heard, fearful to all who worship strange gods.³⁷ And he hates me also, because I have worshiped dead and mute idols, and blessed them.³⁸ But now I have fled from their offering and my mouth is estranged from their table, and I have not the courage to call upon the Lord God of heaven, the Most High and powerful God of the mighty Joseph,³⁹ because my mouth is stained with the sacrifices of idols. But I have heard many say that the God of the Hebrews is a truthful God, and a living God, and a gracious God and long suffering, and very merciful and good, who considers not the sins of the humble and especially of one sinning in ignorance, and puts not to shame the lawless conduct in the time of the affliction of the distressed; therefore, I, too, the humble,⁴⁰ will turn and flee to him and confess to him all my sins and pour out my petition before him,

³⁷ Syriac: "worship the works of the hand of men."

³⁸ Syriac omits the whole sentence.

³⁹ Syriac omits: "and powerful—Joseph."

⁴⁰ Syriac omits: "the humble."

and he will have compassion on my suffering. For who knows that when he sees this my humiliation and this desolation of my soul, he will have pity upon me? He will also see the orphanhood of my distress and virginity, and protect me, since, as I hear,⁴¹ he is the father of orphans, the comfort of the distressed and the help of the persecuted. Therefore I, the humble,⁴² will also undertake to cry to him." Then Asenath stood up from the wall where she sat, and knelt towards the east, and lifting up her eyes toward heaven she opened⁴³ her mouth and spoke to God.

XII. *Prayer and Confession of Asenath.*⁴⁴ "O Lord, God of the righteous,⁴⁵ who hast created the eons and preserved all living things,⁴⁶ giving the breath of life to all thy creatures;⁴⁷ who hast brought the hidden to light and hast made all things and madest visible the invisible; who hast made high the heaven and founded the earth upon the waters; who madest fast the great stones upon the abyss of the water which shall not sink but are forever doing thy will, since thou, O Lord, spokest and all became, and thy word, O Lord, is life to all thy creatures; to thee, O Lord my God, I now flee; from now will I cry unto thee, O Lord, and to thee will I confess my sins; to thee I direct my prayer, O Lord, and to thee will I reveal my transgressions. Spare me, O Lord, spare me, because against thee I have sinned much. I acted lawlessly, I acted wickedly, I spoke unutterable and wicked things before thee; my mouth, O Lord, is defiled from the offerings of Egyptian idols, and from the table of their gods. I sinned, O Lord; before thee I sinned, knowingly and unknowingly. I acted wickedly in adoring the dead and

⁴¹ Syriac omits: "he will—hear."

⁴² Syriac omits: "the humble."

⁴³ The Syriac: "And Asenath rose towards the eastern window and lifted her hands to heaven, being afraid to speak to the Most High God with an open mouth and to mention aloud the holy name. And turning again to the wall of the eastern window she sat down; and she smote her face and beat upon her breast with her hands and said in her heart without opening her mouth: 'I am weak and orphaned and solitary, whose mouth has been defiled through the sacrifice and vanity of the gods of the Egyptians, my people. Now, however, by these tears and ashes and dust in the humility of my soul, I do confess my sins, and I undertake to open my mouth and to implore the holy name of the God of compassion. And if the Lord is angry at me, he will chastise me, he will possess me, and if he should smite me again, he will heal me. And looking up towards heaven, she then first opened her mouth and said':

"This clause is omitted in two MSS. and in the Syriac.

⁴⁵ Two MSS. and Syriac read: "eons."

⁴⁶ Two MSS. omit: "who hast—alive."

⁴⁷ Two MSS. omit: To all—creatures.

mute⁴⁸ idols, and I am not worthy to open my mouth before thee, O Lord, I, the wretched Asenath,⁴⁹ daughter of Pentephres, the priest, a virgin and a princess, once pompous and proud and prospering in my ancestral riches above all men, now orphaned and solitary and deserted of all. To thee I flee, O Lord; to thee I bring my petition, and to thee I cry. Deliver me, O Lord, from my persecutors before I am left by them; for as a helpless child, which fears some one, flees to his father [and mother], and the father stretching out his hands presses it to his breast, thus do thou also, my Lord, stretch out to me thy pure and fearful hands like a father who loves his offspring, and snatch me away from the hand of the enemy. For, behold, the old and fierce and wild lion persecutes me, because he is the father [of the gods] of the Egyptians, and his children are the gods of those who are worshipers of idols, and I hated them and destroyed them because they are children of the lion, and have thrown away from me all the gods of the Egyptians and destroyed them. And the lion, that is to say the devil their father, provoked to anger by me, seeks to destroy me. But do thou, O Lord, deliver me from his hands and rescue me from his mouth, lest he rend me in pieces and cast me into the flame of fire, and the fire cast me out into a hurricane, and the hurricane conquer me in the darkness and cast me into the deep of the sea, and the big sea-monster, which is from eternity, swallow me up and I perish forever. Save me, O Lord, before all this come upon me; deliver me, orphaned and defenseless, O Lord, because my father and my mother have utterly denied me and have said, 'She is not our daughter Asenath,' because I overturned and destroyed their gods, hating them so completely. And now I am orphaned and desolate, and there is no other hope for me save thee, O Lord, nor have I any other refuge besides thy mercy, O benevolent One, for thou alone art the father of orphans and the protector of the persecuted and the help of the distressed. Have mercy O Lord, and keep me [holy and chaste] who am forsaken and orphaned, because thou alone, O Lord, art a sweet and good and gentle father. Who else is such a sweet and good father like thee, O Lord? For behold, all the gifts of my father Pentephres, which he gave me as an inheritance are transitory and uncertain, but the gifts of thine inheritance, O Lord, are incorruptible and eternal.

XIII. "Behold, O Lord, my humiliation, and have mercy upon me, an orphan, and pity my distress. For behold, O Lord, I fled

⁴⁸ Syriac omits: "dead and mute."

⁴⁹ Syriac and two MSS. omit: "the wretched Aenath."

from all and fled to thee, the only benevolent one. Behold, all the good things of the earth I left behind and fled unto thee in sackcloth and ashes, naked and abandoned. Behold now I cast off my royal garment made of byssos and purple interwoven with gold, and put on a black mourning garment. Behold I have loosened my golden girdle and cast it from me and have girded myself with a rope and sackcloth. Behold I have taken from my head the diadem and head-dress and have sprinkled ashes upon it. Behold, the pavement of my room inlaid with vari-colored and purple stones, and once sprayed with perfume and cleansed with brilliant linen cloths, is now besprinkled with my tears and trodden down in dishonor. Behold, O Lord, the ashes mingled with my tears have formed clay in my chamber as on the highway. Behold, O Lord, the royal meat and other eatables I have given to the dogs. Behold also that I have fasted seven days and seven nights, and have neither eaten bread nor drunk water, and my mouth is parched like a drum, and my tongue like a horn, and my lips like a potsherd; my face is sunken and mine eyes have ceased to shed tears. But thou, O Lord, my God, deliver me from my many errors and grant my petition, for I am a maiden and have unwittingly wandered astray. Behold also, all the gods which I formerly worshiped ignorantly, not knowing that they were but mute and dead idols, I have broken in pieces and have given them to be trampled under foot by all men, and thieves have plundered those which were of gold and silver. And to thee, O Lord God, I flee, thou only merciful and benevolent One. Pardon me, O Lord, for I have sinned much against thee in ignorance and have spoken blasphemous words against my lord Joseph. And I, wretched one, knew not that he is thy son, O Lord, since wicked men filled with envy said to me that Joseph is a shepherd's son from the land of Canaan, which I wretched one, also believed and went astray, despising him and speaking evil concerning him, not knowing that he is thy son. For who among men has ever begotten or shall beget such beauty, or what other is so wise and mighty as this most beautiful Joseph? But beside thee, my Lord, I place him, for I love him more than my life. Keep him continually in the wisdom of thy grace, and make me his handmaiden and slave, that I may wash his feet and prepare his bed and administer to him and serve him, and I will be a slave to him all the time of my life."

XIV. And when Asenath ceased making her confession to the Lord, behold the morning star of heaven arose in the east. And when Asenath saw it, she rejoiced and said: "Has not the Lord

God heard my prayer, because this star is the messenger and herald of the light of the great day?" And behold, near the morning star the heaven was parted asunder and a great and immense light appeared. And when Asenath saw it she fell on her face in the ashes, and straightway a man from heaven came to her, sending forth rays of light, and stood above her head. And to her as she lay on her face the divine messenger said, "Asenath, arise." And she said: "Who calls me, since the door of my room is locked, and the tower is high, and how came any one into my room?" And he called her again a second time, saying: "Asenath! Asenath!" And she said: "Here I am, Lord, tell me who thou art." And he said: "I am the chief commander of the Lord God, and the general of the whole army of the Most High. Arise, stand on thy feet, that I may speak to thee my message." And lifting up her face she looked and behold, a man in everything like Joseph as to the robe and wreath and royal rod, except that his face was like lightning and his eyes like the light of the sun, and the hair of his head was like the flame of a burning glittering torch, and his hands and feet like iron shining out from the fire, for like sparks poured they from his hands and feet. When Asenath saw this she was afraid and fell upon her face, not being able yet to stand on her feet, for she was altogether afraid and all her limbs trembled. And the man said to her: "Take courage, Asenath, and be not afraid, but arise and stand on thy feet, that I may speak to thee my message."

Asenath then arose and stood on her feet and the angel said to her: "Go now without hindrance into the second room, and take off the black dress which thou hast on; throw the sackcloth from thy loins, shake off the ashes from thy head and bathe thy face and hands in clean water, and put on a new white dress and gird thy loins with thy shining girdle of virginity, the double one, and come again, and I will tell thee the word sent to thee by the Lord."

And Asenath hastened and went to her second room where the chests of her adornment were, and opened her little coffer and took out a beautiful white dress that had not been touched, and put it on, first taking off the black dress. She unloosened the cord and sackcloth from her loins and girded herself with the shining double girdle of her virginity, one round her loins and the other girdle upon her breast. She also shook off the ashes from her head, and washed her hands and face in clean water. She also took a most beautiful and glittering veil and covered her head.

XV. And after this she went to the divine arch-commander and stood before him, and the angel of the Lord said to her: "Take

off the veil from thy head, for thou art to-day a holy virgin, and thy head is like that of a young man." And she took it away from her head and again the divine angel said to her: "Take courage, Asenath, thou holy virgin, for the Lord God has heard all the words of thy confession and prayer; he has also seen thy humiliation and distress during the seven days of thy fasting, because from thy tears upon these ashes much clay originated before thy face; for the rest, take courage, Asenath, thou holy virgin, for behold thy name is written in the book of life, and shall not be blotted out forever. From this day thou art renewed and quickened, and thou shalt eat the blessed bread, and drink the cup filled with immortality, and be anointed with the blessed ointment of incorruption. Take courage, Asenath, thou holy virgin; behold, the Lord God has given thee to-day as a spouse to Joseph, and he shall be thy bridegroom forever. And thy name shall no more be called Asenath, but thy name shall be City of Refuge, for unto thee shall many nations flee, and upon thy walls shall be carefully guarded those who are devoted to the Most High God in repentance. For repentance is the daughter of the Most High and it moves the Most High God for all who are repenting, since he is the father of repentance. It is the crown and guardian of all virgins; loving you much, on account of you it entreats the Most High every hour, and offers [to all penitents] a resting place in the heavens; and it renews every penitent. And repentance is very beautiful, a virgin, pure and sweet and meek. And on this account the Most High God loves it, and all angels reverence it, and also love it much because it is also my sister and as it loves you who are virgins, so I also love you. And now I shall go to Joseph and shall tell him all these words concerning thee, and he shall come to thee this day, and will see thee and shall rejoice over thee and love thee, and he will by thy bridegroom, and thou shalt be his beloved bride forever. Moreover listen to me, Asenath, and put on the wedding-dress, thy former and original one, reserved in thy room from the beginning; put on also all thy select ornaments, and adorn thyself like a good bride and be ready to meet him. For behold he comes to thee to-day, and he shall see thee and rejoice."

And when the angel in human form had ceased speaking these words to Asenath, she rejoiced greatly over all that he had said, and falling to the ground on her face she knelt at his feet and said to him: "Blessed be the Lord thy God, who hath sent thee to deliver me from darkness and to lead me from the bottom of the abyss to the light, and blessed be thy name forever. If I have found

grace in thy sight, my lord—and I know that thou wilt bring about all the words thou hast spoken to me—let thy handmaiden speak to thee.” And the angel said to her, “Speak on.” And she said: “I pray thee, lord, sit down a little on this couch, for this couch is pure and undefiled, because neither any man nor any woman has ever sat on it before, and I will prepare for thee a table and bread and thou shalt eat. I will also bring the old and beautiful wine whose smell goes up to heaven, and do thou drink of it and after that thou mayest go on thy way.” He said unto her: “Make haste and bring it quickly.”

XVI. And Asenath hastened and set before him an empty table.⁵⁰ And as she went to provide the bread, the divine angel said to her: “Bring me also a honeycomb.” And she stood in perplexity and was sad, because she had no honeycomb in her storehouse. And the divine angel said to her: “Wherefore standest thou still?” and she said, “My lord, I will send a boy to the neighborhood, for near by is the field of mine inheritance, and he will quickly bring it from thence and I will put it before thee.” Then spake the divine angel to her: “Go into thy storehouse and thou shalt find there a honeycomb on the table; take it and bring it hither.” And she said: “Lord, there is no honeycomb in my room.” And he said: “Go and thou shalt find.” And Asenath went to the storehouse and found there a honeycomb on the table. And the comb was big and bright like snow and full of honey; and that honey was like the dew of heaven, and its odor like the odor of life. And Asenath, wondering, said within herself: “Is not this comb from the mouth of this man?” And Asenath took that comb, and brought it and put it on the table, and the angel said to her: “Why saidst thou that there is no honeycomb in thine house, and behold thou dost bring it to me?” And she said: “Lord, I never put any honeycomb in my house, but as thou didst say, so it came to pass. Did it not come from thy mouth, because its odor is like the odor of an ointment?” And the man smiled at the understanding of the woman. He then called her to him, and as she went he stretched forth his right hand and took her head, shaking it with his right hand, and Asenath was exceedingly afraid of the hands of the angel, because sparks poured from them after the manner of a smelting iron. She gazed throughout with much fear and trembling upon the angel’s hand, and smilingly he said: “Blessed art thou, Asenath, that the secret mysteries of God are revealed unto thee, and blessed are all who devote themselves to the Lord God in repentance, because they shall eat from

⁵⁰ The Latin reads: “a new table.”

this comb; for this comb is the breath of life. The bees of paradise have made it from the dew of the roses of life which are in God's paradise, and from every flower, and from it the angels eat and all the chosen ones of God, and all the sons of the Most High, and whoever eats thereof shall never die."

And the angel then stretched forth his right hand, and took a small piece of the comb and ate it. The rest he put with his own hand into the mouth of Asenath and said to her, "Eat,"⁵¹ and she ate. And the angel said to her: "Behold, thou hast eaten of the bread of life, and hast drunk of the cup of immortality and hast anointed thyself with the ointment of incorruption. Behold, now to-day⁵² thy flesh shall send forth flowers of Life from the fountain of the Most High, and thy bones shall wax fat like the cedars of the paradise of God, and inexhaustible powers shall keep thee secure. Moreover thy youth shall see no old age, nor shall thy beauty ever vanish, but thou shalt be for all⁵³ like a walled metropolis.⁵⁴ And the angel struck the comb and many bees rose up from the cells of that comb, and the bee-hives were numberless, thousands of thousands, and ten thousands of ten thousands. And the bees were also bright as snow; their wings like purple and hyacinth and like the scarlet oak. They also had sharp stings, and harmed no one. Then all these bees surrounded Asenath from the feet to the head, and other large bees, as it were their queens, came out from the combs and surrounded her face and lips and made a comb on her mouth and lips like the comb which was laid before the angel. And all these bees ate from the comb which was on the mouth of Asenath. And the angel said to the bees: "Begone to your place." Then all the bees arose and fled away to heaven. As many as meant to harm Asenath fell to the ground and died.

⁵¹ The Syriac: "eat the bread of life, and drink the cup of life, and anoint thyself with the oil of incorruption."

⁵² Syriac: "from this day on."

⁵³ Syriac: "for all who take refuge in the name of the King, Lord, God of the worlds"; so also the Latin.

⁵⁴ Here the Syriac adds: "And the man extended his right hand, and the piece which he broke off from the comb was restored and it became as before he had touched it. He again stretched forth his right hand toward the comb and with his finger he touched it distinctly from the eastern side and drew a part of it to him. And again he touched with the finger of his extended right hand the western side of the comb, and while moving it toward him, there came blood in place of honey. Again with his hand extended he touched the northern part of the comb and blood came forth again in place of honey when he moved it toward himself. And again did he stretch forth his hand and touch with his finger the southern part of the comb and when he moved it toward himself there was blood in place of honey. And Asenath, who stood at his left saw everything that the man did." So also in the Latin.

And in like manner the angel stretched out his rod over the dead bees and said to them: "Arise, and go ye to your place." Then all the dead bees arose, and went into the court which was near the house of Asenath and took up their abode on the fruit-bearing trees.

XVII. And the angel said to Asenath: "Hast thou seen this thing?" And she said: "Yea, my lord, I saw everything." Then said the divine angel to her: "Thus shall it be with all my words which I have spoken to thee this day." And the angel of the Lord stretched forth his right hand a third time and touched the break in the comb, and straightway fire came out from the table and devoured the comb, but harmed not the table. When from the burning of the comb a very sweet smell came forth and filled the room, Asenath said to the divine messenger: "Lord, I have seven maidens which were brought up with me from my childhood and were born in the same night with me; they attend on me, and I love them all as my sisters. I will call them and do thou bless them as thou didst bless me." And the messenger said to her: "Call them." And Asenath called the seven maidens and placed them before the angel, and the angel said to them: "The Lord, the Most High God will bless you, and you shall be . . . of seven cities.⁵⁵ And all joint inhabitants of the chosen ones of that city shall . . . forever."⁵⁶

Then the divine messenger said to Asenath: "Take away this table." And as Asenath turned around to move the table, he straightway went away from her eyes and she saw how a chariot drawn by four horses went towards the east to heaven. And the chariot was like a flame of fire, and the horses like lightning, and the angel stood above the chariot. Then said Asenath: "I, the lowly, am foolish and without understanding, because I spoke thus when the man came into my room from heaven and I know not that God came in; and now he goes again to heaven to his place." And she spoke within herself: "Be merciful, O Lord, to thy servant, and spare thine handmaid, because in ignorance I spoke boldly before thee."

XVIII. And while Asenath was yet speaking to herself, behold a young man of the household of Joseph came saying that "Joseph, the mighty of God, is coming to you this day." And straightway Asenath called the steward of her house, and said to him: "Make

⁵⁵ There is a small gap here in the text. The Syriac translates: "and you may be seven pillars in the city of refuge." This seems also to have been the reading of the Latin.

⁵⁶ Here too the text is deficient. The Syriac: "and rest with you and through you forever."

haste and prepare my house, and get ready a nice meal, for Joseph, the mighty of God, comes to us this day."

When the steward of the house saw her (her face having fallen away because of her distress and weeping and seven days' fasting) he cried sorrowfully, and taking her right hand he kissed it and said: "What aileth thee, my mistress, that thy face has so fallen away?" And she said: I had great pain in my head and sleep left mine eyes." The steward then went away and prepared the house and the meal, but Asenath remembered the words of the angel and his injunctions, and hastened to her second room where the coffers of her adornment were, and opening her big chest, she took out her best dress, all glittering like lightning, and put it on; she also put on her royal girdle of gold and precious stones, and on her hands she put golden bracelets, and on her feet golden sandals, and a precious ornament around her neck, and a golden crown she put upon her head. In the crown above her forehead was a large precious stone, and round the large stone six very costly stones, and her head she covered with a very beautiful veil. As Asenath remembered the words of her house-steward, for he had told her that her face had fallen away, she sighed very sorrowfully and said: "Woe is me, miserable one, because my face has fallen away: Joseph will see me, and I shall be despised by him."

And to her maiden she said: "Fetch me water from the pure spring." When it was brought, she poured it into a dish, and stooping down to wash her face, she saw her own face bright as the sun, and her eyes like a rising morning-star, and her cheeks like a constellation of the heaven; her lips were like red roses, the hair of her head like the vine in the paradise of God abounding in its fruits, her neck like a richly-hued cypress.⁵⁷ When Asenath saw this change in herself she was astonished at the sight and greatly rejoiced and washed not her face for she said, "lest haply I wash off this great and blooming beauty." Again her steward came to tell her that everything was done according to her behest. And when he looked at her he was greatly afraid and was trembling for a long time, and falling at her feet, he said: "What is this, my mistress? What is this beauty which is laid on thee, that is so great and wonderful? Has the Lord God of heaven chosen thee as bride for his son [Joseph]?"

XIX. And while they were yet speaking a lad came to Asenath saying: "Behold, Joseph stands before the gates of our court." At

⁵⁷ The Syriac translates: "a neck like the isles of rest of the angels in heaven and her breasts like the exalted mountains of love."

this Asenath hastened and went with her seven maidens down the steps from her upper room to meet Joseph, and stood before her house. When Joseph had entered the court the gates were closed and all strangers were left outside.

And when Asenath came forward to meet Joseph, he was astonished at her beauty when he saw her, and said to her: "Who art thou, maiden? Tell me quickly!" She said to him: "I am Asenath, thy handmaiden, lord. All idols I have cast away from me, and they are destroyed. A man came to me this day from heaven and gave to me bread of life and I did eat, and I drank the blessed cup, and he said to me, 'I have given thee for a bride to Joseph, and he shall be thy bridegroom forever, and thy name shall not be called Asenath, but it shall be called a City of Refuge, and the Lord God shall rule over many nations, and through thee shall they flee to the Most High God.' The man also said: 'I will also go to Joseph that I may speak into his ears my words concerning thee'; and now thou knowest, my lord, whether that man has come to thee and whether he spoke concerning me." Then said Joseph to Asenath: "Blessed art thou, O woman, by the Most High God, and blessed be thy name forever, because the Lord God has founded thy walls, and the children of the living God shall dwell in the city of thy refuge, and the Lord God shall rule them forever. For that man came to me this day from heaven, and spoke to me these words concerning thee, and now come hither to me, thou virgin and holy, and why standest thou afar from me?" Joseph then stretched forth his hands, and embraced Asenath, and Asenath embraced Joseph, and they kissed each other for a long time, and both revived in their spirits. And when Joseph kissed Asenath he gave her the spirit of life; the next time he gave her the spirit of wisdom, and when he kissed her the third time he gave her the spirit of truth.

XX. And after they had embraced each other repeatedly, and clasped hands, Asenath said to Joseph: "Come hither my lord, and go into our house, because I have prepared our house and a great meal." She took hold of his right hand and led him into her house, and placed him on the throne of her father, Pentephres, and brought water to wash his feet. And Joseph said: "Let one of the maidens come and wash my feet." And Asenath said to him: "Nay, lord, for from now on thou art my lord, and I thy servant, and why dost thou ask thus that another servant should wash thy feet? for thy feet are my feet, and thy hands are my hands, and thy soul is my soul, and no other will wash thy feet." And having constrained him, she washed his feet. And Joseph took her by the

right hand and kissed her, and Asenath kissed his head, and he then seated her at his right hand. Her father came and her mother, and her relatives came from the land of their inheritance, and saw her sitting with Joseph and attired in her wedding robe. And they were surprised at her beauty, and rejoiced and praised God who revives the dead.

Then they all ate and drank and were merry. And Pentephres said to Joseph: "To-morrow I will call all the chiefs and satraps of all the land of Egypt, and will make for you a wedding, and thou shalt take my daughter Asenath to wife." But Joseph replied: "I will go to-morrow to King Pharaoh, for he is my father who has made me ruler of all this land, and I will speak to him about Asenath, and he will give her to me for a wife." And Pentephres said to him: "Go in peace."

XXI. And Joseph stayed that day with Pentephres, and rising up in the morning, went his way to Pharaoh and said to him: "Give me Asenath, the daughter of Pentephres, the priest of Heliopolis, to wife." And Pharaoh rejoiced very much and said to Joseph: "Behold, is she not promised to thee for a wife from eternity? Take her, therefore, for thy wife now and forever."

Pharaoh sent then for Pentephres, and Pentephres brought Asenath and set her before Pharaoh, who when he saw her was astonished at her beauty and said: "The Lord God of Joseph bless thee, child, and may thy beauty remain forever, because the Lord God of Joseph has chosen thee to be his bride, for as Joseph is the son of the Most High, thou shalt also be called his bride from now on and forever." After this Pharaoh took Joseph and Asenath and put golden crowns upon their heads, such as were in his house from of old, and Pharaoh put Asenath to the right of Joseph. Putting his hands upon their heads, Pharaoh said: "The Lord God the Most High bless you, and multiply you and make you great and magnify you forever."

Pharaoh then turned their faces toward each other, and they putting their mouths together kissed each other. And Pharaoh made a great banquet for Joseph for seven days, and called together all the rulers of Egypt and all the kings of the nations, making known throughout the land of Egypt, "that whoever works during the seven days of the wedding of Joseph and Asenath shall suffer death." After the wedding feast was over, Asenath conceived and bore to Joseph Manasseh and Ephraim his brother in the house of Joseph.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ The Syriac adds here the following: "Hymn and praise of Asenath to

XXII. And when the seven years of plenty had passed, the seven years of famine commenced. When Jacob heard of his son Joseph, he went into Egypt with all his family, in the second year of the famine, in the second month, on the twenty-first day of the month, and dwelt in the land of Goshen.

And Asenath said to Joseph: "I wish to go and see thy father, for thy father Israel is as my father and God." And Joseph said to her: "Thou shalt go with me and see my father." So Joseph and Asenath went to Jacob in the land of Goshen, and the brothers of Joseph went forth to meet them and bowed before them with their faces to the ground. Then both went to Jacob who was sitting upon his bed and was very old. When Asenath saw him she was surprised at his beauty, for Jacob was very beautiful in appearance and his age was like the youth of a man; his head was white as snow, and the hair of his head was very thick and very full; his white beard reached to his breast, his eyes were bright as with lightning, his tendons and shoulders and arms like those of an angel, his thighs and legs and feet like those of a giant.⁵⁹ When Asenath saw him thus, she was astonished and falling down she bowed before him, her face to the ground.

Jacob said to Joseph: "Is this thy bride or wife? Blessed be she in the Most High God." Jacob then called her to him and blessed and kissed her. Asenath stretched forth her hands, and clasped Jacob's neck, and hung on it⁶⁰ and kissed him. Then they ate and drank, and afterwards Joseph and Asenath returned to their home. Simeon and Levi, the sons of Leah, accompanied them,

the highest God: 'I sinned much before thee, O Lord, I, Asenath, the daughter of Pentephres, the priest of Heliopolis, the city of the sun, which sees all. I have sinned and have done evil before thee. And I was quiet in the house of my father, but proud and high-minded. I have sinned before thee, and worshiped numberless gods, and have eaten of their sacrifice, and have drunk of their libations, and did neither know the Lord God of Heaven, nor did I trust in the exalted Living One, but I put my trust in the glory of my riches and in my beauty, and I was proud and high-minded, and despised every man before me and those who sought me. I sinned greatly before thee, O Lord, and in vanity I spoke pratingly to thee, and in my pride I said that there is no prince on earth who can make me ashamed, but I will be the wife of the son of the greatest king of Egypt, till Joseph, the powerful of God came, who has drawn me away from my arrogance and pride and has crippled my powers, and hunted me with his beauty, and with his wisdom he caught me like a fish with a hook, and by his spirit he subjected me to life, and with his vigor he strengthened me, and brought me to God, the head and lord of the world, and by the hands of the high leader of hosts the bread of life and cup of wisdom was given to me, and I became his bride forever.' The same is also found in the Latin.

⁵⁹ Syriac adds: "and Jacob was like a man who fought with God."

⁶⁰ Syriac adds: "like one who returns home from the war after a long time."

but the sons of Billah and Zilpah, the handmaids of Leah and Rachel, accompanied them not, because they envied and hated them. And Levi was to the right of Asenath, and Simeon to the left. And Asenath took hold of Levi's hand because she loved him more than the other brothers of Joseph as a prophet and a pious and God-fearing man, for he was wise and a prophet of the Most High God, and he saw letters written in the heaven and understood them, and revealed them secretly to Asenath. And Levi also loved Asenath greatly and he saw the place of her rest in heaven.

XXIII. And it came to pass, as Joseph and Asenath passed by on their way from Jacob, that Pharaoh's first-born son saw them from the wall, and beholding Asenath, he became mad on account of her great beauty. Pharaoh's son then sent messengers for Simeon and Levi. They came, and when they stood before him, Pharaoh's first-born son said to them: "Know that ye are mighty men, and that with your right hands the city of the Shechemites was destroyed, and that with your two swords you put down 30,000 warriors. I, too, will take you this day for my comrades, and will give you much gold and silver, man-servants and maid-servants and houses and large possessions, and ye shall contend with me and show mercy unto me; for I have been treated very shamefully by your brother Joseph when he took Asenath to wife, for she was promised to me first. And now come to me, and I will fight against Joseph to kill him with my sword, and I will take Asenath to wife, and ye shall be to me as brothers and true friends. If you do not listen to my words, I will slay you."

And having spoken thus, he uncovered his sword and showed it to them. Now Simeon was desperate and bold, and desired to put his right hand on his sword and to strike the son of Pharaoh because he had spoken harsh words to them. When, therefore, Levi perceived the thought of his heart—for he was a prophet—he touched with his foot the right foot of Simeon and pressed it, giving a signal to him to cease from his wrath. And Levi said quietly to Simeon: "Why art thou angry at this man? We are God-fearing men, and it becomes us not to repay evil for evil." Then said Levi to Pharaoh's son boldly and in gentleness of heart: "Why does our lord speak these words? We are God-fearing men, and our father is a friend of the Most High God, and our brother is as the son of God. And how shall we do this evil thing and sin before our God and our father Israel and before our brother Joseph? And now hear my words: It becometh us not as God-fearing men to wrong any man in any wise. If one will wrong a God-fearing man,

that man avenges him not because he has no sword in his hand. And now take heed lest ye speak again to us such things about our brother Joseph. If thou abidest by this evil counsel, behold our swords are drawn before thee."

Then Simeon and Levi drew their swords from their sheaths and said: "Seest thou now these swords? With these two swords the Lord has avenged the pride of the Shechemites, with which they insulted the children of Israel in our sister Dinah whom Shechem, the son of Hamor, defiled."

When Pharaoh's son saw the drawn swords he was much afraid and trembled all over because they glittered like a flame of fire, and his eyes became dim and he fell upon his face on the earth at their feet. Levi then stretched forth the right hand and seized him, saying: "Arise and fear not, only take care never again to speak anything evil against our brother Joseph." And Simeon and Levi went away from him.

XXIV. The son of Pharaoh remained therefore filled with fear and sadness because he feared the brothers of Joseph. He became very angry again, and on account of the beauty of Asenath he mourned the more. His servants then spoke into his ear: "Behold, the sons of Bilhah and the sons of Zilpah, the maids of Leah and Rachel, Jacob's wives, are most at enmity with Joseph and Asenath and hate them. They will be to thee in all things according to thy will." And the son of Pharaoh sent messengers to them at once and called them, and they came to him in the first hour of the night. And when they stood before him he said to them: "I have heard from many that you are mighty men." And Dan and Gad, the older brothers, said to him, "Let our lord speak to his servants what he wishes, that thy servants may hear, and that we may do as thou wishest."

And Pharaoh's son was very glad, and said to his servants, "Go away a little from me because my word to these men is in secret." And all stood back. Then Pharaoh's son lied and said to them: "Behold blessing and death are before you; take ye rather the blessing than death, for ye are strong men and ye shall not die like women, but be men and keep off your enemies; for I heard your brother Joseph⁶¹ say to Pharaoh, my father, 'Dan and Gad and Naphtali and Asher are not my brothers, but children of my father's maid-servants. I only wait for my father's death and I will destroy them from the land and all their families that they may not inherit

⁶¹ Syriac: "say, the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah are thy servants, who sold me by deceit."

with us, for they are children of the maid-servants. For they also sold me unto the Ishmaelites, and I will recompense them according to the violence which they committed against me. Only let my father die.' And my father Pharaoh praised him at these words, and said to him: 'Thou hast spoken well, my son; moreover, take from me mighty men and instruct them concerning all that they shall do for thee, and I will also assist thee.' "

When Dan and Gad heard this from Pharaoh's son, they were greatly alarmed and distressed, and said to him: "We pray thee, help us; from now on we are thy slaves and servants, and we will die for thee." And Pharaoh's son said: "I will help you, if ye also hear my words." And they said to him: "Tell us what thou wilt, and we will do according to thy will." And Pharaoh's son said to them: "I will kill my father Pharaoh this night, because Pharaoh is like a father to Joseph, and promised to assist him against you. Kill ye Joseph, and I will take Asenath to wife, and ye shall be my brothers and joint-heirs of all that is mine; only do this."

And Gad and Dan said to him: "We are this day thy servants, and we will do all that thou hast assigned to us. We also heard Joseph say to Asenath: 'Go to-morrow into the field of our possession, for it is harvest time,' and he sent with her six hundred strong men for an army and fifty forerunners. Now hear us, and we will speak to our lord." And they spoke to him all their mind in secret.

Pharaoh's son then gave to the four brethren full five hundred men and made them their rulers and leaders. And Dan and Gad said unto him: "We are this day thy servants, and will do all as thou hast told us. We will go at night and lie in wait by the stream, and hide ourselves in the thicket; but do thou take with thee fifty archers on horses, and go at a distance before her, and when Asenath comes she will fall into our hands and we will put down the men who are with her. She will then flee with her chariot and fall into thy hands, and thou shalt do with her as it pleaseth thee. After this we will kill Joseph, who will sorrow for Asenath, and we will kill his children also before his eyes."

When the first-born son of Pharaoh heard this, he rejoiced greatly and sent them away and two thousand warriors with them. And as they went to the stream to hide themselves in the thicket, they were divided into four commands, and full five hundred men encamped on the further side of the stream towards the front on each side of the way; likewise the remaining five hundred men stayed on the near side of the stream, and they were encamped in the

thicket on both sides of the way. Between them the road was broad and wide.

XXV. In the same night Pharaoh's son arose and went to the bed-chamber of his father to kill him with the sword. The guard of his father prevented him from going into his father's room, and said to him: "What is your desire, my lord?" And Pharaoh's son said to them: "I wish to see my father, for I am going to take the sap from my newly planted vine." And the guard said to him: "Thy father is in pain, and has lain awake the whole night and now is resting, and he has said to us: 'Let no one come to me, even if it were my first-born son.'"

When he heard this he went away enraged, and at once took fifty archers and went before them as Dan and Gad had told him.⁶² But the younger brothers, Naphtali and Asher, spoke to their older brothers, Dan and Gad, saying: "Why are you again dealing knavishly against your father Israel and against your brother Joseph? And God preserveth him like the apple of his eye. Did you not once sell Joseph, who this day is ruler over all the land of Egypt and a saviour and giver of bread? If you now try again to deal knavishly against him, he will cry to the Most High, who will send fire from heaven and eat you up, and the angels of God will war against you." At this the other brothers became angry against them, and said: "And shall we die like women? This shall not be." And they went forth to meet Joseph and Asenath.

XXVI. And Asenath arose in the morning and said to Joseph: "I will go into the field of our possession as thou hast said, but my soul is very sad, because thou shalt be separated from me." And Joseph said to her: "Be of good cheer and fear not, but rather go rejoicing, dreading none, for the Lord is with thee, and he will keep thee like the apple of his eye from every evil, and I will go on my way distributing corn, and I will give corn to all the men in the city, and no man shall die of hunger in the land of Egypt."

Asenath then went her way and Joseph went his way distributing corn. As Asenath came to the place of the stream with the six hundred men, those who were with Pharaoh's son came suddenly from the ambush, and began to fight with Asenath's men, and killed them with their swords and also all the forerunners. Asenath fled in her chariot.

At once Levi, the son of Leah, perceived all this in his spirit like a prophet and told his brethren of Asenath's danger, and every man among them took his sword and his shield and his spears, and

⁶² The following to the end of the section is omitted in the Latin.

followed after Asenath quickly. And as Asenath fled before, behold Pharaoh's son and his riders with him met her. When Asenath saw him, she was much afraid, and she trembled and called upon the name of the Lord her God.

XXVII. Benjamin sat to her right, on the chariot. Now Benjamin was a strong youth of nineteen years of unspeakable beauty and with the strength of a lion's whelp; he also feared God greatly. And Benjamin leaped down from the chariot, took a round stone from the stream and threw it at Pharaoh's son, striking him on the left temple and wounding him sorely, so that he fell half-dead from his horse to the ground. And then running likewise near the rock, Benjamin said unto Asenath's chariot driver: "Give me stones from the stream." And he gave him fifty⁶³ stones; and throwing the stones Benjamin slew the fifty⁶³ men who were with Pharaoh's son, all the stones piercing their temples. Then Leah's sons, Reuben and Simeon, Levi and Judah, Issachar and Zebulun, encountered the men who lay in wait for Asenath and fell upon them unawares, slaying them all. And the six men killed 276 men.

But the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah fled before them,⁶⁴ saying: "We shall perish from the midst of our brethren; Pharaoh's son has also fallen by the hand of Benjamin, the young man, and all who were with him have perished by his hand." The rest (those who were left) said: "Come now, let us kill Asenath and Benjamin and flee into the thicket." And they went towards Asenath, their swords being covered with much blood. When Asenath saw them she was much afraid, and said, "O Lord God, who hast given me life and hast redeemed me from idols and the corruption of death, as thou hast said that my soul shall live forever, deliver me now from⁶⁵ these evil men." And the Lord God heard the voice of Asenath and the swords of the enemies fell from their hands to the ground and they were powerless.

XXVIII. When the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah saw this wonderful thing that had taken place they were sore afraid and said: "The Lord battles against us for Asenath." They then fell upon their faces to the earth, and bowing low to Asenath said: "Be merciful unto us, thy servants, for thou art our mistress and queen. We have, indeed, done a wicked thing against thee and against our brother Joseph, but the Lord has requited us according to our deeds. Therefore we, thy servants, pray thee, be merciful unto us who are

⁶³ Syriac: "forty-eight."

⁶⁴ Syriac: "fled from before Dan and Gad."

⁶⁵ Syriac: "from the sword of these fraudulent men."

mean and unworthy, and deliver us from the hand of our brethren; for they will become thine avengers, and their swords are before us (and we know that our brethren are God-fearing men, and repay no man evil with evil). Be therefore merciful to thy servants, O mistress, in their presence." And Asenath said to them: "Be of good cheer, and fear not your brethren, for they are God-fearing men and fear the Lord. Go then into the thicket till I appease them concerning you and their wrath be stayed, because ye have undertaken evil things against them. The Lord shall see, and judge between you and me."

Gad and Dan then betook themselves to the thicket, but their brothers, the sons of Leah, ran like stags in great haste after them. And Asenath descended from her chariot and received them with tears, and they, falling down before her to the ground, wept with a loud voice and sought to destroy their brothers, the sons of the maid-servants. And Asenath said to them: "I pray you, spare your brothers, and repay them not evil for evil, for the Lord has saved me from them, and dashed their spears and swords from their hands, and behold, they melted and were reduced to ashes upon the earth like wax before a fire, and this is sufficient for us that the Lord battles for us against them. Therefore, spare ye your brothers, for they are your brothers and the blood of your father, Israel."

And Simeon said to her: "Why does our mistress speak good words for her enemies? Not so, but we will rather slay them with our swords, because they devised evil things against our brother Joseph and against their father Israel, and against thee, our mistress, this day." Asenath then stretched forth her right hand to Simeon and kissing him tenderly, said: "By no means, brother, shalt thou repay thy neighbor evil with evil, because the Lord will avenge this violence. They are, moreover, your brothers, and the sons of your father, Israel, and they fled from afar before your face. Therefore, pardon them."

Levi then came to her and kissed her right hand, for he knew that she wished to save the men from the wrath of their brethren that they should not kill them, and that they were near by in the thicket. Levi, his brother, knew it, but did not tell it to his brethren, fearing lest in their wrath they might kill their brethren.⁹⁹

XXIX. Pharaoh's son arose from the ground and sat down and spat blood from his mouth, for the blood ran down from his temple into his mouth. And Benjamin running upon him, took his sword, and drawing it from the sheath of Pharaoh's son (for Ben-

⁹⁹ This whole section is wanting in the Latin.

jamin had not a sword), he made a move to strike upon the breast of the son of Pharaoh. But Levi ran to him, and taking hold of his hand, he said: "By no means, brother, shalt thou do this deed, for we are God-fearing men, and it becometh not a God-fearing man to repay evil with evil, nor to strike one who is prostrated nor to destroy his enemy unto death. And now, put the sword into its place, and come and help me, and we will cure him of his wound, and if he lives he shall be our friend, and his father Pharaoh shall be our father."

Then Levi lifted the son of Pharaoh up from the ground, and washed the blood from his mouth, and bound a bandage over his wound, and put him on his horse and brought him to his father Pharaoh, telling him all that had happened. And Pharaoh, rising up from his throne, bowed before Levi to the ground, and blessed him.

On the third day Pharaoh's son died of the stone with which he had been wounded by Benjamin. And Pharaoh mourned much for his first-born son, on which account Pharaoh became sick and died, being one hundred and nine years old, and he left his diadem to the most beautiful Joseph.

And Joseph ruled in Egypt forty and eight years, and, after this Joseph gave the crown to Pharaoh's younger son, who was a child when Pharaoh's oldest son died. And Joseph was from that time on like a father to Pharaoh's youngest son in the land of Egypt unto his end,⁶⁷ praising and glorifying God.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The Syriac omits the last words but reads: "Finished is the story of Joseph and Asenath, the wife of Joseph, which has been translated from the Greek into the Syriac."

⁶⁸ The Vatican codex adds after God: "And Joseph lived years. . . . And Joseph saw Ephraim's children, etc., (all that is found Gen. I. 23-26, with the addition: "and Asenath also died after the death of Joseph, her wooer. For all these we praise the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit now and always, forever and ever.")

EGYPTIAN USHABTIU.

THE QUIANT SOLUTION OF AN OLD PROBLEM.

BY GEORGE H. RICHARDSON.

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THERE is a strange fascination in tracing the developments of civilizations other than our own. Perhaps in nothing do we discover the civilization of a people so much as in the treatment of their dead. There is a development in this treatment as in other things and we see the evolution of the life, thought and hopes of the people as we examine their cemeteries and their funeral rituals. What would our knowledge of ancient Egypt amount to were it not for the fact that the Egyptians so carefully buried their dead? Those gigantic pyramids are but tombs built in cemeteries stretching over miles. The great sphinx was regarded as the guardian of the tomb of its maker Khafra, of the fourth dynasty, and over the cemetery at Gizeh. But at this time we are not dealing either with the cemeteries or tombs, but rather with the small figures found in the tombs called *ushabtiu*.

What are the *ushabtiu*? *Ushabtiu* (singular, *ushabti*) was the name given by the Egyptians to the figures made of stone, wood, clay, alabaster, granite, bronze, painted and gilded limestone, and glazed faience, representing the god Osiris made in form of a mummy at times, but most often in the form of a workman. While the majority bear the strictly Osirian form, yet there are other forms, due, no doubt, to the skill of the maker seeking a fresh outlet. At times the figure is represented as mummified with only the head and face appearing. Some show the hands at liberty. Some are made bearing the crook and flail or flagellum (Fig. 1a), the hoe and the seed-bag, the latter being carried over the shoulder or held by the hand in front of the body (Fig. 1b).

The latter form, a specimen of which is in the collection of the

writer, has led to various discussions, it being argued that the supposed bag was simply another form of the overseer's apron. This cannot be held, for the bag is sharply defined as is also the left hand holding the bag up to the chest. One unique specimen, also in the writers collection, has a large bag slung across the back from shoulder to shoulder (Fig. 1c), no doubt to "bear the sand from east to west" as mentioned in the "*Book of the Dead*."

Rarely a figure will be found with the hands pendant holding the emblem of the tree trunk of Osiris and the buckle of Isis.

On some of the ushabtiu were written chapters of the Book of the Dead, e. g., on the one represented in Fig. 2 Chapter IV can be read on the back and front, while another has it cut into the sides. On another inscription dealing particularly with the functions of the ushabtiu can be read: "In the event of my being condemned to spread *sebakh* on the fields in the Tuat, or to fill the water-courses with water from the river, or to reap the harvest, such work shall be performed for me by thee, and no obstacle shall be put in thy way." Below this are the words the ushabti was supposed to say. "Verily I am here, wheresoever thou mayest speak." Not only do we find inscriptions but also mythological figures, e. g., Isis with outstretched wings is a common figure. Osiris and Set are also seen.

While dealing with this part of the topic it is perhaps well to add that as time passed the distinctively human association gave place to other forms. Wiedemann gives a description of one purchased by him at Luxor which had the head of a falcon wearing a large wig, and also holding a hoe in each hand. Another has the head of a bull.¹ These, no doubt, were buried with falcons, the Apis bull, and also with the sacred ram.

It was a rule of the ritual to place at least one ushabti with each mummy, though no rule was laid down to limit the final number a mummy could have. Generally as many ushabtiu were placed in the tomb as the individual had servants in life. In the tomb of Seti I seven hundred were found, while at the present time there is, in the British Museum, a box containing one hundred and forty-nine, taken from the tomb of one called Ankh-f-en-Khensu.

When the ushabtiu were placed in such large quantities special boxes were made to hold them, the boxes being made of clay or wood richly painted, at times depicting scenes in the other world. We give a description of one in the British Museum: "Small, brightly painted wooden sepulchral box. On one side is a figure

¹ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Arch.*, June, 1911.

of the deceased Apu, who held the office of 'incense thrower,' burning incense before Osiris, and on the other side we see the goddess Nut, who appears from out of a sycamore tree, pouring out celestial water upon the hands of the wife of the deceased and upon a human-headed hawk, the emblem of her soul."²

The ushabti figures are not uniform in size. The writer has some an inch and a quarter long, others from three to seven inches, while many are considerably larger. Perhaps the commonest are



c *b* *a* *c* *d*
Fig. 1. USHABTIU IN THE WRITER'S COLLECTION.

made of wood, and these are found in the tombs of all periods from the eleventh dynasty. Blue, green and red faience figures are found during the period between the eighteenth and twenty-sixth dynasties. During the nineteenth dynasty the figures are represented wearing the garments which the people wore for whose benefit they were made. At the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty we find them mounted upon a square pedestal and having a rectangular upright plinth at the back of the figure.

² Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms, British Museum, Budge.

Being workers it will, perhaps, be assumed by some that they all represented males, but this is not so. One large specimen in the writer's collection, made of crude clay and poorly baked, proves itself to be a female for it has long hair down the back reaching to the waist, while yet another (Fig. 1*d*), a beautifully glazed specimen, has long, black hair hanging down the back and over the shoulders, and is represented holding a seed-bag with the right hand. This latter detail appears to be a distinct mark of the female figure for in each case of long hair being shown on the figure the right hand holds the bag or some other object, whereas we noticed in the male figure the hand most prominent was the left. The overseer, male or female, is distinguished from the workers by the apron projecting from the front of the body, representing the linen apron of the ancient Egyptian master. One "overseer" figure in the writer's collection (Fig. 1*a*) not only has the apron but has also the elbows projecting from the sides as if the hands were resting on the hips,—a characteristic attitude of a man leisurely surveying the work of those under him. Such, in brief, is a description of these interesting ushabti figures.

But what were they for? is the question asked by those who see them in the cases of our museums. To answer this question, we must go back to the days before the ushabtiu were first made and inquire into primitive customs. Go back as far as we are able and we find that men have believed in their survival after death. We are not asking any questions at this time regarding the origin of this belief but we are going to take it as we find it.

Now this idea of survival after death has been one of the greatest factors in the life and thought of the world. No people held to the idea as did the Egyptians. The whole of every-day life was lived under its influence. In the historic period men made great preparations for the life after death. They chose the site of their tomb and superintended while it was cut out of the rock and while the interior was decorated. Here the man's mummy was placed, and here dwelt his Ka while ever his mummy lasted. Here his soul kept continually returning like a restless traveler.

The Egyptian called his tomb an "Eternal House," his house was but an inn. The tomb included the private rooms of the soul, closed to the relatives as soon as the funeral was over, and reception rooms for the Double or Ka, where priests and friends brought their gifts and offered the prayers for the sustenance of the Ka. We must not forget that the Egyptian regarded the other world as very similar to this. In the fields of Aalu he would watch the waving grain, and count his cattle, and superintend his estate as he had done in

life. On the walls of his tomb were painted many scenes wherein were depicted the life of the other world. Here we see the deceased



Fig. 2. USHABTI OF REMSENT, XIIIth DYNASTY FROM ABYDOS.
(Figures 2, 3 and 4 are here reproduced by kind permission of Mrs. M. N. Buckman.)

drawn in colossal size, sitting down and watching his workmen while they work the shadoof, or sow the fields, or reap the grain.

In other drawings we see him sitting in state being waited upon by numerous servants while dancers and singers perform before him. In the other drawings we see him in the open, joining in the chase, snaring birds or piercing fish. Everything he used in life was needed after death and so in the tombs we find clothes, food, weapons, furniture and pottery, and the ushabti. The origin of the ushabti is found in this belief.

The idea that the dead needed after death all they used in life can be found to have existed among all ancient peoples, but only the Egyptians carried out the idea so elaborately.

Petrie, while excavating the royal tombs at Abydos, found that at the death of a king his domestic servants were slain and buried with him so that they could wait upon him in the next life. This was not confined to the time of the first dynasty, for we find Maspero, in describing a tomb of the later period, writing: "A series of mysterious episodes, which can be traced in the finished portion of the hypogeum of a noble of Aphroditopolis the Little, relates to human sacrifice. The victims may be seen carried on a sledge, then strangled, and perhaps afterwards burned with the oxen, the cakes and other votive offerings in a fire lighted opposite the tomb. Was it an actual fact or merely an imaginary episode? It is certain that in early times the throats of the princes' or nobles' favorites were cut on the day of the funeral so that they might serve their master in the House of Eternity as they had in his earthly house. . . . It is possible that relatives, more grieved than others, wished to bestow on him they mourned the satisfaction of taking away with him to the next world the souls of the slaves who had actually been killed."

Maspero believes that the Egypt of the Thotmes and the Ramesides was still too close to barbarism for that practice to have entirely disappeared in their time. How long this horrible custom prevailed we have no means of knowing, and neither can we say when the ushabti were first used, though we know that from the time of the eleventh dynasty they were common. Now the ushabti is primarily the survival of this rite. When the Egyptian gave up the rite something had to be substituted for the actual domestic in order to fulfil the ritual, and so we find these models of domestics. But while this is the primary idea attaching to the ushabti it does not exhaust the full idea of the Egyptians.

Referring again to the belief in immortality held by the Egyptians we have to remember that man was not to them the simple being he is to the modern physiologist or psychologist. To them

man was very complex, consisting of a body, a soul, an intelligence, a shadow, a name, a heart, a husk or mummy and a Ka. At death these were separated until the resurrection, though the Ka dwelt near the mummy in the tomb and the soul frequently visited both. We need not at this time enter into any discussion as to the nature of the Ka, for scholars are not as yet agreed as to its meaning. What does interest us is the fact that the Egyptian believed it absolutely essential for the eternal well-being of the deceased that the Ka should have a body provided for it. Not only was he concerned about his tomb, but he must also have in a special room in his tomb a statue, or number of statues, carved exactly like himself. If he had a deformity it was faithfully reproduced. An ugly dwarf was carved with all his ugliness. Sometimes as many as twenty statues, all exactly alike, have been found in one tomb. And what perhaps will sound strangest of all is that these statues were hidden away in sealed chambers without inlet or outlet, and that, the relatives hoped, for ever.

Why was this done? These were not to commemorate the dead, but were extra bodies for the Ka. If the mummy was destroyed the Ka could take up his abode in one of these extra bodies, the bodies being made so like the man that the Ka would not feel uncomfortable in the new body. It was this desire to carve the likeness so exactly which brought the art of portrait statuary in Egypt to such perfection.

What bearing has this upon our discussion? This, that the ushabtiu are reduced serdab figures or Ka-statues. This was the idea of Dr. Birch some years ago, and also of Borchardt. W. L. Nash writes: "These figures have nothing about them to show that they were intended to be servants in the next world, or that they were anything else than figures of the dead man himself." But the one idea does not shut out the other. If they were "figures of the dead man himself" and nothing else why the crook and flail or the seed-bag? The presence of these proves the combination of the two ideas. Out of this another question arises. Is it possible that the Egyptians had another idea dominating their minds?

Granting that the ushabtiu found in mummied form are reduced serdab, or Ka, statues, were these with the implements the Ka statues of the servants? Just as the master had his Ka statues in order to ensure his future so also the servant must have his statue, and my belief is that the typical ushabti is none other than the body for the Ka of the servant.

A varying etymology has been suggested to explain the word

ushabti. It has been commonly attributed to a word meaning "to answer," hence they were called ushabtiu, meaning "answerers" or "respondents." The figures were placed in the coffin of the deceased so that they could accompany him to the judgment seat of Osiris who, after the weighing of the heart, assigned each indi-



Fig. 3. USHABTI OF OVERSEER ARI.
749 B. C.

Fig. 4. USHABTI OF HORUTA.
Found by Petrie.

vidual its task. Instead of performing the task himself the deceased spoke certain words which, if correctly spoken, caused the ushabti to have power to perform the task appointed. On the ushabti of Horuta (Fig. 4), the finding of which by Petrie is one of the romances of archeology, we read, "Make to shine the Osiris (the deceased) the prophet of Neith, the priest Horuta, born of

Nesdet true of voice. He saith: 'O you ushabti figures, if this Osiris the prophet of Neith, the priest Horuta . . . be judged worthy to perform in the under-world all the work which is done there,—behold! for you opposition is there set aside. As a man far from his possessions, I am here, and I say to you: May you be adjudged always to perform the labors, such as to cultivate the fields, to fill the canals with water, to carry the sand from the east to the west. I am here and I call you.'" The figures are represented as saying "Here am I ready when thou callest."

This is now questioned by Prof. E. Mahler.³ Instead of accepting the rendering "answerers" he would, after examining a number of texts, translate "the called for," and hence would call the ushabti "the nourisher, he who provides food for nourishment," from the verb *wsb*, meaning "to eat or to nourish." W. M. Müller in a note to Professor Mahler writes: "We have been accustomed to call the sepulchral figures, the 'answerers,' by the name ushabti, and this seems to have been the late Egyptian etymology. But we can see from the different versions of Chapter VI in the 'Book of the Dead' that the most ancient mode of writing the word is a hybrid form for *wsb*, which is unsuitable. I suggest calling them 'nourishers,' i. e., those whose duty it is to supply the daily meals for the dead."⁴ This is perhaps more particularly seen in certain figures found by Naville while excavating the eleventh dynasty temple of Deir el-Bahari during 1907, than in the usual ushabti (see Fig. 5). Here we find model granaries, bakeries and breweries. The models of the bakers and brewers are among the most interesting we have seen.

But let Naville describe his own find:

"The chief objects are a granary of the usual kind, and a model bakery and brewery of unusual type. The granary has, as usual, its small wooden men ascending the stairs with sacks of grain . . . while a scribe, seated in the court below, keeps tally. In the other model, which measures 31 inches by 18, we see a line of women hard at work grinding the grain with rollers . . . A line of squatting men, facing the corn grinders, sifts the grain through sieves. Back to back with them are the bakers, squatting in front of their tall black ovens, and a line of brewers placing the bread in red vats to ferment in order to make beer. A *reis* stands, thong-stick in hand, overseeing the work . . . These models, which are al-

³ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology*, May, 1912.

⁴ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology*, June, 1912. See also an article by Paul Pierret in the *Proceedings*, Nov. 1912.

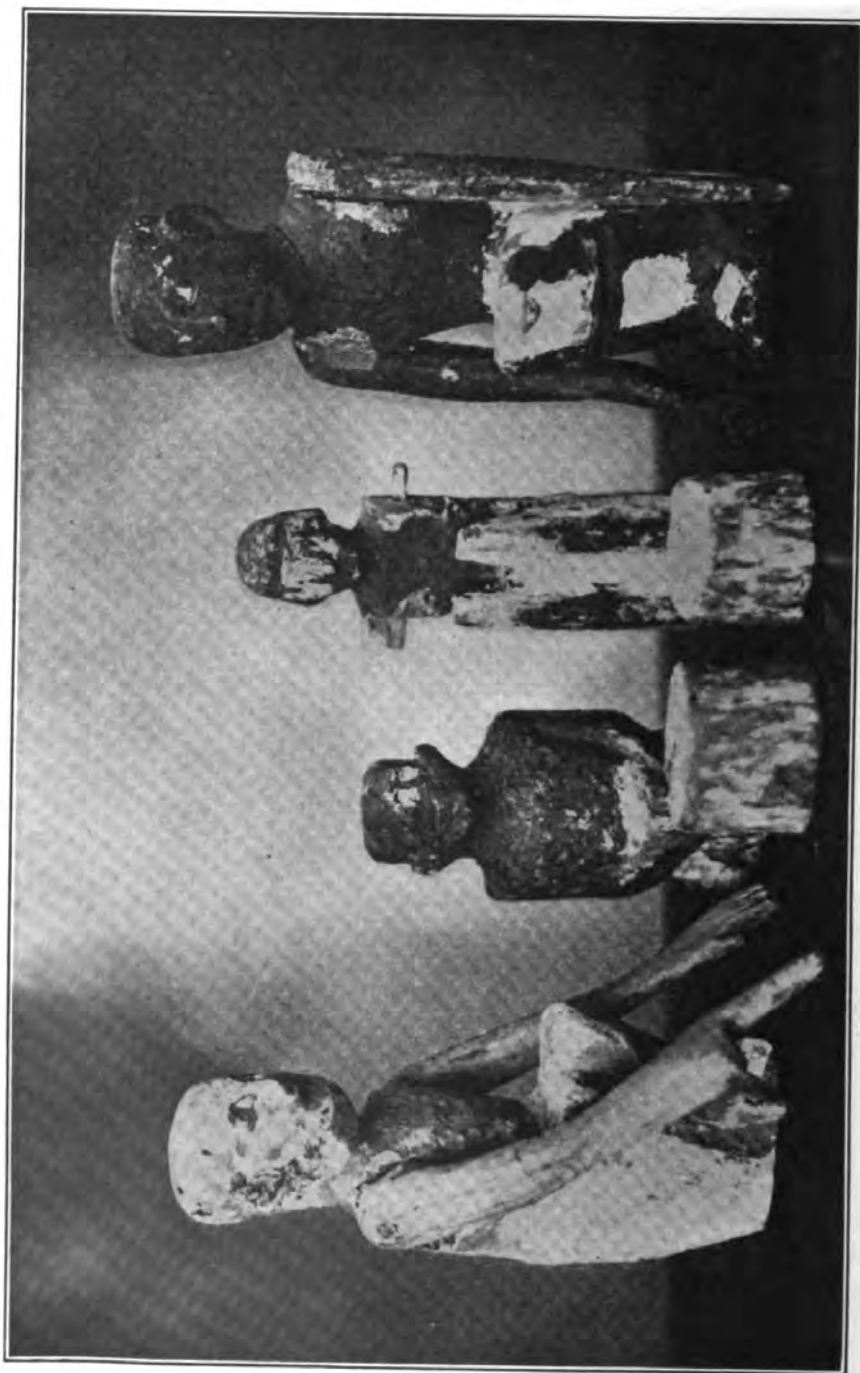


Fig. 5. "NOURISHERS." USHABTIU FOUND BY NAVILLE.
In writer's collection.

ways found in the tombs of this age, were placed in them with the idea that they would turn into ghostly granaries, bakeries, and slaves, to serve the dead in the next world. It is the same idea as that of the ushabti or 'answerer,' who, when the dead man is set to do any of the labours which are to be done in the tomb world, . . . answers, 'Here am I when ye call' . . . These little wooden bakers, brewers, and grain bearers are in fact all of them ushabtis."⁵

A somewhat lengthy quotation from the article by Professor Mahler well sums up the discussion. "And so this etymology is in complete agreement with the meaning of these statuettes and their outward attributes, the ploughing tools in their hands, and the seed-bag on their backs.

"The Egyptian was, in the oldest epoch of his history known to us, convinced that with death a second life of man begins: that death does not mean a complete decease, but only a transition to another form of life of eternal duration. The consequence of this was, that this second life was imagined on the model of the life on earth, and that the 'house of eternity' was furnished with all the comfort that made the earthly home agreeable, and that, when this was proved unattainable, they tried to realize it at least in picture, in decorating the walls of the grave with all sorts of painted representations of the different scenes of earthly life, for through the magic power of the 'Ka,' everything represented in the picture was able to attain reality. As they wanted to represent this new life as real life. . . . to this abode was brought all sorts of foods and drinks. Usually this was the task imposed on the nearest relations; but as they were themselves mortal, they had to see that everybody was able to provide for himself in the other world. And so the task of these small statuettes—which were nothing else but portraits of the deceased, and therefore bore his name—was to do the field work which was necessary for providing the victuals. They were the 'nourishers,' or those who by their labor had to provide food for the deceased."

The ancient Egyptian had not the modern worry over the servant problem, or if he had it in this life he had none in the next, for the ushabti solved the problem. A crude idea? Looked at from our standpoint it is, and yet a witness to the hope still dominating the life of the cultured master and servant of the twentieth century,—the hope of immortality.

⁵ The *XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, Vol. 1.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TRUE PRAYER.

BY H. SAMUEL FRITSCH.

You may pelt the Power that rules above
With your puny, prattling prayers;
You may thumb your beads and mouth your creeds
And fondly think He cares.
You may beat your drums and beat your breasts,
You may bend your calloused knees;
You may sign your cross and incense toss
And fondly think He sees.

But the prayer that moves the Power above
Is the prayer that moves below;
That brings to pass two blades of grass
Where one was wont to grow.
And the prayer that soars beyond the lips
Is the prayer that lends a hand
To struggling cause and people's laws
And helps them fast to stand.

For 'tis he that takes the victims' part
Who are ground 'twixt stone and stone,
And pleads their case in Justice's face
That mercy may be shown;
And 'tis he that lifts Oppression's heel
From the cringing necks of men,
Who breaks the yoke of the under folk
And sets them free again—

Yes, 'tis he that helps his brother man,
Whose prayers ascend to Heaven—
For to orphans' cries and widows' sighs
Is God's attention given—
Why then pelt the Power that rules above
With your rattling blow on blow?
For the only prayers for which He cares
Are the prayers that move below!

A NOVEL OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CENTURIES.

Whereas in classical antiquity poetry and the drama had attained an ideal state of perfection, the novel does not appear to have reached any development above mediocrity, and there are very few stories handed down to us from ancient times. This state of things continued into the Christian era, and considering the specimens we discover we need not be sorry that so little has been preserved. One of the fortunate survivors which Dr. Bernhard Pick has translated from the Greek is the story of "Joseph and Asenath." It dates originally from the fifth century or even earlier and was quite popular in its time.

It may serve us as a specimen of the taste prevailing among the early Christians, their love for visions, their admiration for pious penance, their joy in evidence of the grace of God to those who humble themselves and in the triumph of faith.

The literary merit of the story is poor, but we will naturally take an interest in the psychology of the age which produced it, the demands of the reading public and the supply with which the authors of those days satisfied them. From this point of view the story is more than curious, it is instructive and decidedly of historical value, and as such we offer it to our readers.

Those who have seen Mr. Louis Napoleon Parker's dramatic production of "The Story of Joseph" in its brilliant Oriental setting will find an additional interest in this early Christian romance on the same theme. Mr. Parker seems to have successfully braved the traditional prejudices of the public in utilizing one of the many possible dramatic themes among Biblical subjects which have hitherto been systematically avoided by our modern playwrights.

CIVIC CLUBS IN FRANCE.

Those who have been following the relations between church and state in France will be interested to learn that republicans of all the opposition parties have come to the conclusion that not only is it not yet time to give up the struggle against the church and the reactionary forces under its control, but that on the contrary it is necessary to organize a more steady and methodical course of anti-clerical action. For this purpose they have founded a system of civic clubs (*Cercles civiques*), most important of which is the Cercle Berthelot at Paris, which with its headquarters at 49 Boulevard Saint-Michel serves as a connecting link to unite all similar associations. The president of this Parisian organization is M. André Berthelot, and its general secretary is M. Victor Charbonnel, who, it will be remembered, broke with the Catholic church when it failed to support his plans for a revival of the religious parliament at Paris.

In the opinion of the charter members of the Cercle Berthelot, these civic clubs should possess the following characteristics:

(1) A permanent home where members can meet for social and business matters; (2) a reading room which would contain the daily papers, reviews, books and records; (3) regular meetings at stated intervals on definite days when members can become acquainted with each other; (4) efforts to estab-

lish a more essential unity of thought and action among liberal thinkers for mutual aid; (5) an effort to create a new family and social life by means of small or large gatherings; (6) they should endeavor to take part in political action that will tend to assure the absolute independence of school and government from the church.

Extra meetings have already been held on the occasion of the visit to the city of various friends of the club and noted thinkers outside of Paris in France and other countries.

THE PARABLE OF THE RICH MAN AND THE MAN WHO HAD ONLY RICHES.

BY PERCIVAL HAYWARD.

There was a certain rich man who was clothed in sympathy and humility; the fine linen of large-heartedness and faith was wound about him and his loins were girded with the strong bands of charity; the doorway and the fire-side of his home were barren of costly adornment and were scarred by the budding industry of his children, but the sumptuous elegance of peace and the stately ornaments of piety made it a palace known for its beauty far and wide.

And there was a certain beggar named, "The Man Who Had Only Riches," who was laid at his gate full of sores. His sores were the festering pangs of discontent, of social jealousy and of ungratified personal ambition. Moreover the dogs of the idly curious, the fawning self-seekers and the social parasites came and licked his sores and made his life doubly hard.

Then the beggar saw that he had been judged before the great judgment seat of human life and had been found wanting. And in the hell that he had made for himself he lifted his eyes and saw the rich man in the bosom of his large abundant life and said, "Have mercy upon me and give me but a drop of the wealth of character and of soul that brighten your humble home; for I am grievously tormented."

But the rich man was compelled to make reply, "Gladly would I give it if I could. Gifts of silver alone can be given from hand to hand. Such gifts as you desire can come only from your inner life; they must be forged in the hot furnace of your own soul struggle; they must grow in the garden of the spirit world and only as you have watered them with the sweat of your effort and nourished them with purity, piety and love can they ever bloom; neither man nor God can give them.

"Between the life of the soul and the mere life of things there is a great gulf fixed; the laws of God have made it so."

PREHELLENIC AMULETS.

Woermann, in his *Geschichte der Kunst*, Vol. I, publishes a small rare amulet (*a*) which Wolfgang Reichel (*Ueber vorhellenische Götterkulte*, Vienna, 1897) regards as an amulet deposited with the dead in the tomb to protect them in their journey into the nether world. We assume that the figure represents the dead person and the dove overhead represents the tutelary goddess. The amulet represents the period of Mycenaean art.

The human soul has been represented as a human-headed bird among both the Egyptians and the Babylonians, but this view was adopted also in Greece. Indeed it existed there in prehistoric times as is proved by the discovery of sphinxes and sirens in ancient Troy and on the Greek islands. One of the oldest instances of miniature stone carving reproduced from Schuchardt (*Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*) is represented here in the adjoined amulet (*b*) of a winged soul which served as an example of the prevalence of a belief in the immortality of the soul in the shape of a winged creature.

We also reproduce another carved stone of small size of the same provenience (*c*) which is remarkable for the scene it represents. Since it bears no inscription we must try to explain the group from itself, and it seems that we have here to deal with a ceremony in honor of a female deity. On top we see the sun and the moon separated by clouds from the scene below. Underneath stands a double axe quite frequent on the Greek islands as a



PREHELLENIC AMULETS.

symbol of divine authority. Under a tree on the right the goddess herself or her priestess is seated holding in her hands three flowers, possibly poppies, the symbol of death. Two women and a girl approach in the attitude of worship with hands extended. The girl carries flowers, while the second woman also holds in her left hand a bunch of flowers and in her right hand two stalks either also bearing flowers or an emblem like a slanting cross quite similar to the simple christogram. Another girl stands behind the tree. A strange figure, consisting of two circles as the trunk of its body and holding a dagger in hand, hovers in the sky between the two women. The left margin is filled out by six flowerlike symbols.

That the scene is of a religious nature can scarcely be doubted. It may represent the presentation of a little girl to the mother goddess approximately corresponding to the Christian confirmation, or it may represent the women's spring festival.

P. C.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE MEANING OF GOD IN HUMAN EXPERIENCE. A Philosophic Study of Religion by *William Ernest Hocking, Ph. D.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1912. Pp. 586. Price \$3.00 net.

Dr. Hocking is a disciple of William James and of Royce, and has ap-

proached his subject in a way which shows the influence of his teachers, though he does not follow them to the letter. In the preface Mr. Hocking proposes what he calls a negative paganism, whose principle is "that which does not work is not true," a modification from the philosophy of James which accepts as true that which works. Further we read: "There are mysticisms in which none of us believe....I have become persuaded that there is another, even a necessary mysticism. A mysticism as important as dangerous; whose historical aberrations are but tokens of its power. It is this mysticism which lends to life that value which is beyond reach of fact, and that creativity which is beyond the docility of reason; which neither denies nor is denied by the results of idealism or the practical works of life, but supplements both, and constitutes the essential standpoint of religion."

Our author continues:

"As to the plan to be followed, I shall accept the pragmatic question, What does religion do? as a way of leading into the study of what religion is.... In taking up this inquiry, the second part of the book considers with some thoroughness the motives which have led to the retirement of reason in religion, and at the same time to a growing confidence in the worth of feeling. By deepening our conception of feeling we find that our anti-intellectual tendencies can be founded for the most part in the 'religion of feeling'; and in coming to terms with that view of religion we solve many of our problems at once.... If I have taken frequent occasion in this book to express the views both of Professor Royce and of William James, it is but a sign of the extent to which I owe to them, my honored masters in these matters, the groundwork of my thinking."

K

THE BOOK OF JOB. By *Homer B. Sprague, Ph. D.* Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1913. Pp. 243. Price \$1.25 net.

The venerable man of letters has brought to his work a great love for his subject and a truly poetic insight. His metrical version has been made with due reverence for the authorized translation, and the work is prefaced by two pages on the poetical structure of Job and by an introductory essay which deals with the questions of the allegorical or historical character of the book, and the mystery of pain and suffering. Great care has been expended on the explanatory notes in which the aim throughout has been to stimulate thought rather than to "supersede" it, and to give the results of the latest critical research. It is rather to be regretted that this careful student has not made any reference to an interesting Babylonian parallel (*Tabi-utul-Bel*) to the character of Job. The fragment containing an account of it was first published in English by M. Jastrow in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (XXV, 157-176) and republished in *The Open Court* (XXIV, 506-509) together with references to definite passages in Job selected by Mr. H. L. F. Gillespie as interesting for comparison. Readers of Dr. Sprague's *Job* would also be interested in the geographical explanation of the "Chambers of the South" (ix. 9) given by Mr. Theodore Cooper in the same number of *The Open Court* (August, 1910).

P



THE VENUS OF MILO.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII (No. 9)

SEPTEMBER, 1913

NO. 688

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THE VENUS OF MILO.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE DISCOVERY OF A RARE ART TREASURE.

MELOS (Italian *Milo*), one of the smallest Greek islands, would scarcely be known at all except to specialists in geography or ancient history, had not a happy accident brought to light on one of its hillsides that most beautiful torso which ever since its discovery has been known as the Venus of Milo.

Melos means apple, and the island of Melos was inhabited in ancient times by Dorians who sympathized with Sparta against Athens, and when the Athenians conquered it after a most stubborn resistance, they slaughtered the entire Dorian male population and replaced them by Athenian colonists. Since then the island remained absolutely faithful to Athens, in fact it was the last possession which still belonged to Athens when the Ionian confederacy broke up, and the friendly relations between Melos and her metropolis continued even in the period when Greece had become a Roman province.

Melos is a small island belonging to the Cyclades, being the most southern and western member of that group. It lies almost straight west from the southern tip of the Peloponnesus and in a direction south to southwest from Athens.

On this island of Melos, a peasant by the name of Yorgos Bottonis and his son Antonio, while clearing the place of stones near the ruins of an ancient theatre in the vicinity of Castro, the capital of the island, came accidentally across a small underground cave carefully covered and concealed which contained the fine marble

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statue ever since known as the Venus of Milo, together with several other broken pieces of marble. This happened in February, 1820.

Rev. Oiconomos, the village priest who guided the finder in this matter, invited M. Louis Brest, the French consul of Melos, to see the statue and offered it to him (in March of the same year) for 20,000 francs. M. Brest does not seem to have been in a hurry to buy, but he claims to have written to the French minister at Constantinople. One thing is sure, no answer had come by April when His French Majesty's good ship "Chevrette" happened to cast anchor in the harbor at Melos and an ensign on board, Monsieur Dumont d'Urville, went to see the statue. The inability to sell the



THE SITE OF MELOS FROM THE PORT.

White cross shows where Venus was found. (From *The Century Magazine*, I, p. 99).

torso had brought the price down, and the finder was willing to sell it to the young French nobleman for only 1200 francs. M. d'Urville was more energetic than M. Brest and as soon as he reached Constantinople the French Minister at once authorized a certain Count Marcellus, a member of the French embassy, to go to Melos and procure the statue.

Count Marcellus arrived on the French vessel "Estafette" in May, but found that the statue had been sold in the meantime to a certain Nikolai Morusi for 4800 francs and had just been placed aboard a little brog bound for Constantinople, the home of the buyer. At this juncture the three Frenchmen, M. Brest, M. d'Ur-

ville and Count Marcellus, decided not to let their treasure so easily escape them, so M. Brest protested before the Turkish authorities that the bargain had been concluded, declaring that Bottonis had no right to sell his prize to any other party. They even threatened to use force and, being backed by the French mariners of the "Estafette," said that under no conditions would they allow the statue to leave the harbor.

While the three Frenchmen claimed that France was entitled to have the statue for 1200 francs they were willing to pay not only 4800 francs, the price promised by Morusi, but 6000 francs. The new buyer had not yet paid and so the peasant was satisfied with the cash offered him, while the Turkish authorities did not care either way. Thus it came to pass that the valuable torso was transferred to the French warship on May 25, 1820, and after much cruising was carried to Constantinople where it was placed on another French ship, the "Lionne," bound for France and destined to bring home the French Minister, Marquis de Rivière. The "Lionne" reached France in October, 1820, and the statue was delivered at the Louvre in February, 1821.

DUMONT D'URVILLE'S REPORT.

The most important passage of Dumont d'Urville's report¹ about the discovery of the torso reads in an English translation thus:

"The Chevrette set sail from Toulon on April 3 (1820), in the morning, and anchored on the sixteenth in the roadstead of Milo....

"On the 19th I went to look at some antique pieces discovered at Milo a few days before our arrival. Since they seem to me worthy of attention I shall here record the result of my observation in some detail....

"About three weeks before our arrival at Milo a Greek peasant digging in his field....came across some stones of considerable size. As these stones....had a certain value this consideration encouraged him to dig still further, and so he succeeded in clearing out a sort of recess in which he found a marble statue together with two hermae and some other pieces likewise of marble.

"The statue was in two pieces joined in the middle by two small

¹ Published under the title "Relation d'une expédition hydrographique dans le Levant et la mer Noire de la gabarre de Sa Majesté la *Chevrette*, commandée par M. Gauttier, capitaine de vaisseau, dans l'année 1820," in *Annales maritimes et coloniales de Bajot*, 1821, and reprinted in *Archives de l'art français, publiées sous la direction de M. A. Montaiglon*, II series, Vol. II, 1863, pp. 202 ff.

iron tenons. Fearing he would lose the fruit of his toil, the Greek had the upper part and the two hermae carried away and deposited in a stable. The rest were left in the cave. I examined all very carefully, and the various pieces seemed to me in good taste, as far as my slight acquaintance with the arts permitted me to judge of them.



THE FIELD OF YORGOS BOTTONIS.

Cross shows where the Venus was found. (From *The Century Magazine*, I, p. 99).

"I measured the two parts of the statue separately and found it very nearly six feet in height; it represented a nude woman whose left hand was raised and held an apple, and the right supported a garment draped in easy folds and falling carelessly from her loins to her feet. Both hands have been mutilated and are actually detached from the body. The hair is coiled in the back and held up by a bandeau. The face is very beautiful and well

preserved except that the end of the nose is injured. The only remaining foot is bare; the ears have been pierced and may have contained pendants.

"All these attributes would seem to agree well enough with the Venus of the judgment of Paris; but in that case where would be Juno, Minerva and the handsome shepherd? It is true that a foot clad in a cothurnus and a third hand were found at the same time. On the other hand the name of the Island Melos has a very close connection with the word *μῆλον* which means apple. Might not this similarity of the words have indicated the statue by its principal attribute?

"The two hermae were with it in the cave. Beyond this fact there is nothing remarkable about them. Their height is about three feet and a half. One is surmounted by the head of a woman or child and the other by the face of an old man with a long beard.

"The entrance to the cave was surmounted by a piece of marble four feet and a half long and about six or eight inches wide. It bore an inscription of which only the first half has been respected by Time. The rest is entirely effaced. This loss is inestimable; . . . at least we might have learned on what occasion and by whom the statues had been dedicated.

"At any rate I have carefully copied the remaining characters of this inscription and I can guarantee them all except the first of which I am not sure. The space which I indicate for the defaced part has been measured in proportion to the letters which are still legible:

: AKXEOΣATIOYYΠOΓY AΣ.
TANTEEΞEΔPANKAITO
EPMAIHPAKAEI

"The pedestal of one of the hermae also bore an inscription but its characters have been so mutilated that it was impossible for me to decipher them.

"At the time of our passage to Constantinople the ambassador asked me about this statue and I told him what I thought about it, and sent to M. de Marcellus, secretary of the embassy, a copy of the inscription just given. Upon my return M. de Rivière informed me that he had acquired the statue for the museum and that it had been put on board one of the vessels at the landing. However, on our second trip to Milo in the month of September I regretted to learn that the affair was not yet ended. It seems that the peasant, tired of waiting, had decided to sell this statue for the sum

of 750 piasters, to a neighboring priest who wished to make a present to the dragoman of the Captain Pacha, and M. de Marcellus came just at the moment when it was being shipped to Constantinople. In despair at seeing this fine piece of antiquity about to escape him he made every effort to recover it, and thanks to the mediation of the primates of the island the priest finally consented, but not without reluctance, to abandon his purchase and give up the statue....

"On April 25 in the morning we doubled the promontory indicated...."

It is important to know the facts with regard to the debris



FRAGMENTS FOUND AT MELOS.
Nos. 4 and 5 of Count Marcellus's list.

found together with the torso of the Venus of Milo, as stated by a second eye witness, the Viscount Marcellus. He wrote his reminiscences on the Venus of Milo in a book entitled *Souvenirs*, and the second edition of this was reviewed by Lenormant. In answer to some objections of the latter the Viscount published "a last word on the Venus of Milo."²

In this he enumerates the objects brought away from the cave where the Venus had been found as follows:

"No. 1. The nude upper part of the statue.

"No. 2. The lower draped portion.

"Yorgos, their original owner....gave me at the same time

²"Un dernier mot sur la Venus de Milo," in the *Revue Contemporaine*, 1839, XIII, pp. 289 ff.

three small accessories of the statue found in a field near by.... These were:

"No. 3. The top of the hair commonly called the chignon, etc.

"No. 4. A shapeless and mutilated fore-arm.

"No. 5. Part of a hand holding an apple.

"The last two objects seemed to me to be of the same kind of marble and of a grain near enough like that of the statue, but I could not tell whether they could reasonably be assumed to belong to a Venus whose attitude I no longer remembered....

"The primates at the same time sent me the three hermae (Nos. 6, 7 and 8) which were still at Castro, and a left foot in marble (No. 9) which had been found in the neighborhood of the field of Yorgos lower down towards the valley where the burial caves are.

"They wished also to give me the inscription found in the same locality which I had already seen in their town. It is the one which commences with the Greek words: ΑΓΧΕΟΣ ΑΤΙΟΥ; but etc.

"I here repeat that with this exception I took away from Milo everything which had been taken from the ground with the Venus or near by, and I have no remembrance of having seen there, much less of having received or acquired myself, any other Greek inscription which made mention of a sculptor with a mutilated name, etc. Of course I would be eager enough with anything that might be able to throw light on the discovery, and since in my *Souvenirs de l'Orient* (I, p. 249) I cite an epigraph of almost no significance I would not wittingly or negligently have omitted any Greek letters near the excavation or relating to its details. Neither should it be forgotten that in fact I indicate only 'three hermae, some pedestals and other bits of marble debris' (I, p. 237) as the result of Yorgos's successive excavations; and further down (p. 48) these same hermae and other antique fragments without ever speaking of any inscription."

The inscription more completely mentioned by Dumont d'Urville has also with few insignificant variants been published by Clarac, only he adds the missing B at the beginning, reads I in place of E, and has two Σ's. It is a votive inscription which has no connection with our Venus. Being of little value, the authorities of the Louvre did not take good care of it and it is now lost. The probable meaning of the inscription is "Bakchios, (son of) Atios the subgymnasiarch (has donated) the arcade and the to Hermes, Heracles,"

These reports are important not so much for what they contain

as for what they do not contain. An inscription is copied in which Bacchus, Hermes and Heracles are mentioned but no reference is made to Agesander or Alexander of Antioch having appeared on a fragment of the pedestal. Moreover there having been found in a neighboring field three hands, there is no reason whatever that any one of them, let alone the left hand holding an apple, should have belonged to our statue. We shall have occasion to refer to these points again.

The statue has suffered many injuries. Both arms have been broken off and are now lost. So is the left foot. The tip of the



HERA.

Detail from a Pompeian fresco representing the marriage of Zeus and Hera.

nose has been restored; but there are some scratches and cudgel marks all over the body which could not be mended without destroying the original work, viz., the general treatment of the skin.

A line in the hair of the statue shows holes which prove plainly that on top of the head there must have been a coronet, such as is commonly worn by Greek goddesses, and called by the Greeks *σφενδόνη*, i. e., "sling," so called because with the strings attached to it it resembles a sling. It was worn especially by the mother goddess, the Queen of Heaven, Hera.

This statue of Milo represents a female body half draped, and

we may say that the artist's most obvious intention was to place before us the ideal of womanhood. It is not a maiden, but a full-grown woman, a wife and a mother. Since the arms have been broken off and lost, the artist's conception with regard to her posture can only be surmised. Her face is calm and without passion, bearing an expression of queenly dignity, perhaps also of surprise, even self-defence. The upper part of the body is naked and the falling garment is temporarily supported by the raising of her left knee, apparently lifted for this purpose, while her right hand appears to have been extended to grasp it.

There is nothing frivolous about her, no coquetry, nothing amorous. Her eyes betray not the slightest touch of a sensual emotion, and thereby the artist succeeded in transfiguring naked beauty by a calm self-possessed chastity. We see before us the noblest type of womanhood which has remained unrivaled in the art of statuary.

The consensus of art admirers, which is almost, though not quite, universal, sees in this torso the great mother goddess, *das ewig Weibliche*, idealized femininity, the goddess of beauty and love, whom the Greeks called Aphrodite and the Romans, Venus.

It is noticeable that the ears are pierced so she must have worn earrings, and robbers must have torn them away before the torso was secreted in the cave. Judging from the muscles of the left shoulder the left arm must have been raised. Sometimes it has been claimed that the hand carrying an apple, which with other debris was found in the neighborhood, belonged to the statue, but this is very doubtful. Archeologists are not agreed upon this point because the fragment is of rough workmanship and is commonly judged as not worthy of the torso; at best it might be regarded as the work of an ancient restoration. All restorers are pretty well agreed on the right hand as having grasped for the falling garment, preliminarily held up by the raised right knee.

The famous French painter David happened to be exiled at the time of the discovery of the Venus of Milo, and since he took a great interest in this wonderful piece of ancient art, he induced one of his disciples, a certain Debay, to have his son Auguste Debay, a young art student, make a drawing of the statue as soon as it was put up in the Louvre. This drawing was afterwards published by M. de Clarac in his "Notice" and we here republish it on account of the importance it has gained as a document in the history of the statue.

Debay's drawing shows a plinth bearing an inscription and also exhibiting a square hole in the ground near the left foot of the

statue. The angle of vision is indicated by the line " xx " which shows the height from which the statue was viewed by M. Debay. The point a which corresponds to the place of the eye at a distance of the angle is indicated in the drawing by lines from a and b to the point where they meet. The distance of M. Debay's position cannot have been more than one-half the height of the whole statue.



DRAWING OF VENUS BY DEBAY.

The inscription on the pedestal of M. Debay's drawing reads: "...andros son of Menides of Antiochia on the Maiandros."

Since of the last missing letter before the A the lowest stroke of a Greek Ξ or of an Σ is discernible in the drawing, the name must have read "Alexandros" or "Agesandros." This man cannot have lived before the third century B. C. because his native city

Antioch on the Mainander was founded by Seleukos in the period of the Diadochs about 300 B. C. According to Professor Kirchhoff's view the character of the letters belongs to the first century and may in his opinion at most be dated back to the middle of the second century B. C.



HEAD OF THE VENUS OF MILO.

We have no information whatever why the plinth was joined to the statue. It appears on the Debay drawing and is lost now, but it continues to be a mystery to archeologists.

If the piece of the pedestal with the inscription belonged to the statue, for which assumption, as we have seen, there is no reason whatever, the statue would be of a comparatively late date,

but we really do not know what the plinth bearing the name "...andros" has to do with the statue.

Archeologists have discovered other heads showing a remarkable similarity in their features to the Venus of Milo. Among them is a head discovered in Tralles, Asia Minor, which shows almost



HEAD OF THE VENUS OF TRALLES.

the same face as the Venus of Milo. So close is the resemblance that both seem to have been made after the same model. It may be that one has been copied from the other or both chiseled from a common prototype. We here reproduce the heads of both, after half-tone pictures published by Saloman.³

³ Geskel Saloman, *Die Restauration der Venus von Milo, den Manen de Claracs gewidmet*. Stockholm, 1895. Plate IV.

The Venus of Milo is at present the pride of the Louvre at Paris, and the place where she stands on account of her presence alone may be likened to an ancient pagan chapel, comparable to the room in the Dresden gallery where the Sistine Madonna stands, the latter being a Christian counterpart of the former. There is a sacred atmosphere surrounding these images to such an extent that not infrequently visitors who enter the room are suddenly hushed. They seem to feel that they have come into the presence of some divinity which exercises its influence upon the world not by might, but by beauty, by grace and by loveliness.

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE APHRODITE CULT.

Though we may fairly well assume that in prehistoric ages, probably in the times of matriarchy, all nations revered a *Magna Mater*, historical development points to the Orient as the place whence the cult of Aphrodite was imported into Greece; there it found the soil prepared by the common belief in a mother goddess. The Greek Aphrodite was the Astarte of the Tyrians and the Istar of the Babylonians. The etymology of the name is doubtful. The Greeks derived the name Aphrodite from the word *ἀφρός* = foam, because she had risen from the foam of the sea, representing the generative principle of Uranus embracing the earth, but that derivation is as doubtful as other attempts of Greek philologists at explaining the origin of such names as Heracles, "the fame of Hera," or Amazon, "the woman without breasts," or Prometheus, "the fore-thinker," etc. One modern conception would make us regard Aphrodite as an Egyptian importation and explains the name to mean *Aphoradat*, "the gift of Ra," the sun-god, derived from *Pha Raa Dat* with the prosthetic A; but this, like the suggested derivation of Psyche from *Pha Sakhu*, "the mummy," seems to be a mere accident of homophony. Other Greek names such as Elysion from *Aalu*, the Elysian Fields of the Egyptians, Charon from *Kere*, driver or skipper (ferryman) are better attested, but if the name of Aphrodite came from Egypt, the cult of a goddess by that name has been lost or obliterated.

THE GODDESS OF WAR.

Originally Aphrodite was the same figure as Hera or Juno, Artemis or Diana and Pallas Athene or Minerva. These female deities are differentiations of the idealized and personified activities of womanhood: Hera as the queen of heaven, the protectress of

wifehood; Diana of girlhood and virginity; Athene as the goddess of battles, as protectress of arts and sciences, as wisdom personified.

The ancient pagans were not so very unlike the Christians, e. g., Istar, like the Virgin Mary, represented at the same time eternal virginity and motherhood, and the name of the temple on the Acropolis might truly be translated "Church of the Holy Virgin," for Parthenon is derived from *παρθένος*, "virgin." One special function of the mother goddess was leadership in war. So Ares (or Mars) is the god of fight, of combativeness, while Athene is the teacher of the art of warfare, of generalship, of strategy in battle.

The character of Aphrodite as Venus Victrix is by no means a late Roman invention of the days of Cæsar but dates back to the most ancient days of Babylonian tradition. She was from the start of history the great *Magna Mater*, the All-Mother, and Queen to whom the people appealed in all their needs.

A penitential psalm on the destruction of the ancient city of Erech has been preserved in a fragment which in Theodore G. Pinches's translation reads thus:⁴

"How long, my Lady, shall the strong enemy hold thy sanctuary?
There is want in Erech, thy principal city;
Blood is flowing like water in E-ulbar, the house of thy oracle;
He the enemy has kindled and poured out fire like hailstones on all thy lands.
My Lady, sorely am I fettered by misfortune;
My Lady, thou hast surrounded me, and brought me to grief.
The mighty enemy has smitten me down like a single reed.
Not wise myself, I cannot take counsel;⁵
I mourn day and night like the fields.
I, thy servant, pray to thee."

As Venus Victrix, the warlike goddess akin to the Greek Pallas Athene, Istar appears to Assurbanipal in a vision, recorded in a cuneiform inscription of the annals of this powerful Assyrian king, and refers to the invasion of Tiumman, King of Elam. The passage reads in H. Fox Talbot's translation thus:⁶

"In the month Ab, the month of the heliacal rising of Sagittarius, in the festival of the great Queen [Ishtar] daughter of Bel, I [Assurbanipal, King of Assyria,] was staying at Arbela, the city most beloved by her, to be present at her high worship.

"There they brought me news of the invasion of the Elamite, who was coming against the will of the gods. Thus:

⁴The original is written in a Sumerian dialect with a translation into the Semitic Babylonian. See *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. I, p. 85.

⁵Literally, "I do not take counsel, myself I am not wise."

⁶*Records of the Past*, Vol. VII, p. 67.

"Tiumman has said solemnly, and Ishtar has repeated to us the tenor of his words: thus: "I will not pour out another libation until I have gone and fought with him."'

"Concerning this threat which Tiumman had spoken, I prayed to the great Ishtar. I approached to her presence, I bowed down at her feet, I besought her divinity to come and save me. Thus:

"O goddess of Arbela, I am Assurbanipal, King of Assyria, the creature of thy hands, [chosen by thee and] thy father [Assur] to restore the temples of Assyria, and to complete the holy cities of Akkad. I have to honor thee, and I have gone to worship thee. But he Tiumman, King of Elam, never worships the gods. . . .

[Here some words are lost.]

"O thou Queen of queens, Goddess of war, Lady of battles, Queen of the gods, who in the presence of Assur thy father speakest always in my favor, causing the hearts of Assur and Marduk to love me. . . . Lo! now, Tiumman King of Elam who has sinned against Assur thy father, and has scorned the divinity of Marduk thy brother, while I Assurbanipal have been rejoicing their hearts. He has collected his soldiers, amassed his army, and has drawn his sword to invade Assyria. O thou archer of the gods, come like a [thunderstorm]. . . . in the midst of the battle, destroy him, and crush him with a fiery bolt from heaven!"

"Ishtar heard my prayer. 'Fear not!' she replied, and caused my heart to rejoice. 'According to thy prayer thy eyes shall see the judgment. For I will have mercy on thee!'

* * *

"In the night-time of that night in which I had prayed to her, a certain seer lay down and had a dream. In the midst of the night Ishtar appeared to him, and he related the vision to me, thus:

"Ishtar who dwells in Arbela came unto me begirt right and left with flames, holding her bow in her hand, and riding in her open chariot as if going to the battle. And thou didst stand before her. She addressed thee as a mother would her child. She smiled upon thee, she Ishtar, the highest of the gods, and gave thee a command. Thus: "take [this bow]," she said, "go with it to battle! Wherever thy camp shall stand, I will come."

"Then thou didst say to her, thus: "O Queen of the goddesses, wherever thou goest let me go with thee!" Then she made answer to thee: thus: "I will protect thee! and I will march with thee at the time of the feast of Nebo. Meanwhile eat food, drink wine, make music, and glorify my divinity, until I shall come and this vision shall be fulfilled."

"Thy heart's desire shall be accomplished. Thy face shall not grow pale with fear; thy feet shall not be arrested: thou shalt not even scratch thy skin in the battle. In her benevolence she defends thee, and she is wrath with all thy foes. Before her a fire is blown fiercely, to destroy thy enemies.'"

Mr. Talbot makes the following editorial comment on the historical event connected with Assurbanipal's narrative:

"The promises which the goddess Ishtar made to the king in this vision of the month Ab were fulfilled. In the following month (Elul) Assurbanipal took the field against Tiumman, and his army speedily achieved a brilliant victory. Tiumman was slain, and his head was sent to Nineveh. There is a bas-relief in the British Museum representing a man driving a rapid car, and holding in his hand the head of a warrior, with this inscription, *Kakkadu Tiumman*, 'The head of Tiumman.'"

That Ishtar was connected with the underworld and could save the dead is established by that remarkable poem the "Descent of Ishtar" (published with explanations in *The Open Court*, Vol. XV, pp. 357 ff., June, 1901).

As a résumé we state that the cult of Ishtar, Astarte, Aphrodite, Venus, or (as she is called among the Northern Germanic tribes) Frigga, was upon the whole, so far as the original documents show, pure and elevating. We need not doubt that there were abuses and excesses, yet we measure the height of mountains at their summits, not in their depression or at the bottom of their gorges, and so we ought to form our estimate of pagan religions not by the superstitions of their uncultured adherents, but by the highest ideals which their best representatives have attained.

THE PORTRAYAL OF VENUS.

At the dawn of the historic age the oldest Greek statues and paintings of Venus show her fully dressed and draped, and not before the fourth century in the times of the highest development of art do the Greek artists dare to represent her first as half draped, and then in entire nudity.

This general statement of the development of art does not refer to the prehistoric period.

It is possible, even probable, that the naked form of Venus, of the goddess of womanhood, appears first in prehistoric Babylon, but we may fairly well assume that even the artists of the stone age took up this all-absorbing subject, and if this be the case we may be justified in calling the torso of a naked female figure discov-

ered in Brassempouy a Venus, so far the oldest Venus that has come down to us.

It is certainly remarkable how frequently art has succeeded in presenting beauty in perfect nudity without any impropriety and has endowed it with divine dignity. The greatest artists, Praxiteles, Scopas, the sculptor of the Venus of Milo, and in Christian art Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian and many others bear out the statement, that nakedness is not improper in itself, and that the



THE VENUS OF BRASSEMPOUY.

show of an intention to excite sensuality alone gives offence. In the classical age, both opposites, intentional display and prudery are foreign to the conception of Aphrodite. Only with the decay of Greek art an ostentatious show of prudery appears in the so-called Venus of Medici; and an undignified sensuality develops further during the final days of paganism, especially in the so-called Venus Kalypygos, in this way justifying to some extent the harsh opinion of Christian pietists who have vitiated our notion of Greek deities down to the present day.

HYMNS TO VENUS.

The worship of Aphrodite in the days of classical paganism is best characterized by two hymns, attributed to Homer, but it must be understood that this whole class of poetry constitutes Homeric apocrypha of a comparatively late date. We here quote them in a versified translation of our own.

"My verse shall praise thee goddess fair and mighty,
Great Queen of Cyprus, glorious Aphrodite
Who unto mortals love's sweet gift bestowest
And in the charm of richest beauty glowest.
Thou holdest in thy hand the magic flower
Whose spell subjects us to thy gentle power.
Hail gracious lady, soother of all woes,
Who conquerest by pleasing smiles thy foes.
As we thy beauty worship and admire
Inspire my song with thy celestial fire.
So shall my muse forever honor thee
And her whom thou commendest unto me."

"The venerable Lady I adore,
Queen Aphrodite, owner of the shore
Of seagirt Cyprus. Thither Zephyr's breeze
Had wafted her as babe with gentle ease.
While yet unborn, in briny foam lay she
Floating on billows of the surging sea,
Whence she came forth. The Seasons young and fair
With gold embroidered bridles guided her,
They took her to their arms and they caressed
The little maid and had her beauty dressed
In garments of Ambrosian fabric wrought.
And then a crown of golden weight they brought,
Three-handled, which above her head they placed.
Her soft white neck with carcanets was graced,
The strands of which her silver breast adorn
In such a way as by the Seasons worn
At dances in sylvestrian resort
Or in Olympus at their father's court.
They carried up the babe so fair and wee
To the immortals who in ecstasy
Began at once to hug and fondle her
And kiss her hands. All vowed that they would wear
The sacred flower of this divine fair maid
At Hymen's feast in festival parade.
Yea such a charm the Gods e'en never saw;
They gazed and wondered and they stood in awe.
O goddess, dark-browed, sweet of voice,
In thee my song shall glory to rejoice!

On us poor mortals here on earth below
 Life's palm and heaven's happiness bestow.
 Praised be forever thy divinity,
 And the fair sex which representeth thee."

THE CAUSE OF DETERIORATION.

The myths which connected Aphrodite in one place with Adonis, in others with Mars, Hephaestos, Anchises and other gods or mortals, were originally several different developments of the same fundamental idea, the love story of the goddess of love, and when in the days of a more international communication these myths were told in different shapes in all localities, they in their combination served greatly to undermine the respect for the goddess and to degrade the conception of her even as early as in the time when the Homeric epics were composed. Nevertheless, since the sarcasm remained limited for a long time to the circle of heretics and scoffers, the noble conception of Aphrodite was preserved down to the latest days of paganism. In the face of these contradictory conceptions of the goddess, her devotees came to distinguish between Venus Urania, the Heavenly Venus and Venus Vulgaris or Pandemos, as a representative of the brute sexual instinct.

In other words Venus was originally the mother of mankind. She was at once the Queen of Heaven, or Juno, the Magna Mater or Venus Genetrix, the educator and teacher or Pallas Athene, the eternal virgin or Diana, and this truth had better be stated in the reverse that the original mother of mankind differentiated in the course of history into these several activities of motherhood, as Juno, Venus, Diana or Athene, which divinities were again reunited in Christianity as Mary, the Queen of Heaven, the Mother of God, the Mother as a guide in life and the Eternal Virgin.

In the early imperial time of Rome, the authority of Venus was greatly promoted by being the tutelary deity of Cæsar, who through the similarity of his name "Julius" with "Julus," the son of Æneas, was encouraged to derive his legendary pedigree from Æneas, the mythical founder of the Latin race, the reputed son of Anchises and Aphrodite.

With the rise of Christianity the worship of Venus naturally deteriorated very rapidly and the fathers of the church referring to all the different versions of her love affairs maligned her in the eyes of the world by identifying the Venus Urania with the Venus Vulgaris, and their views have contributed a good deal to disfiguring her picture in later centuries.

In the times of Cæsar she was still the great goddess, whose domain was not limited to beauty and love or even to the procreation of life in which capacity she was called Venus Genetrix, but she was also Venus Victrix, or the goddess who in battle assures victory. Yea, more than all this, she was the goddess of life and immortality connected with the Chthonian gods—the powers of death in the underworld. Her emblem, the pomegranate, is also found in the hands of Persephone, indicating a kinship between Aphrodite and the daughter of Demeter.

THE DATE OF THE STATUE.

After these general comments, we return to the most classical, the most Greek, and even at present the most cherished representation of Aphrodite, the Venus of Milo. Of all the statues of classical antiquity it is the greatest favorite, not only among the public but also among art critics, and it is strange that the statue has acquired this popularity, for it is by no means without faults in technique nor has it been made by any one of the famous artists. The sculptor is either not known at all or, if the pedestal actually belonged to the statue, he was a man unknown to fame, and it seems difficult to point out the reasons which give to this most badly wrecked piece of marble its peculiar charm.

We can not help thinking that the artist worked after a living model and followed details pretty faithfully. In fact this may be the main secret of the charm of the torso, for on account of this reality there is a personal element in the statue, and we can almost read the character of the woman who stood as a model. We see at once an absence of any and every lascivious trait quite common to other Venus statues of a later period. There is not that sentimental moistness in her eye, *τὸ ὑγρόν*, as the Greeks called it, and there is a remarkable unconsciousness in her face which in spite of the nudity of the statue shows a natural purity.

We may assume that the artist belonged to the famous school of Rhodes or to the group of those artists who made Pergamum famous with their work. But no statement can be made with certainty. Upon archeological grounds we can not place the date of the statue earlier than about 400 B. C., nor later than the first part of the second century B. C., and this opinion is mainly based upon the excellent workmanship, the peculiar warmth of the skin as well as the classical simplicity of the statue as a whole. It appears that this valuable piece of art is worthy of a Phidias, a Praxiteles, a Lysippos, or a Scopas.

If we consider the dominating motive of the statue we must grant that it neither belongs to very oldest times in which Venus



A MUTILATED STATUE OF EROS.

was fully dressed, nor to the latest in which nudity had almost become the most characteristic feature of the deity of love. It takes its place in the midst of Greek art developments when the first

attempt was made to show the bodily forms, and this is done in such a way as not to go to the extreme of a complete denudation but only suggests it—as it were with a protest on her part. For the motion in the picture plainly indicates that the knee is raised to retard the falling of the garment so as to give the right arm a moment's time to grasp it and to hold it up. It is more than merely probable that the left arm was raised toward an unexpected intruder in warning not to approach. There is no fear in the expression of the face, no fright, no anticipation of danger. The whole attitude makes us suspect that the missing left hand was raised with a forbidding gesture, laying down the command, *Ne prorsum! Ne plus ultra! Noli me tangere!*

RESTORATIONS.

Many attempts have been made to restore the torso of the Venus of Milo, and we here reproduce a number of them, but none of them have proved successful. It almost seems, as the German poet Heinrich Heine somewhere says, that the Venus of Milo, in her helpless condition with her arms broken off appeals more to our sympathy than in her original condition of glory when she received the homage of faithful worshipers, and it is true the very torso is beautiful in its present dilapidated state. Broken by fanatics of a hostile faith, she represents the natural beauty of Greek religion at its best in all its dignity and beauty. The hordes of bigoted monks vented their hatred with especial wrath against the goddess of love and also against her son, Eros, as may be seen from a torso of this god represented in his daintiest youthfulness. Here too the marks of the clubs of a furious mob are visible, showing the same spirit as in the treatment of the Venus of Milo.

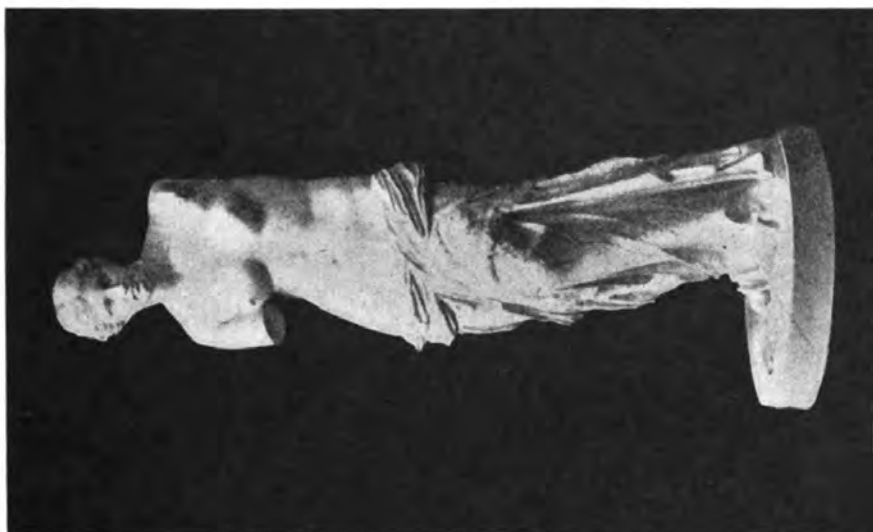
Those restorers of the Venus of Milo who reject the genuineness of the right hand holding an apple enjoy the greatest liberty in restoration, and we find some of them representing our Venus as holding a shield on her knee and writing upon it. Others place a mirror in her right hand, still others who claim that there is no necessity of interpreting the statue to be a Venus, believe her to be a Victory, or Niké, and make her throw wreaths.

Hasse and Henke have treated the problem of restoring the torso from the standpoint of anatomy, and claim rightly that the left hand should be raised higher than other restorers have proposed.

Overbeck says: "It seems permissible to doubt the originality of this composition, and to refer it back to an older original which



VENUS WITH MIRROR.



THE VENUS OF MILO.



VENUS WITH SHIELD AND PENCIL.



DRAWING BY HASSE AND HENKE.

we can no longer determine, as the common prototype of the statue of Milo and of other similar statues. For this reason there would be no objection to let our statue have originated during the period



SALOMON'S LATEST RESTORATION.

of imitation. Although I deem the dependence of the statue upon an older original assured, I am disinclined to deny a certain degree of originality, but in those very features which I deem to be original are the very marks of a late revision."



RESTORATION BY SALOMON.



VENUS AS A VICTORY DISPENSING WREATHS.



RESTORATION BY FÜRTWÄGLER.

Conze compares our Venus of Milo with the style of the Pergamene sculptures, and in his essay on the results of the excavation at Pergamum, page 71, he calls attention to the fact that the treatment of the flesh and the sketchy method of the treatment of the hair seems to him a characteristic performance of a later period, calling attention to the similarity of a piece of Pergamene sculpture with the head of the Venus of Milo.

Furtwängler places the Pergamene sculpture in the third century and the Venus of Milo in the second century B. C. His restoration, according to which the goddess rests her left arm on a column and holds an apple in her hand, has for a long time been considered the most probable, and yet even this can scarcely be regarded as satisfactory.

Mr. Geskel Saloman, a Swedish archeologist, also places a column at her left side and uses it to let her hand rest on it. In consideration of some ancient descriptions of a dramatic ceremony performed at Corinth he places a dove on her right hand. The idea is that having received the apple as the prize of beauty she sends out the dove to her worshipers in order to announce her triumph and inform them that they may celebrate the victory.

Valentine Veit attempts to construct his restoration out of the data furnished by the torso itself and seems to come nearest to the truth. He assumes that the goddess in the act of undressing for a bath finds herself surprised by an intruder. There is no fear or alarm in her attitude, but a self-poised dignity. She grasps with her right hand for the falling garment which she attempts to support with her left knee and raises her left hand to stop the intruder. We regret that we have not seen either a picture or a statue of this restoration, but we are deeply impressed that this idea is most probably correct.

The latest restoration comes from Francisca Paloma Del Mar (Frank Paloma) who places a child on the left arm of the goddess, and this view is defended in a special pamphlet by Alexander del Mar.⁷

Mr. Del Mar brings out the idea that the reverence in which the great mother goddess was held among the pagans was substantially not different in piety from Christian Madonna worship, and this view is brought out in the painting by the artist Frank Paloma here reproduced. Mr. Del Mar thinks that the pagan

⁷ *The Venus di Milo, Its History and Its Art*. New York, Cambridge Encyclopedia Co., 1900.

goddess served the inhabitants of Melos as a Christian Virgin. He says:



THE MOTHER OF THE GODS.
From the painting by Francisca P. Del Mar.

“What more natural than for the pious islanders of Melos, terrified by the harsh edicts of Theodosius, to simply burn the pedestal

and inscription belonging to their pagan goddess, and continue to worship under another name the same embodiment of that holy sentiment of love and maternity which they had hitherto been accustomed to adore."

Mr. Del Mar relies on the testimony of Count Marcellus who finally concluded the bargain in the name of the French government and quotes him as saying in his *Souvenirs de l'Orient*, I, 255: "It can be demonstrated that the statue represented the Panagia or Holy Virgin, of the little Greek chapel whose ruins I saw at Milo."



THE VENUS OF PANDERMA.

It seems to us that the statue can not have carried a child in her left arm because the marble would show more traces of roughness where the mother must have touched the babe, even when we make allowance for a polishing in the restored portions, and we would suggest further that the child would be held farther down on the lower arm, not on the wrist. When a mother carries a child, her upper and lower arms are naturally at right angles, and the position of having them at a very acute angle appears quite artificial.

Other objections to Mr. Del Mar's restoration are the all too

Christian attributes of the haloes placed upon the heads of mother and child and the apple of empire in the infant's hand.

Without entering into details we leave it to the taste of the reader whether he would select any of these restorations as a pos-



THE VENUS HEAD IN THE MUSEUM OF BARDOS.

sible solution of the problem; we prefer to admire the torso as it appears now; for after all the broken torso still remains dearer to us in its wonderful and appealing beauty than any of the restorations. We ourselves believe that modern man will come to the conclusion to see in this image in its present shape a noble martyr of

ancient paganism. Even the original statue itself in all its perfection, if it could be restored to us as it came fresh from the artist's workshop, could not replace the torso as we know it now.

This is the reason why we do not take a great interest in the various restorations of the Venus of Milo, and therefore are not inclined to undertake a close study or to enter into an elaborate recapitulation of these laudable attempts. We can only say that none of them seems to solve the problem.

RECENT DISCOVERIES.

Of Venus statues discovered in recent times we will mention two more, the Venus of Panderna and the Venus head of Bardos.



ATHENE.



MARS.

Discovered with the Venus and now in the Museum of Bardos.

The former was made of Parian marble and found in a shipwreck near the coast of Panderna in the year 1884, together with the coins of the time of Lysimachos. The latter stands near a small pillar over which her garment is hung. She is represented at the moment when her hands tie a long ribbon around her head to hold up her curly hair, which falls back behind her ears. Fürtwangler and Salomon Reinach have devoted much attention to the statue, the latter in his *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, and both praise highly the beauty of the goddess.

The head of the goddess Venus now preserved in the museum at Bardos near Tunis has been recently discovered by sponge divers off the African coast in a wrecked ship, where it must have lain over two thousand years. It had probably been ordered by lovers of art living in Africa and never reached its place of destination. The shells which cover part of the bust have happily not attacked the features of the goddess and so the beauty of the face is left unmarred.

* * *

The temples of Aphrodite lie in ruins, and her worship is abandoned; but the ideal of womanhood which she represented has remained to this day, and will remain so long as mankind will continue to exist on earth. The artist of the statue of Milo has left us an unsurpassed interpretation of this ideal which even in its mutilated condition is noble and beautiful. At the same time nature does not cease to actualize the type in every living woman that has been born into the world. Each one of them with all her individual traits, her preferences and even her feminine faults is a specimen of the eternal ideal of womanhood—the divinity of love, of grace, of charm, of beauty, a source of inspiration and also of receptiveness as well as of physical and intellectual creativeness.

The ancient paganism has passed away and will never come back, but because its superstitions are gone we need no longer scorn its gods. We can recognize their grandeur, their nobility, their beauty, yea their truth; and if we contemplate the representation of their ideals in Greek art, we must own that the Venus of Milo is not the least among them.

AN EXPOSITION OF TAOISM.¹

BY CHANG T' IEN SHE, THE TAOIST POPE.

TAOISM and Confucianism are the oldest religions of China. Taoism originated with the originator of all religions. He transmitted it to Lao-tze, who was born about B. C. 604 under the Cheu dynasty, was contemporary with Confucius, and was keeper of the archives. His *Tao Teh King* treats of the origin and philosophy of nature, of the mystery behind and above the visible universe, in order to educate the ignorant.

In time, Taoism divided into four schools—the Original, the Mountain, the Barrier and the Orthodox schools. After ten generations these schools became one again. The Barrier school is probably represented to-day by the Pure Truth school, which really originated with Wang Chieh in A. D. 1161, and has flourished all the more since the rise of the Mongol dynasty. The present head of Taoism is of the Orthodox school.

At present Taoism has a northern and a southern branch. Our sacred books are divided into advanced, secondary and primary classes, the advanced class discussing the question how to find truth or the eternal, the secondary class the origin of things, and the elementary class treating of spirits. There are also three secondary classes in three books—*The Great Beginning*, *The Great Peace*, *The Great Purity*. The Orthodox school also has a literature divided into three independent classes, and called the sacred literature of the three classes.

If Taoists seek Taoism's deep meaning in earnest, and put unworthy desires aside, they are not far from its original goal. But in after generations the marvelous overclouded this; Taoists left the right way, and boasted wonders of their own. Legends of gods and

¹ An essay communicated to the Religious Parliament held in 1893 at Chicago. See the editorial note on "The Pope of Taoism" on another page of this issue.

genii became incorporated in Taoism. In the Han dynasty Taoism had thirty-seven books and the genii religion ten. These were different at first. But from the time Taoism ceased to think purity and peaceableness sufficient to satisfy men, it became the genii religion [magic and spiritualism], though still called Taoism.

From B. C. 206 to A. D. 220 the doctrines of Hwangti and Lao-tze flourished together. The former ones related to miracles and wonders, the latter to truth and virtue.

The *Tao Teh King* had said nothing of the pellet of immortality (or an elixir of life), but about A. D. 420 this theory of a spiritual germ was read into it. Kwo Chang Keng held that what the *Tao Teh King* says about things being produced by what existed before nature is the source of the germ of immortality. The *Wu Chin Pien*, another of our orthodox books, discusses nothing except the importance of this eternal germ. The art of breathing the breath of life was practiced, and the fundamental nature of Taoism underwent change. Then the secret of the germ of life and the art of refining one's nature were sought; and its foundations experienced another change. Finally Chang Lu (*circa* A. D. 385-582?) used charms in his teaching, and employed fasting, prayer, hymns and incantations to obtain blessings and repel calamities; and Taoism's fundamental doctrines had utterly disappeared.

What does Taoism mean by the phrase, Carrying out heaven's will? It means that heaven is the first cause of religion, that man is produced by two forces, Yin and Yang;* that heaven gave the spiritual nature; and that when this is lost he cannot carry out heaven's will nor be a man. Heaven is called the great clearness, the great space, and this clear space is heaven's natural body. Taoism regards heaven as its lord, and seeks to follow heaven's way. If men, to preserve the heaven-given soul, can premise Yin and Yang as the foundation of truth and of the spiritual nature, and can nourish the heaven-given spiritual life, what need for the medicine of immortality?

Those who carry out heaven's will are able to fulfil their duties as men. Those who really study religion, cultivate their spiritual nature, preserve their souls, gather up their spiritual force, and watch their hearts. They believe that if the spiritual nature be not nurtured, it daily dwindles; if the soul be not preserved, it daily dies; if the spiritual force be not exercised, it is dissipated daily; if the heart be not watched, it is daily lost.

* For an explanation of Yin and Yang, the negative and the positive principles, see Carus, *Chinese Philosophy*, p. 3.

Taoism, though considering purity fundamental, adds patience to purity and holds to it with perseverance, overcomes the hard with softness, and the firmest with readiness to yield. Thus Taoism attains a state not far from man's original one of honesty and truth without becoming conscious of it.

Practice virtue in quietude and with persistence. The invisible make visible and let it return to the invisible. Collect your spirits till you have force. Collect your forces till you have living seeds. This is to produce existence from non-existence. Sow these seeds, nourish them with your influence, exercise your influence to keep your spirits, and lead them from the seen to the unseen. When human duties are fulfilled, not a particle of the eternal intelligent germ need be lost. Space and my body are but parts of one, and are of the same age. Without seeking immortality, the body becomes immortal. If not, this bit of divine light is Yin; and will be extinguished by the bad influences of this life.

Comprehension of the hereafter is one of the mysteries in which no religion can equal Taoism. The living force in my body fills space, influences everything, and is one with creation. If we can in reality attain to it [life-force?], we are able to know spirits in the dark domains. In the future life there is but one principle. Ghosts are the intelligent powers of Yin; gods those of Yang.

The benefits conferred by Taoism on the government cannot be exhausted by relating isolated instances.

Taoism and the genii-religion have deteriorated. Taoists only practice charms, read prayers, play on stringed or reed instruments, and select [for burial grounds] famous mountains to rest in. They rejoice in calling themselves Taoists, but few carry out the true learning of the worthies and the holy sages of the past. If we ask a Taoist what is taught in the *Yin Tu King*, he does not know. If you kneel for explanation of the *Tao Teh King*, he cannot answer.

Oh! that one would arise to restore our religion, save it from errors, help its weakness, expose untruth with truth, explain the mysteries, understand it profoundly and set it forth clearly, as Roman Catholics and Protestants assemble to hear the masses, and to explain the doctrines that their followers may know the ends for which their churches were established! If the coarse influences with which custom has obscured them were removed, the doctrines of Lao-tze, Chang-tze, Yin Hi and Lie-tze might shine forth brightly. Would not this be fortunate for our religion?

INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS.

BY THE EDITOR.

AT the bottom of all the complications between two or more governments, such as the United States has had of late with the Japanese in California and with England on account of the tolls of the Panama Canal, there lies the great question of war, viz., the power to wage war, the financial ability and readiness to carry on a war and the courage to risk a war; and it seems desirable to clear up the situation once for all by showing that on this foundation ultimately rest all international relations, mutual respect, every consideration of rights, and the confidence in the ability to accomplish anything or to stand for something.

This life is a struggle and there are always clashing interests. There is no justice *in abstracto*, but justice is generally a compromise between two rights, or perhaps more correctly between two colliding claims. Wherever justice is so obvious that there is no doubt about it, it is a matter of course and need not be discussed, but such cases are exceptions—if they exist at all. The power to enforce a right, either by sheer strength or through the machinery of courts or other public institutions, is part of the fight itself, and weakness is tantamount to rightlessness.

There is no legal status between the lion and the lamb, but there is one between the lion and the shepherd. The shepherd owns the lamb; he has reared it and defends it, and the lion's right to it is based upon his power to take it away from the human owner. Lions and other animals of prey are outlaws, because they will persist in taking what they can find without being able to establish a truce, viz., a condition of peace, permanent or temporary. If the lion could make a contract with the shepherd to be satisfied with a definite share without continuing to wage war on human society, he would be entitled to the share accorded to him by treaty. However, since this is impossible there is a state of eternal warfare

which can terminate only in the extinction of one or the other party. In former ages whole territories had to be given up to beasts of prey; in our day the rule of man has been strengthened to such an extent that the extinction of the tiger and the wolf is near at hand.

There have been human robbers who, like predatory animals, have demanded their share from more civilized but weaker communities and in the beginning of history this frequently led to the establishment of monarchies. We see that David roamed the country and levied contributions on rich farmers on the plea that his men had never stolen the landowner's wealth or destroyed his property. Such was the case of Nabal, who refused to pay this tribute to David's men. The result was that Nabal died very conveniently and David took possession of both his estate and his widow. The Bible has preserved the further history of David, how from a kind of robber chief he developed into a responsible king. That is the old method of men of prey whose bellicose talents gradually adapted themselves to peaceful conditions by serving the interests of their former victims and giving them a much needed protection. As the result we have the development of kings "by the grace of God," and finally the modern constitutional monarchy, in which the king is recognized as the defender of the people, and as a rule is well paid for his job. Frederick the Great of Prussia was wise enough to understand the situation and called himself the first servant of his country.

We see that everywhere power is the basis of right, and even where republics have developed from monarchies the course of events has been through revolutions. The United States had to fight for its independence, and liberty is ultimately founded on the power to keep out usurpers and unwelcome intruders. Take away that power of the people and any republic will be in the situation of the lamb in the paws of the lion.

We cannot change the constitution of the world, and so long as the world stands the ultimate basis of all right will remain the power to enforce it. Let the sheep become ever so learned in law and demonstrate to the satisfaction of all the wise men gathered from all the most civilized countries of the world that it has a right not to be eaten by the lion, the lamb's right will surely meet merely with Platonic considerations and remain unheeded so long as it is unable to fight and defend itself.

Only a century ago, an adventurer from Corsica set himself up as emperor, and placed his yoke upon the necks of the legitimate

princes of the world. He could enforce his rule and so his empire became established for the time being and was recognized by the world, but all his claims would have been ridiculous had he not possessed the power to enforce his will.

In establishing a legal status by treaty on the basis of power the contracting parties must see to it that their rights can be maintained not only for the moment but also for time to come, and this is the element which is not power but wisdom, and wisdom is a consideration of other factors of power which if provoked or irritated will stir according to the laws of nature. If the lion were not only strong in muscle, in teeth and claws, but was possessed also of an insight into the nature of things, he would understand that he can not maintain himself against the slow but sure progress of civilization. He can rob but he can not build an empire.

Napoleon knew this pretty well when he established his empire of usurpation in Europe, and just as the robber chiefs changed into legitimate monarchs by adapting themselves to the natural laws of civilization, so Napoleon understood that as a ruler he had to serve certain needs, the natural interests of the people, in order to gain their support, furnishing his government with the tacit but indispensable consent of the governed. Without this support of a civilized people, no ruler can maintain himself by sheer military power, and this element in civilized countries has grown to such an extraordinary degree that people are inclined to believe that it is the only thing in the world which establishes right and order.

Napoleon was a factor for good in the stagnant world of Europe about the year 1800. There were so many entrenched rights, so many privileges by God's grace, so many antiquated medieval conditions which had become unbearable, that a good broom was needed to sweep them all out with relentless vigor. This was done by Napoleon, who in his egotistic and high-handed way so cleared out all the cobwebs of the Holy Roman Empire that the Germans ought to be grateful to him even now for having paved the way for a modern and more tolerable state of things. It is true he came as a usurper, but he came like Heracles cleaning the Augean stables of the accumulated deposits of medievalism by a wholesale inundation of his powerful decisions. He accomplished his reforms from very egotistical motives and not from love of modern ideals, but after all he performed the task and he did it by main force at the head of his armies. The representatives of privilege would have resented the new régime but they trembled and had to give up what would have cost the people a revolution to bring about. If

Napoleon had but possessed greater foresight, if he had not at the same time now and then trampled upon the common rights of man, if he had been fair towards adversaries, had not committed such crimes as assassinating a man like Palm, a simple bookdealer, in ruthless disregard of human life, he might have been the man to establish a modern Europe upon the new right of the Code Napoleon, more adapted to the needs of modern conditions. But there was too much of the lion in him and too little of the human, so he became only a link in progress and had to make room for less drastic successors, to build up more stable conditions upon the basis of the new social needs of mankind.

Considering the significance of wisdom, of foresight, of stability, of justice, a certain class of men have developed who believe that force is no longer needed for establishing right and suppressing wrong, but this notion is a fatal error, and a general peace on earth can only be established on the basis that the men of good will are the most powerful people on earth, and this state of things is bound to come about in the natural course of events. An assured condition of universal peace increases with the progress of the power of the civilized nations.

War is almost always a foolish transaction and both parties will suffer by it. The great Moltke, the greatest strategist on earth, used to say that "even a victorious war is a calamity," and certainly though Prussia was greatly benefited by her victories over Denmark, Austria and France, she had to pay dearly with certain evils that have developed, a transitory disastrous crisis of financial troubles and, what is worse, the rise of a narrow-minded reactionary jingoism. Nevertheless the wars of Germany were needed for the establishment of her status in the European concert, and woe to Germany if at the critical moment she had not been prepared to defend her rights with the sword. The power of self-defence is always the indispensable condition for peace, for an honorable peace, and peace has been kept among the European powers of to-day only because they have been fully armed and could have gone to war, and especially the present German emperor is to be highly commended for the establishment of peace. But he has accomplished this difficult task solely by the readiness of his armies.

There is a prejudice among the advocates of peace against the powers that are ready to wage war. They claim that readiness for war implies an eagerness for the glory of the battlefield, but such is not the case, as may be instanced in the German emperor who has certainly been more peaceful than his people. He maintained

peace even when the German nation clamored for war, and he was right in his policy.

The tendency in the world is more and more for peace, for almost all of the wars ever undertaken might have been adjusted by arbitration if only the defeated party, or mostly both parties, had been wiser and more discreet. As an instance we will take the War of Secession in America. Both parties were embittered. If the representatives on either side had had more patience they might have avoided the conflict by constant delays, and if they had known that the existence of slavery was due to the scarcity of labor, that slavery would have disappeared with the progress of economical conditions, the South would not have been so stubborn in defending the rights of the slave-holder, and the fanatics of the North would never have gained the influence they acquired. They would have known that as soon as free labor began to be cheaper than slavery, slavery would abolish itself, just as it disappeared in Europe with the progress of civilization.

It is well known that Christianity did not abolish slavery in the Roman empire. Even St. Paul sent back a run-away slave to his master and preached faithfulness of the slave towards his owner, and yet slavery disappeared. It disappeared without any law or any violence, without any expression of indignation against the state of servitude, simply for economical reasons, under conditions which made it inadvisable to own human beings on account of the troubles, expenses and responsibilities connected with slave-keeping. Slave-owners need guardians to watch the slaves and superintend their labor, they are responsible for their slaves' health in days of sickness, must provide for them in old age; and with all these duties imposed upon the slaveholders they had to make for every slave an investment of over a thousand dollars per head. In a word the free labor of responsible workers will with the progress of civilization necessarily become cheaper than to keep human beings in bondage.

The progress as to the abolition of war will come about in a similar way. It will no longer pay to wage war with its outrageous expenses for some little differences in international politics. The advantages to be gained would sometimes be less than the costs of a war, but wherever there are interests which are not of merely pecuniary value, representing the standing of a nation, the safety of its commercial and other interests, the constitution of its liberty, the sovereignty of its administration, and finally its honor and dignity, war will remain unavoidable, in spite of all that can be said

on either side by the quarrelling parties on theoretical notions of right and wrong.

The representatives of international peace follow a true instinct in their effort to establish peace on earth for all men of good will, but they frequently overlook the point that the basis of universal peace must always remain the power of the man of good will to enforce his right and his determination—if necessary to go to war for his ideals. War will gradually abolish itself, or rather it will be reduced to the most extreme cases of settling disputes about questions of independence and national honor, and this will come about in the natural progress of the times by the increase of the strength of civilized nations and by the unanimous kindness on which they will naturally unite in establishing peaceful conditions on earth.

We have before us a very interesting article on the present situation published by the American Association for International Conciliation, in which Prof. Paul S. Reinsch of the University of Wisconsin, recently appointed ambassador for the United States in China, discusses *American Love of Peace and European Skepticism*. He finds that in Europe diplomats and others are skeptical as to American love of peace, and claims that 'they [the Europeans] live crowded together in a small continent. They have the memory of antipathies of centuries to overcome. Their struggle for existence is grim, viewed from the swarming centers of European industry. Yet,' continues Professor Reinsch, "when we make them realize that against their feeling of their own troubled situation we set not a vague sentimentalism but a deep conviction engendered by experience, they are willing to give more credit to the American point of view and even to look to it for a solution of their own difficulties."

The trouble with this conception is that by what Professor Reinsch calls "our experience," he means that we have had long stretches of peace, (from 1864-1898 and from 1898 until to-day), but this is really a lack of experience, and perhaps also a weakness of memory. We forget quickly and easily, and upon this lack of experience we base our confidence in the permanence of the present peaceful conditions of American politics upon which rests our "public opinion with proposals tending toward universal peace."

This our public opinion is based on sand, and indeed our present problems in Japan and England remind us of the possibilities of war, and war would become absolutely unavoidable if the United States were not ready to defend itself. Assume the condition that the United States navy did not exist, how would other nations regard our rights or claims? How quickly would any nation com-

pel us to submit to its conception of right, and being unable to defend our conception of right with sword in hand, others would condemn our views without even taking the trouble to investigate the legal basis upon which we have taken our stand.

Suppose mankind could have submitted all the prior quarrels that ever took place in former ages to a court of international arbitration, would it not be sure that in almost all the most important cases the judges would have decided against the course of development which history has taken? What chances would the Boston tea-party have had before an international tribunal? What rights would have been granted to the Saxons when they settled in Britain? What concessions might have been made to the Pilgrims when they ousted the Indians from Massachusetts? How would the Aryan conquerors of India have fared if their quarrels with the Indian aborigines had been laid before an impartial court to decide their differences according to any law of holding land, modern or ancient? What would have become of Alexander the Great, whose part in ancient history as a ferment for great new developments in the Orient is so significant?

Wherever we look into history we find that the ultimate basis of all right lies in power, while the continuance of it becomes possible only through the wisdom of foreseeing the results of breeding discontent among the subjected elements, who by combination and establishment of a counter-movement will gradually acquire sufficient strength to upset the order established by violence.

If we neglect to comprehend the significance which power plays in international politics we shall be apt to make the gravest blunders, and instinctively all nations act upon the principle that their voice in any international council or in the general respect of mankind counts only so far as they can enforce their will, and gain recognition for their conception of right and their peculiar kind of civilization. It is true that representatives of a policy of peace-at-any-price are more numerous in America than in Europe, but this happens to be simply for the reason that Europeans have more experience. As a rule they see the necessity of maintaining their national honor at the point of the sword.

Germany, a nation which is most centrally located in Europe, has tried the policy of peace for centuries with the result that all nations preyed on Germany, and bore off province after province. Alsace-Lorraine was lost to France, the Netherlands in the north, and Switzerland in the south became alienated from the empire; Pomerania was lost to Sweden, Schleswig-Holstein fell to Denmark,

the Baltic duchies were never affiliated with the empire and fell to Russia, and the interior conditions became most chaotic. A regeneration in Germany could only come about through a reassertion of the national spirit in a movement that would not shrink from abetting German interests with a ready army, and Prussia was the only state in Germany competent to do exactly that, and for this reason Prussia grew to be the center and mainstay of a new united Germany.

Energy, power, force and the will to use it—that is the backbone of every decided stand in life; and wherever we cancel power, there ideals sink down into mere sentimentalism. If the Europeans misunderstand American ideals, e. g., the love of peace at any price, the reason is exactly this: Europeans know very well that when a real clash with American interests comes, America will stand up for her rights just as much as any other power in the world, and all our declamations and assertions of our good will and love of peace will be set aside for the sake of national honor, national independence, and the defense of national ideals.

We must bear in mind that the ideals of a nation are exactly the issues on which international quarrels originate. So for instance in 1870 Napoleonic France had one ideal of international right and justice while Germany had another conception of it. The clash came mainly on account of the difference between their ideals, and the question was which of the two should predominate.

Similar conflicts will come about in the further development of mankind, whether European, German, English or French ideals shall mould the future of mankind, or American ideals; and if the question is not decided by war it will certainly be decided by power. If in a contest any one of the contending parties is so overwhelmingly strong that the outcome of a war can be easily foreseen, the problem will be decided by treaty, or simply by submission. The stronger power may make concessions to the weaker one, but on the main point it will prevail, and in this way many wars will be avoided in the future, but the condition of such a peaceful settlement of problems will always be based upon a prognostication of the powers displayed on either side of the contending rivals.

Among the rights and wrongs which a nation commits there are many things beyond the litigation of international tribunals, and American declarations of their international good will and love of justice have often become an object of incredulous smiles in Europe because the actual policy of the United States has rarely been in accord with their idealistic pretensions.

According to Professor Reinsch, Secretary Hay's statement at the time of the Chinese imbroglio is well known "that American foreign policy has only two principles, the 'golden rule' and the 'open door.'" But how about the American high tariff? We prescribe the open door to China, where the commercial interests of other nations are stronger than ours, but at home we have been building a Chinese wall around our own country. We declare war on Spain with the highest motives of abolishing the evil policy of Spain; we declare that we do not want to annex Cuba, but when peace is concluded we take Cuba under our protectorate and annex all the rest of Spain's American and Asiatic possessions. The protectorate of course is as good or at any rate as serviceable as ownership.

I do not blame the United States for doing it, but I point out the reason why Europeans distrust American idealism. It seems to me quite natural for Europeans to think that Americans are hypocrites who make loud protestations of international good will, and when the time comes take full advantage of their opportunities.

And verily we ought to do so, nay we must. The truth is that if we had left the Philippines free, some other strong nation of a more decisive and a more aggressive character would take them under their protection, either Germany or Japan, and we would have missed an opportunity of educating a territory helpless against aggressors, in our ways of thinking, in adopting our principles of government and our institutions.

European critics of American ideals are in my opinion very much mistaken in judging American utterances. So far as I know Americans, American idealists and American statesmen, I freely grant that American idealists are honest. There has been no hypocrisy in our dealings with Spain. Sometimes the idealists are different persons than the actual statesmen, sometimes idealist statesmen change their opinion when the hour of decision arrives and they follow instinctively the right path in spite of their ideal misconceptions.

When Louisiana was annexed through a bargain with France, President Jefferson who happened to belong to the party that would have denounced the annexation of any territory without special permission of its inhabitants, unhesitatingly annexed Louisiana with instinctive foresight without asking permission of its inhabitants, on the plea that he acted like a guardian for a minor. He broke with his democratic principle when the blunder into which it was

leading him was too obvious, but we can not denounce his inconsistency as hypocrisy.

The democratic principle so strong in our traditions since the beginning of American politics declares that we should mind our own business and not mix up with the world's politics. That sounds very fair and wise but it is wrong. We have to take our stand in the world. We have to struggle for our ideals. We have to make our influence felt wherever it may be, and our sphere of interest is not limited to the patch of ground on which our homestead is built. The life of this little world of ours, called the earth, is so interwoven that we can not help being mixed up with the universal development of all other nations, and if we meekly limit ourselves to the soil which we till we shall soon find ourselves nonplussed, disrespected and shoved aside.

It is our duty to be ourselves and to struggle for the expansion of our own life and our ideals. This does not mean that we should be greedy and grasping and take possession of the world wherever there is an opportunity, but it means that wherever American interests are at stake we should not be afraid to stand up for them. I agree with Senator Hoar when he says, as quoted by Professor Reinsch, "May I never prefer my country's interests to my country's honor," but I believe the honor of the country demands an expanse of the country's interest and its sphere of influence. Our country's true interests are always solidary with our country's honor, while on the other hand temporary advantages which are dishonorable will in the long run prove a curse and ought to be rigorously discarded.

Mankind develops international institutions out of purely national conditions; yea, they exist now, and their significance is growing year by year. Finally there will be one mankind in which the world-interests, the interests of all, will be so predominant as to insure peace on earth, but this state of affairs lies still in the distant future, and here we agree verbatim with Professor Reinsch when he says, "Much further thought and effort must be expended before we can arrive at a clear and adequate conception of the form international legislative action is to take." Before the development of such interests common to all, there is no use to entertain the thought of a fulfilment of our peace ideals.

An intermediate step in the development of universal peace in case of war would be a demand of the neutral nations not to have their trade and traffic interfered with and to make the belligerents responsible for the damage done. Think only of the destruction of

ships by floating mines which by carelessness have been allowed to drift after every modern war. Think further of the harm done to peaceful neutrals who under present conditions suffer without receiving any indemnity. If the neutral powers would act as the great European powers and the financial institutions sometimes act and as they ought to act now with the Balkan states, if they would exercise a pacifying influence upon the heated ambition of the belligerents, many a war might be avoided in the future. Think only of the millions and millions of dollars lost in European financial circles merely through the depression during the time of the war scare, and consider that half the amount would have sufficed to send combined detachments of troupes to the theater of war and restore peace. Would not in the future such measures be more frequently resorted to for the protection of neutral rights?

The realization of the ideal of peace on earth is not impossible, but it will come about by a development according to natural law in the way of a slow growth of civilization. Peace among the states in the United States is based on the common interests of all the inhabitants, upon common civic ideals and a common language, and these interests are overwhelmingly stronger than separate demands of a local or temporary nature. In the same way, as soon as all mankind will speak the same language, adopt the same principles, have the same interests in common, peace on earth will surely become a firmly established condition among the nations on earth.

THE NAZARENES PRE-CHRISTIAN.

A VOICE FROM SCANDINAVIA.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

THE distinguished biblical scholar of Christiania, Norway, who has made New Testament criticism his debtor by a two-volume work on *Die Hauptparabeln Jesu*, Dr. Chr. A. Bugge, publishes in the current number of Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (XIV, 2, 145-174) a searching monograph, "Zum Essäerproblem."

It is not intended to reproduce or even to summarize the elaborate discussion, but it seems worth while to call attention to the closing pages, as bearing on a question often mooted in *The Open Court* and originally started in *The Monist* (Jan, 1905, 23-45). On page 172 we read: "Regarding the appellation of these urban Esse(n)es, William Benjamin Smith, by his memoir on 'The Meaning of the Epithet Nazare(n)e,' has led me to a conjecture that I will ground here in the following pages." He then disclaims agreement with "W. B. Smith when he seeks to prove that the little city of Nazareth or Nazara did not exist at the time of Jesus." In view of later and far more definite results attained in *Ecce Deus* and in frequent discussions in *The Open Court*, this point seems to be of very minor importance.¹ Bugge then continues: "On the other hand I agree with W. B. Smith in the opinion that the epithet of Jesus, ὁ Ναζωραῖος, does not come from Nazara." He then quotes extensively from the memoir mentioned and on page 174 sums up the matter, thus:

¹ A functionless Nazareth, a Nazareth that has nothing to do with Nazarene, is a matter of little interest. On the other hand, since the epithet Nazaree does *not* come from Nazareth, as is now conceded, from what does it come? Surely it did not drop down from the sky, and since it denotes a band of religionists, why not refer to the obvious stem *nazar* (keep, guard, conserve)? This indeed Bugge seems to do in equating *Nosrim* (Nazarenes) with *Therapeutae*.

"Let us try to attain clearness at this point: That *Jessaioi* is only a slight modification of *Essaioi*, is conceded so far as I know by all investigators; that therewith the etymology of Epiphanius collapses, will also be conceded. There remains then the fact that the Christians for a short time were called Esse(n)es, but along with the name Esse(n)es went the name Nazore(n)es. Hence the Christians in the very earliest times were called Esse(n)es or Nazore(n)es. This attests that these names were in some measure exchangeable, so that a similar significance was attached to the one and to the other. These Nazore(n)es could just as well be called Esse(n)es and were in fact called so alternatively. That must have been a fact that Epiphanius could not satisfactorily explain, despite all endeavor. Now one could explain the Nazarees from Nazara, as did Epiphanius. But if a connection between Esse(n)es and Nazore(n)es is present, then this connection was present before and independently of Jesus. If now we know that *Nosrim* really means *Θεραπευταί* [Curators] and furthermore that the Egyptian Esse(n)es were called *Therapeutae*, if finally Philo in explaining the name of the Palestinian Esse(n)es (Q. o. p. l.) calls these also *Therapeutae of God*, then is such an exchange of names, Esse(n)es and Nazore(n)es, very easy to understand. Therewith the distinction between Nasarees and Nazorees, which Epiphanius attempts, falls to the ground. The Nazorees (or Nasarees) are pre-Christian, they form a pre-Christian heresy or religious league, a league of brethren, which often and not without reason was identified with that of the Esse(n)es. Since Epiphanius says moreover that the Nazore(n)es were especially numerous in the Decapolis, the province next to Galilee, we may expect to find Nazore(n)es in Nazara before and after Christ. It is therefore not too bold to conclude that the "urban" Esse(n)es were actually called simply Nazarees, though also alternatively Esse(n)es, which corresponded quite to the actual state of case. So then the problem, so hard for Epiphanius, is solved, without leaving any contradiction or difficulty behind. The whole difficulty arises from deriving the epithet Nazore(n)e from the village of Nazareth. This derivation is the work of Matthew. But the whole narrative of the flight to Egypt and the consequent migration to Nazareth is entirely untrustworthy, because wholly irreconcilable with Luke ii. 39."

Bugge might have added that "the whole narrative" of Luke is equally "untrustworthy, because wholly irreconcilable with" Matthew.

Our author has not drawn out the full train of consequences.

It would be interesting to pursue the matter still further, but we forbear. It is now nearly nine years since the derivation of Nazaree from Nazareth was challenged and the pre-Christianity of the Nazarenes maintained in the memoir laid before the Congress of Arts and Science, St. Louis, September 23, 1904. Meantime the positions then assumed have been repeatedly assailed from every point of the compass—with what avail let witness this article of Bugge and that of Bousset in the *Theol. Rundschau*, October, 1911. Amid all the dust of controversy, so much at least grows daily clearer, that critics must abandon the Matthean derivation of Nazoree from Nazareth, that they must concede the pre-Christian existence of the Nasarees, Nazarees, Nazorees, and that they must enlarge their theories so as to find place for all the corollaries that these concessions entail.

It is to be hoped that the Christianian will continue his interesting study.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHINA.

BY THE EDITOR.

THERE seems to be very little probability of a repetition of the Religious Parliament which took place at Chicago in the memorable year 1893. Nevertheless the idea is not dead. On the contrary the seeds sown there are scattered throughout the world and take root in different countries and in different minds. It will remain forever the glory of Christianity that it convened the Religious Parliament and gave opportunity for the deepest problems to be discussed openly and frankly, and, what is most essential, in a brotherly spirit.

We must remind our readers that the inaugurator of the Religious Parliament, the Hon. Charles Carroll Bonney, was a Christian, an orthodox believer in the divinity of Christ and in the great mission of Christianity on earth. He was a jurist by profession, and so he understood the necessity of recognizing the right of every one to have and to cherish his own conviction. He believed in Christian missions, but he considered it wrong to denounce pagans as ill-willed or immoral, and insisted that in the spirit of mutual respect a friendly discussion of religious problems was possible. So he chose as his motto the passage from Isaiah (i. 18) which reads, "Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord," and laid down the principle as a rule of the Religious Parliament that every one who had a faith dear to him should come and explain it without making any reflections on other faiths. We are anxious to become acquainted with others who follow other religions, and after we have listened respectfully to them, it stands to reason that they too will be glad to learn what we believe. Such a mutual exchange of views can do no harm, for all of us, Christians and pagans, are willing to hear the truth and let the truth prevail.

Mr. Bonney was careful to proclaim that there was no intention to judge between the different faiths, to pronounce the superiority

of one over another, or to found a new religion by a mixture of all. The Religious Parliament was to be strictly impartial; controversies were to be rigorously excluded; every one was to expound his own belief and abstain from discussing or criticizing others, with the sole purpose in view of pointing out the tenets or maxims or ideals in which all religions agree.

This principle worked well. The spirit of harmony was never seriously disturbed, and for the first time in history we saw bishops, and even a cardinal who brought the blessing of His Holiness the Pope, seated on the same platform together with Shinto polytheists, with Brahman monks and Buddhist abbots in a brotherly exchange of thought. This grand spectacle will perhaps not soon be seen again, but the event took place, and the ideal is not lost. Some of the seeds that were sown have fallen on the wayside and some lie on stony places, but a few are taking root in good fertile soil.

One of the seeds is sprouting in distant China in the heart of a Christian who has succeeded in founding an institute devoted to the purpose of continuing in Shanghai the work of the Religious Parliament by adapting it to the local needs of Chinese conditions. It bears the name of "The International Institute of China."

Since the autumn of 1912 there have been held in this International Institute of China weekly conferences of representatives of the great religions. Prior to these weekly meetings, and ever since the beginning of 1910, it was planned to hold only one meeting a month. Different Protestant denominations, now and then a Roman Catholic layman or a Jew, and adherents of Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism, with one cultured Hindu gentleman, have all been associated in these friendly conferences, to consider the prominent features of their different faiths. When a learned Sikh was passing through Shanghai some months since, he brought to the Institute a large company of Sikhs living in the city, and gave an address in English on the tenets of the Sikh faith.

These religious conferences aim at increased friendliness, since harmony is a fundamental object of the Institute, as announced in its charter. From the beginning there have been no discordant notes in the proceedings. This is due in part to a rule adopted at the outset, that whenever any question seemed likely to result in ill-feeling, it would be laid on the table. The followers of the different religions are allowed to explain the truths of their respective religions, but are barred from ridiculing or condemning any other religion. Most of the speakers seem inclined to dwell more on teachings common to all. The underlying basis of all creeds is

emphasized more than the differences. All aim more for concord than for discord.

An institute which carries on such conferences, and regards the mingling of Christians and non-Christians as a legitimate part of its work, is quite different from the usual missionary propaganda. Its founder and present director is a Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Gilbert Reid, D.D., who graduated from Union Theological Seminary in 1882. Missionary propaganda is conducted for the purpose of making converts. In its relation to other religions, it is a proselyting agency. In so far as any religion becomes enlivened and active, it naturally magnifies its own, and becomes jealous of others. There is thus always a danger in a country like China that competition among the religions will become so intense as to clash. Each will try to destroy the other and make its own supreme. This International Institute however regards the exaltation of truth as greater than the exaltation of a particular faith. It glories more in the spirit of truthfulness than in the spirit of the zealot. It regards the universal as better than the particular. In doing its work it leaves the outcome to providence.

Is it not possible or even probable that no one faith, not even the Christian one, can become the universal religion, and do we still believe that dissenters will unfailingly go to hell?

Dr. Reid, in his last report, quotes from a Japanese preacher the following: "For my part it is inconceivable that any one who has impartially studied the history of religion can fail to admit the universality of the activity of the Spirit of God, and the consequent embodiment of a degree of truth in all faiths."

In so far as this Institute continues to hold these conferences and preach a message of toleration not only, but of a new form of what may be termed universalism, in so far must it seek for support from those in China, in America, in any country, who are sympathetic to the idea, and are biassed by no limitations of creed or ecclesiasticism,

This Institute stands not only for that which is universal in religion, but also for internationalism. It is hence called International Institute, and appeals to another class of people from those who are concerned with religious questions alone. Here is an effort to break down the barriers and remove the prejudices which exist between one nation and another, one race and another. Prominent persons, both men and women, of nearly a dozen countries, living in Shanghai, are found on the Board of Management or in the list of members of the Institute. It is a standing protest to international

misunderstanding, and is an appeal to universal brotherhood and peace. It is a practical Peace Society.

To give force to one phase of the Institute's work, the lady members have organized themselves into a Ladies' International Club, consisting of half who are Chinese and half who are from Europe and America. They have a separate club room in the Institute, and act in unison with all its work.

It may be asked what are the methods adopted for bringing together East and West, and making them friends to each other? They are summed up in conferences, receptions, luncheons, interchange of visits, the cultivation of the cosmopolitan spirit—more possible in a city like Shanghai than in most parts of the world—and in the dissemination of suitable literature.

Another factor of great importance, not only for promoting good-will, but for helping forward the cause of general enlightenment and sound learning, is the establishment of an International Museum of Peaceful Arts. Already some ten rooms of the Institute buildings are filled with attractive exhibits from different parts of China, and these are viewed with much interest by the many travelers who visit Shanghai. The last regular semi-annual meeting of the Institute members decided to solicit funds for a new building to contain exhibits of "the art, skill, culture and progress" of all nations, as a means of informing and educating the Chinese who are unable to travel abroad. Dr. Reid says he needs at the beginning only \$20,000 for such a building, and he believes that the total cost will be no more than twice that amount. With the building erected, exhibits will then be collected from all the world as an up-to-date school-house for Chinese, both old and young, male and female. The ground is already secured, being purchased by the Chinese several years ago for all the needs of the Institute. The Institute is centrally located and is in direct contact with all classes, all countries and all creeds. Such a museum, complementary to what already exists, may well be viewed as worthy of support by all who believe in the principle of the Religious Parliament, in international ideals, in the progress of civilization and in the promotion of peace and good-will on earth.

The story of the way this unique idea has been carried out is a most fascinating one. It is largely the result of one man's thought and energy, but it is apparent that friends have come forward to show their confidence and give their help, or it could never have been established. Dr. Gilbert Reid, a Presbyterian missionary, withdrew in 1894 from his society, and ventured forth on an independent

effort to reach the higher classes of China, with only a little over \$1000 as his asset. He succeeded in winning his way into the homes and the friendship of many of the most influential in the old regime, and in less than two years got the formal sanction of the Chinese Government. Many of his ideas as to political reform were adopted, and everything was promising till the setback of the Boxer movement in 1900.

Until that time Peking had been the center of Dr. Reid's activities, but afterwards he was persuaded to transfer the enterprise to Shanghai, where there was more of the spirit of progress, and where he was able to secure a wider constituency and larger financial backing. All donations are voluntary and without guarantee of continuance. Though not guaranteed, there is no fear of collapse even with the present limited support, and there are plans in the formation for getting at least one representative from each country, supported by a few of his countrymen, to help cement the bonds between his country and China. During the last three years American contributors like Mrs. D. Willis James and her son of New York have supported five persons, and this help has been much appreciated, all the more since China has been in such a state of confusion that large gifts could not be expected.

The leading American contributor has been Mr. William G. Low of New York City, whose father was one of the early American merchants trading in China. Mr. Low has put up two buildings in memory of his father. Mr. Andrew Carnegie gave one year \$3000, but could not be induced to do more, though certainly this organization is as near to his ideas as any that we know in any continent.

The senior Consul-General in Shanghai, the one from Belgium, is president of the Advisory Council, while one of the oldest British merchants is chairman of the Executive Committee, a German merchant chairman of the Board of Trustees, and Madame Wu Ting Fang honorary president of the Ladies' International Club. The Taoist Pope, a Buddhist missionary from Japan, a Brahman scholar from India, as well as many others, are found as office holders in this most interesting attempt to make "all within the four seas to be brothers."

All who care for the cause of education, of universal peace, of international concord, of the universality of the spiritual concept, cannot help taking an interest in this enterprise in the distant Orient started by an American, the International Institute of China, and so we deem it our duty to make it better known, to have the signifi-

cance of its work appreciated and among those who feel the call of lending a helping hand, to solicit assistance.

REPORT OF A MEETING.

The Sunday afternoon on which the Taoist pope was expected to speak witnessed one of the largest gatherings that ever took place at the International Institute at Shanghai.

The personal name of the eminent visitor of the Chinese International Institute is Chang Yuan Hsü, but he is commonly addressed with his title, The Celestial Master of the Chang Clan, or Chang T'ien She.

The Taoist pope has his headquarters in the southern part of the province of Kian Sia. The honored guest of the institute arrived in Shanghai the Friday before the meeting, and long before the appointed hour crowds began to come, some out of mere curiosity but many from their interest in this particular religion and with a desire to honor its religious head. When the Taoist pope arrived he was first served with tea in the club room, and then escorted to the lecture hall accompanied by several Taoist priests among them three from a Shanghai Taoist temple.

Dr. Reid, as the director of the Institute, introduced the distinguished visitor who delivered a brief address in clear tones and forcible language, in which he pointed out that Taoism was the teaching of Lao-tze who lived at the time of Confucius under the Cheu dynasty about 600 B. C., that the religion flourished under the Tang and Sun dynasties, and continued its peaceful development unmolested down to the present age, that the essential teachings were laid down in the Classic on Virtue and Truth, and that the Chang family had been established at the head of the Taoist church under the Han dynasty.

Chang T'ien She's speech was supplemented by another address delivered by a member of the same family from the province of Szechwan, who declared that Taoism was rather monotheistic than polytheistic (obviously referring to the worship of the genii), and it emphasized the inner life and training of the heart. Conduct should be in harmony with virtue, and is to be produced by meditation and self-restraint, sanctified by impressions from the heavenly spirit.

In the report of the meeting kindly forwarded to the editor of *The Open Court* by Dr. Reid, we notice that among the people who attended the International Institute was the late ambassador to the United States, Dr. Wu Ting-Fang, well known over North America on account of his popularity and congenial spirit. Among the speakers who commented upon the lecture of Chang T'ien She was Dr. Timothy Richard, who incidentally mentioned that twenty years ago he had written to ask him to send an explanation of Taoism to the Parliament of Religions, then about to be held at Chicago, and Chang T'ien She had graciously complied with the request.

THE CHEATING OF THE DEVIL

ACCORDING TO PAUL AND THE DOCETISTS.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

IN his article "Saint Ignatius *vs.* the Historicists" (*Open Court*, June, 1913) Prof. W. B. Smith cites this passage from Ignatius (*Ephesians*, XIX): "And hid from the Prince of this eon was the virginity of Mary and her bringing forth, likewise also the death of the Lord. Three mysteries of shout (i. e., crying mysteries) which in stillness of God were wrought. How then were they (or was he) manifested to the ages? A star in heaven shone beyond all the stars, and its light was ineffable, and its novelty produced amazement; and the other stars along with sun and moon became chorus for the star, but itself in its light was far surpassing all; and perplexity there was, whence the novelty so unlike them. Whereby was dissolved all magic, and every bond of vileness vanished away, ignorance was annulled, the ancient kingdom was destroyed, God being humanly manifested unto newness of eternal life, and its beginning received what with God had been prepared. Hence were all things commoved by taking death's abolition in hand." These words need further explanation. They become clear to us as describing the descent of the heavenly Christ upon earth and his eluding the knowledge of the devil and his host if we look into the Ascension of Isaiah, a Jewish apocalypse with Christian interpolations, probably of the second century, comparing with it a passage of Paul in the first letter to the Corinthians (ii. 6-9).

In that apocalypse the descent of the heavenly Christ is described in a long chapter (X) from the seventh heaven down to the earth. He is going downwards through the different heavens, successively assuming the appearance of the angels in the different heavens, from the fifth on, thus preventing them from knowing

that he, in company with "the Highest," is the Lord of the seventh heaven and its angels.

After he has passed through all the heavens downward, he gets into the region of the firmament and the air, the abode (comp. *Eph.* II, 2) of the Prince of this eon and his angels. He escapes the notice of these also by assuming their form and because they are wrangling among themselves out of envy against each other.

In the next chapter the description takes a peculiar turn. It speaks of the Virgin Mary, whom Joseph intends to leave on account of her pregnancy. But "the angel of the Holy Spirit," described previously in chap. IX as of similar appearance to the heavenly Christ and kneeling with him together before the throne of God,¹ appears and Joseph then does not forsake Mary. After two months, while Joseph and Mary are alone in their home, suddenly Mary sees a little child and is startled. Her womb has resumed the condition as before pregnancy. A voice tells them not to say anything. The neighbors are astounded that she gave birth without pain and the help of a midwife.²

The child of Mary, when grown up, does great miracles. The devil becomes envious of him and stirs up the Jews to crucify him, but the Christ rises from Hades, the descent to which has been predicted to him by the Highest, in three days and then returns through the firmament and the air and up through the different heavens successively till up to the seventh, but in different form than when he descended. Satan and his angels are stricken with dismay and fall down before him exclaiming: "How did it come about that he descended and we did not know him?" In the heavens above the firmament the different angels likewise are astonished that they did not know him before, and they adore him. (Comp. in the passage of Ignatius: "And the other stars along with sun and moon

¹ This peculiar assimilation of the heavenly Christ and Holy Spirit occurs also in the gnostic book *Pistis Sophia*. It tells of Mary being visited by the Holy Spirit in her house, while Joseph and the little Jesus are working in the vineyard. The Holy Spirit asks Mary: "Where is Jesus my brother, that I may meet him?" Mary, thinking the appearance is a tempting spirit, ties him to the foot of a bed and goes out to tell Joseph about the matter. When Jesus hears it he is glad and says: "Where is he that I may see him?" Then all three of them go to the house. Mary and Joseph find Jesus and the Holy Spirit alike to each other. The Holy Spirit released embraces and kisses Jesus and Jesus likewise the Holy Spirit and they become one. Comp. Paul: "The Lord is the Spirit."

² The docetic tendency and color of this description is obvious. The birth of Jesus and everything surrounding it is only an empty appearance, according to the docetic doctrine that the human Christ was only loosely connected with the heavenly one.

became chorus for the star etc." Comp. also I Tim. iii. 16: "The great mystery etc., revealed to the angels.")

What is interesting in this passage of the Ascension of Isaiah is this, that the germ of it already appears in the afore-mentioned passage of first Corinthians. Paul says: "We speak out wisdom among the perfect, not wisdom of this eon, nor of the rulers of this eon done away with. But we speak wisdom of God in mystery, which has been hidden, which God predestined before the eons to our glory. Which none of the rulers of this eon knew, for if they had known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But as is written: What no eye saw, no ear heard, and came into no eye of man, which God prepared for those loving him. But God revealed it to us through his spirit. For the spirit searches out all things, even the depths of God."

"The rulers of this eon" are the devil and his host, not Pilate and the Jewish priests as the traditional interpretation gives it. "The rulers of this eon" is the standing phrase for the evil demons in Paul and other parts of the New Testament. They "are done away with," their power is demolished; they fell into their own pit when they crucified Christ; they were outwitted; if they had known the wisdom of God and known whom they crucified, they would have abstained from a deed which brought about their own destruction.

Paul like Ignatius calls the outwitting of Satan a "mystery" and in connection with this cites a passage, which is nowhere found in the Old Testament, but which according to Origen and other fathers of the church stood in the Revelation of Elias, another Jewish apocryphal work, not the only instance in the New Testament where extra-canonical books are quoted, a proof that the Old Testament was not the only "scripture" to the New Testament writers.

The conclusions which Professor Smith draws from the Ignatius passage for the unhistoricity of Jesus I cannot share. For although Paul in many ways reminds us of the Docetists, in that he dwells upon the heavenly Christ almost mainly and the human Jesus almost appears with him a mere empty form and phantasm, still the reality of the humanity of Jesus is of such great importance to Paul, that he can not conceive Christ to be the saviour of mankind without it. His human birth from a woman, his living under the Jewish law (Gal. iv. 4), his real humanity (Phil. ii. 7-8) are actual facts to Paul. Especially is the death and crucifixion of Jesus so important to him that he again and again dwells upon it and makes the most arbitrary unhistorical use of Old Testament

passages, even altering the original text somewhat to make them testify to the fact of the death of Jesus. In Rom. x. 7 he quotes Deut. xxx. 11-13, which speaks of the law as ever present and comprehensible so that there is no need to go up to heaven nor beyond the sea to hear it, as referring to the death and ascension, and in Eph. iv. 8-9 he quotes Ps. lxviii, which speaks of the triumphal ascension of Yahveh from the earth after having laid low his enemies, likewise as referring to the descent of Christ first to death. What occasion did Paul have to do this, if the death of Jesus was not a historical fact and of great importance to him?

The Ignatius passage as made clear in its meaning from the Ascension of Isaiah can not be fairly used as speaking against the historicity of Jesus. The purpose of that passage is not to show that the historical birth and death of Jesus escaped the notice of Satan, but that it escaped his notice that it was the heavenly Christ who had been hidden under the human birth and death of Jesus. The passage in the Isaiah apocalypse as well as in 1 Cor. ii. distinctly states that it was Satan himself and his host who had brought about the crucifixion, but without knowing who it really was whose death they had accomplished. The point in the passage is to show how the devil was cheated and unwittingly fell into his own pit. Such a highly mythological passage surely can not be used to decide facts of history. Nor can our argumentation be met by the counter-argument that if the ascent of Christ upwards through the heavens in the Isaiah apocalypse is mythical, his death is also mythical and not historical. Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 88) relates that the bright star which shone for seven days during the plays given by Augustus in honor of Cæsar was firmly believed to be the soul of Cæsar risen to heaven, and (*Augustus*, 100) that it was sworn to that the soul of Augustus had been seen rising to heaven from the funeral pile. Were not therefore the deaths of Cæsar and Augustus historical facts?

MISCELLANEOUS.

NOTE ON SIR GEORGE DARWIN.

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

In the biographical sketch of the late Sir George Darwin, which appeared in *The Open Court* for April, I stated that Sir George's mathematical talent appears to have come from his mother's family rather than his father's. On this point, which is interesting both from the general point of view of the heredity of genius and from the particular point of view, I have some further information from Mrs. Litchfield and Mr. Horace Darwin—of both of whom Sir George was a brother. Mrs. Litchfield says: "I only know one mathematical Wedgwood, Hensleigh, who took a good double degree. I thought there was some evidence—but I forget what—that mathematical ability came through the Darwins." Mr. Horace Darwin writes: "Erasmus, my father's brother, had, I think, a mathematical mind. He never did any serious mathematical work, but read differential and integral calculus for pleasure long after he had finished his education. He had a very decided mechanical bent of mind too. But his mother was a Wedgwood. Erasmus, my great grandfather, as you know, was of a decidedly scientific turn of mind and had a very strong bent towards mechanics. How much of a mathematician he was I do not know, but I expect he had that turn of mind. He was a Senior Optime in 1757 about; not that this goes for much and perhaps points to his not being really mathematical. Francis Galton, descended from the old Erasmus, was decidedly mechanical, and had, I think, a mathematical turn of mind. What he did at Cambridge in the way of mathematics I do not know—not much I guess."

Major Leonard Darwin says that Francis Galton got some of his mathematics from the Galton side.

Mechanical ability seems to have characterized many great mathematicians—Newton, for instance—especially in boyhood. It may further be remarked that the name "Wrangler," "Senior Optime," and "Junior Optime" are still preserved in Cambridge to mark the class—the first, second, or third respectively—of a man who had taken mathematical honors for his B.A. degree. Erasmus Darwin, the author of the *Botanic Garden*, *Zoonomia*, etc., and grandfather of Charles Darwin, was first Junior Optime in 1754. A "Wedgwood" of Christ's College was a Wrangler in 1824 and, in the same year, took a third class in the Classical Tripos; a "Wedgwood" of Trinity was last Junior Optime in 1860; and a Darwin of Christ's was Junior Optime in 1862. I have been unable to find any other Darwin or Wedgwood in the

lists of men who took mathematical honors up to 1867. In 1868 Sir George was second Wrangler.

THE POPE OF TAOISM.

At the time of the Parliament of Religions in 1893 an essay was received on Taoism which was especially delightful on account of the sincerity in which it was written, but the author was not known. In the rush of business the name and address of the sender seem to have been misplaced, and there was the manuscript alone to speak for itself.

In a report of a recent meeting of the International Institute of China at Shanghai on page 567 it is related that Dr. Timothy Richard on that occasion mentioned that he himself procured the consent of the Taoist pope to furnish an explanation of his religion for the Religious Parliament. Accordingly we can state definitely that the article received at that time (and now republished on another page of this issue) comes from no less an authority on Taoism than the pope himself. If it was not actually written by the Heavenly Master Chang, it was certainly furnished and authorized by him. We note in it the candid spirit of acknowledging the faults of the Taoist priesthood and the sincere desire for reform. What a remarkable concession from the head of an ancient, powerful, and firmly established church!

The papacy of the Taoists is a very ancient institution; it is hereditary and the oldest member of this venerable papal clan, Chang Liang, is known to history as having lived about 200 B. C.

It must be remembered that Chang Liang of the Chang family was a friend of Emperor Lin Pang, the founder of the Han dynasty, and assisted in putting him on the throne in 208 B. C. Chang Liang would accept no honors or rewards for his services but withdrew and devoted himself to meditation. After about two centuries Chang Tao-Ling (born 34 A. D.), one of Chang Liang's descendants in the 8th generation, was as much averse to worldly power as his ancestor and is reported to have discovered the secret of the elixir of life. The story goes that at the age of 123 years he swallowed it and ascended to heaven. The respect to the Chang family as the representatives of Taoist wisdom and the official honors bestowed upon them by imperial protection continued, and it is reported that in 423 A. D., K'o K'ien-Che was recognized as the legitimate successor to the dignity of his ancestors under the title *T'ien She* which means "Heavenly Master," implying that he was the head of Taoism. His successors have all been descendants of Chang Liang even down to our day, the present incumbent being the 62d Chang T'ien She. There is no dynasty in Europe which can boast of the same antiquity and uninterrupted prosperity as these Taoist popes.

There are two branches in Taoism. In one the priests marry, and are subject to the so-called Taoist pope. In the other celibacy is obligatory. Its priests are not subject to the pope, but are under the control of the head abbot of a Taoist temple in Peking.

We will further state that the so-called pope has more political than spiritual power. His selection from the members of the Chang family is always ratified by the government. The present pope holds his office still on the authority of the late Emperor or rather Empress Dowager. It is probable that

in the future the right of recognition will fall to the president of the Chinese republic. κ

AN ASS-HEADED DEITY.

A very strange little gem, here reproduced from Karl Woermann's *Geschichte der Kunst* after Brunn, represents an ass-headed figure carrying two



A GEM FROM MYCENAE.



THE CERCOPEs FROM A SICILIAN TEMPLE.

slain animals in the same style as Heracles carries the two Cercopes on the metopes of Semenount temple in Sicily. The oddity of this little document of

the ancient conception of an ass-headed deity is heightened by the fact that there is a reminiscence of the same belief in the Egyptian picture of Set which has been preserved among some Semitic tribes, and persists in the report that the God of the Jews was ass-headed. The last traces of it are found in the ass-headed crucified deity worshiped by Alexamenos and pictured in a scribbling on a wall on the Palatine commonly called the *Spott-crucifix*.

That this odd conception was also attributed in certain circles to the Christian Saviour appears in several passages of patristic literature where it is resented by Christian authors. For further details compare the article "Anubis, Seth and Christ," *The Open Court*, XV, 65. P. C.

ALLEGORICAL MYSTERIES IN PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.

We call our readers' attention to Mr. Kampmeier's article written in defense of the historicity of Jesus against Professor Smith's theory of a purely divine and humanized saviour. But it seems to us that an incidental point will prove of more interest than Mr. Kampmeier's main contention. This is his reference to the apocryphal Ascension of Isaiah which throws light on passages in St. Paul's epistles, especially 1 Tim. iii. 16 where the "mystery of godliness" is mentioned, and in 1 Cor. ii. 7, where Paul says: "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory." The apocryphal book explains further details of this mystery which probably contains reminiscences of such mysteries as were performed in Eleusis, in the Orphean mysteries, and probably also in innumerable other pagan religious initiations. There need not have been a Christian mystery play of the kind described in the Ascension of Isaiah, but we may well assume that the ideas have been taken from pagan mysteries of a similar kind. P. C.

THE AMERIKA-INSTITUT AT BERLIN.

The Amerika-Institut, Berlin, was founded October, 1910, under the auspices of the Prussian Ministry of Education. It is located in the new building of the Royal Library in Berlin. Its aim is to advance and strengthen the cultural relations between Germany and the United States by providing an organization that shall act as a medium of inquiry and exchange in matters of reciprocal interest.

Americans and Germans in various public and scientific pursuits in America and Germany, often find themselves in need of information as to what has been done in one or the other of these countries, and are at a loss how to obtain the desired information. The Amerika-Institut is becoming increasingly useful in acting as a medium of inquiry and instruction on all sorts of subjects.

The Institut has a special arrangement with the American Copyright Office by which it undertakes to facilitate German authors and publishers in obtaining a copyright for German books. During the two years of its existence 1190 books have been copyrighted through its agency. In connection with this service the Institut has found opportunity to encourage the translation of books of one country into the language of the other.

The Institut is developing a library (now numbering about 9200 volumes) that is intended to be a representative collection of Americana, dealing with the history, life and conditions of the United States. It is the object of the Institut to provide a good working collection, and to supplement the service of other libraries in Berlin by making the books more informally available. The library is used by Germans studying American questions, and by Americans desiring the advantages of an American library abroad.

The Amerika-Institut is cooperating with the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, D. C., in the international exchange of documents between Germany and the United States which in 1911 involved the handling of 31,882 packages, and this service is increasing.

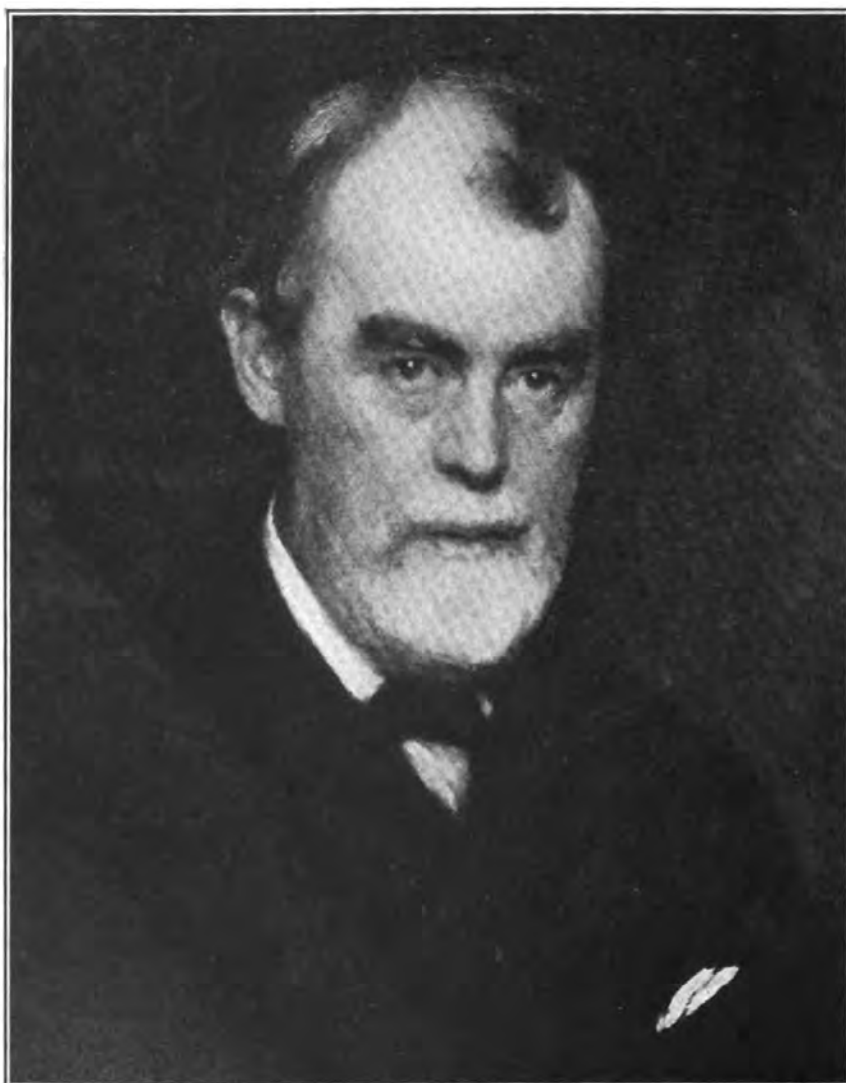
The work of the Institut, in short, is to serve in a concrete way the every-day needs of those Germans and Americans who are interested in the life and institutions of the other country. Thus it affords practical opportunity for promoting and developing the ideal of understanding, good-will, and cultural interest between the two nations. It is the belief of the Institut that this work can be done more effectively by gradually eliminating the naturally haphazard and accidental means of intercourse and substituting in their place methods that are to some degree organized and systematic.

BOOK REVIEWS.

PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY. By *Wm. de Hertburn Washington*. New York: National Publication Co., 1911. Pp. 887. Price \$4.50.

The author of this comprehensive work is a descendant of George Washington's brother and a successful civil engineer well known in social as well as business circles in New York. The book contains more than twelve hundred illustrations and surveys the progress of civilization in the several departments of engineering, finance and business; the making of roads and railroads; the handling of power; artificial waterways; the beginning of the real new world; the winning of the west by steam; banks and banking; the origin of corporations; capitalization with its counterpart over-capitalization; an analysis of profits; labor and human machinery; trusts and trustbusting; postal, express and baggage service; railway rates; accidents; railroads in the United States and other countries; government ownership; the future of the new world; the golden age; the progress and prosperity of the future, etc.

The book is brimful of valuable and interesting information, and it is only a pity that the illustrations are too small. They are just enough to give an idea of the text. Most of them are reproductions of rare old prints, some of them are photographs with a wide-angle lens which make the horses' heads too large, as, for instance, on page 253. All in all it is a valuable book for engineers and others to have on their shelves. The book follows the modern method initiated in science by Professor Mach of tracing the historical development of ideas as well as of industrial contrivances. The method of presenting the subject matter is by diagrammatic pictures illustrating the significance of statistical figures, as for instance when the railroad tracks of the United States are shown to cover a distance from the earth to the moon and 100,000 miles beyond.



SAMUEL BUTLER IN HIS SIXTIETH YEAR.

From a copyright photograph by Emery Walker of London.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII. (No. 10)

OCTOBER, 1913

NO. 689

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PRIMITIVE WAYS OF THINKING.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NEGATION AND CLASSIFICATION.

BY JOSIAH ROYCE.

A GREAT deal of attention has been given in recent discussion both to the history and to the psychology of the primitive intellect. In particular, much has been written concerning the early history of those mental processes which have gradually led from very crude beginnings to the development of our modern sciences. Man learned to think in ways that grew to be very elaborate long before they became very fruitful. The history of human error is far more extended than is the history of science. Yet from the outset mental processes were going on upon whose results the whole intellectual life of the civilized man has depended. The psychology of these processes forms a fascinating study, and there are two aspects of this primitive thinking which have attracted, so far, especial attention, as throwing light upon the early developments of the human mind. The first of these two aspects is suggested by the phenomena known as savage animism. The second aspect is found exemplified by the magic of early peoples.

Both animism and magic have been elaborately analyzed by students of anthropology. Their psychological motives and conditions have been extensively discussed. These two aspects of primitive thinking are, however, not the only ones which seem to me to be important as means of investigating the ways by which man learned the art of thinking about the world and about himself.

I wish, in this essay, to attract some attention to the intellectual significance of a third aspect of primitive mental life. This third

aspect has indeed been well recognized as a factor in early religion and culture. But it has usually been considered with reference rather to its ethical and religious relationships than with reference to its bearing upon the beginnings of science. I propose to consider it from the latter point of view, and to trace some of its connections with the origin of the methods of exact thought.

I.

Every modern reader of anthropology has heard of the customs and beliefs that center about the word *tabu*. The word itself is borrowed from the Polynesians, amongst whom *tabu* was so highly developed. Robertson Smith showed, however, that customs of an essentially similar character played a great part in the history of the Semitic religions. Frazer has collected a vast mass of material relating to *tabus* as they are found amongst the most various peoples and as they concern both the use of words and the customs connected with royal and priestly personages. At the present time so many writers have discussed the subject, that the importance of *tabu* as a factor in all primitive religion and custom may be regarded as generally known and as well established. Even our own more ancient customs are full of *tabus*, as we all know. The Polynesians were technically right when, after the missionaries came, the natives learned to call Sunday the Christian *tabu*-day.

The euphemisms of our speech and the forms of etiquette constantly remind us how much of the type of *tabu* we still retain and prize in our customs, even where the original meaning has gone out of the acts in question. Decided traces of the original meaning also survive, although perhaps in some highly idealized form, not only when we more or less superstitiously fear to mention possible evils too plainly, but also when we rationally reverence as sacred any ritual, or any altar, or even any object of private and personal devotion, and when we accordingly avoid acts that we regard as profaning the place or the form that we prize.

Tabu, then, is something very wide-spread and human in its nature. Plainly it has greatly influenced the development of conduct, of morality, and of religion. But we usually think of the savage forms of *tabu* as of something that, like any expression of primitive superstition, must be essentially opposed to habits of clear thinking. When an object or a place was *tabu* to a savage, he regarded it as the dwelling place of mysterious and dangerous powers. He was hindered, accordingly, as we very naturally suppose, from conceiving it as it really was. He was led to a false view of its

place in the world. He was prevented, by his very dread, from investigating its true nature and its literal relations.

Mr. F. B. Jevons, in his *Introduction to the History of Religion*, speaks of "the vicious circle with which tabu surrounds the savage." "The very life of tabu as an institution," says Mr. Jevons, "depends upon the success with which it forbids the appeal to experience and prevents experiments from being made." The savage, as our author points out, "dares not make the experiments which, if made, would enlighten him. Even if accidentally and unintentionally he is led to make such an experiment, instead of profiting by the experiment, he dies of fright as did the Australian slave who ate his master's dinner; or if he does not die, he is tabued, excommunicated, outlawed; and his fate in either case strengthens the original respect for tabu."

Thus tabu would appear to have been a great barrier in the way of human knowledge. Its intellectual value would so far seem to have been very small. Its true value would apparently be found, if at all, on the religious and moral side, as an education in reverence and a sort of primitive self-discipline whereby man learned self-restraint, and whereby also, as Jevons ingeniously points out, he was early led to identify his private interests with the social welfare. For since tabu was always infectious and passed from any object to the man who touched it, the dangers of violating a tabu were at once personal dangers and a menace to the whole social environment; so that thus the savage learned to think of the interest of others as being also his own.

Yet I am not disposed to admit that the value of tabu is confined to its religious, its ethical and its practically disciplinary influences. That it taught self-restraint and was a schoolmaster to lead towards a higher morality and to prepare the mind for a more ideal conception of sacredness, I fully recognize. But I also see good ground for the thesis that tabu involved a logical as well as an ethical discipline, and was a preparation for exact thinking as well as for a better ordered living. That like other superstitions it contained a "vicious circle" I fully admit. That it hindered experiment is true. But there remains to the end, in our narrow lives, a certain opposition between what trains us for the careful study of experience and what tends to develop our formally logical powers. There is no reason, then, why the very tabu which was indeed a barrier in the way of closer acquaintance with nature should not have been even from the outset a means of beginning, and even to some extent of educating, a certain formal exactness

of thinking which was, in its place, an intellectual acquisition of serious worth and of momentous consequences.

I desire then to show, so far as my fragmentary collection of the materials will permit, that the mental processes connected with tabu were of some importance in developing in man's life that tendency to sharp distinctions and to precise classifications upon which a great deal of the logical structure of our sciences now depends. In order to make out my case I shall indeed be obliged to mention other primitive beliefs and practices beside those directly connected with tabu, for these other primitive beliefs and practices, as we shall see, involve essentially the same intellectual processes, namely the processes that consist in making negative judgments, in opposing sharply one plan of action to another, in denying, in forbidding, and also in doing upon occasion the precise opposite of all these things, that is, in setting aside negations, conflicts, or prohibitions. Tabu is merely one notable case in which mental processes of this general type became prominent in primitive thought. The processes in question may be called, in general, those which are marked by a consciousness of negation. In all such processes, one says "No," and is highly conscious of the fact, and, upon occasion, is also conscious of denying his denial, of saying "No" to his previous "No." just as a New Zealander did when, by a special incantation, he removed a tabu.

Now, for the purposes of the present paper it is this mental process, this consciousness of negation, whose presence in primitive thought and whose value for the history of the human intellect I want to point out. For this same purpose I am of course little interested here in the special forms and motives of tabu as such; and so I am quite ready to class with the phenomena of tabu any other primitive activities and beliefs that were equally marked by the consciousness of negation. Accordingly, such incantations as remove a tabu interest me here quite as much as does the tabu itself. Magic formulas that are especially intended as counter-charms, whereby an opposing magician may be defeated, are phenomena that involve, for my purpose, essentially the same intellectual process as is involved in conceiving the nature of a tabu. And all omens and portents that tell you what you are *not* to do; divinations that warn you by means of lucky and unlucky numbers, days, or constellations; amulets that guard against evil influences: all these for my purpose are phenomena of primitive thinking that belong, as far as their crude logic is concerned, in the same general class with the phenomena of tabu.

I propose then to show that in the case of all these types of phenomena mental processes were involved which had a very real value as beginnings of a sort of thinking upon which our later exact sciences depend. I mention tabu first among the types in question because of its especially marked and interesting character. I shall, however, freely use the other types just referred to whenever they prove helpful.

II.

Let me begin my list of instances of the relations between the primitive consciousness of negation and more advanced scientific thinking by citing a curious remark that appears in an old Greek scholion on Euclid's geometry. The scholion in question is attributed to Proclus. It certainly is due to some late Greek thinker who knew about Pythagorean traditions.¹ This commentator was writing about that theorem of Euclid's tenth book which demonstrates the incommensurability of the side and the diagonal of a square. And in order to make clear the force of what the scholion says, I must first briefly state the contents and the proof of that theorem. It was the expression of an early and a very remarkable result of Greek geometry which Euclid merely repeats in his treatise on geometry. The theorem had been discovered by some early member of the Pythagorean school, at a time which may not have been much later than 500 B. C.

If you draw any square on paper, and then draw a diagonal in the square, and next erect upon that diagonal a new square, it is not very difficult to make out, even by the use of mere inspection, that this square erected upon the diagonal is precisely twice the area of the original square. For a modern student, accustomed to our own arithmetical methods, the road is hereupon not long to the conclusion that if the side of the square is regarded as of unit length, i. e., is a foot or any other unit in length, then the diagonal has a length equal to the square root of two times this unit. Now the square root of two is what we all learn in our elementary arithmetic to call an irrational or surd expression. You can, as they say, compute this square root of two approximately to any number of decimal places, but you cannot express its value exactly by any decimal fraction, however numerous be the decimal places that you use, nor can any fraction with a whole number for its numerator and a whole number for its denominator be made precisely equal to the square

¹ My citation is made from Moritz Cantor's *Geschichte der Mathematik* (1st ed.), Vol. I, p. 155 et seq. Cf. also Benno Kerry, *System einer Theorie der Grenzbegriffe*, p. 141.

root of two. The square root of two is therefore no rational fraction. We moderns have learned to give it a place in our system of number as what we call an irrational fraction, so that we may say that the diagonal of a square has, when compared with the side of the same square, a relation to that side which only an irrational number can express.

We can also state the same result by saying that the diagonal and the side of the square are *incommensurable*. That is, no common unit could be found which would be contained a whole number of times in the side of the square, and which would then be exactly contained some whole number of times in the diagonal. Seek for such a common measure, by dividing the side of the square into a great number of parts, say into a million or a billion of parts, and by then selecting one of them as your proposed measure. This new unit would go into the side of the square a definite whole number of times, a million or a billion as the case may be. But when applied to the diagonal, and taken a sufficient whole number of times, it would always either fall short of the length of the diagonal or else would exceed that length. Never, by whatever whole number you might multiply it, would it yield a length precisely equal to that of the diagonal.

Now this remarkable property of the diagonal and side of any square, namely that they are of incommensurable lengths, was what the early Pythagorean geometer discovered. Only, since the early Greeks lacked our highly developed system of decimal and other such fractions, and had yet to learn what could be meant by the conception of the square root of two, our geometer had to make his discovery in a much more primitive way than is needed by a modern student. Yet his reasoning was highly exact, and it forms a classic instance of the sort of proof called the *reductio ad absurdum*. We know through Aristotle² that the proof later given by Euclid was the one that this early Pythagorean must have used. He reasoned thus:

First, as he showed, the square on the diagonal is in area precisely twice the original square. He then proceeded by saying: Suppose that the diagonal and the side of the square were commensurate, that is, suppose that there existed some common unit of length so small that it was exactly contained a whole number of times in the side, and a certain other whole number of times in the diagonal of the square. Let the whole numbers in question be any that you please, let us say s for the number of times that the supposed unit

² Anal. Prior., I, 23. See Cantor, *loc. cit.*

was contained in the side of the square, and d for the number of times that the same unit was contained in the diagonal of the square. Then the side would be s units long, and the diagonal would be d units long. The ratio of their lengths would then be expressed by the improper fraction d/s . This fraction we could now suppose to have been first reduced to its lowest terms. In other words, we could suppose our common unit so chosen that d and s might be whole numbers that have no common factors. The area of the original square would hereupon be equivalent to s^2 units of surface. The area of the square constructed on the diagonal would be d^2 units of surface. Meanwhile the numbers s^2 and d^2 , being the squares of whole numbers, would themselves of course be whole numbers; and because the square described upon the diagonal is twice the original square, the number d^2 would be equal to precisely twice the number s^2 . All this follows at once upon supposing that the whole numbers d and s exist.

It follows also of course, that the number d^2 , being twice another whole number s^2 , must be an even number. But if d^2 is an even number, it is certain that d itself is also an even number. For it is not hard to see that the squares of even numbers are even, while the squares of odd numbers are odd. Hence d , if it exists at all, is an even number. Consequently s , which by hypothesis has no factor in common with d , must be an odd number. This is our first result. It follows directly from the relations between the two squares.

But now, on the other hand, since d , if it exists at all, is an even number, it must be twice some other number. Let us call this new number n . Then d is equal to twice n . Hence d^2 is equal to four times n^2 . But, once more, since the square on the hypotenuse is twice the original square, d^2 is twice s^2 , and hence, since d^2 is now equal to four times n^2 , it follows that $4n^2 = 2s^2$. Hence s^2 is equal to one-half of $4n^2$, or is equal to $2n^2$. But $2n^2$ is twice the whole number n^2 . Hence $2n^2$ is an even number. Hence, however, s^2 , which equals $2n^2$, is an even number. Thus, by this reasoning, it follows that s^2 , and consequently it also follows that s , is an even number.

We have now shown that if our original hypothesis is true, that is, if there exists a common measure for the side and the diagonal of the square, then the same number, s , which measures the length of the side of the square, must be both an odd number (since d is even), and an even number (since its square is equal to twice the square of that whole number n , which is half the even number

d). But that the same whole number *s* should be both even and odd, is an absurd and self-contradictory result. It accordingly follows that the whole numbers *s* and *d* cannot exist at all, for if they did exist, both of them would be even, and both of them would be odd. Hence the diagonal and the side have no common measure.

I have dwelt upon this early instance of exact thinking, because it shows clearly in what exact thinking consists. Our geometer discovered the geometrical existence of a new and wonderful sort of relation between the lengths of lines. He discovered that there were two lengths which had no common measure so that no numerical fraction could possibly express their ratio. In discovering this relation, he discovered, in effect, a new class of magnitudes, namely the irrational magnitudes. He discovered this by finding that there was something which you could not, must not, hope to do with the diagonal and the side of a square, that is, you must not hope to find for them any common measure; and he proved this by a *reductio ad absurdum*. If you supposed them to have a common measure, you would be infallibly led to define the same whole number as both odd and even, which is a contradiction.

Now a *reductio ad absurdum* is a sort of exact and rational equivalent, in the scientific realm, of a tabu in the realm of the savage. It is a means of discovering that there is something which you must not do, in the way of assertion. And the penalty is the self-destruction of the thought which undertakes to violate the logician's tabu.

So far then for the early Greek geometer. Now for the scholiast. "They say," declares Proclus in his commentary on Euclid, "that he who first brought the consideration of the irrational out of the hidden place into public notice, lost his life in a shipwreck, and this was because the unspeakable, and unimaginable ought to remain forever hidden. They say that he who thus accidentally touched this image of life, and removed from it the screen, was carried away to the place of the Mothers, and there remains while everlasting floods play around him. Such reverence these men (who narrate this) had towards the theory of the irrational."

One sees here the reverse side of the picture. The early geometer reveals the existence of the irrational. What he discovers is indubitable; but to ancient thought it nevertheless remains something mysterious, baffling, comprehensible only in a negative sense through a *reductio ad absurdum*. He approaches it in a scientific spirit. He consequently reveals the mystery to the vulgar. All can henceforth see that irrationals do exist. Yet none, as the Greeks

think, can comprehend how they exist. But this man is a member of the Pythagorean school, a company in which many traces of primitive superstition survive. The school invents the tradition that this rash profaner of the mysteries of the world of quantity came to a violent end, and now is condemned in the other world to a very stormy sort of immortality. Why? Obviously because, in revealing such a mystery to the vulgar, he violated a tabu.

The spirit of the most exact science, and the soul of the most primitive superstition here come into close historical contact. The geometer translates, as it were, the rational sense that lay beneath even savage tabu into exact terms. Tabu forbids you to touch certain things, and thereby separates those very things into a mysterious and unapproachable class by themselves. The geometer, even so, finds or creates his new class of objects, namely the irrational magnitudes. These he finds to be mathematically separate from all the rational magnitudes. He does so by discovering a cause why you dare not, upon pain of self-contradiction, undertake to measure the irrational in rational terms. What primitive thought had blindly felt as a tendency to forbid acts, and thus to separate objects from other objects, the geometer's *reductio ad absurdum* now turns into an exact mode of clear and thoughtful procedure, applicable henceforth in the whole realm of exact thinking. This rational tabu of the *reductio ad absurdum* is still our most powerful instrument of thinking upon some of the highest levels of research. But, on the other hand, this very deed of the geometer in discovering a class of objects thus marked off from the rest of the world of magnitudes, reminds his mystically disposed fellows in the Pythagorean school all too strongly of the primitive meaning of tabu, for he not only discovers this mysterious class of objects; he reveals the fact. So wonderfully separate a class of objects ought however to have remained hidden in its primal mystery. The discoverer touches, as it were by accident, a sacred thing. Hence he must have died soon and must have gone to a becoming place.

A certain historical connection is thus suggested between the motives that lead to scientific classifications, separations and prohibitions, of the most exact and rational kind, and the motives which, upon lower levels of human intelligence, take form in irrational tabus. That this connection may have a deeper meaning, one begins to think as one reflects upon the whole influence and history of the Pythagorean school.

A partly religious, partly political, partly scientific company, the Pythagoreans show many signs of having been influenced by

numerous primitive ideas, and of having combined these with highly elaborate tendencies to ingenious thoughtfulness. The life of the Pythagorean order is frequently represented as one of elaborate restraints and of a negative strictness of behavior. The prohibition against eating beans which is attributed to the master is traditionally founded upon motives that are precisely identical with those known as a familiar reason for many savage tabus. Pythagoras himself is sometimes said to have dealt with magic. Certainly his school tended towards the cultivation of numerous very ancient religious ideas and practices, and was fond of a practical separation from the world. Yet this same school was of all the early Greek schools the most disposed to formal classifications of objects and of categories.

The Pythagoreans used the simple and precise classifications which the elementary theory of numbers suggests, as symbols of the classifications of reality. The method was at once fantastic and formal. Pythagorean science was rooted in superstition and in mathematics. It suggests to us, therefore, one of the ways in which the transition was made from the one to the other.

III.

I turn from the special instance to a wider survey of the phenomena of tabu. It is plain at a glance that every tabu involved a classification, a mentally conceived and practically observed separation of certain objects from certain other objects. This separation was often emphasized by erecting barriers between that which was the locus of a tabu, and the rest of the world. The most familiar facts regarding sacred places, regarding temples, the vicinity of altars, sacred tracts of ground, and the equally familiar isolation of sacred persons such as kings and priests—all more or less elaborately illustrate this principle. An object is sacred; that is, there is some act which I might naturally perform in its presence but which I must not perform. This consciousness of the need of inhibition and of self-restraint in presence of the object serves of itself to mark off the object as a member of a special class. This fact, owing to its great importance, I tend to emphasize. The artificially added signs, the various material reinforcements of this separation between the object and its environment are most significant. The more such material marks are added to the object, the more impressive becomes the very fact of its sacredness. The result is a sort of circular process: tabu leads to additional physical devices for keeping the object sacred; the devices increase the tabu. This process, when

reinforced by the ideas belonging to the realm of sympathetic magic, may lead to very impressive results. Since, as we have seen, the sacred object tends to infect with the consequences of its sacredness anything that is or that has been in contact with it or that even has come to be in any too interesting way mentally associated with it, it may have to be hidden, and as far as possible kept isolated altogether. To see it might be to die. Its name may become as much tabu as the object itself is; and so on indefinitely. Frazer, in the *Golden Bough*, cites numerous instances of the results of this process in case of royal and of princely persons, who were so often of very highly sacred character.³ One classic instance is the separateness in which the Mikado used to be kept in Japan. As Frazer cites from the words of an old traveler in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, the Mikado in the seventeenth century must not touch the ground with his feet, nor go out into the open air, nor permit the sun to shine upon him. At a still more ancient time, according to tradition, he used to have to sit immobile for hours together upon his throne so as to preserve the stability of his kingdom, and for fear of injuring his dominions by looking too long towards a province upon one or another side of himself.

Similar phenomena are very frequent in case of magicians. A New Zealand tradition which I find in the semi-official work called *The Ancient History of the Maori*, edited by Mr. John White of Auckland,⁴ gives us a very good impression of what personal sacredness used to mean amongst these highly thoughtful and tabu-ridden savages. The story is told in the words of a Maori narrator of the traditions of his tribe, and relates to some long past time:

"This man Kiki (the name means stutterer) was a brave man, and was a wizard also. He was of the Wai-kato people, and his home was in that district; and this is the proverb repeated by his descendants: 'The descendants of Kiki, the tree-blighter.' The origin of this proverb was from the fact that when the sun shone Kiki would not go out of his house, lest if he walked abroad his shadow would fall on grass and trees, and by his shadow such would become sacred. But his shadow made such to wither. Kiki had a supreme knowledge of witchcraft, so he remained in his house and seldom left it. When canoes from the upper Wai-kato paddled down the river, going towards the sea, if such landed at the settlement of Kiki, he did not come out of his house, so that

³ See *Golden Bough*, Vol. I, Chap. II: on the Mikado, p. 234 f.; on other royal and priestly tabus, pp. 310-450.

⁴ See Vol. V, pp. 58-59.

by his presence they might not be killed; but if he drew back the slide-door of his house, and looked out at any visitors who might land, such would invariably die at once. The fame of Kiki was heard all over the country."

The story then proceeds to narrate a conflict in the art of witchcraft between this Kiki and a certain Tamure, a wizard of another place who, as the result proved, controlled more powerful spells, and who visited Kiki to test their respective grades of skill. The result was rendered harmless to the visitor by reason of the incantations at his disposal. But Kiki died of chagrin and witchcraft.

Now this disposition to regard sacredness as necessitating numerous devices for insuring the physical separateness of sacred objects and persons, tended to connect whatever interests, practical or theoretical, any barriers, or walls, or enclosures, or geographical boundaries might have for a savage, with whatever superstitions might lead him to believe in a tabu. Thus then, for the first, physical contrasts and isolations, wherever they were of some portentous sort, might suggest a tabu. So in the case of sacred mountains. So in the case of sacred oases of the desert of which Robertson Smith speaks.⁵ The jinn of the Arabs haunt especially "the dense untrodden thickets that occupy moist places in the bottom of valleys." These places are of course very dangerously sacred, that is, sacred to hostile supernatural powers, and not merely sacred as the sanctuary of a friendly tribal god may be.

The origin of the evil reputation of such places amongst the Arabs, Robertson Smith attributes to the frequency with which they were the haunts of wild beasts, of whom he believes the jinn to be the supernatural representatives. On the other hand, a tabu once originating in any way, might serve to aid in defining a boundary line. In this second class of cases, the value of sacredness as a means of establishing geographical distinctions as well as political distinctions in a very primitive society, appears in an interesting form in the following instance, which is reported by the Rev. Wm. Wyatt Gill in his *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*.⁶ The facts are reported regarding Mangaia, in the Hervey group of islands, a small cluster of islands lying near 160° W and near 20° S in the Pacific.

"The formation of Mangaia," says Mr. Gill, "is remarkably hilly. In the middle of the island is a hill, half a mile long and 250

⁵ *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 98, 123 ff.

⁶ Pp. 128 ff.

feet wide, named *Rangimotia*, or 'center of the heavens,' from which lesser hills branch out on every side. This central hill was considered very sacred in the olden time." Mr. Gill then mentions how the hill was formerly used as a place for binding a sacred girdle upon warriors who were about to set out on secret expeditions. A chief who once proposed to violate the sacredness of the hill lost thereby his chieftainship. The reason for the sacredness of the hill is that a god, *Te-manara-roa*, "the long-lived one," lies buried there, face downwards. The main hill is his back. A depression to the east of it is his neck. His head is beyond the depression, pointing towards sunrise. His legs and arms are clearly marked by lesser ranges of hills. Now these arms and legs as well as the head of the god serve to mark off the different districts into which the island is divided. The divisions in question are named after their relation to the parts of the long-lived one's body. A custom as to the division of large stranded fishes or of stranded whales whose ownership might be likely to be a topic of dispute amongst the various tribes, was founded on the relation of the tribes to the long-lived one's body. Thus the head of the fish went to the chiefs of the tribes who lived beneath the god's head; the middle to the chiefs of the tribes who lived beside the god's back; the tail went to those who lived at "the sunseting." At great feasts, etiquette required the names of the six chiefs to be called in a fixed order, determined by the same relations to the sacred landmark. Thus jealousies as to precedence were avoided.

Now it would indeed be far from my present intention to make tabu directly responsible for all or even for any great part of the origin of the conceptions of boundary lines, and of other distinctions relating to property rights, whether these were the boundaries of countries or of private possessions. On the other hand, there can I suppose be no doubt but that religious and superstitious motives of various kinds, such as had to do either directly with sacredness, or else with prohibitions and negations of other supernatural kinds, were powerful auxiliaries in the development of a consciousness of the meaning of tribal, national and personal possessions, rights and boundaries. And what I want to illustrate is the psychological value of tabu as an aid in bringing boundaries to clear consciousness.

To illustrate then still further. For the Semites the tribal or national god was the owner of the whole land.⁷ His tabu then in

⁷ Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 91-ff. Strangers and even victorious invaders in a land found themselves obliged to respect the tabus of the local god.

a sense defined the limits of the land. The tabu of a Polynesian chief protected his property and his dwelling from intrusion. The same holds true of course of the magicians of the type just described. More general references appear in many of the Maori stories to various thefts of property as violations of tabus.⁸ The sacredness of landmarks, by which a boundary is preserved, is a known feature, recognized in the laws of various peoples. The Deuteronomic legislator of the list of curses, in Chapter 27 of that book, includes amongst his prohibitions, enforced by direct divine penalty, the well-known: "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark." In the boundary disputes between villages which appear to form so important a part of the legal procedure of Hindu country districts, religious sanctions play a very natural part. According to one authoritative account of the older customs, witnesses are called in from the neighborhood to decide the dispute. Their testimony is given under circumstances of especial ceremonial solemnity. The chosen witnesses wear red garments, have red crowns on their heads, also throw earth on their heads, and march to the boundary, which they declare. Thereafter one waits a certain time to see whether these witnesses to the boundary meet with some mishap, or die. In this case their decision is regarded as set aside by divine interference.⁹

Such are a few of the indications of the part that supernatural prohibitions and dangers have played in aiding men to define or to render precise their conception of property-divisions and rights. Once more then tabus aid the consciousness of the distinctions and relations of classified objects.

IV.

The relation of tabu to the origin and development of the conception of social classes is obviously great, although here again it would be no part of my thesis to attribute to supernatural prohibitions the principal place amongst the complex motives that lead to social differentiation. I only insist that tabu not only helped to classify society, but also (and this is my principal point) helped early races of men to become vividly conscious of their own social classifications. When a social distinction was for any reason already

⁸ So, for instance, in the tale of Puhī-huīa and Ponga, in White's *Ancient History of the Maori*, Vol. IV, p. 125, where the sacredness of the material property of one's host is compared to the sacredness of the person of a woman of high rank, to whom one of lower rank must not make love.

⁹ See Jolly, in the *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Alterthums-kunde*, Bd. II, Heft 8, "Recht und Sitte," p. 95.

recognized, it often suggested a tabu. This in its turn emphasized and helped to make clear the conception of the social distinction. On the other hand, an already existing tabu might create a new social class by giving rise to the very idea of that class.

Thus the relations of the sexes were profoundly influenced in primitive life by numerous tabus. These related to the period of the initiation of the youth into the tribe, to the conditions of relationship or of tribal affinity which made marriage permissible or which excluded it, and to the relations of each partner in marriage to the relatives of the other, to the incidents accompanying childbirth, and to many other matters, both when these were socially important, and when, from our point of view, they seem unimportant. The whole subject is a complex one, which has been much discussed. I can here only say that supernatural prohibitions of the most varied kind, as well as prohibitory customs that we can only conjecture to have been in their origin tabus, had much to do with making definite the relations of the sexes and the organization of the family. The moral value of the results does not here concern us. I point out that the whole process had its intellectual aspect, and that definite social concepts seem to have often been first formulated in this way, by means of prohibitions whose origin was superstitious.

Tabu also influenced in some degree the formation of castes. This is evident from the facts already reported in the case of priests and of chieftains and kings. In India, where the process was destined to go so far, it was at every step attended by elaborate prohibitions, whereby the castes were, and to-day are, kept separated from one another. It is not unnatural that in the older literature the sacredness of the Brahman class is especially emphasized by threats of supernatural vengeance against whoever interferes with the Brahman's property. In the Atharva Veda, my colleague Professor Lanman has pointed out to me the hymns in the fifth book of that ancient scripture which recite the curses invoked upon any prince who takes away a Brahman's cow. The hymns in question belong to an early and comparatively simple stage of Hindu civilization. The cow is treated as a sort of representative of all the Brahman's sacred personal possessions. The hymns are addressed to princes and to other powerful persons:

"The Gods, O Prince, have not bestowed this cow on thee to eat thereof.

Seek not, Rajanya, to devour the Brahman's cow which none may eat.

A base Rajanya, spoiled at dice, and ruined by himself, may eat
The Brahman's cow, and think, To-day, and not to-morrow let
me live!

The Brahman's cow is like a snake, charged with dire poison,
clothed with skin.

Rajanya! bitter to the taste is she, and none may eat of her.

She takes away his strength, she mars his splendor, she ruins
everything like fire enkindled.

That man drinks poison of the deadly serpent who counts the
Brahmanas mere food to feed him.

* * *

The fool who eats the Brahman's food and thinks it pleasant to
the taste,

Eats, but can ne'er digest, the cow that bristles with a hundred
barbs.

* * *

They who themselves ten hundred, were the rulers of a thousand
men

The Vaitahavyas, were destroyed for that they ate a Brahman's
cow."

The inspired seer who composed these lines, continues at what to us seems surprising length, to set forth the further consequences of any disrespect to the Brahman's property or person. The Brahman's insulters, in the next world, "sit in the middle of a stream running with blood, devouring hair." As to the very insistent cow herself, we learn repeatedly that "terrible is her cutting up." "She grows eight-footed, and four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-faced, two-tongued, and shatters down the kingdom of the man who doth the Brahman wrong."

The interest of this eloquence lies, for us, in the fact that it occurs early in the history of caste, and is addressed not to common folk, but to rulers, to kings, and to men of the warrior caste in general. But at that time these were plainly a social class not only powerful but in their way highly intelligent. The priestly teacher plainly has a hard task to impress upon them the true class-distinctions. He shows accordingly how such distinctions have to be taught to unwilling pupils, namely by the portentous logic of the tabu.

v.

I turn from social distinctions to the primitive classifications of external natural objects, and to the classifications and arrangements

of acts that had to do with the various arts of primitive man. The ceremonial of agriculture is well known amongst all peoples. It has to do with the organization of the activities of those who plant crops, who care for them, and who reap the fruits. On this side it is an expression of what man has positively learned about the laws of the life of cultivated plants. In addition, it is much influenced by notions derived from sympathetic magic. But finally—and this concerns us here—it is also marked by the presence of tabus, and of incantations and other ceremonies to remove these tabus at a proper time. As for the presence of the tabus, they are especially connected with that anxiety about all kinds of live things, and with that peculiar interest about the fortunes of food, which everywhere appears in primitive life. The three early arts of war, of hunting and of agriculture, almost equally tend to be influenced in their details by tabus, and by a concern about omens and portents which expresses the savage sense of the importance and the doubtfulness of these enterprises. And as to food, it is peculiarly likely to be infected by any contact with or relation to tabued objects. As the results are poisonous to the eater of the food, one is constantly on his guard against them, up to the very moment of beginning to eat. A final incantation at the beginning of a meal is therefore needed to remove the last tabu from the food. And this custom it is, I suppose, which survives in civilized religious life in the saying of grace. It is not strange, therefore, that the growth of food-plants is subject to tabus from planting to harvest-time. In Mr. Walter William Skeat's *Malay Magic*¹⁰ there is an elaborate account of the ceremonies attending the planting and the cutting of rice in the Malay states. These ceremonies are concerned in part with the establishment or with the removal of tabus, although sympathetic magic plays a large part.

But my interest here lies in the fact that in a sufficiently primitive state of agriculture the tabus and the incantations, whose origin of course lies not in knowledge but in superstition, may be so united with one's observation of the laws of life that the tabus act somewhat as rules of farming would do on a higher level of civilization, helping one to plant and harvest at the right time and to take good care of the crop when harvested.

The ancient Maoris had one food-plant which they very greatly prized, the *kumara* or sweet potato. They also cultivated and stored fern-root for food. Both plants had their types of sacredness. But the *kumara* was the more important in the New Zealander's eyes.

¹⁰ London, 1900, pp. 230-249.

Ancient and bitter quarrels existed amongst the tribes as to the historical question, whose tribal canoe had first brought over the kumara to New Zealand at the time of the legendary migration of the fathers from the island called Hawaiki, whence, as they all said, they had come. Well, there was of course a month for the planting of the kumara. If one may judge by the words of an incantation attributed to the demi-god Maui, this was a matter about which practices had somewhat varied in the foretime. Maui seems to say that it is forbidden to plant the kumara in certain months which actually were sometimes used. In any case, he taught incantations which bore upon this proper planting time, and which were sung by the planters. The gathering and storing of the crop were attended by special incantations, intended to remove tabus. But all these customs were of course expressive of natural laws, uniformities and distinctions.

There was also an ancient tabu against the storing of kumara and fern-root together in the pits in which the Maori kept his food. As the kumara was sweet while the fern-root had a pungent and bitter taste and formed a decidedly astringent diet, this classification might seem to us natural enough. But the Maori emphasized and justified it by elaborate references to tabus, to ancient history, and to the gods. In fact both the kumara and the fern-root were themselves anciently gods, children, like other gods, of the pair Rangi and Papa, Heaven and Earth.¹¹ There was an ancient enmity between the two plants. There is a story of a fight between them in which the kumara was slain. The fern-root, in any case, came to be associated in some way with the god of war. In consequence, the fern-root was ordained to be the food in time of war. On the other hand, the kumara was the food for times of peace. As thus sacred to peace, it was often used to establish a destructive tabu against the war parties of an enemy. "When an enemy is on the way to attack a *pa*" (that is a stockaded Maori settlement), says one of Mr. White's native informants, "the inhabitants of the *pa* take some kumara and place them on the road over which the enemy will come to attack them." They then chant proper incantations and leave the kumara there. The result is that the war party of the enemy, on reaching the sacred place, become panic-stricken and flee. A consequence of this custom was, however, as another informant explains, that "war parties were careful not to travel over old roads or common tracks when on a war expedition."

¹¹ Cf. as to these matters, White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, Vol. III, pp. 97-104; 112-115.

In fact, as one sees, it was a poor tabu which could not work both ways, and of course such stratagems on the part of the assailing war party as the avoidance of well traveled paths, could be justified by other considerations of the warlike art than those dependent upon the tabu. Yet the tabu helped to bring even these stratagems to consciousness. Meanwhile, it was indeed plain that so sacred a food, and one so fatal to war parties, must be sharply sundered in the storing-pits from the fern-root of the god of war. It was also not surprising that one of the original canoes in which the fathers came from Hawaiki was capsized when near the New Zealand shore because some one of the crew had rashly attempted to carry fern-root in the same canoe with the kumara. One of the old legends told at length how the effects of this mishap were counteracted by the voyagers.

Thus one sees how, in primitive agriculture, and in dealing with questions of diet, natural classes of important plants, and of foods whose taste and dietetic value were contrasted, came to clear consciousness as distinct objects in connection with tabus. Here, once more, tabu was a schoolmaster, to teach the beginnings of clearer thinking about natural laws and classes.

VI.

As I said at the outset, tabu is not the only form which the consciousness of negation takes in the primitive mind. Omens, portents, and warnings are known to all early peoples. Psychologically viewed, they are closely allied to tabus, and to the incantations which remove tabus. They are signals which, for some reason, arouse the consciousness of "yes" or "no" in the presence of a situation wherein either an expectation or a course of action has been so far in doubt. While the tabu is a sort of categorical imperative, the omen or warning gives rather a sort of hypothetical counsel. Sometimes, to be sure, the omen portends the fatal event, which your will can in no wise alter. But if your choice is still in question the omen is likely to have a wider range than the tabu, a range either for interpretation or for choice. Thus the eclipse is a bad omen either for the assailants or for the defenders in the contest now going on,—but for whom? One day is unlucky if you propose to go on a journey; but it may be a safe day for you if you devote yourself to work at home. If you look at the moon over the right shoulder, the omen is good. If you look over the left shoulder, beware. Meanwhile, omens pass over into tabus by insensible stages. Friday is a day when you must not attempt any-

thing new or important. This is equivalent to a tabu. Upon no occasion may thirteen sit down at table. Here again is a tabu. But the omen may be wholly ambiguous: If Croesus begins the war, a great kingdom will be destroyed.

In any case, however, one who considers omens is balancing alternatives, "yes" or "no." In doing this he is closely scrutinizing objects; and consequently (here is the mentally important feature), he is *classifying the signs that the objects give him*. Hence the preference of all who use divinations for a progressively more and more elaborate division and classification of objects. As divination usually is accompanied by the use of magic, it leads to an elaborate classification of the spells and charms employed to combat the effect of evil omens. As to what classifications thus appear in consequence of the study of omens, they in the first place have to do with the actions of the seeker for signs himself. Movements to the right and movements to the left, and all sorts of motor antagonisms such as are suggested by the "yes" and "no" antagonism of the good and evil omens, take part in the formation of the ideas of how to counteract the effect of evil, or to obtain good ends. How elaborate the ideas and devices of one using spells may become, and how full they may be of thoughts regarding the manner of opposing one spell by another, so as to say "no" to the enemy, we can see in the hymns of the Hindu Atharva Veda. Here we find numerous spells intended to counteract the spells of evil or of hostile magicians. They show how elaborate a form the persistent consciousness of negation or of opposition tends to give the mind of one who is beset by the idea of saying "no" to evil omens, and to the incantations of opponents:

"Back on the wizard fall his craft,
upon the curser light his curse!
Let witchcraft like a well wheeled car,
roll back upon the sorcerer.

"Go as a son goes to his sire;
bite as a trampled viper bites.
As one who flies from bonds, go back,
O witchcraft, to the sorcerer."

Expressions of this sort indicate the form of thought which, to speak in Kantian terms, is imposed upon phenomena by the consciousness of the magician with his opponent. The world becomes to him full of opposing paths, processes, devices. All the classifications that in later religious life come to distinguish black from white magic, saving faith from devilish arts, orthodoxy from heresy, the

authoritative anathema of the church from the malignant curses of the enemy, are founded in a consciousness of negation of the type thus exemplified. The imprecations of certain Psalms of the Old Testament are expressions of a similar stage of religious consciousness. By such invocations of negative spells and judgments upon the opponent, early ideas of certain important distinctions become clear; and here, once more, the fury of the contending priest is a preliminary stage to the calmly rational clearness of the *reductio ad absurdum*.

Yet not only is a clearer self-consciousness prefigured and in part educated through such processes; a clearer consciousness of the structure of the natural world is aided by the search which the interpreter of omens makes for the positive and negative signs that the world is to show to him. The Polynesians used a rude sort of instrument that sometimes looked like a very rough mariners' compass with the needle omitted.¹² This had marks of some sort, such as holes cut in a calabash, to correspond to our points of the compass. The points were named after the various winds, of which the Maoris distinguished eight and other islanders who voyaged more constantly, still more. Now this instrument, when viewed in its literal aspect, was a sort of memorandum of the various winds, and a means, after the direction of the wind had once been observed, to keep the course which one was steering during a canoe voyage in a constant relation to the wind. But the consciousness of the Polynesian conceived the meaning of the instrument otherwise. To his mind it was a device for securing favorable winds by means of incantations. Having thus classified the winds, one applied the instrument in practice by stopping the various holes which represented the unfavorable winds, by leaving open the hole for the favorable wind to blow through, and by then pronouncing the proper incantations. Here once more the magic arts of forbidding and permitting taught the voyager to observe closely, and to classify sharply the facts of nature.

The relations of positive and negative omens and spells to the beginnings of exact science are obvious enough in a vast range of other and very familiar phenomena. Charts, diagrams and sacred instruments used for purposes of divination and for the ordering of ceremonies to produce counter-charms, are found all over the world. They tend, especially as culture grows complex, towards a type of structure of which chess boards, magic squares, astrological dia-

¹² Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, pp. 319-322. Similar instruments seem to be in question, from time to time in White's accounts.

grams, the list of the signs of the zodiac, tables of sacred names, calendars, and other tabular forms furnish a sufficient reminder. If my space permitted, it would be easy to present an impressive array of such objects at this point; but my present purpose lies in indicating their psychical origin, and in pointing out their common character and their value for the development of exact conceptions. All such tables, as they appear in pre-scientific thought, have in their origin something to do either with divination or with charms or spells to ward off evils and to compel good omens. Now the common character of these objects is that they exhibit an elaborately classified structure. Their origin is psychologically explicable, I think, in terms of the fact that when one seeks for decisive answers, "yes" and "no," to practical questions, or for spells to force a decision, "yes" or "no," upon one's social or natural world, one is first led to draw sharp lines between the friendly and the unfriendly in nature, the lucky and the unlucky in occurrences, the way to success and the way to failure in one's own life. Then one is led to scrutinize closely the various facts of nature and of art to find the signs corresponding to these "yes" and "no" distinctions. The result is that one forms the habit of defining classes with sharp boundary lines. As nature is slow in furnishing directly such classes, ready-made, one proceeds to make them artificially, by constructing diagrams for divination. But one is eager to adjust these diagrams to the observed phenomena of nature. Hence one looks for guidance to the more stately and regular natural processes, such as especially favor exact description in terms of class distinctions. The result is important for the early development of the science of numbers, as the magic squares and similar devices show.

The same process gives rise to astrology, astrology gives birth to astronomy; and thus exact science develops out of that form of categorizing phenomena which divination especially favors. Practical decisions, with their sharp distinctions between "yes" and "no," teach man to look for what sympathetic magic alone would never have taught him, namely for the signs of precision, definiteness, exact order, and negatively definable law in nature. As sympathetic magic led man dimly to feel the unity of the cosmos, so divination and tabu, calling attention to the negative aspect of things, helped man in the pre-scientific stage to begin to comprehend the articulation of things and to approach the conception of exact law.

SOME ASPECTS OF SAMUEL BUTLER.

BY M. JOURDAIN.

SAMUEL BUTLER, who was born in 1835 and died in 1902, has only been a name for the last few years among the general public. He owes this introduction mainly to his two literary "god-fathers," Mr. Francis Darwin¹ and Mr. Bernard Shaw. The latter in one of his polemical prefaces brings Butler to the fore in a manner which sent hundreds of readers to the *Way of all Flesh*. To read in his own department that the late Samuel Butler was the greatest English writer of the latter half of the nineteenth century was a shock to the public already conquered by Shaw, and to whom the name of Butler suggested vaguely the overdusted author of the *Analogy*, or of *Hudibras*. Shaw's few words are telling. "It drives one almost to despair of English literature," he writes, "when one sees so extraordinary a study of English life as Butler's posthumous *Way of all Flesh* making so little impression, that when some years later I produce plays in which Butler's extraordinarily fresh, free and future-piercing suggestions have an obvious share, I am met with nothing but vague cacklings about Ibsen and Nietzsche and am only too thankful they are not about Alfred de Musset and Georges Sand. Really, the English do not deserve to have great men. They allowed Butler to die practically unnoticed."

To this admission we must add that of his other "godfather," Mr. Francis Darwin, who in his presidential address at the British Association in 1908, spoke of Butler's entertaining book *Life and Habit*; and Professor Bateson's mention of him in 1909² as "the most brilliant and by far the most interesting of Darwin's opponents, whose works are at length emerging from oblivion."

These utterances aroused the interest which was accumulating

¹ Now Sir Francis Darwin.

² *Darwin and Modern Science*, 1909.

for Butler after his death, and he has begun to be exalted with a rapidity that he himself, though secure of his ultimate hearing, could hardly have foreseen. At the time of his death the leading articles concluded that it was a pity so talented a man had done no more; as if they had been writing the obituary notice of Lord Acton, who died at the same moment. On the whole, the notices of Lord Acton are the longer. But the difficulty in truth is that Butler had done so much that before his death it was possible for a person not unduly ignorant to be unaware that the author of *Erewhon* had moved in theological polemics and in Shakespearian, Homeric and scientific criticism; that he had attacked some problems of art, was a composer of music and verse, and a fairly well known exhibitor in the Royal Academy. And all this without giving the impression of dilettantism and superficiality. Oscar Wilde says somewhere that to know the vintage and quality of a wine one need not drink the whole cask. Now, it is necessary to drink the whole cask in the case of Butler, and to know not only his complete work but his life, for the simple reason that he is one of the most autobiographical of authors, and his best book is but a disguised autobiography.

The main facts of this life are sufficiently well known, and no reader of *The Way of all Flesh* is surprised that Butler was the son of a clergyman and grandson of a bishop. He was born at his father's rectory of Langar in Nottinghamshire, in 1835. He went from Shrewsbury School to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated as twelfth in the Classical Tripos in 1858. After Cambridge he was impelled into the priestly path from without rather than within, and went so far as to become a lay reader. The path was not of his choosing, and in the autumn of 1859 he emigrated to New Zealand, where he was successful in his sheep run and even more so in its sale at a fortunate moment. He returned to England and set himself to school as a painter. Between 1865 and 1870 he hardly wrote anything, being, as he says in the 1901 preface to *Erewhon*, "hopeful of attaining that success as a painter which it has not been vouchsafed me to attain." His literary work practically begins with *Erewhon*.

As he says in his preface, the substance of certain chapters was written between 1863 and 1865. In 1871 the book was written. On its appearance in March 1872 it had an unlooked-for success which he attributed mainly to two early favorable reviews, the first in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the second in the *Spectator*. There was also another cause. Butler was "complaining once to a friend that

though *Erewhon* had met with such a warm reception my subsequent books had been all of them practically still-born. He said: 'You forget one charm that *Erewhon* had, but which none of your other books have.' I asked what, and was answered: 'The sound of a new voice and of an unknown voice.' " The unknown voice had a success unexpected by George Meredith, who was then reader to Chapman and Hall, and who advised its rejection as "a philosophical work little likely to be popular with a large circle of readers." It is curious that this one successful book did not do more to create a taste for Butler's work; for *Erewhon* contains many of his "finds," or recurrent ideas, such as the analogy of crime and disease, the preference for physical over moral health, the theory of the transmission of habit and memory from one generation to another, and the condemnation of certain forms of cant.

It is characteristic of Butler that his next book, published anonymously like *Erewhon*, was also an exercise in irony. *The Fair Haven*, which appeared in 1873, and which declared itself as "a defence of the miraculous element in our Lord's ministry upon earth, both as against rationalist impugners and certain orthodox defenders," is an instance of the sober and weighty irony of which Swift alone among his predecessors had the secret. A well-known religious paper, in a long review expressed itself grateful for Butler's defence and his scattering of the unorthodox, and this review was one of his most treasured possessions. The mystification disturbed the uncritical, and Butler won the reputation of a malign person to be feared by those whose gift for irony was undeveloped.

The next batch of books was written about the "finds" which Butler himself would seem to have considered the most important of all those ideas which he picked up like "sovereigns that were lying about the street." One of the most original is the perception that "personal identity cannot be denied between parents and offspring without at the same time denying it between the different ages, and hence moments, in the life of the individual—and as a corollary to this the ascription of the phenomena of heredity to the same source as those of memory."

As Hering^a says: "Between the *me* of to-day and the *me* of yesterday lie night and sleep, abysses of unconsciousness; nor is there any bridge but memory with which to span them." And in the same way he claims that the abyss between two generations is

^a Cf. *On Memory as a General Function of Organised Matter*, Chicago, 1895; Mach, *Contributions to the Analysis of the Sensations*, Chicago, 1897, page 36.

bridged by the unconscious memory that resides in the germ cells. Butler has previously worked out the view that "we are one person with our ancestors" in *Life and Habit* (1877) written in ignorance of Hering's work, and this was the first and undoubtedly the most important of his writings on evolution.

With Butler the leading motive in one book is repeated in its contemporaries and successors, and *The Way of all Flesh* has much in common with *Life and Habit*, for though the publication of *The Way* was for obvious reasons deferred until after his death, it was written about 1872 and touched and retouched until 1884, so that it is to a great extent contemporaneous with *Life and Habit*. The incentive to write the book was given by Butler's acquaintance with Miss Savage, who is the Althea of *The Way*. The book has the freshness often absent from the novel of the professed novelist, the sharp taste of sincere autobiography. The history of Ernest Pontifex, coincident with Samuel Butler's at more than one point, is told without false or external accentuation, without stage trickery and contrivances. At some junctures where the satire seems to drop to caricature, Butler was often giving a transcript of his experience. It is a fantasia on the filial relationship, a lesson for parents, and it would seem that Butler was the only man of his generation who saw the unnecessary glooms and deceptions of the English upper and middle-class households.

Unlike Ernest Pontifex, Butler cannot be described as a man of one book with many creditable failures to set against the successful *Erewhon*, but like him he can be said to be "the exact likeness of Othello, but with a difference—he hates not wisely but too well." *The Way* was Butler's only venture into the novel of human interest, as apart from the Utopian fantasies of the two *Erewhons*. The line of argument he took up in *Life and Habit* against the rigid application of natural selection he now proceeded to complete in his *Evolution, Old and New* (1879), in which he "tidied up the earlier history of Evolution," *Unconscious Memory* (1880), *Luck and Cunning* (1886), and *The Deadlock in Darwinism* (1890)—a revolt against what he considered the banishment of mind from the universe.

A little later than the bulk of his scientific work come his contributions to art criticism, in which he opened the eyes of many people to the originality of the work of Gaudenzio Ferrari and Tabacchetti at Varallo,⁴ where he stayed repeatedly from 1871 to 1901. As might be expected, his treatment of the sacrosanct common-

⁴ In *Ex Voto* (1888).

places of traditional art criticism is as irreverent as Hogarth's way with the "dark masters." "As for the old masters, the better plan," Butler writes, "would be never to look at one of them and to consign Raffaele along with Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus, Dante, Goethe and two others, neither of them Englishmen, to limbo as the Seven Humbugs of Christendom." Any reader of Butler may fill up the two discreet vacancies for himself, the only problem being that there are only two seats to fill.

The traditional commonplaces of art criticisms are amusingly gathered upon his George Pontifex in *The Way of all Flesh*, who goes upon a continental grand tour "having made up his mind to admire only what he thought it would be creditable in him to admire, to look at nature and art only through the spectacles that had been handed down to him by generation after generation of prigs and impostors." As a consequence, conventional ecstasies, genteel paroxysms which "it is interesting to compare with the rhapsodies of critics in our own times." "Not long ago a much esteemed writer informed the world that he felt disposed to cry out with delight before a figure by Michael Angelo. I wonder whether he would feel 'disposed to cry out with delight' before a real Michael Angelo if the critics had declared it was not genuine, or before a reputed Michael Angelo which was really by somebody else? But I suppose a prig with more money than brains was much the same sixty or seventy years ago as he is now."

It may be added that Butler applied the same spirit in questioning the "dark masters" in music and classic literature, and that he questioned the reputation of Mendelssohn and Beethoven, Virgil and the Greek tragedians. The list of his preferences and detestations is significant of Butler's own outfit. One sees what he found or wished to find in the arts: his distaste for the academical in literature, the "lengths of satin" of Tennyson, the languid work of Walter Pater, the "Wardour Street English," as he calls it, of a well-known translation of Homer. It was natural that with this criterion Butler was inclined to set Tabachetti's fresh and unacademic work higher than it is generally placed, among the very highest achievements of plastic art.

In 1886 the death of Butler's father removed his financial difficulties, and he now spent most summers abroad, returning to his chambers in Clifford's Inn. During this period he studied music with his friend Mr. Festing Jones; and between 1886 and 1902 he brought out such disparate books as *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, the dignified and dull biography of his grandfather and namesake

Samuel Butler, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry,⁵ an excursion into the problem of Shakespeare's Sonnets,⁶ and *Erewhon Revisited*—his last and most rapidly written book, composed between November 1900 and the end of April in the following year. Failing health may have had something to do with the relative weakness of the sequel, for he was not well when he set out for Sicily in the spring of 1902. He died on June 18 of that year. In returning to his last book for the latest expression of his thought on the religious questions he had so often raised, we have a clear statement in his preface.

"I forget when, but not very long after I had published *Erewhon* in 1872, it occurred to me to ask myself what course events in *Erewhon* would probably take after Mr. Higgs... had made his escape. Given a people in the conditions supposed to exist in *Erewhon*, and given the apparently miraculous ascent of a remarkable stranger into the heavens with an earthly bride—what would be the effect on people generally? It was not till the early winter of 1900-1, as nearly as may be thirty years after the date of Higg's escape, that I found time to deal with the question above stated.... Now the development of all new religions follows much the same general course. In all cases the times are more or less out of joint—older faiths are losing their hold upon the masses. At such times, let a personality appear, strong in itself and made to appear still stronger by association with some supposed 'transcendent' miracle, and it will be easy to raise a 'Lo here!' that will attract many followers. If there be a single great and apparently well-authenticated miracle, others will accrete round it; then in all religions that have so originated there will follow temples, priests, rites, sincere believers, and unscrupulous exploiters of public credulity." Again in this preface he tells us that he "never ceased to profess himself a member of the more advanced wing of the English Broad Church. What those who belong to the wing believe I believe. What they reject, I reject." He rejects the letter⁷ and accepts the spirit, as he had said in his earlier *Ex Voto*:

⁵ *Life of Samuel Butler, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry* (1896).

⁶ *Shakespeare's Sonnets Reconsidered* (1899). This is not a particularly interesting work of Butler's, and his theory of the "Mr. W. H." is not included by him among his own list of his important "finds."

⁷ This has been questioned. Mr. Salter writes in *Essays on Two Moderns*: "How far the book was intended to cast a doubt on any particular incident of the Christian story may be questioned; Butler himself strenuously denied any such intention. But the resemblances are in some cases too close to be accidental, and it seems most probable to suppose that, desiring to show how easily among an unsophisticated and imaginative people the supernatural and miraculous cluster round matter-of-fact occurrences, he chose to use illustra-

"Who in these days but the advocates whose paid profession it is to maintain the existing order and those whom custom and vested interests hold enthralled, accepts the letter of Christianity more than he accepts the letter of Oriental exaggerated phraseology? Who, on the other hand, that need be reckoned with, denies the eternal underlying verity that there is an omnipresent unknown Something for which Mind, Spirit, or God is, as Professor Mivart has well said, 'the least misleading' expression? Who doubts that this Mind or God is immanent throughout the whole universe, sustaining it, guiding it, living in it, he in it and it in him. I heard," he adds, "of one not long since who said he had been an atheist this ten years, and added 'Thank God.'"

That disturbing close to a passage in his most serious mood is one cause of Butler's beating the air, as far as his own generation was concerned. His manner suggested the convenient conclusion that he was an eccentric, "a Columbus of mare's nests, whose claim to fame, apart from his first book, rested on the discovery that Darwin was an imposter, and that Homer was a woman."⁸ He broke with the tradition of seriousness in controversy, in which his books are rather confessions and conversations. Even when he backs himself against specialists, his style has the unlabored, unaffected note which has become not unusual to-day, but which must have surprised his contemporaries. In the preface to his *Luck or Cunning?*, for instance, he assured the world that he believed his theories to be as important as theories can be which do not involve money or bodily inconvenience,—an assurance which the world was not wont to receive from the theorist. He troubled the church that was not broad by his mystifications and his paradoxes, and his jests had a sharper and more intimate edge from his position as the son and grandson of augurs, so that two widely differing classes considered him as hardly serious. But this was a mistaken estimate. There is no better test of an author's seriousness, whatever be his manner, than his consistency with his expressed self, the recurrence of his leading ideas, and, if this be applied to Butler, it will be found that he is the exact opposite of the character general contemporary opinion assigned to him, and that the author of the *Fair Haven* had some reason to prefix to *Erewhon Revisited* the motto from Homer:

"Him do I hate even as I hate Hell fire
Who says one thing, and hides another in his heart."

tions which would be familiar to all his readers, without necessarily intending an attack on the Christian faith as such."

⁸ Desmond Macarthy, in *Independent Review*, Sept., 1904.

THE MORAL CONCORD.¹

BY THE LATE HENRI POINCARÉ.

TO-DAY'S assemblage brings together men of very different ideas, who are united only by a common good will and an equal desire for the good; doubtless nevertheless they will readily understand one another, because though they may not be agreed as to the means, they are in accord as to the aim to be attained, and it is only that which counts.

We have recently read, and may still read on the walls of Paris, bills announcing a contradictory conference on "the conflict of morals."

Does this conflict exist, could it exist? No. Morality may buttress itself with a multitude of reasons. Some of them are transcendent; these are perhaps the best and surely the noblest, but they are the ones debated; one there is at least, perhaps a little more of the earth earthy, upon which we cannot fail to be in accord.

The life of man, in reality, is a continual struggle: against him rise up forces, blind doubtless but formidable, which would promptly down him, which would destroy him, overwhelm him with a thousand misfortunes, if he were not constantly up in arms to resist them.

If we enjoy at times a relative rest, it is because our fathers have fought hard; let our energy, let our vigilance relax but an instant, and we lose all the fruit of their battles, all they have won for us. Thus humanity is like an army in war. Every army has need of discipline, and it is not enough for it to submit to discipline upon the day of battle; it must bend to it in times of peace. Otherwise defeat is certain, no bravery can save the day.

¹ Read by Henri Poincaré at the inaugural meeting of the French League for Moral Education, three weeks before his death, his last appearance in public. Translated by George Bruce Halsted.

What I have just said applies equally well to the struggle mankind must sustain in order to live; the discipline it must accept is called morality. The day when this should be forgotten humanity would be vanquished beforehand and plunged into an abyss of evils. On that day, moreover, it would undergo decadence, it would feel itself less beautiful and, so to speak, smaller. We should mourn not only because of the evils which would follow, but because the beautiful would be obliterated.

On these points we all think alike, we all know whither it is necessary to go; why do we differ when it is a question of the way thither?

If arguments could accomplish anything, it would be easy to be in harmony. Mathematicians never argue when it is a question of knowing how one should demonstrate a theorem, but here the matter is wholly different. To establish morality by arguing is to have your labor for your pains; in such matters there is no argument that cannot be answered.

Explain to a soldier how many evils defeat engenders, and that it will compromise even his personal safety, and he may always answer that this safety would be still better guaranteed if others did the fighting. If the soldier does not answer thus, it is because he is mute from some force or other that silences all argument. What we need is a force like that.

Now the human soul is an inexhaustible reservoir of forces, a fertile source, a rich spring of motor energy. This motive force is the emotions, and it is necessary for the moralists to capture, so to speak, these forces and direct them in the right way, just as the engineers subjugate the forces of nature and bend them to industrial needs.

But—and here the diversity arises—to make the same machine go, the engineers may have recourse indifferently to steam or to hydraulic energy; just so the professors of morals can at their will put in action one or another of the psychologic forces. Each will naturally choose the force he feels in himself. Those which might come to him from without, or which he might borrow from a neighbor, he would handle only clumsily; they would be lifeless and without efficacy in his hands. He will forego them, and with reason. It is because their arms are different that their methods must be; why should they bear ill will toward each other?

And meanwhile, it is always the same morality that is taught. Whether you look toward the general good, whether you appeal to pity or to the emotion of human dignity, you always reach the

same precepts, those which can not be forgotten without the nations perishing, without at the same time miseries multiplying and man beginning to decline.

Why then do all these men who, with different weapons, combat the same enemy so rarely recall that they are allies? Why do some at times rejoice over the defeats of the others? Do they forget that each of these defeats is a triumph of the eternal adversary, a diminution of the common patrimony? Oh, no! we are in too dire need of all our forces to have the right to neglect any; so we repress not one, we only proscribe hate.

Truly hate also is a force, a very powerful force; but we can not use it, because it contracts, because it is like a telescope into which one can only look through the large end. Even between races hate is fatal, and it does not make true heroes. I know not whether, beyond certain frontiers, they hope to find advantage in making patriotism with hate; but that is contrary to the instincts of our race and to its traditions. French armies have always fought for some one or for something, and not against some one; they have not fought less well for that.

If within the country the parties forget the great ideas which make their honor and the reason for their existence and recall only their hate—if one says: "I am anti-this," and the other replies: "I am anti-that"—immediately the horizon narrows, as if clouds had fallen and had veiled the peaks. The vilest means are employed; men recoil neither from calumny nor from secret accusation, and those who show surprise at this become suspects. We see people arise who seem to have mind only for lying and heart only for hate. And souls that are not vulgar, if only they take shelter under the same flag, reserve for them treasures of indulgence and at times of admiration. In the presence of so many opposing hates, we hesitate to wish for the defeat of one, which would be the triumph of the others.

Behold all that hate can do, and this is exactly what we do not wish. Let us then draw closer together; let us learn to know each other and thus to esteem each other, in order to pursue our common ideal. Let us guard ourselves against imposing uniform methods upon all. It cannot be done, and besides it is not to be desired. Uniformity is death because it closes the door to all progress; and moreover all constraint is sterile and hateful.

Men differ, some are refractory; just one of your words may win their heart, while all the remainder of your discourse would leave them indifferent. I cannot know whether this decisive word

is not the very one you are about to say when I forbid you to say it! . . . But then, you see the danger: these men, who will not have received the same education, are called to knock against one another in life. Under these repeated shocks their souls will be shaken, will be modified, perhaps they will change faith.

What will happen if the new ideas they come to adopt are those their old masters represented to them as just the negation of morality? Will this habit of mind be lost in a day? At the same time, their new friends will teach them not merely to reject what they once adored, but to scorn it. They will not retain for the generous ideas which cradled their souls that tender memory which survives faith. Their moral ideal risks being involved in this general ruin: too mature to undergo a new education, they will lose the fruits of the old.

This danger will be exorcised, or at least diminished, if we learn to speak only with respect of all sincere efforts which others make by our side; this respect would be easy for us if we knew one another better.

And this is just the object of the League for Moral Education. To-day's celebration sufficiently proves that it is possible to have an ardent faith and to do justice to the faith of others, and that in sum, under different uniforms, we are only, so to speak, different divisions of the same army, fighting side by side.

GREEK ART IN INDIA.

BY THE EDITOR.

GREEK civilization is younger than the culture of Asia. It flourished when Egypt and Babylon began to break down. It is younger also than the culture of Brahmanism as it developed in the valley of the Ganges. Nevertheless Greek art influenced Indian



A BUDDHIST GIGANTOMACHY.

poetry as well as sculpture, for the very oldest documents of India, in the versions in which they survive, show influences of the Greek spirit. The Mahabharata, as we now have it, has undoubtedly been revised by redactors who knew Greek, for it shows decided traces of the Homeric legend.



THE BUDDHA STATUE OF GANDHARA.



A BUDDHIST ATHENE.

Further, we know nothing of plastic Indian art in pre-Buddhistic times. It may have existed, but no monuments are preserved; and it appears that the ancient Indian worked only in perishable materials, but not in marble or in metals. Here again it was Greek art that gave the impetus to the development of Indian sculp-



AN INDIAN HERACLES.

ture, the oldest traces of which we find in Gandhara, where the Buddhist converts of Greek descent had imported Greek sculptors to represent in Greek style Buddha and the scenes of his life, including also the tales of his former births.

There is a lesson in the study of Greek influence on Buddhist art which will help us to appreciate the significance of classical

paganism in the origin of primitive Christian art as it developed in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era.

Ancient Hellas was the center of art inspiration for all its neighbors, and it is strange that the prototype even of the Buddha himself can be traced back to a Greek model which was no other than the god of light and prophecy, Apollo, the leader of the Muses; and the same artists who had chiseled the oldest of all the Buddha statues imported also a number of other Greek motives, many of which continued to live in Buddhist art while others were not repeated.



THE LAMB BEARER.

On a piece of Gandhara sculpture representing the Birth of Buddha.

This latter fate has been met by a female deity closely resembling Pallas Athene which has been found among the ancient ruins, and also by a gigantomachy, a fight of serpent-footed giants with the gods.

Among more recent discoveries we have a perfectly Greek figure of a man wrestling with a lion. This motive has not been continued because it found no explanation in the Buddhist canon. No such scene is reported anywhere in the Jatakas, and so it is like a seed thrown on the stony ground which took no root. This group

is generally interpreted to be a Heracles wrestling with the Nemean lion. The work is more originally Greek than any other piece of sculpture discovered in India, but it is a pity that the heads of both the man and the lion have been broken off, and also the right hand of the man which might have given us a safe clue as to the intention of the artist.

A very interesting motive is the Buddhist lamb-bearer which resembles the Christian Good Shepherd. Archeologists have been puzzled to decide which might have been the original, but this question is beyond dispute in so far as all Gandhara sculptures date back into the second century B. C., and we must assume that both the Buddhist and the Christian types have been revived from an older motive which in pagan Greece is called the ram-bearing Hermes. In Christianity this motive found a good soil in the parable of Christ and the good shepherd who goes in search for and carries home on his shoulders the sheep that has strayed away from the flock. Buddhism, having no such tale among its traditions, seems to have explained this picturesque figure in the sense that the shepherd is carrying home the sheep which the Buddha by abolishing bloody offerings has saved from the fate of being sacrificed to the old Brahman gods.

DEUSSEN'S RECOLLECTIONS OF NIETZSCHE.

BY THE EDITOR.

PROFESSOR Paul Deussen, Sanskritist and philosopher of Kiel, was Friedrich Nietzsche's most intimate friend. They were chums together in school in Schulpforta, and remained friends to the end of Nietzsche's life. Nietzsche had come to Schulpforta in 1858, and Deussen entered the next year in the same class. Once Nietzsche, who as the senior of the class had to keep order among his fellow scholars during working periods and prevent them from making a disturbance, approached Deussen while he sat in his seat peacefully chewing the sandwich he had brought for his lunch, and said, "Don't talk so loud to your crust!" using here the boys' slang term for a sandwich. These were the first words Nietzsche had spoken to Deussen, and Deussen says¹: "I see Nietzsche still before me, how with the unsteady glance peculiar to extremely near-sighted people, his eye wandered over the rows of his classmates searching in vain for an excuse to interfere."

Nietzsche and Deussen began to take walks together and soon became chums, probably on account of their common love for Anacreon, whose poems were interesting to both perhaps on account of the easy Greek in which they are written.

In those days the boys of Schulpforta addressed each other by the formal *Sie*; but one day when Deussen happened to be in the dormitory, he discovered in the trunk under his bed a little package of snuff; Nietzsche was present and each took a pinch. With this pinch they swore eternal brotherhood. They did not drink brotherhood as is the common German custom, but, as Deussen humorously says, they "snuffed it"; and from that time they called each other by the more intimate *du*. This friendship continued through life with only one interruption, and on Laetare Sunday in 1861, they stepped to the altar together and side by side

¹ See Dr. Paul Deussen's *Erinnerungen an Friedrich Nietzsche*, Leipsic.

received the blessing at their confirmation. On that day both were overcome by a feeling of holiness and ecstasy. Thus their friendship was sealed in Christ, and though it may seem strange of Nietzsche who was later a most iconoclastic atheist, a supernatural vision filled their young hearts for many weeks afterwards.

There was a third boy to join this friendship—a certain Meyer, a young, handsome and amiable youth distinguished by wit and the ability to draw excellent caricatures. But Meyer was in constant conflict with his teachers and generally in rebellion against the rules of the school. He had to leave school before he finished his course. Nietzsche and Deussen accompanied him to the gate and returned in great sorrow when he had disappeared on the highway. What has become of Meyer is not known. Deussen saw him five years later in his home at Oberdreis, but at that time he was broken in health and courage, disgruntled with God, the world and himself. Later he held a subordinate position in the custom house, and soon after that all trace of him was lost. Probably he died young.

This Meyer was attached to Nietzsche for other reasons than Deussen. While Deussen appreciated more the intellectuality and congeniality of his friend, Meyer seems to have been more attracted by his erratic and wayward tendencies and this for some time endeared him to Nietzsche. Thus it came to pass that the two broke with Deussen for a time.

The way of establishing a state of hostility in Schulpforta was to declare oneself "mad" at another, and to some extent this proved to be a good institution, for since the boys came in touch with each other daily and constantly in school, those who could not agree would have easily come to blows had it not been for this tabu which made it a rule that they were not on speaking terms. This state of things lasted for six weeks, and was only broken by an incidental discussion in a Latin lesson, when Nietzsche proposed one of his highly improbable conjectures for a verse of Virgil. The discussion grew heated, and when the professor after a long Latin disquisition finally asked whether any one had something to say on the subject, Deussen rose and extemporized a Latin hexameter which ran thus:

"Nietzschius erravit, neque coniectura probanda est."

On account of the declared state of "mad"ness, the debate was carried on through the teacher, addressing him each time with the phrase: "Tell Nietzsche," "Tell Deussen," "Tell Meyer," etc., but in the heat of the controversy they forgot to speak in the third person, and finally addressed their adversaries directly. This broke the

spell of being "mad" and they came to an understanding and a definite reconciliation.

Nietzsche never had another friend with whom he became so intimate as with Deussen. Deussen says (page 9): "At that time we understood each other perfectly. In our lonely walks we discussed all possible subjects of religion, philosophy, poetry, art and music. Often our thoughts ran wild and when words failed us we would look into each other's eyes, and one would say to the other: 'We understand each other.' These words became a standing phrase which forthwith we decided to avoid as trivial, and we had to laugh when occasionally it escaped our lips in spite of us. The great ordeal of the final examination came. We had to pass first through our written tests. In German composition, on the 'advantages and dangers of wealth' Nietzsche passed with No. 1; also in a Latin exercise *de bello Punico primo*; but in mathematics he failed with the lowest mark, No. 4. This upset him, and in fact he who was almost the most gifted of us all was compelled to withdraw."

While the two were strolling up and down in front of the schoolhouse, Nietzsche unburdened his grief to his friend, and Deussen tried to comfort him. "What difference does it make," said he, "if you pass badly, if only you pass at all? You are and will always be more gifted than all the rest of us, and will soon outstrip even me whom you now envy. You must increase but I must decrease."

The course of events was as Deussen had predicted, for Nietzsche though not passing with as much distinction as he may have deserved nevertheless received his diploma.

When Deussen visited Nietzsche with his wife in August 1907 at Sils-Maria, Nietzsche showed him a requiem which he had composed for his own funeral, and he added: "I do not believe that I will last much longer. I have reached the age at which my father died, and I fear that I shall fall a victim to the same disease as he." Though Deussen protested vigorously against this sad prediction and tried to cheer him up, Nietzsche indeed succumbed to his sad fate within two years.

* * *

Professor Deussen, though Nietzsche's most intimate friend, is by no means uncritical in judging his philosophy. It is true he cherishes the personal character and the ideal tendencies of his old chum, but he is not blind to his faults. Deussen says of Nietzsche: "He was never a systematic philosopher. . . . The great problems of epistemology, of psychology, of esthetics and ethics are only tenta-

tively touched upon in his writings. . . . There are many pearls of worth upon which he throws a brilliant side light, as it were in lightning flashes. . . . His overwhelming imagination is always busy. His thoughts were always presented in pleasant imagery and in language of dazzling brilliancy, but he lacked critical judgment and was not controlled by a consideration of reality. Therefore the creation of his pen was never in harmony with the actual world, and among the most valuable truths which he revealed with ingenious profundity there are bizarre and distorted notions stated as general rules although they are merely rare exceptions, as is also frequently the case in sensational novels. Thus Nietzsche produced a caricature of life which means no small danger for receptive and inexperienced minds. His readers can escape this danger only when they do what Nietzsche did not do, when they confront every thought of his step by step by the actual nature of things, and retain only what proves to be true under the touchstone of experience."

Between the negation of the will and its affirmation Nietzsche granted to Deussen while still living in Basel, that the ennoblement of the will should be man's aim. The affirmation of the will is the pagan ideal with the exception of Platonism. The negation of the will is the Christian ideal, and according to Nietzsche the ennoblement of the will is realized in his ideal of the overman. Deussen makes the comment that Nietzsche's notion of the overman is in truth the ideal of all mankind, whether this highest type of manhood be called Christ or overman; and we grant that such an ideal is traceable everywhere. It is called "Messiah" among the Jews; "hero" among the Greeks, "Christ" among the Christians, and *chiün jan*, "the superior man," or to use Nietzsche's language, "the overman," among the Chinese; but the characteristics with which Nietzsche endows his overman are unfortunately mere brutal strength and an unscrupulous will to play the tyrant. Here Professor Deussen halts. It appears that he knew the peaceful character of his friend too well to take his ideal of the overman seriously.

THE ORIENT AND WORLD PEACE.

FROM AN ORIENTAL POINT OF VIEW.

BY BASANTA KOOMAR ROY.

THE struggle for supremacy between the Orient and Occident has been perennial. Epoch after epoch, century after century, the story of Asian and European conquest and counter-conquest has filled the pages of history. It has been written in human blood. The Huns and the Moors, the Mongols and Ottoman Turks fell on Europe, slaughtered, conquered and subjugated the Europeans. On the other hand the Greeks and the Romans, the Portuguese, Dutch, Slavs, French and Britons swept over Asia, slaughtered, conquered and subjugated the Asians. Yesterday Asia stood on the heart of Europe; to-day Europe stands on the heart of Asia; and the problem of future relationship between the East and the West, two halves of one whole, is the problem of world peace. Consequently, it is of vital importance to the progress of the human race, and it is quite in season to see what the eastern half thinks about it.

It is claimed in certain quarters that the table of history has turned again. With the Japanese victory over Russia, it is believed, there has dawned a new era that will make it possible for history to repeat itself. But whether the awakened democracy of Asia will allow the outrage of conquest for individual or national aggrandizement remains to be seen.

Nevertheless, it cannot be gainsaid that the feeling of resentment in the Orient against the Occident is increasing. We cannot ignore it, however much we would like to do so. When we hear ultra-radical Hindus say that their ambition is not only to attain Indian independence, but also to conquer England, not to keep her in subjection to "civilize" the natives, but to capture the precious stones, books, manuscripts, the exquisite pieces of sculpture and many, many other things of use and luxury which the British took

away from India without the permission of their owners; when we see a Japanese paper, the *Asahi* of Ozaka, declare with reference to the insults the yellow races are subjected to in America: "Spiritless as the Orientals are, they will not forever acquiesce in this sort of waywardness; the time will surely come when the Americans will regret having carried their waywardness to excess"; when we see the eyes of the intelligent leaders of modern China kindle with anger, though softened with tears, when they talk about the ignominies they are exposed to at home and abroad and instantly clasp their hands in resolution to "better the instruction"; and again, when we see the tassels of the Turkish and Egyptian fez flutter in the air, as their wearers wave their heads in indignation and talk in lava about European aggression, and swear unmerciful retaliation—when we see all these, as the present writer has done during his sojourn in many lands, it is futile, if not foolish, to ignore such sentiments.

Truly, this spirit of revolt is becoming so self-evident and the Pan-Oriental movement is assuming such a gigantic proportion that the West, conscious of the guilt of its aggression, stands terrified at its appearance, and paints pictures and writes poems and articles about the perils. One group scents in it the Mohammedan peril, a second group sees in it the Yellow peril, and a third fears that it is the Asiatic peril.

The first group is afraid of the repetition of the Mohammedan conquest of Europe and European dominions in Asia and Africa, or at least the ejection of European authority from the Mohammedan countries. There is sound reason for this nervousness, for the Pan-Islamic movement is gaining ground every day, and the entire Mohammedan world is pulsating in the face of common danger with an accentuated sense of unity which it never knew before. The historic antagonism between the *Shias* and the *Shunnis* is fast disappearing, not on account of their love one for the other, but on account of their common hatred for the "Christian infidel." They are no longer willing to run at each other's throat, but are quite anxious and preparing to run at the throat of their common enemy. "Why should the follower of the Prophet crawl in the dust before the infidel slave?"—they have already begun to ask. In fact the Mohammedans all over the world are burning with rage at the humiliation of Turkey—their temporal and spiritual head—in Europe, Africa and Asia; and especially at the criminal Anglo-Russian conspiracy for the strangulation of Persia, the unprovoked Italian outrage on Tripoli and the Balkan war with European con-

nivance in utter violation of the Treaty of Berlin, which has crippled Turkey in Europe for many years to come.

On account of the politico-religious nature of the Snoussia movement extreme secrecy is observed and almost nothing is known to the outer world about its true extent and influence. Nobody can tell us with any amount of certainty whether the coordinated energy of hundreds of Moslem secret societies is ready to declare a Holy War—a *jihad*—in the near future or whether it has to wait till doomsday. At any rate, it is patent that the entire Moslem world is on the warpath. Agents of the secret societies are moving to and fro and sparing no pains to gain converts. The *mou-lavis*, the pilgrims, the merchants, and the caravans are doing the work. These agents, we are told, are especially active in India wherein reside 70,000,000 of the Mohammedans, about 35 per cent of the total Mohammedan population of the world. Their endeavors and the magical influence of the Tripolitan and Balkan wars, have made the Mohammedans of India suspicious of British diplomacy in the Orient. So much so, that the same Mohammedans of India who a few years ago absolutely refused to have anything to do with British-Indian politics, last December in their All-India Moslem Convention passed resolutions demanding self-government for India along colonial lines. Not only this, but while the Moslem women of India were selling, not pawning, their jewels to contribute money for the Turkish war, their husbands and brothers were demanding the immediate release of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, an orthodox Hindu, the most prominent leader of Indian nationalism, who has been imprisoned by the British for the treason of patriotism. The British statesmen on account of these symptoms of a "Mohammedan peril" are terror-stricken. One little instance may throw a flood of light on the nature of the terror that has seized our British friends. Not very long ago an Egyptian student of a high Moslem family went to India to study in the Mohammedan college at Aligarh. The Mohammedan students of the college were so pleased that they gave a tea party in honor of their guest from Egypt. The British-Indian government, that had about 250,000 soldiers at its command, was terrified at this unwarrantable expression of warmth of feeling between the Egyptian and Indian Mohammedans, and summarily ordered the student out of India bag and baggage.

The import of the Mohammedan peril is as plain as the mid-day sun. How does the West intend to solve this volcanic problem? One thing is certain—neither coercion nor un-Christian hatred will solve it permanently.

The second group can see how the yellow races are going to unite to drive the Russians beyond the Urals, and the British, the Germans and the French from their respective spheres of influence and interest. It also sees how they are surreptitiously preparing to capture the dog-in-the-manger policy-ridden Australia and New Zealand, the Philippines, and Hawaii. It is afraid that the momentum of conquest may even carry them across the Pacific to teach the color-phobe and "democratic" Americans a lesson in return for the American laws of exclusion and discrimination which have reduced the Celestials to the position of helots, and give preference even to European criminals over the sober, law-abiding and industrious Japanese.

Indeed, the Yellow peril is a stern reality. The problems of "birthrate," "economic pressure" and "silk vendors" are not as vital as are the political and social disabilities they suffer at the hands of their Western brothers and sisters. The former can be peacefully adjusted within the yellow world, for there is room for tremendous expansion; but the latter involve the white world—the upper dog of to-day, and they embitter the yellows against the whites. The next step is to prepare to take revenge. For it will be too much to expect that the patriotic Japanese and the proud Celestials would consent to endure the insults a day longer than they have to.

Mr. John W. Foster, former secretary of state of the United States, says: "Japan is in no condition to carry on war with the United States for financial reasons." Almost all the modern writers of America harp on the same theme. It tickles their vanity. An army official of this country once told me that Japan was not worth the eggs the hens of the United States laid. We hear the same question—Can Japan for financial reasons fight the United States?—almost on everybody's lips; but more rational and certainly more statesmanlike questions to ask would be—"Under present circumstances, has Japan the moral right to fight?" "Given the finances will she fight?" If the answers are in the affirmative, as everybody seems tacitly to admit, then why not go beneath the surface of the problem, why not remove the causes so that war may be absolutely impossible?

The Americans know, the Japanese know and the world at large knows that Japan would have been fighting the United States this moment over the present California land problem, if only she could be sure of financial backing. We know what a strain it was on Japanese statesmanship to allay bitter public feeling this time. The Mikado fell sick at a very happy moment.

Let it be remembered by those who like to live in their own paradise that Japan, steadily and assiduously and with the keenest foresight, prepared for ten long years to encounter the Russians. To-day Japan may not be in a position to assert her rights, but what about ten years from to-day, or say twenty from to-day, when she will have her finances in sound condition, her army and navy considerably increased and thoroughly reorganized? Then again, she will have the actual and open support of modernized China with her enormous population and tremendous physical and moral strength.

It is asserted by many western writers who claim to be authorities on the East, that China and Japan can never unite; that they are too jealous of one another, that Japan is too arrogant and China too proud to make a common cause. In their disunion lies the opportunity of the western nations that have a stake in the East. This is ostrich statesmanship pure and simple. It betrays a woeful misreading of the signs of the times and of the oriental mind. The apparent rupture between China and Japan is only a part of a gigantic *coup d'état*—a most effective means of diverting the attention of the West to set it at rest.

No doubt slumbering China has been humiliated more than once by juvenile Japan. But China now realizes that those humiliations were the best things that could happen to her, and that they were necessary for the realization of her helpless position and the drift of world politics. Young China thanks Japan for the insults, as modern Japan thanks America for the armed mission of friendship the latter sent to the former under Commodore Perry sixty years ago. The virtual occupation of Manchuria and the annexation of Korea are not dictated by lust of conquest but by sheer force of necessity—the dire necessity of stemming the tide of Muscovite aggression in the far East. China realizes that in her present state of impotency Japan is her best friend; Japan, realizing that Russia is preparing to finish the Russo-Japanese war which began in 1904, looks upon a strong China as her natural friend in the coming struggle.

When the time is ripe they will openly unite. They must, if they have any desire to preserve their national integrity. The work has already begun. Dr. Sun Yet Sen spent one month in secret and open consultation with the leaders of Japan and no doubt has cemented the hearts of the two great countries and laid the foundation of the magnificent structure of Yellow unity.

The joint protest of China and Japan, backed by their armies

and navies, will no doubt, if the West refuses to change her stubborn attitude, "menace" the peace of the world for a few months to establish international righteousness. And lo! the spies of Japan are already out; and the Mexican concession of 2,000,000 acres of land on the Magdalena Bay threatens to be a Japanese Philippines (with Mexican sovereignty) in America, with this difference that the Philippines were taken by force from Spain and the Filipino patriots; but this concession is willingly granted by Mexico; for she too has her axes to grind, and is quite willing to avenge the wrongs she has suffered at the hands of her northern neighbor. There is not the least doubt that the Republic of Colombia, in a few years, will be only too glad to grant a similar concession to China on the Choco Bay. It is not only Mexico or Colombia, but the entire Latin America, on account of a supercilious hegemony and un-American dollar diplomacy, do not feel too friendly towards the northern republic; and within the republic there are ten million negroes who would like to have, as the dominating power, anybody but the whites in any shape or form. Things are really getting puzzlingly complicated; and it is too early to predict how they will end, if true statesmanship on both hemispheres fails to grapple the situation before it is too late.

There is still time for a peaceful and satisfactory solution of the problem, for the yellow races are not by nature aggressive. They intend to live in peace with the rest of the world. If they appear to be pugnacious at times, it is not their fault. It is forced upon them by the West. Unlike the professional diplomats of many lands, Dr. Sun Yet Sen, the humanitarian diplomat of China, without ignoring the presence or possibilities of Yellow peril, most emphatically declared only a few days ago: "The Yellow peril is created by the western nations, and there will be no Yellow peril unless the West creates it."

It is significant to remember in this connection that the following appears in both the Christian and Buddhist scriptures: "As thou sowest, so shalt thou reap." If the West persists in sowing the wind, by the law of adjustment which nature administers with uncompromising accuracy, it will have to reap a sumptuous crop of whirlwind.

* * *

The third group is afraid that all Asia is going to unite to make good the slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics," and to cause carnage that will be of such a character that, in comparison, the previous butcheries of Asia and Europe will be mere child's play.

And there is every reason for the Asiatic peril. Suppose the United States of America were conquered by England, the Central American republics by France, Brazil by Portugal, Argentine by Germany, Chile by Italy, and Peru by Spain; would there not be an American peril for Europe? Or suppose Great Britain was conquered by India, Russia by China, Germany by Japan, France by Persia, Italy by Afghanistan and Spain by Siam; would there not be a European peril for Asia? Most decidedly so. Then is it not irrational to expect that there should be no Asiatic peril for Europe? The Asians are human beings as the Europeans and Americans are; they too have "eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections and passions," and if they are wronged they are human enough to be willing to revenge, at least to the point of self-preservation. Their present incapacity does not prove any lack of desire; but simply intensifies the tension and complicates the situation.

There are some quack writers on the Orient that can see only ten or fifteen years ahead of them, who look down upon this "Asia for the Asiatics" movement as "fantastic," "grotesque," "incomprehensible" and what not. Little do they understand the problem, for they are looking from the wrong end of the telescope. They, in reality, are not cognizant of the fact that various underlying forces are at work which are accentuating the sense of Asian unity. Let them know once for all that past history is not an efficient guide to judge the future of Asia; that the Asia of yesterday is not the Asia of to-day, and certainly not of to-morrow; that what was possible for Europe to perpetrate on Asia yesterday is hardly possible to-day, and certainly will be utterly impossible to-morrow. There is growing a sense of subtle solidarity between the diverse and widely distant parts of modern Asia and special zones of Africa. This makes the cause of Persia the cause of China, the cause of Egypt the cause of India; and it is interesting that the Irish sympathies are with them all. Those that can enter into the hearts of the peoples of Asia know how their minds work alike on this point. They all are anxious, at the opportune moment, to rid themselves of the European incubus.

This does not mean that there will reign a perfect harmony among the Asian states. There is every chance of jealousy and misunderstanding and balancing of powers. But it does mean, and we do not hesitate to say it, that the time is not far distant when the artificial Anglo-Japanese alliance and the absurd Russo-Japanese *entente* will be things of the past; and a grand offensive and defensive triple alliance between the Republic of China, the Empire of Japan,

and the United States of India will be an accomplished fact. This is the most natural thing under the existing exasperating circumstances. These great powers, trained in the school of modernism, backed by other outraged powers of Asia with their combined tremendous preponderance of population will, no doubt, be a "peril," a "menace" to the land-hungry powers of the West. Then they will declare a "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia and, moreover, it will be retroactive.

Nowadays, we hear and read so much about the "Yellow peril" and "Asiatic peril" that the orientals naturally ask, "Why do we not hear or read anything about the 'White peril?'" The "Yellow peril" or the "Asiatic peril" may never come to pass. The western nations, realizing the danger of sitting on the edge of a roaring volcano, may be quite willing to make reparations which may meet with the acceptance of the peoples of Asia; and Asia with her characteristic magnanimity may forgive the past wrongs and embrace sister Europe with affection, and both vow to be sisters in spirit for all times to come. The real danger may end in a bubble. But the "White peril" is an accomplished fact. It is doing havoc on all sides. It needs no prophetic vision, nor any stretch of imagination, but just a glance at the maps of Asia and Africa to convince one of the stern reality of the "White peril." Just look at China, India, Persia, Egypt, Tripoli, Algeria, Morocco, in fact all over Asia and Africa, and you will appreciate the wealth of the native glory of the "White peril."

Leaving aside Africa, take the case of Asia that has given the world all its great religions, Christianity not excepted, its start in sciences, its most magnificent buildings, its unrivaled handicrafts,—in short a continent which is the very cradle of civilization. In that continent out of its total population of 947,000,000, only 50,000,000 (Japanese) are truly free, and that only at home; the remaining 897,000,000 are half or full slaves. The first republic of Asia, with its 420,000,000 of people cannot even borrow money with interest, from wherever she wants to.

Truly it has been said by Dr. A. R. Wallace in his *Wonderful Century*: "The whole world is but the gambling table of six great powers. . . . What a horrible mockery is all this, when viewed in the light of either Christianity or advancing civilization."

I for one do not believe in the "Asia for the Asiatics" movement, for it meets the problem only half way. It only implies, to speak in the words of William Edward Hall, the eminent authority on international law, that the states of Asia will have the power

"to do within their dominions whatever acts they may think calculated to render them prosperous and strong." This does not imply their equal treatment abroad. So a nobler and more rational slogan for Asia would be "Liberty at home and Equality abroad." And it is quite fortunate that Dr. Sun Yet Sen thus spoke for all Asia, when he spoke for China: "We are aiming to deal on terms of equality with the West. If we can obtain this end peacefully, there will be universal peace; but if we cannot obtain it peacefully we must obtain it with arms."

No doubt, Dr. Sen is called by carping critics a "theorist," a "dreamer"; but the candid world knows that his theory "Manchus must go" has been translated into action; and the greatest of his dreams, "the Republic of China," has come true. We are living in such an age that dreams, even day-dreams, are coming true, thick and fast.

The cause of the estrangement between the Orient and the Occident is not far to seek. It may well be expressed in the words of Prof. Paul S. Reinsch, a political philosopher of no mean standing. Thus he writes in his book, *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East*: "The deceitful selfishness, the rapacity and bloodshed with which Christian nations have established their power in the Orient, the viciousness of their early adventurers and traders, have thoroughly alienated sympathy and destroyed confidence." He strikes the alarm by saying: "If the Orient is allowed to realize the inherent tendencies of its spirit, and to develop along its own national lines, in a life of peace and artistic industry, true humanity should rejoice, for its purposes would be accomplished. The unity of all human life, the brotherhood of man, is the essential doctrine of the most potent religions of the East. Only if diverted from these ideals by continued injustice and aggression by a rude attempt to subject these ancient societies to an alien law of life, could the spirit of the Orient be led to assume a threatening and destructive attitude." There is no yellowism in these rather ominous sentences of Professor Reinsch. They depict a real state of affairs and sound the warning in time. The continued injustice, aggression and subjection are sure to be met with a condition that will bewilder the European and American imperialists and stagger humanity.

This, in short, is the situation as we see it; but there are many, especially in diplomatic circles, who look upon these perils as only the products of "yellow journalism" or "rank alarmism." "There is nothing to it," they say. But we know how sweet the diplomats can talk. There is method in their madness. They want to take

time to prepare for their Machiavellian machinations. They are the worst enemies of the peace movement. The diplomats of Russia and of Japan were the best of friends in their outward behavior, and nothing but sugar-coated words passed between them before they met in deadly embrace on the bloody battle-fields of Manchuria. Behind the veil of diplomacy they were preparing for each other's destruction. From the speeches of the king of England and the emperor of Germany on matrimonial or state occasions, bearing on "friendly" relationship between their two countries, who would suspect that they are exchanging spies to steal military and naval plans and stratagems, or who can suspect that the inevitable clash is so near?

Optimism is an excellent thing, but when carried to excess it becomes as guilty as pessimism carried too far. The twentieth century humanitarian refuses to dodge issues. He, as a scientist, stares facts in the face, analyzes and synthesizes them; and then, bereft of all bias or sensationalism, draws his own conclusions. Evasion of vital issues of humanity may complicate matters to a stage beyond control. As a cancer if not detected in time and taken care of in the proper way may endanger the life of the patient, so the diseases that afflict humanity should be detected in their incipient stage, and proper remedies must be administered so that humanity may follow the line of its natural development and grow to its fullest stature.

Now the greatest problem that confronts the friend of humanity is how to transform these national perils into international energy and progress; how to avert the perils from Asia and to nullify the baneful effects of the White peril. Can this problem be solved by the establishment of one religion throughout the world? No; for we see that the white Christians and the black Christians cannot even pray to God, their common father, from under the same roof; and we also see that a Hindu temple is polluted by the presence of a Christian in it. Can it be solved by wholesale mixture of races? No; that is not possible, even if it were advisable. Can it be done by the establishment of one World Empire or Republic? No; for such a huge thing would fall by its own weight.

The remedy lies, as it appears to us, in the inculcation of the old, but most effective, doctrine of human brotherhood. Let it be taught from the nurseries and firesides, from schools and colleges, from pulpits and platforms of every land under the sun. Let men, women and children, by constant dinning into their ears and unceasing appeals to their reason, be made to realize the unity of the

human race, the sameness of its origin and the oneness of its destiny, no matter in what country, in what climate, and in what hemisphere it may happen to live; no matter what the color of its skin, the shape of its eyes and the degree of its cephalic index. As so many instruments are played together to produce the symphony of the soul-stirring orchestra, so do the different members of the human family in their different stages of evolution, representing different ethnic, ethical and intellectual entities, go to compose the melody of humanity.

With the realization of the unity in diversity of the human race and with the eagerness to advance its cause, will dawn upon the minds of the Orientals and the Occidentals the dire necessity for universal peace; for it is through peace alone that permanent prosperity can be ensured. The ideal of universal peace has been slow of growth, but in recent times its spread has been almost incredible. It is being talked to-day by men of diverse nations; it is being written on in the papers and magazines all over the world. The different activities such as the student movement, the labor movement, the international public and private unions, the international congresses and conferences, the study of the different languages of the world, the movement for the translation of books and manuscripts, and the archeological discoveries are helping to clear up the befogged mental horizon of the Orient and Occident. The far-seeing people all over the world are now beginning to see that international, even national prosperity cannot be secured when human beings can be blown from the mouths of cannons, and the worshipers of Moloch are allowed to devastate the fair fruits of peace and industry.

So ardent men and women are being fired with the desire of establishing real peace on earth, so weary with the wars of ages. These people realize the cost of war in money and human lives. They appreciate the apparent absurdity of national duels in an age when individual duels, which affect the lives of only two individuals, are looked upon as relics of barbarism; so they refuse to condone, rather positively condemn the national duels which affect the lives and properties of millions and disturb the economic balance of the world. The peace movement proposes to do away with the national duels and strives to settle international disputes by arbitration as individual disputes in civilized societies are settled in courts of justice.

What a sad commentary it is on the much vaunted civilization of the twentieth century when we see the great powers vying with

one another in mad pursuit after armies and navies—machines of destruction. What a blot on the escutcheon of the nation that prides itself on its leadership of the civilization of the New World that 65 per cent of its national revenue should be expended to meet war charges; while within its boundaries thousands of children, joys of the world, go to school every morning without any breakfast; and tens of thousands of proud American citizens are buried in paupers' graves.

The so-called New World is only a reflex of the old. The New World has not been discovered as yet.

And again, what a pathetic story these savage figures tell!: The annual military expense is, of

Great Britain	\$341,820,000
Russia	319,770,000
Germany	318,446,000
United States of America	283,086,000
France	270,918,000
Italy	120,676,000
Japan	92,601,000
Austria-Hungary	87,244,000
Spain	51,367,000
Turkey	48,294,000
Total	\$1,934,222,000

All this money spent and energy exhausted when both could be used for the better purposes of social and national refinement. Money is needed by each and every one of these nations for more and better schools, colleges, parks, playgrounds, social centers, and pure amusement places. When public money can thus be profitably invested in such noble enterprises, it is a pity that these nations should be criminally wasting it for the purchase of arms and armaments, so that they may be classed as "civilized powers," and be able to assassinate the greatest number of men, and destroy the greatest amount of property at the least possible cost. The rivalry among the great powers to retain or to conquer political and commercial "happy hunting grounds" in Asia and Africa, and the eagerness to outdo one another are accelerating the race for armaments causing unnecessary nervous and economic waste. Great Britain wants to preserve her present world-wide empire and her commercial preeminence; Germany, boiling over with the energy of her renaissance, is not unwilling to capture one or two countries either

for colonization or for commercialism or for both; and it is quite natural that her eyes should first fall upon the British empire that is suffering from a superfluity of territory. But there are only a few good choices. Canada is barred by the Monroe Doctrine; then, should it be India or Australia? So both Germany and Great Britain are busy increasing their *Oldenburgs* and *Queen Maries*. The United States has her Monroe Doctrine, her Panama Canal, her Pacific problem to take care of, so she must invest in *Oklahomas* to keep the "peace" of the world; France is at a loss to know what to do for she too has her colonies in Africa and Asia, so she follows suit and builds *Bretagnes*; so it goes with all the great (euphemistically speaking) powers of the world.

"Is there no end to this insane hunger for armaments, this organized cannibalism of the 'civilized' nations?"—asks the pacifist. Certainly there is. Financial embarrassment is forcing the problem to an issue and, judging from the stage at which we have arrived, we have every reason to be hopeful for the ultimate triumph of the peace movement. It may be that there are human beings who have eyes but see not the glory of "Peace on earth and goodwill toward men"; it may be that there are many who look upon this universal peace movement as a day-dream and a mare's nest; it may be that even the Russian president of the second Hague Conference calls it "the bright star which we shall never reach, though it will always guide us"; it may be that some nations are using it to hide the hideousness of their inhuman greed for gold and heinous lust for conquest; it may be that some nations, to all intents and purposes, want to use it as a means of making permanent their position as the upper dog; it may be that some individuals are being lured into it by the glitter of a few pennies that it may hold for them; it may be that there are professional peace "fakers" who see the "hands" only across the Atlantic ocean, but forget to take notice of the larger one, the Pacific, which represents a wider gulf and a deeper chasm in the bosom of humanity; it may be that there are hypocritical and blatant demagogues who cry themselves hoarse for international peace, but at the next breath show extraordinary passion for the addition of a few more battleships to the navy:—still, in spite of all platitudes, anomalies, and incongruities, and amidst the booming of the cannons, the jingling of the sword blades, the noise of the hoofs of the war horses, the rattlings of the commiseriat and Red Cross carriages, the deafening whistles of the Dreadnaughts and the Delawares, we still hear the faint, the distant, but unmistakable cry of universal peace,—a peace that will make men, women

and children peaceful, not that peace of stagnation, inertia or lifelessness but the peace that emanates from life, liberty and prosperity, and radiates human brotherhood.

Here again we are confronted with the vexed question of the Orient and the Occident. The Orient seems to question the sincerity of the Occident in its peace ideals. It sees no consistency between the peace talk and the increased hunger for armaments; the passion for universal peace and conscriptions; the sending of special messages to Congress for the promotion of "rifle practice in public schools, colleges, universities, and civilian rifle clubs," and winning Nobel prizes for peace; on preaching sermons on "peace on earth" and presiding over boy scout organizations.

Above all the Orient is afraid that it may be a *coup d'état* to preserve the *status quo* of the world. A Chinese gentleman of refinement, when asked by the writer a few years ago about his opinion on the peace movement, emphatically declared that there could be no peace in China at least until the Manchu and European vampires were made to give up the power they usurped. When in 1910 Mr. Andrew Carnegie offered \$10,000,000 for the furtherance of world peace, a Calcutta vernacular paper, the *Sanjibani*, that does not even know how to spell the word "Yellow," remarked:

"The idea of peace"—I translate from memory—"is splendid, and there is no more peaceful a people on earth than the Hindus. But it must be said in all truthfulness that if the nations of Asia and Africa are going to remain in their present conditions, we wonder what is the kind of peace the world is going to enjoy!" Again, in reply to Mr. Edwin Ginn's proposal to establish the World Peace Foundation, the then secretary of the Hind Nationalist Agency of London thus wrote to the *New York Evening Post*: "As a Hindu, I cannot but view with joy the progress the world is making toward large and noble humanitarian ideals. But as an Indian nationalist I beg permission to record a most emphatic and unqualified protest against a proposal that is dishonest, immoral, and subversive of all true humanitarianism.... There can be no peace until every race now subject shall have trod the red road to national freedom by the ruthless destruction of all tyranny and despotism. Not until there is national independence and international equality can we allow any talk of international peace and the abandonment of the horrors of war."

Even an idiot is intelligent enough to understand that if the nations of Asia and Africa are to be stereotyped in their present position of subjection and humiliation; if the *status quo* is to be

preserved either through "peace" or through "diplomacy" without making reparations or compromise, surely the conquerors, the trespassers and the aggressors are the gainers, whereas the conquered, downtrodden and the tyrannized are the losers. Mayor Gaynor of New York very cleverly summed up the entire situation on March 22, 1910, in a post-banquet speech before the American Peace and Arbitration League, when he said: "The constant aggression of the West upon the peaceful and unwarlike East, instigated by commercial enterprise if not commercial greed, has been invariably in the name of Christianity (the word civilization may safely be added here). We have taken possession of their choicest provinces and their best ports. And now in the progress of time we call for universal peace. Whether it is within God's Providence that the long gathering resentment engendered by Europe's trespasses on the eastern nations can be allayed without war unless amends and restitutions be first made, is a matter for sober thought. Let us hope and pray that justice be done and that lasting compromises and adjustments be made, so that there be no need to resort to war for the redress of wrongs."

Lord Weardale is more outspoken when he says in his essay on "Race Congress": "The West still takes the view that the East is not its equal and, beyond this, that it may legitimately exploit the East. . . . We find Turkey, Persia, and China being assailed from many sides [the honorable Lord does not mention India, most probably because she is being assailed only from one side], the momentary weakness of these backward nations forming the opportunity for the advanced nations. . . . The conduct of the West towards the East is likely to create a new situation and force the Eastern peoples into a passive, and, later, into an aggressive militarism, the serious consequences of which for the peace of the world it is impossible to foretell or exaggerate."

If justice is denied and invitation for compromise refused, then the Orient will no doubt assume a "threatening and a destructive attitude"; and it will be doubly dangerous, for the bubble of Western superiority in physical and intellectual qualities has already burst. The western mind was obsessed with such an idea of superiority, and by constant "suggestion" the Eastern mind was hypnotized into believing it. Now it transpires that military and naval prowess is a matter of education and organization, and the eastern nations are preeminently fitted for both, as it has been proved in more instances than one. The last Sepoy war proved how weak the British were in India, and how dependent they were upon a certain

class of Hindus to keep the country in subjection; the Anglo-Japanese alliance has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the British are now dependent on an Oriental nation to defend their Asian possessions; and the Russo-Japanese war clearly pointed out that pigment in the skin had nothing to do with prowess in the battle-field.

Under these circumstances the first choice lies with the West. Let us hope that the West will not long hesitate to follow the noble path of peace and compromise; for it is patent that lasting compromises must be made before the world can congratulate itself on the realization of the ideal of world peace. If the West makes the right choice then it will no longer remain "a distant star to follow," as the Russian prophet of the Hague would want us to believe, but a "child in the home," to soothe, to bless and to comfort.

Then intoxicated with the inspiration resulting from the possession of such a child both the East and the West will launch again in quest of conquests and invasions; this time not for the extension of territory, but for the deepening of mentality; not to destroy, but to fulfil; not to injure, but to help and be helped; not for the greed of gold, but for the greed of human service; and the invasions will be directed not towards the thrones, Kohinoors and treasuries, but towards the treasures of the physical, chemical, bacteriological and other scientific laboratories; towards the workshops of applied sciences, towards the zoological and botanical gardens, towards the art and archeological museums and other centers of culture and education, and also towards the social, political, ethical and philosophical ideals; and the loots of these invasions and conquests would be advancement of knowledge and mutual enrichment.

Selfish and self-sufficient nationalism, and insensate imperialism are equally doomed. We almost hear the knell of their funeral bell, as we see with the growth of the community of international interests, the rise of a revived humanity which demands of all the nations—North, South, East and West—to set their houses in order and prepare for the coming Federation of Nations, the key words of whose constitution would be, "justice for all, love for all, and for all, liberty!"

MISCELLANEOUS.

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

[For other articles on allied subjects see "The Yellow Peril" in *The Open Court* of July, 1904, and "International Complications," in the issue of September, 1913.]

How little peace on earth can ever be procured may be seen from the standpoint of the world's politics as it appears in the mind of an Oriental. Different interests and different conceptions will naturally put different interpretations upon special conditions and see facts in a different light. The Japanese deem it wrong that their countrymen are not admitted to the schools of California, and are prevented from holding land there, whereas in their own home they have quite similar laws. They do not grant foreigners the rights which they expect in foreign countries, and this seems so natural to the Oriental that he considers it an outrage that the United States do not submit to the demands of mass meetings held in the country of the rising sun.

There are differences between the Orient and the Occident, and it will be wisest for both parties to learn from each other; but to the majority on both sides many of these differences are a race problem. This is an error, for the differences are between superiority of civilization and an inability to cope with difficulties.

Kipling says:

"For East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet."

This is a narrow view; it is not true, has never been true and never will be. Goethe expresses himself better when he says:

"Who himself and others knows
Here is rightly guided;
Orient and Occident
Are no more divided.
Proper 'tis through both to roam,
And in either feel at home.
Moving 'tween the East and West,
Surely will with all be best."

And again:

"God owns all the Occident,
God owns all the Orient,
Both of north and south the lands
Peaceful rest in God's good hands."

The truth is that Occident and Orient have never been absolutely separated, and the Occident must acknowledge that its superiority rests upon the influence which the Orient has exercised upon it. The deepest thoughts, the most intense religious ideals, the beginnings of science, arithmetic, astronomy, calendar making, etc., have come to the Occident from the Orient; the invention of the mariner's compass, book-printing, the manufacture of paper and the use of gunpowder have been imported from China, and the present Occident is really the Orient occidentalized.

There is civilization, there is science, there is humanity. Humanity is neither west nor east; humanity is an ideal condition which can be attained with more or less exactness. What we call the western civilization as represented mainly by England, Germany and the United States is not a race civilization, but it is the attainment of humanitarian ideals carried to a definite point which any other nation may adopt or follow. There is one way only for the Orient to meet the Occident, and assert its own preservation and independence, and this is to accept what is true and good, and to gain thereby the same strength and the same advantages as the western or so-called white races in the struggle for existence. Science is neither east nor west, nor is it white or colored. Science is international, it is superracial, and the ideal mankind can be developed from any race.

All the specific race qualities are the shortcomings of the race where they have failed to attain to the ideal. Accordingly the question of the future is not which race with its idiosyncrasies will suppress all the rest, but which race shall attain to the purest humanitarian ideal. The final outcome of the general competition between the races cannot be acquired by bloodshed but by the attainment of superiority. Bloodshed may be unavoidable, but upon the whole bloodshed will be due to the stupidity of rival powers, especially where they do not see that the nature of the outcome depends upon accomplishments, not upon haphazard or luck.

While on the one hand it is stupid of the superior race to have a contempt for their inferior brothers, it is not less foolish for people of an inferior civilization to claim on some pretext equality or even superiority and hiss their fellow countrymen on to a hatred and narrow-minded jealous combativeness which can do no good, or to expect peace on earth on the condition that the lion shall have his quarrel decided before a court of sheep, and that the eagle shall consider himself as the equal of geese and ducks and even sparrows.

The powers of nature expect civilized communities to acquire the ability of self-defence, and it stands to reason that if they are unable to withstand the attacks of Huns or other savages, there must be something wrong with their civilization. Peace is a great ideal, but we must be in a condition to grant peace to our enemies, not to plead for its boon. The Latin proverb runs: *Si vis pacem para bellum*, "If you want peace be prepared for war," and the wisdom of the old adage is not yet antiquated.

With all the declarations of the brotherhood of man, humanity will not make much progress toward a complete pacification of the world. So it seems that those who advocate the peace movement upon the basis of a justice that disregards the factor of strength and the power of self-assertion and superiority, will only be a retarding element and will to a great extent produce the impression that peace on earth is a vain conceit in the minds of good-natured but ill-informed theorists.

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE ORIENT.

BY B. K. ROY.

The White Peril.

While some of the nervous amongst us are afraid of the "yellow peril" and the "heathen invasion," we read a thought-provoking paper on the "White Peril" in the May number of the *Japan Magazine* (Tokyo). The paper is written by Prof. Ryntaro Nagai of the Waseda University.

Professor Nagai claims that during the nineteenth century the so-called white races have captured by force or ruse "10,000,000 square miles of land embracing a population of about 135,000,000."

"In the face of all this," argues Professor Nagai, "we have been treated by the white races in recent years to tracts, treatises and newspaper articles galore on what they are pleased to call 'the yellow peril.' Surely in comparison with the white races, there is no indication of any peril of yellow aggression, at least."

On purely American problems Professor Nagai has this to say: "Our American friends who talk more about freedom and equality than most other nations, have nevertheless many hard things said of them by their own citizens in regard to their treatment of the Indians and the negroes. At any rate it would be difficult to parallel in any country in the East such savagery as the lynching and burning of negroes. According to the census of 1909 the negroes of twelve Southern states made up forty percent of the population; yet out of \$32,000,000 spent in common school education in these states, only \$4,000,000 went to the education of the colored people, less than twelve and one-half percent of the total. Nor are conditions better in India, if we are to believe the accounts given by the English themselves of the treatment of the natives there."

Commenting on the policy of exclusion as observed in Australia, Canada and the United States, Professor Nagai makes the following significant remarks: "Now from the point of view of the yellow races all this seems most arrogant and unfair. To seize the greater part of the earth and refuse to share it with the races who are hard pressed for territorial space at home, even when the privilege is highly paid for by hard labor, is so manifestly unjust, that it cannot continue."

Tagore's Idea of Evil.

Mr. Rabindranath Tagore, an account of whose life and work was published in *The Open Court* for July, is not only a poet, but a philosopher as well. This poet-philosopher from the ancient land of India has been delivering a series of lectures on "The Search for God," in the city of London. We quote from a report of his paper on "The Problem of Evil" as published in the *Westminster Gazette* of London:

"The current of the world has its boundaries, otherwise it could have no existence, but its meaning is not in its boundaries, which are fixed, but in its movement, which is towards perfection. The wonder is not that there should be obstacles and sufferings in this world, but that there should be law and order, beauty and joy, goodness and love...."

"We exaggerate the importance of evil by imagining it at a standstill.

But evil is ever moving, so with all its incalculable immensity it does not effectually clog the current of our life, and on the whole the earth, water and air remain sweet and pure for living beings. All statistics consists of our deliberate attempts to represent statically what is in motion, so by this process things assume a weight in our mind which they have not in reality.... Within us, we have a hope which always walks in front of our present narrow experience. It is the undying faith of the infinite in us which dares to assert that man has oneness with God.... Evil cannot altogether stop the course of life on the highway and rob it of its possessions. For the evil has to pass on; it has to grow into good. If the least evil could stop anywhere indefinitely, it would sink deep and eat into the marrow of existence.

"Man's freedom is never in being saved troubles, but it is in the freedom to take trouble for his own good, to make the trouble an element in his joy. It can be made so only when we realize that in us we have the world-man who is immortal, who is not afraid of death and suffering, and who looks upon pain as the other side of joy. He who has realized this knows that it is pain which is our true wealth as imperfect beings and which has made us great and worthy to take our place with the Perfect."

Intellectual Renaissance in India.

In its issue of July 11, *The Indian World*, a Calcutta weekly, has a paper on the "Intellectual Renaissance in India." Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, the noted editor and writer, is cheerful about the new educational movement in India, but is pessimistic about intellectual decadence there. He writes:

"There seems to be a wave of educational activity all over India at the present moment. An attempt is being made throughout this country to spread elementary education as widely as possible, to add to the number of secondary schools, and to establish universities in all the important centers of Indian population....

"As regards higher education, the mere establishment of universities will not help the intellectual renaissance of our people. The existing universities of India have, of course, turned out thousands of young men to crowd the learned professions and to man the public services and other offices of the land. But they have singularly failed to turn out in the world a decent body of scholars and savants.

"All close students of Indian literature know how sadly it lacks original works in science and philosophy, history and literature, politics and economics, arts and industries, archeology and epigraphy, and perhaps in every branch of human knowledge. If India must take her place in the civilized modern world, her sons must prepare themselves to produce original works in all departments of thinking and compete successfully and outshine if possible, the leaders of western thought and science.

"So far as higher thought is concerned, there seems to have been a set-back in the intellectual output of New India. For a long time India has not produced a thinker like Dayanand Saraswati, a scholar like Rani Mohan Roy and a literary artist like Bankim Chndra Chatterjee.... This intellectual decadence has to be noted and fought against."

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE STORY OF ASENATH, Daughter of Potipherah, High Priest of On. By John Willy. Chicago: The Hotel Monthly, 1913. Pp. 82.

Readers of *The Open Court* will be interested to learn of this drama which has for its theme the same verse in Genesis as that which forms the nucleus of the early Greek Christian story, "Joseph and Asenath," published in Dr. Bernhard Pick's translation in the August *Open Court*. It is surprising to see the entirely opposite conceptions thus represented of the same characters who take part in the story. In Mr. Willy's drama much of the climax is effected through the treacherous blinding of Pharaoh's entire court by a herb known only to the high priest in the guise of a curse from Isis because of the unwarranted honors shown to the Hebrew Joseph. The last scene brings messages of hope and comfort to the blind, and the emphasis laid on this phase is accounted for in the author's Introduction: "The inspiration for this play was a desire to provide for near relatives who are blind, should accident befall me....The characters who become blind in the play, and whose sight is restored, is a message of hope to the blind." Rights for presentation on the stage are reserved to the author, and dances of the priestesses of Isis are carefully described by the aid of diagrams. The volume is carefully made with the best of type and paper.

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ADDRESSES OF THADDEUS BURR WAKEMAN at and in reference to the first Monist Congress at Hamburg in September, 1911. Pages 60. Price 50 cents.

Mr. T. B. Wakeman was one of the best known representatives in America of freethought and rationalism. For many years he was closely connected with Prof. Ernst Haeckel in sympathy and personal acquaintance. When the German Monist League sent out invitations to convene a World's Monist Congress various freethought societies united and appointed as delegates Mr. Wakeman and Mr. James F. Morton, president of the Paine Historical Association. After Mr. Wakeman's return to America, he, as the senior American delegate, began to make ready a report of the congress, but he was not permitted to see the completion of his task for he died on April 23, 1913, at the advanced age of seventy-eight. The report thus delayed was not published until August and contains as frontispiece an excellent portrait of Mr. Wakeman and on the last page the expression of Professor Haeckel's sorrow at the news of his death. The pamphlet contains, besides the full text of Mr. Wakeman's own addresses at the Monist Congress, his report of the proceedings as written for and published in the *Truthseeker*, and also letters and addresses by Haeckel, Ostwald and Mr. Morton, including also Mr. Wakeman's report to the Rationalist Association of Indiana.

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THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

By Murillo.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII (No. 11)

NOVEMBER, 1913

NO. 690

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THE MOTHER GODDESS.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE may be sure that the cult of Venus or Aphrodite, the female deity, a goddess-mother, played a more important part in the world of primitive mankind than the cult of a God the Father, the male deity of a later age. The goddess of love and life under whatever name she may have been known, as Our Lady, the Queen of Heaven, the Mistress of the World, as the mother of all living creatures, the Great Goddess or *Magna Dea*, or under any other designation, was practically the same all over the world. We may not be mistaken if we attribute the height of her worship to the age of matriarchy. In prehistoric times she was looked up to with awe and reverence, possibly even with devotion, more than in a later period. The Ancient of Days or *diei-pater*, i. e., Jupiter, the father of time and of light, was symbolized by the all-embracing sky and also by the sun. The Greeks called him Zeus, a name pronounced *dzeus*, connected with the Latin *deus* and *dies*, and Sanskrit *deva*, the creator and ruler of the world. The *Magna Dea* was the all-mother, and it is but to be expected that when the social conditions of matriarchy changed into the age of the patriarchs the reverence for an all-mother was superseded by the worship of an all-father.

The *Magna Dea* was all in all to mankind. Her emblem as the goddess of vegetation and of the sustenance of life was the apple or pomegranate. As the goddess of the human soul she is represented as a bird like the Egyptian representation of the soul, a human-headed hawk, or as a dove, the symbol which later on represents the gnostic Sophia, the mother of the child-god, and in Christian dogmatology, the Holy Ghost.

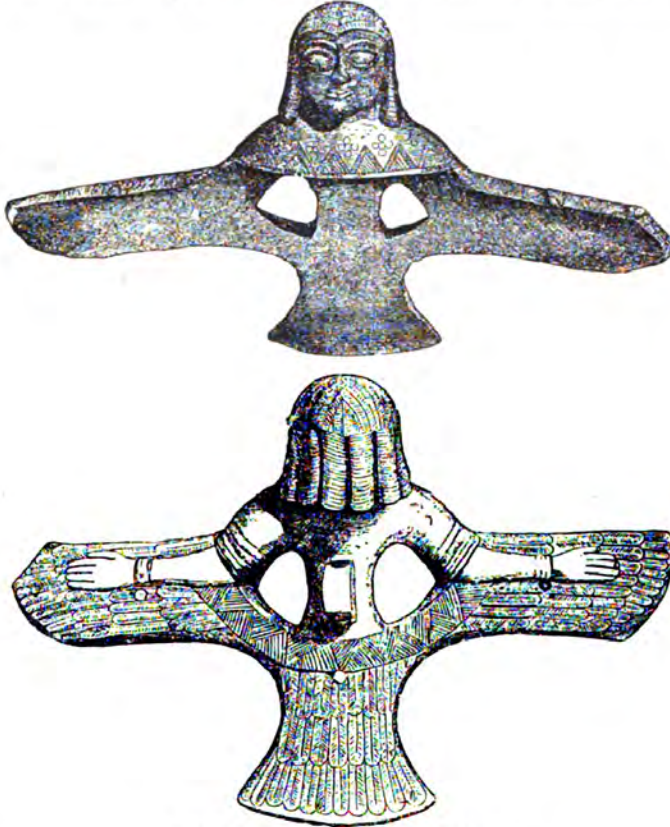


CARRYING IN PROCESSION THE SYMBOL OF ISTAR.



ASTARTE AND THE DOVE.

Wings have always been the symbol of thought, and serve as a simile to represent the soul not only in Egyptian mythology but also in Babylon and on the Greek islands. A human-headed bird attributed to a primitive period of Babylonian civilization has been interpreted as the soul of Semiramis, and may represent either a dead person or the goddess of the dead, and the same idea is expressed in a little figurine of the Greek islands which shows us a



THE HUMAN-HEADED BIRD.

A figure unearthed among the ruins of Babylon. From Lenormant

female deity with a dove on her head. We can scarcely be mistaken if we interpret this little figurine as an amulet denoting the goddess whose emblem is the dove. Whether the figure represent the goddess herself with her emblematic bird or whether it be the portrait of a dead person protected by the dove, is of secondary importance. The main truth on which we insist here is that the dove is the emblem of the great goddess to whom people look up for salvation in the dark beyond.

Another emblem of the female goddess is the fish, as is fully described in Lucian's most interesting treatise "On the Syrian Goddess." In some parts of Greece the hare or rabbit has also been sacred to Aphrodite, unquestionably on account of the fertility of



AN AMULET OF THE MYCENAEAN PERIOD.
From Woermann's *Geschichte der Kunst*, I.

that animal. Even to-day in Christian times the Easter hare and the egg are the symbols of spring, and the Easter festival can not be celebrated without them.

A remarkable monument has been discovered in Boghaz-Köi in Cappadocia. It represents a procession of gods standing on their



APHRODITE WITH RABBIT.
Relief from the Villa Albana.

symbolic animals, and what interests us mainly is that it portrays the meeting of a god and a goddess, he standing on human beings, she on an animal which is apparently a lioness. Among her followers is a man on a leopard and two figures standing on a double-headed eagle, an emblem the idea of which was carried to Europe

by crusaders and became the coat of arms of the Holy Roman empire; it is still retained in the imperial arms of Austria and has also been accepted by the Czar of Russia. The subject of this



RELIEF FROM BOGHAZ-KÖI.

monument in Cappadocia is still considered as under question. There is no explanation and there are no Phenician books that can throw light upon it. But the composition speaks for itself. We see here the great goddess meeting the heroic god—whatever names they



BABYLONIAN CLAY FIGURES REPRESENTING THE GODDESS OF BIRTH.

may have borne. Marduk or Bel or Baal is a deity who rises to sovereignty through his victory over the powers of evil, and the climax of his life consists in his marriage. Can this great relief

refer to any other topic than the festive occasion of his marriage ceremonial with the great bridal goddess?¹



THE GODDESS OF NAVIGATION.
Sidonian Coins reproduced from Calmet No. 6.



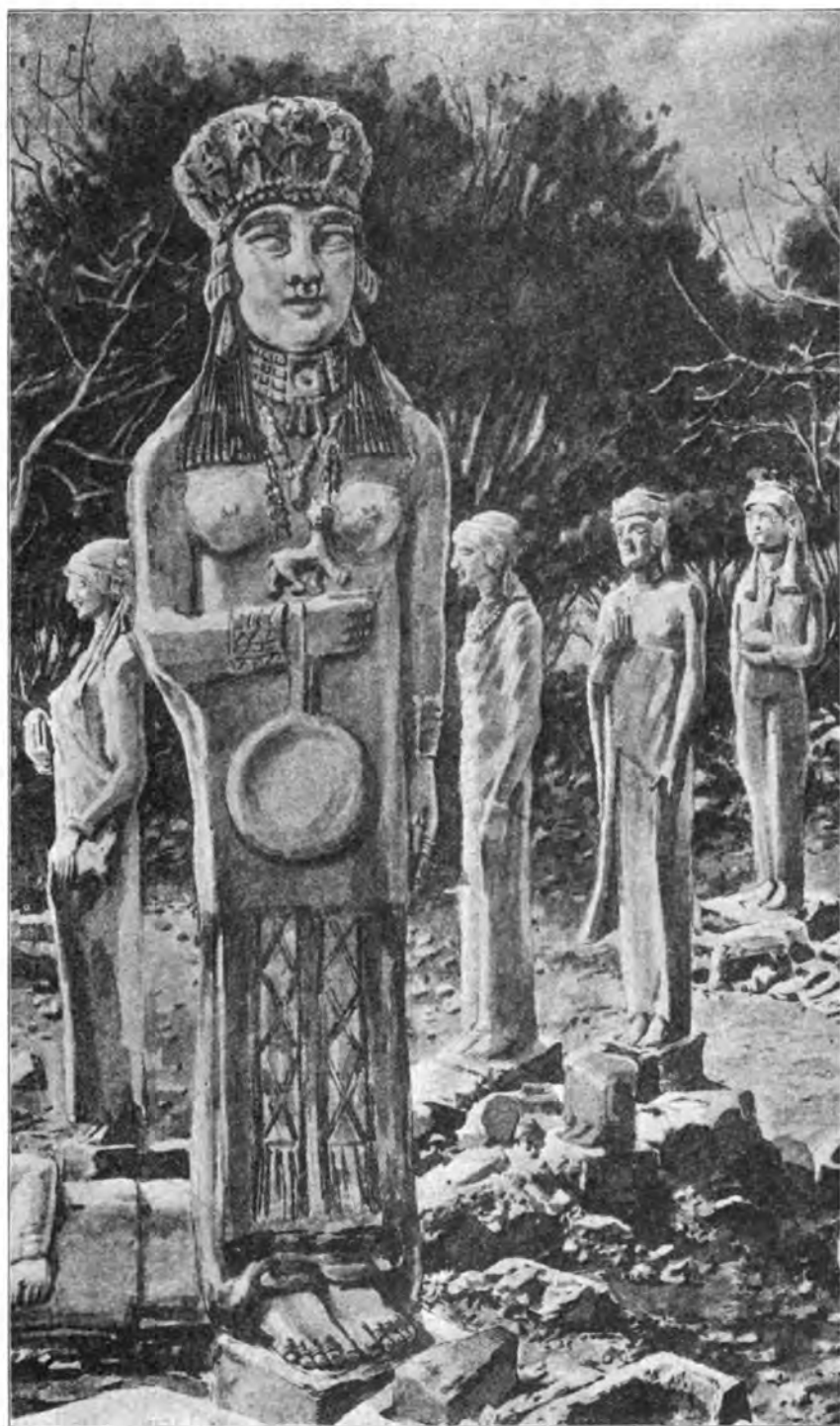
A LATER ASTARTE.
With swastika emblems on her dress.



A LEADEN IDOL.
From Schliemann's *Ilios*.

Among the ruins of ancient Babylon we find great numbers of figurines which represent Beltis, viz., "the lady," and sometimes she carries a baby in her arms.

¹ For further details with regard to this relief see the author's *The Bride of Christ*, p. 8.



ASTARTE IN CYPRUS.
From Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*.

The name Istar has been traced also in the Phenician word *Astarte*. The goddess was held in high esteem in Phenicia and was regarded also as the patroness of navigation. Coins represent her standing on the prow of a ship, and, strange to say, very frequently she carries a Latin cross in her arms. Beside the cross her emblems are also the moon and the swastika, and the latter is frequently found on her dress, and in one very archaic leaden figure discovered in the ruins of Troy, it is placed on her body to indicate the mysterious power of procreation.

From the excavations of Cyprus we reproduce the picture of a



ISIS AND HORUS.
From Lenormant.

well-preserved statue of Astarte which must have been the recipient of offerings before an altar in some of the ancient temples.

A beautiful modern picture of Astarte has been worked out by Sargent in his frescoes on the walls of the Boston Public Library, and we can see on this very picture her similarity to Murillo's ideal of Mary in his many paintings of the "Immaculate Conception."

In Egypt the ancient mother goddess developed into Isis, who is frequently represented as suckling the child-god Horus. In India she is known as Lakshmi, the goddess of love and beauty. Among the Greeks the artistic presentation of Venus has reached its highest

perfection, and also its degeneration into a representation of lascivious sensuality. We limit ourselves here to reproducing one of the most beautiful Venus statues that have come down to us, the so-called Venus Genetrix, made after Alexandrian prototypes and now preserved in the Louvre at Paris.



LAKSHMI.
In the Musée Guimet.

A most beautiful relief pictures the birth of Venus from the foam of the ocean. She appears as a young maiden covered with a diaphanous dress, and is lifted out of the water by the Graces. The marble is preserved in the National Museum at Rome, and

was discovered by excavations in the grounds of the Villa Ludovisi in 1887 (see page 654).



VENUS GENETRIX.
In the Louvre.

There is a counterpart of the western *Magna Dea* in eastern Asia, but we no longer know it in its primitive form and have it only as it is represented in art in the shape of a Buddhist deity, a



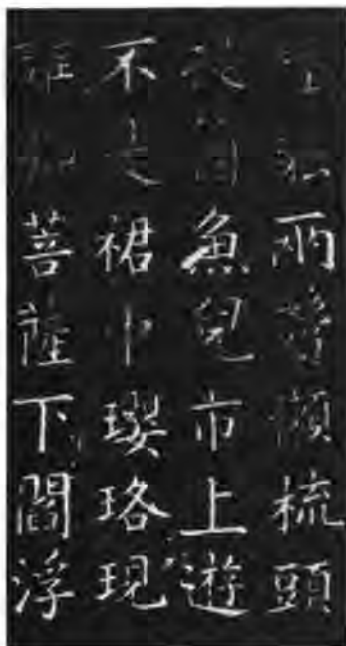
BENTEN, THE JAPANESE GODDESS OF DIVINE LOVE.
From a relief preserved in the Field Museum.



KWAN YON.

By Li Lung-mien (11th cent.). From the original painting in the collection of Charles L. Freer in Detroit.

kind of female Buddha, called in China Kwan-Yon and in Japan, Benteu. Here again in some cases we find that the fish is her symbol as of the Syrian goddess, and she frequently presents a remarkable similarity to the Christian Virgin Mary. She is never pictured naked as the Greek Aphrodite but is always dressed in the most scrupulously decent fashion.²



A POEM ON KWAN YON.

Paper impression of a carving in stone.

One picture of Kwan-Yon with the fish bears an inscription which is a verse on the mystery of incarnation and reads in an English translation as follows:

"Untidy o'er her temples
Falls her disheveled hair.
The maid is easy-going—
In sooth she does not care.
She carries in her basket
A fish to the market place,
Not decked in precious jewels
Nor dressed in gaudy lace.
Who thinks that Buddha were
Made human form in her!"

The northern Venus, called Freya, the mother goddess of the Teutons and in fact of all the Teutonic races, did not share the fate of the Venus of classical antiquity. She never deteriorated into the goddess of sensuality. H. A. Guerber in his *Myths of Northern Lands* describes her as follows:

"Although goddess of love, Freya was not soft and pleasure-loving, for the ancient northern races said that she had very martial tastes, and that as Valfreya³ she often led the Valkyrs down to the battle-fields, choosing and claiming one-half the heroes slain. She was therefore often represented with corselet and helmet, shield and spear, only the lower part of her body being clad in the usual flowing feminine garb.

"Freya transported the chosen slain to Folkvang, where they

² See the author's article, "The Fish as a Mystic Symbol in China and Japan," *The Open Court*, July, 1911.

³ *Val* means "the battle-field"; the name *Valkyrie* designates "the one who chooses," viz., the maiden of Odin who selects heroes for *Valhall*, the great hall of the god of battles. The root *Val* is still preserved in the modern German word *Wahlstatt*, "place of battle."

were duly entertained, and where she also welcomed all pure maidens and faithful wives, that they might enjoy the company of their lovers and husbands even after death. The joys of her abode were so enticing to the heroic northern women that they often rushed into battle when their loved ones were slain, hoping to meet with the same



BIRTH OF VENUS.
Relief found in the Villa Ludovisi.

fate; or they fell upon their swords, or were voluntarily burned on the same funeral pyre as the beloved remains.

"As Freya was inclined to lend a favorable ear to lovers' prayers, she was often invoked by them, and it was customary to indite love songs in her honor, which were sung on all festive occasions,

her very name in Germany being used for the formation of the verb *freien*, i. e., 'to woo.'"

When the conception of the mother goddess of antiquity began to decay, a new faith spread and under a new name the old ideal



FREYA.

From Guerber's *Myths of Northern Lands*.

was revived as Mary, Mother of God, *Maria Theotokos*; the star of the sea, or *Stella Maris*; and the Italian fishermen sing to her the beautiful lines,

*"O sanctissima, O piissima,
Dulcis mater amata."*

OMAR KHAYYAM AND CHRISTIANITY.

TWENTY-SIX QUATRAINS OF THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM CONTRASTED WITH TWENTY- SIX CHRISTIAN HYMNS.

BY WALTER C. GREEN.

ABOUT the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam in English verse, by Edward Fitzgerald, I can say nothing new to those who know these quatrains. To those who do not know them, I would say that Omar Khayyam, the Astronomer Poet of Persia, was born in the latter half of our eleventh and died in the first quarter of our twelfth century; that these quatrains are independent stanzas of four lines, sometimes all rhyming, but usually the third line is a blank; and last but not least, that Omar Khayyam would not have been as much heard of had it not been for Edward Fitzgerald.

The relation of Edward Fitzgerald to Omar Khayyam is best expressed in the following from Nathan Haskell Dole¹: "The growth of the Omar Khayyam cult, which during the past twenty years has assumed such extraordinary proportions, resulting in Omar Khayyam clubs and societies, and calling for edition after edition of the Rubaiyat, may be attributed almost wholly to the interpretation of Edward Fitzgerald. He ingeniously wove into a life-circle of agnosticism a number of originally disconnected and isolated quatrains, informing the whole with the unity of his own personality and with the flamboyant brilliancy of his peculiar genius. He took the Persian's thought and the Persian's manner, but made it his

¹ *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, English, French, and German translation, comparatively arranged in accordance with the text of Edward Fitzgerald's version, with further selections, notes, biographies, bibliography, and other material collected and edited by Nathan Haskell Dole, in two volumes. Boston: Joseph Knight Co., 1896.

with just such high-handed lordly rapine as Shakespeare displayed towards the predecessors whom he robbed to glorify."

I take these quatrains as I find them, and as they plainly read. Their interest here in this compilation comes from the fact that the sentiments and the ideas found therein express the feelings and beliefs of many persons to-day. These feelings of the fixity of fate, the helplessness of man, the vanity of the world, the mysteries of birth and death, the doubt whether we shall ever meet the loved and the lost, perhaps the conviction that they are gone forever, the moral unresponsiveness of nature, the yearnings after some faintly possible good amid the strongly present evil, and most of all the question whether the world could not have been better made—all these feelings and many other allied ones are but the common property of mankind. The man or woman who has never experienced such feelings is in some way abnormal, for these are the natural and in some cases the instinctive feelings of humanity, and in other cases these feelings, broadly speaking, of moral doubt, social despair, personal despondency, and mental distress, remain and take possession of them.

But there are other men and women who are swayed and owned, and we may say, uplifted by an entirely different set of feelings, which in a general way, for want of a better word, we call religious. They believe that they will meet again the loved and the lost, that the moral life is more than the life of pleasure, that evil is but unexplained good in the making, that the external world and the voice of conscience proclaim the existence of God, that goodness is to triumph over evil, that God heareth prayer, that He doeth all things well, and that the highest pleasures of life are best expressed in the spiritual terms of prayer, praise, self-denial, trust, resignation, peace, righteousness, divine pardon for sins committed—and in a vision beatific.

I do not dogmatize and say that one is right and that the other is wrong. I only wish to call attention to the poetical expression of these two great and fundamentally different views of life. For we must remember that all men and women have the same experiences of the outward life, joy and pain, work and play, love and hate, loss and gain, and that all alike are born into the same world, and that all alike are taken away from it. But the great thing, which is to some a glorious divine gift and to others an irremovable and unexplainable curse, in each man's conception of that which is above and within and beyond and behind and underneath this outward world. If I shall have helped any one from a study

of these quatrains and these hymns to realize the vast difference between these two views of life, my purpose will have been fulfilled.

* * *

Omar Khayyam, the Persian poet, who was born at Naishapur in Khorasan, calls to us to fling away repentance and to note the flight of time.

VII.

Come, fill the Cup, and in the fire of Spring
Your Winter-garment of Repentance fling:
The Bird of Time has but a little way
To flutter—and the Bird is on the Wing.

John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) the famous abolitionist, bids us lead the stern but joyous life.

Hast thou, 'midst life's empty noises,
Heard the solemn steps of Time,
And the low, mysterious voices
Of another clime?
Early hath life's mighty question
Thrilled within thy heart of youth
With a deep and strong beseeching,—
What, and where is Truth?

Not to ease and aimless quiet
Doth the inward answer tend;
But to works of love and duty,
As our being's end;
Not to idle dreams and trances;
Folded hands, and solemn tone;
But to faith, in daily striving
And performance shown:

Earnest toil and strong endeavor
Of a spirit which, within,
Wrestles with familiar evil
And besetting sin;
And, without, with tireless vigor,
Steady heart, and purpose strong,
In the power of Truth assaileth
Every form of wrong.

The Persian mathematician, who solved equations of the third degree geometrically, tells us that wherever we may be or whatever we may do, time flies.

VIII.

Whether at Naishapur or Babylon,
Whether the Cup with sweet or bitter run,
The Wine of Life keeps oozing drop by drop,
The Leaves of Life keep falling one by one.

Horatius Bonar (1808-1889), a Scotch clergyman who wrote nearly one hundred hymns, points out the way to lengthen our lives.

He liveth long who liveth well;
All else is life but thrown away;
He liveth longest who can tell
Of true things truly done each day.

Then fill each hour with what will last;
Buy up the moments as they go;
The life above, when this is past,
Is the ripe fruit of life below.

Sow love, and taste its fruitage pure;
Sow peace, and reap its harvest bright;
Sow sunbeams on the rock and moor;
And find a harvest of light.

* * *

Here the astronomer, who could foretell eclipses of the sun, gives us his conception of paradise on earth.

XII.

A Book of Verses underneath the Bough,
A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread—and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow.

John Taylor (1750-1826), for nearly fifty years a deacon at the Octagon Chapel, Norwich, England, shows us the way man

should live, worthy of himself, useful to those about him, and acceptable to his God.

Lord, what offering shall we bring,
At thine altars, when we bow?
Hearts, the pure, unsullied spring
Whence the kind affections flow;
Soft compassion's feeling soul,
By the melting eye expressed;
Sympathy, at whose control
Sorrow leaves the wounded breast;

Willing hands to lead the blind,
Bind the wounded, feed the poor;
Love, embracing all our kind;
Charity, with liberal store.
Teach us, O thou heavenly King,
Thus to show our grateful mind,
Thus the accepted offering bring,—
Love to thee and all mankind.

* * *

The Persian poet, never popular in his own country, reflects hopelessly upon the transitoriness of human splendor.

XVII.

Think, in this battered Caravanserai
Whose Portals are alternate Night and Day,
How Sultan after Sultan with his Pomp
Abode his destin'd Hour, and went his way.

Arthur Cleveland Coxe 1818-1896) was consecrated Bishop of the Western Diocese of New York in 1865. He finds in the church a divine institution that is to live forever.

Oh, where are kings and empires now,
Of old that went and came?
But holy Church is praying yet,
A thousand years the same!

Mark ye her holy battlements,
And her foundations strong;

And hear within her solemn voice,
And her unending song!

For, not like the kingdoms of the world
The holy Church of God!
Though earthquake-shocks are rocking her,
And tempest is abroad;

Unshaken as the eternal hills,
Unmovable she stands,—
A mountain that shall fill the earth,
A fane not built by hands.

* * *

The pupil of Imám Mowaffak of Naishapur, "one of the greatest of the wise men of Khorassan," meditates in despairing tones upon the silent journey of the loved one who have gone.

XXII.

For some we loved, the loveliest and the best
That from his Vintage rolling Time hath prest,
Have drunk their Cup a Round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to rest.

John White Chadwick (1840-1904), a well-known Unitarian preacher and poet, also meditates upon the silent journey of the loved ones who have gone, but with reverence and hope.

It singeth low in every heart,
We hear it each and all,—
A song of those who answer not,
How ever we may call;
They throng the silence of the breast,
We see them as of yore,—
The kind, the brave, the true, the sweet,
Who walk with us no more.

'Tis hard to take the burden up,
When these have laid it down;
They brightened all the joy of life,
They softened every frown;

But, oh! 'tis good to think of them,
 When we are troubled sore;
 Thanks be to God that such have been,
 Though they are here no more!

More homelike seems the vast unknown,
 Since they have entered there;
 To follow them were not so hard,
 Wherever they may fare;
 They cannot be where God is not,
 On any sea or shore;
 What'er betides, thy love abides,
 Our God, forevermore.

* * *

This Persian philosopher, who was especially hated and dreaded
 by the Sufis, preaches the doctrine that Death ends in Dust.

XXIV.

Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
 Before we too into the Dust descend;
 Dust into Dust, and under Dust to lie,
 Sans Wine, sans Song, sans Singer, and sans End.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882) proclaims, "Dust
 thou art to dust returnest," was not spoken of the soul.

Tell me not in mournful numbers,
 Life is but an empty dream;
 For the soul is dead that slumbers
 And things are not what they seem.

Life is real! life is earnest!
 And the grave is not its goal:
 Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
 Was not spoken of the soul.

Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,
 Is our destined end and way;
 But to act, that each to-morrow
 Find us further than to-day.

Let us, then, be up and doing,
 With a heart for any fate;
 Still achieving, still pursuing,
 Learn to labor, and to wait.

* * *

The Persian philosopher speaks in deep despair of his fruitless search after wisdom.

XXVIII.

With them the seed of Wisdom did I sow,
 And with mine own hand wrought to make it grow;
 And this was all the Harvest that I reap'd—
 "I came like Water, and like Wind I go."

The following from Michael Spruce (1746-1767) is a Scotch paraphrase of the satisfying "Ways of Wisdom."

Wisdom has treasures greater far
 Than east or west unfold;
 And her rewards more precious are
 Than is the gain of gold.

In her right hand she holds to view
 A length of happy years;
 And in her left the prize of fame
 And honor bright appears.

She guides the young with innocence
 In pleasure's path to tread;
 A crown of glory she bestows
 Upon the hoary head.

According as her labors rise,
 So her rewards increase;
 Her ways are ways of pleasantness
 And all her paths are peace.

* * *

Omar Khayyam, who spoke rash words² in saying "My tomb shall be in a spot where the northwind may scatter roses over it," cannot understand the why and the wherefore of the universe.

²The rashness of the words, according to D'Herbelot, consisted in being so opposed to those in the Koran: "No Man knows where he shall die."

XXIX.

Into this Universe, and *Why* not knowing
 Nor *Whence*, like Water willy-nilly flowing;
 And out of it, as Wind along the Waste,
 I know not *Whither*, willy-nilly blowing.

Frederick Lucian Hosmer (born 1840), a contemporary Unitarian clergyman, the author of many beautiful hymns, is content in life with the thought of God.

One thought I have, my ample creed,
 So deep it is and broad,
 And equal to my every need,—
 It is the thought of God.

Each morn unfolds some fresh surprise,
 I feast at Life's full board;
 And rising in my inner skies
 Shines forth the thought of God.

At night my gladness is my prayer;
 I drop my daily load,
 And every care is pillowed there
 Upon the thought of God.

I ask not far before to see
 But take in trust my road;
 Life, death, and immortality
 Are in my thought of God.

* * *

The Persian student of the seven planets questions in vain the earth and the seas and the heavens for an answer to the problem of human fate.

XXXIII.

Earth could not answer; nor the Seas that mourn
 In flowing Purple, of their Lord forlorn;
 Nor rolling Heaven, with all his Signs reveal'd
 And hidden by the sleeve of Night and Morn.

The American Quaker poet Whittier (1807-1892) finds his solution in nature, seeing how the stars and the ocean and the earth pray to and praise God, though man is prayerless.

The harp at Nature's advent strung
Has never ceased to play;
The song the stars of morning sung
Has never died away.

And prayer is made, and praise is given,
By all things near and far;
The ocean looketh up to heaven
And mirrors every star;

The green earth sends her incense up
From many a mountain shrine;
From folded leaf and dewy cup
She pours her sacred wine.

The blue sky is the temple's arch;
Its transept, earth and air:
The music of its starry march
The chorus of a prayer.

So nature keeps the reverent frame
With which her years began;
And all her signs and voices shame
The prayerless heart of man.

* * *

The Persian philosopher, "busied in winning knowledge of every kind, and especially in astronomy, wherein he attained a very high preeminence," contrasts the "*Thee in me*" with the "*Me Within Thee*."

XXXIV.

Then of the *Thee in Me* who works behind
The Veil, I lifted up my hands to find
A Lamp amid the Darkness; and I heard,
As from Without—"The *Me Within Thee Blind*!"

Jane Fox Crewdson (1809-1863), an Englishwoman, in this hymn written during a long illness, contrasts the "glad Forever," with "earth's little While."

Oh, for the peace that floweth as a river,
 Making life's desert places bloom and smile;
 Oh for that faith to grasp the glad Forever,
 Amid the shadows of earth's little While!

A little while for patient vigil keeping,
 To face the storm, to wrestle with the strong;
 A little while to sow the seed with weeping,
 To bind the sheaves and sing the harvest song.

A little while 'mid shadow and illusion,
 To strive by faith love's mysteries to spell,
 Then read each dark enigma's bright solution,
 The hail sight's verdict,—He doth all things well.

And He who is himself the Gift and Giver,
 The future glory and the present smile,
 With the bright promise of the glad Forever,
 Will light the shadows of earth's Little While.

* * *

It was said of Omar Khayyam that "under the sultanate of Malik Shah he came to Merv and obtained great praise for his proficiency in science, and the sultan showered favors upon him." In this quatrain he calls upon the departing one to drink his cup like a Stoic.

XLIII.

So when the Angel of the darker Drink
 At last shall find you by the river-brink,
 And, offering his Cup, invite your soul
 Forth to your Lips to quaff—you shall not shrink.

Henry Francis Lyte (1793-1847), a clergyman of the Church of England who wrote over eighty hymns, in this hymn written a few months before his death, calls upon the one "who changest not" to abide with him.

Abide with me! fast falls the eventide;
 The darkness deepens: Lord, with me abide!
 When other helpers fail, and comforts flee,
 Help of the helpless, oh, abide with me!

Swift to its close ebbs out life's little day;
 Earth's joys grow dim, its glories pass away;
 Change and decay in all around I see:
 O thou who changest not, abide with me!

I fear no foe, with thee at hand to bless:
 Ills have no weight, and tears no bitterness;
 Where is death's sting? where, grave, thy victory?
 I triumph still, if thou abide with me!

Hold, then, the cross before my closing eyes!
 Shine through the gloom, and point me to the skies!
 Heaven's morning breaks, and earth's vain shadows flee;
 In life and death, O Lord, abide with me!

* * *

The Persian poet has no fear that human life will ever cease,
 but sees no glory in its continuance.

XLVI.

And fear not lest Existence closing your
 Account, and mine, should know the like no more;
 The Eternal Sáki from that Bowl has pour'd
 Millions of Bubbles like us, and will pour.

Samuel Johnson (1822-1882), a Unitarian clergyman, author
 of *Oriental Religions*, feels that because of its growing dignity
 human life will always continue.

Life of Ages, richly poured,
 Love of God, unspent and free;
 Flowing in the prophet's word
 And the people's liberty.

Never was to chosen race
 That unstinted tide confined;
 Thine is every time and place,
 Fountain sweet of heart and mind!

Breathing in the thinker's creed,
 Pulsing in the hero's blood,
 Nerving simplest thought and deed,
 Freshening time with truth and good.

Consecrating art and song,
 Holy book and pilgrim track,
 Hurling floods of tyrant wrong
 From the sacred limits back,—

Life of Ages, richly poured,
 Love of God, unspent and free,
 Flow still in the prophet's word
 And the people's liberty!

* * *

The Persian author of a monograph on "Some Difficulties of Euclid's Definitions," here contrasts the Unseen in this universe with the Seen, and comes to an agnostic conclusion.

LL.

Whose Secret Presence, through Creation's veins
 Running Quicksilver-like eludes your pains;
 Taking all shapes from Mah to Mahi; and
 They change and perish all—but He remains.

William Brightly Rands (1826-1882) also contrasts the Unseen with the Seen, and finds in the universe a revealing God of Love.

I saw the beauty of the world
 Before me like a flag unfurled,
 The splendor of the morning sky,
 And all the stars in company;
 I thought, How beautiful it is!—
 My soul said, "There is more than this."

Sometimes I have an awful thought
 That bids me do the thing I ought;
 It comes like wind, it burns like flame;
 How shall I give that thought a name?
 It draws me like a loving kiss,—
 My soul says, "There is more than this."

Yea, there is One I cannot see
 Or hear, but he is Lord to me:
 And in the heavens and earth and skies,

The good which lives till evil dies,
 The love I cannot understand,
 God writes his name with his own hand.

* * *

Omar Khayyam, who made perhaps his most noteworthy contribution to science as an algebraist, reminds us that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

LIV.

Waste not your Hour, nor in the vain pursuit
 Of This and That endeavor and dispute;
 Better be jocund with the fruitful Grape
 Than sadden after none, or bitter, Fruit.

This anonymous selection from *Hymns of the Spirit* reminds us that in life there is a place for other things besides still waters, green pastures and ease.

Father, hear the prayer we offer!
 Not for ease that prayer shall be,
 But for strength, that we may ever
 Live our lives courageously.

Not forever in green pastures
 Do we ask our way to be;
 But the deep and rugged pathway
 May we tread rejoicingly.

Not forever by still waters
 Would we idly quiet stay;
 But would smite the living fountains
 From the rocks along our way.

Be our strength in hours of weakness;
 On our wanderings, be our guide;
 Through endeavor, failure, danger,
 Father, be thou at our side!

* * *

Although the Persian poet could foretell the return of a comet, he is perplexed because no human being who has passed through the dark door ever returns to tell what lies beyond.

LXIV.

Strange, is it not? that of the myriads who
Before us pass'd the door of Darkness through,
Not one returns to tell us of the Road,
Which to discover we must travel too.

Richard Barton (1784-1849), an English Quaker poet, does not require proof, but conceives of the dead under the similitude of a star in the day time.

The dead are like the stars by day,
Withdrawn from mortal eye,
Yet holding unperceived their way
Through the unclouded sky.

By them, through holy hope and love,
We feel, in hours serene,
Connected with a world above,
Immortal and unseen.

For death his sacred seal hath set
On bright and bygone hours;
And they we mourn are with us yet,
Are more than ever ours;—

Ours, by the pledge of love and faith,
By hopes of heaven on high;
By trust, triumphant over death,
In immortality.

* * *

The Persian sage, who could compute the times of the rising and the setting of the moon, mourns that the devotion and the learning of mankind amounts to nothing.

LXV.

The Revelations of Devout and Learn'd
Who rose before us, and as Prophets burn'd,
Are all but stories, which, awoke from Sleep
They told their comrades and to Sleep return'd.

Samuel Longfellow (1819-1892), a Unitarian clergyman who wrote many beautiful hymns, feels in his heart that revelation is not sealed.

God of ages and of nations,
Every race and time
Hath received thine inspirations,
Glimpses of thy truth sublime.
Ever spirits, in rapt vision,
Passed the heavenly veil within;
Ever hearts, bowed in contrition,
Found salvation from their sin.

Reason's noble aspiration,
Truth in growing clearness saw;
Conscience spoke its condemnation,
Or proclaimed the Eternal Law.
While thine inward revelations
Told thy saints their prayers were heard,
Prophets to the guilty nations
Spoke thine everlasting word.

Lord, that word abideth ever;
Revelation is not sealed;
Answering unto man's endeavor,
Truth and Right are still revealed.
That which came to ancient sages,
Greek, Barbarian, Roman, Jew,
Written in the heart's deep pages,
Shines to-day forever new!

* * *

The Persian poet here gives us his conception of heaven and hell.

LXVI.

I sent my Soul through the Invisible
Some letter of that After-life to spell:
And by and by my soul return'd to me,
And answered, "I Myself am Heaven and Hell."

Joseph Tuckerman (1778-1840), a Unitarian clergyman who was remarkably successful as a minister-at-large in Boston, tells of a different conception of heaven.

Father divine, this deadening power control,
Which to the senses binds the immortal soul;
Oh, break this bondage, Lord! I would be free,
And in my soul would find my heaven in thee.

My heaven in thee!—O God! no other heaven,
To the immortal soul, can e'er be given:
Oh, let thy kingdom now within me come,
And as above, so here, thy will be done!

My heaven in thee, O Father! let me find,—
My heaven in thee, within a heart resigned;
No more of heaven and bliss, my soul, despair;
For where God is found, my heaven is there.

* * *

The Persian algebraist here likens life unto a most perplexing
game of chess, wherein we are the helpless pawns.

LXIX.

But helpless Pieces of the Game He plays
Upon this Chequer-board of Nights and Days:
Hither and thither moves, and checks, and slays,
And one by one back into the Closet lays.

William Brightly Rands (1826-1882), the English "Laureate
of the Nursery," likens life unto a happy gate of love and law, to
be entered by the asking of divine help.

One Lord there is, all lords above;
His name is Truth, his name is Love,
His name is Beauty, it is Light,
His will is everlasting Right.

But ah! to wrong what is his name?
This Lord is a consuming Flame,
To every wrong beneath the sun;
He is One Lord, the Holy One.

Lord of the Everlasting Name,
Truth, Beauty, Light, Consuming Flame!
Shall I not lift my heart to thee,
And ask thee, Lord, to rule in me?

If I be ruled in otherwise,
 My lot is cast with all that dies,
 With things that harm, and things that hate,
 And roam by night, and miss the gate,—

The happy Gate, which leads to where
 Love is like sunshine in the air,
 And Love and Law are both the same,
 Named with an Everlasting Name.

* * *

Here Omar Khayyam, one of the eight learned men employed to reform the Persian calendar, reflects upon the omniscience of the Great Unknown.

LXX.

The Ball no question makes of Ayes and Noes,
 But Here or There as strikes the Player goes;
 And He that toss'd you down into the Field,
 He knows about it all—He knows—HE knows!

William Gaskell (1805-1884), an English Unitarian clergyman who contributed seventy-nine hymns to Beard's *Unitarian Collection of Hymns for Public and Private Worship* (1837), gives his idea of the omniscience of God.

Mighty God, the first, the last,
 What are ages in thy sight?
 But as yesterday when past,
 Or a watch within the night?

All that being ever knew,
 Down, far down, ere time had birth,
 Stands as clear within thy view,
 As the present things of earth.

All that being e'er shall know,
 On, still on, through farthest years,
 All eternity can show,
 Bright before thee now appears.

In thine all-embracing sight,
 Every change its purpose meets,
 Every cloud floats into sight,
 Every woe its glory greets.

Whatsoever our lot may be,
 Calmly in this thought we'll rest,—
 Could we see as thou dost see,
 We should choose it as the best.

* * *

The Persian poet-astronomer, who compiled some astronomical tables entitled *Zīji-Malikshāhi*, feels that the heavens are as helpless as he.

LXXII.

And that inverted Bowl they call the Sky,
 Whereunder crawling coop'd we live and die,
 Lift not your hands to *It* for help—for it
 As impotently moves as you or I.

Joseph Addison (1672-1719), the English essayist and author of "The Vision of Mirza," expands the theme, "The Heavens declare the Glory of God."

The spacious firmament on high,
 With all the blue ethereal sky,
 And spangled heavens, a shining frame,
 Their great Original proclaim.
 The unwearied sun, from day to day,
 Does his Creator's power display,
 And publishes to every land
 The work of an almighty hand.

Soon as the evening shades prevail,
 The moon takes up the wondrous tale,
 And nightly to the listening earth
 Repeats the story of her birth;
 While all the stars that round her burn,
 And all the planets, in their turn,
 Confirm the tidings as they roll,
 And spread the truth from pole to pole.

What though in solemn silence all
 Move round this dark terrestrial ball!
 What though no real voice nor sound
 Amid their radiant orbs be found!—
 In reason's ear they all rejoice,
 And utter forth a glorious voice;
 Forever singing as they shine,
 "The hand that made us is divine."

* * *

The poet of the Rubaiyat, who has been compared with Lucretius, "both as to natural temper and genius," proclaims the doctrine of a perfect predestination.

LXXIII.

With Earth's first Clay They did the Last Man knead,
 And there of the Last Harvest sow'd the Seed;
 And the first Morning of Creation wrote
 What the Last Dawn of Reckoning shall read.

Robert Seagrave (1693-1764), an ardent follower of the Wesleys and Whitfield, reminds us that we are free to rise from the transitory things of life to something higher.

Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings,—
 Thy better portion trace;
 Rise, from transitory things,
 Towards heaven, thy native place;
 Sun and moon and stars decay,
 Time shall soon this earth remove;
 Rise, my soul, and haste away
 To seats prepared above.

Rivers to the ocean run,
 Nor stay in all their course;
 Fire ascending to the sun,—
 Both speed them to their source;
 So a soul that's born of God
 Pants to view his glorious face,
 Upward tends to his abode,
 To rest in his embrace.

The philosophy of this Persian poet, whose *Takhallus* or poetical name (Khayyam) signifies a tent-maker, leads him into a profound fatalism.

LXXIV.

YESTERDAY *this* Day's Madness did prepare;
 To-MORROW'S Silence, Triumph, or Despair:
 Drink, for you know not whence you came, nor why:
 Drink! for you know not why you go, nor where.

America's Quaker poet, Whittier (1807-1892), feels that the human race is advancing age by age.

Oh, sometimes gleams upon our sight,
 Through present wrong, the eternal Right;
 And step by step, since time began,
 We see the steady gain of man.

That of all good the past hath had
 Remains to make our own time glad,
 Our common daily life divine,
 And every land a Palestine.

Through the harsh noises of our day
 A low, sweet prelude finds its way;
 Through clouds of doubt, and creeds of fear,
 A light is breaking calm and clear.

Henceforth my soul shall sigh no more
 For olden time and holier shore;
 God's love and blessing, then and there,
 Are now and here and everywhere.

* * *

The Oriental mystic, shadowing the Deity under the figure of Wine-bearer, speaks of his coquetting with Repentance.

XCIV.

Indeed, indeed, Repentance oft before
 I swore—but was I sober when I swore?
 And then and then came Spring and Rose-in-hand
 My thread-bare Penitence apieces tore.

James Freeman Clarke (1810-1888), the American Unitarian clergyman who wrote the *Ten Great Religions*, tells how the prodigal may return at any time.

Brother, hast thou wandered far
From thy Father's happy home,
With thyself and God at war?
Turn thee, brother, homeward come!

Hast thou wasted all the powers
God for noble uses gave?
Squandered life's most golden hours?
Turn thee, brother, God can save!

Is a mighty famine now
In thy heart and in thy soul?
Discontent upon thy brow?
Turn thee, God will make thee whole!

He can heal the bitterest wound,
He thy gentlest prayer can hear;
Seek him for he may be found:
Call upon him, he is near.

* * *

Omar, the tent-maker, yearns and hungers and thirsts for some certainty in this world.

XCVII.

Would but the Desert of the Fountain yield
One glimpse—if dimly, yet indeed, reveal'd,
To which the fainting traveler might spring,
As springs the trampled herbage of the field!

John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) is sustained by an unshakable conviction in the eternal goodness of the world.

Firm, in the maddening maze of things,
And tossed by storm and flood,
To one fixed stake my spirit clings,—
I know that God is good!

Not mine to look where cherubim
 And seraphs may not see,—
 But nothing can be good in him,
 Which evil is in me.

The wrong that pains my soul below
 I dare not throne above;
 I know not of his hate,—I know
 His goodness and his love.

And thou, O Lord, by whom are seen
 Thy creatures as they be,
 Forgive me, if too close I lean
 My human heart on thee.

* * *

Though Omar could calculate the orbits of the planets, he laments his absolute inability to change the roll of fate.

XCVIII.

Would but some wingéd Angel ere too late
 Arrest the yet unfolded Roll of Fate,
 And make the stern Recorder otherwise
 Enregister, or quite obliterate!

William Tidd Matson (1833-1866), an English Congregational clergyman whose hymns are said to be far above the average and deserving wide acknowledgment, sings of "The Blessed Life."

O blessed life! the heart at rest
 When all without tumultuous seems;
 That trusts a higher will, and deems
 That higher will, made ours, the best.

O blessed life! the mind that sees,
 Whatever changes years may bring,
 A mercy still in everything,
 And shining through all mysteries.

O blessed life! the soul that soars,
 When sense of mortal sight is dim,
 Beyond the sense,—beyond, to him
 Whose love unlocks the heavenly doors.

O blessed life! heart, mind, and soul,
 From self-born aims, and wishes, free,
 In all at one with Deity,
 And loyal to the Lord's control.

* * *

The Persian poet, who died at Naishapur in the year of the Hegira 517 (A. D. 1123), felt that he could have made a better world if he had been given the chance.

XCIX.

Ah Love! could you and I with Him conspire
 To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
 Would we not shatter it to bits—and then
 Re-mould it nearer to the Heart's desire!

John Henry Newman (1801-1890), the greatest English convert to the Roman Catholic church in the nineteenth century, feels a sublime trust in God.

Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
 Lead thou me on!
 The night is dark, and I am far from home,—
 Lead thou me on!
 Keep thou my feet; I do not ask to see
 The distant scene,—one step enough for me.

I was not ever thus, nor prayed that thou
 Shouldst lead me on.
 I loved to choose and see my path; but now
 Lead thou me on!
 I loved the garish day, and spite of fears,
 Pride ruled my will, remember not past years.

So long thy power hath blessed me, sure it still
 Will lead me on,
 O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
 The night is gone;
 And with the morn those angel faces smile
 Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile!

OMAR KHAYYAM AND THE TRANSIENCY OF LIFE.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam in Edward Fitzgerald's translation made a deep impression upon the literary circles of all English-speaking nations, and no wonder, for they present a great truth which is not so much an expression of agnosticism as a description of the transiency of life. The same truth has been stated in various forms again and again by thinkers of almost all periods and nations of the world. The difference in the statements, however, is not due to a disagreement as to the nature of facts, but to the difference in attitude of different people.

The greatest contrast seems to be not between the Rubaiyat and the attitude of Christian thought but between Omar Khayyam and Buddhist teachings. These agree perfectly as to the doctrine of the transiency of all bodily existence, for the truth is stated in Buddhist philosophy with great emphasis that all compounds which have originated will be dissolved again. But the conclusions drawn therefrom are different. Buddha insists that because everything earthly is transient, man should think of what has not originated. It is not a compound of parts, it is not born, and so will not be a prey of death. Thus man should seek his refuge in the truth that is revealed in the words of the Buddha of which it is stated that they will never pass away; and the method of gaining this state of the uncreate, the eternal, the non-transient, is to actualize it in deeds, for while the moments of life pass away, while the combination of man's personality will be dissolved again, his deeds will remain. This Buddha advises as a conclusion which he derives from the truth of the transiency of life. We read in *Dhammapada*, 151:

"The king's mighty chariots of iron will rust,
And also our bodies resolve into dust;

But deeds, 'tis sure,
For aye endure."

and again in the *Samyutta Nikāya*, III, 2, 10:

"Naught follows him who leaves this life;
For all things must be left behind:
Wife, daughters, sons, one's kin, and friends,
Gold, grain and wealth of every kind.
But every deed a man performs,
With body, or with voice, or mind,
'Tis this that he can call his own,
This will he never leave behind.

"Deeds like a shadow ne'er depart:
Bad deeds can never be concealed;
Good deeds cannot be lost, and will
In all their glory be revealed.
Let all then noble deeds perform
As seeds sown in life's fertile field;
For merit gained this life within,
Rich blessings in the next will yield."

The position of natural man is best represented by Goethe, who in his poem on "Vanity" portrays to us an old soldier who puts his trust in nothing. Far from condemning this attitude we point out that the courage which he displays in abandoning all hope of finding permanency and boldly taking the stand of living in the moment, is in itself not immoral. It is a kind of liberation from the anxiety of a hankering after the unattainable. I refer to the well-known poem which begins:

"My trust in nothing now is placed,
Hurrah!
So in the world true joy I taste,
Hurrah!
Then he who would be a comrade of mine
Must clink his glass, and in chorus combine
And drink his cup of wine."

We know Goethe too well to think that he would advise us to use the moment in carousing and wine bibbing, and we would have to supplement this poem on vanity by other expressions of his sentiment, such as his poem on "Prometheus," who in proud self-reliance boldly builds up his life in spite of the tyrant Zeus, saying:

"Zeus, cover thou thy heaven
With cloudy mist,
And like a boy
That chops off thistles,

Exercise thy strength
On oaks and mountain peaks.
Yet must thou leave me
The earth where standeth
My hut, which was not built by thee....
Shall I yet honor thee? For what?
Didst thou ever assuage the pangs
Of the sorrow-laden?
Has not my manhood been wrought in the forge
Of omnipotent Time
And of Fate,
My masters and thine?"

In this number we publish an article by the Rev. Walter C. Green, who presents a contrast between the Rubaiyat and Christian hymns, thus pointing out the difference between Christian thought and the lesson Omar Khayyam preaches including his attitude toward the transiency of life. The Christian view is in many respects identical with the Buddhist view,¹ if we bear in mind that sometimes the former goes too far in its reliance on transitory expressions of the truth. Whittier's call "to works of love and duty as our being's end" and Bonar's exhortation which begins, "He liveth long who liveth well" are certainly sentiments which might appear in any religious poetry, even in the Buddhist canon, but when Arthur Cleveland Coxe compares the transient kingdoms of the world with the holy church of God he ought to mark the difference between the ideal church and the real churches. The one might be realized with any aspiring congregation that lives for the truth, while the several embodiments of church institutions are not eternal but change; they rise into existence and will pass away, whereas Mr. Coxe says, "Unshaken as the eternal hills unmovable she stands."

Mr. Green has included some hymns which we would have preferred to omit, but we do not intend to criticize either his literary taste or his preference in religious sentiment, which is determined by individual disposition, and naturally differs according to the denomination of a writer and his philosophical standpoint. Nevertheless it seems to us that considering the popularity of the Rubaiyat it is well worth while to ponder on the problem of transiency, and to heed well the truth of this doctrine as well as the choice of the proper attitude which man ought to take in the face of this truth.

¹ For a consideration of the contrast between Buddhism and Omar Khayyam, see the writer's book *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics*, pages 118-119, also the chapter on "Goethe a Buddhist."

APOLLOS, THE DISCIPLES AT EPHESUS AND DR. W. B. SMITH'S THEORY.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

IN Acts xviii. 24 we read about the Alexandrian Apollos "teaching the things concerning Jesus but knowing only of the baptism of John." In the next chapter we likewise find that when Paul came to Ephesus, he found "certain disciples" who were baptized only according to the baptism of John. These disciples were Christians, as in Acts the word "disciple" without any further definition always refers to believers in Jesus. Thus Ananias in Damascus, who baptized Paul is called "a certain disciple." These passages about Apollos and the Ephesian disciples seem to me to reveal a very weak point in the theory of Dr. Smith.

Why?

1. Because Dr. Smith, as far as I know, assumes the historicity of the Baptist and has not denied the authenticity of the Josephus passage concerning him as does Drews.

2. But the preaching of John and Jesus is essentially the same, preaching repentance, for the kingdom of God and the judgment is drawing near. Jesus is a disciple of John, baptized by him and always speaks with the highest respect of him.

3. The preaching of John and Jesus is not "an organized crusade of Greek-Jewish monotheism against the prevalent polytheism" which Dr. Smith (*Open Court*, XXIV, p. 633) says was the object of "Protochristianity." The Preaching of John and Jesus has nothing to do with such a purpose. Furthermore it is directed entirely to Jews alone. The preaching of Jewish monotheism among Gentiles entirely took care of itself as is well known, by means of the institution of proselytism which obliged the proselyte to reject idolatry without taking upon himself the ceremonial Jewish law.

4. The preaching and work of John became known beyond Palestine, as Apollos of Alexandria and the disciples of Ephesus testify. The conclusion "that the Christian movement did not proceed originally from Jerusalem or even from Palestine as from a unique focus, but simultaneously from many geographically independent foci" which Dr. Smith draws from the passages in Acts about Apollos, the disciples at Ephesus and Ananias of Damascus, has not the least foundation in those passages. If the work of John had exerted an influence beyond Palestine among the Jews, is there any doubt that the work of Jesus, his successor, should have done likewise even before the great missionary travels of Paul and his companions? And if the defeat of Herod by his father-in-law Aretas, as Josephus tells us, was looked upon by many Jews, most likely also beyond Palestine, as a divine retribution for the execution of John, the execution of Jesus by Pilate in company with the Jerusalem hierarchy was probably likewise not looked upon with indifference by many Jews of the dispersion. We must not think that these had no interest in the happenings of Palestine. They were bound to it with strong ties of racial and religious interest. Occasionally even foreign Jews, as the case of a countryman of Apollos shows (comp. Josephus, *Ant.* XX, 8. 6; *Wars*, II, 13 and Acts xxi, 38) headed insurrections in Palestine. Is it not probable that the last act of a zealot, such as Jesus displayed in the cleansing of the temple by which he showed himself to be, like the Essenes, an enemy of the Hananitic hierarchy which turned the temple-hill into a poultry and cattle market for its own benefit, became known among the Jews beyond Palestine? The death of Jesus very likely stood in connection with this act. According to Mark xi the hierarchs of Jerusalem sought the destruction of Jesus after that act, and when they asked Jesus upon what authority he did it, he offered the counter question whether the baptism of John was from heaven or of men, thus making them face the fact that John was held a divine prophet by many of the people and placing himself to the last in accord with the teachings of the Baptist. Should this connection of Jesus with John to the last not have become known and discussed beyond Palestine among many Jews?

Let us also not forget that the Hellenistic Jews had their synagogues in Jerusalem. Acts vi. 9 speaks of the synagogues of the Libertines¹, the Cyreneans, the Alexandrians, those of Cilicia and

¹Very probably Jewish freedmen (Sueton., *Tiber.* 36), brought as prisoners of war, particularly under Pompey, to Rome, and afterwards emancipated. Comp. Latin *libertus*.

Asia² in Jerusalem. That of the Alexandrians is also mentioned in the Talmud (*Megill.* f. 73. 4). According to Acts Stephen discusses the person of Jesus with these synagogues. Stephen is represented as being a Hellenistic Jew. Whether we attach much credence to the story of Stephen as told in Acts or not, is it likely that the preaching and work and death of Jesus was not taken notice of in these synagogues, and that through them the knowledge about Jesus was not spread to the different parts of the Roman empire even before the later work of Paul?

If some one might interpose that there was nothing extraordinary in the teachings of Jesus to speak about among the Jews outside of Palestine, let us not forget that although Jesus was a good Jew and had the narrow horizon of his race, nevertheless like his forerunner John he had very much to say against the self-righteousness of his race, against the external observance of the law, and especially very much against the rabbinical traditions which hedged in the Mosaic law and the prophets and which choked just the best things that they contained. Perhaps in these things he taught no more that was new than all the best prophets had done before him, but was this nothing worth talking about among the Jews inside and outside of Palestine? Let us not minimize the work of Jesus among his people. Let us also not imagine that the Jews never felt the oppressiveness of the law and especially the many traditions which had gradually become attached to the law. Now it was an old belief among the Jews that in the times of the Messiah the law would be done away with. There is a peculiar saying even in the Talmud that in the times of the Messiah even swine's flesh would be allowed.³ Besides it is an interesting fact that in many Messianic movements among the Jews till up to that of Sabbathais Zwi (1641-1677) of Smyrna, leaders who played the rôle of a Messiah inveighed especially against the rabbinical law. We here find the connecting point between the more conservative Jewish Christians and the more radical men like Paul. There was therefore much to talk about anyway among the Jews inside and outside Palestine concerning Jesus.

Perhaps there were other things to speak about, not to mention the eschatological sayings of Jesus. A kind of atoning value may have been attached to the death of Jesus, not in the sense of the later developed atonement theory of Paul which made Jesus the

²"Asia" denotes the Roman province of that name, i. e., the western coast region of Asia Minor.

³Rabbi J. Stern, *Lichtstrahlen aus dem Talmud*, p. 76.

saviour of all mankind, but in the sense in which we find it expressed in several places in the apocryphal Maccabean books, that the death of a martyr who died for the Jewish religion had an atoning value for the whole people to ward off God's wrath, a further connecting link between Judaistic and Pauline Christianity. So the person of Jesus may have played a greater rôle outside of Palestine among many Jews where Paul had not yet come than we think.

Of course there was no need to see in Jesus a man of divine sonship in the physical sense of the word, as later Christian theology developed it. In fact the Judaistic Christians never looked upon Jesus in that way. He was of course a "son of the spirit" and had become such at the time of his baptism by John. We cannot very well assume that Jesus was entirely a negligible quantity among many Jews outside of Palestine.

Let us also not forget that the Acts from its more Pauline standpoint tells us that Apollos was more thoroughly instructed in the way of the Lord by Aquila and Priscilla, the companions of Paul, i. e., of course in the Pauline view about Christ. The Acts represent Apollos clearly as having a knowledge of Jesus beforehand, only he was not fully orthodox yet in the Pauline sense. And so it was likewise with the Ephesian disciples, who had only been baptized according to the baptism of John, but who had a knowledge of Jesus just like Apollos.

The knowledge then of the historical Jesus in connection with the knowledge of the historical John had traveled beyond Palestine among the Jews. This appears to be an established fact.

If Jesus and John are not separable, why the necessity, according to Dr. Smith's theory, of letting the one, John, remain a Jewish human preacher, who historically existed, and denying the existence of the other, Jesus, and declaring him a deity, whom Apollos preached, while he was also at the same time a disciple of John? I cannot understand this break in the mind of Apollos and therefore in this matter there appears to be a very weak point in the theory of Dr. Smith.

He has consolidated his theory otherwise by spiritualizing, allegorizing and symbolizing all terms which seem to place Jesus in purely human relations, so that it is futile to argue with him on such matters as Jesus being the firstborn son of Mary, having brothers and sisters in the commonly understood way, **but in what way will he bring John in connection with his assumed Jesus-deity?** The baptism of Jesus had already become a knotty problem after Jesus had been deified in early Christian theology, but if the Jesus-deity

was deity from the start without any human substratum, how could it be baptized by John at all?

I cannot make myself at home in the theory of Dr. Smith. Why this barbarous term for advancing the cause of monotheism around the Mediterranean, the *Jesus-Nasarya* god? And why should the Christian movement, if it had a purely intellectual purpose for advancing monotheism against polytheism, be invested with such secrecy, when all along for centuries past the tendency in the Greco-Roman world had been towards monotheism, which was then strengthened by Judaism and its Septuagint? But the latter advanced the cause of monotheism against polytheism and idolatry without coining a new term for the monotheistic God. And even if Christianity and Judaism had never come into existence, polytheism and idolatry would have become extinct of themselves and probably without the ugly intolerant feature attached to Judaistic and early Christian zeal which like the monotheistic Zoroastrianism declared all other gods evil demons. In making Christianity a purely intellectual movement for advancing monotheism I think we lose sight of its unquestionably main purpose, that of offering a means of redemption from sin and evil. Of course the pagan gods are stamped as demons standing behind sin and evil; they are a deceptive illusion created by Satan, the prince of this world, and naturally Christianity offered also redemption from these demons. But did not the deified Galilean exorcist who expelled unclean spirits by "the finger of God" suffice for this? Was there need to coin a new name for God in this respect?

The origin of Dr. Smith's theory I can only attribute to the desire to solve all the problems of original Christianity with one stroke. But by solving these problems from one fixed standpoint alone I fear many things in the origin of Christianity will be historically perverted, and to this also belongs the connection between the Baptist and Jesus. If we apply the method so extensively used in *Ecce Deus*, i. e., of spiritualizing, allegorizing and symbolizing everything manifestly historical in the New Testament in favor of the *Jesus-Nasarya* deity, we will lose all historical footing and not come any nearer to the solving of early Christian problems. The mistakes of liberal theology in making Jesus the perfect, ideal, unique pattern of man, which does not fit in with many things related in the Synoptics of him, should not drive us to the opposite extreme of denying his existence entirely and placing in his stead an assumed Jesus-deity, nor of minimizing the significance which,

with all his racial, intellectual and moral deficiencies, he surely had for the origin of early Christianity.

* * *

Although the following has directly nothing to do with my present discussion, I here take occasion to add a few words of comment regarding the arguments which Dr. Smith draws from docetism under "Ignatius versus the Historicists" for the unhistoricity of Jesus.

Among the Shiitic Mohammedans according to J. Friedländer (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXIII, p. 296 ff. and XXIV, 1 ff.) there exists a doctrine that their master Ali was not really murdered but only his phantom. He himself has ascended to heaven from where he will return. But Ali was really murdered in 661 at Kufa. Here we have a counterpart to Christian docetism. Nothing can be drawn from it against the historicity of Jesus and his death.

PROFESSOR LOOFS ON "WHAT IS THE TRUTH ABOUT JESUS?"

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

DR. Friedrich Loofs, well known in Germany as Professor of Church History in the University of Halle-Wittenberg, as second only to Harnack in mastery of the development of Christian doctrine, and as the author of a number of technical works on various recondite questions in dogmatics and criticism, has enriched the growing literature of the Jesus-Question with a volume of 240 pages, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, and consisting of six Haskell Lectures delivered between the 26th of September and the 4th of October, 1911, under the auspices of the Theological Department, at Oberlin College.

The lectures are pleasingly written, temperate in tone, reasonably fair though often seriously inadequate in statement, and comprehensive though of necessity painfully sketchy in treatment. Such themes as "Jesus a Real Man of Our History," "The Liberal Jesus-Picture," "The Liberal Jesus-Research," "Jesus not Merely a Man," "The Ancient Christology Untenable," "Modern Forms of Christology," can not be satisfactorily handled each in an hour, in 40 small and double-leaded pages. The hearers must have left the hall, as the reader lays down the book, with an unsatisfied feeling, as if they had been regaled with specimen morsels rather than sated with a full meal. Nevertheless, the work is in many ways worth observation, and the adherents of the new criticism must be especially grateful to the author, to the authorities of Oberlin, and to the enterprising publishers who have brought it out.

For it is not only the word of a very competent scholar and high authority, but of an honest and candid man, who is trying hard to be just even to views with which he is least sympathetic. The English reader of this very readable book will find it pervaded by a spirit

of frankness and of open-mindedness that can hardly fail to be refreshing, though at times it may make his breathing none too easy. In particular, he will soon become aware that of late something has occurred that has not transpired, something of which only very garbled accounts may have hitherto reached him. He will quickly see that he may have been relying upon a press rather closely censored, and he will learn to understand as well as to admire the art of the powers that be, which consists (as H. J. Holtzmann expressed it in a written communication to the present writer) in "going straight ahead as if nothing had happened." Such self-control is indeed wonderful.

The titles of the six lectures, already quoted, indicate clearly enough the general movement of the author's thought. In the first he rejects "the American's" theory of the purely divine Jesus¹—on what grounds we shall soon see. In the second he discusses and shatters the "liberal Jesus-Figure," sketched with such seductive pencil by Theodor Keim, perfected with such exhaustive knowledge and such painstaking skill by Heinrich Julius Holtzmann. The third lecture and the fourth continue the discussion of "Liberal Jesus-Research and the Sources" and contend for the thesis, "Jesus not merely a Man." The fifth lecture returns to "the American," who is declared "wrong in his assumption of a purely divine Jesus, who never lived the life of a human being," but "right in saying that liberal Jesus-Research... has not succeeded in sketching a picture of Jesus which does justice to the sources and is credible as it stands," and "also right... in opposing the assumption itself that the life of Jesus must have been a purely human one." He then quotes at length from *Ecce Deus* (p. 6), where the dilemma is stated, "Jesus was either a deified man or a humanized God," the orthodox alternative, Jesus was a God-Man, being rejected as unthinkable and meaningless.

The last third of the book is given up to an attempt to escape between the horns of this dilemma, and the worth of the whole book, as a positive contribution to the settlement of "the great question," must depend upon the fate of this attempt. For if Professor Loofs cannot actually effect this escape, then he must either refuse to think on the subject or else he must accept one horn of the dilemma. But which? The reasons against the first, the "liberal" horn, have been set forth in three chapters, 120 pages. They are already familiar to all readers of *Ecce Deus*, and they will wait a long time for any half-satisfactory answer. The reasons against the second horn

¹ See the writer's *Ecce Deus*, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., 1912.

are set forth in three pages (36-38) and consist solely of an appeal to the Pauline Witness! Bravely as he speaks about it, bold though the front he assumes, it seems hardly questionable, in case his flight between the horns be arrested, that Professor Loofs would throw over these three pages and save the three chapters, that he would promptly accept a humanized God rather than a deified man.

But is the attempted escape successful? Loofs begins by showing carefully that all such essays have failed hitherto. "The ancient Christology untenable"—such is the burden of the fifth lecture. The sixth and last lecture passes in review the "modern forms of Christology." He pays his respects to the rock-ribbed orthodoxy of Philippi, to the widely accepted kenotic theory, to such off-shoots as Kunze, Schaeder, Seeberg; he returns to Schleiermacher and Ritschl, and finally issues upon his own colleague, the late Martin Kaehler, and Professor Wendt of Jena. He handles very tenderly these later views, without the shedding of blood. "To every layman to whom this formula seems intelligible, we ought therefore to say: Be content with it" (p. 238). But he does not disguise the fact that though the formula may be good enough for the "layman," it is not good enough for our author. What then remains? "My last refuge, therefore, is the term which Paul strongly emphasizes in the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, the *mystery of Christ*. . . . It would be attempting impossible things if we tried to understand the historical person of Christ." This on page 240, the penultimate page of the book, only 31 lines from the end. So then Professor Loofs wisely gives it up. He sees clearly that there is no exit between the horns. The pass is an *impasse*. He makes no attempt to escape. But neither does he accept either horn. He merely wraps his face in his mantle, bows his head, and sits quietly between, murmuring for consolation the great line of Goethe: "Thou equalest the spirit whom thou comprehendest."

Such then is the result to which this vigorous thinker is led, or rather driven, by 240 pages of argumentation exploiting immeasurable resources of erudition. He rejects the only two hypotheses that can be made "intelligible," and he reposes finally in the absolutely incomprehensible! Herewith does he not range himself side by side with Tertullian, who declared, "The Son of God hath died,—it is wholly credible, because it is preposterous" (*ineptum*)? And has not history passed judgment upon the African and his obscurantism? It is not easy to realize the immense significance of this position so deliberately taken by the Halle professor. It is the despair of the human mind. Christianity is the greatest historical

phenomenon of which we have any knowledge. The spirit of man demands imperiously that it be understood. Generations of the brightest intellects have consecrated themselves with supreme devotion to the solution of this riddle. Now comes Professor Loofs and declares that it is all in vain, all in vain. We do not know, we shall not know. The whole thing is at heart a mystery. We can do no more than believe, like little children. We are babes in the church and remain babes forever.

It is very hard to see what advantage there is in this position over that of the most submissive Romanist. What profit is there in knowing a thousand things about history and the world, if this pivotal thing is to remain shrouded in impenetrable mystery? In what sense can we be said to know any of them, unless we know this from which they radiate, on which they converge? The simple fact is that all history is made unintelligible by leaving this fact unexplained. What does it signify to express all the symbols of our equation in the neatest forms, if every such expression contains an unknown and unknowable x ?

Some one may possibly object that such is after all the final issue of all our strivings, that some unknown and unknowable element must enter into all our solutions, that some mystery must always lie at the heart of the universe. One might easily mention some conspicuous thinkers and authors to whom such an objection would seem very natural.

In a certain sense the case is even as stated, but not in any sense available for the objector. The lines are far from parallel; they are nearer perpendicular to each other. The inexplicables of thought are ultimates. They allow no analysis, but they are universal. They lie in the recesses of our common nature. They pervade the whole system of things, they are the connective tissue of the universe. They belong alike to all time and all space, if indeed they be not themselves both timeless and spaceless.

As different as possible is the alleged incomprehensibility of the Jesus. Here (it is said) was a strictly historical phenomenon, perfectly definite in time as well as in space, conditioned in every way as any other fact of history, in all respects a sharer of the common lot—and yet (we are told) wholly different from all others, never to be understood by any human mind, unique, with no parallel in any clime or time, *a mystery, a miracle*, forever unintelligible!

Any fair-minded man must admit that such an incomprehensibility bears no sort of resemblance to the ultimates, the irresolvable moments of philosophic or scientific theory. It is the peculiarity and

the estimable worth of these latter that they are omnipresent, that all things are to be expressed through them and in terms of them, they themselves remaining not so expressible. But the distinction of this supposed individual historic fact, whereon Loofs insists most strenuously and frequently, is its *uniqueness*.² As so unique it cannot enter into history, into the statement of all the processes of humanity in terms of common elements, which belong to us all alike.

Surely any dispassionate intelligence will confess, nor can we think that Loofs would deny, that the admission of such a "unique" factor to a place in the historical movement, under all the definite conditions, can not help forward any rational interpretation of history, but must rather render any such interpretation forever impossible. Surely then, no scientific mind would admit such a factor unless compelled, unless under the sternest constraint of facts certain, demonstrable, and wholly unequivocal. If there should be even a slight possibility of some other interpretation, we should have to accept this latter as infinitely more probable than the extremely violent hypothesis that stops all thinking.

It becomes then a burning question: What are these sure, stringent, unambiguous proofs of the utter uniqueness of this historic phenomenon? The answer of the Halle historian is twofold. First, it is held that Jesus has affected humanity and the course of events as no other personality. It is only under extreme duress that such a learned and able thinker can advance such a reason in full seriousness. What man has affected history in quite the same manner as Socrates, as Cæsar, as Galilei, as Newton, as Napoleon, as many another? The extent and character of an explosion depends not solely upon the match applied, but also in large measure upon the magazine ignited, its nature and amount. What other epoch in recorded time has presented such a set of conditions as the first century of our era around the Mediterranean? When for the first time in history the three greatest strains of blood on this earth were poured together under the Roman peace, at the moment of the fullest bloom of ancient civilization, is it strange that the profoundest religious conviction, the furthest reaching and most comprehensive religio-philosophical movement, should involve the deepest, broadest, and most thoroughgoing transformation of society and transvaluation of ideals and of life? The effect seems not at all disproportion-

² It is noteworthy in this connection that Klostermann, the peer of Loofs, finds it necessary to reject by name this uniqueness as a "rusty weapon, on which most of us have relied, which must be cast aside into the corner."

tioned to the cause, and the wonder would have been if the results had been less significant.

But a second reason alleged for the superhumanity of the "historical Jesus" is that the individual Christian consciousness immediately perceives and knows him to be superhuman. At this point it is necessary to divide, if we would conquer or even think clearly. Professor Loofs has no trouble whatever in showing (what is clearly set forth in *Ecce Deus*) that the early, that the very earliest, Christian consciousness recognized Jesus as divine. In fact, the worship of Jesus as God is writ so large over all the New Testament, over all the apostolic and post-apostolic age, that to prove it is to point out the sun at noon. Neither is early Christian history in any measure intelligible, if we omit this central and regulative principle. It becomes at once a *miracle* and a *mystery* on the hypothesis of the pure-human Jesus. Loofs then is entirely right in saying, "The assumption that the life of Jesus was a purely human one is disproved by the sources"—where we may extend the "sources" quite through the second and even far into the third century. But this clear thinker himself falls into hopeless mist and obscurity when he adds, "and by the experiences of believers in all ages" (p. 201). Such experiences, no matter what they may be, can neither prove nor disprove anything of the kind whatever. One need not be an expert psychologist, nor even a psychopathist "in no wise prejudiced," to recognize that our author's conclusion is wholly unwarranted. There is no "variety of religious experience" that can testify beyond itself or prove anything about its object of worship. We raise no question about what these "experiences" may have really been. We may grant everything whatever that may be claimed. Yea, multiply the claims by a thousand, and we may grant them just as readily. Even though "the love of Jesus" should instantaneously convert the vilest sinner into a saint, the fact would still be irrelevant. It would prove at most only the regenerative efficacy of a certain form of belief, it would be utterly dumb concerning the object of that belief. The whole phenomenon would be subjective and would bear no witness to anything beyond the subject. Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac may testify most eloquently, impressively, pathetically to the faith of Abraham, but it tells us nothing whatever about the nature or being of "Jehovah." We may accept the "Fioretti" and everything else related of its hero and his sheeplets as thoroughly authentic, and thereby learn a great deal about Francis d'Assisi and Friars James and Giles and "a whole forest of such Junipers,"—but nothing at all about the Jesus.

Professor Loofs may, then, very properly examine the sources to find out what the early Christians *thought* of the Jesus. And that indeed is not only a proper inquiry, but the only proper inquiry, in the premises. Yet it is entirely illegitimate to attempt to pass from what they *thought* or *felt* about the Jesus, over to some conclusion about what the Jesus really was. It is easy to see what has betrayed this keen logician into this logical lapse. It is the false assumption of the preceding sentence: "We have seen that Jesus was a man who lived in this world of ours" (p. 201). Now the fact is that "we have seen" nothing of the kind. If indeed the historical character of Jesus were indubitably established, or with practical certainty, or even with very high probability, then might Professor Loofs raise the question as to whether such a *proved* historical figure could be understood as a mere man. But he has not proved that "Jesus was a man," he has not even begun to prove it. Nay, confessedly, *it cannot be proved*.

Let any one read Professor Klostermann's recent work on *Die neuesten Angriffe auf die Geschichtlichkeit Jesu*; let him notice how the Strassburg critic surrenders unconditionally the "pillars" of Schmiedel, how he relegates to the corner the hitherto trusted but no longer trustworthy weapons (see footnote 2), how he admits that "new and doughtier weapons will have to be forged," how he himself in the *Vorwort* declines to enter the lists against "these opponents."

Even this is not all. In a very recent and exceedingly circumspect and learned work of Loof's countryman, Carl Noll,³ a preacher addressing preachers, it is distinctly and repeatedly admitted that the historical character, which "we have seen," can not be proved and can not be seen at all. He distinctly says (p. 46) that the historicity of Jesus "can be neither proved nor refuted by the methods of science."⁴ Similarly also on p. 4 of *Der Kampf um die Geschichtlichkeit Jesu*.

Still more recently the conspicuous theologian, Albert Schweitzer, in the second edition of his famous *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*, not only devotes two chapters (121 pages) solely to the "historicity," but in the end claims only that it is "altogether probable" and the "unhistoricity altogether improbable." He alleges no better reasons than Professor Loofs, but adds that the new hy-

³ Similarly the preacher, Peisker, in his more recent work on the same theme.

⁴ "Wenn man überhaupt an der Geschichtlichkeit Jesu festhält—sie lässt sich wissenschaftlich weder beweisen noch widerlegen."

potheses are mutually contradictory and annul each other—an argument that Klostermann more wisely refuses to advance. As if the fallacies of circle-squarers could discredit the theorems of geometry!

When such concessions are made in such quarters, when it is emphatically conceded that "the historicity of Jesus can not be proved," it is plain that the matter is most serious, and that the defenders of tradition are logically and *morally* responsible to the countless multitudes they guide, to produce, and to produce immediately, the very best and most carefully weighed reasons that can be urged in favor of the "historicity" that has admittedly been called so successfully in question—or else to acknowledge openly that the traditional standpoint is no longer tenable.

Inasmuch then as all our author's arguments for the necessity of supposing the Jesus to have been a mysterious, unique, and finally incomprehensible person, God-intoxicated and incommensurable with any other son of man, repose avowedly upon the premise "we have seen that Jesus was a man," it now becomes indispensable to ask where "we have seen" this, and what is the proof that "Jesus... lived in this world of ours," as Professor Loofs does not weary in affirming and reaffirming. Since this then is the pivot on which the whole argument turns, the reader will naturally and justly expect to find it treated with especial care; but he will be sorely disappointed. Strangely enough, Professor Loofs devotes some 15 pages (17-31) to such trifles as the forged correspondence of Jesus with Abgar the Black, of Edessa, the apocryphal report of Pilate, the letter of Mara, Serapion's son, to his son Serapion, the interpolated passages in Josephus, the word reported of Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrkanos, that he met a disciple of Jeshu ha-Nōtzri, and the passages in Tacitus and Pliny—only in the end to "concede" (p. 31) "that the historicity of Christ can not be conclusively proved by the non-Christian sources." One marvels what may be the use of producing witnesses he himself discredits. Certainly naught is gained, but is there not something lost? The admitted forgeries and interpolations had one and only one object in view, namely, to underprop the doctrine of the humanity of Jesus. But why resort to such sinister support? *If he really was historical, is it not passing strange that so extremely little evidence thereof was preserved, when evidence must have existed in such profusion, passing strange that there arose the apparent necessity of inventing it wholesale?* What genuinely historical character is found in similar plight?

Once more, one would think that Professor Loofs would make some show of refuting the contentions of *Ecce Deus*, for which he

seems to cherish some generous respect. Mehlhorn is not ashamed to avow that they must chiefly occupy the attention of "us defenders of the historicity" for years to come, and Loofs himself joins in regarding them as "most remarkable." But he makes no attempt at confutation, he expressly declines to undertake such a disagreeable task. On the contrary, he contents himself (perhaps not all his readers) with an ostensible direct proof of the historicity—in three pages (36-38)! Surely a short cut to such an important result. Strange that Noll, Schmiedel, and others should have overlooked it. What is this short shrift for the sceptics? Simply and solely an appeal to the Pauline Witness, especially to 1 Cor. xi. 23 ff. (the Last Supper), to xv. 3 f. (the Resurrection); to ix. 5 (brothers of the Lord); to Gal. i. 19 (James the brother of the Lord); to Gal. iii. 16 (seed of Abraham), and to iv. 4 (made of a woman and made under the Law).

Mainly, it would seem, he relies upon these "brethren of the Lord," whose "existence suffices to wreck the fantastic edifice of W. B. Smith in spite of all his learning." And yet even Professor Loofs has hardly played this argument for all it is worth, for he neglects to mention that the New Testament knows not merely of "these brothers," but also of "Elymas, son of Jesus." He forgets also to record among the proofs that "the Gospels know them" (these "brothers of the Lord") the eloquent passage (Matt. xii. 49 f.; Mark iii. 34) "Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother" (which seems aimed directly at the historicists); and (John xx. 17 f.) "But go unto my brethren and . . . Mary Magdalene cometh and telleth the disciples." It is in connection with this scriptural interpretation of "brethren" that Loofs has generously defended Smith against the shrewd suspicion of being "psychopathic," as he seemed to "a specialist in nervous diseases." Thanks awfully! A very classic and approved way of refuting an opponent, to say "He hath a devil," more than once adopted against *Ecce Deus*.

Seriously, however, it seems strange that our author should merely refer to the Pauline witness without a word of discussion, seeing that the passages in question have been minutely and to many minds convincingly treated in *Ecce Deus* and elsewhere, with results very sharply opposed to his complacent assumption. Still stranger that so circumspect a thinker should seek to balance the colossal fabric of Christian dogma on such a pin-point of argument as this contention that "brother(s) of the Lord" *must* mean physical broth-

ers of Jesus, especially in oriental writings, where the use of such terms is notoriously loose and figurative.

In the beginning of Book V of the Apostolic Constitutions, which treats of martyrs, we read: "He that is condemned for the name of the Lord God is an holy martyr, a brother of the Lord, the Son of the Highest, a receptacle of the Holy Spirit." Now in Acts xii. 2 it is stated that Herod "took off James the brother of John with a sword." This is said to have happened "about that season." Wendt wisely concludes that the writer knew "nothing accurate" about the matter, hence his brevity and indefiniteness. Still another martyrdom of a James is recorded, and this one is supposed to have been "James the Lord's brother." The subject has been treated in *Ecce Deus* (pp. 234-8) as well as elsewhere and needs no repeated discussion here. The only point now to be emphasized is that the name of James is particularly and doubly associated with early martyrdom, and that any such martyr is declared in standard Christian diction (no matter how figurative) to be a "brother of the Lord." Is it not remarkable that the same James should be "brother of the Lord" in these two senses? If some one says that Paul calls James "brother of the Lord" before his martyrdom, the answer is that no one knows this; the dates in the case are altogether uncertain.

It has been objected by Kampmeier that I have taken the phrase "my" or "his brethren" in two opposite senses, namely, as designating a circle of believers and also as designating unbelievers, his racial brethren, the Jews. Well, what of it? Is it strange that words should be used by different authors, or even by the same author under different conditions, in different senses? And is it not a fact that the words *actually are* used thus diversely and opposedly? In John xx. 17-18 "brethren" *certainly* means "disciples," at least so it was understood by Mary Magdalene. In John vii. 5 just as certainly it does *not* mean "disciples," for "neither did his brethren believe in him." The only question is, who were these unbelieving brethren? Undoubtedly not his spiritual or figurative brethren, undoubtedly then in *some* other sense his brethren. The historicists answer, "his fleshly kinsmen," whether brothers or cousins makes no difference. But this is not necessary. It is quite possible, and in view of the general symbolic mode of Gospel speech it is far more plausible, to understand the term of the Jews in general, as a religious body. As Jerome speaks of "the members of the church at Jerusalem" as "the sons of his mother," with at least equal propriety can we speak of Judaism as his *mother* since it was from the marriage of Judaism and Hellenism that the great idea

▲

of the Saviour-God Jesus was born; in which case nothing would be more natural than to speak of the Jews who rejected the Jesus as his unbelieving brethren. This interpretation seems to meet all the facts in the case, all the testimony of the "sources." He who thinks it so forced and unnatural as to suggest a "psychopathic" condition, is merely advertising his own poverty of imagination and his unfamiliarity with oriental modes of thought and expression.

In conclusion, let me appeal to the open-minded reader to consider carefully the account of "James the Just" as quoted from the post-apostolic Hegesippus (A. D. 180?) by Eusebius (*H. E.*, II, 23, 4-18) and then to ask himself the question, "Does Hegesippus regard James as the fleshly brother of Jesus?" True, the account as quoted opens thus: "James, the brother of the Lord, succeeded to the government etc." But Eusebius in quoting did not understand that James was really thus blood-related to Jesus, for he speaks of him as "one of those called brethren of the Saviour" (*H. E.* 1, 12, 4) and elsewhere (II, 1, 2) declares, "This James was called the brother of the Lord because he was known as the son of Joseph." Moreover, Clemens Alexandrinus does not think of "this James" as blood-brother of Jesus, for he says: "The Lord after his resurrection imparted knowledge to James the Just and to John and Peter, and they imparted it to the rest of the apostles, and the rest of the apostles to the seventy, of whom Barnabas was one. But there were two Jameses: one called the Just, who was thrown from the pinnacle of the temple and was beaten to death with a club by a fuller, and another who was beheaded" (by Herod Agrippa, A. D. 44?). So quotes Eusebius (II, 1, 4) from the 7th book of the lost *Hypotyposes*. Here Clemens would seem to identify James the Just, "the brother of the Lord," with James the Apostle, son of Alphæus. Papias also in a preserved fragment (Routh, *Rel. Sac.*, I, p. 46) does likewise. It makes no difference whether they be right or wrong in this identification. The point is that they do *not* understand "brother of the Lord" to mean blood-brother of Jesus. The expression then is in itself not enough; it is not unambiguous. Bearing this in mind, let the reader peruse the Eusebian excerpt from Hegesippus. He will find no remotest hint that James was a kinsman of Jesus. He will find a minute description of the Just, which seems positively to shut out the notion that he was such a kinsman: "This man was holy from his mother's womb: wine and fermented liquor drank he not, nor flesh did eat; razor upon his head came not; with oil he did not anoint himself, and a bath did not use. Him alone it was allowed into the holies to

enter; for neither wools he wore, but linens. And alone he went into the temple and would be found down on his knees and begging forgiveness of the people, so that hardened were his knees like a camel's (through his always bending on his knees beseeching God, and begging forgiveness for the people). Yea, for the exceedingness of his justice (righteousness) he was called Just and Oblias, which is interpreted, "Bulwark of the people and Justice," as the prophets declare concerning him." Now we ask, will any ingenuity of exegesis, or any flight of imagination ever reconcile this description with any conception we can form of the brother of a Nazarene carpenter crucified in Jerusalem? It is not necessary to suppose that Hegesippus is quite correctly informed; but the general features suffice to shape our judgment. The improbability is greatly heightened by the narration that follows, wherein Hegesippus tells us that some of the seven sects of Jews asked this Just Oblias, "What is the gate of Jesus?" who answered that "he is the Saviour"; wherefore some "believed that Jesus is the Christ; but the sects aforementioned believed not, neither resurrection nor coming to give each according to his works." To stay the movement towards Jesus, the Scribes and Pharisees then beseech Oblias with most flattering words not to let the Passover multitude go astray concerning Jesus; they also place him on the wing (pinnacle) of the temple, aloft, in the sight and hearing of all the people, and ask once more, "Just one, . . . what is the gate^a of Jesus?" He answers with mighty voice, "Why ask ye me concerning Jesus, the Son of man? He himself sitteth in the heaven on the right of the mighty power, and is going to come upon the clouds of heaven." Whereupon some believed and shouted Hosanna, but the Scribes and Pharisees went up and threw the Just one down, who was not killed by the fall but despatched by a fuller with his club.

It is impossible not to recognize in this account a rather crude work of fancy, but the point is that there is apparently no suspicion in the mind of the writer that this "Just one" was blood-brother of Jesus. Had he entertained such an idea, it seems very unlikely, almost incredible, that he should have written such an account. We also note that the whole conception of the character of this "Just one" is precisely in accord with the figurative interpretation of the phrase "Brother of the Lord." If Abraham was called "friend of

^a This "gate," it seems, must signify "way," which in the New Testament signifies doctrine, as in "the way of the Lord," which means the Christian propaganda.

God," there seems no reason why such a religious man as this James should not be called "brother of the Lord."

Viewed then from any and every point of the compass, this epithet of James the Just calls for a figurative interpretation. So much conceded, the rest is easy. The other New Testament phrases, "his brethren," "his sisters," even "his mother," and later still "his father," are all mere corollaries from the first, they are all readily derivable from the primitive error of mistaking a spiritual "brother of the Lord" for a carnal "brother of Jesus"; and this mistake is seen to be of a piece with the whole body of current New Testament misinterpretations.

Even if the passages⁶ in question could not be explained as satisfactorily as they have been, it would seem the part of prudence not to build such an imposing structure on a foundation so extremely narrow, accidental and artificial. Surely historicism would appear to be *in extremis* when its chosen champions risk its fate upon such equivocal attestation.

In conclusion, Professor Loofs excuses himself from attempting to disprove "the American's" interpretation of the Gospels on the ground that it "would require much time and afford little pleasure." Herein he is doubtless wise. Such attempted disproof would indeed promise immeasurable delight to the onlooker, to all the "vested interests" in ecclesiastical Christendom, yet for all that, "with half a world to hearten him for fight," it might prove excessively irksome to the disprover and disappointing to his friends.

On the whole, this work of the Halle historian has many great merits; not the least among them is the fact that it offers such frequent occasion to gather radical figs from conservative thistles.⁷

⁶ The proof-passages undiscussed in *Ecce Deus*, such as Gal. iii. 16; iv. 4; Rom. i. 3 ("To thy [Abraham's] seed, which is Christ," "born of woman, born under law," "born of seed of David, according to flesh"), might indeed well adorn the columns of a religious weekly, but scarcely become the pages of a volume by Professor Loofs;—they would seem to be thrown in merely as a bonus, or for good measure.

⁷ With apologies to Professor Harnack.

MISCELLANEOUS.

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE ORIENT.

BY B. K. ROY.

When War Shall Cease.

Dr. Inazo Nitobe in his recent lectures on Japanese national ideals and traditions before many academic audiences in different sections of this country, has rendered a signal service in fostering the cause of American-Japanese friendship.

This renowned author of *Bushido—the Way of the Warrior*, writing in the *Japan Magazine* for October on "When War Shall Cease," says:

"I found that in the various states where duty called me, one of the most frequent questions that harassed me was in reference to whether the Japanese are a peace-loving or a warlike people....

"Of course I always endeavored to convince my interlocutors that the Japanese are in no sense a belligerent race, and that in fact we have never gone to war except when we had to in time of self-defence. I took occasion to inquire of them whether their distinguished ancestors were to be dubbed as warlike because they took up arms to set the thirteen states free from British domination. I could find no American that would admit his forefathers deserving of the epithet warlike on this score. I went on to emphasize the fact that there is not a single example in Japanese history of our nation ever going to war for the mere love of conflict.... And I tried to impress upon Americans our love of peace, and how it was one of Japan's constant concerns to hasten the day when war shall cease."

By way of rebuttal to the "survival of the fittest" theory, and in proving the debilitating influence of war, Dr. Nitobe has these splendid remarks to make: "As a matter of fact, it is usually the fittest that are destroyed in war, the maimed and the defective being left to multiply and increase the population with a weaker breed. It is a matter of history that the Napoleonic wars reduced the physique and the stature of France by a marked degree, for all the taller and stronger men had been killed off in battle. No nation on earth valued military prowess more than the Spaniards; the nation had its way in war, and since the 17th century it has ceased to produce great men, probably because such ancestry was all killed off in warfare.... The martial spirit of Sparta weakened the state and finally destroyed it.

"The amounts now expended by the nations of the world in preparing for war are enormous beyond computation, probably some \$2,250,000,000 annually. This sum is almost enough to alleviate all the evils of mankind, so far as material assistance can do so. One of our schools had 2000 applicants for admission, when only 300 could be accommodated.... If all the money now exacted through taxes for armament purposes, and all the men employed in military service, were devoted to the productive enterprises of the nation, how much more wealthy and prosperous would our country be."

The same is true of all the armed-to-the-teeth nations of the world.

Hindu Grievances in Canada.

It seems from Indian papers and periodicals that the people of Hindustan are having trouble in all parts of the British empire. The Hindus claim that they are mere "helots" in South Africa, from Australia and New Zealand they are altogether "barred," and in Canada their position is "intolerable."

Mr. Nand Singh Sihra, in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta) for August thus complains of their predicament in Canada:

"The Canadian laws have subjected all the 315,000,000 of His Majesty's subjects to a great amount of humiliation, and the unjust, inhuman and unnatural treatment to which that government has subjected them is quite intolerable."

The Canadian immigration law which was specially devised and passed to prevent the Hindus from entering into Canada, demands: "Landing in Canada shall be prohibited of any immigrants who have come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens, and upon through tickets purchased in that country or prepaid in Canada."

As there is no way of reaching Canada from India by a "continuous journey" the Hindus are most effectively barred from the Canadian shores. The Chinese and the Japanese may enter the Dominion under the present circumstances.

There are about 5000 Hindus in Canada to-day; they own about \$2,000,000 of real estate. But these unfortunate subjects of His Most Gracious Majesty, most of whom are Shiks and who fought England's battles in many parts of the world, cannot even bring their wives and children from the land of their birth, a land that is claimed by the British statemen to be the brightest jewel in the British crown.

Mr. Sihra, to substantiate his arguments, quotes from Mr. W. W. Baer, a human-hearted Canadian, who sums up the situation thus:

"I could print a hundred letters telling me of the faithfulness of the Hindu in his service to his employer; the reliance that may be safely placed upon him at his work, and his unshrinking application of his strength to his varied tasks....The Hindu is the most desirable and I can not say that he is in any sense undesirable.

"Now all these things are true of the Hindu as a man. It is fitting that we take a look at ourselves. We permit the Japanese who comes to our country to acquire property, naturalize, vote and have a voice in our affairs, transacting such business as his acumen dictates. We also permit him to bring-with him or send home to Japan for his wife and as many offspring, male or female, as he desires to remove to this country....We do not ask him to pay any head tax when he comes to our country; we require only that he shall have \$50.00 in negotiable securities or coin to guarantee us that he will not become a charge on our citizens. We have an *entente cordiale* between the governments by the terms of which no more than 400 Japanese are permitted to emigrate to Canada each year. All of this works very well and smoothly, and the friction of a few years ago has ceased. We are at peace.

"We permit any reasonable number of Chinese—men or women—to come to Canada and enter our ports on payment of a head tax of \$500.00. After they are here they possess all the privileges of our civilization and may

naturalize as easily as the immigrant from anywhere. A Chinaman may come here, acquire property, send home and bring one, two, three or four of his wives with him and live in polygamous relations with all of these, and we do not raise any protest... The Hindu, in general, is a monogamist by tradition and practice, as faithfully so as the Anglo-Saxon. Yet he is not permitted to bring his wife to this country, and no female child of his may come near enough to smile into his eyes. He must move among the sights and hear the happy domestic songs of those for whom he labors, but he must be allowed only to think of those who are equally dear to him and as much part of his own life as are the loved ones of ours. But his are in a far-away land.... It is a condition which we do not impose even upon our pet animals, and yet we inflict it upon a people whose religious traditions are older than ours, whose domestic ideals are as pure as our own, and who are men and women of like passions as ourselves."

To quote one from many cases of glaring injustice:

"Mr. Hakim Singh, an ex-trooper in the 19th Cavalry Bengal Lancers and one of the directors of the Guru Nanok Mining and Trust Company, after making a large fortune went to India to bring his family. But his family are still waiting in Hong-Kong, and have been for the last two years, and steamship tickets to Vancouver are not issued to them. This is a most grievous act of injustice to a faithful ex-soldier of the British raj."

The Japanese and the Chinese have their national governments to champion their cause and right the wrongs. But the helpless Hindus are at the mercy of the British raj that notices all their grievances within the empire itself, still says not a word, heeds not their petitions, and does nothing to redress the wrongs.

How true these words of Milton seem to the Hindus: "To be weak is miserable doing or suffering."

In Salutation to the Eternal Peace.

Sarojini Naidu, the Hindu poetess who sings in English, has the following poem in her recently published book of verses called *The Bird of Time*:

"Men say the world is full of fear and hate,
And all life's ripening harvest-fields await
The restless sickle of relentless fate.

"But I, sweet soul, rejoice that I was born,
When from the climbing terraces of corn
I watch the golden orioles of Thy morn.

"What care I for the world's desire and pride,
Who know the silver wings that gleam and glide,
The homing pigeons of Thine eventide?

"Say, shall I heed dull presages of doom,
Or dread the rumored loneliness of gloom,
The mute and mythic terror of the tomb?

"For my glad heart is drunk and drenched with Thee,
O inmost wine of living ecstasy!
O intimate essence of eternity!"



HEAD OF CHRIST.
By Leonardo da Vinci.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVII (No. 12) DECEMBER, 1913

NO. 691

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THE PORTRAYAL OF CHRIST.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE early Christians were full of faith and enthusiasm and believed that everything Christian was absolutely new and that the new truth they had received was spiritual, not born of sense; that it was quite contrary to nature, to the human in man, and different from everything that existed or had existed in the pagan world; that it was supernatural and so formed a contrast to science and to art. Under these circumstances the conception of Christ was in their opinion beyond representation, and it was even deemed sinful to attempt a portrayal of him who was the incarnation of the mystery of truth. With the progress of history this overexultant view was gradually modified. The original iconoclasm hostile to art sobered down and in the course of its growth Christianity developed a Christ type that satisfied the religious conception of the Christ ideal. The height of the development of Christian art was reached in the time of the Renaissance, but the period of determining the Christ type, the struggle of art for the permission to determine it, will prove both interesting and instructive; it will allow us an insight into the nature of man's religious needs in art, and an epitome of this chapter in the history of Christian art will throw light on the function of the ideal in human life.

Every religion, every age, every world-conception has ideals, and in its early period Christianity was not believed to stand in need of having its own ideal worked out in an artistic form, for such a conception was deemed to be pagan and idolatrous. We of a later generation understand how narrow was this view, and that

among nations imbued with a natural artistic instinct it could not be maintained forever, but it took centuries to overcome the prejudice against graven or painted images, and to develop in art the Christ type, a portrayal of the God-man, the ideal of Christianity.

* * *

By a great majority of the early Christians Christ was thought to be ungainly, because Isaiah (liii. 2) says of him: "He hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him." This same chapter is most significant because it describes the expected Messiah as "a man of sorrows" and contains among other verses the following passage: "Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows; yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed."

It will be difficult to explain what the prophet meant when writing these lines. In the Polychrome Bible the explanation is offered that the prophet here personifies the ideal of the people of Israel, and declares that while Israel in its downtrodden condition appears ungainly in the eyes of the world, it has yet a great mission to perform. But the passage seems too personal to allow such a personification of the genius of the people, and it is more probable that here reference is made to a definite personality, who though not possessing striking qualities is promised to be a man helpful to the cause of Israel. The sufferings and humiliations to which he is exposed are accounted for on the ground that in standing up for Israel, he suffers for Israel's sake. The man referred to by the prophet did not attain sufficient prominence in the history of the nation to be remembered by name. Hence he is forgotten while the passage itself is preserved on account of its literary beauty as well as the depth of sentiment which it contains.

The early Christians insisted on obliterating the personal appearance of Christ because Paul (2 Cor. v. 16) expressly declares, "Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth we know him no more." This view is further elaborated by Clement of Alexandria who says that Christ scorned beautiful appearance lest any of his hearers would be disturbed thereby in the admiration of the beauty of his words. And according to Origen Jesus had no definite form but appeared different to different people. Here we have a strange parallel to Buddhist views for it is stated in the Book of the Great Decease that "when the Buddha entered

into an assembly he always before he seated himself became in color like unto the color of his audience and in speech like unto their speech."¹

The idea that Christ was ungainly could not in the long run influence the development of Christian art. This anti-artistic notion defeated itself and produced no monuments that were preserved. The conception of Christ as the "man of sorrows" which was predominant among the early Christians, had a more lasting effect, but the Christians of a later age, especially after Constantine's conversion, saw the brighter side in the personality of Christ, and so they remembered the passage in Ps. xlv. 2: "Thou art fairer than the children of men; grace is poured into thy lips, therefore God hath blessed thee forever," and under the influence of this thought, Christ was regarded as an ideal man, beautiful and majestic in appearance. This view gained more and more influence and finally determined the type of the Christ picture which was to become acceptable to Christendom. When the type was approximately agreed upon, it found expression in a description of the personality of Christ which in former centuries was assumed to be genuine but is now almost unanimously regarded as spurious. This document is a letter purporting to come from a certain Lentulus, a predecessor of Pontius Pilate, who calls himself "President of the people of Jerusalem" and addresses his epistles "To the Roman Senate and People." The letter was probably composed in the twelfth century and reads as follows:

"There has appeared in our times, and still lives, a man of great virtue named Christ Jesus, who is called by the Gentiles a prophet of truth and whom his disciples call the Son of God, raising the dead and healing diseases. He is a man of lofty stature, handsome, having a venerable countenance which the beholders can both love and fear. His hair has the color of a ripe hazel-nut, almost smooth down to the ears, and below that somewhat curling and falling down upon the shoulders in waves. It is of an Oriental color and is parted in the middle of the head after the manner of the Nazarenes. His forehead is smooth and very serene, and his face without any wrinkle or spot, and beautiful with a slight flush. His nose and mouth are without fault; his beard is abundant and auburn like the hair of his head, not long but forked. His eyes are gray, clear and sparkling. He is terrible in rebuke, calm and loving in admonition, cheerful but preserving gravity, has never been seen to laugh but often to weep. Also in stature of body he is tall; and his hands and limbs

¹ Cf. the author's *Gospel of Buddha*, Chap. 61.

are beautiful to look upon. In speech he is grave, reserved, and modest; and he is fair among the children of men."

Another description of the personality of Jesus, probably earlier in its real date but much later than the pretensions of the former report, is preserved in a letter from John of Damascus to the Emperor Theophilus, an author of the eighth century who claims to rely on older authorities. His description differs slightly from that attributed to Lentulus mainly by speaking of the hair of Jesus as curling and of a glossy black, his complexion as of a yellowish color like that of wheat (in which particular it is said he resembled his mother), and further it is stated that his eyebrows touched one another.

The difference between the two descriptions is mostly verbal and indicates that they are expressions of the same prevalent views. While the Christ type noticeably converges toward the same ideal it is peculiar that in the latter account his complexion is described as "of a yellowish color like that of wheat." A comparison to wheat indicates a symbolism, and in this connection it is remarkable that in the night when the Buddha passed away he was dressed in a cloth of burnished gold, and that on this occasion the skin of the Blessed One became so exceedingly bright that the burnished cloth of gold appeared dull in comparison with it. The same transfiguration took place also in the night the Buddha attained enlightenment, and it seems that this idea of a radiance brighter than gold in a transfigured saviour is based on an ancient tradition. Further we must bear in mind that the grain of wheat is considered in pagan as well as in Pauline thought (1 Cor. xv. 35-42) as a symbol of immortality, promising a resurrection from the grave. Ears of wheat figure in the Eleusinian mysteries.

* * *

While Eusebius and St. Augustine still vigorously objected to the custom of making or keeping portraits of Christ which they deemed sheer idolatry, the need of having their Saviour visible before their eyes was felt more and more among the Christian people. It was a human want and had to be satisfied, and the old prejudice inherited from the Jews who would brook no likeness of the Deity of any kind was gradually overcome by portraits which were claimed to have originated in a miraculous way as not made with human hands. The Abgar picture of Jesus, called the Edessenum (the same idea being imitated later on in the Veronica legend) prepared Christianity to tolerate portraits of Christ. Such was the first phase in the development of Christ portraits, but a

definite conception of the Christ face worked its way out almost simultaneously and independently of Edessenums and even previous to the Veronicas.

Considering the prejudice which obtained in the circles of early Christians against art, and especially against portraits, it is not surprising that the first representatives of Christ were found not among Christians but among pagans, and next to the pagans among the heretics. Alexander Severus (c. 205-235 A. D.) is reported to have kept in the chapel of his palace among the busts of the sages and religious leaders of the world, portraits of Orpheus, Abraham, Apollonius, and Christ, but the latitude and the philosophical spirit of the broad-minded pagan emperor did not meet with the approval of the early Christians who regarded as un-Christian the very respect with which busts of great men were treated, and saw in the very fact of the emperor having a portrait that claimed to represent Jesus an evidence that he did not understand the spirit of the new faith.

The next mention of portraits of Christ gives us the information that they were found among the gnostic sect of Carpocratians, who claimed that they had been copied from a portrait painted at the command of Pontius Pilate. We read in Irenæus of a certain woman "Marcellina who came to Rome under [the episcopate of] Anicetus and led many people astray. They style themselves gnostics. They also possess images, some of them painted, and others formed from different kinds of material; while they maintain that a likeness of Christ was made by Pilate at that time when Jesus lived among men. They crown these images, and set them up along with the images of the philosophers of the world; that is to say, with the images of Pythagoras, and Plato, and Aristotle, and the rest. They have also other modes of honoring these images, after the same manner as the Gentiles."

We need not enter here into a discussion of the nature of the statue which stood at Cæsarea Philippi,² for we deem it most probable that it was a representation of Hadrian erected as an expression of gratitude toward that popular and so-called provincial emperor, but we ought to mention that this monument is sometimes also explained as a representation of Æsculapius (Asklepios) on account of the inscription which according to Eusebius was "To the Saviour"³ or "To the True Physician,"⁴ but we must know

² See *The Open Court*, for December, 1908, pp. 721-722.

³ τῷ σωτῆρι.

⁴ τῷ ἀληθινῷ Ιατρῷ.

that while Æsculapius was called the true physician, Emperor Augustus had acquired the title "Saviour" several years before the Christian era when the expectation of a saviour was quite common and the title "true physician" was often used in connection with this designation.

* * *

In the cemetery of St. Sebastian at Rome, the torso of a marble bust was discovered by excavators in the year 1887, which Orazio Marucchi has rather rashly declared to belong to a head of Christ. It is a pity, however, that the face itself is broken off and only the neck with some curls of hair falling upon the shoulders is preserved, which makes it very difficult to form a definite opinion. The main



AN ALLEGED BUST OF CHRIST.
After Marucchi.

justification in support of Marucchi's view appears to be the style of the locks which are very similar to those we are accustomed to see in many Christ pictures of an early date. According to the style and treatment of the marble, this bust has been assigned to the fourth century or may even be of an earlier date, and if it was indeed meant for a Christ head it would be a relic of greatest interest as the oldest representation of Christ in existence.

The mutilation of the head makes us pause. Is it not possible and even probable that this Christ bust (if such it is) must have been of pagan or gnostic origin? If that be so, the broken condition in which it was found would be accounted for. Pagans have never destroyed or injured statues of the gods of other peoples. When

the Romans waged wars on other nations, they were most careful not to offend foreign deities and even attempted to conciliate their wrath, while Christians considered it a meritorious deed to smash idols.



SYMBOLS OF CHRIST ON THE GRAVE OF AEMILIA CYRIACE.



CHRIST AS THE FISH ON THE ROOD.



CHRIST AS A LAMB.

In a similar spirit the ancient Persians destroyed temples for religious motives, believing it wrong to incarcerate gods within walls. If Marucchi's bust was really made with the intention to represent Christ, we feel inclined to assume that being of heretical

origin it fell into the hands of a mob of iconoclastic Christians who regarded the very making of images as idolatry; and in this case we may have before us the torso of a Christ such as existed in the homes of men like Severus or of some wealthy Carpocratian.

* * *

Since it was originally idolatrous to make or to tolerate any Christ picture at all, the early Christians represented the Saviour



CHRIST AS ORPHEUS IN THE CATACOMBS.

by symbols, either under the form of the monogram of Christ, or as a lamb, or as a fish; or as Orpheus because the Orpheus cult in classical antiquity taught the immortality of the soul.

It is strange that a pagan god could have been selected as a type under which to symbolize Christ, but the situation is easily explained if we consider that Orpheus was one of the later gods. He was the magic singer who, as inaugurator of the Orphean mysteries, had descended into hell and (like Odysseus) had come out

of it alive; he was an outsider of the old orthodox Pantheon of paganism; no altars were erected to him, nor was he represented in the form of statues to be worshiped in temples. His name was



ORPHEUS, EURYDICE AND HERMES.

whispered into the ears of neophytes in the Orphean mysteries, and his figure was chiseled on the tombs of the dead in company with his beloved wife Eurydice and with Hermes, the leader of souls.

There he appears, not as a powerful god but as a divine man, as a prophet, a poet and musician. Orpheus attempted to lead his wife Eurydice back to life, but he was not successful because he failed to fulfil the condition that he should not look back. In his anxiety to behold his wife he turned and saw her disappear; yet after all he had the confidence that she was not dead but alive, and that the time would come when they would again be united. This human feature in the story of Orpheus made his figure dear to all. In fact the Orphean and other mysteries helped to prepare the way for Christianity, and so even the Christians felt in sympathy with the meaning of the legend.

Hermes (in Latin Mercury) is mentioned in connection with the Orpheus legend, and we will state incidentally that he too escaped the general odium heaped upon the gods of the orthodox Pantheon in the days of early Christianity. He, *psychopompos*, leader of souls,



HERMES RAISING THE DEAD.

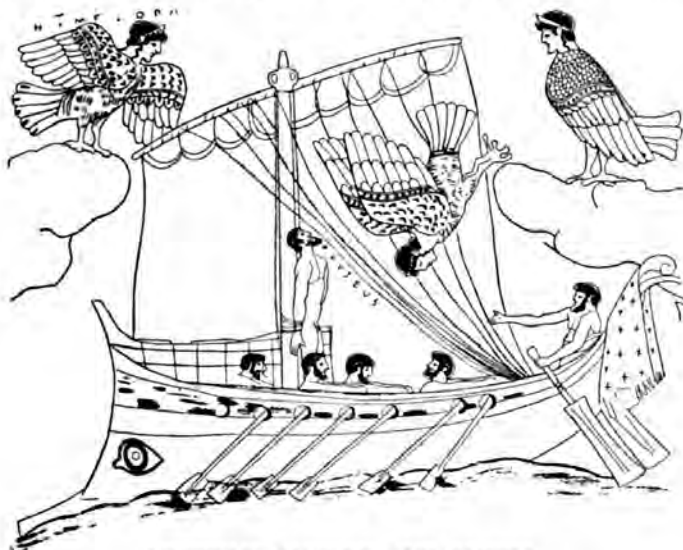
A gem.

played an important part in the time of transition as representing the idea of resurrection. His name was identified with a spiritual interpretation of the old views. He represented the new thought at the close of classical antiquity. He was called the thrice great, *Trismegistos*, and the shepherd of men, *Poimander*.

There is scarcely any antipathy to this pagan conception of immortality, and it was but natural that the Christians saw their own Saviour, Jesus Christ, in the figures of Orpheus, Odysseus and even in Hermes. The portrayal of Orpheus on tombstones did not remind them of idols. Orpheus was not worshiped with incense and sacrifices as the other gods before whose statues altars were erected. He was not considered as a demon but as one who in his own experience exemplified the bereavement which will come to all people sooner or later. He was a prototype of the Saviour who would bring the boon of life eternal to suffering mankind.

Odysseus was another symbolical personality of the same type

who was remembered by the Christians. They did not represent his descent into Hades, however, presumably because the details smacked too much of the old pagan notions, but they pictured him as he passed by the sirens, a form of harpies or death demons. He



ODYSSEUS PASSING THE SIRENS.
From painting on a Greek hydra.

could hear their voices and yet would not fall a prey to their allurements.

It is interesting to notice that the Christian Odysseus pictures are imitations of pagan art, as the same *motif* exists in a painting on a hydra discovered in Vulci. The latter shows Odysseus passing by the Sirens, and their despair is so great that one of them throws



ODYSSEUS PASSING THE SIRENS.
From a Christian sarcophagus in St. Callistus.

herself down into the floods, just as the sphinx of Œdipus precipitates herself into the abyss when he solves her riddle. The idea of Odysseus as a victor over the demons of death is not made prominent in the ancient representations, although it is not entirely absent, but in the Christian pictures of the same subject there is no

other interest in the scene than this idea of symbolizing the attainment of immortality. It is remarkable, however, that in this pagan representation the prow of the ship of Odysseus is covered with a cloth bearing crosses, suggesting the idea that the cross as a sign of salvation was used as a powerful magic charm before the appearance of Christianity.

The Christian representation of Christ as Odysseus is found on the sarcophagus of Tyranus, whose monogram appears in an empty field in front. The sculpture is well done, and we may assume that the person at the left of the monogram represents Tyranus himself.

* * *

With the fading respect for ancient pagan mysteries, comparisons of Christ with pagan heroes and demigods were gradually



A CHRISTIAN GOOD SHEPHERD.

From a fresco of Cyrene.

abandoned, while another type, that of Christ as herdsman, became more and more popular. Though this simile was also inherited from paganism, it was more justified than Orpheus in Christianity because of the parable in the New Testament in which Christ is compared to a good shepherd.

The figure of Christ as the good shepherd appears on communion cups at the end of the second century, although the custom was still vigorously denounced by Tertullian. Yet in spite of all opposition it spread more and more, and in the catacombs representations of Christ as the good shepherd were found in great numbers.

We here reproduce a Christian good shepherd from a fresco of the Cyrene catacombs which is somewhat different from the cor-



THREE LAMB-BEARING SHEPHERDS (PROBABLY PAGAN).
Sarcophagus of the fourth (possibly fifth) century. In the Lateran Museum.

responding pictures in the Roman catacombs, because we have here a Greek representation which differs a little from the Roman type. The good shepherd wears the paenula over his tunic and is surrounded by seven big fishes which float about him in the air. Furthermore he wears on his head a wreath of leaves. There is obviously a symbolic meaning in the number of the fishes and lambs, both being seven.

There are numerous sarcophagi which show the figure of a youth carrying a lamb, and considering the fact that we have to deal here with a type that was a favorite *motif* in pagan days, we must not claim every one of them as Christian. There is in the



FRAGMENT OF SARCOPHAGUS.

In the Lateran.

Lateran, for instance, a sarcophagus which is thoroughly pagan in taste and exhibits not one but three shepherds carrying lambs. It is remarkable that the one in the center is bearded while those on either side are youths. The rest of the surface is filled with little cupids gathering grapes, pressing wine, and one of them milking a ewe. The crooks in their hands mark the three lamb-bearers as shepherds, the workmanship of the high relief is excellent and archeologists attribute the sarcophagus to the fourth century.

Another sarcophagus in the Lateran of unknown date, scarcely later than 400 A. D., shows in the center a medallion which might be regarded as a Christ portrait holding in his left hand a scroll, and yet there is otherwise no Christian emblem but on the contrary



PAGAN RELIEFS IN THE LATERAN. OF UNKNOWN DATE.

we see before us only unquestionably pagan scenes, such as incense offerings made by cupids, and on the ground lies a rooster sacrificed as a gift to Æsculapius after death in gratitude for having been cured of the malady of life in the flesh. There are two genii with torches, one of them lowering his torch over a prostrate woman. May not the portrait with the scroll represent the deceased person,



APOLLONIUS OF TYANA.

possibly an author, a lawyer, or an orator? Or may we not have here a pagan teacher like Apollonius who was portrayed in a similar way? Who can tell!

On top of this obviously pagan sarcophagus there stands another marble relief of the same character. Two flying cupids hold up a wreath encircling a portrait and on either side appears the group of Cupid and Psyche.



SARCOPHAGUS ATTRIBUTED TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

In the Lateran.

The Lateran contains also sarcophagi which bear a more or less decidedly Christian character. There is one which exhibits in a medallionlike shell the portraits of the couple for whom the sarcophagus was made. On either side is a shepherd boy, one leaning on an inverted crook and the other bearing a lamb, while a dog is looking up affectionately. If it is Christian, we have no definite proof, and being a mere fragment we are unable to deter-

mine the date. The fact that there are two shepherds may be adduced in favor of the theory that we have before us a rustic scene introduced as a mere ornament or to indicate the delight which the owner took in pastoral life.

Another sarcophagus of a much later date (for it is commonly assumed to belong to the end of the thirteenth century) shows the good shepherd without a crook standing in the center and the two deceased persons, husband and wife, appear in family groups on either side. On the left the man is reading from a scroll and discussing the contents with two friends, while his wife in the position



THE GOOD SHEPHERD OF THE LATERAN.

is standing with two women who seem to bid her goodbye.

It is thought that gold-bottomed glasses (*fondi d'oro*) were not manufactured later than in the 4th century, and many can be dated in the third. They represent subjects alluded to in passages of contemporaneous ecclesiastical literature, and since large numbers of them have been discovered in the catacombs which were not used after the year 401, we are justified in assigning them mainly to the fourth century. One interesting specimen bears the inscription *pie zeses*, "Oh pious man, thou shalt live." It shows Jesus as the beardless good shepherd standing on a mound, on his right hand Paul and

on his left Peter with the cross. Underneath, the Christ idea is represented by a lamb standing on a hill from which four rivers are flowing. The apostles are represented as six sheep, and the locality is indicated by the inscription to be in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. The same conception of Christ as the good shepherd appears in reliefs on lamps and on sarcophagi, and also in the



A GOOD SHEPHERD OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.
In the Vatican Library.

shape of statues. The most beautiful among these is the so-called statuette of the good shepherd now preserved in the Lateran.

The pagan origin of this symbol cannot be doubted. Hermes, one of the pagan forerunners of the Christ ideal, as we have mentioned above, is called *Poimander*, "shepherd of men," and the picture of a shepherd presumably without any reference to religion occurs several times simply as an idyllic picture, a *motif* of country life. In a fresco originally in the Naso catacombs of pre-Christian Rome,

there is a series of pastoral scenes representing the four seasons. Spring is illustrated as a girl carrying a basket of flowers while a shepherd with his staff in one hand holds with the other a goat lying across his shoulders. His attitude is very similar to that typical of the good shepherd, but he is nude, whereas Christian pictures show the good shepherd always clad in a tunic.⁵

Visitors to Rome will find a lamb-bearing youth represented in a fresco painted on the wall of the *triclinium*, or dining-room, of Livia, the wife of Augustus. The scene pictures a sacrifice and in the background stands a youth in a white tunic carrying a lamb to be offered on the altar.

In this connection we will remind the reader of the interesting fact that the figure of the good shepherd appears on the Buddhist sculptures at Gandhara where it serves a purely ornamental purpose. The type had been carried thither by the Greek artists imported during the middle of the second century B. C. by the Yavana Kings, the Greek conquerors of the Punjab who, walking in the footprints of Alexander the Great, built up a Greco-Indian empire. The Buddhist good shepherd is dressed like his Christian parallel and holds the lamb in the same way; yet the former is without any doubt the older by two centuries.

Here is a straw in the wind that proves how much humanity all over the world is indebted to ancient Greece; for consider that the same artists who carried the ideal of a good shepherd eastward to Gandhara produced also the prototype of the Buddha who was modeled in his original form after the Greek conception of Apollo.⁶

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

⁵ The writer regrets that he has not been able to find any illustration of this goatherd of the catacombs of the *gens Naso*. He would be grateful to any one who would point out to him where such a reproduction can be found. These catacombs lie on the Via Appia, but some of their most remarkable antiquities have been removed. One sarcophagus has been taken to the Vatican Museum, and the custodian of these catacombs, while showing the walls of the family chapel where the frescoes had been, informed the author that they too had been transferred to some part of the Vatican collections; but no trace of them could be found there.

⁶ An illustration of the Buddha of Gandhara will be found in *The Open Court* of October, 1913, page 611. In the same number (page 614) there is also an illustration of the Buddhist lamb-bearer on a piece of Gandhara sculpture representing the Buddhist nativity.

THE EVOLUTION OF TAOIST DOCTRINES.¹

BY LÉON WIEGER.

THE early fathers of Taoism, Lao-tze, Lieh-tze, and Chwang-tze, who lived from the fifth to the fourth century B. C., were philosophers and controversialists. Without denying the existence of a Lord on High as ancient as China,² without opposing the paltry notions of the "Grand Plan",³ they looked farther and higher for the origin of all things. Their researches tend practically toward a naturalistic pantheism obviously inspired by contemporary Indian systems.⁴

A unique First Principle, at first concentrated and inactive, begins to emanate, to produce. In its passive aspect, it is called *Tao*; in its active aspect, *Teh*.⁵ By its emanation the Principle created heaven, the earth and the air between them, a trinity from which all beings are brought forth; or rather a duality, heaven and earth acting and reacting as a pair, the air between serving as mate-

¹ [Translated from the preface of the first volume (*Le Canon taoïste*) of the author's work, *Taoïsme* (1911) by Lydia G. Robinson. For a review of this work see p. 767.]

² The ancient Chinese books say that he governs the world but they do not say that he created it. Hence the question of origin remained open.

³ A document of 1122 B. C. See my *Textes philosophiques*, p. 25. [Cf. Carus, *Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 21-24.]

⁴ Such as the Upanishads. See my *Bouddhisme Chinois*, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 40-58. Complete identity with India and an evident innovation in China. Modern Chinese critics are unanimous in stating that Taoism did not originate in ancient Chinese philosophy but was elaborated by the chroniclers who were the custodians of national and foreign documents. The assertion is dated far back. It is written in all characters in the bibliographical Index of the first Han dynasty. This text dates from the first century before the Christian era.

⁵ I have often been asked if the two Chinese terms *Tao* and *Teh*, whose meaning in the Taoist sense is not natural but acquired, might not have been originally the transliteration of the Sanskrit words *Tat* and *Tyad*, primary being and secondary beings, being and what remains. I would see in Lao-tze more than a Sanskritism.

rial.⁶ The Principle dwells and operates in all. It does not think but is thought. It does not ordain but it is law. From it emanates with its being the destiny of every being. In nature which has originated from the Principle, there are certain special features like the poles of its power of emanation. From heaven emanates the fecundating (male) quality, from earth the productive (female) quality. Special effluvia proceed from the stars, the celestial anodes, and from the mountains, the terrestrial cathodes. These forces are beneficent when they are normal, that is, when they are developed in the direction impressed on the cosmos by the Principle. They are harmful when they are abnormal, misdirected, deflected.⁷

In every being, whether mineral, vegetable, animal or man, there is a soul which partakes of the universal Principle as the principle of its particular nature and special properties. As it grows older each soul rises higher, its virtue increases to a higher degree. The soul of an old object acquires a certain reason; the soul of an old tree acts in a certain direction; the soul of an old animal thinks almost like a man; the soul of an old man fathoms space and time. These steps of progress are accomplished by acquired experience, by stored-up knowledge. Souls that have learned nothing return at death into the great unknowing All; those that have learned something transmigrate in accordance with their acquired knowledge. Human souls that have attained great wisdom can exist for a time in a garment of ethereal substance before their reincarnation. Those that have learned the great secret that all is one, *tat-tvam*, are spared metempsychosis and return into the conscious Principle.

Since everything is one there is no specific distinction between good and evil. This identity of contraries is taught by the Taoist fathers with an insistence bordering on fanaticism. Hence they do not teach to do good and to avoid evil, for they recognize neither good nor evil. In their eyes man has but one great duty, and that is to unite himself to the primordial Principle of which he is a temporary end, to desire what the Principle desires and to do what the Principle does.

⁶ I regret to say that certain extremists see a revelation of the trinity in the text of Lao-tze, "one begets two, two begets three, three begets all things," the meaning of which is that the Principle, at first motionless (one), next by alternations of movement and rest (two), produced heaven and earth, and air-substance (three), from which all beings have been derived.

⁷ Electricity, currents, waves, vibrations, ions, radio-activity; mesmerism, hypnotism, effects at a distance, telepathy, almost all the lucubrations of occultists and spiritists—all these things appear perfectly natural to the Taoists; to them the world is full of emanating virtues.

From this doctrine follow three practical consequences:

1. Since the Principle made him a thinking creature, man ought to think as much as possible—to meditate, to investigate; not in order to acquire manifold and varied knowledge but in order to appropriate in the most intense degree the unique cosmic knowledge that he is one with the Principle, that he is the Principle, that everything is the Principle, that it is therefore sufficient to concentrate his attention upon this center, ignoring points in the periphery—individuals and details.

2. Since the Principle has invested him with a corporeal matrix and has determined a fixed number of years for his life, man ought so to act that his body will live to the end of this number of years, that death will not come before its time because of premature waste of the body. Otherwise his abortive soul will descend in the ladder, will become a monster or will even return into the unthinking All. Hence arises the Taoists' hygienic cult, their practical interest in questions relating to habits and diet, their interest in medicine and pharmacy. Hence also arises the Taoist ethics which is the hygiene of the soul: the suppression of the passions because they consume; continence and abstinence because luxury and gormandizing are destructive;⁸ especially prohibition of ambition and of attempts at success because nothing is more corrosive. With this understanding, in the faith of his identity with the Principle, with the consciousness that he has neither wearied his soul nor worn out his body and that therefore he has nothing with which to reproach himself, the Taoist awaits the end of his years and dies in an unprecedented peace without changing expression, as the texts say. For him there is no fear of death nor any terror in the hereafter. To die is to change his worn-out garment for a new one which will be better.

3. Since the Principle determines the course of all beings it is man's duty not to interfere with anything; not to put his finger into the machinery, into the gearing; to attend to his own business and not to require anything of any one; to let the universe go its way, this fly-wheel which the Principle keeps in motion.⁹ The Taoist

⁸ A circumstance which at first sight seems most singular is that many celebrated Taoists though very moderate eaters were heavy drinkers. This is because in their opinion alcohol stimulates the vital energy, and drunkenness is no disadvantage. Therefore to drink conforms to their theory, and they put it in practice whenever they can.

⁹ The formula for this non-interference with the decrees of the Principle is *wu-wei* which is badly translated by "not-doing." The meaning is to do nothing contrary to what is foreordained. Many Taoist terms ought to be translated in the Taoist sense to avoid misinterpretation; thus *wu* is not the denial of being, but the denial of (bodily) form, the absence of definite (concrete) form, etc.

looks upon its rotation with impassive eye. For him nothing can happen wrong. The point of the rim which now is at the bottom will soon be on top. Necessary alternations, controlled by the Principle and governed by the *yin yang* numbers and phases, must succeed each other. They must be given free course since this instability is according to law. So much the worse for inventors of systems, moralists, politicians, idealists and Utopists of every kind. Country, government, progress, ideals, plans, projects, formulas,—the Taoist smiles at all these things. Let matters go then as they can. It is the number, it is the period, it is the Principle which makes them go on in this way. Mad indeed would be the man who would struggle to make them go in the opposite direction. His failure is foreordained. The worst interference with the normal march of the universe is war, for it puts an end to lives before the appointed time and against the will of the Principle.

The Taoist fathers were never aggressive, because impassioned controversy would have used up their soul and body. For their ordinary contemporaries they had a compassionate disdain which is often amusing. Confucius however was singled out to be treated by them with irony and scorn because they saw in him a man of artificial ritual and conventional virtue, the destroyer of what is natural and an opponent of the Principle. Lao-tze refuted the teachings of the Master, without calling him by name. Lieh-tze undertook to do so more fundamentally, but Chwang-tze made the poor sage, who had then been dead for about one hundred and fifty years, his favorite target. The pages in which he turns him round and round, rolls him over, converts him, makes him abjure his past errors and teach Taoism, count among the most spirited which Chinese literature has produced.¹⁰ What is more, they are very important because they show what were the positions of the school of Confucius and the opposing schools a century after his death, the strength and weakness of both sides.

These philosophers had successors, pantheists like themselves, and a few followers; but not many, for only intellectual minds arrive at the heights of such abstruse theories. Then Taoism commenced to develop in a more practical sense from the time of the fathers themselves to the fourth century A. D. This evolution was rapid during the third century. About the second century before the Christian era it resulted in a sort of theism,¹¹ the principal features

¹⁰ See *Taoisme*, Vol. II, "Les Pères du système taoïste."

¹¹ Since Lao-tze, Lieh-tze and Chwang-tze never denied the existence of the Lord on High, were they not also theists? I do not think so. They pre-

of which are as follows: The emanations (*shan*) of nature were personified and heaven and earth became peopled with non-human transcendent beings varying in degrees of intelligence and power.¹²



THE GENIUS OF THE YELLOW RIVER.

Illustration on the cover of Dr. Wieger's *Taoisme*, Vol. I.

tended so strongly to have nothing to do with him, to pass him by in silence, that I strongly suspect their faith in his existence. It is true they never denied him, but they never invoked anything but the Principle. Practically they were pantheists.

¹² A text of the year 211 B. C. relates that a slight emanation *shan* of a

The *chan*, men who rose into the air in full daylight before the eyes of large numbers of spectators with their bodies entirely etherealized in life, moved at will in space and inhabited the heavenly bodies, especially those forming the square of the Great Bear and the constellations around the poles. Here they formed the court of the Lord on High who since the year 113 was called the Supreme One. The Taoist books do not contain biographies of these beings. Mention is made of their apotheosis as if it were not to be contradicted. Their life would last, like that of the Indian *deva*, for a long time, for a cosmic period and even more, but not for always. Only the Supreme One survives every cataclysm and exists always unchanged.¹³

The sages (*shang*) form a small special group among the *chan*. They were scholars when on earth and are now the chiefs of the polar Elysium. The many Taoist ascetics retired into the fine locations of the mountains to live there in peace; they were exalted men (*hsien*), or men of the mountain, the equivalent of the Indian forest-dwellers¹⁴ who did not carry asceticism to the extreme of complete etherealization but developed in themselves the supernatural child, the new man. These saints depart this life by the division of the body; that is to say, one day the child escapes leaving an empty skin like the shell of cicada or the cocoon of a chrysalis. Then it strolls on the high mountains or dwells in happy isles—delivered from the grosser needs of nature, yet eating, drinking and even becoming intoxicated on occasion, continuing to exist during long centuries, but not forever, and less long a time than the *chan*.¹⁵

mountain or river has knowledge only to the end of the year, but more important emanations are conscious for a longer time, each according to its degree.

¹³ According to the Taoist definition the Supreme One is the *shan* of heaven, emanated from the *ch'i* of heaven in its totality. Fundamentally therefore it is of the same nature as the other *shan*, and I am told that I should call Taoism a polytheism and not a theism. I answer that whatever is the substance which constitutes his being, the Taoists ascribe to the Supreme One attributes which belong only to him and distinguish him from all the other *shan* sufficiently to make him the supreme God of a theism. He alone lives eternally while others perish in the destruction of the cosmos. He alone is ruler of the universe and of men. Theoretically he is beneath the Tao, the universal predetermination and cosmic fate; but practically this subordination is ignored, in fact does not exist; and the Supreme One in the opinion of believers is the chief of the universe, omnipotent and omniscient.

¹⁴ See my *Bouddhisme chinois*, Vol. I, p. 53.

¹⁵ *Shan, chan, hsien*: since no western term can render exactly the nature of these exclusively Taoist beings, I am obliged to my great regret to retain the Chinese terms. The word "spirit" does not primarily fit any of these categories. Their most ethereal members still bear some sheath of rarified matter. Neither primitive Taoism, nor Buddhism, nor Confucianism had any notion of spiritual substance, of pure spirit apart from matter.

An army of *Lei-Kung*, genii of thunder, returning to the class of the *shan*, is accused of concealing incorrigibly wicked men in the name of the Supreme One. Comparison of the texts leaves no doubt of the Indian origin of these avengers, modeled after the Maruts, the sons of Rudra. This is the first form of penal sanction. There is not yet any trace of a hell or of punishment after death. It is not until later from contact with Yogism and Buddhism, that the "long night" appears, the "infernal city" with its tribunals,¹⁶ etc.

To reach the two degrees of transcendental existence accessible to man, those of *chan* and *hsien*—the complete etherealization or the endogenesis of the child which is to survive—it is necessary to practise the Taoist moral and physical dietetics. The effects of this diet are strengthened by the absorption of the essence of *yin* and *yang*. From these ideas first arise very complicated systems of nourishment, theories of cold and heat, theories and systems whose popularization has made the Chinese, even those who are not Taoists, a nation of hypochondriacs. From the same ideas originate the practices of kinesitherapy, mechanotherapy and massage, intended to make the vital spirit circulate in the body, to loosen its knots (sic!) to free from obstructions and to expel injurious fluids from the organism. From the desire to assimilate the cosmic essence arises the cure by means of light, phototherapy, the exposure of the nude body to the solar light, the quintessence of the *yang*, and to the lunar light, the quintessence of the *yin*.

From the same desire also arises the Taoist ærotherapy,¹⁷ the theory of which is as follows: When the air, which is the substratum of every formation, is assimilated by the organism by being introduced under pressure and retained by force, it repairs the bodily waste, and its excess united with the sperm forms the child by condensation. From this theory arose daily exercises analogous to those of the June bug, which in preparing to take its flight stores up air in its trachea with a pumplike motion. The devotees continue these exercises for hours with conviction. They are very wearisome, especially the prolonged holding of the breath after the manner of ocean divers.

From the same desire arises what has been called Taoist alchemy, which consists in assimilating the quintessence of the *yin* and the *yang*. The light of the moon is one form of the quintessence of the *yin* and the dew is another. Not being acquainted with the laws which regulate evaporation and condensation, the ancient Chi-

¹⁶ See my *Bouddhisme chinois*, Vol. I, pp. 76, 84, 93.

¹⁷ See my *Bouddhisme chinois*, Vol. I, pp. 77 ff.

nese thought that dew is distilled by the moon. The Taoists gathered this excretion of the orb of night on a metal platter as an easy means of assimilating the quintessence of the *yin*. This harvest was a part of every Taoist ceremony. Other substances also are of the quintessence of the concrete *yin*, for instance, silver, jade, pearls, coral and yellow amber. The Taoists had a cult for these substances also, but as they were not within the range of all purses, they were never eaten in their pulverized form except by the privileged few.

The light of the sun is one form of the quintessence of the *yang*; the problem was to find an eatable form of this quintessence. Of the two common compounds sulphur and gold, the Chinese look upon sulphur as a violent poison,¹⁸ while gold in its metallic form can not be assimilated. Taoist alchemy grew from the desire to make sulphur and gold edible. Now cinnabar (sulphuret of mercury) is very abundant in China. When decomposed by heat it is seen to consist of sulphur and mercury. The mercury is *yin*, but the compound, as is testified by its red color, is *yang* and is not poisonous. In default of native sulphur therefore cinnabar was taken as an elixir of life. That cinnabar which had decomposed and recomposed many times was considered the most *yang* of all, the transcendent cinnabar, the virtue of fire having still further enhanced its properties. Hence arose the mystical series of the nine rotations, the nine times nine days of heating, etc.

When lead containing silver and arsenic produced orpiment upon manipulation, they thought they had found an edible form of gold. But when those who ate it died, few others were willing to risk this cure, whereas there were many who partook of cinnabar for many centuries. Taoist alchemy deliberately proceeded no farther than this. A few individuals were led by curiosity into chemical, mineral, vegetable and even animal researches, thus bringing upon themselves the reproaches of their colleagues and ill usage from government officials. There is no need to dwell upon other drugs dear to candidates for immortality: seeds from evergreen cypress, which lived an indefinite period; *pachyma cocos*, a giant fungus clinging to the roots of the cypress and regarded as extracting its quintessence; a branching parasitic mushroom, a cryptogamous plant of spontaneous growth (its spores were unknown

¹⁸ Little or no sulphur was to be found in ancient China, but a great deal of poisonous orpiment. The confusion of these two substances would have given rise to this mistaken belief.

to the Taoist sages) and consequently thought to be a cosmic compound.

Finally, since the Taoists thought that rotations of nature were the basis of all things, they appropriated and developed in a quasi-scientific fashion the ancient Chinese systems of divining these revolutions as means of foretelling the future. They monopolized everything—the figures of Huang-Ti and of Yü, the basis of numbers;¹⁹ the diagrams of Fuh Hi and the Book of Changes in which they were developed; the speculations of Tseu-yen on the rotation of the five elements. These proceedings could be carried on by the common people since no special skill was required of the operator.

Upon the superior man, the Taoist overman, his superiority conferred an extraordinary power of intellectual vision. Placed above the rest, he could see farther into the unknown, into space, into the future. Biographies of celebrated Taoists are full of predictions, historically gathered, often verified, and sometimes very interesting. This far-seeing vision requires a profound concentration, a sort of hypnosis or ecstasy, often described in Taoist books. The use of a mirror sometimes helped it. A very curious treatise explains how a mirror, gazed at fixedly for a long time with the intense will to see in it what one is looking for, will end by giving in its reflection the desired solution. The mirror serves also to disclose the emanations of places, things, and persons invisible to the naked eye. Other means of divination were used by the Taoists, such as the movements of the smoke rising from incense, the flight or song of birds, and the changing aspect of the clouds. All these were considered to be the manifestations of the cosmos, of the Principle, without any intervention of supernatural beings.

¹⁹ [See Carus, *Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 4-5.]

POEMS OF CONFUCIUS.

TRANSLATED IN VERSE BY PAUL CARUS.

CONFUCIUS from time to time gave expression to his sentiments in song, and there are three poems recorded in the stone-engraved inscriptions of the temple of Confucius at Kū Fu all of which set forth his disappointment in life. After he became minister of justice in his native state Lu, he found out that the duke did not possess the seriousness necessary for the responsibilities of his position, and so Confucius resigned. Some time afterwards the duke was expelled by a usurper and had to flee to the neighboring state of Wei. Confucius followed his exiled sovereign, and when the usurper Ji Kong Ts' invited him to return he did not, because the sage would accept no favors from a man who had seized the government by unjust means. But later on when the usurper had died, Confucius returned to Lu.

We quote the following verses from inscriptions engraved on stone as they have been published and edited by the next to the last representative of the Confucian family; our own explanatory comments are inserted as footnotes or in brackets.

THE SONG ON TAI SAN.¹

After Confucius had moved to Wei, Ji Kong Ts' sent his compliments [and invited him] to come back to Lu. Confucius refused the offer. Being convinced that if he accepted the high charge it would only end in disappointment, he composed the "Song of the Mountain":

"Would rise to the lofty peak
Where cliffs and ravines debar.
So truth² though ever near

¹ Tai San is the name of a peak in Lu. It means literally "the huge mountain" and is situated between Lu and Wei.

² The original reads "Tao."

Is to the seeker far.
 How wearisome^a to me
 Those tangling⁴ mazes are.

"I sigh and look around,
 The summit in full view ;
 With woodlands it is crowned
 And sandy patches too,
 And there stretch all around
 The highlands of Lian Fu.
 Thickets of thorns prevent
 Any ascent.
 No axe is here
 A path to clear ;
 The higher we are going
 The worse the briars are growing.
 I chant and cry,
 And while I sigh
 My tears⁵ are freely flowing."

THE ORCHID IN THE GRASS.

[Comparing the sage to the orchid as a flower of rare beauty, Confucius thinks that men of a superior character should live in the company of kings and not be thrown among the vulgar people like the orchids that grow by the wayside.]

Confucius on his way back to Lu from Wei stopped in a valley and saw orchids growing by the wayside, and said "Orchids should be royalty's fragrance, but here they are mixed up with common herbs." Then he stopped the car, took his lute, played on it and composed the song of the orchid.

"So gently blow the valley breezes
 With drizzling mist and rain,
 And homeward bound a stranger tarries
 With friends in a desert domain.
 Blue heaven above ! for all his worth
 Is there no place for him on earth?

^a That is to say, "An attempt to climb the height would be a failure and leave me wearied and footsore."

⁴ The original reads "without return," which means "mazes which allow no exit."

⁵ The original here is too drastic for English taste in poetry ; it reads "the tears are flowing and the nose is running."

"Through all the countries did he roam
 Yet found he no enduring home.
 Worldlings are stupid and low,
 They naught of sages know.
 So swiftly years and days pass by,
 And soon old age is drawing nigh."

Then Confucius went back to Lu.

THE CRAZY MAN'S JINGLE.

Jay Yü, the crazy man of Ts'u, passed by Confucius singing:

"Oh Phoenix, oh Phoenix, thy virtue is pinched!
 The bygone is ended and cannot be mended:
 But truly the future can still be clinched.
 Cease, ah! continue not!
 For statesmen to-day are a dangerous lot."

Confucius dismounted anxious to talk with him; but he [Jay Yü] hurried away and escaped, so Confucius could not talk with him.

[This strange piece of tradition seems to characterize pretty faithfully the situation in which Confucius found himself in his advanced age. A man ensouled with a great ideal, he was possessed of the idea that in order to realize his aspirations he ought to be a minister of state and introduce personally his proposed reform. But in this he lamentably failed. He went from court to court and was nowhere acceptable. It is natural that sovereigns would not want a councilor who was constantly preaching morality; and even if some sovereign would have liked to engage him, then the ministers or other advisers would be opposed to the appointment; so he found himself in the undignified position of offering virtue only to find out that there was no demand for it. A well-intentioned man on the throne was certainly a rare thing, and yet the fault does not lie entirely with Chinese royalty at the time of Confucius, for even good honest rulers would hesitate to engage such a moralizer as he. A man with good intentions has a conscience of his own and need not engage a man to supply him with rules of conduct. It is true that once in his life Confucius held the position of minister of justice in the state of Lu, and it is reported that his administration was very successful; nevertheless he held this office only for a short time and did not affect any lasting reform, and that was perhaps best for

his ideals. We must bear in mind that if Confucius had really had the chance to give his reform a fair trial, he would probably have found out by experience that no reform can be introduced through the government by enforcing rules of propriety. For the short span of his official activity we possess only the glowing description of his disciples; the other side, how he came to lose his position as a minister of state in the service of the duke of Lu, has not been recorded. At any rate while for Confucius himself his fate was tragic, we can understand that it could scarcely be otherwise. A fair trial would probably have proved a failure and might have spoiled all the credit of Confucianism among the coming generation. Nevertheless, in spite of his disappointments his life was not in vain, for the ideal he represented was of vital significance.

Ideals are superhuman factors, and superhuman factors can not be represented by limited individuals; they must assume shape in mythological persons, in a God or a God-man, a hero, or some other supernatural figure, in idealized persons of the distant past who have shaken off their mortal coil with all their human failings. Thus it came to pass, thanks to the enthusiasm which the master had instilled into his disciples, that the Confucian ideal had a great future. After his death Confucius came into his own. When the personal element was removed his aspirations found recognition.]

THE SWAN SONG.

When Confucius fell sick, Ts' Kong visited him. Confucius dragging himself along on his staff walked back and forth at the gate, and he sang these words:

"Huge mountains wear away
 Alas!
 The strongest beams decay.
 Alas!
 And the sage like grass
 Withers. Alas!"

Tz' Kong heard this song and said:

"If the huge mountain crumbles, say
 Where with mine eyne I'll wend?
 If the strong beams will rot away
 On what shall I depend?
 And if the sage withers like grass
 From whom shall I then learn? Alas!"

Having entered the house, Confucius said: "Ts' Kong, why come you so late? The house of Hia [2205-1818 B. C.] placed the coffin on the east stairs. The house of Yin [= Shang, 1766-1122, since 1401 called Yin] near the two pillars. I belong to the house of Yin and last night I dreamed that I sat between the two pillars. At present there is no bright ruler in the world who would employ me. I probably will die soon."

Confucius died after seven days.

THE BIBLE AS A LAW BOOK.¹

BY CHARLES S. LOBINGIER.

I THINK I may safely trust my friends of the clerical profession to do full justice, upon such an occasion as this, to the Bible as a source of religious instruction. For a layman like myself it would seem far more appropriate to dwell upon such uses of the great book as are not strictly religious. And these are many.

It has been well said that the Bible contains the truest history, the profoundest philosophy, and the sublimest poetry. Viewed as mere literature it would be hard to find its equal among the world's output of written song. As a whole it has scarcely a rival save in Greek literature which is in all things exceptional. Our own majestic stream of English verse finds one of its chief sources in that other priceless possession of the race—the English Bible. From Chaucer to Tennyson its influence has been dominant and two of the foremost English essayists of the nineteenth century—Carlyle and Ruskin—were profuse in acknowledgment of their literary indebtedness to the Bible. Of the last named an admirer has said:

“Chapter by chapter, verse by verse, the little boy (Ruskin), like Carlyle before him, read the Bible over and over before his strict and devoted mother. Always reverent and docile in temperament, he seems to have followed with entire obedience, if sometimes with weariness, her minutely rigid method. Many long passages were learned by rote if not by heart, till his whole nature became steeped in the language and spirit of that mighty book which has for centuries nurtured the noblest English souls. ‘And truly,’ he says, ‘though I have picked up the elements of a little further knowledge in mathematics, meteorology, and the like, in

¹ Address of the Hon. C. S. Lobingier, Judge of the Court of First Instance of the Philippines, on the occasion of the formal opening of the new “Bible House” of the British and Foreign Bible Society at Manila, P. I., Jan. 9, 1913.

after life, and owe not a little to the teaching of other people, this maternal installation of my mind in that property of chapters I count very confidently the most precious, and, on the whole, the one essential part of all my education."²

But it is not alone to the Bible as literature that I would here draw attention. That also can be better treated by others. The jurist who studies well this work in time comes to see in it a great law book. Such it was primarily and fundamentally to the ancient Hebrews. They, including the Great Teacher himself, referred to their scriptures as "The *Law* and the Prophets." The legal idea came first and predominated over the literary. The Old Testament, indeed, and especially the Pentateuch, was a rich repository of national jurisprudence. It was "the law of the Lord" which was "perfect, converting the soul."³ "*Blessed* was the man whose delight was in the law of the Lord and in that law did he meditate day and night."⁴

It is true that the Hebrews in the course of their evolution produced other law books than the Torah—the Talmud, the Mishna and Gemara, and the Zohar. But the Old Testament, "the Law and the Prophets," was the law book of their golden age. It reflects and preserves for us Jewish legal institutions in their chrysalis and is consequently one of the rare sources for the study of comparative law. These tales of the patriarchs that so charmed our childish minds, like Jacob's seven years of service for Rachel, are typical of a universal customary law and find their counterparts in customs that prevail right before our eyes among the native inhabitants of these fair islands.⁵ And this is one of the values of the Old Testament which deepens with age. No higher criticism has ever lessened its importance as a source of juridical history. Translation of other "Sacred Books of the East" has but made it appear the worthier and more valuable by way of comparison.

In the New Testament we behold law not only in a later stage but of another system. Israel had meanwhile come under the mighty ægis of Rome and its noble jurisprudence had taken root in Palestine. The Beatitudes refer to the Praetor⁶ and the procedure before him which influenced so profoundly the progress of the Roman

² Scudder, *Introduction to the Writings of Ruskin*, 3.

³ Psalm xix. 7.

⁴ Psalm i.

⁵ See the author's "Primitive Malay Marriage Law" in *American Anthropologist*, XII, 252.

⁶ Matt. v. 25.

law; and both the Gospels⁷ and the Epistles⁸ of St. Paul apply the Roman rule of evidence that "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established."

Indeed the great apostle to the Gentiles appears to have been fairly well versed in Roman law as was not unnatural for one of his nativity and education. He knew his rights as a citizen of the great empire and when one of its officials was about to inflict summary punishment upon him St. Paul stayed it by the simple but effective inquiry, "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?"⁹ Even more sublime was his (perhaps) unconscious tribute to the majesty of the Roman law, when in answer to the unauthorized query of the Roman governor Festus as to whether he would submit himself to an irregular tribunal at Jerusalem, St. Paul said: "I stand at Cæsar's judgment seat where I ought to be judged: to the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou very well knowest. For if I be an offender or have committed anything worthy of death, I refuse not to die, but if there be none of these things whereof these accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them. I appeal to Cæsar."¹⁰

We all know the momentous consequences of that appeal. The record of this prosecution of St. Paul as contained in these few chapters of the book of Acts¹¹ is one of the most extensive descriptions that has come down to us of the actual administration of the Roman law in the provinces. In teaching Roman law I find them most helpful and instructive to my classes, for unconsciously the writer of Acts has here preserved for us the almost complete record of a Roman criminal cause.

Then where is there a statement of the doctrine of "due process of law" which equals this answer of Festus to the native ruler Agrippa as recorded in the same book?¹² "It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him." The doctrine itself is much older, appearing, indeed, in the Twelve Tables,¹³ but I do not know of an expression of it, so clear at once and forceful, in all the rich legal literature of Rome or indeed of any other nation.

But the uses of the Bible as a law book have not been wholly academic. Aside from its legal authority in ancient Israel it has repeatedly been given the force of law by Christian peoples. When

⁷ Matt. xviii. 19.

⁸ 2 Cor. xiii. 1; 1 Tim. v. 19.

⁹ Acts xxii. 25.

¹⁰ Acts xxv. 10, 11.

¹¹ xxii-xxvi.

¹² Acts xxv. 16.

¹³ Table IX, 6.

in the seventh century of our era, the Visigoths laid the foundation of the modern Spanish law by promulgating their great law book, the *Forum Judicum*,¹⁴ they drew very considerably from the Mosaic legislation. The same source was largely utilized by John Calvin, nine centuries later when he came to devise laws for that interesting theocracy which he established at Geneva.¹⁵ In New England the followers of Calvin almost reenacted the Mosaic code. John Eliot, the Indian apostle, appealed to it as the model for his "Christian Commonwealth,"¹⁶ and Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich borrowed from it, if indeed he did not make it the basis of his code of 1641 which he called the "Body of Liberties." Even in the middle of the nineteenth century Strang, the Mormon leader, caused the Hebrew legislation to be reenacted for his island community in Lake Michigan.

We are met to-night to dedicate a building to the work of distributing this Book of Books among the Filipino people. Wholly aside from its religious aspects, do we not find ample justification for such an enterprise in the historic fact that so many peoples, in the same or similar ethnic stages, have found in this work a satisfying basis for their legislation, a charter of liberties and a source of legal institutions? Indeed, it places the Bible itself in a new light to learn of these added uses to which it has been devoted since the traditional close of the canon, for it shows that the epochs of scriptural growth and development did not end then. From the lawgiver of Sinai to the seer of Patmos is truly a far cry and represents a long period of religious evolution, but even this interval does not include the entire history of this great literary production. We have seen how that history has been prolonged since the time of Paul, and there is reason to believe that it began long before Moses. Speaking of the code which the Babylonian stele of 2200 B. C. (discovered somewhat more than a decade ago) represents the Sun-God as handing to King Hammurabi, a recent authority¹⁷ says:

"Between this code and the different codes mentioned in the Old Testament, such as the Covenant (9th century), Deuteronomy (7th century) and the Priestly Code (5th century), there are, be-

¹⁴ See Scott's edition ("The Visigothic Code") VI (IV), 5; Bk. III (IV), 9; Bk. XII (II), 12.

¹⁵ Dyer, *Life of Calvin*, 150. Cf. Osgood, "The Political Ideas of the Puritans," *Political Science Quarterly*, III, 9; Laveleye, in his Introduction to Strauss, *Origin of Republican Form of Government in the United States*, xix.

¹⁶ London, 1659.

¹⁷ Montet (Vice Rector of the University of Geneva) "Israel and Babylonian Civilization," *The Open Court*, XXIII, 628.

sides noticeable differences, resemblances so striking and characteristic that it must at least be admitted that the legislators of the two countries, Babylon and Israel, were inspired beforehand by the same common law. Here and there, however, the resemblances are so close that it is very difficult to escape from the conclusion that the Hebrew legislator had under his eye the code of the King of Babylon."

"Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,
And not on fading leaves or slabs of stone;
Each age, each people adds a verse to it—
Texts of despair or hope, of joy or moan.
While swirls the sea, while shifts the mountain shroud,
While thunderous surges beat on cliffs of cloud,
Still at the prophets' feet the nations sit."

THE SMALLEST REPUBLIC IN THE WORLD.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE visit of the Prince of Monaco to American shores recalls to our minds the tiny principality of which this studious and efficient scientist is the ruler. There are a few other independent governments in Europe of very small dimensions, and not the least interesting of these is the republic of Moresnet which this year celebrates its centennial anniversary.

Some time ago a Swiss author by the name of Hoch wrote a little book on this forgotten territory in central Europe,¹ which is scarcely known to the world, except to specialists, and whose existence is due to the jealousy between Belgium and Prussia.

When the great powers divided Europe among themselves after Napoleon's defeat, there was a strip of territory smaller than any other country in the world, being only 330 acres in extent and inhabited at the time by only a couple of thousand people, which was claimed by two of the powers, and they were not anxious to go to war about it. This was the little township Kelmis, also called Altenburg, and since 1793 known as Moresnet, to be pronounced *Moraynay*. The significance of the place was due at the time to calamin mines, which were then found in a mountain called Bleyberg in the immediate vicinity of Kelmis.

The tiny republic of Moresnet lies between the three cities, the Belgian Louvain, the Prussian Aix-la-Chapelle and the Prussian town Eupen. It is reached by the Belgian state railroad between Aix-la-Chapelle and Vezier. Moresnet, the capital of the country, possesses a post-office, but they issue no postal stamps of their own. Stamps of either Prussian or Belgian denomination are accepted.

This small strip of ground belonged to Austria until 1793. It

¹ Published in Bern, Switzerland, 1881, under the title *Un territoire oublié au centre de l'Europe*. See also F. Schroeder, *Das grenzstreitige Gebiet von Moresnet*. Aix-la-Chapelle, 1902.

was then taken by France during the revolution, and continued a French possession until the defeat of Napoleon at Leipsic. When the map of Europe was reconstructed at the convention of Vienna, Moresnet might have fallen either to Belgium or to Prussia, had not the calamin mines been of interest to both countries. Neither of the contending powers cared very much for the possession of these few acres, but both wanted to have free access to the mines which at that time furnished mainly zinc ores. The result was that both Prussia and Belgium allowed the inhabitants to have their own government on condition that the ores should have free importation into both states.

The constitution of Moresnet was newly drafted in the forties, and the rival governments allowed the people entire freedom on condition that the commercial interests should be equally divided between the two powers. They allowed the people to elect their own mayor who administers the little country with the aid of a council of ten. The four thousand inhabitants are about one-third Belgians and two-thirds Germans. The mines have given out and so the only interest either country would have to possess Moresnet has been lost, but the independence of the little republic has been preserved.

All young men born in Moresnet are free from military duty, while the German and Belgian settlers have to serve in their own country. This little republic of Moresnet is blessed above all other republics in the world by not having any import duty. They have no custom houses on their Belgian and Prussian frontiers, and, what is better still, they have no courts. The few quarrels that arise among the inhabitants can be settled at will either before Belgian or German courts, while they are relieved of all responsibility in international affairs; for in spite of being a European republic they have never been asked to any of the European conferences, and have had no part in making or waging any of the European wars, so the mayor can attend to his home politics, unmindful of what may happen in the rest of the world.

In connection with this smallest of the nations we may mention also those other and better known countries which are not so much greater, but likewise owe their independence either to rivalry between two great powers or to the forgetfulness of the world which is excusable on account of their small size. There is a country called Andorra, which is situated between France and Spain in the eastern portion of the Pyrenees, and is bounded on the west by Spanish Catalonia and on the east by the French department Ariège.

It enjoys free trade with France, to which it is affiliated as a kind of dependency. Originally the country was governed by the bishop of Urgel and the count of Foix. How small and insignificant it is may be seen from the fact that the income which the bishop draws from Andorra is 460 francs, which is less than \$90, a year, while the income of the government consists of a tribute to the amount of 960 francs paid at present to the successor of the old count of Foix, the French republic. The bishop divides his authority with the pope and has the right to install priests four months in a year, while the pope installs them during the other eight months. When the counts of Foix died out they left the principality to a Count Albert, and when the country fell to France its international government was interfered with as little as possible, and the inhabitants were not prevented from drawing a goodly revenue by smuggling.

At present the country is governed by a council of twenty-four and a president who is elected for life. Juridical affairs are in the hands of two judges called in French *viguers*, and in Catalanian *vegüeros*, who have the high-sounding title *Illustres*. Military service is compulsory. Every adult man is obliged to serve and must equip himself with arms as he deems best, and, as may be expected, most of them are good shots.

We may add a few comments on the two smallest principalities of Europe of which the best known is Monaco, on the Ligurian coast of the Mediterranean, surrounded by French territory. Though much larger than Moresnet, it has only eight square miles of area and may possess about sixteen or seventeen thousand inhabitants, but it is frequented by many fashionable and wealthy travelers who are attracted by the mild climate and also by the gambling resorts of Monte Carlo. Down to a recent date the country was an absolute monarchy, but of late the scholarly prince has granted a kind of constitution. This country too is defended by an army which consists of 125 men, seventy-five soldiers and fifty policemen.

Considerably larger, yet still very small, is the principality of Liechtenstein, which is situated on the upper Rhine between Switzerland and Austria, having about 10,000 inhabitants who live in a territory of seventy square miles. Like Moresnet the country of Liechtenstein has at times been forgotten, and this happened at an important moment of its history. When peace was declared after Prussia had conquered the allied states in the war of 1866, the principality of Liechtenstein was left entirely out of account. As a result of this obliviousness on the part of the contracting governments, Prussia must still be considered as in a state of war with

Liechtenstein. But this fact has been generally forgotten, and many travelers from the Prussian provinces enjoy the beautiful scenery of Liechtenstein in the most peaceful spirit. The prince of Liechtenstein has granted a constitution to his country, which provides for a parliament of fifteen members, three of whom are appointed by the prince and twelve elected, not to mention four additional members who are called in if any of the active members are disabled from service. There is no independent Liechtenstein post-office, and in general the country is closely attached to Austria.

THE FOURTH DIMENSION.

BY HYLAND CLAIR KIRK.

I.

OF course it is best to have characters in telling a story; though many are told as lacking apparently in this respect as would be the tale of a meteor or a pin-head. And in instances there may be an element of safety in such a course; for if a story were told about either of these objects, the work done illustratively and with a psychological turn, it might be said: "Ah, it is aimed at some lofty personage, as So-and-So," or "at some insignificant person, as So-and-So"; and the danger of aiming at any one has been often pointed out in criminal cases.

Accordingly let it be noted at the very outset of this narrative, that, although there have been a considerable number of profound thinkers who have presented their views to the public on the subject of the fourth dimension, the principal character herein described, Professor Purcellini, the meteoric inventor of the scenograph and other startling novelties, was none of these; a statement very easily substantiated by the fact that he had a contempt for writing on any subject which he thought might be elucidated in a practical way—an idea which he seems to have held of this very theme, usually regarded as so extremely baffling and recondite.

It was Purcellini in pursuit of this same subject, who won the wager on being able to make clear and comprehensible to others, five degrees of ideal representation—that is, five conceivable stages in mental imagery, each one more remote from the real object than the preceding, and yet so as to preserve the idea of the real thing. The object selected was a hunch-back member of the club, who consented to act; and the conditions were that it must be made clear how Tommy Jones could be conceived of by the six or seven members who happened to be present, five degrees remote from his actual personality and yet so as to be recognizable.

The first degree, as presented by Purcellini, was the thought of Tommy when absent; which would necessarily apply to the other stages. The second was a series of moving-photos representing Tommy walking about. The third consisted of the photos of the reflections in a mirror of Tommy in action. The fourth was made up of the moving-photos of a shadow of Tommy reflected in a mirror. As to the fifth, Purcellini said:

"Now, gentlemen, all you have to do to realize the fifth degree is, to dream about this moving shadow of Tommy and then recall your dream the next morning, and you have: first, your immediate concept of the dream-shadow; second, the dream-shadow of Tommy's photo reflected in the mirror; third, the photo of the shadow reflected in the mirror; fourth, the shadow reflected; and fifth, the shadow of Tommy.

Despite the contention that a shadow was not an adequate representation, it was decided that it would be in the case of Tommy Jones, and the wager was accordingly awarded to Purcellini.

Yes, it is best to have characters in a story that may be neither offensively realistic, nor yet so indefinite as to be mistaken for meteors or pin-heads; and that is why Hans Steinmann is also introduced to the reader. Hans was a sort of natural phenomenon to be sure, but resembling neither of these insensate objects. He was a blue-eyed blond of medium size, an honest-faced, compactly-built German mechanic, self-educated in the use of English, and with a vocabulary that would make a column of Esperanto look like the opening pages of a primer!

Hans was quite an ordinary workman before he met Purcellini, and poor—well, the proverbial rodent of cloistered proclivities might have furnished him a meal on more than one occasion. He owed the making of what fortune he possessed—involved wholly in his Florida workshop and ranch—to that lucky meeting; and no doubt Purcellini owed considerable of his much larger fortune to the same circumstance, as their peculiarities were such that one could never have accomplished very much without the other. Hans, though knowing little of letters and still less of formulated science and philosophy, was patient, practical, deft in handling tools and could readily see how to construct any conceivable mechanism; while Purcellini in manner was apt to be irascible, was in fact learned and scientific, though disclaiming all interest in the metaphysical. And this will appear to the reader as it did to some of his friends as a curious anomaly. While he would discourse learnedly on the views of philosophers and upon abstruse philosophical questions, he always

gave the problems involved a substantial interpretation and insisted upon calling himself a materialist. Another deceptive element in his make-up was, that though he appeared at times so gruff as to be repellent, this was largely due to preoccupation and his absorption in processes of working out mechanical problems of one sort or another. For beneath this grumpy exterior there beat the warmest sort of a heart, most sympathetic perhaps for those who could throw light on his own pursuits; yet some of his friends believed such preference if it existed to be due more to another influence than his own inclinations which were broadly and deeply human, and little else.

Purcellini was large, dark, full-bearded, with the blackest of eyes and hair; and it must be mentioned here that his consort, Madam Purcellini, was his feminine counterpart to a considerable extent in disposition and appearance, except that she was tall and possessed of more than ordinary grace of form and feature. She was really the other influence or extra force in his life. Though not as learned as her erudite partner, Madam Purcellini possessed an inordinate ambition which under favoring circumstances might have given her a name with the queens of the earth. As it was, the only escape for her peculiar energy was through keeping her husband up to his work.

"Women," she had been known to remark, "accomplish much in this world for which they get no credit; yet merit is more than reputation or reward."

Thus it came about that only two persons could manage Purcellini: his wife who dominated him, and Hans whom he dominated—the former in general and the latter in all questions involving the details of mechanical construction. Thus Purcellini came to be a model of exactness, somewhat in opposition to his natural bent, because of these personal influences, and his own tendency to reduce scientific truth to a working formula. In walking, which he often indulged in, he always took a most direct course because it was established in his own mind that there is the greatest conservation of bodily energy by following the line of least resistance, and that the shortest distance between two points is neither crooked nor curved. Hans in his gait followed no rule, and the professor in his walk and movements was always a wonder to him. In fact up to about this time Hans actually entertained such a feeling of respect and even awe for Professor Purcellini's abilities, that he never would admit to an outsider that that gentleman was wrong or had ever been wrong in anything!

For about six months Hans had been at work under the written instructions of the Professor upon a new device, the most startling and wonderful—according to the Professor's own account—of anything he had ever conceived. The original instructions received by Hans were as follows:

"First

"You will construct an apparatus to be attached to the car of a dirigible balloon; an improved camera obscura, of lenses and mirrors, which will focus the surface of the earth below, so that an observer in the car may be able to see the whole surface reduced in the picture.

"Second

"This picture is to be made susceptible of being enlarged or reduced at the will of the operator, and also of being run when photographed in kinetoscope films, suitable levers for enlarging and reducing being attached for the observer's convenience.

"Third

"Space is to be left beneath the eye-piece for the attachment of a circular transparency, one foot in diameter, of peculiar properties, now being specially manufactured in Germany. A surprising feature of this transparent plate is, that when elevated even a slight distance above the earth, it seems to extend the visible horizon every way; and the power of penetration it affords the vision is no less wonderful."

These instructions were quite separate from the letter which, after referring to such minor matters as salary and expenses, concluded as follows:

"I believe, my dear Hans, that this new 'Space-Annihilator & Time-Accelerator,' will prove the most wonderful invention of the age! It was the conclusion of that eminent philosopher, Immanuel Kant, that space and time are not actualities, but merely structural elements of the human mind. Accordingly as the mind depends entirely on sensation, certain higher philosophers, basing their view on occult phenomena, believe that a *fourth dimension* exists, not included in length, breadth, or thickness. By taking advantage of this fact, my invention will enable one to increase or decrease space or time at will by simply adjusting the mechanism. It is not every one who can grasp the idea, and you may not readily take it in yourself. But as soon as you are ready with the apparatus which I

have described, I will be there with the magic transparency to show you what a wonderful thing it is.

As ever yours,

P. PURCELLINI."

Up to this point—the receipt of this letter—as already noted, Hans, the obedient executor of his employer's designs, had never—except in the little details of construction and workmanship—questioned that employer's word or thought. Nor would he have done so now, little as he understood what Purcellini was aiming at, had it not been for Hetty Smith, another character who, although presenting her sweetest smile and prettiest bow to the reader for the first time, has really been in the game ever since she left Madam Purcellini's employ on the last visit of that remarkable lady to Florida, and since Hetty became a teacher of the youthful Crackers in that vicinity.

Yes, this tale without Hetty, a hazel-eyed, demure product of Vassar, Wellesley, or some other feminine intellect factory, would be not unlike Shakespeare's famous tragedy with Hamlet off his job. She was so undemonstrative and quiet naturally, that few if any would suspect the fact that she had a tremendous dynamo behind the pigeon-holes of her brain with all necessary machinery attached; so that when grappling with any subject the action kept right up, until the said theme was duly ground out, classified, labeled and put away. After which it was dangerous for any one to disagree with Hetty on that particular topic.

Hans was undoubtedly afraid of Hetty; he knew she knew his utter lack of knowledge. No other woman caused him such embarrassment as she did when he attempted to converse with her. Still Hetty encouraged him by often complimenting his skilful workmanship; and Hans sometimes ventured to confide in her, as he did in this instance, by showing her his instructions in Purcellini's letter.

Hetty took a whole week to ponder over that missive, during which time she consulted all the books she possessed or could find in the vicinity affording information as to the meaning of the fourth dimension. Not content with this she wrote to one of her old teachers about it who sent her several works on the subject, including Hinton's clever romances, Abbot's *Flatland*, Professor Manning's collection of prize essays on the subject, and Henri Bergson's *Time and Free Will*.

Several months passed before she reached a definite conclusion after receiving these books, and one quite remarkable dream she

attributed to their influence. At first she was puzzled by such questions as that of Professor Manning in the Introduction to his work: "Why may there not be a geometry with four mutually perpendicular lines, in which the position of a point is determined by measuring in four perpendicular directions?"

But after pondering over this, she asked herself: "Well, if Professor Manning conceives such perpendiculars, as straight lines are easy to draw, why does he not make a diagram of his concept?" And then the absurdity of the proposition becoming apparent to her, since it is impossible to have more than three perpendiculars meet at a common point, she decided that this is a question which has no proper place in geometry of any sort, not even in the non-Euclidean. As Professor Manning says: "The non-Euclidean geometries do not themselves assume that space is curved, nor do the non-Euclidean geometries of two and three dimensions make any assumption in regard to a fourth dimension."

She concluded that the fourth dimension, mathematically considered, is purely algebraic and not geometrical in any realizable sense; and of course algebraically, we may have as many dimensions as we choose to make symbols to represent them; yet they will be "dimensions" in name only.

The notion of geometries of n dimensions introduced into mathematical investigations by Caley, Grassmann, Riemann, Clifford, Newcomb, Stringham, Veronese and others, she decided to be purely speculative, and to be more appropriately termed algebraic; because geometrically such dimensions can neither be illustrated nor conceived. Equally inconceivable appeared to her the statement of another mathematician, that "to a reasonable mind unfamiliar with our universe, space of four dimensions would appear to be *a priori* quite as probable as space of three"; since no one can imagine "a reasonable mind unfamiliar with our universe," any more than he can a space of four dimensions.

Hetty became aroused to the fact that the term "fourth dimension" has been seized upon by various classes as a new form of incantation to explain phenomena, with the result simply of mystifying themselves as well as others. Thus, that one could cause writings of the dead to be reproduced on a slate as Professors Zoellner and Fechner thought the medium Slade to have done, she could not see as having any relation to a fourth dimension, as those philosophers supposed; especially as Slade was subsequently caught writing the messages on the slate with his toes!

Also such ideas as that "a sphere may be turned inside out in

space of four dimensions without tearing," "that an object may be passed out of a closed box or room without penetrating the walls, that a knot in a cord may be untied without moving the ends of the cord, and that the links of a chain may be separated unbroken"—claims made by the Fourth Dimensionists—she decided to be all nonsense so far as involving a fourth dimension; for if such things could or should occur, they would happen through the interpenetration of matter in a three-dimensional space, and a fourth dimension would have nothing to do with it.

Another thing, backing up to gain momentum, and conceiving that there may be beings in space of one dimension—beings of which we know nothing, and then of two dimensions—of which we also know nothing and can conceive nothing, and then passing over the beings in three-dimensional space which we do measurably understand, and assuming therefore that there is a fourth-dimensional space and beings in it—of which we neither know the space nor the beings, she regarded as wholly illogical; since, as Edward H. Cutler says, "these suppositions involve a fatal confusion of mathematical with physical conceptions," a one-dimension space being impossible except as a mathematical abstraction, and furnishing no basis of thought for a fourth dimension.

It was about at this point in her researches that Hetty's dream came in, in which she seemed at first to be awake and working with a microscope, when as a surprise it came to her that bacteria—some of them appearing as mere mathematical points—were creatures of one-dimensional space. This so astonished her that she became partly awakened, when she was suddenly seized with the apprehension that there might be beings of two-dimensional space in her vicinity. She was sleeping in an ancient mansion and in an ancient bed, and the previous day she had been reading of a glass bee-hive "with its floor and roof of horizontal glass plates brought so close together that there is barely room for the bees to move about between them,"—an illustration of a world of two dimensions with the bees as two-dimensional beings.

Yet a bee is not merely long and broad, most bees can demonstrate their thickness with stinging emphasis; and less emphatically though quite as disagreeably Hetty suddenly became aroused to the idea that there were two-dimensional beings with scarcely any thickness flitting or swiftly creeping about under the cover of her bed. In fact she even detected such beings and impressed upon them a two-dimensional flatness which they did not possess before!

Still, while thus forcibly reminded of the existence of creatures

closely approximating to two dimensions, the very next day she found something in Bergson's *Time and Free Will*, which seemed to shut out all four-dimensional creatures and settle that question by showing that the fourth dimension of space is not something imaginary but a phase of the existence we know and already recognize.

So much time had now elapsed since she began her investigations following Hans's receipt of Purcellini's letter, his work on the new device being nearly completed, that Hans had quite lost sight of the fact that Hetty had any interest in this subject, and one day casually handed her another letter from Purcellini in which occurred the following: "That there is a fourth dimension in space there is no doubt; since it accords with the fact that both time and space originate from the human mind! And hence the certainty that our invention will revolutionize the world!"

"Pursy's gone crazy!" said Hetty reflectively.

Hans ventured to remonstrate: "Do you it tink? I do not see how dot could efer be. De great Brofessor haf notings in his mind mit him like de crazinesses. You haf not already yet seen his dransparencies, a vonderful ting made in Germany."

"Now Hans," was the reply, "I'm from Missouri" (and perhaps she was, though she came from New York with the Purcellinis), "and nobody can prove to me that nonsense is sense! Why talk about time and space coming out of, that is starting, originating in our minds. Can't you see that we originate in time and space?"

"Yaw, O yes," said Hans in a little less assertive spirit.

"Can't you see that naturally we have a correct idea of the dimensions of space, because we develop from and are as it were permeated by space whether we have minds or not?—and some people haven't much!"

Hans merely grinned.

"Now, Hansy, I'm not personal. You have mind enough, only you haven't any confidence in yourself. You have been hoodooed by Pursy, who has himself been so hoodooed by his ambitious wife that he is getting to be as crazy as a loon!"

"Do you it really tink?" said Hans earnestly. "I haf somedings to said about dot, I vait dill I see his crazinesses pefore his eyes!"

"Now listen," said Hetty smiling. "Of course you are getting your pay for your work, and that is right enough. But suppose that we were at the center of the earth!"

Hans grinned again. "Vell, anyting to accommodates!"

"If you and I were at the center of the earth, would not every direction be toward the surface?"

"Yaw, O yes."

"But the Fourth Dimensionist says there is some other direction, not toward the surface, but toward some strange, mystical region—the land of the inconceivable—and that is why I say that poor Pursy, driven to it probably by the ambition of that terrible wife of his, his 'Goddess of the Occult' as he calls her, in an effort to make practical and attain the unattainable, has actually gone crazy!"

Hans unconvinced, was yet disposed to learn more of the facts as he inquired: "Iss de fourd dimensions somedings pefore de bread, lengths, and tickness?"

"Before or behind, just as you prefer. It is supposed to be another direction in space, not length, not breadth, not thickness."

"Vell, suppose ve haf a cube, or a globe, den de mofements of dat boddy mit itself, if it mofe altogedder, mighd pe a fourd dimensions—vas'nt it, Fräulein?"

"Yes, you are right; the figure or direction of such a movement might be called a fourth dimension, and that suggests something, Hansy, the real nature of the only thing in nature which is entitled to be called and may properly be called the fourth dimension."

"Vell, vat ist?"

"Suppose, that one cube or globe, you speak of, was the whole of space—filled all space; then moving it forward—pulling it out—its extension would be a fourth dimension, wouldn't it?"

"Yaw, I tink so; but how could de space be pulled oud?"

"Extended? Why, as we think of it, isn't it being extended—pulled out constantly, not unlike the idea of the fourth dimension a cube or a globe produces in moving forward. In other words, isn't time itself the fourth dimension of space?"

"Aha, dot may pe it," said Hans reflectively.

"That is its most appropriate application," continued Hetty, "a continuous memory of space relations, instead of another realm which the mystics, doping themselves with mere words, strive to connect with everything that's unseen, and unknown; as if it solved the mystery of existence."

"Ah ha!" said Hans, "Iss dot de Brofessor's idea he haf wit himself?"

"Yes and it is really too bad, he has such a brilliant intellect."

"Das ist drue," remarked Hans energetically. "But de Brofessor say de great Germans Kant, he hold dis-mit himself too al-ready."

"Kant, yes, that mighty thinker never thought of a fourth dimension, and would have spurned the idea as commonly conceived: yet he is to blame for it all; for if the dimensions of space proceed merely from the mind, one can have as many dimensions as a Turk has wives!"

Hans's eyes dilated, and his mouth opened in wonderment at her logic.

"Suppose," she went on, "Kant did hold that space and time are the outcome from our minds instead of our being mere incidents in space and time—so that length, breadth and thickness are purely ideal—suppose he did entertain such an inconsistent view, do we have to believe it?"

Hans grinned in reply.

"Besides your great German philosopher was only theorizing. The danger lies in trying to make such a thing practical. Hansy, never indulge in a doctrine that requires you to give up your life to test its correctness."

"No, I vill not!"

"And that is what this is likely to result in, don't you see? It means mystifying, fooling oneself about an inner, unseen, wholly imaginary state, which the doped ones are immediately desirous of getting into, even at the expense of their lives—do you understand?"

"I think so, yaw, O yes, but—"

"And don't you see that Pursy is way off in his calculations?"

"Vell, I vait till he come mit his dransparencies from Germany!"

II.

Quite in accord with the press reports, it was a beautiful spring morning, and seated in a comfortable chair on the lawn of his Florida estate, Professor Pedro Purcellini, the wizard inventor of the scenograph and other startling panoramic devices, was contemplating with some degree of complacency the practical outcome of his most recent thought.

After years of earnest study and research he had struck upon the startling concept, that if he could arrange a mechanism so as fully and completely to impress the senses and thus affect the whole mind with the idea that space was to a large extent annihilated, it would in that degree actually be annihilated; and, if at the same time a spur could be applied to the mind's action, time would be accelerated accordingly, and in exact degree corresponding to the gradations given the accelerative force.

To diverge slightly from the somewhat hastily prepared press

notices, there was a peculiar anxiety in the Professor's expression which could not be attributed entirely to his ruminations over the future prospects of this new child of his thought. To tell the whole truth, his mind oscillated between two goals, ever and anon extending out and taking in a mechanism more difficult to comprehend even than his latest invention, a mechanism named Angelina, with a feminine face not devoid of beauty, and yet dominated when in repose with force and decision to the point of harshness. That face, the face of his wife, seemed to mark a final step, to which his wonderful invention was a mere leader.

Yes, as soon as he should prove the correctness of view in the work of this latest device, nothing should be permitted to stand in the way of his publishing to the world how much he owed to her—and that was the acme of his thought and hope.

For months previously he had worked late and early arranging his plans, while his apparatus was being perfected. Everything had been put in order the night before, and now the mechanism of his wonderful "Space-Annihilator & Time-Accelerator" was complete. His assistants had brought it forth, and it was being adjusted in the car of the dirigible which, at an altitude anywhere from three hundred to five thousand feet, at any point which might be selected above the earth, would afford the necessary scope and range for its successful operation.

As he gazed upon it the gratified expression which gradually crept over the Professor's face indicated the satisfaction he was beginning to experience within.

"It must be so," he reflected. "The mighty Kant, before whose genius not only German philosophy but the whole world bends the knee, must be right. Time and space, as the fundamental forms of perception under which we become conscious of the outside world and of ourselves, originate from within. We impose those forms upon all that we see and hear, taste and feel, and being fully conscious of their purely formal character, there is nothing in the way of success!"

He felt especially exultant that everything was now in readiness to make the demonstration in such a clear and forcible manner as not merely to enable the truth to be plainly seen and understood, but as he believed to sweep away all doubts from the minds of the sceptical; and what a revolution in the world it would make!

The dirigible was oscillating slightly in the breeze as the Professor stepped into the car. His assistant Hans Steinmann, mechanical engineer and aeronaut, shut off the flow of gas; the men below

disengaged the tackle holding car and float to the earth, and the "Triumph" rose like a bird.

It required but a few moments as it appeared to gain the necessary altitude, when Purcellini taking the magic transparency from its case placed it in position beneath the eye-piece and touched the button controlling the space lever. Instantly there occurred an almost indefinable action, as a rapid movement toward a center affecting every object and point of view below—and lo! one-half of the earth's entire surface—that of the hemisphere toward him—lay open to his vision. Not merely the land and water, forests and mountains, cities and plantations toward which his attraction was directed, but the dwellings and their inmates, down to the smallest child, were visible when details were closely scrutinized. He had only to direct his vision to any point desired and persist in his search when the minutest object came into view.

Strangely elated he set the time-lever and moved it one notch from normal, when the grove of verdant-leaved maples in one of our northern states on which his eye chanced to rest, seemed to lose their verdancy, yet curiously enough the leaves did not fall but changed into buds and then shrank away into bare branches, while the earth beneath seemed covered with frost and snow, and near-by ponds glistened with ice.

Ah, he had turned the lever the wrong way!

It required but a moment to rectify this by shifting the button and pushing the lever up two notches, when presto! the buds on those same maples reappeared, ice and snow vanished, the groves were enveloped again in green to speedily change into the yellow and red of autumn, and soon the trees were bare as winter could make them, quite stripped of their foliage again!

What an astounding thing!

He turned his attention to a vast herd of cattle on the western plains and could scarce believe his eyes; for the calves grew into steers and the steers into oxen and the oxen were hustled into trains for the eastern markets with the celerity of a passing procession.

To get a still more pronounced effect he pushed the lever up another notch and with astonished gaze watched the shifting forms and scenes below. The rapidity of changing skies, sunshine and storm appearing to chase each other like mythological Titans, much more rapidly of course than alterations in the landscape—than the lessening of forests, the development of railroads and growth of towns and cities—yet all were equally bewildering to the observer. And now came the climax to his work, he would view the effects

upon human beings; and quite naturally turned his attention to the great city in which he had left his Angelina, the hope of his fondest thought.

With kaleidoscopic rapidity he saw babes develop into boys and girls, and they into the more symmetrical shapes of young manhood and womanhood—a general survey appearing much like the bubbling and flashing of a chemical mixture. And the inmates of his own household—his Angelina. Ah, was that she? Her stately, Venus-like form was shriveling; her raven tresses were growing white, crow's-feet were appearing about the eyes; the imperious beauty of that face which had held him so long in its thrall, became a fixed grimace—and then, ah God, a grinning skull!

How much he actually saw and how much was due to the anticipation of his glowing, fevered intellect, may be imagined.

Purcellini turned aside his gaze. It rested upon a bordering mirror of the transparency, when he emitted a shriek of horror! Was that withered, tremulous face reflected there his own?

"Hans, Hans!" he yelled.

"Vell, vat ist?"

"Look, look! See if you can see Angelina!"

Hans gazed calmly through the transparency upon the scenes below.

"Yaw, I see von girl. But I tink it pe not Anglina, it pe Hetty Smitzs!"

"Pshaw, Hans, you are not enlightened. You do not see beyond your immediate vicinity, do not realize the vast importance of that hidden phase of being, actual and permanent, on which this shifting state—this outward, visible phenomenon, rests. Ah—"

A surprising change was taking place in the appearance of Purcellini himself; his face flushed and eyes dilated, as if he were suddenly subject to a spectral challenge.

"I cannot bear the suspense!" he yelled in his loudest tones. "I must get into it—the fourth dimension!" And before Hans could interfere to prevent, he had leaped to his destruction out of the car!

* * *

It was three weeks later, and Hans had returned from the funeral of his benefactor and also his benefactor's wife; for the death of the latter occurred, as the deliberate act of her own hand in the effort to join her consort in that mystic realm, almost simultaneously with the reception of the telegram announcing his tragic leap.

"Hetty," Hans was saying, "I tink vat de fourd dimensions mean, I know mineself already!"

"You certainly ought to by this time, Hensy," said Hetty, "after all these terrible experiences. Now tell me what it means."

"Vel, you said all de space is all de while pulled oud, vich is de time?"

"Yes."

"Von is vat de Brofessor call de complemend of de odder?"

"Yes."

"Vat a man tink aboud—too much it may pe—is de complemend of hiss thoughtd, hiss fourd dimensions?"

"Yes."

"Vel," said Hans very impressively and with eyes fixed on the young woman: "Angelina, she tink too much aboud de Brofessor and him to get a name great mit hisself, vich vas her fourd dimensions. De Brofessor tink too much of Angelina and to vork oud all she vants him to find oud mit hisself, vich vas his fourd dimensions. But ven I looks in de dransparencies, ven de poor Brofessor call—vat do I saw? Not vat he see as de fourd dimensions. All I can saw is you—you iss my fourd dimensions!"

"I always did admire your practical judgment," said Hetty as she took his hand.

THE NAMES OF NATIONS IN CHINESE.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT is generally known that Chinese script is idiographic, and since it is limited to a definite set of traditional characters, the Chinese have been confronted in comparatively recent times with the problem of finding suitable terms for the names of foreign countries. This is not the first time in their history that they have encountered a difficulty of this kind. More than a thousand years ago they faced a greater problem still when they undertook the transcription of religious terms imported from India, and the result was that Buddhist and religio-philosophical terms constitute a terminology of their own, which like words belonging to another language are not commonly known among all the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire. It takes a scholar to be posted in this specialty, and the rules of transcription are sometimes very complicated.

In modern times the effort is made to denote nations by words sounding approximately like their original names. In every case these designations are quite flattering to the nations for which they stand. Take for instance the word for "English," which in America among the Indians is supposed to have produced the word "Yankee." In Chinese *Ying*¹ means "excellent," "prominent," "brave."

The original meaning of *ying* is a flower whose fruit is not yet matured, and thus it denotes flourishing, luxuriant, beautiful, and is used in the sense of the flower of knighthood, with the implied meaning of excellent, eminent, talented, noble, virtuous or courageous. The English themselves could not have chosen a word better fitted to place them in a respected position, implying as it does that they are the highest efflorescence of mankind. The character is composed of two strokes at the top crossed by a dash, denoting "plants," and another character the meaning of which is "fresh looking."

英

Next to the English we might mention the Germans as being highly complimented by the transcription of their name. In an attempt to reproduce the word *deutsch* the Chinese pronunciation *teh* was chosen and received the transcription *teh*,² "virtue," well known even to the general reader who is not much acquainted with the Chinese language, for the word occurs in the classical title *Tao Teh King*, the "Canon of Reason and Virtue." The character is composed of three elements: The first one, three strokes on the left-hand side, being a man walking, means "to go"; the upper part of the right-hand character is an abbreviation of the character "straight," and the lower part means "heart." The idea of virtue in Chinese is a heart that in the walk of life is straight. The word means virtue in the sense of "goodness," emphasizing mainly the religious tendency to benefit others. In this sense it occurs in Lao-tze's famous saying, "Requite hatred with kindness."

報 怨 以 德

Nor has America any right to complain of its name. Since all Chinese words are monosyllables, linguists select that part of a name which is most prominent, and so America has been called *Mei*³ in Chinese, which means "beautiful," "excellent." The word is of very ancient origin, and dates back to the time when the Chinese were still a shepherd people and their symbol of beauty was a well-grown sheep. The character consists of two pieces; the upper part is the outline of a sheep, showing on top the head with horns and ears, and below the four feet stretching out on both sides. The lower part of the character *mei* is the Chinese term for "great," and owing to the primitive condition of Chinese shepherds, it has come about that the symbol of a great sheep has come to denote beauty. Additional meanings are "to esteem," "to commend," "to be happy," and together with the character "girl" we might translate it by "belle."

The *r* in "America" has been dropped for the simple reason that the Chinese have a very vague notion of the *r*, and are in the habit of mixing it up with *l*. Accordingly it is quite natural that in the word "France" the *r* is dropped as well as the ending *nce*. Thus France is called *Fa*,⁴ and a character pronounced *fa*, meaning "law," "order" and also "doctrine," has been adopted to denote the French people. The Chinese character *fa* is derived from the radical "water," and the verb "reduce," or "put away,"

² 德

³ 美

⁴ 法

and the symbolism of the word is that it shall denote what reduces to a level. It may have reference to the "equality and fraternity" in the motto of the French republic. Before the law, all people should be on the same level, and treated equally without giving preference to any. It is not impossible that the similarity of the sound *Dharma* has influenced the meaning of the word, for the word *fa* denotes especially the Dharma of the Buddhists, the good law of religion, and in arithmetical nomenclature it has acquired the meaning of a working element in a sum, in the sense of the rule for working an example.

The Russians were formerly called by the word *ê* or *ao*,⁵ which means "to contend," or as a noun "outward feature." The word has now been abandoned for another word⁶ called *ê* which means "sudden." The Japanese tried to pronounce the word "Russia" *ru*, but having no such word, they substituted *Lu*⁷ for it, which is the name of the native province of Confucius, the most sacred spot for Chinamen. Unfortunately the word has also the meaning "stupid," and probably for this reason the Russians repudiated the name and demanded a substitution which was supplied by another word *Lu*⁸ which means "dew." The formation of this character, strangely enough, has nothing to do with its meaning, for the upper part denotes a fish sauce, and the lower part "white," both being contracted. What connection the symbols have with the meaning it is difficult to say. The character might originally have been the designation for a rustic dish. As a verb, *lu* means "to bedew" and is frequently used in the figurative sense "to bless." The character is composed of "rain" and "road." A Chinese proverb says, "Riches and honors are like the dew of flowers," which means that with the progress of the day they disappear as if they had not been.. If we use the word as a verb, the idea of Russianizing a country would in a Chinese pun be tantamount to blessing it with the dew of heaven.

Names of other countries are of less interest, but we will mention some of them briefly as follows:

Italy is called in Chinese *I*,⁹ which means "mind" or "thought."

Spain is called *Hsi*,¹⁰ i. e., west, and the same word may incidentally be used in the sense of western country or America.

Sweden and Switerland are both called *Shui*¹¹ or "auspicious." The character is composed of the symbol denoting a gem, and it means originally a flat stone about a foot long given to princes as a token of their authority like a scepter. Then it means "author-

⁵ 鄂 ⁶ 俄 ⁷ 魯 ⁸ 露 ⁹ 意 ¹⁰ 西 ¹¹ 瑞

ity," "rank" or "happiness." It is further used in the sense of a keepsake or favor and acquires the meaning of a good omen and as an adjective means "august," or "lucky."

In order to distinguish Sweden from Switzerland the latter is differentiated by the word *hsi* meaning "west," which is prefixed to *shui*, thus denoting Switzerland as "western Shui." Sometimes "Sweden" is expressed by two characters, by "Tien"¹² which means "rule" or "regulation" joined to the word *Shui*.

The word Norway¹³ is either expressed by the sound *No* which means consent, or by *Wei*,¹⁴ meaning "majesty," "awe," "power." Both are frequently combined into one, thus approaching more nearly the proper pronunciation of the country.

We might add as a general rule that all these names are designated as names of countries by having the word *Kuo*,¹⁵ "country," added to them.

¹² 典¹³ 諾¹⁴ 威¹⁵ 國

MISCELLANEOUS.

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE ORIENT.

BY B. K. ROY.

Count Okuma Attacks Socialism.

Writing on "Japan's Struggle with Finance" in the *Japan Magazine* (Tokyo) for November, Count Okuma takes occasion in this succinct paper to attack the socialistic theory of state ownership of industries and public utilities. The master statesman of Japan argues thus:

"Our authorities at present are giving too much attention to protecting a few industries at the expense of other and smaller enterprises; and the government itself monopolizes some of the more important and necessary national undertakings. Private management of industries, in my opinion, always does more to excite national activity and competition than government management; it induces the people to cultivate an enterprising and independent spirit, which is very necessary to national development and general progress. Popular industry is even more beneficial and effective in promoting national efficiency than official industry, however well manipulated and managed. Whatever the people take in hand they can do, and do with more lasting and universal benefit to the nation than what the government does; and if the people once undertake to reduce our great national debt, it will be done. Then the government will be more free to devote its attention to education and other important subjects of national welfare, which are now only too much neglected. It is more important that the people shall prosper than that the government should have ample revenue; for the government can never really be wealthier than the people; and it is only as the people are permitted to cultivate and promote all forms of legitimate industry that they can be able to support the government and enable it to meet its obligations."

Whether Count Okuma is right or wrong or both as regards his championship of the rights of the people against governmental encroachment, we leave for the experts and the critics to decide. But the following sentence of the Count admits of no controversy: "Certainly a government that prospers at the expense of the people is doomed."

The Returned Students and the Chinese Revolution.

The part the students of different American and European countries have played in bringing about revolutions or radical reforms is too well known to warrant any comment here. Like the students of Russia and Italy, America

and Turkey, the students, especially the foreign-educated students, of China and Japan have played a noble part in the making of these two great countries.

Mr. Y. S. Tsao, writing in the *Journal of Race Development* for July, gives an outline of the work accomplished by these "semi-foreigners." He says:

"When the students returned from America in the early eighties, they were despised, suspected and watched by the officers of the Manchu government. For the first few years they were given a thorough drilling in Chinese literature so as to win them over to the conservative attitude of looking at things, and when sufficiently purged of their revolutionary ideas, they were left to shift for themselves, for the government had no use for such 'semi-foreigners.' But beginning with the reformation after the China-Japan war, a number of reformers from the old school went to court as advisors and not a few returned students from America were given appointments by high officials. However, it was not until after the Boxer uprising that a number of them through the recommendation of Yuan Shih Kai were given responsible positions in the government."

On the intellectual activities of the returned students Mr. Tsao says:

"While the handful of returned students from Europe and America were busy occupying themselves with official life, teaching and engineering, a few of them translated the works of John Stuart Mill, Huxley, Spencer, Darwin, Henry George and other modern writers. 'The doctrine of the survival of the fittest has been on the lips of every thinking Chinese, and its grim significance is not lost on a nation that seems to be the center of struggle in the East.' However, the greater part of the modern ideas came from Japan through the students there who after a few months of training could transcribe Japanese translations of western books into Chinese. The rapid multiplication of patriotic newspapers and magazines helped immensely to disseminate modern political ideas along with scientific knowledge throughout the length and breadth of the nation. The biographies of such statesmen as Washington, Bismarck, Metternich and Gladstone, such leaders as Napoleon, Cromwell and Lincoln, such patriots as Mazzini and Garibaldi were literally devoured. The doctrines of Rousseau, Montesquieu and Voltaire were expounded, and a weekly known as 'The People,' based on the principle of 'Young Italy,' was started. It had a circulation of 150,000 before it was finally suppressed by the Japanese government upon the request of the Manchu government."

Students' Work in India's Social Revolution.

While the other Oriental countries, helped by their young students, are marching on in the path of progress, democracy and self-realization, the young students of India are not at rest. They too, beside other things, are taking a prominent part in bringing about a social revolution in enslaved and caste-ridden India. The following quotation from *London India*, of October 10, will tell its own story:

"While young Anglo-India is behaving so badly, the middle-aged variety of the type is beginning to discover that the Bengal youth is not the villain which the Yellow Press has painted him. An 'Onlooker,' who is evidently an Anglo-Indian employer of labor, writes to the *Englishman* (Calcutta) to warn the European community in India, and particularly in Bengal, that it has not

been paying sufficient attention to the new spirit of enterprise and adventure that is now evident amongst the student class in Bengal. He writes:

"I have had an opportunity of personally witnessing the daring, self-sacrifice, and disregard for comfort shown by not one but many parties of Bengali students from Calcutta who have visited the flooded districts [devastated in the recent Damodar floods] with relief in the way of provisions and medical comforts. Before I saw these boys, I entertained the common idea that Bengali students were for the most part short-sighted youths without physique and spiritless, entertaining a tremendous opinion of themselves, full of perverse hatred of the British Raj, and very contemptuous of their illiterate countrymen. These preconceived opinions of mine have now received a rude shock. Inquiries I made showed that the majority of the students were not only of a respectable class, but of the most respectable class, sons of Zamindars, of well-known professional men, and of government officials, just the boys who could have most easily stayed away. I think that this phenomenon, if I may use the word, deserves attention for it means that the youth of Bengal is growing very fast in physical and moral directions, and that we will in a few years be faced by a community which in character and spirit will be equal to the best that Europe can produce. In this flood relief business, the thought of caste seems to have dropped entirely. [Most of the victims of the flood were poor pariahs.] That alone is an indication of a coming break-up of vast dimensions. . . . Obviously the European must be greatly affected by the coming changes. He is here not because he is superior to the Indian in brain, but because he has grit and character. If the new generation of Indians also displays grit and character, what excuse will there be for bringing out Europeans to govern the country and control industrial enterprise? However, I do not wish to harbor what may seem a very selfish view. If the Bengalis turn out better men than we are, so much the worse for us."

We are exceedingly sorry for our panic-stricken Anglo-Indian friends. But judging from the reports that we receive from Indian papers and magazines it seems easy to foresee that a great many more surprises and "rude shocks" are in waiting for the British in India.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

TAOISME: TOME I, LE CANON TAOISTE; TOME II, LES PÈRES DU SYSTÈME TAOISTE.

Par *Dr. Léon Wiegier*, S. J. Tientsin, Chung-te-tang (Agents), 1911, 1913. Pp. 336, 521.

Dr. Wiegier is a Jesuit missionary of Tientsin, China, where he has improved his opportunities to make a careful study of Chinese language, literature and thought. Besides text-books in the Chinese language and a large volume on Chinese folk-lore, he has written a summary of Chinese history from the beginning to 1905, a volume of 2173 pages including the Chinese text. He has also done valuable work of high scholarship in preparing a series of philosophical texts which he intends to comprise a summary of Chinese philosophical ideas from the beginning of their literature until the present. He has completed the study of Confucianism in an illustrated volume of 550 pages. His work on Chinese Buddhism and Taoism is not yet complete though two large volumes of each of these are finished. The introductory volume on Chinese Buddhism treats of monasticism and the second, which

comes from the press almost simultaneously with this number of *The Open Court*, treats of the Chinese lives of the Buddha.

The volumes of Dr. Wieger's in which we are most interested are those on Taoism. The first of these, entitled *Le Canon taoïste*, is a very complete bibliography of Taoist literature consisting first of an index of the Taoist Tripitaka, the collection of sacred literature made by the monks in the sixteenth century, the "patrology," as Dr. Wieger prefers to call it, rather than the more usual but less exact "canon"; then follows an index of the official or private lists of Taoist writings prepared by the laity at various times from the first to the seventeenth centuries. These two indexes exhaust Taoist bibliography. Before entering upon these bibliographical details, Dr. Wieger thinks it well to sum up concisely the principal features of the evolution of Taoist doctrine and history in order especially to explain the connection between the apparently disparate elements of Taoist patrology, its arrangement, its divisions, its terminology, etc. A translation of the doctrinal portion of this introduction is given on another page of this issue, accompanied by a reproduction of the cover illustration of the book. Dr. Wieger's second volume (1913) contains text and French translation of the extant works of the three Taoist fathers, Lao-tze, Lieh-tze and Chwang-tze. All have the same message to proclaim, the two latter simply developing the teachings of Lao-tze to which they undertook to convert Emperor Huang-ti, the founder of the Chinese empire. The book contains a subject index and an index of names. p

DER TEXT DES NEUEN TESTAMENTS IN SEINER ÄLTESTEN ERREICHBAREN TEXTGESTALT. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

This work on the text of the New Testament in its oldest attainable form has recently been finished after a labor of sixteen years conducted by Dr. H. von Soden, of Berlin University, supported by forty-four collaborators. It was made possible through the liberality of an interested patroness, Miss Elise Königs. About 165 manuscript codices containing the gospels and *apostolos*, i. e., the rest of the New Testament writings, 1240 gospel codices, 244 *apostolos* codices, besides 170 gospel- 40 *apostolos*-, and 40 apocalypse-commentary codices with text were collated and examined. The last volume (the preceding volumes giving the investigation, *prolegomena*, etc.) of this work contains the text of the New Testament on the upper half of each page, while on the lower half the various readings are classed in three groups, the first taking in the textual problems not yet definitely solved, the second, defending substantially Von Soden's text-form, the third giving the variants occasioned accidentally by transcription. This volume makes it possible to get as near as can be to the first text of the New Testament writers, and also to check the oldest text on the principles laid down by Von Soden, so that it is no longer necessary to go through thick and thin with the Vaticanus, Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus, the infallible authorities thus far. This brief résumé is based on a comprehensive review in the *Protestantenblatt* (Berlin) of September 24, which fails to give the price, the total number of volumes, or whether the last volume can be obtained separately. A. KAMPMEIER.

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